

Inoculation of Safety in Healthcare

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Abstract The purpose of this paper is to analyse - through a prism of informal institutions - the role and importance of security in healthcare and the manner in which healthcare sector copes with security threats in postmodern society. We note that bad informal institutions are differently reflected in Slovenia. In the forefront are the problems of systemic corruption, various forms of clientelism and nepotism. This is (in)directly reflected in the (lack of) quality of Slovenian healthcare system. Inadequate public procurement system and conflicts of interest in healthcare sector are causing inferior quality of the healthcare system, while informal institutions in politics and economics are weakening Slovenian economy, consequently affecting the funding of Slovenian healthcare system which is also undermined by the financial crisis. Additionally, globalisation, which has a (negative) impact on human health, has caused the importation of improper business practices into healthcare system. It is therefore necessary to develop a preventive action that will inoculate the idea of a safe country for the benefit of people and not for the benefit of bad informal networks.

Keywords: • Bad informal institutions • corruption • health systems • security •

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1 Introduction

The present period is characterised by processes of economic and political (post)transition, the issue of the (in)stability of the European Union, the financial crisis and the issue of migration. Discussions attempting to shed light on these processes in the most comprehensive and credible manner generally overlook the fact that on a deeper and global level, the European area - as well as the whole world - is facing a long-lasting and far-reaching "transition" of human society from the modern to the so-called late modern era. In this era, the issue of security is being discussed in distinctly diverse manners (Dobovšek, Meško, Sotlar & Flander, 2005). Even though Maslow (1943) already ranked the need for security among the strongly desired needs, the present-day strive for security is paradoxically obsessive (Kanduč, 2003) and probably also politically (mis)used. The more promises of security the government makes, the less safe and more afraid the people feel (Dobovšek et al., 2016). Nowadays, intimidation with threats to security seems to be an illustrative example of the dynamics of moral panic (Thompson, 1998). We agree with Kanduč (2003: 356), who noted that we can detect the fixation on the fear of organised and unorganised crime and the fear of terrorism in the media-political narrative, which fuels the moral panic. All the while, these concepts are "constructed" so that they fail to include certain actors (ibid.). The expansion of police powers and means of mass control makes it possible to conceal other problems in society and allows the ruling elite to remain in power. Instead of governing the state for the good of the people, an artificially and ideologically generated culture of fear is emerging. This is possible mainly because of the intensification of economic and social uncertainty, which is based on the fear of losing employment, existential and social security on the one hand and the fear of foreigners and migrants on the other (Dobovšek et al., 2016; Kanduč, 2003). Where are the highly advertised rule of law and the commitment to constitutional rights in such situation, or is there its antipode, the police state and the fear-based controlling of people? While everyone is focused on fear, an uncontrolled borrowing and selling, as well as the decline of Slovenian wealth, culture and healthcare, are transpiring in the background (Dobovšek et al., 2016). (In)formal institutions are greatly contributing to this effect. Institutions (formal and informal) provide "the rules of the game" under which individuals and organisations operate and compete (Tonoyan, Strohmeyer, Habib and Perlitz, 2010: 804). We are thus speaking of a set of internalised or social rules that affect the behaviour of individuals (Lauth, 2015). Winiński (2004: 138) defines institutions as spontaneous or humanly devised arrangements that are shaping the repeated human interactions. Formal institutions, or formal rules (as they are often called), are constitutions, codes, statutes, as well as other legislative acts. They also include common law and administrative rules. Much more varied informal institutions, or informal rules, consist of (social and societal) customs and other tradition-based conventions, beliefs (religious, ideological), self-imposed codes of conduct, etc. One should include here the ingrained habits, often shaped by previous formal rules. It should be noted that such habits were themselves a mixture of still earlier formal rules, which together with

the then existing formal rules influenced the interaction(s) (ibid.). However, one should be careful to avoid including other informal behavioural regularities (e.g. certain behaviour based on social norms) among informal institutions (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). Both formal and informal institutions are shaping the economic activity (Tonoyan et al., 2010), political activity (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004, Lauth, 2000) and consequently almost all other spheres of human society. Grzymala-Busse (2010) states that particularly in post-communism, it is possible to (more clearly) recognise the mechanisms and the role of informal institutions in comparison with formal institutions. Informal institutions serve as a template and a substitute for formal choices (Grzymala-Busse, 2010: 311). Table 1 summarises her view of the relationship and interaction between formal and informal institutions.¹

