

**Sovětské dědictví v politických systémech střední Evropy: postkomunistické strany, krize liberalismu a nová ruská geopolitika | Martin Ehl**

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## Danica Fink-Hafner

### Policy analysis developments in Slovenia

#### Abstract

*Among all post-socialist countries, the institutionalisation of political science (as well as policy analysis) in Slovenia probably has one of the longest traditions. Policy analysis developments in Slovenia can be explained by three main factors: a) internal political science developments; b) the transition to a democracy and its consolidation in a newly established state; and c) Slovenia joining European integration processes. This brief historical overview of policy analysis as developed in the framework of political science on Slovenian territory relies on some previously published reviews of political science developments in Slovenia and former Yugoslavia, data gathered from Slovenian research and teaching institutions, information drawn from the Internet (COBISS – researchers' online bibliographies, Slovenian research and teaching institutions' web pages), surveys conducted among undergraduate alumni and comments made by experts in the field.*

#### 1. Aim of the Paper

Among all post-socialist countries, the institutionalisation of political science (as well as policy analysis) in Slovenia probably has one of the longest traditions. This text aims to: a) present a brief historical overview of policy analysis as developed in the framework of political science on Slovenian territory and the characteristics of its contents, methodo-

logical and institutional developments; and b) explain policy analysis developments by autonomous transformations within the political science community, by the processes of the transition to and consolidation of democracy in Slovenia, which were also linked with new state-building, and by the processes of Slovenia's integration with the European Union.

The overview relies on certain previously published reviews of political science developments in Slovenia and former Yugoslavia (see the list of references), data gathered from Slovenian research and teaching institutions, information drawn from the Internet (COBISS – researchers' online bibliographies, Slovenian research and teaching institutions' web pages), surveys among political science undergraduate alumni and comments made by experts in the field.

## 2. Policy Analysis in the Framework of Political Science Developments

The early development of political science traditions first of all involved lawyers (works on the state and political parties) dating back to the beginning of the 20th century and were under the relatively strong influence of Soviet literature in the period between 1930s and 1948, when Tito split with Stalin. In order to establish a new (socialist) school of political science the ruling communist party initiated the establishment of political science in former Yugoslavia (at that time Slovenia formed part of Yugoslavia). The 1958 League of Communists of Yugoslavia's party programme included the statement that "the developed social and political sciences' were considered to be 'a strong factor in progressive social development and the development of human existence.' Political science institutionalisation first started in Belgrade – Serbia (1960) and was followed by Ljubljana, Slovenia and Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (both in 1961) and then Zagreb, Croatia (1962) (Bibič, 1996: 426). In spite of the 'top-down' nature of its establishment, political science in socialist Yugoslavia seemed to be in a position to receive some space for its autonomy – especially when compared to other socialist countries. According to Bibič (1996:426), for a long time there were only Poland and Yugoslavia (then including Slovenia), where political science was officially recognised and institutionalised. More recent analysis by Klingemann, Kulesza and Legutke (2002) even stresses the highest level of openness of the Yugoslav political regime compared to other European socialist regimes and, in that sense, in the case of Slovenia comparatively the best environment for the development of political science (Table 1).

Table 1: Regime type and the development of political science as a discipline

	Closed socialist system within the Soviet Union	Closed socialist system outside the Soviet Union	Moderate socialist system	Open socialist system
No chance for political science	Lithuania Latvia Estonia	Czechoslovakia Romania Bulgaria		
Small chance for political science			Hungary Poland	
Good chance for political science				Slovenia

Source: Klingemann, Kulesza and Legutke (2002:19)

Still, the political science establishment 'from the top' held important implications which were at least to some extent recognised even by the Yugoslav founding fathers of political science (originally primarily lawyers). On one hand, they criticised Stalinist 'dogmatism' and the 'stereotypes of socialism and the socialist state' (Djordjević in Political Science in Yugoslavia, p. 6). On the other hand, socialist political scientists largely accepted the ideological orientation of the Yugoslav self-management ideology and the role of its legitimation. On the contrary, Djordjević (Political Science in Yugoslavia, p.14) saw the role of political scientists as endeavours helping 'distinguish Yugoslav political science from the "Eastern sin"'. Political science's ideological burden was especially visible in accepting ideas of 'the decline of the state', the 'construction of 'socialist society' based on social ownership and after 1976/1977<sup>1</sup> also the 'pluralism of socialist self-management interests'. The main issues debated until the turn of the 1970/1980s included the essence of politics, the multi-dimensionality of self-management, relations between the social structure and political institutionalisation, the difference between self-management's direct democracy and traditional representative and parliamentary democracy, relations between political government and self-management spheres, between civil society and the state, national questions and their resolution in socialism, the study of political institutions (the delegate system), and gradually also comparative political systems and international political relations. By the end of the 1970s political scientists themselves came to the self-critical conclusion that political science was facing several 'weaknesses': a) the descriptive orientation and lack of real theory; b) the tendency of

