

Do we really want to fight clientelism?

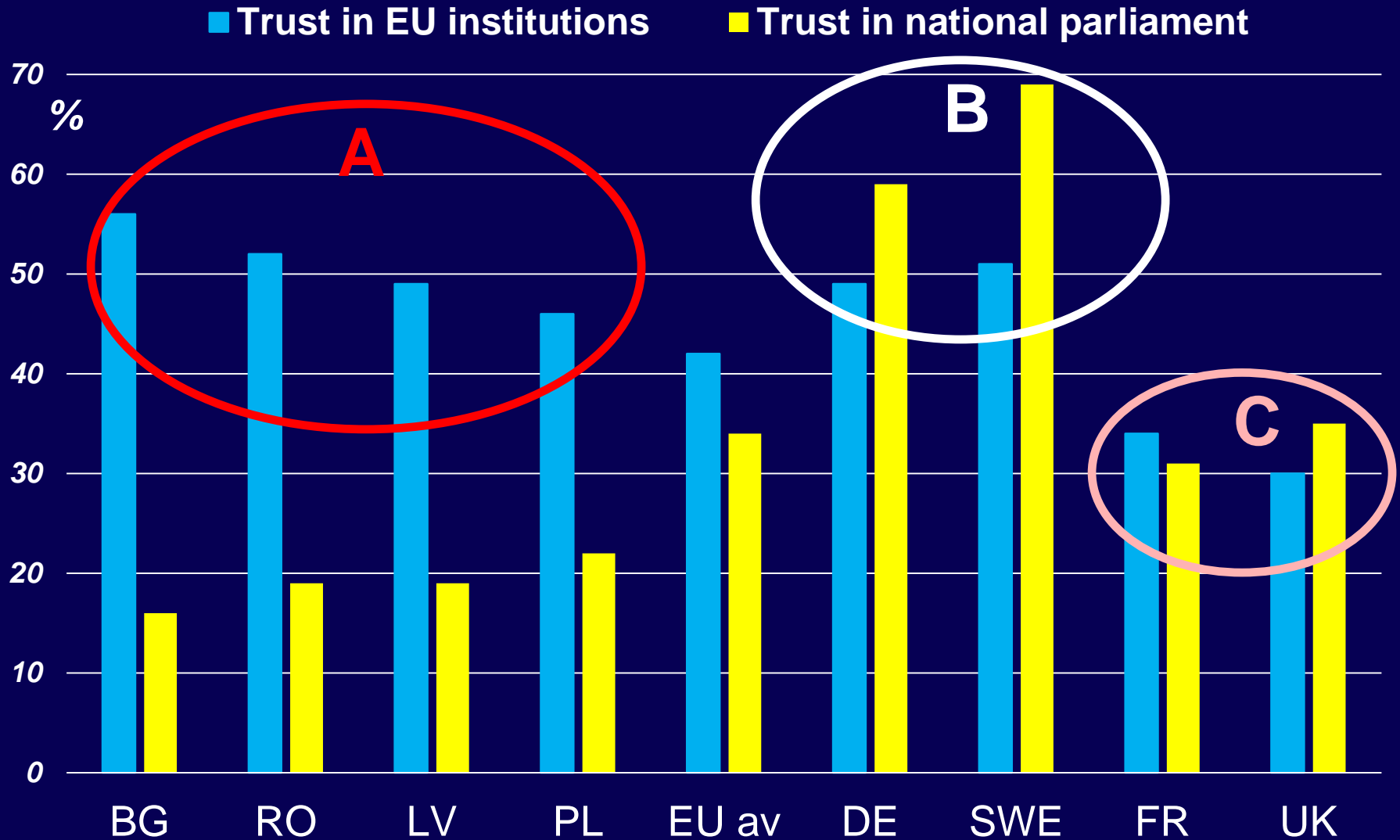
Reflections from the 2nd Europe
(East, NMS)