Table 1: The influence of informal institutions

	Replacement	Undermining	Support	Competition
Mechanisms	Informal institutions act as templates (are transformed into formal institutions) or substitutes (act in place of formal institutions)	Informal institutions exploit loopholes in the functioning of formal institutions or contravene formal institutions.	Informal institutions provide the information for formal institutions to function or reify formal institution domains.	Informal institutions help to structure elite competition
Examples	Timing of emergence and type of formal state institutions	Informal privatization and funding of political parties	Coalition formation, power sharing	Elite cleavages, internal rules of political parties

Grzymala-Busse, 2010: 318

Those informal institutions that in a certain way undermine or contradict formal institutions (or reduce the existence of the rule of law) are called bad informal institutions.² These include the corruption, clientelism, elite networks³ (Guasti and Dobovšek, 2011; Thiery, 2011) and the threat of violence (Lauth, 2000; Thiery, 2011). The main problem arising from bad informal institutions is the lack of a convincing approach and methodology that would measure the rate of diversification and incidence of these institutions (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a; Munro, 2011). The extent of corruption, the capture of state and other informal institutions can be measured only by the application of an integrated approach. The latter must include both internal assessors (who work, live in and are part of the evaluated state) and external assessors (individuals and institutions that are not part of the social, political, economic or any other sphere in the evaluated state). Only by combining official and unofficial⁴ as well as internal and external data and assessors can the incidence of a certain informal institution be analysed and determined. The research of bad informal institutions, or certain subtypes thereof (clientelism, networks, etc.), and of the associated corruption are

most commonly undertaken by international organisations (World Bank, Transparency International, GRECCO) with sufficient financial resources, allowing them to publish results that are less than favourable for the evaluated state. In the most problematic states, the research of bad informal institutions can even result in a security threat. In moderately problematic states, the study of such institutions can lead to a professional suicide. State institutions are (deliberately) in denial (or are trying to hide it from their citizens), while non-governmental organisations, which represent an oasis of peace for this kind of activities, rarely engage in such research, as these might affect their funding. Even the academic sphere seldom encourages such research. Individuals are subjected to sharp criticism of the applied methods, sources and journals that published their contributions. The latter reflects an interesting arrogant hypocrisy of the academic sphere, since only rarely does a credible (academic) journal decide to publish articles that contain sources from other credible but non-academic printed media or from the students' final thesis. On the other hand, students are usually the ones who choose to analyse informal institutions, as they are facing the lowest risk. "They have nothing to lose"; instead, they can satisfy their altruistic wish to publish the truth. The media often represent a good source of analyses, being diametrically opposing and dedicated to uncovering "all the dirt" of the opposite political position. A critical comparison of both political positions media can sometimes be the best method to research informal institutions. However, many academics consider such methods beneath them. A respectful attitude towards the media is typical of states with the least problems with corruption, where professional research of informal institutions is regarded as an act of critical thinking.

The correct response to the threats posed by bad informal networks is to make people immune to such threats. Therefore, we propose the concept of the inoculation of the idea of security through education, public discussions, and investigative journalism, in order to promote awareness of late-modern threats, of which healthcare should be highlighted as a particularly vulnerable activity. In Slovenia, a congregational model of government has developed that seeks to impede the education, that restricts cultural activity and censors the information through the crisis communication with the public. By keeping the people ignorant and fearful, those on power govern the society for their own benefit and not for the good of the people.