1) Two versions of Yugoslav party ideologist Edvard Kardelj's (a Slovenian) book on 'The Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-management' were published – the first version in 1976 and a revised one in 1977 – explaining the ideology of the 'pluralism of self-management interests'.

political science to support the political needs of a certain political course; and c) its focus on describing political institutions and structures without developing any methodology for critical empirical research on power and 'cratology' as well as a lack of specialisation in modern subfields of research such as *policy-making* processes, elections, intermediary organisations and political behaviour (Djordjević, Bibič, Pašič, Rodin, Tomić, Stanovčić in Political Science in Yugoslavia, op. cit.).

The critical self-reflection presented above could not have been possible unless some linking channels to Western influences had not been open. The most important linkages included the generally relatively open borders and mass media communications to the north and west (particularly Italy and Austria), exposure to Western literature – especially political science journals<sup>2</sup> and international professional activities (particularly within the IPSA). All three factors were most profoundly developed in the case of Slovenia, where especially Adolf Bibič then took care of presenting current political science debates to students at the predecessor of the current Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana. It seems that by the end of the 1980s the Western – Yugoslav (Slovenian) flow was much stronger than the opposite. The main reasons for this included the fact that many issues debated in Yugoslav political science were poorly theoretically and methodologically based. It is not surprising that it was not until the end of the 1980s that political scientists (including Slovenians like Adolf Bibič, Vlado Benko, Anton Bebler, Ernest Petrič and Bojko Bučar) started publishing abroad.

It was only during the crisis of the Yugoslav political system (especially after Tito's death in 1981) that political science started facing a crisis as well. For political science in Slovenia the following two expressions of crisis were critical. First, a strong wave of public debate triggered by anti-political science statements on behalf of the Croatian social scientist and politician Stipe Šušvar, which basically denied the existence of political science as an academic discipline. Second, in Slovenia, also under the broad impression that there was no distinction between politics (at that time being growingly delegitimised) and political science, the number of students was critically declining so much<sup>3</sup> that even the already established Department of Political Science in Ljubljana

2) The library of the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana (and its predecessors) was fortunately provided with Western social science journals – particularly in the field of political science – even in times when the state did not provide funding for foreign literature (books) due to a lack of foreign currency in the economic crisis of the 1980s. Since even then university students were familiar with English, we could say that foreign literature was accessible albeit not compulsory reading.

3) The number of undergraduates in the political science field shifted from a main study (about 50 a year from 1963 to 1968) to a minor study at the Faculty (some 20 graduates annually at the beginning of the 1980s).

had problems maintaining the entire programme developed in the framework of the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism and staff numbers also started to decline.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the key issues discussed in the 1980s when searching for new directions of political science's development in Slovenia included '*is political science predominantly an academic discipline or above all a practical profession?*'. Although this debate went too far in terms of the imagined division between 'theoretical' and 'empirical' political science (in that way also the division between political scientists working within the same department) the main historical response was very constructive. Slovenian political scientists led by Adolf Bibič responded with two main strategies: a) by strongly opposing the delegitimising discourse about political science both via responses in the mass media as well as by political science writings on political science based on international references; and b) by empirical research into political science alumni's evaluation of the existing study programmes and alumni's professional experiences in the real world environment. The latter became one of the sources for the autonomous development of the new political science study programmes established during the democratic transition in Slovenia – a) *policy analysis and public administration*; and b) the theoretical analytical political science programme. The policy analysis course became part of both curricula, while the chair for policy analysis and public administration also developed the master's studies Political Science: Policy Analysis – European Aspects and Political Science: Public Administration (also involving a course on Public Policies).<sup>5</sup> Especially since the end of the 1990s, many civil servants have received a policy analysis education in the framework of undergraduate and master's studies. In the transition from the end of the 1990s to the beginning of the 2000s a policy analysis programme and teaching materials were also offered to civil servants for their education in the framework of the Public Administration Academy.<sup>6</sup> In spite of several attempts by scholars from the Faculty of Social Sciences the new programmes were not developed jointly with the Colle-

4) Some members of the already existing staff decided to take political roles or positions at other institutions (including other faculties within the University of Ljubljana and the University of Maribor).

5) Danica Fink-Hafner was a founder and the first Head of the Chair of Policy Analysis and Public Administration at the Faculty of Social Sciences, she also founded and has been co-ordinating the master's studies Political Science: Policy Analysis – European Aspects, together with Janez Šmidovnik she also co-founded the master's programme Political Science: Public Administration.