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www.expertforum.ro

The paradox in the 2nd Europe



... unhappy families in their own ways

- **Trust B** = universalism, general rules, institutions, meritocracy
- **Trust A** = particularismo, trust in in-groups (natural), personal loyalty, empathy
“A los amigos todo, a los enemigos nada, al extraño la ley”
- **A** can also be related to “Olson groups” = coalitions of rent-seeking / social *clientelismo*
- In the 2nd Europe, “trust in EU” is a proxy for the aspiration towards universalism

The paradox in the 2nd Europe

In times of crisis and social anxiety, people may aspire to B but vote for A. *The paradox of pro-EU attitude / anti-EU vote*

- In the era of threatened majorities (sic!) people look up to their politicians “for intimacy, not competence; solidarity, not necessarily justice” (I. Krastev)
- Those with roots have grown resentful of those with legs (=meritocrats)

Dilemma in the 2nd Europe

- How do we shift **Trust** away from traditional / clientelar institutions, towards modern, universalist ones, while preserving the free universal vote? Big dilemma.
- In 2nd Europe, there is no (i) powerful civil service (Weberian), and (ii) independent judiciary – to keep the balance
- It is much easier for the whole state to fall prey to clientelismo

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

Н. ЛЕНИНА.

- Do we **want** to address the problem?
- Do we have the mandate / tools to address it at EU level?
- Or decide it is just beyond us – cross fingers and hope for the best, go on with lame bureaucratic interventions, naïve projects to encourage “communication”, “participation”; try technical solutions in new, stricter directives (magnifying bureaucracy)

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

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Back to the classic agenda = prerequisites of modern democracy: **Rule of Law ++**

- Focus on **prevention** (good policies, public scrutiny, rational debate) to complement repression (judiciary, penalties, etc)
- Strengthen the plural society: indep debates, watchdogs, nuclei of expertise in public affair outside the government and administration

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

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- Mass media is crucial (and vanishing in NMS): invest in products&results, not institutions;
- Develop at EU level indicators of “bad governance” in areas with high potential of clientelism (ex. budgetary allocations to local governments; public companies; etc). Monitor and compare across member countries (see for example the index & maps of clientelism in Romania <https://expertforum.ro/en/>)

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

Н. ЛЕНИНА.

- Monitor results, not procedures (2nd Europe is very good at beating the spirit of laws with their letter)
- Example: Procurement ++ (including intra-government allocations)