2 Informal institutions threatening Slovenia

This chapter presents certain limited and summarised empirical or merely implicative and suggestive evidence that supports the existence of certain bad informal institutions in Slovenia. Many people think that methods used to analyse and prove the existence of corruption and informal institutions do not always satisfy the academic criteria, whereas critics also expect us to apply clinical research requirements when demonstrating social anomalies. In Slovenia, only a few researchers and institutions undertook to research these issues. While this trend is,

unfortunately, being maintained, it is encouraging that persons who are addressing the subject are not giving up or losing motivation. In 2012, Društvo Integriteta - Transparency International Slovenia thus issued a report entitled National Integrity System: Slovenia (Habič et al., 2012). The report, which is a result of a year-long multi-stage project and in which the methodology developed (and administrated throughout the entire project) by Transparency International was used, represents a comprehensive analysis of legislation, regulatory instruments and capacities in the field of (anti)corruption for a given state. Moreover, it includes recommendations for key areas where improvements are needed for a successful fight against corruption. In this regard, the report has identified the same problematic agents and situations that had been previously identified by Slovenian academic researchers of informal institutions (e.g. Dobovšek and Meško, 2008; Guasti and Dobovšek, 2011; Guasti, Dobovšek and Ažman, 2012) and in the analysis of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a). Several studies and reports (Dobovšek and Meško, 2008; Guasti et al., 2012; Habič et al., 2012; Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a) noted that the influence, which the political parties are continuously attempting to exert, is too strong in Slovenia. Furthermore, the leaders of these parties have remained the same for years. Political parties are thus trying - and also succeeding - to influence the legislation and operation of certain ministries. While the Ministry of European Affairs, which was responsible for the transposition of European legislation into Slovenian system, used to draw the most attention in the past (Dobovšek and Meško, 2008), it is the improper employment practices in institutions and on positions that are managing Slovenian assets, among which Bank Asset Management Company (Družba za upravljanje terjatev bank) and Slovenian Sovereign Holding (Slovenski državni holding) especially stand out, that are presently in the spotlight (Dobovšek et al., 2016). Certain state processes, the financing of media, development of non-governmental organisations, and, occasionally, the operation of repressive bodies, remain problematic (Habič, 2012). All of this, together with certain other problematic behaviour and problematic elements, indicates the presence of systemic corruption (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2016).⁵ Slovenia is also dealing with a significant presence of clientelism and nepotism, which is reflected in the statistics of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a; Škrbec, 2011) and in the media coverage.⁶ Employment that is motivated by either political or social relationship is causing the drain of knowledge and skills, as these candidates, who are otherwise considered agreeable by the leadership, sometimes have insufficient knowledge and skills. The efficiency of the institution is then further reduced, as the new leadership does not enjoy the confidence of their subordinates or sub-hierarchical support. In this case, the system of control also fails, because a so-called "psychological alliance" is established between the relatives (who work in the same body), and it is difficult to expect an official or a superior public employee to perform the same type or intensity of hierarchical control over his subordinate, who is also a member of his immediate family or in a close family relationship, as if no such relationship existed. In all such situations, the benefit is therefore double: benefit in the form of obtaining

employment and the absence of adequate control.” (Dobovšek and Škrbec, 2012: 53). The consequences of such alliance can also be expected for the politically appointed personnel. In Slovenia, this problem might be even more noticeable due to the already traditional occurrence of the so-called employment tsunamis - a significant change of personnel before and after the elections, which happens in all major institutions where the politics can influence such actions. These positions are thus occupied by politically desirable candidates (see also Habič et al., 2012; Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a), whereas frequent changes of personnel are preventing the proper implementation of programmes, strategies and are causing inconsistency in the functioning of institutions.

However, it is probably sensible to blame the media coverage for the situation where a perceptive research on corruption shows that Slovenian citizens consider corruption to be a major problem in Slovenia, even though this fact is not reflected in the official statistics. (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a).

