

TRENDS OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN EUROPE: TOWARDS ADMINISTRATIVE CONVERGENCE?

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Introduction

From the late 1970s through 2000, remarkable revolution swept most of the countries through out of the world. In the global context is characterized by the triumph of market forces, by policies of reorganization, by programs of privatization, by projects of deregulation and liberalization. There have been fundamental changes in the theory and practice of public administration.

Major reforms have taken place in the relationships between central, regional and local level of administration, in the organizational design of public services, but also in the principles of financial management, in the design of public policies and in the evaluation of administrative outcomes and outputs. A privilege field of administrative reforms is that of the relationships between state and society or between public services and citizens. From Sweden to Spain and from Portugal to Greece reform policies have transformed public management. In addition to the above major administrative reform projects have been implemented in Central and Eastern Europe. Also, it is absolutely necessary not to ignore the public sector reforms that took place in Japan, Canada and the USA. The history might well record "...an internationalization of public management reform."¹ There is a global revolution in public management and as Kettl has characterized this "as the first true revolution of the information age."²

Indeed, it seems that not only in Europe but all around the world public administration is being changed or reinvented. According to Aucoin what has been taking place in "...almost every government in developing political industrialized administrative states is a new emphasis on the organizational design of public management."³

Public management looks like an attractive solution to modernize the public sector: that is, to improve the capacity of public sector organizations to cope with its turbulent environment effectively and efficiently. In other words, "...reform programs undertaken have been directed at the dual aims of ensuring that the public service has the right people, structures and organization to develop and deliver the right policies and services, while at the same time ensuring that the public service operates as efficiently and effectively as possible."⁴

This article is based on the assumption that the logic of the administrative reform policies is that of the New Public Management explores some common trends in the provision of public services to the citizen. Particularly, the paper, focused on the managerial ideology of Citizen's Charters, considers that this phenomenon is a common one in almost all member states of the European Union. In this way the paper poses a crucial question not only for administrative theory but also for the practice of administration, that is, whether the changes observed in the field of the relationships between citizens and public services constitute an inevitable

convergence. In other words, the article attempts to investigate this common trend using the idea of policy transfer to help answer this question.

The New Paradigm of Administrative Reform: New Public Management

The attempt to define a new paradigm is an exciting theoretical journey that gives to the analyst the opportunity to exercise his mind. New Public Management is a new term that has been used widely in order to describe a spectrum of administrative changes and programs of reforms. However, although, it is used broadly, it could be said that as a term is defined differently and sometimes are used diverse terms describing the observed phenomenon of administrative reform. "There is no a clear or a consensus one definition of what new public management is and not only is there controversy about what is, or what is in the process becoming, but also what ought to be."⁵

The term is controversial and has many names. Pollitt described it as "managerialism"⁶ and Hood grouped the set of newly administrative practices as new public management⁷. On the other hand, in France, Belloubet-Frier and Timsit discuss for a transition to transfigured administration, from a monocratic administration, through market – type mechanisms.⁸ Also, some scholars use the term within the tradition of management science and relate it to the theory of public choice.

This idea is very close to that of Lan-Rosenbloom when they detected the rise of a new market-based public administration⁹ or with the "entrepreneurial government"¹⁰ proposed by Osborne and Gaebler. In other words underpinning of new public management is an emphasis on market - based mechanisms or as it has been said "...whether administrative change is being considered in the most affluent country of Western Europe or the poorest country in Africa, the operative assumption appears to be that the best or even the only way to obtain better results from public sector organization is to adopt some sort of market – based mechanism to replace the traditional bureaucracy."¹¹

So, from this point of view the traditional public administration paradigm expressed by the Wilsonian dichotomy between politics and administration, by the Weberian ideal type of bureaucracy and finally by the Taylorian idea of one best way is dead.¹² Classical or orthodox administrative considerations about the structure and function of public services are under challenge. The modern administrative reform agenda not only covers a wide range of topics but also challenges the role of public sector and especially the traditional modes of service delivery. New public management changes the conception about public organizations that must do better what is left to do. Generally, speaking, this trend could be described as a transformation from public bureaucracy to one model of administration that is business like but is not¹³ like a business. New Public Management highlights the adoption of a business outlook¹⁴ and this is manifested through a set of techniques and methods related to performance evaluation and measurement and by a set of values such as productivity, profitability, competitiveness, and quality. Business logic is the dominant one which underlines in our days the core values of administrative culture (efficiency, effectiveness, quality) without replacing the traditional values of legality, impartiality and equality.

