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Uvodnik

Spoštovani,

V prvi številki letnika 2016 pišejo avtorji o davčnem področju, javno-zasebnem sodelovanju in načinu sprejemanja odločitev, ki vplivajo na delo in življenje občanov.

Članek o javni izbiri omogoča primerjavo z usmeritvami Evropske komisije, Evropske centralne banke in Mednarodnega denarnega sklada o javni porabi v državah EU. S sprejetima proračunoma za leto 2015 in 2016 je tudi Vlada RS občutno znižala javnofinančni primanjkljaj. Za to je bilo treba znižati proračunska sredstva proračunskim porabnikom pri vseh oblikah porabe: pri investicijah, investicijskem vzdrževanju, materialnih stroških, stroških storitev in sredstvih za plače. Pri predlogih za zmanjšanje proračunske porabe na področju izobraževanja se je pojavila dilema, povezana z zaposlovanjem oziroma z brezposelnostjo.

Ni treba posebej dokazovati, da je sedanja svetovna kriza povzročila izjemno rast brezposelnosti in največjo izgubo delovnih mest do sedaj. Ne samo v Grčiji, kjer je brezposelnost dosegla dramatične višine, ampak tudi v drugih državah v EU. Tudi te se soočajo z negativnimi posledicami krize, tako da se tudi pri njih kaže odpuščanje in zmanjševanje možnosti zaposlovanja kot ena od največjih družbenih težav.

Menimo, da niso vsi ukrepi varčevanja in »zategovanja pasu« pri javni porabi, ki se financira iz proračuna, enakovredni. Pred odločitvijo za varčevanje je potrebna temeljita presoja širših družbenih stroškov in koristi uvedbe posameznih ukrepov. Kot primer predhodne presoje učinkov predlaganih varčevalnih ukrepov navajamo primer Ministrstva za znanost, izobraževanje in šport, ki je ocenilo predlog interventnega zakona o financiranju občin na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja. Skupni finančni učinek prihrankov za lokalne skupnosti bi predvidoma znašal 35,8 milijona. Najbolj izstopajoč pa je bil podatek, da bi zaradi predlaganih sprememb predvidoma 1000 zaposlenih, večinoma na področju otroškega varstva in zaradi zaprtja podružničnih šol, postalo tehnološki presežek. Vlada RS je v razpravi sledila stališčem Ministrstva za izobraževanje, znanost in šport, podprtimi s podatki predhodne presoje učinkov spremembe zakonodaje, in umaknila predloge interventnih ukrepov, ki bi povzročili tako veliko zmanjšanje zaposlenih.

Navedeni primer ponovno dokazuje pomen predhodne presoje učinkov spremembe zakonodaje pred njeno uvedbo. Opozarja pa tudi na časovni vidik. V tem primeru so bili predlogi posredovani v razpravo lokalnim skupnostim, še preden jih je obravnavalo in ocenilo matično ministrstvo. Povzročili so veliko negativnih odzivov, ki so bili nepotrebni, ker je kasneje vlada predloge umaknila. Hkrati primer kaže, da je veliko predlaganih varčevalnih

ukrepov povezanih z odpuščanjem zaposlenih v javnem sektorju in s tem s povečevanjem brezposelnosti. Izredno težko je še najti možnosti za zmanjšanje proračunske porabe, ki ne bi posegali na področje zaposlovanja. Nedvomno je brezposelnost za družbo in za posameznike ena od najbolj negativnih posledic krize. Zato bi bilo treba ukrepe, ki vodijo k večji nezaposlenosti, opustiti.

Odgovorna urednica MRJU

Prof. dr. Stanka Setnikar Cankar

Stanka Setnikar Cankar

Editorial

Dear readers,

In the first issue of 2016, the authors write about tax policy, public-private cooperation, and decision-making that has an impact on the work and life of citizens.

The article on public choice allows a comparison with the guidelines of the European Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund regarding public expenditure in the EU Member States. With the budgets adopted for 2015 and 2016, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia significantly reduced the government deficit. The appropriations for budget users thus needed to be reduced in all forms of expenditure: investment, major maintenance, material costs, costs of services, and staff appropriations. As for the proposals to reduce budgetary expenditure on education, there was a dilemma related to (un)employment.

It is obvious that the current global crisis has led to enormous growth in unemployment and to the greatest loss of jobs in history. Not only in Greece, where unemployment has reached alarming rates, but also in other EU Member States. The latter are also facing negative consequences of the crisis, with dismissal and reduced employment possibilities representing one of the largest social issues.

We believe that all austerity and “belt-tightening” measures in public administration, which is financed from the budget, are not equivalent. Before making a decision to introduce austerity measures, it is necessary to thoroughly assess the wider social costs and benefits of individual measures. As an example of an ex-ante assessment of the impacts of the proposed austerity measures, we cite an example of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Sport, which assessed the proposal of an intervention act on financing municipalities in the field of education. The overall financial impact of savings for local communities was expected to amount to EUR 35.8 million. Most noteworthy was the fact that about 1,000 employees, mainly in the field of childcare, were expected to become redundant due to the proposed changes and to the closure of branch schools. The Government of the Republic of Slovenia discussed the position of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Sport, supported by data from the ex-ante assessment of the impact of changes in the legislation, and withdrew the proposals for intervention measures, which would cause such a large reduction of employees.

This example shows that it is necessary to conduct an ex-ante assessment of the impacts of changes in the legislation before its introduction. It also recalls the time horizon. In this case, the proposals were submitted to local communities for discussion before being considered and evaluated

by the parent ministry. They caused many unnecessary negative responses, although the Government later withdrew the proposals. At the same time, the example demonstrates that many proposed austerity measures are related to the dismissal of employees in public administration and, consequently, to the increased unemployment. It is extremely difficult to find possibilities to reduce budgetary expenditure without interfering with employment. Unemployment is without any doubt one of the most negative consequences of the crisis for both individuals and society as a whole. Therefore, the measures leading to a higher unemployment rate should be abandoned.

Editor in Chief of the International Public
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Observations from the U.S. Federal Income Tax to Distinguish Between Measures of Progressivity and Redistributive Capacity

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ABSTRACT

This study provides insights on the attributes of a tax that are measured by two different classes of progressivity indices – those defined by Kakwani (1977), Suits (1977), Stroup (2005), and Mathews (2016) and those defined by Musgrave & Thin (1948) and Reynolds & Smolensky (1977). Index values are determined for the U.S. Federal Income Tax from 1929 through 2010. These values illustrate that the indices of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews gauge the progressivity of the tax, while those of Musgrave & Thin and Reynolds & Smolensky measure the redistributive capacity of the tax. In the early 1940s the progressivity of this tax significantly decreased at the same time when the redistributive capacity of the tax significantly increased. Since the mid-1970s this tax has (i) been more progressive than it was from the early 1950s through the mid-1970s and (ii) redistributed income to a greater degree than it did from the early 1950s through the mid-1970s.

Keywords: income taxation, progressivity measures, progressivity indices, income redistribution, U.S. tax policy

JEL: H20, H24, D31

1 Introduction

In order for governments to function, it is necessary for them to raise revenues. Thus, both scholars and practitioners of Public Administration must be concerned with government revenue generation. In most developed countries, the bulk of government revenues presently comes from income taxes. For example, in the U.S. in 2013, 91% of Federal Government revenues were attributed to income taxes and payroll taxes.¹ The primary importance of income taxation for government revenue holds even for countries

¹ See Office of Management and Budget (2015; p. 7).

which have Value Added Taxes. In Slovenia as of 2013, 60% of government revenues resulted from income taxes and social security contributions.²

In recent decades, the levels and structures of taxation in many countries have changed dramatically. Focusing on income taxes, the common trend has been for countries to reduce Marginal Tax Rates (MTR, defined as the percentage of the next dollar earned that must be paid in taxes) while broadening the tax base. As argued by Lazović-Pita (2015), this change in policy reflects a shift toward efficiency (over equity) in income taxation. A reduction of MTRs, particularly at the high end of the income scale, makes a tax less progressive and ultimately results in a distribution of income with greater inequality.

A tax is progressive if the Average Tax Rate (ATR, defined as the amount paid in taxes divided by income) increases as income increases. While there has long been agreement on this basic definition of progressivity, scholars have yet to settle on an accepted measure of the degree of progressivity of a tax. Consider the U.S. Federal Income Tax. From an inspection of either MTRs or the resulting ATRs of different segments of taxpayers, this tax has always been a progressive tax.³ However, it is not clear when this tax was “most progressive.” Further, different measures of progressivity yield conflicting insights, often because they are measuring different attributes of the impact of a tax. The present study contributes to this ongoing discussion by arguing that two well established and widely used indices of progressivity are in fact better thought of as measures of the redistributive capacity of a tax.

Kiefer (2005) offers an insightful discussion of the numerous approaches used to measure the degree of progressivity of a tax. The present study focuses on indices which Kiefer calls “distributional” indices, the value of which depends on both the tax rate structure and the distribution of income within the population subject to the tax.⁴ More precisely, the present study considers distributional indices defined in terms of “concentration curves” (such as the well-known Lorenz Curve).

Two of the earliest measures of this type were developed by Musgrave and Thin (1948) – the index of “effective progression” – and Reynolds and Smolensky (1977). These two distinct measures are each defined as a function of the pre-tax and post-tax values of the Gini-Coefficient. Thus, the dependence of each index on the pre-tax and post-tax Lorenz Curves is clear. Subsequently, several other tax progressivity indices based on the relation between

2 This figure is exactly equal to the OECD average, although the breakdown between these three revenue categories differs between Slovenia and the OECD as a whole. See OECD (2014).

3 Tax Foundation (2009a) reports relevant MTRs for each year over the entire history of this tax; the final table in Tax Foundation (2009b) summarizes realized ATRs for different income groups for each year from 1980 to 2008.

4 In contrast, the value of a “structural” index depends upon only the tax structure but not upon the distribution of income. Musgrave & Thin (1948) examine common structural indices, including measures of “average rate progression”, “marginal rate progression”, “liability progression”, and “residual income progression.”

an “income concentration curve” and a “tax concentration curve” were defined by Kakwani (1977), Suits (1977), Stroup (2005), and Mathews (2016).^{5,6}

Recognize that a progressive tax (i) places a disproportionate amount of the burden of paying the tax on high income individuals, thereby (ii) making the final distribution of income more equal. Any distributional progressivity index essentially gauges the impact of the tax with respect to these two closely related outcomes. As noted by de Sarralde, Garcimartin, and Ruiz-Huerta (2013), Kakwani’s index and Reynolds & Smolensky’s index measure fundamentally different attributes of a tax: Kakwani’s index quantifies the “progressivity” of the tax by computing the “disproportionality of tax payments relative to pre-tax incomes”, whereas Reynolds & Smolensky’s index quantifies the “redistributive capacity” of the tax by measuring “the difference between pre- and post-tax income distributions” (p. 326).

Using this observation by de Sarralde et al. (2013) as motivation, the aim of the present study is to clearly illustrate how different progressivity indices measure distinct characteristics of a tax. Numerical values of various indices are computed for the U.S. Federal Income Tax from 1929 through 2010. Observing index values over such a long period of time (during which there were significant changes in both the fraction of the population subject to paying the tax and total taxes paid as a percentage of societal income) allows us to gain insight into what is actually being measured by each index. Based upon observed values, it is argued that while the indices of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews gauge “progressivity”, the indices of Musgrave/Thin and Reynolds/Smolensky are better thought of as measures of “redistributive capacity”.

This is not to say that the indices of Musgrave/Thin and Reynolds/Smolensky are not useful. On the contrary, which class of indices is more insightful depends upon what questions one would like to address (i.e., what aspects of policy one is trying to assess). For example, someone who wants to gauge how the burden of financing government spending is spread over different segments of the population could look at the values of the measures of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews to make this assessment. Alternatively, someone who thinks that tax policy should reduce income inequality

5 Two other measures of this type were developed by Khetan and Poddar (1976). But, as explained within Mathews (2016), one of Khetan and Poddar’s measures can be expressed as a monotonic transformation of Suits’ index while the other can be expressed as a monotonic transformation of Stroup’s index.

6 Additional alternative approaches for assessing progressivity have been offered by: Baum (1987) who develops the notion of “relative share adjustment” to measure how a tax alters the share of income realized by different segments of society; Allen & Campbell (1994) who examine the difference in average tax rate between very high income households and moderate income households; and Piketty & Saez (2007) who examine and compare levels of average tax rate across groups of taxpayers with different levels of income, paying particular attention to individuals at the high end of the income scale. In contrast to the indices examined in the present study, these alternative approaches do not make any attempt to construct a single dimensional progressivity measure.

could look to the measures of Musgrave/Thin and Reynolds/Smolensky to see if the tax is indeed helping to achieve their desired objective.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. A brief overview of the six indices which serve as our focus is presented in Section 2. A discussion of the computation of numerical values of these indices is offered in Section 3. Index values for the U.S. Federal Income Tax from 1929 through 2010 are examined in Section 4. The observations made within this discussion support the claim that while the indices of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews gauge “progressivity”, the indices of Musgrave/Thin and Reynolds/Smolensky are better thought of as measures of “redistributive capacity”. Section 5 briefly concludes.

2 Definitions and Previously Observed Values of Indices

A detailed discussion of the definitions and relations between the four indices of Kakwani (K), Suits (S), Stroup (St), and Mathews (M) is provided within Mathews (2016). Each of these four indices is defined as a ratio of areas in relation to plots of an “income concentration curve” (which summarizes how incomes are allocated over the population, ordered from lowest income earners to highest income earners) and a “tax concentration curve” (which summarizes how tax payments are allocated over the population, ordered from lowest income earners to highest income earners). The antecedent in each index (i.e., the first term in the ratio) is a weighted difference between income and taxes paid over the population being taxed. For K and St different segments of the population are weighted equally, while for S and M different segments of the population are weighted by their marginal contribution to cumulative income. For S and St the consequent (i.e., the second term in the ratio) is a similarly weighted value of income, while for K and M the consequent is a similarly weighted value of population.⁷ As defined, each index can range in value between 0 and 1, with a larger value corresponding to taxation outcomes that are more progressive.

Both Musgrave & Thin’s index (MT) and Reynolds & Smolensky’s index (RS) are direct functions of the pre-tax and post-tax values of the Gini coefficient.⁸ Letting G_I denote the initial (i.e., pre-tax) value of the Gini coefficient and G_F denote the final (i.e., post tax) value of the Gini coefficient, Reynolds & Smolensky’s index is simply $RS = G_I - G_F$ and Musgrave & Thin’s index is simply $MT = (1 - G_I)/(1 - G_F)$. Under a progressive tax individuals with higher incomes have higher Average Tax Rates. This results in a reduction in income

7 For a graphical depiction of these curves and a more detailed discussion of these definitions, see Mathews (2016).

8 The Gini coefficient is the most widely used measure of income inequality. It is defined in relation to the income concentration curve with respect to population (i.e., a curve which illustrates the relation between cumulative fraction of population and their corresponding cumulative fraction of societal income) as the ration of the area between this concentration curve and the 45°-line to the entire area below the 45°-line. The value of the Gini coefficient ranges between 0 and 1, with a smaller value revealing less income inequality.

inequality and is reflected by a decrease in the value of the Gini coefficient. Consequently, for a progressive tax: $G_F < G_I$, implying $RS > 0$ and $MT > 1$. In order to have values of these two indices which are on a comparable scale, consider a simple additive transformation of Musgrave & Thin's index: $\overline{MT} = MT - 1$. Note that $\overline{MT} = RS/(1 - G_I)$, from which it is apparent that the value of both RS and \overline{MT} is positive for a progressive tax.

Numerical values of St , S , K , and M for the U.S. Federal Income Tax have previously been determined by numerous researchers, including: Kakwani (1977) using his measure for 1968, 1969, and 1970; Suits (1977) using his measure for 1966 and 1970; Stroup (2005) using his measure for 1980 through 2000; Mathews (2016) using all four measures for 1987 through 2010; and Mathews (2014) using all four measures for 1929 through 2009.⁹ The Congressional Budget Office (2012) reports values of K and RS for both the U.S. Federal Income Tax and all federal taxes from 1979 through 2009. Stroup (2005), the Congressional Budget Office (2012), and Mathews (2014 and 2016) each present evidence to support a claim that the U.S. Federal Income Tax has become more progressive in recent decades. But while the Congressional Budget Office analysis does suggest that the U.S. Federal Income Tax became more progressive between 1979 and 2009, it also reveals that the progressivity of all federal taxes has either increased less substantially (based upon Kakwani's index) or not changed much at all (based upon Reynolds & Smolensky's index) over this time (see Congressional Budget Office (2012), Supplemental Table 9). This final observation is important because it begins to reveal how the distinct measures of Kakwani and of Reynolds & Smolensky can yield observations on changes in the degree of progressivity over time which appear to be at odds with one another.