6) Alenka Krašovec, Simona Kustec Lipicer (both members of staff of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana) and Matej Košir (Policy Analysis and Public Administration Programme alumni) prepared the programme and teaching materials.

ge of Public Administration (a predecessor of the Faculty of Public Administration) and policy analysis has primarily developed from the political science core amended with knowledge from several other social science disciplines, including public administration.<sup>7</sup> Even the newly established faculties and universities in Slovenia have so far not given much stress to policy analysis.<sup>8</sup> The Bologna reform in the 2000s has not only involved the deeper development of the existing programme on policy analysis and public administration (involving a bigger variety of policy analysis courses such as introduction to policy analysis, research methods for policy analysis, evaluation, policy networks and EU policies) at the Faculty of Social Sciences, but even the establishment of policy analysis and public administration as two separate fields of doctoral studies. After the early period when only foreign literature was used, gradually teaching literature in Slovene language was prepared by Slovenian authors which (together with publishing policy relevant research results in the Slovenian language) supported the development of Slovenian professional terminology.

In the field of research policy analysis was first explored on the basis of foreign literature, then the first empirical analysis was conducted on the basis of imported theories and concepts and with a time lag it also started being developed in the framework of applied research projects. Like in the case of university teaching, the development of research external demand also opened up new opportunities especially given some signs of the demand for policy research by newly developing Slovenian political institutions as well as the EU's growing demands for policy monitoring and other kinds of policy analysis needed for the creation and implementation of common EU policies.

### 3. Impacts of Democratisation and Slovenia's Accession to European Integration Processes

Unlike in most other post-socialist countries, policy analysis in Slovenia started developing on an autonomous initiative of active (political) scientists then living in Slovenia. There was also no significant group of Slovenian dissident social scientists who could

7) The main reasons included the too different financial situation at the two institutions (College of Public Administration having numerous part-time students bringing in important financial inflow to the College) and demands regarding the habilitation of the teaching and research staff (staff at the colleges did not have as high requirements in that respect as the faculties – university members in Slovenia at the time).

8) For example, the Faculty of Applied Social Studies offers the course 'Political systems and policy analysis' (politične ureditve in analiza politik) combining study contents from two huge fields. More information is available at <http://www.fuds.si>.

return home and significantly contribute to the modernisation and professionalisation of political science like in some other post-socialist countries.<sup>9</sup> Still, political scientists' recognition of policy analysis could not have materialised in the form of academic teaching programmes and research before the transition to a democracy. Also it was only with the consolidation of a democracy and Slovenia joining European integration processes that it started receiving external encouragement (although mostly symbolic and less financial).

Among the internal academic factors influencing the development of political science there was also its co-operation with sociologists. More specifically, there were sociologists who in fact taught social science methodology to many generations of political scientists in Slovenia from the very beginning (Fink-Hafner, 2002c) and there were sociologists who had been leading in empirical research of some political phenomena such as those related to public opinion surveys (political scientists took part in the Slovenian Public Opinion Poll research group functioning in the framework of the Centre for Public Opinion Research and Mass Communication at the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism in the framework of the University of Ljubljana).

Although it was the founding fathers' generation which already argued that the aim of political science in Slovenia is to support all four crucial functions of the science: a) *descriptive and explanatory*; b) *political cultural*; c) *technical-practical*; and d) *prognostic* (Bibič, 1984), it was the generation already educated as political scientists which practically developed new political science directions. This includes the transitional generation of political scientists educated in the process of two years of studies involving general theoretical and methodological knowledge also from sociology, international relations and communication studies in Ljubljana and two years of specialised political science courses (unlike the founding fathers who were mostly lawyers). It is the transitional generation which brought about the first Ph.D. thesis involving a policy analysis approach<sup>10</sup> and also provided the founder of the new programme Political Science: Policy Analysis and Public Administration, based on an international comparative review of similar programmes abroad. The main study literature included (beside the clas-

9) Among the former Yugoslav republics it was only Slovenia where the development of policy analysis flourished during the transition period. At the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb (Croatia) followed most closely by only introducing policy analysis as an optional course prepared by Ivan Grdešić.