However, the major transformation that the reform agenda has brought is a consideration of public administration from the citizen point of view. At the center of the most reform programs not only in Europe but also in Canada, USA and in other less developed countries are the demands of citizens. The creation of a public administration customer driven¹⁵ is the great idea that we could draw from all the reform policies. Public services are being changed towards customer oriented attitudes. This “revolution” is of great importance if we remember Merton’s description of the bureaucratic virtuoso as one “who never forgets a single rule binding his action and hence is unable to assist of his clients.”¹⁶ From this point of view Graham and Phillips consider that perhaps the most tangible development of the 1980s and 1990s for public administration has been customer – service revolution.¹⁷

The New Public Management gives to the customer a special position in the assessment and evaluation of the newly emerging systems of public services. The needs and wants of citizens are supposed to be the key criteria of decisions of public administration. The citizen-customer of services is now typically seen as the fundamental arbiter of the provider service. Citizens, who were viewed as playing a merely passive role when the process of administrative modernization was launched, are now considered to be full-fledge social actors who are the central focus of the current thinking on policy of administrative reform. This shift clearly shows the magnitude of the changes that has taken place in the relationships between public administration and citizens.

This reorientation arises from a serious democratic deficit or confidence crisis¹⁸ in the public services. In recent years, legitimacy of public administration has come under challenge due to diminishing public trust. Although the bureaucratic organization of public services has many advantages in the newly globalized economy, in the historic period of knowledge economy and in the epoch of diverse, complex and unknown – unknown¹⁹ social demands, public administration suffers from inertia and functional incapacity to respond to the citizen demands. This situation has produced a trust deficit in the reciprocal relationships between citizens and public services. The observed reorientation from bureaucratic style of delivery services, from a rule focused administration to one more responsive and client oriented is due to the diminishing public trust.

The reform of the relationships between public administration and citizens or the necessity of a radical improvement in the delivery of public services comes of age. Achieving substantial improvements in the delivery of services to the civil society is a core feature of many reforms programs in European public services. Restoring trust in government is a strategic goal for many of them and it should be noted that this is neither a technical matter nor an issue related only to the image of public services. A crucial multidimensional issue is attempted to be solved from an administrative point of view through the adoption of explicit statements of service standards in the form of Citizen’s Charters.

Delivering Services: From a Bureaucratic Tradition to Citizen's Charters

In the European Union almost all member states are doing considerable work in the policy area of improving service quality. Nearly, every member state has chosen to mount specific initiatives or reforms on service standards.

In Belgium, after the elections of 1991 that showed clearly the existing gap between politicians and citizens, the Minister of Interiors and Personnel published the Public Sector Customer Charter (1992). The explicit aim of this charter is to improve the legitimacy of the state and the common good.²⁰

The ultimate goal of the Belgian Charter is the improvement of public interest. On the other hand, France, a country with a long tradition and experience in quality management introduced in 1992 the Public Service Charters. The strategic goal of this policy was the improvement of the relationships between administrative services and the users of such services.²¹

In another European country, the approval of the Quality Charter in 1993 marked the consolidation of quality in the Portuguese public administration.²² This was a deliberate attempt by government to generate confidence in a system of public administration that enjoyed little public support. But, also, in Ireland under the program of Delivering Better Government in 1997 introduced the Initiative of Quality Customer Service in order to improve the service standards.²³ In addition to the above, Italy adopted the Service Charter in 1994 in response to the need to improve service quality and the relationships between the citizens and administration.²⁴ In the same direction Greece under the program entitled "Quality for the Citizen," the Citizen's Charter²⁵ is a specific action with similar operational purposes as the above mentioned policies or initiatives. Also, the Service Charter logic introduced into Finnish public policy²⁶ based on a customer-centered approach to develop the quality of public services. Finally, the Citizen's Charter Program of the United Kingdom adopted in 1991 with particular emphasis on the accessibility high quality services by the citizens.²⁷

From the above brief description we may conclude that the decade of 1990 is the historical period of the growth of Citizen's Charters. Most of the member states of the European Union and not only²⁷ designed and implemented policies focused on the improvement of public services delivery. Although there are differences between them either on their institutional basis or in relation to the provided compensation mechanisms, the strategic goal is the same between all of them. The European Citizen's Charter share a common idea, that is to specify in advance service targets which must be met. The background of the policy of Citizen's Charter is service standardization.

In other words, in our days, more than ever before it is accepted that the objective of the public services and the reasons for their existence is to serve the citizen – customer. With the adoption of Citizen's Charter ideology the citizen is considered not only as a voter or as a taxpayer, but also as a customer with demands and expectations. Citizen's Charters are public documents setting out standards of service to which the customer are entitled. The ideology of Citizen's Charter is that of consumerist approach to quality and its credibility is based on such values as:

- Customer orientation of public is service
- Advance description of service provision
- Qualitative services.