In addition to determining values of his index for the U.S., Kakwani (1977) computes values for Australia (for 1968 through 1972), Canada (for 1968 through 1970), and the United Kingdom (for 1964 through 1967). His results suggest that during these years income taxation in these four countries was least progressive in the U.S. and most progressive in the U.K. Khetan and Poddar (1976) determine numeric values of two different indices (one is a monotonic transformation of Suits' index and the other is a monotonic transformation of Stroup's index) for Canada from 1961 through 1971. Their results suggest that federal income taxation in Canada became less progressive during these years. More recently, Verbist and Figari (2013)

⁹ It is important to stress that the present study focuses solely on the U.S. Federal Income Tax and does not encompass other federal taxes (e.g., payroll, estate, and corporate taxes). Clearly, the overall progressivity of all federal taxes could differ from that of the Federal Income Tax. Piketty and Saez (2007) argue that the U.S. Federal tax system as a whole became less progressive between 1960 and 2004, due to an increased significance of fairly regressive payroll taxes and a diminished significance of highly progressive corporate and estate taxes. But, it is important to recognize that Piketty and Saez do not consider any of the four income/tax concentration based distributional indices which are the primary focus here. Rather, they present a broad, general discussion of trends over time in average tax rates and the after tax position of different segments of the population (with an emphasis on subsets at the high end of the income scale, such as the "top 1%", "top 0.1%" and "top 0.01%").

compute values of Kakwani's index for the EU15 in 1998 and 2008. Their analysis reveals tremendous variation in tax progressivity across these 15 countries, with the most progressive outcomes found in Ireland and the least progressive outcomes found in Denmark and Sweden.

3 Computations of Index Values

Focusing on the U.S. Federal Income Tax, numerical values of S_t , S , K , M , \overline{MT} , and RS are determined for every year between 1929 and 2010. In order to compute these values, it is necessary to construct various concentration curves.¹⁰ The bulk of the data used to construct these curves was obtained from the Internal Revenue Service's "Statistics of Income" report for each relevant year.¹¹ Each report summarizes the number of tax returns filed, the amount of income represented on the filed tax returns, and the amount of taxes paid (broken down by taxpayer income levels). For example, the data reported in Table 3 on Pages 68–70 of the "Statistics of Income for 1932" show that in this year 3,877,430 returns were filed, and that the people filing these returns collectively had a combined net income of \$11,655,756,678 and collectively had to pay \$329,962,311 in Federal Income Taxes.¹² As an example of how this data is further broken down by taxpayer income levels, Table 3 of the "Statistics of Income for 1932" further reveals that in this year people with net incomes of \$2,000 or less collectively filed a total of 1,849,277 returns, had a combined net income of \$2,376,974,549 and had a combined tax obligation of \$12,357,186.

When constructing the relevant concentration curves, it is necessary to define (either explicitly or implicitly) the population over which the index values are to be determined. If the population of interest is simply those people filing tax returns, then the curves can be constructed and the index values determined from solely the data in the "Statistics of Income" reports. This is the approach taken by Kakwani (1977), Suits (1977), Stroup (2005), Congressional Budget Office (2012), and Mathews (2016). However, if the true desire is a measure of the degree of progressivity over the entire population, then focusing on only those individuals filing returns has shortcomings. First, if individuals with incomes below a certain level are not even required to file a return (as has always been the case for the U.S. Federal Income Tax), then this approach ultimately understates the degree of progressivity at each point in time. Second, if the fraction of adults required to file a return changes dramatically,

¹⁰ To compute K , S , S_t , and M it is necessary to construct a "tax concentration curve with respect to population", an "income concentration curve with respect to population", a "tax concentration curve with respect to income", and a "population concentration curve with respect to income" for each year. Similarly, to compute RS , and \overline{MT} it is necessary to additionally construct a "post tax income concentration curve with respect to population".

¹¹ All reports can be accessed through <http://www.irs.gov/uac/Tax-Stats-2>. For example, "Statistics of Income for 1932" is available at <http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-soi/32soirepar.pdf>.

¹² Table 1 (presented in the Appendix of the paper) provides a summary of these values (along with the values of several other variables of interest) for the time period under consideration. In the interest of brevity, these values are reported for only every other year between 1929 and 2010.

then focusing only on this restricted population could give misleading results when examining how the degree of progressivity has evolved over time.

Using additional data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis and the U.S. Census Bureau, Mathews (2014) constructed concentration curves and computed index values over the entire adult population. This is the first study to truly gauge the progressivity of the U.S. Federal Income Tax over the *entire* population, and not over just *people filing tax returns*. A similar approach is used in the present study.

For each year from 1929 through 2010, data on total Personal Income for the U.S. were obtained from the Bureau of Economic Analysis and estimates of the total adult population in the U.S. were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau.¹³ These figures are reported for every other year between 1930 and 2010 in the columns labeled "Total Societal Income" and "Total Adult Population" in Table 1 (presented in the Appendix of the paper). It is worth noting that the present study uses data on Personal Income collected after the comprehensive revision of national income accounts which was undertaken by the Bureau of Economic Analysis in 2013, whereas Mathews (2014) used data on Personal Income collected before this comprehensive revision. As a consequence, the numerical values of St , S , K , and M which are obtained differ between the two studies.

Returning attention to the "Statistics of Income Reports," the total number of adults represented on all filed tax returns was determined in each year (see "Adults Represented on Returns" in Table 1). From here, the percentage of all adults represented on a filed tax return was computed for each year (see "Percentage of Adults on Returns" in Table 1).

Following an approach first used by Suits (1977), each of the five relevant concentration curves for each year is constructed as a piecewise linear function passing through each relevant pair of values and the implicit endpoints of (0,0) and (1,1). For the resulting piecewise linear concentration curves, the relevant areas between the various curves each consist of a collection of triangles and trapezoids.

As was done in Mathews (2014), when constructing the concentration curves which depend upon income the income not represented on filed tax returns (i.e., the residual income of society) is allocated equally across the total adult population. As an example, in 1944 a total of 46,919,590 tax returns were filed for 71,270,340 adults. The total adult population in this year, based upon U.S. Census Bureau estimates, was 97,153,352. Thus, roughly 26.64% of the adult population was not represented on a filed tax return and, therefore,

¹³ The former figures were obtained from http://www.bea.gov/iTable/index_nipa.cfm, and the latter figures were obtained from <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/historical/index.html>.

did not pay any income taxes.¹⁴ Consequently, the starting point for the tax concentration curve with respect to population is the point (0.2664, 0). Those individuals filing tax returns had a combined net income of \$116,714,736,000, whereas total societal income was \$169,700,000,000. Thus, the residual income of society was \$52,985,264,000, roughly 31.22% of total societal income. Allocating this residual income equally over the entire adult population, it follows that the 26.64% of the population not represented on a filed tax return accounted for approximately $0.2664 \times 0.3122 \approx 0.0832$ of total societal income. Consequently, the first segment of the income concentration curve with respect to population extends from the origin through the point (0.2664, 0.0832). Following this approach, each relevant concentration curve is constructed for each year. From here, it is straightforward to determine numerical values of St , S , K , M , \overline{MT} , and RS in each year from 1929 to 2010.

4 An Examination of Index Values

For each year from 1929 through 2010, the resulting values (determined using the data and approach described in Section 3) of St , S , K , and M are reported in Table 2 and plotted in Figure 1. Similarly, values of \overline{MT} and RS are reported in Table 3 and plotted in Figure 2¹⁵.

4.1 Observations on St , S , K , and M

Focusing first on St , S , K , and M , an inspection of Table 2 and Figure 1 reveals general trends in the degree of progressivity which are very similar to those discussed in Mathews (2014).¹⁶ For example, just as in Mathews (2014), St identifies 1929 and S , K , and M each identify 1931 as the year of most progressive taxation outcomes, while all four indices identify 1969 as the year of least progressive taxation outcomes over this period. Additionally, there is a consistent trend toward taxation outcomes that are increasingly more progressive from the late 1960s up to the present day. As a consequence, taxation outcomes in recent years are more progressive than at any point in time post World War II. In 2009 the value of: St was greater than in every year from 1942 onward; S was greater than in every year from 1943 onward; K was greater than in every year from 1943 onward; and M was greater than in every year from 1944 onward. Furthermore, for each index, the second largest value over this same time period was realized in 2010.

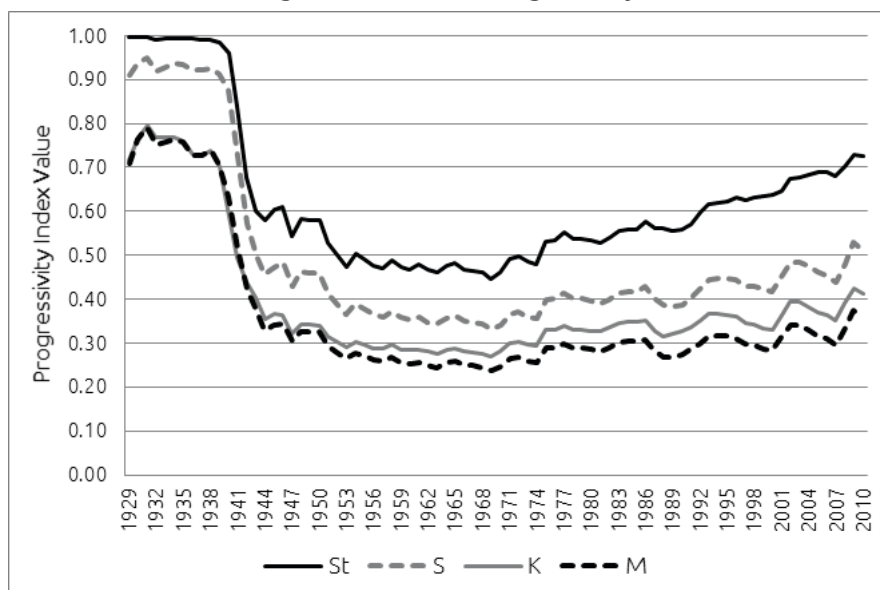
¹⁴ Since some people who file a tax return but do not ultimately have a positive tax burden, the percentage of the total population that paid no income tax would be greater than 26.64%. That is, this figure of 26.64% represents the minimum percentage of the population that paid no income taxes.

¹⁵ Tables are presented in the Appendix of the paper.

¹⁶ This should not be surprising, since the only difference between the values of St , S , K , and M in Mathews (2014) and the present study is that the latter were computed using data on Personal Income collected after the Bureau of Economic Analysis' most recent comprehensive revision of national income accounts. As a result, while the obtained numerical values of St , S , K , and M differ between the two studies, for the most part the differences are minimal.

These results are qualitatively consistent with Mathews (2016) which finds that over the period from 1987 through 2010, the U.S. Federal Income Tax was most progressive in 2009 (according to each of these four indices). Recall, however, that Mathews (2016) – as well as all other studies cited, with the exception of Mathews (2014) – effectively computes index values over only taxpayers (as opposed to over the entire population). Consequently, the index values reported in Mathews (2016) are numerically smaller than those reported here.¹⁷ Similarly, the results reported here are qualitatively consistent with those of Stroup (2005), where values of St were computed for each year from 1980 through 2000. Over this time period, both the present study and Stroup identify 1981 as the year of least progressive taxation and 2000 as the year of most progressive taxation. Furthermore, according to the findings of both studies, there was a sizable jump in the degree of progressivity between 1992 and 1993, causing all outcomes from 1993 through 2000 to be more progressive than all outcomes between 1980 and 1992. Finally, the present results are broadly consistent with those of the Congressional Budget Office (2012) study, which, based upon computed values of K , finds that taxation outcomes became more progressive between 1979 and 2009.

Figure 1: Indices of Progressivity



Source: Author's calculations (as reported in Table 2).

While taxation outcomes in recent years appear to be the most progressive in several decades, they are by no means the most progressive over the entire history of the U.S. Federal Income Tax. As noted above, St identifies

¹⁷ Since index values are computed over different populations in the present study and the bulk of the existing literature, comparisons of numeric values across studies are difficult to make. This is particularly true for the studies such as Kakwani (1977) and Suits (1977), which only report index values for the U.S. Federal Income Tax for three and two years respectively.

1929 and *S*, *K*, and *M* each identify 1931 as the year of most progressive taxation outcomes. As can be seen from an inspection of Figure 1, during the early 1940s there was a dramatic transformation in the degree of progressivity. Each of these four indices decreased considerably in 1941, 1942, and 1943. Consequently, for each index, the largest realized value from 1942 onward is less than the smallest realized value between 1929 and 1941.¹⁸ These observations reveal that the early 1940s was a point of demarcation between an initial period of very progressive taxation and a subsequent period of relatively less progressive taxation.

This shift was driven in large part by the significant increase in the percentage of the population subject to paying the tax which occurred at this time. Because of the fact that some people must file a tax return even though they ultimately do not have to pay any taxes, the percentage of adults represented on tax returns is not the same as the percentage of adults who must pay the tax. But, the former provides an upper bound on the value of the latter (i.e., the percentage of adults who are subject to paying the tax must be less than the percentage of adults represented on tax returns). Between 1929 and 1936, less than 10% of the adult population was represented on filed tax returns, implying that less than 10% of the population was subject to paying the tax. During the years in which the degree of progressivity sharply increased, the percentage of adults represented on filed tax returns abruptly increased from 12.06% in 1939, to 24.03% in 1940, to 42.85% in 1941, to 59.99% in 1942, and to 68.59% in 1943. The percentage of adults represented on filed tax returns reached 73.36% in 1944 and has remained above this level in every year since. The dramatic transformation in the degree of progressivity which occurred in the early 1940s coincided with the conversion of the U.S. Federal Income Tax from a tax levied only on very high income earners to a tax levied on the masses.

From an inspection of the index values reported in Table 2 (and plotted in Figure 1), we can begin to make some casual insights on how the degree of progressivity is related to political leadership. For example, the dramatic decline in the degree of progressivity which occurred in the early 1940s took place when President Franklin Roosevelt, a Democrat, occupied the White House. More recently, we observe sizable increases in the value of each progressivity index in 1993, 2002, and 2009. In each of these years there was a significant change in the tax code. The “Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993” (OBRA-93), signed into law by Democrat President William Clinton, created higher MTRs of 36.0% and 39.6% at the upper-end of the income distribution, while leaving MTRs on lower levels of income essentially unchanged. These changes should make outcomes more progressive. The “Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001” (EGTRRA-01), enacted by Republican President George W. Bush, decreased MTRs across

¹⁸ For each index, a similar statement also holds with either 1940 or 1941 as the relevant cutoff (instead of 1942).

the board. Most significantly, it established a new 10% tax bracket at the lowest end of the income scale (on a portion of income which had previously been taxed at a MTR of 15%). Additionally, compared to the rates in place in 2000, EGTRRA-01 decreased the MTRs above the 15% bracket by one percentage point. Since the reduction of the initial MTR from 15% to 10% is more drastic than the reduction of the higher MTRs by one percentage point, the changes from EGTRRA-01 should likely make outcomes more progressive. Finally, the increase in progressivity which occurred in 2009 was due in part to the temporary Making Work Pay tax credit (signed into law by Democrat President Barack Obama) which was in place for low and middle income taxpayers in 2009 and 2010.

Over the entire time period from 1929 through 2010 higher degrees of progressivity were realized when Democrat presidents were in power than when Republican presidents were in power. To this point, the mean value of S was 19.03% higher in the years when a Democrat was President than in the years when a Republican was president (taking on a mean value of 0.44235 under Republican presidents versus 0.52654 under Democrat presidents). Based upon running a simple OLS regression with the value of S as the dependent variable and a dummy variable for "Democrat president" as the single independent variable, this difference in mean value is statistically significant at the 5% error level (the p -value for this regression is 0.03909).¹⁹

While these observations are worth making, they should not be interpreted to mean that there is a direct causal relation between political party of the current president and degree of tax progressivity. After all, a president is never able to enact his preferred policies unchecked. The results summarized above in no way account for when a president was working with a congress of his own party, a congress of the rival party, or a split congress. Further, as measured by St , S , K , and M , the degree of progressivity depends upon not just the tax code, but also upon both levels of and the distribution of income. The impact of public policy on these outcomes is less immediate and direct. To this point, changes in policy (both related and unrelated to the tax code) enacted in one year will likely impact economic outcomes for years to come.²⁰ The simple, preliminary insights offered above make no attempt to address these concerns.

¹⁹ Similarly, the mean values of St , M , and K were respectively 11.48%, 20.45%, and 14.39% higher under Democrat presidents than under Republican presidents. However, based upon similar OLS regressions, the difference in mean for St and M is statistically significant at only the 10% error level (the associated p -values are 0.06651 and 0.06057 respectively), while the difference in K is not statistically significant (the associated p -value is 0.10960).

²⁰ In fact, it could even be the case that people begin to alter their behavior prior to policies being enacted or a politician coming to power (based upon changed perceptions of the likelihood of different future events). For example, Halcoussis, Lowenberg, and Phillips (2009) conduct a detailed empirical analysis of stock market and public opinion data in advance of the 2008 U.S. Presidential election, providing evidence that changes in stock market outcomes were caused by (rather than causing) changes in the perceived likelihood of an electoral victory by President Obama.

