Learning Democracy by Doing Administration: Attitudes, roles and everyday practices of Estonian civil servants


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**Abstract**

Not unlike in other former Soviet Republics and Socialist countries, Estonia’s systemic change and restored independence in 1991 brought forward a thorough reorganization of its public administration. In the Real Socialist regime, civil service was not “modern” in the sense of Weberian bureaucracy: its functioning was neither predictable nor based on transparent principles. Even the smallest decisions could be politicised, and the outcomes often depended on power games between different networks of power and loyalty. During the ongoing process of democratic consolidation, the renewed corps of civil servants is involved in the adoption and creation of new value judgments, professional identities and patterns of communication. Despite the existence of formal regulations and laws, the routine of everyday activities plays a key role in this process. As a result, standard procedures for making decisions and communicating with the public emerge. The actual operation of public institutions largely depends on the values on which civil servants base their activities, and the ways in which their social and professional roles become defined.

To a large extent, the construction of a professional identity means defining loyalties and ethical standards. When making decisions in situations including contradictions between different loyalties and different ethical principles, civil servants often cannot rely on traditions, ideologies and role models commonly known and accepted. Estonia, like the majority of other post-Socialist countries has adopted a public service code of ethics, but it is yet unclear what influence it may have had on identity development – to what extent the code of ethics has taken root among civil servants, and to what extent it can be applied as support for everyday decision making.

From June 2005 to January 2006, our research group conducted the first large-scale study of attitudes and roles within public administration in Estonia. The study makes use of two distinct research methods, i.e., group interviews and a national questionnaire of civil servants. Fifty-eight top state and municipal officials participated in nine group interviews. After that, a questionnaire based on an analysis of the interviews was sent to 1,416 employees within state and municipal administration, 960 of who filled the questionnaire. Among the problems we sought an answer for were the following:

- What are the conflicting loyalties, role expectations, value systems, and ideologies that influence public sector employees?
- What types of situations present great ethical conflicts or require choices between different loyalties?
- To what extent has a standardization of values among civil servants taken place? Can such standardization be attributed to the existence of an official code of ethics?
- How do informal codes of practice develop within public sector organizations?

The presentation provides a preliminary overview of some main results of the study.
1. Introduction

When regaining its independence (20 August 1991), Estonia inherited its public administration from the USSR, to which it had belonged as a Soviet Republic. At that time, the need of reforming the administration thoroughly was evident: the country was simultaneously introducing political democracy, taking fast steps towards market economy, and re-creating the institutions necessary for independent statehood. The role of state administration, and of the state in general, was to induce and support changes much more profound than those taking place in consolidated democracies. Even if policies often followed neo-liberalist scenarios and were based on an ideological commitment to a minimal state, the very task of administering the post-socialist transformation necessarily resulted in what has been described as a „transformative state“. At the same time as it was engaged in creating and legitimising a certain social order, the state sought to construct a civic identity that would establish new bonds of loyalty between it and its citizens.

Some reforms of the previous structure had been undertaken already before independence during the period of the „Singing Revolution“, and the Constitution of 1992 recreated the

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1 The paper is based on a research project commissioned and financed by the Estonian State Chancellery. In addition to us, the research group included Juhan Kivirähk and Mari Sepp. At various stages of the research, we received advice and practical assistance from Aive Pevkur, Airi Alakivi and Airi-Alina Allaste. A number of our students helped by writing interview transcripts. The electronic questionnaire was administered by the Research Centre Faktum Ltd.


legislatory process and defined the roles of new, democratic political institutions.\textsuperscript{4} What was to follow was a process during which most institutions of state and local administration were reorganised, and in a course of a few years, a majority of the civil service staff was replaced by new personnel. In the 2002 regular report on Estonia’s progress towards accession to the European Union, the yearly staff turnover rate was assessed to be as high as 12-14\%, while a majority of the staff was aged under 40, and one third aged under 30.\textsuperscript{5} The Estonian civil service came to regulated by the \textit{Civil Service Act} that passed on 25 January 1995 and entered into force from the beginning of next year. The field the Act is concerned with is a fairly large one; in fact, it has since been amended more than 40 times, latest in March 2006.\textsuperscript{6} As an important addition, a \textit{Code of Civil Service Ethics} was drafted in 1999 and adopted by the Parliament as an attachment to the Civil Service Act.\textsuperscript{7} The Code consists of twenty general principles defining ethical conduct in civil service; there is more than enough space for them on a single A4 sheet of paper. The Code is not supported by any specific implementation mechanism.\textsuperscript{8}