10) Danica Fink-Hafner's Ph.D. thesis on *Social Movements – Subjects of Political Innovation*, defended in 1990, was based on a combination of theories on democratic transition and a meso analysis of policy-making and policy innovation in the transitional period in Slovenia (a case study on the politically extremely controversial Slovenian Peace Movement's policy initiative regarding conscientious objection in Yugoslavia).

sical policy sciences and policy analysis texts starting with Lasswell and Lerner) not only famous American authors in the field (Thomas R. Dye, William Dunn), but also British (Brian Hogwood, Lewis Gunn and Wayne Parsons)<sup>11</sup>, Canadian (Leslie Pal) and German (Adrienne Windhoff-Heritier) ones. Although the author developed the basis for policy analysis by also taking into account the EU environment<sup>12</sup> (general insights into EU policy-making, a study of common agricultural policy, the impact of European integration process on domestic policy-making in Slovenia) it was political scientists educated in the framework of the reformed teaching programmes (the 1991 reform) and trained within the new generation of research programmes in Slovenia as well as European projects<sup>13</sup> which took over the process of policy analysis specialisation by writing their master's and doctoral theses – most of them under the mentorship of Danica Fink-Hafner and at the same time most of them were linked to international academic networking (especially Mirjam Kotar<sup>14</sup>, Simona Kustec-Lipicer, Damjan Lajh, Tomaž Boh and to some extent Alenka Krašovec and Vesna Klepec). In the framework of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana this has so far included the creation of evaluation and implementation studies as well as a broader insight into the idiosyncrasies of European public policy-making and specific European public policies (such as environmental, regional policy and some elements of the creation of sport policy at the EU level as well as actor-centred research into the EU's impact on the national political system's functioning – especially the role of NGOs, local and regional actors). Outside the University of

Ljubljana the Peace Institute in Ljubljana<sup>15</sup> has contributed to the rich development of applied and action-oriented policy research, often focused on marginal social groups and being well internationally networked.

Similarly to how at the beginning of the 1990s Slovenian researchers' participation at the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)<sup>16</sup> Joint Sessions contributed to the development of some segments of research in Slovenia, later European research projects and networks of excellence have emerged which have had an important impact especially in terms of opening national horizons up to a more internationalised (especially Europeanised) research focus. After the initial period of mainly importing policy analytical theoretical and conceptual frameworks into Slovenia, Slovenian policy analysts have also recently started autonomous research agenda-setting, taking the supranational context and international comparative research into account.

The development of policy analysis as a university teaching field has also undergone several stages, but somewhat more quickly. By the mid-1990s policy analysis in Slovenia was developed enough for the author to start teaching policy analysis courses not only at the master's level in Slovenia (political science and sociological master's programmes at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana), but also in the framework of the international master's in European social policy analysis (MESPA)<sup>17</sup> and occasionally in the framework of the master's in Communication and methods of European policy-making at the International University Institute for European Studies in Gorizia.<sup>18</sup> During the Bologna reform, Slovenian policy analysts (Danica Fink-Hafner, Simona Kustec Lipicer and Damjan Lajh) not only developed undergraduate, master's and doctoral studies at the University of Ljubljana, but Danica Fink-Hafner and Simona Kustec Lipicer also helped prepare doctoral studies related to policy analysis at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Zagreb (Croatia).

11) *The British influence first came via Danica Fink-Hafner's academic link with Brian Hogwood and Lewis Gunn started during her first study visit to Strathclyde University in Glasgow in 1991, financed partly by a small grant of the University of Ljubljana and personal private funds as well as generous support on behalf of the Department of Government (headed by the outgoing Jeremy Richardson and incoming Brian Hogwood) in terms of access to policy analysis literature as well as providing a hospitable working environment.*

12) *Danica Fink-Hafner was granted a PECO scholarship, the title and status of Visiting Fellow in the European Public Policy Institute, University of Warwick, UK in 1993.*

13) *The biggest impact on the development of policy analysis in Slovenia so far came with the participation in the framework of the FP5 project Organising for Enlargement, headed by Brigit Laffan and in Slovenia by Danica Fink-Hafner. More on the project is available at <http://www.oeve.net/>.*

14) *Mirjam Kotar finished her master's studies with a distinction in 1993 at the University of Bath in the framework of the international master's in European Social Policy Analysis (MESPA) and later participated to a limited extent in policy analysis teaching at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana and also took care of policy analysis sources and literature in the Central Social Science Library Jože Goričar in Ljubljana (based at the Faculty of Social Sciences).*

15) *More information is available at <http://www.mirovni-institut.si/Projekt/All/si/stran/2>.*

16) *Danica Fink-Hafner was instrumental in the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, University of Ljubljana becoming the first ECPR member institution from the post-socialist world in 1991. She served as its first ECPR official representative until 1996 when she won a Fulbright scholarship for one academic year. Since April 2009 she has been a member of the ECPR Executive Committee. More information on the ECPR is available at <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR>.*