These values constitute the new administrative doctrine that is beyond of the “bureaucratic paternalism.”²⁸ Public services through Citizen’s Charters enhance their responsiveness, openness and accountability to the citizens and their development or their future depends on their capacity to focus on citizen’s demands and not on their ability to bureaucratized the relationships between the citizens and the public services. The wave of Citizen’s Charters is related to the policies of deregulation and de-bureaucratization and from this perspective are pieces of a wider policy of administrative reform. The European experience, so far, does not support the improvement of service quality by legislating bureaucratic mechanisms and procedures of service delivery. Given the tendency of deregulation and administrative simplification many countries in Europe have institutionalized Citizen’s Charters in order to cope with the complex demands of citizens. Instead, to create a new bureaucratic structure, a new centralized procedure to deliver public services, most European states from 1991 up to now have designed alternative solutions, that is Citizen’s Charters.

The interface between citizens and public services is not prescribed any more by a bureaucratic logic, but by a managerial one in which Service Charters are fundamental elements. These are an expression of the modification of a bureaucratic culture into one based on the satisfaction of the needs and expectations of citizens. Citizen’s Charters are the tools of a new contract³⁰ between the state and the civil society adapted to the turbulent conditions of post-modernity where the individuality³¹ is the principal value and where the survival of a public service is depended on its orientation to quality and productivity. Cost-savings, innovations and responsiveness are not related to the bureaucratic culture. Responsiveness and openness are unknown principles of the bureaucratic paradigm of public administration. Bureaucratic administration and procedures deal mainly with the range of services, but not with the service quality. Citizen’s Charters are not concerned with the volume but with the quality of services and from this point of view bureaucratic logic has no place in this bright new world. Citizen’s Charters are the appropriate tools in improving service quality and securing the customers position in cases of poor quality. Bad quality is more expensive than high standard services.³² The restoration of trust relationships between citizens and public services cannot be built on bureaucratic base. Citizen’s Charters are the safeguard tool of trust among state and civil society. These relationships throughout European Union are reinvented on the basis of a business rather than on a bureaucratic model. The former is an old fashion administrative paradigm. Citizen’s Charter is the newly emerging business-like reciprocal relationship between citizens and public administration that redefines not only the techniques of public administration, but also its nature, scope, function and structure. This is a reconsideration that puts them at the center the citizen-government relationship and, thus, provides practical and professional challenges for public services managers.

On the other hand the growth of Citizen’s Charters poses some crucial and interesting — questions such as, are we witnessing an administrative convergence in the European

Union regarding the content of the relationships between citizens and public services? Or are we observing a policy diffusion among the member states? Or how should such developments be understood and explained? Analysis turns to exploring the complex relationships between citizens and public administration from the theory of policy transfer through the institutionalization of the Citizen's Charters.

Citizen's Charters: A Policy Convergence

By the 1960s a key focus of policy studies is upon comparative policy analysis. A sub-field of this studies is the examination of the process called policy transfer. Many scholars have showed considerable interest in cross-national policy transfer. From the earlier studies, most notably by Walker, up to today many scholars involved in Public Policy, Public Administration, Political Science, Development Studies, and also in International Relations have focused their analytical interest on issues or aspects related to the process of moving models and policies from one state to another.³³ We notice the increase in the number and role of international organizations and think tanks,³⁴ combined with the globalization of information and knowledge have accelerated the production of studies regarding issues of policy transfer.

Policy transfer is the process in which ideas, knowledge and institutions developed in one time or place are used in the development of policies, programs and institutions in another time or place.³⁵ According to Rose, "... problems that are unique to one country ... are abnormal... Confronted with a common problem, policy makers in cities, regional governments and nations can learn how their counterparts elsewhere responded."³⁶

This idea is very close to the recent developed concept of convergence, which occupies a central place in comparative public administration. At root, the meaning of convergence is that countries at a similar stage of economic growth appear to be convergent or as Wilensky³⁷ says "whatever their political economies, whatever their unique cultures and histories the affluent societies become more alike in both social structure and ideology". Also, Hofferbert, from a public policy perspective and closely related to the idea of public management reform has argued "that the most industrial states find a redefinition of the managerial ethos in their government activities."³⁸

So, from this point of view, the growth of consumerist logic in redesigning the relationships between citizens and public services might be explained through the "generic concept"³⁹ of policy transfer. Citizen's Charters have become a common policy option among administrative systems in European Union. A policy osmosis has been developed around the re-creation of the relationships between citizens and public administration.