During the 1990s and 2000s, two competing approaches to public administration have influenced both the administration studies and the practical development of civil service. The former, „Weberian” model, derived from Max Weber’s classical treatment of bureaucratic administration, included formal rationality and predictability as the basic elements of decision-making, and hierarchiality, professionalism and merit as those of recruitment and promotion policies. It became challenged by „New Public Management”, an attempt of introducing steering mechanisms typical of business enterprises to the


\textsuperscript{7} http://seadus.ibs.ee/seadus/aktid/rk.s.19990127.21.19991206.html

public sector as well. As to the Estonian public service, it cannot be described as following neither of the two models in any unambiguous way. In the Civil Service Act, Weberian elements would seem to dominate (when considering, e.g., the remuneration mechanisms and the formal system of career promotion). However, some mechanisms of administration originally designed by the Act seem never to have been implemented in practice; moreover, the particular mechanisms abandoned belong rather to the Weberian repertoire. The actual development seems to have taken another direction than originally designed, even if it admittedly varies between different parts of public administration. Some branches of government have been more inclined than others to introduce quasi-market steering mechanisms. In short, the exact forms that Estonia’s public management will adopt are still open to an extent. The situation can be seen as reflective of the fact, that the overall process of democratic consolidation has not yet come to an end.

When re-building the political and administrative system of a formerly „Real Socialist” country, there are many challenges to be met. In the Real Socialist regime, civil service was not “modern” in the sense of Weberian bureaucracy: its functioning was neither predictable nor based on transparent principles. Even the smallest decisions could be politicised, and the outcomes often depended on power games between different networks of power and loyalty. In other words, boundaries between civil service and politics on one hand and the private domain on the other were never entirely clear. During the ongoing process of democratic consolidation, the renewed corps of civil servants is involved in the adoption and creation of new value judgments, professional

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10 These mechanisms include the creation of a reserve force of persons fulfilling the criteria for employment as civil servants, who are not in active service at present (ibid., § 136 *et passim*), the regular attestation of all civil servants (§ 90 *et passim*), and important elements of the remuneration system. A statement to this effect was in fact presented by the State Secretary, Mr. Heiki Loot, at the Conference organised on the occasion of ten years’ passing from the entering into force of the Civil Service Act (22 March 2006).

identities and patterns of communication. Despite the existence of formal regulations and laws, the routine of everyday activities plays a key role in this process. As a result, standard procedures for making decisions and communicating with the public emerge.

We presume that these issues have a close connection to problems of professional ethics and integrity. Here, we wish to stress that ethical dilemmas likely to be faced by members of newly emerged and rapidly changing institutions are typically not so much concerned with choices between ethical and unethical ways of conduct, but with choices between ethical principles expected to prevail in different types of contexts. What may seem as a transformation of values is, to a large extent, a redefinition of borders between social contexts of different types. Values may change or not, but their regions of applicability certainly do. For instance, in private life one is expected to show greater concern to one’s relatives and personal acquaintances than to strangers – a principle, that is incompatible with the functioning principles of modern civil service. It was nevertheless part and parcel of administrative practices in “Real Socialism”; it seems also to prevail in clientelist systems, where a generalised trust towards public administration is low and where, for that reason, personal connections to administrators and politicians are more highly valued. To take another example, the introduction of quasi-market steering mechanisms to public administration may result in decisions that run contrary to previously conceived ideas of public good, even if they sometimes manage to enhance public sector’s efficacy when measured from the more limited perspective of the performing institution alone. In short, ways how civil servants assess the ethical quality of different possible ways of conduct cannot be separated from how they perceive the contexts in which their activities are embedded. The resulting loyalty expectations are, in turn, an integral part of how the roles of civil servants and civil service are interpreted in society.

12 Cf., e.g., Ilja Srubar (1991), "War der reale Sozialismus modern? Versuch einer strukturellen Bestimmung", Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Jg. 43, Heft 3, pp. 415-432
14 Drechsler 2005, 101-103
From these considerations, a number of empirical research questions arise, such as:

- What are the conflicting loyalties, role expectations, value systems, and ideologies that influence public sector employees?
- What types of situations present great ethical conflicts or require choices between different loyalties?
- To what extent has a standardization of values among civil servants taken place? Can such standardization be attributed to the existence of an official code of ethics?
- How do informal codes of practice develop within public sector organizations?