17) *The MESPA network of universities included universities from Bath, Roskilde, Tilburg, Crete, Madrid, Lisbon and Ljubljana. In the framework of MESPA Danica Fink-Hafner was teaching between 1993 and 1998 at the University of Ljubljana, University of Bath and the National University of Ireland, Maynooth.*

18) *More on the programme is available at <http://www.interuniv.isig.it/MaEuro.html>.*

Table 2: Political and policy science developments in the changing political context in Slovenia

	socialist system	liberalisation and transition to a democracy	democratisation	taking part in European integration processes
<b>Political science in general</b>	establishment upon the political initiative after Tito's split with Stalin; struggling for autonomy and the establishment as an academic and professional entity	growing international links, a critically low number of students; the self-evaluation of political science; establishment of an autonomous Slovenian political science identity and revival of political science association activities in the process of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia; autonomous creation of new teaching programmes and research projects	growing proliferation of teaching programmes including mass studies and some growth in staff; growing internationalisation	since the mid-1990s growing academic integration in the framework of various European projects and networks; a growing exchange of students in the context of EU student mobility schemes; since the beginning of the 2000s taking part in the EU's Bologna reform
<b>Policy analysis in particular</b>	neither part of the political science curricula, research or normal modern political system demand for such research	the inclusion of policy analysis in newly created teaching programmes and research; the reform of the academic institutional environment accommodating new teaching programmes	gradual education of specialised PA academic staff; a growing number of alumni employed in the public administration; some demand for applied policy analysis	growing vertical demand for monitoring and various other kinds of policy analysis in Slovenia's public administration for reporting to the EU level; some demand for applied policy analysis

#### 4. The Alumni's Point of View

Data on student enrolment levels in the policy analysis study programme (see the appendix) together with data collected by surveys of political science undergraduate alumni can provide a more real-life picture of the status and role of political science in general and policy analysis in particular in Slovenian society. There were three waves of research among political science alumni in Slovenia in the period from 1982 to 2006: a) a survey conducted by Bibič among pre-1982 political science proper<sup>19</sup> alumni (1982);

19) The alumni of other political science programmes like *International Relations and Defence Studies* were not included.

b) research conducted by Fink-Hafner and Boh (2002)<sup>20</sup>; and c) research conducted at the end of 2006 and beginning of 2007 by Fink-Hafner, Deželan, Slana and Topolinjak<sup>21</sup> (the 2007 research report). They not only showed how the alumni evaluated their study programmes and working environment, but were also taken into account when preparing the 1991 reform and the so-called Bologna study programmes in the 2000s.

The effects of the 1991 reform were most visible in the enormous growth in student numbers during the first decade of the new programmes, especially in the case of the Policy Analysis and Public Administration programmes (Table 3).

Table 3: Number of graduates by each programme and year of first degree

	Number of graduates by the end of 2002	Year of first degree
General programme	228	1963
Socio-political programme (DPS)	121	1980
Policy analysis and public administration (APJU)	178	1996
Theoretical analytical political science programme (TA)	38	1997
<b>Total</b>	<b>565</b>	

Source: Administration of the FSS, 2003

Comparisons of data from the previous survey (survey of DPS alumni described in Bibič, 1982) and the 2002 survey of alumni of the pre-1991 *Socio-political programme (DPS)* and the two programmes established in 1991 – the *Theoretical Analytical Political Science Programme (TA)* and the *Policy Analysis and Public Administration Programme (APJU)* – (Fink-Hafner and Boh, 2002) have revealed the following findings. A significant share of graduates was satisfied with the studies, with 67% of respondents saying they would decide again to study political science and 33% saying they would not choose that option again. Strong points of studying political science at the FSS in Ljubljana (in the general opinion of graduates) were the interdisciplinary orientation and development of analytical skills. An important share of the alumni stressed that the knowledge they acquired at the FSS is useful. 54.3% of respondents assigned a score of 7, 8 or 9<sup>22</sup>

20) Research by Fink-Hafner and Boh (2002) included data from the Faculty of Social Sciences (FSS) Administration and a survey of alumni of the pre-1991 *Socio-political programme (DPS)* and two programmes established in 1991 – the *Theoretical Analytical Political Science Programme (TA)* and the *Policy Analysis and Public Administration Programme (APJU)*. The survey was conducted in 2002.

21) Data were gathered in the period from 30 October 2006 to 31 January 2007 to include alumni finishing their studies in 2006.