A comparison of the degree of tax progressivity in the U.S. (based upon the findings of the present study) to other countries (based upon the findings of Kakwani (1977), Khetan and Poddar (1976), or Verbist and Figari (2013)) is somewhat difficult because of the facts that these other studies: (i) report index values for much shorter periods of time and (ii) compute index values over different segments of the population (i.e., over taxpayers, not all adults). However, as noted above, (insomuch as comparisons can be made) the present results are broadly consistent with previous studies. Recall that Kakwani observed that in the 1960s income taxation in the U.S. was less progressive than in Australia, Canada, and the U.K. For the EU15 countries, Verbist and Figari computed values of K that ranged from 0.0891 (Sweden) to 0.2676 (Ireland) in 1998 and from 0.0816 (Denmark) to 0.3205 (Ireland) in 2008. The values of K reported in Table 2 for the U.S. in these years are 0.34372 and 0.39121 respectively, which are higher than the values for Ireland in each year. However, due to the differences in segments of the population over which the index values are computed, the values of K reported in Mathews (2016) – values of 0.1575 in 1998 and 0.1995 in 2008 – are more comparable to those determined by Verbist and Figari. Based upon these values, in comparison to the EU15 countries, in terms of degree of progressivity the U.S. would have ranked 9th in 1998 and 5th in 2008.

Finally recognize that when considering tax structures across countries, there is the potential for “tax competition” between administrative jurisdictions. As defined by Klun (2006, p. 7), tax competition is “competition between national economies to increase their competitiveness and attract foreign investment by means of their tax policy”. Part of the shift toward lower MTRs – and, consequently, taxation outcomes that can be broadly described as less progressive – which has occurred in several countries (including the U.S.) in recent decades could be a result of tax competition, as countries vie for highly skilled workers and profitable corporations.

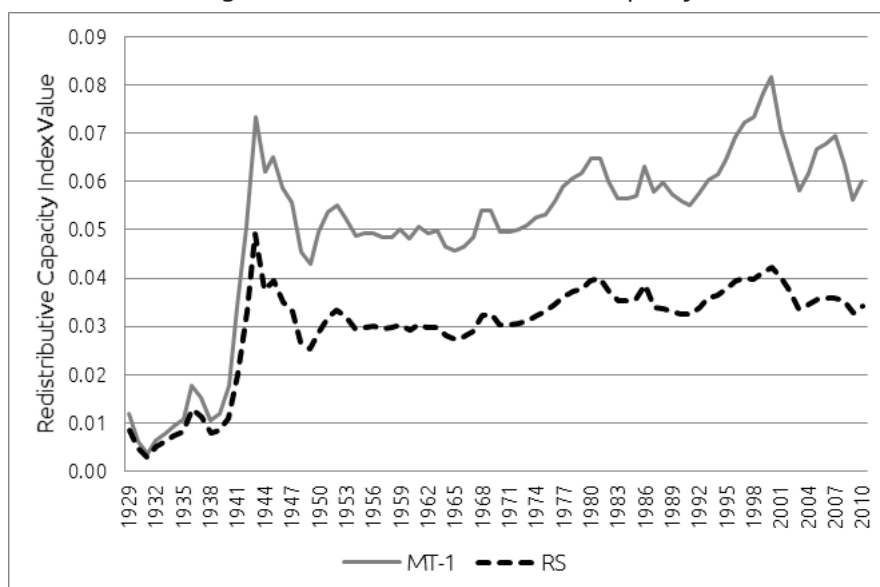
4.2 Observations on \overline{MT} and RS

Switching attention to \overline{MT} and RS , an inspection of Table 3 and Figure 2 immediately reveals that the values of these indices have varied greatly over time. Again, index values changed dramatically in the early 1940s. But, in stark contrast to the insights obtained within Subsection 4.1, numerical values for these two indices are much lower before the 1940s than at any time since.²¹ As will be explained, this seemingly contradictory insight results because in the early 1940s there was a dramatic and sudden increase in the fraction of the total population subject to the income tax. The accompanying discussion will elucidate precisely what each class of indices primarily measures – the four indices examined in Subsection 4.1 quantify the progressivity of the tax burden (i.e., the degree to which the burden of paying the tax is borne

²¹ However, these two additional indices reinforce the observation that the time-period from the early 1950s onward can be divided into an initial period of relatively low progressivity followed by a more recent period of relatively high progressivity.

by high income individuals), whereas those developed by Musgrave & Thin and Reynolds & Smolensky quantify the redistributive capacity of the tax (i.e., the degree to which the tax alters the distribution of income).

Figure 2: Indices of Redistributive Capacity



Source: Author's calculations (as reported in Table 3).

The values of \overline{MT} and RS provide insights which are similar to each other but in part contrast greatly with some of the results discussed in Subsection 4.1. For the period from 1929 through 2010, both \overline{MT} and RS achieved their minimum value in 1931. While \overline{MT} and RS did not achieve their maximum values over this time period in the same year (the largest value of \overline{MT} was 0.08169, which occurred in 2000; the largest value of RS was 0.04905, which occurred in 1943), they tended to realize relatively large values in common years. For example, for each index the realized value in the three years of 1943, 1999, and 2000 ranked among the four highest values over this 82 year time period.²² This correlation between the values of \overline{MT} and RS should not be surprising, since, after all, there is a close relation between the definitions of the two measures: $\overline{MT} = RS/(1 - G_T)$.

Observe that the values of both \overline{MT} and RS increased abruptly in 1941, 1942, and 1943. Moreover, for each of these two indices every single realized value from 1942 onward is greater than every single realized value between 1929 and 1941.²³ Thus, each of these two measures also suggests that the early 1940s is a point in time of demarcation. Furthermore, if we think of each

²² Similarly, for each index the realized value in the five years of 1943, 1997, 1999, 2000, and 2001 ranked among the six highest values over this 82 year time period.

²³ For each index a similar statement would also hold with 1941 as the cut-off year instead of 1942.

class of measures as indices of progressivity, then the observations seem to contradict one another – in Subsection 4.1 it was observed that taxation outcomes before this time were much more progressive than outcomes since, whereas the present observations appear to suggest that taxation outcomes before this time were much less progressive than outcomes since.

Finally, as was done for the previous class of indices, an attempt can be made to determine if there is any relation between the realized values of \overline{MT} and RS and political leadership. Between 1929 and 2010, the mean values of both \overline{MT} and RS were actually smaller under Democrat presidents than under Republican presidents (6.70% and 6.08% lower, respectively).²⁴ Again, if we think of each class of measures as indices of progressivity, then these observations seem to present a contradiction – in Subsection 4.1 we observed that taxation outcomes were more progressive when Democrat presidents were in office, whereas the present observations appear to suggest that taxation outcomes were less progressive when Democrat presidents were in office.

4.3 Disproportionality of Tax Payments Versus Redistributive Capacity

These apparently contradictory observations of Subsections 4.1 and 4.2 can be reconciled by scrutinizing the fundamental difference between what St , S , K , and M measure and what \overline{MT} and RS measure. Recognize that a progressive tax: (i) places a disproportionate amount of the burden of paying the tax on high income individuals and (ii) makes the final distribution of income more equal. Any distributional progressivity index essentially gauges the realized performance of the tax with respect to these two closely related (but distinct) outcomes. As noted by de Sarraalde et al. (2013), Kakwani's index and Reynolds & Smolensky's index measure fundamentally different attributes of a tax: Kakwani's index quantifies the "progressivity" of the tax by computing the "disproportionality of tax payments relative to pre-tax incomes," whereas Reynolds & Smolensky's index quantifies the "redistributive capacity" of the tax by measuring "the difference between pre- and post-tax income distributions" (p. 326). These characterizations carry over to the similarly defined indices, so that St , S , K , and M each quantify the progressivity of the burden of the tax (i.e., the degree to which high income individuals bear the burden of paying the tax) whereas \overline{MT} and RS each quantify the redistributive capacity of the tax (i.e., the degree to which the distribution of income is altered by the tax).

In order for a tax to substantially alter the distribution of income (i.e., to have a great redistributive capacity), two conditions must be met: (a) the burden

²⁴ However, neither difference in mean is statistically significant. The associated p -values for simple OLS regressions similar to those described in the previous sub-section are 0.38228 (for a regression with \overline{MT} as the dependent variable) and 0.39423 (for a regression with RS as the dependent variable).

of the tax must be disproportionately borne by one segment of the population (e.g., “high income individuals”) and (b) the tax itself must be sizable (i.e., significantly large, perhaps measured as a percentage of income taken by the tax). The indices which focus on the progressivity of the burden of the tax (i.e., St , S , K , and M) are only influenced by “condition (a),” not “condition (b).” That is, for St , S , K , and M the size of the tax system does not matter. However, for \overline{MT} and RS the size of the tax system can matter quite a bit. This difference is encapsulated by a recent Congressional Budget Office study which observes that Kakwani’s index measures who bears the burden of paying the tax based upon “the shares of taxes paid and the shares of income received by different income groups” and is therefore “indifferent to the size of the tax system” (CBO, 2011, p. 42). In contrast, Reynolds & Smolensky’s index “measures the redistributive effect of the tax system” and is defined in a manner so as to be “a function of...the share of household income claimed by the tax system” (CBO, 2011, p. 42).

Thus, the seemingly contradictory observations made in Subsections 4.1. and 4.2 result because in the early 1940s (as reported in Table 1) there was a dramatic and sudden increase in both the “Percentage of Adults on Returns” (which provides an upper bound on the value of – and in some sense can also serve as a rough proxy measure for – the percentage of the population subject to the tax) and “Taxes Paid as a percentage of Societal Income” (which provides a measure of the size of the tax). As previously noted, the “Percentage of Adults on Returns” (which was below 10% in every year up through 1936) increased to 12.06% in 1939, 24.03% in 1940, 42.85% in 1941, 59.99% in 1942, 68.59% in 1943, and 73.36% in 1944.²⁵ This figure has been above 75% in every year since 1945 and above 80% in every year since 1950.

“Taxes Paid as a percentage of Societal Income” underwent a similarly dramatic change during these years. In 1939 this figure was 1.21% (and had been 1.75% or lower in every previous year). It then increased to 1.81% in 1940, 3.90% in 1941, 6.96% in 1942, 10.87% in 1943, and 9.56% in 1944 (and has been above 7% in all but one year since 1942, the one exception being 1949 when it was equal to 6.88%).²⁶

When only a very small fraction of the population is subject to paying a progressive tax (as was the case for the U.S. Federal Income Tax before the early 1940s), the burden of the tax will clearly be borne disproportionately by high income individuals. The very high values of St , S , K , and M before the early 1940s are simply a reflection of this fact. As the fraction of the population

²⁵ Recall, for brevity Table 1 only reports values for every other year between 1929 and 2010.

²⁶ The initial climb in the early 1940s can be justified as a necessary means for financing the increased military spending by the government during World War II. National Defense Spending as a percentage of GDP in the U.S. increased from “less than 1 percent of GDP in 1929 up to 43 percent in 1944” (Walker 2012, p. 6). But, when military spending returned to lower levels after World War II, “Taxes Paid as a percentage of Societal Income” remained high. Post World War II, National Defense Spending as a percentage of GDP “has ranged from a high of 15 percent in 1952 (during the Korean War) to a low of 3.7 percent in 2000” (Walker 2012, p. 6).

subject to the tax greatly expanded in the early 1940s, the burden of the tax was spread over a much wider portion of the population, illustrated by the dramatic decrease in the values of St , S , K , and M .

In terms of redistributive capacity, recall that in order for a tax to substantially alter the distribution of income the tax must be sizable. A tax that is relatively small (as was the U.S. Federal Income Tax before the early 1940s) will not be able to substantially alter the distribution of income, regardless of how the burden of the tax is spread over different segments of the population. The very low values of \overline{MT} and RS prior to the early 1940s are a reflection of this fact. After the size of the tax was substantially increased in the early 1940s, the tax now had the potential to significantly alter the distribution of income. Since the burden of the tax was progressive (i.e., high income individuals bore a greater burden of paying the tax) both before and after this increase in the size of the tax, increasing the size of the tax resulted in a greater redistribution of income, illustrated by the dramatic increase in the values of \overline{MT} and RS .

While these two different sets of indices provide essentially opposite insights on the degree of progressivity (i.e., the disproportionality of tax payments relative to incomes) and the redistributive capacity (i.e., degree to which the distribution of income is altered by the tax) of the U.S. Federal Income Tax before/after the early 1940s, they reveal similar trends in these two attributes since the early 1950s. An inspection of Table 2 reveals that: for St the minimum value from 1975 onward (of 0.53166 in 1975) is greater than the maximum value between 1951 and 1974 (of .52650 in 1951); for K the minimum value from 1975 onward (of 0.31537 in 1988) is greater than the maximum value between 1951 and 1974 (of 0.31526 in 1951); for S the minimum value from 1975 onward (of 0.38296 in 1989) is greater than the maximum value between 1955 and 1974 (of 0.37738 in 1955); and for M the minimum value from 1975 onward (of 0.26794 in 1988) is greater than the maximum value between 1956 and 1974 (of 0.26756 in 1958). A similar inspection of Table 3 reveals that for \overline{MT} the minimum value from 1976 onward (of 0.05523 in 1991) is greater than the maximum value between 1948 and 1975 (of 0.05500 in 1952). As for RS , the minimum value from 1975 onward (of 0.03261 in 1991) is greater than all but one realized value between 1953 and 1974 (the one exception being a realized value of 0.03267 in 1969).

Thus, the period from the early 1950s through 2010 can be separated into two distinct periods with respect to both degree of progressivity and redistributive capacity. From the mid-1970s through 2010 the U.S. Federal Income Tax (i) has been more progressive than it was from the early 1950s through the mid-1970s (based upon the preceding observations from Table 2) and (ii) has redistributed income to a greater degree than it did from the early 1950s through the mid-1970s (based upon the preceding observations from Table 3). In contrast to the divergent observations which emerged for the early 1940s, we see that since the early 1950s the degree of progressivity and the redistributive capacity have broadly shifted in conjunction with one

another. This is because since the early 1950s there has not been a sea change in either the percentage of the population subject to the tax or the size of the tax.²⁷

5 Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

The present study provides insights on the specific attributes of a tax that are truly being measured by six different previously defined progressivity indices. A progressive tax (i) places a disproportionate amount of the burden of paying the tax on high income individuals, thereby (ii) making the final distribution of income more equal. Related to this distinction, de Sarralde et al. (2013) made an insightful observation regarding how some tax progressivity indices quantify the degree to which the burden of paying the tax is borne by different segments of the population, while others simply quantify the degree to which the tax alters the distribution of income. Using this as motivation, numerical values of two different classes of progressivity indices (those previously defined by Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews and those previously defined by Musgrave & Thin and Reynolds & Smolensky) were determined over the entire adult population for the U.S. Federal Income Tax for each year from 1929 through 2010.

Because index values have been computed over a period of time during which there were significant changes in both the fraction of the population subject to paying the tax and total taxes paid as a percentage of societal income, it is possible to gain insight on what is revealed by each index. It is argued that while the indices of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews gauge the progressivity of the tax, those of Musgrave & Thin and Reynolds & Smolensky are actually measuring the redistributive capacity of the tax.

This does not imply that either class of indices is useless. Rather, it simply suggests that policy analysts must be thoughtful and aware of what the index is measuring. For example, to gain insight on how the burden of financing government spending is spread over different segments of the population, one should look at the values of the measures of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews. Alternatively, to determine if a tax is significantly reducing income inequality, one should instead look at the measures of Musgrave/Thin and Reynolds/Smolensky.

To this point, the computed numerical values revealed that in the early 1940s there was a dramatic and sudden shift in both the progressivity and redistributive capacity of the U.S. Federal Income Tax. As revealed by the measures of Kakwani, Suits, Stroup, and Mathews, the tax was much more progressive before this time than since. However, as revealed by the measures

²⁷ Recall, the "Percentage of Adults on Returns" (which recall, in some sense can serve as a rough proxy measure for the percentage of the population subject to the tax) has been above 80% in every year since 1950. Similarly, "Taxes Paid as a percentage of Societal Income" has been above 7% in all but one year since 1942 (the one exception being 1949 when it was equal to 6.88%).

of Musgrave/Thin and Reynolds/Smolensky, the redistributive capacity of the tax was much less before this time than since. Finally, it was noted that from the mid-1970s through 2010 the U.S. Federal Income Tax has (i) been more progressive than it was from the early 1950s through the mid-1970s and (ii) redistributed income to a greater degree than it did from the early 1950s through the mid-1970s. These observations can only be appreciated with a correct understanding of what is being measured by each class of indices. These distinctions are critical for policy analysts to recognize when using any such index as a “yardstick” for making normative assessments of policy outcomes.

Some preliminary insights were made on progressivity and redistributive capacity outcomes in relation to political leadership. The realized index values reveal that, on average, the U.S. Federal Income Tax was more progressive in years when a Democrat president was in office but redistributed income to a greater degree in years when a Republican president was in office. But, as noted within Subsection 4.1, these observations did not account for many important, complicating factors (e.g., whether a president was working with a congress of his own party, a congress of the rival party, or a split congress and also the relation between the timing of changes in policy/leadership and changes in behavior/outcomes). Further research into the relations between political leadership and policy outcomes would be useful.