Our paper gives a preliminary overview of a recently completed study inspecting these issues. The study concentrates on Estonian civil servants’ values and attitudes, their understanding of their role as civil servants, and more generally, on their ideas about the position that civil service as a whole occupies in society. The empirical results allow us to suggest some answers to the questions posed above.

2. The method

The means used for data collection were group interviews (N = 58) and an electronic questionnaire (N = 960). The two different methods were chosen in order to gather information of different types; thus, we implemented the research strategy also known as triangulation.15 As a method, group interviewing has the advantage of allowing the participants to verbalise their ideas and experiences in ways that are less influenced by the interviewer than the case is, e.g., in open-ended individual interviews. When the respondents of one interview group are invited from an existing collective rather than by proxy, the situation allows researchers to get an insight into what kinds of norms, values and discourses are shared by the collective’s members. In comparison to survey questionnaires, the answers to researchers’ questions provided by group interviews are much more embedded in a context and are, thus, not of the fragmented character that

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questionnaire answers tend to be. On the other hand, a questionnaire with representative samples of respondents from different theoretically relevant populations gives a possibility of quantitative comparisons; moreover, it can be replicated with more ease and on a lower cost than any types of open-ended interviews.

The nine group interviews were conducted from 8 September to 19 October 2005 within eight state and municipal organizations; one group included officials of a similar position from different organizations. The groups were designed so, that the participants included persons responsible for staff management, for legal issues, and for public relations. In addition, we sought to include the leading officials of different branches or sub-departments of every organization. Among the 58 participants were 37 women and 21 men; the average time they had worked within civil service was 6.8 years, while they had held their present position during an average of 4.9 years. The typical duration of one group interview was slightly under two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. In quotations below, they will be identified by random numbers, which refer neither to the order in which the interviews were conducted, nor to the type of organization in question.

The second part of the empirical research process was a survey of civil servants, conducted from 20 December 2005 to 25 January 2006 by means of an electronic questionnaire. When deciding what questions to ask, we relied in part on the results of a preliminary analysis of the group interviews. The respondents received by e-mail an Internet link to the web page where the questionnaire was displayed, along with a personal password, which gave one-time access to the questionnaire. The link and password were sent to 1416 civil servants altogether, which were chosen at random from lists of employees in different branches of civil service. We received 960 answers, giving a response rate of 68%. In choosing the respondents we used a stratified sampling method, which ensured the representation of different governmental levels and types of organization.16

16 We received 193 responses from local governments, 118 from regional governments, 159 from ministries, 205 from small government offices and inspecting authorities, 177 from large government
3. Roles and values of Estonian civil servants: A preliminary overview

The following presentation of our research results is organised by the specific issues and research questions focused on, not by type of empirical data. Hence, references to both group interview and survey data will intermingle. The results, interpretations and analyses presented below should be seen as first of their kind within a work in progress.

3.1 Civil service and other spheres of society

To begin with, the very term of civil servant ( ametnik) was not the one that participants in our group interviews would have been prone to use when presenting themselves. When asked about their perceptions of the word, they readily associated it with a negative image allegedly fostered by the media. Although our interview scheme did not contain any questions referring to this issue, a spontaneous discussion of the media turned out to emerge in every single one of the nine interview groups. Both the media and their audience were depicted as incompetent, negatively biased and/or easily misled when discussing civil service. As it was pointed out in several interviews, there is a predominantly negative view of politics that tends to become associated with civil service as well. When presenting him/herself as a civil servant to lay people, a person could expect such reactions as were summarised in one group discussion:

INT 6 (...) V1: People confuse our work with politics. When I visit somebody, say, my grandma and grandpa, and tell that I work /at a Ministry/, they will ask about how we are getting along with Savisaar /a prominent Estonian politician/. V2: Any news from Toompea /the location of the Government Cabinet/?(…)

Most often the respondents preferred to present themselves instead by reference to a more specific function (e.g., lawyer, PR person, staff manager). However, there was one offices (the police, taxation and customs authority, prisons, courts), and 108 responses from constitutional institutions. Among the respondents, 672 were female and 288 male. As to the respondents’ self-reported position in their organization, 23 were top managers, 274 were higher officials, 538 were senior and 116 junior civil servants. Nine respondents classified themselves as assisting employees; in our analysis, we do not treat the last group separately.
particular context, in which the label of civil servant was found useful; that is, when an argument was needed in order to dismiss a “difficult client”. A civil servant, it was argued, is obliged to act within confined rules only and does not have the option of catering special services for any particular individual. In this respect, civil service was deemed as differing radically from the business sector. “In business, everything that is not prohibited is allowed; in civil service, everything not allowed is prohibited”, was a proverbial wisdom that was quoted in three different interview groups (independently of each other).