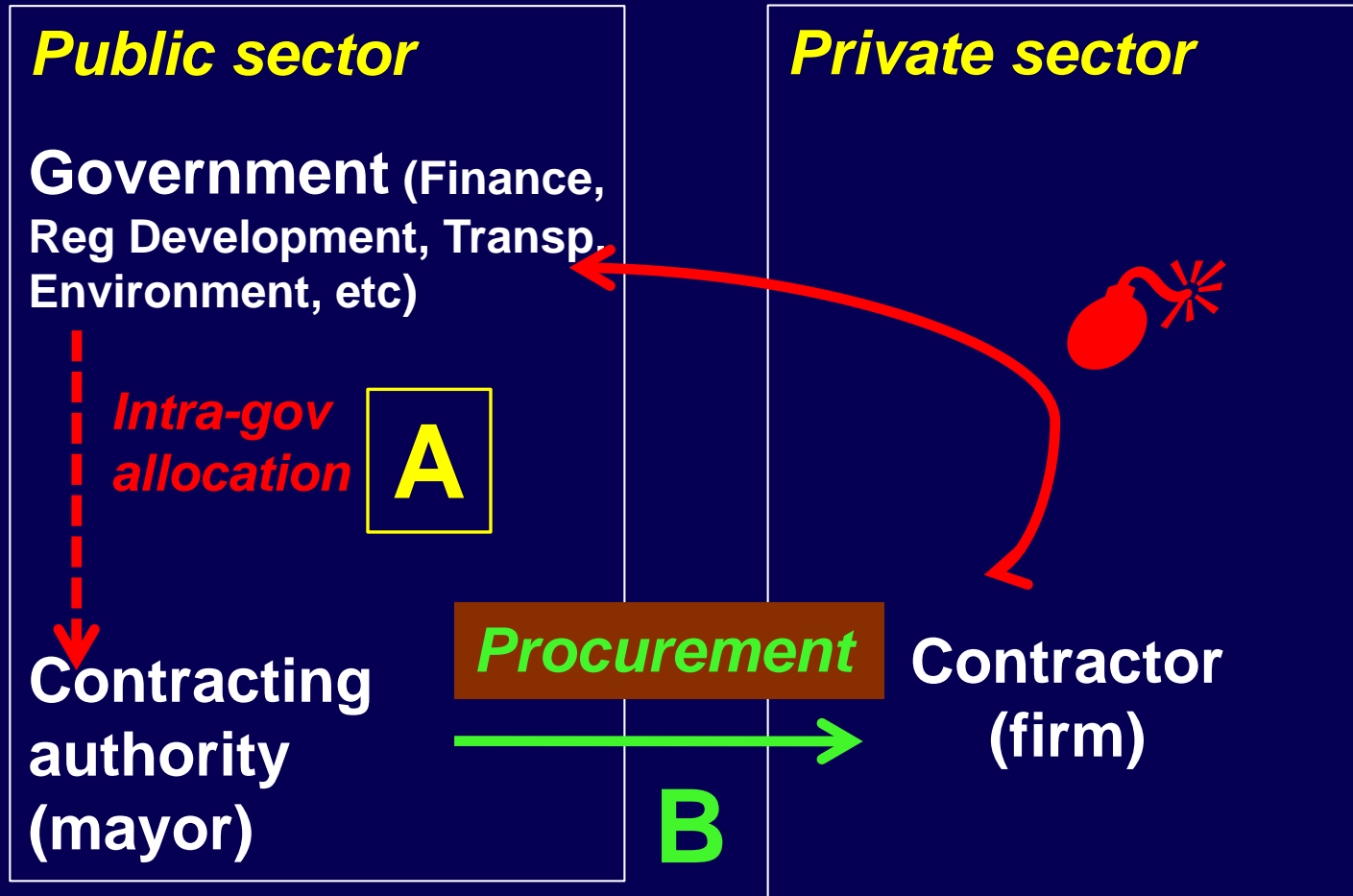
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The case of local procurement

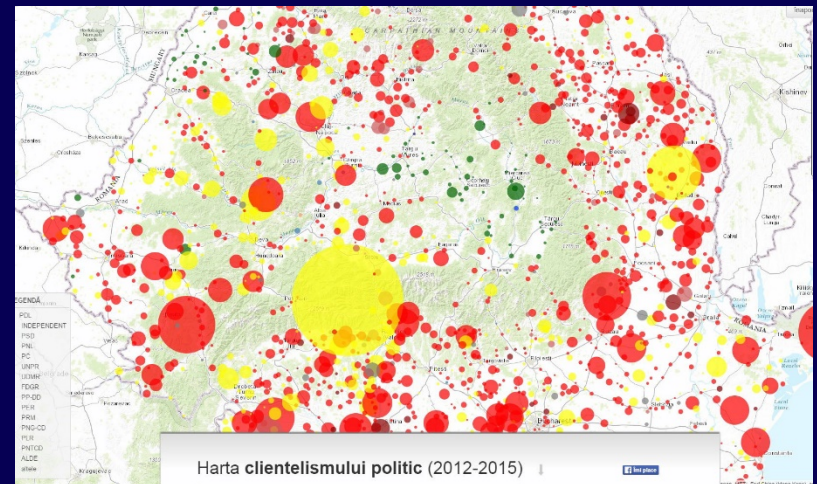


Clientelism vs. openness & transparency

The *index of clientelism (CI)*

Interactive maps, 2004-2011; 2012-2017

<http://expertforum.ro>



Clientelism vs. openness & transparency

New visual instruments to broaden the audience – props for workshops:

- Infographics
- Video clips (the public in Ro and Md)