Similarly, an attempt was made to compare the present empirical results for the U.S. Federal Income Tax to taxation outcomes in other countries (as measured by previous researchers). However, it was noted that doing so was somewhat problematic because other studies: (i) report index values for much shorter periods of time and (ii) compute index values over different segments of the population (i.e., over taxpayers, not all adults). These difficulties could be overcome by conducting more comprehensive and consistent analyses of taxation outcomes in other countries. This presents another ripe area for future research on these topics.

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Appendix

Table 1: Characteristics of Entire Population and Taxpayers

Year	Number of Returns	Adults Represented on Returns	Total Adult Population	Percentage of Adults on Returns	Income Represented on Returns (millions of \$)	Total Societal Income (millions of \$)	Total Taxes Paid (millions of \$)	Taxes Paid as a Percentage of Societal Income
1930	3,707,509	5,467,413	80,068,980	6.83	18,118.63	76,500	476.71	0.62
1932	3,877,430	5,715,530	82,294,743	6.95	11,655.76	50,300	329.96	0.66
1934	4,094,420	6,041,895	84,552,935	7.15	12,796.80	54,100	511.40	0.95
1936	5,413,499	7,806,332	86,791,801	8.99	19,240.11	69,200	1,214.02	1.75
1938	6,150,776	9,016,802	89,072,692	10.12	18,660.93	69,100	726.12	1.05
1940	14,598,074	22,054,506	91,764,122	24.03	36,309.72	79,400	1,440.97	1.81
1942	36,456,110	56,687,002	94,486,828	59.99	78,589.73	126,700	8,823.04	6.96
1944	46,919,590	71,270,340	97,153,352	73.36	116,714.74	169,700	16,216.40	9.56
1946	52,600,470	79,284,465	99,500,869	79.68	134,330.01	182,700	16,075.91	8.80
1948	51,745,697	81,767,812	102,066,436	80.11	164,173.86	213,700	15,441.53	7.23
1950	52,655,564	84,646,188	104,994,301	80.62	179,874.48	233,900	18,374.92	7.86
1952	56,107,089	89,275,281	107,054,753	83.39	216,087.45	282,700	28,019.85	9.91
1954	56,306,704	90,565,754	109,122,793	82.99	230,235.86	302,600	26,665.75	8.81
1956	58,798,843	94,785,760	111,353,676	85.12	268,583.81	348,400	32,732.13	9.39
1958	58,700,924	95,240,441	113,558,478	83.87	282,166.42	379,500	34,335.65	9.05
1960	60,592,712	97,920,550	116,145,687	84.31	316,557.57	422,500	39,464.16	9.34
1962	62,290,595	99,113,994	119,412,390	83.00	349,860.99	469,100	44,902.84	9.57
1964	64,943,284	103,397,210	122,205,737	84.61	398,212.08	528,400	47,152.86	8.92
1966	69,786,185	109,486,582	126,664,717	86.44	470,271.72	620,600	56,087.08	9.04
1968	73,347,156	114,465,362	130,814,842	87.50	556,304.96	730,700	76,637.90	10.49
1970	73,862,448	115,982,827	135,290,289	85.73	634,250.26	864,600	83,900.71	9.70
1972	77,132,295	119,976,528	140,476,487	85.41	748,924.77	1,023,600	93,563.91	9.14
1974	82,794,391	126,681,708	145,867,315	86.85	910,803.19	1,249,300	123,591.23	9.89
1976	84,123,626	128,211,299	151,783,587	84.47	1,060,805.81	1,498,100	141,762.54	9.46
1978	89,247,480	133,471,142	157,810,346	84.58	1,309,918.74	1,859,500	188,169.09	10.12
1980	93,238,823	138,162,282	164,041,304	84.22	1,626,554.50	2,316,800	250,240.23	10.80
1982	94,426,498	140,036,782	169,374,534	82.68	1,875,871.71	2,778,800	277,470.22	9.99
1984	98,435,000	145,262,569	173,865,591	83.55	2,173,227.61	3,281,300	301,504.20	9.19
1986	102,087,623	149,426,316	177,785,002	84.05	2,524,123.61	3,725,100	366,978.73	9.85
1988	108,872,859	156,585,859	181,774,324	86.14	3,124,156.07	4,275,300	412,761.07	9.65
1990	112,812,262	160,790,937	185,916,304	86.49	3,451,237.01	4,904,500	447,061.15	9.12
1992	112,652,759	160,275,207	190,392,429	84.18	3,680,552.02	5,410,800	476,162.76	8.80
1994	114,989,920	162,968,892	194,804,126	83.66	3,961,146.46	5,934,700	534,754.49	9.01
1996	119,441,768	167,893,322	199,441,923	84.18	4,590,527.29	6,661,900	658,124.17	9.88
1998	123,775,831	173,021,980	204,686,760	84.53	5,469,211.17	7,587,700	788,451.91	10.39
2000	128,227,143	178,065,242	209,786,222	84.88	6,423,976.61	8,632,800	980,521.36	11.36
2002	128,323,986	179,066,260	214,688,736	83.41	6,113,778.28	9,149,500	796,861.89	8.71
2004	130,371,156	181,798,654	219,507,563	82.82	6,875,123.35	10,049,200	831,890.27	8.28
2006	135,719,160	188,216,198	224,622,198	83.79	8,122,039.56	11,389,800	1,023,738.93	8.99
2008	139,960,581	192,867,886	229,989,364	83.86	8,426,625.37	12,430,600	1,031,511.65	8.30
2010	140,337,881	193,171,890	235,153,929	82.15	8,277,946.52	12,435,200	951,423.49	7.65

Source: Internal Revenue Service; Bureau of Economic Analysis; U.S. Census Bureau

Table 2: Indices of Progressivity

Year	St	S	K	M	Year	St	S	K	M				
1929	0.99796	0.91012	0.71733	0.71036	1970	0.46086	0.34217	0.28281	0.24681				
1930	0.99634	0.93682	0.76853	0.76248	1971	0.49120	0.36630	0.30063	0.26391				
1931	0.99667	0.95034	0.79632	0.79128	1972	0.49731	0.37132	0.30323	0.26709				
1932	0.98971	0.91864	0.76940	0.75138	1973	0.48533	0.36044	0.29738	0.25982				
1933	0.99280	0.92723	0.76964	0.75706	1974	0.48039	0.35613	0.29448	0.25676				
1934	0.99387	0.93754	0.76813	0.76401	1975	0.53166	0.39824	0.32952	0.28854				
1935	0.99355	0.93486	0.76037	0.75716	1976	0.53489	0.40153	0.32888	0.28988				
1936	0.99295	0.92176	0.72988	0.72871	1977	0.55130	0.41353	0.33817	0.29823				
1937	0.99063	0.92163	0.72507	0.72679	1978	0.53818	0.40145	0.33120	0.28995				
1938	0.98924	0.92551	0.73786	0.73797	1979	0.53639	0.40038	0.32882	0.28867				
1939	0.98486	0.91159	0.69992	0.70703	1980	0.53419	0.39575	0.32700	0.28515				
1940	0.96137	0.87613	0.58896	0.63150	1981	0.52683	0.38842	0.32586	0.28116				
1941	0.83709	0.72355	0.49463	0.51348	1982	0.54037	0.39969	0.33571	0.28989				
1942	0.67653	0.57086	0.44077	0.42333	1983	0.55616	0.41388	0.34671	0.30065				
1943	0.60100	0.49825	0.40234	0.37447	1984	0.55700	0.41703	0.34926	0.30374				
1944	0.58056	0.45558	0.35449	0.32790	1985	0.55874	0.41674	0.34864	0.30286				
1945	0.60517	0.47261	0.36748	0.33933	1986	0.57746	0.42903	0.35254	0.30877				
1946	0.60944	0.48376	0.36373	0.34476	1987	0.56252	0.40236	0.32849	0.28414				
1947	0.54299	0.43013	0.32215	0.30577	1988	0.56052	0.38513	0.31537	0.26794				
1948	0.58175	0.46122	0.34239	0.32677	1989	0.55536	0.38296	0.31956	0.26882				
1949	0.57999	0.45802	0.34170	0.32464	1990	0.55859	0.38781	0.32564	0.27368				
1950	0.57983	0.45829	0.34067	0.32446	1991	0.56949	0.40205	0.33627	0.28524				
1951	0.52650	0.41111	0.31526	0.29339	1992	0.59814	0.42306	0.35161	0.29958				
1952	0.49994	0.38751	0.30315	0.27806	1993	0.61668	0.44563	0.36653	0.31703				
1953	0.47446	0.36634	0.29081	0.26411	1994	0.61958	0.44707	0.36795	0.31795				
1954	0.50321	0.38819	0.30405	0.27811	1995	0.62356	0.44654	0.36509	0.31569				
1955	0.49014	0.37738	0.29612	0.27035	1996	0.63099	0.44458	0.36022	0.31108				
1956	0.47650	0.36566	0.28882	0.26233	1997	0.62574	0.42963	0.34630	0.29700				
1957	0.46993	0.36014	0.28711	0.25927	1998	0.63248	0.42929	0.34372	0.29473				
1958	0.48754	0.37152	0.29813	0.26756	1999	0.63436	0.42273	0.33330	0.28668				
1959	0.47374	0.35856	0.28512	0.25645	2000	0.63750	0.41740	0.33055	0.28174				
1960	0.46784	0.35342	0.28468	0.25399	2001	0.64721	0.44893	0.36442	0.31242				
1961	0.47812	0.35861	0.28553	0.25564	2002	0.67517	0.48513	0.39331	0.34225				
1962	0.46664	0.34838	0.28026	0.24895	2003	0.67789	0.48356	0.39404	0.34084				
1963	0.46041	0.34306	0.27577	0.24486	2004	0.68423	0.47414	0.38254	0.32906				
1964	0.47591	0.35702	0.28597	0.25518	2005	0.68926	0.46224	0.36897	0.31559				
1965	0.48092	0.36231	0.28814	0.25863	2006	0.68773	0.45433	0.36397	0.30890				
1966	0.46741	0.35100	0.28050	0.25074	2007	0.67855	0.43905	0.35099	0.29611				
1967	0.46511	0.34839	0.27785	0.24839	2008	0.70031	0.48156	0.39121	0.33409				
1968	0.46046	0.34355	0.27488	0.24486	2009	0.72834	0.52895	0.42555	0.37363				
1969	0.44523	0.33124	0.26933	0.23743	2010	0.72645	0.51233	0.41229	0.35766				
Minimum (Year of Minimum)					0.44523	0.33124	0.26933	0.23743					
					(1969)	(1969)	(1969)	(1969)					
					Maximum (Year of Maximum)					0.99796	0.95034	0.79632	0.79128
					(1929)	(1931)	(1931)	(1931)					
Median					0.57347	0.42007	0.34118	0.29762					

Source: Author's calculations

Table 3: Indices of Redistributive Capacity

Year	$\overline{MT} = MT - 1$	RS	Year	$\overline{MT} = MT - 1$	RS		
1929	0.01186	0.00853	1970	0.04953	0.03039		
1930	0.00625	0.00482	1971	0.04954	0.03032		
1931	0.00375	0.00300	1972	0.05003	0.03051		
1932	0.00654	0.00508	1973	0.05090	0.03119		
1933	0.00793	0.00615	1974	0.05274	0.03233		
1934	0.00948	0.00733	1975	0.05328	0.03302		
1935	0.01086	0.00831	1976	0.05591	0.03437		
1936	0.01773	0.01303	1977	0.05893	0.03615		
1937	0.01537	0.01125	1978	0.06059	0.03729		
1938	0.01051	0.00784	1979	0.06172	0.03784		
1939	0.01207	0.00858	1980	0.06469	0.03960		
1940	0.01777	0.01089	1981	0.06472	0.04003		
1941	0.03395	0.02006	1982	0.05994	0.03724		
1942	0.05064	0.03299	1983	0.05654	0.03525		
1943	0.07327	0.04905	1984	0.05636	0.03534		
1944	0.06190	0.03743	1985	0.05701	0.03557		
1945	0.06500	0.03947	1986	0.06311	0.03853		
1946	0.05880	0.03509	1987	0.05789	0.03380		
1947	0.05560	0.03299	1988	0.05990	0.03370		
1948	0.04531	0.02667	1989	0.05743	0.03305		
1949	0.04288	0.02526	1990	0.05602	0.03266		
1950	0.04943	0.02904	1991	0.05523	0.03261		
1951	0.05360	0.03209	1992	0.05772	0.03393		
1952	0.05500	0.03335	1993	0.06027	0.03582		
1953	0.05213	0.03195	1994	0.06136	0.03644		
1954	0.04863	0.02938	1995	0.06450	0.03776		
1955	0.04921	0.02973	1996	0.06917	0.03949		
1956	0.04941	0.02995	1997	0.07212	0.03992		
1957	0.04838	0.02956	1998	0.07334	0.03986		
1958	0.04850	0.02966	1999	0.07831	0.04115		
1959	0.05022	0.03022	2000	0.08169	0.04235		
1960	0.04820	0.02933	2001	0.07095	0.03995		
1961	0.05061	0.03023	2002	0.06441	0.03752		
1962	0.04940	0.02967	2003	0.05801	0.03372		
1963	0.04992	0.02990	2004	0.06175	0.03453		
1964	0.04663	0.02802	2005	0.06659	0.03564		
1965	0.04570	0.02738	2006	0.06792	0.03594		
1966	0.04644	0.02787	2007	0.06958	0.03599		
1967	0.04855	0.02900	2008	0.06337	0.03540		
1968	0.05395	0.03221	2009	0.05623	0.03285		
1969	0.05400	0.03267	2010	0.06019	0.03416		
Minimum (Year of Minimum)			0.00375	0.00300			
			(1931)				
			Maximum (Year of Maximum)			0.08169	0.04905
			(2000)		(1943)		
Median			0.05450	0.03276			

Source: Author's calculations

POVZETEK

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Ugotovitve glede ameriškega zveznega davka na dohodek za razlikovanje med merami progresivnosti in redistributivnosti

Davek je »progresiven«, če se povprečna davčna stopnja povečuje s povečevanjem dohodka. Čeprav se že dolgo strinjajo glede te osnovne definicije progresivnosti, se strokovnjaki še niso dogovorili glede stopnje davčne progresivnosti. Na primer, ameriški zvezni davek na dohodek: iz pregleda povečevanja bodisi mejnih davčnih stopenj bodisi povprečnih davčnih stopenj je jasno, da je bil ta davek vedno progresiven. Ni pa jasno, kdaj je bil »najbolj progresiven«. Poleg tega je videti, da različne mere stopnje progresivnosti omogočajo nasprotujoča si razumevanja. Pričujoča študija prispeva k tej stalni razpravi z utemeljevanjem, da je o dveh dobro uveljavljenih in široko uporabljenih indeksih progresivnosti bolje razmišljati kot o merilih redistributivnosti.

Numerične vrednosti šestih različnih indeksov progresivnosti so bile za ameriški zvezni davek na dohodek določene od leta 1929 do leta 2010. Teh šest indeksov se uvršča v dva različna razreda. Dva indeksa, ki so ju definirali Musgrave in Thin (1948) ter Reynolds in Smolensky (1977), sta izračunana z Lorenzovo krivuljo, standardno »krivuljo koncentracije dohodka« pred obdavčitvijo in po njej. Štirje indeksi, ki so jih definirali Kakwani (1977), Suits (1977), Stroup (2005) in Mathews (2016), pa so izračunani na osnovi krivulje koncentracije dohodka pred obdavčitvijo in krivulje koncentracije davka.

Progresivni davek: (i) nalaga posameznikom z visokimi dohodki nesorazmerno davčno breme, tako da (ii) postane končna distribucija dohodka bolj enakovredna. Vseh teh šest indeksov meri učinek davka glede na ta dva tesno povezana izida. Širši namen pričujoče študije je jasno prikazati, kako različni indeksi progresivnosti merijo različne značilnosti davka. Z računanjem indeksnih vrednosti ameriškega zveznega davka na dohodek od leta 1929 do leta 2010 (v tem obdobju je prišlo do velikih sprememb tako pri deležu prebivalstva, zavezanega za plačilo tega davka, kot pri deležu davka glede na znesek dohodkov vseh državljanov) lahko ugotovimo, kaj se dejansko meri z vsakim indeksom. Na osnovi izračunanih vrednosti lahko potrdimo, da indeksi Kakwanija, Suitsa, Stroupa in Mathewsa merijo progresivnost, medtem ko indeksa Musgravea/Thina in Reynoldsa/Smolenskyja merita redistributivnost. Kateri indeks je najbolj uporaben, je odvisno od tega, na katera vprašanja želimo odgovoriti (tj. katere vidike politike si prizadevamo oceniti). Kdor želi oceniti, kako je breme financiranja vladnih izdatkov porazdeljeno med različnimi segmenti prebivalstva, mora npr. pogledati vrednosti mer Kakwanija, Suitsa, Stroupa in Mathewsa. Kdor pa želi potrdilo, da davčna politika zmanjša

neenakost dohodkov, mora za oceno, ali je ta cilj dosežen, pogledati meri Musgravea/Thina in Reynoldsa/Smolenskyja.