Citizen's Charters are a clear trend towards a cross-system policy convergence. These are indicators of similarities within diversities, which, however has weakened. The idea of introducing Citizen's Charters could be understood as lessons drawing one country from another and here the lessons are tools for action. Individual administrative systems, at least in the dimension of the relationships between citizens and public services, are looking to resemble one another. But this cross-system

similarity⁴⁰ does not mean that we are witnessing a harmonization in European administrative systems. Charterism, rather, is an administrative practical exercise of learning experience or a genuine paradigm of “borrowed reform.” Citizen’s Charters are fresh policy input.

In other words, Citizen’s Charters are transferred as a best practice solution, that is, as a tool that provides best service standards. The policy of adoption of Citizen’s Charters not only is an expression of the search for excellence in public administration but also resembles an emulated strategy focused on how to improve service quality. The idea, of Citizen’s Charters has been transferred among the member states of European Union. Although there are some differences between the Citizen’s Charters, it is clear from the above analysis that “one can only be amazed by the commonality of not only language, but also, more importantly, purpose.”⁴¹

We cannot say that one member state copy⁴² a Citizen’s Charter from another one. Instead, we may argue that a policy learning approach is a realistic one consideration of the expansion and widespread diffusion of Citizen’s Charters within the framework of European Union. At this point we have to underline that such super-national configuration contribute to the learning process. It is unavoidable that policy makers in one country seeks to learn lessons from policies that are designed, implemented and appeared to be successful elsewhere. Besides, it is well know that European Union has not a common policy on how to deliver public services or on how to structure the relationships between citizens and public services. Instead, European Union looks like a forum, which facilitate the exchange of policy ideas.

From this point of view the diffusion of Citizen’s Charters is better explained through the idea of voluntary policy transfer. This explanation respects the history, social political and economic environment of each member state of the European Union, but also pays particular attention to the process and content of transferring⁴³ policies and ideas from one country to another. The relationships between citizen’s and public services constitute a policy space where at least parallel trends are observed within European Union.

Given cultural diversity one can only be impressed by the evidence of an emerging consensus around the member states of the European Union of the need to improve the delivery of public services to the citizen’s. Citizen’s Charters are examples of policy convergence. Citizen’s Charters have been established across a range of European countries.

Conclusions

Citizens do not trust their politicians. Over the past decades Citizen’s trust in the basic institutions of administrative system has declined dramatically. The debt crisis and disbelief culture is the manifestation of an administrative crisis that penetrates most of the administrative systems of the member states in the European Union. In order to cope with the credibility deficit most of the European states introduced policies to improve the relationships between citizens and public services. How to improve the service standards, the quality of provided services is not the only but among the first priorities of many member states in European Union. While the issue of trust remains a fundamentally crucial one for citizens of all countries, one proposed solution is

adoption of Citizen's Charters. These are not the one best solution, but they are a satisfied decision of reform policy. In our days the language of Citizen's Charters is spoken in different parts of the European world. Service standards, quality services, customer needs and satisfaction are being the most pervasive terms. We are witnessing a paradigm shift in the complex and usually ambiguity territory of the relationships between Citizen's and public services. Citizen's Charters indicate a shift in administrative culture, from a bureaucratic model to a managerial model that expresses a consumer orientation for public services. Service Charters give the people more say in how their services are run and this underlines an added weight to the recognition that performance should involve a focus on service quality.

Although there are some variations or differences between the member states in terms for example of the legal status of Citizen's Charters, it could be said that around this issue there is a policy transfer, one voluntary introduction of policies that have been developed in one country to another. Citizen's Charters appear attractive as governments engage in search of policy solutions in the field of the reciprocal relationships between state and civil society. The logic of policy transfer offers an explanation of the widespread use of Citizen's Charters. The flow of knowledge, ideas and policies of reforms are well known and the phenomenon of Citizen's Charters indicates a common trend among many member states in European Union. This tendency underlines a managerial approach of the relationships between citizen's and public services.

Public administration changes and this starts from the reconfiguration of the relationships between the citizen's and public services. Service Charters are a piece of a larger re-analysis of administration in response to changing technologies, economies, public wants, needs and expectations. What is required within this emergent environment is a renewed of public organization theory on the basis of Citizen's demands. Citizen's Charters constitute the modern orientation of most governments in the European Union but they are not a policy in and of itself, but one that intends to enhance democracy. Citizen's Charters appear to be a proper instrument in establishing a link between administrative modernization and democratization.

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