2.1 Informal institutions and Slovenian health care system

While only very few research and investigative publications exist that have addressed the general topic of informal institutions in Slovenia, there are even fewer works that would focus on the presence of informal institutions in specific sectors or areas of Slovenian society. The healthcare system is no exception. Because of the extent and complexity of the healthcare system, the possibilities for the occurrence of corruption and other forms of abuse, as well as of criminal offenses, can be many (Ferenčina in Kozorog, 2009; Korošec, 2011). It seems that the issue of public procurement⁷ (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a, 2015) is also reflected in Slovenian healthcare sector (this was also revealed in reports by the Office of the State Prosecutor-General of the Republic of Slovenia (Office of the State Prosecutor-General of the Republic of Slovenia, n. d.). This is both a direct and an indirect problem. Damage was done to the healthcare system by the improperly built facilities, such as, for example, Pediatric Clinic and Institute of Oncology, as well as the Trojane tunnel, Šentvid, etc. (for example, constant road reconstruction is preventing efficient transport of critical patients). Among other things, the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption observed strong indications of conflicts of interest, inappropriate lobbying of several *ex officio* actions, the failure of holders of public authorities and officials to perform official duties in the preparation and implementation of the project TEŠ 6 (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2012), all the while dealing with extremely high amounts. All of this is consistent with the findings of Delavallade, who pointed out that in states with a higher level of corruption, a larger share of the state budget is allocated to projects in the "fuel and energy" sector (Delavallade, 2006). All of this is possible because of the inadequate legislation in the field of public procurement (Habič et al., 2012), the over-regulated legislation⁸ (Opinion on the Annual report on the performance of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption for 2010, 2011) and negligence (encouraged by bribes) of institutions conducting inspections.

Another major problem is the unsuitable system for the adoption of the budget, with the involvement of certain agents who have already demonstrated deviant behaviour or inappropriate practices when spending budget funds (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a). The result is a serious financial loss ("Grehi" gradbenih podjetij, 2018), with negative consequences for the health of patients and persons who are or will be in the need of medical services. Slovenian supervisory and investigative institutions or bodies, non-governmental organisations and the media have identified the following problems and bad practices in relation to the healthcare activity:⁹

- The problem of inappropriate sources of funding for educational activities and/or improper cooperation (or even pressing) between doctors and manufacturers of medical equipment and products (Ferenčina and Kozorog, 2009; Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a). The investigation was closed for lack of evidence (Office of the State Prosecutor-General of the Republic of Slovenia, n. d.).
- The problem of the referral of patients to the "afternoon" self-pay private clinics and the related external contracts, workload (Knavs, 2017; Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a, 2015) and the conflict of interest (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2015).
- An inadequate system for concessions (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013).
- Fake medical certificates (Office of the State Prosecutor-General of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016, n. d.).
- The problem of licensing of pharmaceutical activity (Korošec, 2011).
- The problem of the pediatric cardiac programme in UKC Ljubljana ("*outsourcing*", the result of which are insufficiently trained Slovenian surgeons (Bulovec, 2016; Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013c).
- The long waiting lists represent a high risk of corruption in the operation of hospitals and healthcare centres (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2015). The use of medical equipment in healthcare centres and the prescription of medicinal products in hospitals both pose the additional risk of corruption (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2016).

It is interesting that the research (Ferenčina and Kozorog, 2009) suggests that, despite the fact that a certain exchange of gifts between doctors and patients is taking place, the system (and ministries) is actually perceived as corrupt.