Izračunane indeksne vrednosti razkrivajo, da je v zgodnjih 1940. letih prišlo do dramatične in nenadne spremembe pri progresivnosti in redistributivnosti ameriškega zveznega davka na dohodek. Kot so pokazale meritve Kakwanija, Suitsa, Stroupa in Mathewsa, je bil ta davek prej veliko bolj progresiven. Meritve Musgravea/Thina in Reynoldsa/Smolenskyja pa so pokazale, da je bila njegova redistributivnost prej veliko manjša. Na prvi pogled so ti rezultati protislovnii, vendar to protislovje izgine ob skrbni proučitvi temeljne razlike med tem, kaj vsak razred indeksov resnično meri.

Davek je pomembno redistributiven, kadar sta izpolnjena dva pogoja: (a) en segment prebivalstva mora nositi nesorazmerno veliko davčno breme in (b) davek sam po sebi mora biti precej visok. Na indekse Kakwanija, Suitsa, Stroupa in Mathewsa – ki se osredotočajo na progresivnost obdavčitve – vpliva samo pogoj (a), ne pa tudi (b). Toda indeksa Musgravea/Thina in Reynoldsa/Smolenskyja sta odvisna od velikosti davčnega sistema. Ameriški zvezni davek na dohodek lahko pomembno redistribuira dohodek, ker se je v zgodnjih 1940. letih višina davka (merjena z odstotkom dohodkov vseh državljanov, plačanim v davčno blagajno) dramatično povečala. Ker je bil davek vedno progresiven, je njegovo drastično zvišanje v tem času vodilo do dramatičnega povečanja vrednosti indeksov Musgravea/Thina in Reynoldsa/Smolenskyja. Hkrati se je v istem času povečal tudi obseg davka (merjen z deležem prebivalstva, zavezanega za njegovo plačilo). To je bolj enakovredno razporedilo davčno breme med celotnim prebivalstvom, kar je vodilo do zmanjšanja vrednosti indeksov Kakwanija, Suitsa, Stroupa in Mathewsa. Razločevanje med vzroki teh dveh različnih izidov ponazarja različne attribute davka, merjenega z enim ali drugim razredom indeksov, kar razkriva, da indeksi Kakwanija, Suitsa, Stroupa in Mathewsa v resnici merijo progresivnost, medtem ko indeksa Musgravea/Thina in Reynoldsa/Smolenskyja merita redistributivnost.

Razen tega je bil od sredine 1970. let do leta 2010 ameriški zvezni davek na dohodek (i) bolj progresiven kot v obdobju od zgodnjih 1950. let do sredine 1970. let in je (ii) v večji meri redistribuiral dohodek kot v času od zgodnjih 1950. let do sredine 1970. let. Ob koncu članka avtor navaja nekatere preliminarne ugotovitve glede izidov progresivnosti in redistributivnosti odvisno od političnega vodstva. V povprečju je bil ameriški zvezni davek na dohodek bolj progresiven v letih, ko je bil na oblasti demokratski predsednik, medtem ko je bil dohodek v večji meri redistribuiran v letih, ko je bil na oblasti republikanski predsednik. Vse omenjene ugotovitve pa je mogoče oceniti samo ob pravilnem razumevanju, kaj meri posamezni razred indeksov.

Public Private Partnerships as a Systemic Instrument of Governance in Regional Innovation Policy

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ABSTRACT

We discuss which systemic functions can be implemented in regional innovation systems by using public private partnerships (PPP) as a vehicle of governance in innovation policy. We analyze PPPs in the field of regional innovation policy in which Swedish municipalities and regional authorities have been involved. We find that such PPPs are able to address knowledge related systemic goals of regional innovation policy more comprehensively than entrepreneurial goals; that PPPs tend to address the quantitative dimensions of systemic goals of regional innovation policy better than qualitative dimensions; and that there is considerable variation how PPPs address innovation-related goals across types of regions and industries involved.

Keywords: public-private partnerships, regional innovation systems, systemic instrument of regional innovation policy, regional governance

JEL: O38, R59

1 Introduction

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have appeared as an “emerging (and preferred) instrument” of governance in regional innovation policy, particularly in research and development policies and in cluster policies (Karlsson, 2008; OECD, 2011), with a focus on building and strengthening interfaces between the actors of a regional innovation system (Cooke & Morgan, 1994; Fogelberg & Thorpenberg, 2012; Hagedoorn, Link, & Vonortas, 2000; OECD, 2004, 2010, 2011). From a systemic perspective, the increased heterogeneity of innovation processes has, on the one hand, intensified networking and interactive learning as necessary provisions for promoting and diffusing innovation within a region (Asheim, Smith & Oughton, 2011;

Lundvall, 1992; OECD, 2011), but on the other hand, it has significantly elevated coordination needs and the risk of systemic failure (Smits & Kuhlmann, 2004; Wieczorek & Hekkert, 2012).

While most studies of regional innovation systems (RIS) focus on dynamics and innovation performance of RIS agents to provide inputs for innovation policy, our study addresses a key governance issue by analyzing established cooperative practices between public and private sector actors from a systemic perspective. The merge of structural facets that “produce, distribute and apply various kinds of knowledge” significantly facilitates knowledge generation (Wolfe, 1999, p. 130) and PPPs by its very nature are capable of acting as a systemic policy instrument to enhance interface management, strengthen cross-sectoral linkages and stimulate demand for goods based on specific technologies. Therefore, the concept of PPP – on which this paper is based – is defined in terms of synergetic relations between innovation agents, and is expressed in a co-operative institutional arrangement (Hodge & Greve, 2007).

We hypothesize that PPP is a suitable policy instrument to address systemic goals of regional innovation policy (RIP) and stimulate knowledge-development and entrepreneurial activities within an RIS. Our analysis of six RIP-related PPPs in Sweden largely confirms these hypotheses. The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 outlines the conceptual framework; Section 3 presents the research design and gives an overview of the empirical basis. Systemic goals addressed by PPPs are highlighted in Sections 4 (with regard to knowledge-related activities) and 5 (with regard to entrepreneurial activities). Section 6 provides conclusions.

2 The Conceptual Framework

2.1 Systemic Problems in Regional Innovation Systems

A regional innovation system (RIS) can be defined as an “institutional infrastructure supporting innovation within the productive structure of a region” (Asheim & Coenen, 2005) that comprises the knowledge application and exploitation sub-systems (regional production structure) and the knowledge generation and diffusion sub-systems (regional supportive infrastructure) (Cooke, 2002). Schumpeterian “new combinations” or cross-fertilization of existing factors are generated by a multifaceted set of structures in a different way (Lundvall, 1992), and innovation is considered an endogenous process comprising multiple learning processes embedded in regular economic activities (Edquist, 1997). The RIS approach emphasizes actors’ interdependence in the process of knowledge production, the institutional context that facilitates interaction and collective learning, and the position that tacit and “sticky” knowledge is best “traded” in a shared social milieu (Asheim & Coenen, 2005; Edquist, 1997; Gertler, 2003; Isaksen, 2001).

The systemic dimension of RIS derives from synergetic effects generated in the interaction among economic demand, political objectives, and technological opportunities (Leydesdorff & Zawdie, 2010), and the performance of an RIS therefore depends on the appropriate institutional milieu and the dynamics of actors' interactions. The increased importance of nonmarket coordination due to the systemic nature of innovation, and the integration of national and global markets into more complex systems has awakened interest for innovation policy instruments which are capable of handling interfaces and addressing enhanced coordination needs (Galli & Teubal, 2002).

Conceptual requirements of policy tools for dealing with systemic failures have been developed by Smits & Kuhlmann (2004) and Wieczorek & Hekkert (2012); the latter distinguish four systemic problems of the innovation process:

1. actors' problems are related to the (non-) presence of key actors (companies, knowledge organizations, government and others like financial organizations) and the (non-) availability of appropriate competences to face technological changes;
2. interaction/network problems are related to technological lock-ins hampering the development of new technologies, to the lack of complementary capabilities between agents, and to the level of interaction intensity (which might be too weak or too strong);
3. institutional problems are linked to "common sets of habits, routines, established practices, rules, or laws that regulate the relations and interactions between individuals, groups and organisations" (Edquist & Johnson, 1997) which might be inadequate for supporting innovation;
4. infrastructural problems are related to the availability and quality of physical infrastructure (including networks), knowledge/scientific infrastructure, and financial infrastructure.

Addressing these systemic problems requires policy instruments that potentially focus on the innovation system as a whole, supporting thereby crucial elements in the governance of innovation processes. Therefore systemic instruments are specific interventions that ought to target relevant system imperfections and failures, namely (Wieczorek & Hekkert, 2012):

1. the presence of actors' problems is addressed through the goal to "Stimulate and organize the participation of relevant actors" (henceforth: systemic goal A), and the capabilities' dimension of actors' problems through the goal to "Create space for actors' capabilities development" (goal B);
2. the presence of interaction problems is addressed through the goal to "Stimulate occurrence of interaction among heterogeneous actors" (goal C), and the capacity aspect of interaction problems through the goal to "Prevent ties that are either too strong or too weak" (goal D);

3. the presence of institutional problems is addressed through the goal to “Secure presence of hard and soft institutions” (goal *E*), the intensity dimension of institutional problems through the goal to “Prevent institutions being too weak or too stringent” (goal *F*);
4. the presence of infrastructural problems is addressed through the goal to “Stimulate physical, financial and knowledge infrastructure” (goal *G*), and the quality aspect of infrastructural problems through the goal to “Ensure adequate quality of infrastructure” (goal *H*).

Hence each category of systemic innovation problems comprises a quantitative dimension (presence of the problem) and a qualitative dimension (quality/intensity of the problem). In addition, each category also comprises an entrepreneurial dimension and a knowledge-related dimension for stimulating innovation¹. For allowing technological innovation activity to unfold its potential, simultaneous changes should take place across sectors and organizations calling for dynamic interaction between various actors of the innovation process.

2.2 Systemic Innovation Problems and PPP

In a systemic view of innovation, PPPs’ primary role is to build cooperation among agents involved in the innovation process and to build and strengthen the relationships between the public and private sectors. A PPP is

“an agreement between the government and one or more private partners (which may include the operators and the financiers) according to which the private partners deliver the service in such a manner that the service delivery objectives of the government are aligned with the profit objectives of the private partners and where the effectiveness of the alignment depends on a sufficient transfer of risk to the private partners” (OECD, 2008).

While many studies of PPP emphasize macroeconomic or microeconomic motivations for applying PPPs in public infrastructure development (e.g. Mrak, 2006; McQuaid & Scherrer, 2008; Švigelj & Hrovatin, 2013) in the case of innovation-policy delivery, PPPs are specifically motivated by their capacity to coordinate public and private actors (McQuaid & Scherrer, 2010; Kristensen, McQuaid, & Scherrer, 2016). Consequently, by their very nature PPPs enable policy makers to address systemic goals of innovation policy and to correct for systemic failures. PPP as a mode of governance then serves as a systemic instrument of innovation policy connecting public and private agents in a way which allows them to search for new combinations of factors of production, share risks and, finally, deliver a new product or service.² As the underlying rationale for collaboration in knowledge-related activities rests mainly on exploiting diverse knowledge, PPPs potentially encourage non-profit and

¹ Therefore subscript *k* will be used for knowledge-related systemic goals and subscript *e* for entrepreneurial systemic goals.

² This paper has its focus on technological innovation and on related services which are delivered in collaboration between public and private partners.

for-profit innovation agents to interact in a synergistic way (Edquist, 1997; Nelson & Winter, 1977).

Therefore, we hypothesize (H1) that PPPs are able to ensure the presence of relevant structural elements needed for knowledge-related activities within RIS by creating platforms for knowledge and competence exchange; and (H2) that PPPs are able to address the quality of structural properties relevant for knowledge-related activities within RIS by creating and stimulating interactive continuous learning among system elements.

The knowledge development activities, constitute, however, just one dimension of RIS, as knowledge ought to be translated into revenue-creating commercial activities in order for innovation to happen. In a systemic perspective of innovation not all aspects of knowledge generation and diffusion can be explained with the "isolated profit-maximizing firm" (Edquist, 1997) since the behavior and interaction of many RIS elements are governed by non-market forces (Edquist, 1997; Nelson & Winter, 1977). The capabilities and resources required for dealing with "the interconnected issues raised in many policy areas" (McQuaid, 2000) reside only partially within any given innovation agent. From a systemic perspective, entrepreneurs are seen as social agents that learn by interacting and develop their entrepreneurial identities only within an appropriate supporting system because interdependence shapes and limits the innovative capabilities and competitive dynamics of local companies. Hence, innovation actors should seek collaboration with partners that have a competitive advantage in particular aspects of an entrepreneurial ecosystem. Collaboration is best achieved in the context of shared accountability and commitment where all partners have an opportunity to influence the shared objectives, outcomes, evaluations and decision-making processes (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011). However, cooperation among local agents and the entrepreneurial climate largely depend on the policy environment and the historical evolution of the regional institutional framework. Forming partnerships between public and private actors in RIS might help create a greater impact on policy choices and expand public support, increasing the legitimacy of actions and involving agencies with a more narrow range of objectives (McQuaid, 2000), thus allowing more targeted policy interventions (Silva & Rodriguez, 2005).

Therefore we hypothesize (H3) that PPPs are able to ensure the presence of relevant structural elements needed for entrepreneurial activities within RIS; and (H4) that PPPs are able to contribute to the entrepreneurial capacity of RIS by increasing the socio-institutional and innovative potential of public and (particularly) private actors involved in collaboration.

3 Research Design

In order to empirically test the hypotheses H1 to H4 we adapt the systemic innovation policy framework of Wieczorek and Hekkert (2012) to six PPP cases which have been established in Sweden in the field of RIP³. Hypotheses will be considered confirmed if empirical results are supportive for all relevant goals in all six cases of PPP and will be considered rejected if empirical results are supportive only in two or fewer goals within a dimension (across all cases), and/or in three or fewer cases (across all goals within a dimension). Otherwise empirical results are considered only partially supportive.

Sweden was selected because of its long corporatist tradition in which public and private agents are expected to engage in cooperation for “the mutual benefit of social development” and because PPP as the “mutual development model in Sweden still worked” (Fogelberg & Thorpenberg, 2012, p. 354). Empirical evidence suggests that PPPs are a common instrument in Sweden’s RIP (Kristensen, McQuaid, & Scherrer, 2016) rooted in strong local self-governance which enables local policy makers to exert a significant degree of autonomy in undertaking policy initiatives with the involvement of private partners (Weihe et al., 2011). Local policy makers enjoy considerable fiscal autonomy as the taxes on the local level account for two-thirds of Swedish local authorities’ revenues and therefore provide a sound financial basis for a custom-tailored RIP (SCB, 2012).

For empirical analysis six PPPs from Övre Norrland (SE 33) and Sydsverige (SE 22) in the life science, ICT and automotive industries were selected. In order to capture regional and industry-specific variations, the case study selection criteria were based on innovative performance of the region⁴, the role of key knowledge-intensive industries for economic diversification of the region, and the co-initiation structure used for establishing the PPPs⁵. Semi-structured interviews with major stakeholders of the PPPs constitute the major source of data; additional input was obtained through secondary data analysis covering evaluation reports, policy documents, legislation and other written material.

Interviews were conducted with six representatives from private companies (mainly chief-executive officers) and ten from the public sector including university researchers and representatives from national and regional governmental agencies. Interviews were based on open-ended and follow-up questions, enabling respondents to provide in-depth information on their experiences in public-private cooperation. Interview transcripts were coded according to categories and sub-categories identified in the course of data

3 For detailed information about the six cases see Appendix 1.

4 According to the European Regional Innovation Scoreboard (EU, 2014) Sydsverige (SE22, the South of Sweden) is an “innovation leader” region while Övre Norrland is an “innovation follower”.

5 PPPs can be (co-) initiated by policy makers at the municipal and/or regional and/or national levels.

processing (Saldaña, 2009), which are used as “proxies” for indicating if a PPP is considered to address the respective systemic goal (see Table 1).