22) On a scale from 1 to 9, where 1 means 'completely useless' and 9 'very useful'.

while just 14.6% decided on the opposite (1, 2 or 3). 32.6% said that analytical skills are the most important, 26.2% stressed the importance of practical-political managerial skills, 18.2% theoretical knowledge, while 5.5% answered it is the knowledge of foreign languages that is crucial. Although graduates from both programmes established in 1991 (TA and APJU) positively evaluated the balance of different issues (especially the balance between historical and current issues and between EU and Slovenia themes), graduates of the APJU were more critical when assessing the development of writing skills, presentation skills and teaching skills during their studies. In general, the respondents also had a very clear perception of the usefulness of an internship – 60.0% estimated it as being very useful and a further 28.7% thought its usefulness varies. According to the alumni, an internship is the most important and appropriate way of experiencing the political scientists' work environment in practice and especially for establishing contacts with prospective employers.

While the alumni missed some knowledge and skills and 46.5% of respondents (out of the 86 who answered the open question on redundant and non-useful contents in the curricula) thought there were no redundant contents in the curricula, some did point out a few redundant areas such as: contents from the old regime (14%), specific political science courses (15.1%), specific non-political science courses (19.7%), and 'lots of content' (4.7%). While 39% of graduates of the old DPS claimed this was the problem in their studies, just 2% of graduates of the two new programmes felt the same. Similarly, the alumni of the old DPS were critical of the contents of their study (an open question) referring to outdated books (31% of the DPS graduates!) and lack of connections with educational institutions from abroad. It was typical of the APJU graduates only that they stressed the shortage of EU themes. The APJU graduates did not only point out the bigger variety of knowledge they found useful in their workplace, but they also believed more than other alumni that practical political-managerial skills were important. Among them they specifically cited practical skills, analytical knowledge, political marketing, administrative knowledge, analyses of actual political events, internship in political institutions (local and national), lectures by people directly involved in political life, and practical knowledge of governance. It seems that the respondents saw their profession as very close to von Beyme's definition of »practical generalists«.<sup>23</sup>

Although the alumni were generally relatively satisfied with their studies, they were at the same time extremely critical of the lack of political science's recognition in society. This problem was (together with the criticism of some professors) most visible among the TA graduates. Despite the survey data impression that APJU graduates seemed to be more stably situated in the public sector (they had mainly been trained

for it) they were also growingly employed in the private sector (Table 4). The 2006/2007 survey among APJU alumni only (Fink-Hafner, Deželan, Topolinjak and Slana, 2007) showed the continuity of a trend of a growing proportion of APJU alumni being employed in the private sector. Still, it is important to note that while 39.4% of those interviewed obtained their first job in the private sector their job milieu at the time of the survey was to a smaller extent in that sector (34.7% worked in the private sector and 65.3% in the public sector). According to the same survey, 40.7% of the alumni obtained their first job within the first year after getting their diploma, while by the end of the second year after getting their diploma 78% of those surveyed were employed.

Table 4: Sector of employment according to the 2002 survey by Fink-Hafner and Boh (2002)

	First employment (%)			Current employment %		
	DPS	TA	APJU	DPS	TA	APJU
Public sector	90.3	63.6	78.6	73.3	54.5	81.0
Private sector	9.7	36.4	21.4	26.7	45.5	19.0

The key aim of the 1991 reform of political science programmes at the FSS was to adapt the studies to the changing social circumstances. New contents of study replaced old and useless ones. According to our survey, this goal of the reform was achieved. The same cannot really be said of the second reform goal – positioning and promoting the profession in broader society. There are important differences among the study programmes in this respect. In the 1990s the APJU study programme became a mass study, the majority of the alumni found jobs appropriate to their education and mostly work in the public sector for which this professional profile was created in the first place. They entered an environment where they still compete with lawyers and economists for their own recognition. Their biggest challenge is professionalisation and adaptation to the challenges of Slovenia's accession to the EU (administrative reform as well as learning to take part in processes of EU policy-making and implementation). We can say that the APJU programme has significantly fulfilled expectations to create a professional profile attractive to students and employers (the public administration and big public systems). Objective data about first-year students, graduate numbers and data gathered by the survey of the alumni reveal the relatively efficient consolidation of the programme. APJU graduates estimate to a significant extent (compared with the TA graduates) that their profession is profiled, it has found a place in society and that APJU graduates are much less replaceable by other professions. The competitive relationship between the APJU and traditional professions in the public sector also provides at the same time a stimulus for a critical rethinking of one's own profession. While the APJU graduates did not identify redundant themes in their study programmes they expressed the need for new types of additional knowledge (analytical, theoretical and foreign languages) and practical political management skills.

23) Von Beyme (1997) identified four types of professional culture: practical generalists, specialised scientists, intellectual generalists and specialised practitioners.