Statements of this kind – although mainly concerned with the use of one word, civil servant – were also illustrative of the respondents’ overall way of constructing the position of civil service and civil servants within wider society; examples of such a discourse can be quoted from throughout the interviews, and its implications are confirmed by questionnaire answers. In short, civil servants explicated the borders between civil service on one hand, and politics, media, business and lay citizenry on the other. It was claimed, that employment within civil service presents more stringent requirements than are usually applied in other spheres of society – not necessarily with reference to usual professional skills, but to ethics and personal characteristics. In comparison with other fields of activity, civil service was considered to have a larger long-term impact on society and, hence, to carry a heavier burden of responsibility.

Among the questionnaire respondents, 79 % ‘fully’ or ‘rather’ agreed with the statement claiming, that “ethical standards required from public service employees are higher than those required from ordinary citizens”. Support to this statement increased in proportion to the public service record of the respondents. As concerns the qualities or competences required from the respondents in order to perform their work, sense of duty (82% of the respondents considered it 'absolutely necessary' and 17% 'quite necessary'), competence in own field of work (82% and 16 %, respectively), and responsibility (80% and 18%, respectively) were considered the most important. Such qualities as good conduct of official language, communication skills, co-operation skills, and knowledge of legislation were all considered less important.
3.2 Differing loyalties and the Public Good

The Code of Civil Service Ethics (par. 4) states, that all exercise of power within the public sector should serve the purpose of public good. However, the Code provides no specific definition of this concept; it only becomes defined through concrete practice. When asked about it in the questionnaire (on a four-point scale), 92% of the respondents found that laws and regulations are either the “main” or a “somewhat important” means through which public good is expressed; as the second most important means of defining public good, the respondents chose the civil servants’ personal conscience and moral standards (with the respective rate of 82%) (cf. Figure 1). The popularity of both answers correlated positively with the length of the respondents’ history of employment within civil service.

Figure 1. To what extent do you consider the following as expressions of public good? Distribution of answers to the survey questionnaire, absolute frequencies

![Diagram showing the distribution of answers to the survey questionnaire.](image-url)
The civil servants interviewed were well aware, that their activities are surrounded by many different, sometimes mutually contradictory interests and expectations. They were supposed to carry out political decisions, which occasionally were at odds with expectations of other interest groups, or with the preferences the civil servants themselves held either as citizens or as experts with professional training in their field. During the group interviews, all the alternative ways of defining public good presented in Figure 1 were discussed. The idea of political decisions as indicators of public good was more often rejected than not; instead, the interviewees favoured a view according to which a civil servant plays an independent role in finding out about the legitimate expectations by various interest groups and defining the public good in ways, that often took the form of a compromise between different interests.

3.3 Civil Service Code of Ethics and values among civil servants

Although the opinions of Estonian public service employees differed significantly in many aspects, survey results still indicate the existence of some basic core values. In our analysis we interpreted it as being based on the idea of civil service as a vocation. This idea has been considered part and parcel of modern civil service.\(^{17}\) It was pointed at by Max Weber already; according to him, the administrative system is based on a moral discipline and self-denial by its employees: “The honour of the civil servant is vested in his ability to execute conscientiously the order of the superior authorities, exactly as if the order agreed with his own conviction. This applies even if the order appears wrong to him and if, despite the civil servant’s remonstrances, the authority insists on the order.”\(^{18}\)

As is visible in both the group interview and survey data, from this idea emerges also readiness and desire of civil servants to protect their colleagues and to guard the ethical level and the external image of their organization. Thus, the average general ethical quality of Estonian public service as evaluated by the respondents on the 10-point scale was 5.75. At the same time, the ethical quality of employees at the respondents’ own

organization was always considered higher than the average public service value; in most cases, it amounted to 7 or 8 on a ten-point scale. Executives and high-rank officials of the establishments were especially positive in their evaluations (average values 8.22 and 7.64, respectively). Even if the respondents did identify problems and development needs in the field of ethics, they were mainly concerned with other organizations and levels of government than their own.