Table 1: Definition of Proxy “Indicators”

RIS dimension	Systemic Goals <i>k</i> : knowledge-related; <i>e</i> : entrepreneurial	Proxies <i>k</i> : knowledge-related; <i>e</i> : entrepreneurial
Presence	A_k, A_e “Stimulate and organise the participation of relevant actors”	Learning-oriented meetings (for goal A_k) Existence of strategy-oriented meetings (for goal A_e)
	C_k, C_e “Stimulate occurrence of interaction among heterogeneous actors”	Frequency of formal & informal interactions (for goal C_k) Consensus building efficiency (for goal C_e)
	E_k, E_e “Secure presence of hard and soft institutions”	Presence of an adequate institutional framework (for goal E_k) Lobbying power (for goal E_e)
	G_k, G_e “Stimulate physical, financial and knowledge infrastructure”	Availability of research infrastructure (for goal G_k) Availability of local financial support, physical infrastructure and local commuting systems (for goal G_e)
Quality	B_k, B_e “Create space for actors’ capabilities development”	Partners’ learning outcomes (for goal B_k) Approaches to strategic planning (for goal B_e)
	D_k, D_e “Prevent ties that are either too strong or too weak”	Power structure & the balance of partners’ influence (for goal D_k) Power structure & the balance of partners’ influence (for goal D_e)
	F_k, F_e “Prevent institutions being too weak or too stringent”	Stringency of the partnership composition (for goal F_k) General legal frame (for goal F_e)
	H_k, H_e “Ensure adequate quality of infrastructure”	Research quality & partners’ contribution to education & research (for goal H_k) PPPs’ impact on regional policy-making (for goal H_e)

The respondents’ answers could be subject to some bias as they might be interested in claiming that “their” respective PPP is successful and thus deliver a rather positive view on cooperation. Another challenge of qualitative analysis has been the lack of operational and comparable quantitative success indicators. For these reasons a cross-check with independent reports of selected PPPs and other sources was performed, showing that respondents’ answers seem to provide an adequate picture of collaboration.

4 PPP and Knowledge-Related Systemic Functions

PPP’s aim to bring together key public and private actors (goal A_k) to achieve a mission that requires competence, knowledge and resources beyond what each agent possesses individually. The participation of various public and private partners is stimulated and organized through narrow-focused expert meetings and more general educational or training meetings.

In addressing systemic goal B_k PPPs aim at developing new skills or techniques and act as a catalyst creating a stimulating environment for interaction. They facilitate learning by creating new practices and opening up new opportunities to enhance the optimization of shared information and data among partners. The rationale for undertaking a PPP from a learning perspective varies among participating private partners: business activities and innovation strategies

in IT PPPs seem to require proactive learning, whereas in the life-science industry the preferred learning modes of the private partners are consistent with those forms that are easily accommodated within an existing operational and innovation model of the respective companies (this can mean simple business transactions like renting space or equipment to other companies).

Concerning goal C_k the structures of the six PPPs allow for widening the scope of actors' regular (social) interaction through formal meetings (at least two per year) and informal meetings among stakeholders (which are considered essential for knowledge exchange).

Systemic goal D_k is approximated by the existence of one or very few partners which dominate the PPP's goal setting and performance. The power distribution between partners has implications on the supply of complementary knowledge essential for interactive learning and innovation; different forms and shifts of power distribution might reduce incentives for public and (particularly) private participation. The dominance of the public actors' interest might not affect the intensity of current cooperation but might have an impact in the long run.

By providing an institutional framework (goal E_k) in the form of contracts and documents (hard institutions) which set up the respective public-private cooperation, PPPs in all six cases ensure the presence of a permanent cooperation platform for operation and decision-making. Soft institutions are promoted by several PPPs by enhancing cohesive social structures and developing common norms and trust among partners. Trust is considered particularly valuable in situations when the interests and incentives of partners are not perfectly aligned because it supports knowledge exchanges that would not have been possible otherwise.

The stringency of institutions (goal F_k) is reflected in the rigidity of membership structures (rules for partners' appointment and resignation) and the corresponding degree of knowledge-sharing among partners. "Open" partnership structures provide flexibility to incorporate "external" expertise and skills which are essential for the PPP's activities, while "rigid" forms reduce the risks of coordination failure and information leakage by limiting new partners' appointment. PPPs in life science and automotive industries are characterized by relatively weak institutional configurations, while in the IT industry rapid changes in technology and frequent new product introductions seem to require a partnership structure potentially capable of averting information leakage and unwanted competitors' access to new knowledge created within the partnership.

Systemic goal G_k is addressed in all cases by providing research platforms for knowledge and competence exchange. The presence of a university is perceived to be crucial for achieving this goal.

The quality of knowledge infrastructure (goal H_k) is influenced by companies' active involvement in education and research with the purpose to stimulate the responsiveness of higher education to industry needs. This commitment takes various forms like adjunct professorships, guest lecturing, industrial internships and PhDs, student projects and supervision etc. Interaction between industry and academia is rather intense in all PPPs, and only in one case has the intensity of industry-university interaction decreased recently.

5 PPP and Entrepreneurial Systemic Functions

All six PPPs succeed in stimulating and organizing the participation of relevant actors (goal A_e) through strategic meetings and market-oriented activities like branding support. No specific regional tax incentives have been applied to stimulate private partners' participation in public-private cooperation for innovation creation.

By applying a team-based approach to the strategic planning of collaborative activities all PPPs provide an opportunity for partners to articulate available competences and resources (goal B_e). Only one PPP applies a few-player approach to strategic planning, in which private companies are not essentially involved in the process of vision and strategy development.

With regard to goal C_e the IT-sector PPPs explicitly report that direct communication among partners significantly contributes to consensus-building through balancing interests, which might be attributed to their rigid organizational structure. Within the life-science sector PPPs' public and private partners achieve common ground by jointly pursuing long-term goals of regional growth and employment generation, while consensus-building processes appear to be less well articulated in automotive-industry PPPs. Among their members most PPPs enhance the perception of individual and collective benefits from knowledge- and competence-sharing among partners (which is consistent with goal B_e).

Systemic goal D_e is addressed in the same way as concerning knowledge-related activities. In one PPP in Sydsverige large private players show some dominance, while in one PPP in Övre Norrland regional and local authorities dominate.

Concerning goal E_e differences across PPPs exist; they are systematically related neither to sectors nor to regions in which the PPPs have been established. Nearly all cases report only limited lobbying activity to take place through the PPP which suggests that such activities are either carried out through other channels (e.g. business and industry associations) or by large enterprises which are partners in the PPP but which can act independently.

Addressing systemic goal F_e through PPPs seems to be sector-related. PPPs in the ICT sector, again, exhibit rigid membership structures whereas PPPs in the life-science and automotive industries have more flexible membership

structures. Open PPP membership structures seem to be more important concerning entrepreneurial activities than knowledge-related activities.

All PPPs are successful in providing an extent of physical infrastructure (goal G_e) which is adequate to manage collaborative activities. The specific financial infrastructure in the form of joint research funding is provided in two PPPs, while infrastructure of a more general nature like public transport and logistics is provided outside the PPPs.

With regard to goal H_e PPPs in the peripheral region are placed within relatively small (though active) regional research environments and considered important regional players. They are strongly involved in regional economic policy-making, considering this a major channel to ensure the provision of adequate infrastructure. PPPs in the larger and higher developed Sydsverige play a less important role in regional economic policy making.

6 Summary and Conclusion

The capacity of PPPs to address systemic goals and to act as a mode of governance in regional innovation policy was analyzed by applying a framework of systemic goals and functions of innovation policy developed by Wieczorek and Hekkert (2012) to six cases in Sweden. Four hypotheses on the capability of PPPs to provide systemic functions in RIP were developed in section 2 and were tested in sections 4 and 5⁶. Table 2 provides an overview of results; a “✓” indicates that a goal is addressed by the corresponding PPP case.

Hypothesis H1 is confirmed: PPPs appear to be important for stimulating the participation of multiple stakeholders (goal A_k), the occurrence of interactions among them (goal C_k), securing the presence of hard and soft institutions (goal E_k), and ensuring the availability of the knowledge infrastructure (goal G_k). PPPs therefore generally are capable of addressing the presence dimension of knowledge-related systemic functions of an RIS.

Hypothesis H2 is partially supported by empirical evidence: All PPPs aim at “direct learning” outcomes and act as a catalyst for creating a stimulating environment for interaction (goal B_k) and add to providing high-quality knowledge-related infrastructure for innovation (goal H_k). The stringency of linkages between public and private stakeholders (goal F_k) varies across economic sectors, and a majority of PPPs (though not all) extend partners’ capacity to exert influence over the partnership’s operating activities (goal D_k).

⁶ Hypotheses will be considered confirmed if empirical results are supportive for all relevant goals in all six cases of PPP and will be considered rejected if empirical results are supportive only in two or fewer goals within a dimension (across all cases), and/or in three or fewer cases (across all goals within a dimension). Otherwise empirical results are considered only partially supportive. See section 3.

Table 2: Knowledge-Related and Entrepreneurial Goals Addressed by PPP Cases – Overview

Hypothesis	Goal	PPP cases					
		MV	BU	SoS	FL	KCFP	CASTT
H1	Goal A _k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal C _k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal E _k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal G _k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
H2	Goal B _k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal D _k	✓	o	✓	✓	o	✓
	Goal F _k	✓	✓	o	o	✓	✓
	Goal H _k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
H3	Goal A _e	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal C _e	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal E _e	✓	o	o	o	o	o
	Goal G _e	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
H4	Goal B _e	✓	o	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Goal D _e	✓	o	✓	✓	o	✓
	Goal F _e	✓	✓	o	o	✓	✓
	Goal H _e	✓	✓	o	✓	o	✓

Hypothesis H3 is confirmed: All PPPs succeed in stimulating and organizing the participation of relevant actors (goal A_e) and in providing physical infrastructure to a degree, although only partially concerning financial infrastructure (goal G_e). Goals C_e and E_e are addressed in all PPPs, too, although differences across PPPs exist with regard to the way how these goals are addressed. PPPs therefore generally are capable of addressing the presence dimension of entrepreneurial systemic functions of an RIS.

Hypothesis H4 is partially supported by empirical evidence: All PPPs provide an opportunity for partners to articulate available competences and resources (goal B_e), and the majority of PPPs extend partners' capacities to exert influence over the partnership's operating activities (goal D_e). Concerning goal F_e sector-related differences of the stringency of institutions across PPPs have been found. The impact on the quality of infrastructure through PPPs (goal H_e) varies across regions; not all aspects of infrastructure are targeted by PPPs.

Thus we find that all PPPs are able to ensure the presence of relevant structural elements within a RIS with regard to both knowledge-related and entrepreneurial activities. The result is less clear concerning quality aspects as PPPs' structural diversity allows for considerable qualitative variations of RIS characteristics across regions and industries; therefore, the qualitative (capability) dimension's accomplishments vary across goals, sectors and regions. PPPs tend to be gradually more suitable for targeting quality aspects of knowledge-related than for targeting entrepreneurial regional innovation activity. Particularly in non-profit forms of cooperation, PPPs in the field of RIP are primarily focused on knowledge-related activities in order to enhance

innovation processes. Entrepreneurial activities are also present since joint generation of innovative ideas offers attractive business incentives for private stakeholders by facilitating commercial embracing and exploitation of emerging innovation.

Differences along the knowledge-related dimension of systemic goals of RIP appear to be industry-specific. The learning rationale and the strength of relationships between participating actors differ across sectors: in life science PPPs' learning practices appear to be easily adaptable to existing operational and innovation patterns of partners; in ICT-based PPPs more effort is devoted to workforce up-skilling than PPPs in the other sectors. Differences along the entrepreneurial dimension of systemic goals of RIP appear to be largely region-specific. The institutional framework seems to be rather context-dependent, and the levels of regional policy-coordination efficiency might vary across (types of) regions. The economic diversification in large and highly developed Sydsverige intensifies redistributive conflicts among a multitude of actors, while in peripheral Övre Norrland's RIP only a smaller number of actors is present, and PPPs therefore tend to exert more influence in regional policy-making.

Our empirical analysis relates to industries with analytical and synthetic knowledge bases (Asheim & Coenen, 2005), and to regions that are part of a nation which is among Europe's innovation leaders. Further research, therefore, should be extended to more varieties of regional contexts and industries in order to capture an even broader spectrum of PPP-use in RIP. As proximity issues are a key element for understanding the innovation process (Boschma, 2005) future research should also focus on operationalizing proximity linkages within the PPP context. Last but not least research on the use of PPPs as a systemic instrument of regional innovation policy would benefit from solving the issue of performance measurement of PPPs in order to allow comparing the effectiveness and efficiency of PPP with other instruments of regional innovation policy.

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Appendix 1: Description of Cases

Region	Case	Description
Sydsverige (the South of Sweden)	Medicon Valley (MV)	MV is a Danish-Swedish biotech cluster, specializing in five therapeutic areas i.e. diabetes/metabolism, neuroscience, cancer, inflammation and allergy, comprises the capital city, Copenhagen, and the Själland region on the Danish side, and Skåne region on the Swedish side (the cross-border Öresund region). MV has currently 250 paying members including universities, hospitals, regional governments and life science companies (including the major pharmaceutical companies in the region i.e. Novo Nordisk, Lundbeck and Astra-Zeneca) representing the triple helix structure in the region. At the cluster organization level, public-private cooperation is well established implying that financial and performance consequences of a risk are distributed among public and private partners; however, as there are complex interactions with both local and international research groups, knowledge networks in life science industry (particularly of major companies) the risk distribution as well as the degree of financial and performance risk will vary across projects.
	The Industry Excellence Center System Design on Silicon (SoS)	SoS was launched in 2008 at Lund University by the Swedish Innovation Agency (Vinnova) as a 10 year project, operating under the umbrella program called 'Industry Excellence Center Program', to contribute to the development of novel system solutions on silicon for wireless communication devices (Vinnova 2010). SoS builds up on a long-term commitment and research interest from one of the major ICT players i.e. Ericsson. The main mission of the established Center is to strengthen collaborative links between industry and university with the intention of upgrading knowledge and competence necessary to carry out high-quality and industry-relevant research. These favourable framework conditions have offered a platform for an open dialogue between partners, bringing basic research closer to industrial needs and thereby reducing the risk of project failure i.e. performance risk is shared between public and private partners (Vinnova 2010). However, a certain financial risk is still present if one of the multinational enterprises decides to withdraw from the partnership, putting a financial restraint on research activities for both public and private partners.
	The Competence Center for Combustion Processes (KCFP)	KCFP started in 1995 under the national umbrella program called the 'Swedish Competence Centers Program' with the purpose to build a better understanding of the combustion process in internal combustion engines. Strong connections with Sweden's automotive, stationary power and heavy vehicle industry that go back to the big restart of combustion activities in Lund in the beginning of the 1990s (prior to the establishment of KCFP), laid the basis for the center's cross-disciplinary interaction between various public and private partners (Baras et al. 2003). The scope of the Center's operation has created an enabling environment also for the participation of SMEs (Swedish Energy Agency 2009) that may serve as potential suppliers to large companies (e.g. valve technology promoted by the Center to engine OEMs). Partners are exposed to a low risk of not reaching the full research potential as well as to some level of financial risk as funding come in equal shares from public and private stakeholders.
Övre Norrland (the North of Sweden)	Biotech Umeå (BU)	BU is a life-science cluster in the north of Sweden that is currently functioning under the umbrella of Uminova Innovation – Business Incubator and Technology Transfer Office - to support growth of the biotech and medical technology industry in the region particularly in the areas of infectious disease research, plant and forest biotechnology, the nervous system, metabolic diseases, medical technology and diagnostics. As an emerging cluster, BU lacks a broad industrial base, and its potential for collaboration with partners from outside is limited; therefore its activities are primarily directed towards creating spin-offs rather than strategic research and product development (European Commission 2011). However, at the individual level, cluster stakeholders (companies and universities) are quite externally-oriented and open for R&D activities and business partnerships with partners outside the cluster where financial and performance risks are shared between public and private partners.
	The Faste VINN Excellence Center For Innovation in the Functional Product Area – the Faste Laboratory (FL)	In 2007 the FL started at Luleå University of Technology under the national 'VINN Excellence Center Program' aiming to enhance the interaction between research and industry towards producing tangible economic benefits and innovation. Collaborative efforts of a PPP are directed at the alignment of research agenda with shared industrial needs of private partners with the purpose of contributing to sustainable economic growth (Vinnova 2009). Some of the private partners e.g. Loussavaara-Kiirunavaara AB (LKAB) have long-standing links with the Luleå University of Technology providing a solid foundation of mutual trust and understanding that the current Center can build upon (ibid).). However, failure to meet the planned performance level according to the submitted program, which in turn may jeopardize future cash flow (every second year VINNOVA evaluates work and research progress and makes decision whether or not to grant funding for another year) exposes partners to a certain degree of shared financial and performance risk.
	The Center of Excellence For Automotive Systems Technologies and Testing (CASTT)	CASTT was founded by Luleå University of Technology in 2005 with the purpose to support the automotive industry in the north of Sweden. The initiative came from the national government, yet not as a formal request but more like guidance in the form of a 'press release' stating that the government will allot a certain amount of money for the university with the purpose to support winter test automotive area in the north of Sweden. However, funding is currently only limited to ERDF and to financial contributions from VINNOVA. Private partners include automotive testing companies, which are predominantly SMEs (the largest one has a turnover of about 40 million euro), organized in the Swedish Proving Ground Association (SPGA), automobile and component manufacturers; public partners include the county, municipalities and Luleå University of Technology. Private partners bear relatively low financial risk and comparatively high performance risk as regards hurting their business reputation on the market if they are not able to deliver the agreed service. Public partners are predominantly exposed to financial risk due to its strong dependence on public funding whereas performance risk is significantly lower and is mainly related to supervisory reporting (in order to raise funding for future activities).