2.2 The impact of globalisation and financial crisis

Without a doubt, globalisation has brought both positive and negative consequences for the human health. While positive consequences include a better access to medication, medical devices and improvements, as well as dissemination of knowledge in the field of medicine, negative consequences include a more rapid spread of disease (due to migration flows), the emergence of new health risks (extremely easy access to illegal substances, purchase of counterfeit medications and medical devices) because of environmental degradation and changes in lifestyle (and the products themselves, which can be consumed are a result of globalisation) (Lee, Fustukian and Buse, 2001). This is done in a rather arbitrary manner, and we are certainly not willing to quit these harmful consumer "habits" (Kanduč, 2003). If we add the problem of health and medical tourism (Carrera and Bridges, 2006), which is sometimes of questionable quality, we can see that the postmodern era played its part in regard to the question of (healthcare) security. In general, the postmodern period is characterised by an increase in risks, uncertainty, and anxiety (Scott, 2006). A highly capitalist society "aggravates the polarisation between the so-called developed and underdeveloped world, widens the gap between different cultures and civilisations, encourages religious fundamentalism and (consequently) terrorism, ... // ... marginalisation and exclusion of vulnerable social groups (e.g. minorities, youth, the elderly, etc.), the possibility of individual countries to create their own strategy of economic and general development and to face their problems etc., neoliberal capitalist economy, which is forcing its functional, market and profit logic upon almost all areas of social relations (including those where it has nothing to offer), ... // ... a number of ground-breaking discoveries in astronomy, physics, genetics and medicine, which have sharpened the contrast between the predominantly liberal on the one hand and the predominantly dogmatic (conservative) ideas about the world and the humankind on the other, and last but not least (while certainly the most important for our article), the appearance of new complex, hybrid forms of extremely intensive and far-reaching threats to individual and collective security" (Dobovšek et al., 2005: 235-237). The weakening of nation-states, the growth of transnational transactions, global character of popular movements, decentralisation and fragmentation of national economies are some of the characteristics of post-modernity (Scott, 2006). More than, for example, Harvey, and less than, for example, Baudrillard or Lyotard (Haralambos and Holborn, 1999), we also understand the post-modernity as a period that is strongly determined by factors (transformations) of economic nature. Consequently, the financial turmoil of global or national economy, e.g. financial crises, takes its toll on the people's health and the quality of health care (Lee et al., 2001). A contemporary distinct connection of social and public systems with their private counterparts and the inseparability of politics and economics (Polanyi, 2001), and therefore all other social (sub)systems, demand that we address each crucial social (e.g. bad informal institutions) or systemic (e.g. health care) problem in a comprehensive and multidisciplinary manner.

3 Conclusions (inoculation of the concept of security)

The arguments demonstrate that security is becoming increasingly important in everyday life, whereas the threats are evolving on a daily basis. Therefore, solutions are sought primarily in the formation of preventive measures, in addition to the repressive measures. In this regard, the concept of the inoculation of the idea of safety among people is being introduced in Slovenia, through the development of system immunity to late-modern security threats, of which bad informal networks were especially emphasised. The inoculation of the idea of security against modern threats can build immunity to specific threats through the education and discourse on security, as well as through an accurate media coverage. When people are aware that bad informal networks are posing a threat and reducing their quality of life, the immunity to the influence of networks increases and prevents their expansion and power, which would spread like a virus in a society in the absence of preventive mechanisms. Modern countries have established preventive mechanisms, but what does Slovenian government intend to do? On the one hand, they are trying to convince us that the level of threats to Slovenia is low, but on the other, they have been introducing exclusively repressive measures that have only increased the fear among the population. The problem in Slovenia is that even the already adopted legislation is not being implemented. Even more, some of the proposed acts are such that they cannot be implemented at all. Where are the highly advertised rule of law and the commitment to constitutional rights in such situation, or is there its antipode, the police state and the fear-based controlling of people? While everyone is focused on fear, an uncontrolled borrowing and selling, as well as the decline of Slovenian wealth, culture and healthcare, are transpiring in the background. The share of foreign investments is decreasing, since they do not want to cooperate in a clientelistic and favouritised type of a market. Those experts who still persist are suffering because of employment tsunamis, where persons who are holding superior posts were not chosen because of their capabilities, but because of their political desirability.

The key challenge is therefore to improve the transparency of public fund use, the transparency of the functioning of public institutions (to expressly determine proposers, contractors, and auditors of works, procedures, regulations). It is important, as noted by Rajkumar and Swaroop (2008), that without a proper governance (of state), even the extensive financing of a certain area (e.g. healthcare or education) is not effective. Changes in the state governance would allow us to deal with another challenge, namely with the problem of state capture, as well as with very obvious symptoms of a systemic corruption and the question of the rule of law, if not at least the crisis in law (see e.g. Flander, 2012). The latter can be sustained by following GRECO recommendations, maintaining lifetime appointment of judges, supervising finances of political parties and conducting a post-election analysis of political campaigns. Investigative journalism, independent media and altruistic political mindset promoted by the civil society are other challenges that are worth pointing out.