Researchers in the field of public administration tend to consider codes of ethics among the most efficient mechanisms for harmonization of the conduct of civil servants, which also influence the expectations and attitudes of the general public towards civil service staff.\textsuperscript{19} We examined (both in the interviews and questionnaires) to what extent Estonian public servants were acquainted with the \textit{Civil Service Code of Ethics}, and whether they had applied it in their work.

Of the 58 participants of group interviews, about one-third claimed to have read the Code of Ethics at least superficially. In comparison to other employees, staff managers and lawyers tended to be more informed about the existence and the contents of the Code. Most respondents to the questionnaire (68\%) claimed to have familiarized themselves with the Code or to have browsed it at least superficially. Only one third claimed to be thoroughly familiar with the document or to have used it in their work. Knowledge of the Code of Ethics was also associated with the respondents’ position in organisational hierarchy: the wider his or her responsibilities, the more likely he or she was to claim thorough knowledge and active use of the Code. For example, 52\% of the top executives claimed to have thoroughly read or used the document, while the same percentages among senior and junior civil servants were 32\% and 19\%, respectively.

\textsuperscript{19} Palidauskaitė 2003
Evidently, in-depth discussion of public service ethics and the ways of monitoring it was a novel activity for most respondents. It seems, that no commonly shared standards of solving ethical problems have so far emerged, apart from a very abstract and general level. This was illustrated by the fact, that participants of group interviews initially presumed that their fellow participants would share several basic assumptions and opinions with them; instead, the proceeding of discussions revealed considerable differences. Responds to the survey questionnaire point at a similar confusion. The ways of conduct that respondents deemed as inappropriate for a civil servant included the exercise of several basic democratic rights, such as party membership, participation in election campaigns or demonstrations, and writing comments to Internet portals. Certain ethically problematic actions were severely criticized (such as use of airline bonus points for private travel), while some much more common problems (use of working means for private ends) were not considered condemnable. Attitudes towards media and publicity were rather sensitive. Among possible offences against ethics, those potentially damaging to the public image of colleagues or the organization were considered especially grave. In
the group interviews, numerous examples were quoted of cases, where mass media had spread misleading negative information about civil servants and their work.

3.4 The development of informal codes of practice

When conducting the group interviews, we sought to initiate discussion on ways in which prevention, detection and notification of unethical conduct functions in practice. In the questionnaire, this question was formulated in a somewhat different way: we presented a selection of possible ways for improvement of public service ethics. When making choices between them, the respondents preferred personal example by top executives (61%) and general improvement of political culture (54%). The discussions in interview groups indicated that there are no specific, generally agreed, or formalised mechanisms of monitoring ethics in civil service. At the same time, almost all participants believed (with only a few exceptions) that organizations have developed their own ways and practices for dealing with unethical conduct. These can be divided into four categories: **hierarchical relations, general work arrangement, social control** and **organization culture**.

By hierarchical relations we mean that each employee has someone to whom he or she must report of his or her work in detail, and before whom he or she is responsible. According to a number of respondents, hierarchical relations and the executive’s role in the organization are among the main factors allowing prevention and disclosure of unethical conduct. “*In general, everything depends on the manager (INT 9).*”

As concerns general work arrangement, most of the respondents believe that due to a growth of specificity of the employees’ responsibilities (through, e.g. composition of more accurate job descriptions, etc.) and to increasingly clearer rules (concerning the arrangement of public procurement tenders, etc.), possibilities for unethical conduct in the public sector automatically become more limited. The activities of staff and departments is usually also being supervised by a unit established for this purpose – the internal audit.
The third method of ethics monitoring mentioned in the interviews is social control by peers. Since much of the work done by civil servants is based on co-operation and joint efforts with joint responsibility, efficient measures for preventing and disclosing unethical conduct are available.

**INT 9 (...) V1:** We meet, we sit, we discuss the matter, it is not like straight down from above, each civil servant works in his or her own manner, and each executive also works in his or her manner. But of course, instructions are still given, matters are discussed, you can be interrogated about why you acted as you did. Perhaps somebody is so skilful with argumentation that he actually is able to show that he did the right thing, only in a somewhat different direction.  
**V2:** Civil service is teamwork (...)  