POVZETEK

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Javno-zasebno partnerstvo kot sistemski instrument upravljanja v regionalni inovacijski politiki

V tem članku proučujemo, ali lahko javno-zasebno partnerstvo (JZP) deluje kot sistemski instrument regionalne inovacijske politike (RIP). JZP se je pojavil kot vse bolj znan in upoštevan instrument upravljanja v regionalni inovacijski politiki, še posebej pri raziskovanju in razvoju politik ter pri politikah grozdov. Potrebe po sodelovanju in tveganje sistemske napake so se povečevali zaradi vse večje heterogenosti inovacijskih procesov in agentov. Za JZP je značilno, da se osredotoča na graditev in krepitev povezav med akterji regionalnega inovacijskega sistema (RIS). Koncept JZP se v članku razume kot izraz sinergijske povezave med inovacijskimi agenti, izražene v sporazumu o sodelovanju institucij.

Študija analizira vzpostavljene kooperativne prakse med akterji javnega in zasebnega sektorja s sistemskega vidika v okviru štirih sistemskih problemov inovacijskega procesa. V skladu z literaturo razlikujemo: probleme akterjev, povezane z (ne)navzočnostjo ključnih akterjev in (ne)dostopnostjo ustreznih kompetenc za soočanje s tehnološkimi spremembami; interakcijske ali omrežne probleme, povezane s tehnološko zaostalostjo, ki ovira razvoj novih tehnologij, s pomanjkanjem komplementarnih zmogljivosti med agenti in ravni intenzivnosti interakcij; institucionalne probleme, povezane z množico splošnih navad, rutin, vzpostavljenih praks, pravil ali zakonov, ki ne utegnejo ustrezno podpirati inoviranja, ter infrastrukturne probleme, povezane z dostopnostjo in s kakovostjo fizične, izobraževalne in finančne infrastrukture. Vsak od naštetih sistemskih problemov ima tako kvantitativno kot kvalitativno dimenzijo. Poleg tega obsega vsak sistemski problem tudi podjetniško dimenzijo in z znanjem povezano dimenzijo za spodbujanje inoviranja. Če naj instrument inovacijske politike velja kot "sistemski" in sposoben izvajati sistemsko funkcijo, pa mora uspešno reševati vsaj enega od teh sistemskih problemov.

V članku poteka razprava o tem, katere sistemske funkcije se lahko uvajajo v regionalnih inovacijskih sistemih z uporabo JZP-ja kot gonila upravljanja v inovacijski politiki. Analiziramo šest primerov JZP-ja na področju RIP-a, v katerih so bile udeležene švedske občine in regionalne oblasti. Primeri se nanašajo tako na centralna kot periferna območja države, izhajajo iz treh industrijskih panog (avtomobilska industrija, informacijska tehnologija, bioznanost) z različnimi bazami znanja. Domnevamo, da je JZP primeren politični instrument za doseganje sistemskih ciljev RIP-a ter spodbujanje razvoja znanja in podjetniških aktivnosti znotraj RIS-a.

Analiza večinoma potrjuje naše hipoteze. Ugotavljamo, da lahko vsi primeri JZP-ja zagotovijo prisotnost relevantnih strukturnih elementov v RIS-u,

tako aktivnosti, povezane z znanjem, kot podjetniške aktivnosti. Rezultat je manj jasen pri vidikih kakovosti, kajti strukturna raznolikost JZP-jev dopušča precejšnje kakovostne razlike značilnosti RIS-a v različnih regijah in industrijskih panogah. Pri JZP-jih se postopno pokaže, da so bolj primerni za lotevanje vidikov kakovosti sistemskih funkcij, povezanih z znanjem, kot za podjetniške funkcije regionalne inovacijske aktivnosti. Videti je, da so razlike pri dimenziji sistemskih ciljev RIP-a, povezanih z znanjem, specifične glede na industrijsko panogo. Logika učenja in čvrstost odnosov med sodelujočimi akterji se razlikujeta po sektorjih: v panogi bioznanosti se učenje zlahka prilagaja obstoječim operativnim in inovacijskim vzorcem partnerjev; v JZP-jih v panogi informacijske tehnologije pa je usposabljanju delovne sile namenjenih več prizadevanj kot v JZP-jih v drugih sektorjih. Razlike pri podjetniški dimenziji sistemskih ciljev RIP-a so pretežno odvisne od regije. Institucionalni okvir je bolj odvisen od konteksta, medtem ko se raven učinkovitosti regionalne politične koordinacije razlikuje glede na tip regije. Ekonomska diverzifikacija na velikih in visoko razvitih centralnih območjih povečuje intenzivnost konfliktov redistribucije med množico akterjev, medtem ko je v regionalni inovacijski politiki perifernih območij navzoče zgolj majhno število akterjev, zato imajo JZP-ji večji vpliv pri oblikovanju regionalne politike.

Public Participation in South Africa's Policy Decision-Making Process: The Mass and the Elite Choices

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ABSTRACT

Public participation in policy-making dominates most Development, Political Science and Public Administration academic discourses. The issue of concern is the extent to which governments are able to create structures that allow for public participation of citizens in matters affecting their political and developmental concerns. The success of any government administration is, therefore, measured on the basis of how the citizens participate and contribute to the process of deciding their own political and developmental direction. It is argued that the public participation approach that considers the interests, contributions and needs of citizens in policy decision-making processes is difficult in practice. This article investigates the processes of public participation in public policy-making in South Africa with respect to the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act 92 of 1996, the Abolition of Capital Punishment policy and the Civil Union Act 17 of 2006. This is done with a view to determine if public participation in policy decision-making is a reflection of the choices of the elite or the masses.

Keywords: abortion, civil union bill, elite, public participation, public policy

JEL: Z00

1 Introduction

Public participation is a contestable concept in modern public administration discourse. King, Feltey, and O'Neill Susel (1998) indicate that the concept of public in public administration has been a subject of enquiry, experimentation, revolution and controversy since the birth of the nation state. It is argued that in accordance with modern democratic principles governments have to create enabling structures for public participation in policy-making processes. A public participation model in policy decision-making that conceives the needs, interests, contributions and ideals of the entire nation has thus far proved to be difficult and impractical in policy-making and implementation.

Public policies of the nation state are supposed to reflect the interests and needs of the citizens they are supposed to benefit.

This article investigates the processes of the South African public participation in public policy in order to determine if public participation processes in policy decision-making reflect the choices of the elite or the masses. The focus of this article is on assessing how the Termination of Pregnancy Act, the Abolition of Capital Punishment and the Civil Union Act 17 of 2006 were adopted despite the mass protests against them. The article also focuses on the conceptualisation of public participation, legislative frameworks governing public participation in South Africa, the culture of the nation and public policies, the role of the legislature in policy-making, the practices of public participation in South African governance, and whether policies adopted reflect the choices of the elite or of the masses.

2 Conceptualising Public Participation

According to Kanyane (2004) and Sebola and Fourie (2006) the concept of public participation is the equivalent of community participation, citizen participation and civil participation. Nzimakwe (2010), the Australia South Africa Local Governance Partnership (2012), INFED (2012), and Kemp and Hilliard (2012) regard the concept as the process of involving the public in decision-making, implementation and evaluation of programmes affecting their lives.

In South Africa, the concept public participation is used interchangeably with community participation. Whether it is public or community participation is not a subject of concern in this article. What is significant is to argue that participation in South Africa is regarded as a fundamental right in which public policies adopted are regarded as a reflection of what the South African communities in the country agreed on with their constituencies and government.

While participation relates to various concepts, it is often vulnerable to contextual abuse and misinterpretation, where it is often used to refer to public involvement. Kellermann and Kotze (1991, p. 35) indicate that participation and involvement are distinctive concepts in that participation implies a "share in" while involvement implies a feeling of belonging where people become involved because of that feeling. Participation is therefore a complex concept in which a mere passive involvement of the people in government activities does not align with the definition. Kellerman (1991, p. 52) argues that the members of the public must be able to exercise varying forms of influence in adopted programmes of action. It can be concluded that in any form of public engagement in which public influence is not considered, no public participation can be claimed to have taken place.

South Africa does, however, have legislation in place that promotes public participation. The existence of such legislative frameworks gives South Africa the competitive advantage of democratic integrity. Garcia-Zamor (2012) shows that the significance of policy lies in its ability to balance the benefits between individuals in the society. This means that a policy pursuing the interests of selective individuals in society, lacks good ethos and intentions to achieve public good.

3 Legislative frameworks Governing Public Participation in South Africa

Public participation in South Africa is believed to be a mechanism by which democracy and good governance will be deepened (Public Service Commission, 2008, p. ii; Mzimakwe, 2010; Hilliard & Kemp, 2012). The participation of people in governance and policy-making assures them that their experiential and grounded perspectives inform government of their needs and how they could be addressed. There are two legislative frameworks relevant for this discussion about public participation in South Africa. These are the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996 and the *Municipal Systems Act 32* of 2000.

3.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Public participation in South Africa is a key constitutional principle. The Constitution of 1996 states that "people's needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making. Institutions, both public and private, which are in partnerships with the government, are constitutionally bound to practise public participation in policy-making and implementation" (South Africa, 1996). This implies that decisions taken by government, a public entity or the private sector without public engagement are unconstitutional and can be declared illegal.

3.2 Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000

The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 contains a full chapter on public participation. It states in section 42(2) that "a municipal council, within the municipality financial and administrative capacity and having regard to practical considerations, has the duty to, amongst other things, encourage the involvement of local community and consult the local community about:

- the level, quality, range and impact of municipal services provided by the municipality, either directly or through other service providers
- the available options for service delivery" (South Africa, 2000).

The Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) requires municipalities to establish mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable local communities to participate in local governance affairs (ASALGP, 2012, p. 2). The Integrated

Development Plan (IDP) of a municipality is a significant tool to achieve public participation.

4 Culture and Policy of the Nation State

A British anthropologist, Edward B. Taylor, refers to culture as a complex whole range of aspects that includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (O'Neil, 2006, pp. 1–4). Culture is regarded as complexes of learned behaviour, patterns and perceptions of life and its practices. Cliffs Notes (2012, p. 1) noted that it is through culture that people and groups are able to define themselves, conform to society's shared values and contribute to society. The concept "nation state" refers to political, economic, social and cultural actors in the international system" (Towson University, 2012, p. 1). Koopmans and Statham (1999); Rotberg (2003, pp. 1–2); Opello and Rossow (2004, p. 2), and Rabkin (2008, p. 28) also define a nation state as a state that identifies itself as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit. The state has an identity that is reflected by shared cultural practices common to the country's citizens.

It is, however, notable that cultural practices today are influenced by countries that play a highly influential role in the global economy. These countries are influential in the global village environment and often adopt policies that are controversial in the contextual meanings of African and other developing countries' culture (e.g. gay and lesbian marriages). Currently, whatever the governments of the United States of America (USA) and Britain view as "civilised policies" for their people have to be supported by countries that owe them loyalty because of their economic power on the international stage. Democracy in countries that owe them such loyalty is, as such, to be viewed through the eyes of the economic power.

Dewar (1997, p. 7) argues that the culture of the previous white electorate of the apartheid state (South Africa) was based on an education system that emphasised discipline and respect for authority, which were reinforced by compulsory military training for all males. Public policies were made by the ruling *elite* with limited right of the public to question such policy. Public participation in policy decision-making never existed. As such, the practice was that the publication of policies was made in the government gazette and only required the public to react to policies without a guarantee that their opinions would make a difference to policy adoption. The members of the public were never consulted, neither did they participate in the formulation, since only their reactions were required to legitimise and implement the policy.

Ziegenfuss, Jr (2000) notes that members of the public are to be regarded as owners and shareholders in the policy-making process. The current policy-making strategy in South Africa is said to adopt a participatory approach in

which public participation is emphasised and practised to the extent that the public's contribution should shape the policy direction of the government. This objective, however, depends on the effectiveness of the legislature as a law-making body of the country.

5 The role of the Legislature in Policy-Making

Legislatures are institutions that make democratic systems function properly in government systems (Lafenwa, 2009, p. 9). The role of legislatures in policy-making is very clear and involves expressing the will of the people, passing laws and holding the government (executive) accountable. At least that is how legislatures in democratic countries are expected to function. Martin and Vanberg (2005) argue that political scientists have little knowledge of the extent to which legislatures influence policy-making in parliamentary democracies.

Rao (2011, p. 57) argues that the role of the legislature has become a constitutional requirement rather than a required constitutional role. The practical law-making environment presents a different scenario in which the executive often takes charge of the legislative role instead of carrying out their implementation function. This is not the only challenge that legislatures face in executing their roles. Other challenges include their capability to make policy information known to the public, the effectiveness of their oversight role and the ability to have systems in place to ensure proper legislative management and infrastructure.

6 Public Participation and Policy Making in South Africa

Public participation in policy-making is regarded as a tool in the democratic process that ensures that members of the public have an influence in policy decisions (Linklater & Fogg, n.d., p. 2; Mzimakwe, 2010). Cloete and De Coning (2011) argue that in South Africa the process of policy management allows for participation in all spheres of government. It is fairly accepted that in South Africa the process of policy adoption is influenced by the public participation process that has taken place at both the formulation and implementation stage. Policies adopted are therefore believed to be based on the needs and interests of its citizenry.

King et al. (1998), however, argue that the participation of the public in decision-making has not been effective. This could emanate from the lack of trust that the public has developed about ruling governments (Wang & Wan Wart, 2007). Like all other countries where public participation is a problem in policy-making, South Africa has the practice of an exploitative feudal relationship between the *elite* and the *mass* in policy-making. To a particular extent the process of policy-making can be flawed and only achieve the interests of the *elite* ruling class rather than be what the public requires.

The Public Service Commission (2008, p. 10) notes that although the South African government uses a multifaceted form of public participation approaches such as information giving, consultation, material incentive, interactive and self-mobilisation, public participation itself remains a problematic model. The public participation model is not easy to apply in absolute terms. In South Africa, there are notable barriers to effective public participation in the policy-making process that include government's lack of commitment in adopting the public participation approach, limited capacity to implement the approach, a slow participation process and the mistrust between government and local communities as to this approach.

It is difficult to conclude that the public participation process in South Africa guarantees citizens that their needs and interests will be represented in the policy-making process. However, although a vast amount of literature exists as a guideline for public participation practice, it remains difficult to absolutely assert that the choice of the citizens exceeds that of the *elite* ruling class in policy decision-making. In arguing this, this article looks at the adoption of the three most controversial legislative frameworks in South Africa. The selection of these three is informed by the negative reactions of the majority of South African citizens to their implementation.

The negative reactions against the implementation of three legislative frameworks were presented from the perspective of both the culture and the religion of the people. These are the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act 92 of 1996, the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 1990 and the Civil Union Act 17 of 2006. Despite the public stir that emanated from the proposal and implementation of these frameworks, the South African ruling *elite* argued for them from a democratic perspective and the frameworks were adopted despite the public's disapproval.

6.1 Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act No 92 of 1996

The Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act was passed in 1996. This Act derived its legitimacy from problems emanating from unsafe and illegal terminations of pregnancies (Mhlanga, 2003; Mbele, Snyman, & Pattison, 2006; International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 2008) that possibly increased the high maternal mortality rate, which could have been avoided. The Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act was enacted to improve the safety and health of women, as well as gender equality (Zeijlstra, 2006, pp. 33–37).

The public's opinion on the adoption and implementation of the Act is that it is immoral since it involves the killing of an innocent unborn baby. However, although the highest proportion of South African citizens were of the opinion that abortion is wrong, the ruling *elite* and the public demonstrated that they were arguing from different perspectives: the ruling *elite* from

the human rights perspective, while the public from both a religious and cultural perspective.

The Christian Lawyers Association, for example, took a lead in opposing the implementation of the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act 17 of 1996. The organisation lost the case twice: firstly, the argument about the right to life was ruled out because a foetus does not have rights in terms of the South African law of persons (Lupton, 1994; Sithole, 2011; Pickles, 2012), and secondly, an appeal that girls of 18 and younger should get permission from parents was also ruled out. In South Africa an 18-year-old is presumed to know the consequences of his or her actions.

Table 1: Types of Religions in South Africa

Churches	Number of individuals
Dutch Reformed	3,005,698
Zion Christian	4,971,932
Roman Catholic	3,181,336
Methodist	3,305,404
Pentecostal/Charismatic	3,422,749
Anglican	1,722,076
Apostolic Faith Mission	246,190
Lutheran	1,130,987
Presbyterian	832,495
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	248,824
Baptist	691,237
Congregational	508,825
Orthodox	42,251
Other Apostolic churches	5,609,070
Other Zionist churches	1,887,147
Ethiopian type churches	880,414
Other Reformed churches	226,495
Other African independent churches	656,644
Other Christian churches	3,195,477
African Traditional Belief	125,903
Judaism	75,555
Hinduism	551,669
Islam	654,064
Other beliefs	269,200
No religion	6,767,165
Undetermined	610,971
Total	44,819,778

Source: SA Statistics (2007)

South Africa claims to be a highly religious country with about six major religious groupings namely, African traditional, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism. Strauss (1968, pp. 710–714) points out that abortion is a complex policy matter because, despite the problem it wants to resolve, it is measured against the concept of the soul, which is a cornerstone of religion. A religious aspect should be minimally considered in policy-making and adoption. Table 1 shows the typical South African religions.