Measures therefore include a wide range of elements, from those that are focused entirely on the healthcare system, to those that are focused on general social aspects. However, a key obstacle still remains, namely the question of liability, which is possibly the most extensive problem in Slovenian politics and in the governing segment of the state (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2013a). Apparently, some of our managers are inoculated against liability.

Notes

¹ Hans-Joachim Lauth is certainly considered an authority in the research area of formal and informal institutions, which is why we are advising any reader who is further interested in this field to read his works. E.g. Lauth (2015). Other important authors are also Helmke and Levitsky (2004).

² For more on division and categorisation of informal institutions, see Lauth (2000) and Grzymala-Busse (2010) or Helmke in Levitsky (2004).

³ There are several expressions in English that denote this informal institution, such as *elite social network*, *"perverse" elite agreements* (Thiery, 2011: 2), *elite agreements* (Guasti, Dobovšek and Ažman, 2012: 177; Guasti and Dobovšek, 2012).

⁴ The official data includes the official police, judicial, economic statistics and similar databases. The unofficial data includes reports issued by non-governmental organisations, whistleblowers, media, as well as academic and similar research.

⁵ From the annual report of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption: "According to international institutions, theory and practice, the following factors are considered the key risk factors for systemic corruption:

- presence of monopolies, cartels and limited competition;
- large state and local infrastructure projects;
- politically influenced processes of economic liberalisation and privatisation;
- low probability of detection and punishment (weakness and lack of priorities in supervisory institutions and law enforcement);
- lengthy judicial procedures;
- institutional and political uncertainty (associated with the crisis, elections, and low confidence in the institutions of the rule of law and the political system);
- inadequate or over-regulated system of public procurement with weak active control;
- inadequate system of internal audits addressing the efficiency (not just compliance with regulations) of the use of public funds;
- weak supervisory bodies in the business sector and lack of corporate culture in the area of compliance of transactions;
- politicisation or non-transparent privatisation of the media;
- inefficient and non-transparent system of funding for entrepreneurs provided by financial institutions;
- influence of lobbyists on the legislative process;
- non-transparency of public institutions and inadequate system of access to information.

All listed elements - with the exception of the last one - are present in Slovenia to a greater or a lesser extent." (Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, 2011: 8-9).

⁶ Even though the phenomenon of the employment of relatives or friends can be observed on all sides of the political spectrum, the media supporting a certain political position/party/etc. tends to quite sharply and dramatically point out the nepotism of their opponents. The true extent of nepotism can thus be observed by comparing the media of all political persuasions.

⁷ Certain Slovenian projects can clearly be labelled as the so-called white elephant projects, i. e. projects that are actually useless and pointless from the social and economic perspectives (Mauro, 1998) and that are often lacking in simple causal logic and justification (Rose-Ackerman, 2010). Tanzi and Davoodi (1997) have provided an excellent insight into corruption in public procurement procedures that are being conducted by the state administration. They noted that the presence of corruption in public projects leads to an increased number of projects in a given state, which are designed in a comprehensive and complex manner, leading to (a) the share of public investment in GDP; (b) reduced average productivity of this investments, and - because of the ensuing budgetary constraints - to (c) reduced spending in other categories of public funding, such as the operation and maintenance, education and healthcare, and other social programs.

⁸ National Integrity System: Slovenia (Habič et al., 2012) came to the conclusion that all areas are over-regulated, not just the construction sector, and that such situation represents a serious obstacle to the improvement of transparency and effectiveness. Not to mention that a considerably complicated bureaucracy works in favour of corrupt practices (Lambsdorff, 2007).

⁹ Further elaboration of practices can be found in the listed sources; corruption in Slovenian healthcare system was addressed in a particularly comprehensive manner by Ferenčina and Kozorog (2009) and Korošec (2011). The report of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption (n. d.) is very informative as well.

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