At the beginning of the 2000s, curricula were being reformed at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana again in the framework of the Bologna reform, although the then existing current curricula already corresponded rather well with the proposed core subjects of European political science<sup>24</sup> and the APJU study programme was quite well received by students and employers. In the process of preparing the reformed Policy Analysis and Public Administration programmes it was taken into account that analytical knowledge, practical-political managerial skills, theoretical knowledge, foreign language knowledge and knowledge related to the European Union were found by the 1990s programme alumni to be very important. The first alumni of the undergraduate programme (organised in line with the 4 + 1 formula) coming from the first Bologna generation (first enrolled in the 2005/06 academic year) are expected to finish their studies by the end of September 2009.

So far we have collected the perceptions of APJU alumni on EU integration processes' impact on their professional opportunities once – in the 2006/2007 survey (Fink-Hafner, Deželan, Topolinjak and Slana, 2007). The key finding is that European integration processes have clearly impacted only a certain segment of the APJU alumni (35.5% of the surveyed estimated that Slovenia's integration with the EU had impacted on their employment opportunities). First of all there are those who had higher grades during their undergraduate studies and were employed in workplaces officially characterised as most demanding (83.3% of those working at the 8<sup>th</sup> level positively estimated the impact of the EU on employment opportunities – while the average of positive answers among all the involved levels – from 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> – was 37.7%). In addition, a bias in favour of male alumni was found in relation to female alumni – with the latter probably also being less inclined to move to Brussels for a job (Slovenia's full EU membership since 2004, its preparations for Slovenia's presidency to the EU and actually taking it over during the first half of 2008 created new demands for qualified public administration employees).

## 5. Conclusions

Slovenian experiences support the thesis that the initial development of policy analysis as an academic and professional endeavour cannot be expected without the establishment of a modern political science background and without the ensuring the necessary opportunity structures in its environment – a modern, democratic political context. Two other favourable factors in the development of policy analysis in Slovenia have

been: a) the process of establishing an independent state with all the required state institutions (the demand for employees with policy analysis and public administration knowledge); and b) the process of the integration of the new Slovenian state into the EU regional political system (the demand for additional employees with policy analysis and public administration knowledge needed to work in Brussels institutions and/or to be able to communicate with them from Slovenia). The most important intervening variable has been international linking between domestic academics and professionals and their counterparts abroad. While its accessibility was relatively limited to the political science founding fathers during the socialist regime the new technologies and opportunities created during the last 15–20 years offer a more democratic opportunity structure also to younger generations including undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate students. In these circumstances, dilemmas and problems of policy analysis developments have become very similar to the dilemmas and problems of policy analysis developments in old(er) democracies both in the field of teaching and in research.

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## APPENDIX

Table 1: Political Science in Slovenia – Institutional Picture at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, January 2000 and 2009

Intra-institutional divisions: teaching/research	Intra- institutional sub-divisions
Department of Political Science (teaching)	1. Chair of Theoretical-Analytical Studies
	2. Chair of Policy Analysis and Public Administration
	3. Chair of International Relations
	4. Chair of Defence Studies
Institute of Social Sciences (research)	1. Centre for Political Science Research*
	2. Centre for International Relations
	3. Centre for Defence Studies
	4. Centre for Critical Political Science**

\* substantially includes policy analysis research mainly involving policy analysis teaching/research staff from the Chair of Policy Analysis and Public Administration

\*\* established in 2007, mainly involves teaching/research staff from the Chair of Theoretical-Analytical Studies

Table 2: Number of undergraduate and graduate students in 1990/91

programme/ academic year 1999/2000	No. of regular students without B studies	No. of regular students including B studies	No. of part-time students	No. of students on the level of master's studies	Total without B studies	Total including B studies
Socio-political studies	20	20	4	13	37	37
Defence studies	68	70*	2	6	76	78
International relations	116	118	6	15	137	139
<b>Total</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>254</b>

Source: Faculty of Social Sciences, administration in the field of education, January 2000

Table 3: Number of undergraduate and graduate students in 1999/2000

programme/ academic year 1999/2000	No. of regular students without B studies	No. of regular students including B studies	No. of part-ti- me students without B studies	No. of part- time students including B studies	No. of students on the level of master's studies	Total without B studies	Total including B studies
Theoretical-Analytical Studies	108	108	34	34	/	142	142
Policy Analysis and Public Administration	213	331	68	70	54*	335	455
Defence Studies	215	263	82	89	21**	318	373
International Relations	222	232	56	56	26***	304	314
<b>Total</b>	<b>758</b>	<b>934</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>1099</b>	<b>1284</b>

Source: Faculty of Social Sciences, administration in the field of education, January 2000

\* The table presents the total number of political science postgraduate students (American Studies – 22; Public Administration – 22; Policy Analysis – European Aspects – 5; Ethnic Studies – 5).