The civil servants emphasised good relations between people and solidarity among colleagues, which was also presented as one of the specific features of the public sector, in comparison to, e.g., business. As attitudes and behaviours become established, organization cultures arise. Some respondents were of the opinion that existence of a culture that condemns unethical conduct in an establishment is in itself sufficient for the development of shared standards of ethical conduct. The people who disagree will soon find a reason for leaving the organization. However, all respondents did not share this view of spontaneous development; it was claimed that more specific and conscious support is required. In general, civil servants believed that possible ethics-related problems should be dealt with within the confines of the organization and in as ‘small circle’ as possible, in order to avoid damaging the reputation of the organization and public service in general.

According to some of the respondents, Estonian public service is still too young in order to expect common values from public servants. They emphasize that the establishment of a shared value system takes many years and requires constant goal-oriented efforts. The majority of respondents were convinced that formation of values and attitudes in public service should continue in the future. In their opinion, the most efficient method would be introduction of ethics training „from the top“, on the executive level. Recruitment of new
employees and the emergence of general organization culture is, according to them, ultimately dependent on the executives.

The belief that improvement of the ethical quality of public service can be achieved through personal example of top executives was also evident in the results of questionnaire survey. Thus, 61% of the respondents were of opinion that this is the most important factor ensuring ethical quality in the work of the public sector. Among the top executives themselves, 74% considered their own example as the main factor ensuring ethic quality. The next two important factors were the improvement of general political culture (54% of the respondents) and the improvement of administration culture (43%).

Amendment of job descriptions and codes of ethics, the solution proposed relatively more often in the interviews, did not receive significant support in the questionnaires. No more than 18% and 15% of the respondents agreed that general code of ethics and internal code of ethics, respectively, are among the main mechanisms used for ensuring ethical conduct in public service; 16% believed that ethics can mainly be supported by means of more accurate job descriptions. Employees of smaller government offices and inspecting authorities, regional governments and local governments tended to consider codes of ethics and job descriptions somewhat more important than the average. As concerns the options suggested in the questionnaire, neither the introduction of new legislative measures nor the establishment of an independent ethics commission received much support.

Most of the participants were of the opinion, that civil service ethics is in need of further treatment and discussion. Self-regulation based on the internal culture of departments was considered to be the most important factor in developing ethical standards; the importance of personal example displayed by executive personnel was emphasised as well.
4. Conclusions

For most respondents, discussing civil service ethics was a novel activity. This seems to apply for the whole civil service in Estonia. For this reason, the ways in which ethical issues are understood are still rather vague and controversial. In many situations, civil servants must rely on their best understanding of ethics in general, without any support for its implementation on the specific problems they encounter in their work. Obviously, contents of the Civil Service Code of Ethics are not well known and the document is rarely used. On one hand, this may be caused by the relatively abstract nature of the principles provided by the Code and their “universal” content; on the other, it also depends on the legally non-binding status of the document, which makes its application difficult. The Code is seemingly intended for regulation of a great number of different practical cases, for which reason the principles included inevitably remain general and abstract. In the practice of various other countries, there are examples of public service codes of ethics that are basically different, providing detailed application mechanisms.20

Civil servants based their understanding of their professional role on an idea of civil service as a vocation. Besides endowing civil servants with higher ethical responsibilities than ordinary citizens, it also served to legitimate a paternalist attitude towards other spheres of society – including politics and civil society. The resulting view of civil service was also one of the motivations, why the respondents considered it important to guard their organization against (possibly biased and incompetent) inspection by the public and the media. Their preference for self-regulating measures and suspicion towards external control is indicative of their idea of the overall role of civil service in society. Apparently (and allowing for large variation between individuals and institutions), the prevailing idea includes a view of Estonian civil service as a key element of a “transformative state”. Civil servants see themselves in the forefront of a rapidly modernising country, at the same time as they distance themselves from what they see as incompetence and lacking sense of responsibility in other fields of society.

20 Palidauskaite 2003
Considering the elitism inherent in this new discourse of social engineering, the new administration’s break with its Soviet legacy is not as complete as one might have expected.

As an ending note we find it important to stress, that the research described above is still very much a work in progress; both the qualitative and the quantitative data allow for the analysis of a wide range of issues not yet having been discussed in this paper.