\*\* The table presents the total number of postgraduate students in defence studies (master's studies – 13, specialisation – 8).

\*\*\* The table presents the total number of postgraduate students of international relations (master's studies – 12, specialisation – 14).

Table 4: Number of undergraduate students in 2008/2009

Programme/ academic year 2008/2009	No. of regular undergraduate students 1–4 year '+ab-solventi'	No. of part-time undergraduate students 1–4 year '+ab-solventi'	Total
Theoretical-Analytical Studies	178+67	30+12	287
Policy Analysis and Public Administration	187+147	32+17	383
Defence Studies	197+82	36+25	340
International Relations	198+78	46+31	353
Department of Political Science-Total	760+374	144+85	1363

Source: Poslovno poročilo Fakultete za družbene vede za leto 2008, March 2009

Note: since 2004 the number of students has declined (also) due to the lower administratively limited number of available places as well as due to the opening of several new faculties and universities in Slovenia.

Table 5: Number of graduates receiving their diploma in the period from 1994 to 2008 by political science chairs at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

Year / Chair	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
TA	-	-	-	1	1	6	9	11	10	19	20	20	36	39	45
APJU	2	7	5	10	23	22	22	38	44	42	40	59	52	69	44
International Relations	4	15	18	20	29	26	33	36	70	50	64	54	70	66	57
Defence Studies	9	5	22	21	16	36	36	42	49	56	65	57	84	64	53
TOTAL- Political Science Department	15	27	45	52	69	90	100	127	173	167	189	190	242	238	199

Source: Poslovno poročilo Fakultete za družbene vede za leto 2008, March 2009

TA – theoretical analytical

APJU – policy analysis and public administration

Table 6: Teaching staff (including young researchers) and the number of students as of 26 November 2008

Chair	Number of staff	1-4 year Regular students	1-4 year regular students + 'absolventi'	Ratio 1-4 year	Ratio all students
TA	9	178	245	19.8	27.2
APJU	10	187	334	18.7	33.4
International Relations	15	198	276	13.2	18.4
Defence Studies	14	197	279	14.1	19.9
TOTAL- Political Science Department	<b>48</b>	<b>760</b>	<b>1134</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>23.6</b>

Source: Poslovno poročilo Fakultete za družbene vede za leto 2008, March 2009

Table 7: Student enrolment in master's studies 1996/97 – 2006/07

Academic year	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	0/1	1/2	2/3	3/4	4/5	5/6	6/7
APJU political science programme directions	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> year	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2
Policy Analysis- European Aspects	-	3	1	-	5	10	6	8	5	4	3
Public Administration	4	5	2	12	14	14	20	13	23	19	15
American Studies	-	1	9	8	15	18	37	42	46	40	31

Source: Poslovno poročilo Fakultete za družbene vede za leto 2008, March 2009

Table 8: Number of m.a. diplomas per political science programme per academic year

Academic year/ programme	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Political Science (PA-EA, Public Administration, American studies)	3	3	2	4	5	6	8	10	12	14	10	17	32	36	34
International Relations	1	1	3	2	–	1	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	3
Defence Studies	1	-	2	2	–	1	2	3	3	2	5	1	4	3	5
Total															

Source: Poslovno poročilo Fakultete za družbene vede za leto 2008, March 2009

**Pavel Hlaváček**

## ***O podstatě atlantismu a možnosti vzniku Organizace jihoatlantické smlouvy (SATO)<sup>1</sup>***

### **Abstract:**

*The idea of foundation of the Organization of South Atlantic Treaty (SATO) was raised during the last Summit of the Heads of State and Governments of Africa and South America (ASA) (22.–27. 9. 09). Both, Colonels Kaddafi (Lybia) and Chávez (Venezuela) agreed on the need to protect the interests of the two continents from the hegemonic attempts of the (neo)colonial powers. This article deals with the question that SATO would eventually come into existence. From three perspectives of theories of international relations (realism, liberalism, constructivism), we find unlikely that any security institution similar of NATO might develop in the southern Atlantic.*

V době, kdy světové společenství prožívá jednu z nejtěžších hospodářských krizí za několik posledních dekád, naše pozornost se přirozeně soustředí na jednání nejmocnějších aktérů světové ekonomiky. Nevyhnutelným důsledkem tohoto stavu je marginalizace vývoje v rozvojových a rozvíjejících se zemích. V atmosféře nezájmu a relativního opomíjení zdejších událostí, západním médiím poněkud unikla informace o zasedání (dru-

1) Tento text vznikl v rámci projektu institucionální podpory katedry politologie a mezinárodních vztahů FF ZČU Víceúrovňové vládnutí v Evropské unii