The table reveals that South Africa is a country which is highly religious with the most popular religion being Christianity in its different forms (Zionist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Apostle and other reformed churches). There is also a substantial grouping (more than six and a half million) that does not believe in any religion. This is probably those who do not believe in the existence of a higher spiritual authority, but at the same time that does not imply that their life styles are not informed by the social values and morals of their community culture. One would therefore expect the character of the constituency to reflect in broad terms the Christian and the African traditional belief systems. The religious groupings in South Africa, be it Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Muslim or African ancestral worship (Zeijlstra, 2006, p. 24–31) are, despite their different belief systems, not representatives of a society that might support abortion. They all view abortion as murder.

Abortion is a critical social problem in South Africa. In the past it was performed only if there was a convincing justification such as the birth of the child posing a life risk (physical or mental) to the mother or if the woman was raped or had conceived because of incest. Considering that the ruling *elite* adopt policies on the basis of rights and equality rather than morals and culture, the public participation processes conducted in the country and the implementation of these policies cannot be ruled out as having no political selectiveness favouring the interests of the *elite* and serving their ultimate political objective. It can therefore be argued that public hearings conducted in South Africa to legitimise abortion were indeed in the best interests of maternal health and not in the interests of public opinion. Doctors whose religious upbringing does not approve of the policy have their rights infringed if they are required to perform an abortion. It is argued that a medical practitioner with strong Catholic beliefs will not perform a surgical abortion (Zeijlstra, 2006, pp. 17–22). Therefore considering that South Africa is highly grounded in Christianity and other religions that do not subscribe to the abortion practices, the South African masses would have had little to do with the legitimisation of the abortion policy.

6.2 Abolition of Capital Punishment, 1990

Capital punishment is a death sentence or execution or penalty by which the crime is punishable by severing the head from the body. This form of punishment has received worldwide condemnation in the 21st century because it is viewed by Goel (2008) and the Kenya National Commission

on Human rights (2007, pp. 1–16) as the worst degradation of the human personality imaginable. However, those that favour it justify it as preferable to the costs suffered by the state in keeping long term criminals alive as they are permanently removed from society. The death sentence is also seen as a deterrence measure (Mocan & Gittings, 2003; Goel, 2008; Warden, 2009; Reams & Putnam, 2011).

In South Africa, the abolition of the death penalty occurred in the late 1990s when the African National Congress (ANC) asserted that “capital punishment (should) be abolished and no further executions shall take place” (Rosenberg, 1995, pp. 1–2). This decision was hailed as a major victory for democracy in South Africa in which people’s rights and dignity were protected from the inhuman punishment of the death penalty. Roux (2003, p. 2) indicates that in July 1990 the Criminal Law Amendment Act 47 of 1990 introduced changes governing the imposition of capital punishment. The Act later became a centre of criticism from both whites and blacks in the country, who regarded its relevance to the high levels of crime in South Africa.

The majority of South Africans argued that the abolition of the death penalty resulted in criminals abusing the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 and its guarantee of the right to life, while law-abiding citizens have become victims of crime (Mwimnobi, 2004, pp. 3–4). Despite the public protests in South Africa to have the death penalty reinstated, the ruling *elite* managed to retain the status quo by basing their arguments on constitutional rights and the dignity of humanity and, on the other, on the fallibility of the justice system and racial discrimination, which are highly influential factors when dealing with this kind of policy (McCann, 1996; Peffley & Hurwitz, 2007; Goel, 2008).

The above has shown that members of the public have limited influence in policy-making, implementation and policy decision-making. The survey on attitudes to punishment, conducted by TSA (Technikon South Africa, now merged with UNISA (University of South Africa)) and ISS (Institute of Security Studies) in the Eastern Cape in 1999 demonstrates that the majority of respondents felt that murder and rape charges deserve a death sentence (Schonteich, 1999, p. 1). Christian churches were more vocal about the reinstatement of the death penalty as a solution to high levels of crime in South Africa. As Hodgkinson, Gyllensten, and Peel (2010, p. 11) attest, there is overwhelming support from the public for the death penalty; however, House (2007, p. 5) argues that support for the death penalty is symbolic in most countries. This is because the public support a state that would ensure their safety and security from criminals. Populist political leaders are likely to bow to public pressure to reinstate the death penalty without looking at the disadvantages of the policy that would in future compromise their political integrity. The factors that influence the public to rise against a particular policy adoption are to be considered and weighed carefully to determine the costs against the benefits.

In South Africa, as Simpson and Vogelmann (2012, p. 1–6) argue, support or lack of support for capital punishment is inconsistent and is highly dependent on the levels of crime and the religion of the people. The public has been inconsistent in supporting or criticising the policy on the basis of colour or citizenship. For example, when Marriete Bosch (a South African based in Botswana) was charged and found guilty of murder, and sentenced to be hanged by the neck (capital punishment), almost all political parties and citizens in the country that support its reinstatement in their own country were totally opposed to this application of capital punishment in Botswana.

As others may argue, the South African public is inconsistent in their support or lack of support for capital punishment because they lack education about it. Of relevance to this article, it can be concluded that public opinion on the adoption of the death penalty in the country did not matter to the legislators. This, according to Roux (2003, p. 1–15), happened despite the fact that public opinion in South Africa favours the death penalty.

6.3 The Civil Union Act 17 of 2006

South Africa is among countries of the West and other developed countries that have adopted the Civil Union Act 17 of 2006 to legalise same sex marriage. It is probably the only country in Africa to adopt such a brave democratic stand of equality on a matter clouded by questionable moral grounds. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, together with its other provisions, put the country in the vanguard of global recognition of sexual rights (Norrie, 2005; Smith & Robinson, 2006; Phillips, 2011, p. 23).

The African National Congress (ANC) acknowledged the controversial nature of the adoption of the Civil Union Bill (National Council of Provinces, 2012, p. 1) but they justified such adoption on the basis of the struggle for equality that the organisation had stood for from its inception in 1912. Honourable Thetjeng, then Democratic Alliance MP, indicated that the ruling party is aware that 99.9% of South African organisations, ranging from churches, religious and traditional groups, and ordinary citizens submitted their arguments in public hearings rejecting the adoption of the policy. But to no avail; their concerns and interests were put aside.

Jordaan (2006, pp. 1–2) is of the opinion that the controversies surrounding same sex marriage are based mainly in the religious sphere, which is distinct from the legal sphere. The acceptable assumption here from the legal perspective is that as much as the court is unable to interpret the religious script for the religious community, so can the court not be influenced by the religious values when interpreting the Constitution of the country. The two are distinct from each other in terms of function and viewpoint on life. However, it can be argued that the interpretation of the Constitution of the country outside the cultural practices of the national citizens is what the bone of contention in this policy dilemma is really. The policies of the country are to

be informed by the belief systems of the national citizens. As much as some policies in the country allow for what is called fair discrimination, it should be considered fair only to discriminate on the basis of acceptable societal norms and values.

Ntlama (2010, pp. 1–3) argues that the rights to equality and the right to human dignity are significant when handling the same sex union bill. While the adoption of this bill is considered significant for promoting the equality of all human beings, some fundamental religious groupings in society do not understand how other sections of society can be accorded dignity for their choice of same sex practice. In reality, the application of the Civil Union Act 17 of 2006 in African society is seen as a devaluation of the African value system of the institution of marriage. Neither are the implementers of the same bill happy with what they are implementing, that they are only fulfilling the constitutional obligation with little recognition of the African value system.

The question is whose interests and needs does the Civil Union Act of 2006 fulfil in Africa and similar countries? It is reasonable to argue that the application of policies and laws cannot occur outside the context of societal values. There is a conflicting viewpoint with regard to accepting democratic practices despite the cultural values of certain countries. In Gambia, for example, following the enactment of the 1965 Criminal code, article 144 of the same code states that "homosexual acts between men or women are unnatural offences and offenders can be imprisoned for up to 14 years" (International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 2008).

This policy framework may not be able to protect the culture of the Gambians if they define their own development from the perspective of the International Human Rights Obligation. This is considering the fact that most organisations fighting for these rights are not based in developing countries and if fighting within the borders of a developing country, they base their reasons on foreign laws and principles. From the perspective of African politics, homosexuality is the worst abomination and therefore most African governments outlawed it (Phillips, 2011; Azuah, 2011; Cobbinah, 2011; Chibwezo, 2011). This indicates that homosexuality has existed among all human nations, including in Africa where it was outlawed.

The male-dominated cultural systems in Africa have learned to discriminate against the minority, which is contradictory to the globally held democratic principles of modern governments that minority interests are important as long as there is reasonable constitutional justification. This continues to be a challenge to the African culture in which *lobola* has to be paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family. However, even though civil marriage is preferred by most Africans, *lobola* is still believed to be a validation of a marriage of African families (man and woman).

The new marriage system based on democracy and equality of human beings (The South Africa Law Reform Commission) rarely recognises the African marriage system that was based on culture. Herbst and Du Plessis (2008) argue that in South Africa *lobola* is no longer a requirement for any other recognised marriage. The acceptance of this by the South African legal system shows that the African value system is not fairly considered in the modern democracy. Therefore the adoption of public policies are not necessarily informed by what the citizens believe to represent their specific cultural values, but instead are guided by the adopted policies of highly influential countries on the globe.

7 Public or the Elite choice?

From the argument raised in this article it is difficult to pronounce if the policy choice reflects the character of the public or that of the elite. According to Cloete and De Coning (2011), the practice of policy management in South Africa allows for public participation in all phases of policy-making and decisions. The country is well known for its well-established mechanisms and legal processes for public participation. The existence of such clear processes and mechanisms as acclaimed, however, does not guarantee that policy-making and decisions are free from implementation flaws. In adopting and making policy choices, it is believed that the government uses public opinion as a yardstick to determine the acceptability of a particular policy direction and choice.

In South Africa the government uses forms such as public hearings, *makgotla* and *imbizo's* for policy-making and decisions. It is believed that processes of this nature assist government to make rational policy decisions guided by public opinion rather than the elite's opinion. Thus far it may seem that in other instances public opinion has not been considered in South Africa (Meshoe, 2006, p. 2). This is because despite the overwhelming objections by Marriage Alliance, which represents millions of Christians, groups of churches, community groups and the Congress of Traditional Leaders Association (CONTRALESA), the Civil Union Act 17 of 2006 was adopted to legalise the public expressions of same sex marriage.

Maybe the ANC ruling elite allowed this for a fair reason, in that Maddox and Fuguay (1981) define "public opinion" as articulated group attitudes that are not necessarily the viewpoint held by society as a whole, but rather a conglomerate of attitudes as expressed by different groups. This means that a government willing to accommodate the interests and needs of the minority within society would disregard viewpoints held by the majority. In this regard the adoption of the policy choice becomes indeed an elite rather than a public choice. In South Africa, the constitutional court has on several occasions ruled against adopted policies, where it was discovered that policy-making and decisions were flawed. The major flaws in this regard were about the public participation processes. The contenders of such processes are

satisfied when such processes are reversed. However, the government thus far reversed some and then conducted selective participation processes to legitimise and continue their implementation.

The South African government uses the system of *trias politica* in which the division of scope between the legislature, executive and the judicial authority is very clear. But as in other countries, the legislature faces the challenge of being dominated by the executive body in influencing policy-making, instead of only implementing policies. The adoption of the Growth, Economic and Redistribution (GEAR) programme as a non-negotiable macro-economic policy in South Africa is a good example of the undermining of the role of the legislature in policy-making. Pressures from unions and other interest groups on this policy have shown that the elite choice takes precedence over that of the public.

The concept of public participation has different meanings to different individuals and their organisations (De Villiers, 2001, p. 4). The concept has always been applied in a selfish manner by political organisations. It is understood that the way public participation takes place in most political gatherings reveals it to be a tool of people with access to power to exercise their authority upon the powerless public. In most instances where incidents referred to as public hearings or participation were conducted, the socio-economic character of the participants determined the decisions taken at the gathering.

It can be argued that in South Africa, because of the high level of socio-economic imbalances, the powerless members of society are unlikely to be able to influence policy-making and decisions. AfriMAP and Open Society Foundation for South Africa (2006, p. 14) indicate that in South Africa since 1999 public policy discussions have become so common that public hearings that follow afterwards in the legislatures are merely a means of legitimisation, rather than a channel through which citizens could help in shaping policy-making and decisions. Therefore it can be concluded from this that policy-making through public participation in government has become more of a legal requirement than a genuine process of policy and decision-making. Policies will therefore always be influenced by the elite or the ruling class within society rather than by mass members of the public.

8 Conclusion

This article argues that the notion of public participation in South Africa with regard to policy-decision and policy-making is not representative of public opinion. It is in most cases a reflection of the interests of the elite in government circles. Such interests are often not guided by what the public believe in as a social system. Some policy decisions that are said to have been supported by the public are in contrast with the value systems of the citizens concerned, and that is often followed by public and civil contestations about

adopted policies. This reveals a high level of flaws associated with the public participation processes. Such a revelation may lead to the conclusion that public participation processes in decision and policy-making are not a true reflection of what the citizens in the country want, but instead a reflection of what the ruling elite desires.

This article therefore concludes that the adoption of the three legislative frameworks in South Africa, the Termination of Pregnancy Act No.17 of 1996, the Capital Punishment and the Civil Union Act No. 17 of 2006 were not a true reflection of what South African citizens required. Despite the public participation that characterises the South African government policy-making process, the adoption of the legislation was challenged by the majority of the citizens and civil organisations in the country without success. Despite the existence of proof from public gatherings and public protests against the adoption, the government continued with the adoption. Which is argued from the perspective that the ruling elite knows what is in the best interest of the society.

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POVZETEK

1.02 Pregledni znanstveni članek

Sodelovanje javnosti v postopku odločanja o politiki v Južni Afriki: izbire množic in elite

Sodelovanje javnosti pri oblikovanju politik je aktualna tema v večini akademskih razprav na področju razvoja, politologije in javne uprave. Vprašanje je, v kolikšni meri lahko država oblikuje strukture, ki omogočajo javno sodelovanje državljanov v zadevah, ki vplivajo na njihove politične in razvojne probleme. Uspeh državne uprave se zato ocenjuje na podlagi tega, kako državljani sodelujejo v postopku odločanja o svoji politični in razvojni usmerjenosti ter kako k temu prispevajo. Pristop sodelovanja javnosti, ki upošteva interese, prispevke in potrebe državljanov v postopkih odločanja o politiki, v praksi velja za težkega. Ta članek proučuje postopke sodelovanja javnosti pri oblikovanju javne politike v Južni Afriki v zvezi z Zakonom o prekinitvi nosečnosti št. 92 iz leta 1996, s politiko odprave smrtnih kazni in z Zakonom o registrirani skupnosti št. 17 iz leta 2006. Namen članka je ugotoviti, ali je sodelovanje javnosti pri odločanju o politiki odraz izbir elite ali množic.

Development of Public Administration and its Research in Slovenia through the Lenses of Content Analysis of the *International Public Administration Review*

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ABSTRACT

The development of public administration (PA) is a worldwide topic of research, considering its importance in resolving governance issues in contemporary society. Consequently, the question of PA as a scientific discipline arises at both national and broader levels. In order to explore the state of affairs in PA trends in Slovenia and its regional context, an analysis was conducted involving 78 papers published in the leading Slovenian scientific journal – the *International Public Administration Review* – between 2011 and 2014. Content analysis as a method applied in the research is a widely recognized approach in social sciences and in the field of PA as well. Taking into account the respective analyses of the papers in terms of predominating discipline and mainstream topics, affiliation and collaboration of authors, language, methods of research and other criteria, we examined three main guidelines of editorial policy, namely the journal's interdisciplinary, international and practical orientation. The results reveal that PA in Slovenia is rather multidisciplinary, with a prevailing role of management (HRM in particular), law and economics (the latter even mostly monodisciplinary). International and practical aspects, on the other hand, still offer some room for improvement. In sum, to support PA's progress and its disciplinary evolution in line with global trends and the IPAR mission, a systematic interdisciplinary and all-European approach in future theory and practice is inevitable.

Keywords: public administration, discipline, content analysis, IPAR journal, Slovenia

JEL: H83, K23, I23, D73

1 Introduction

Public administration (hereinafter: PA) is an inevitable part of contemporary society. However, its role is constantly changing as a result of the redefined functions and tasks of the state and authorities in relation to citizens, businesses, non-governmental organizations and other members of the society. Despite the differences in PA in certain times and places,¹ a significant level of convergence is observed in all public administration dimensions (more in Schuppert, 2000; Peters & Pierre, 2005; Bevir, 2011; Raadschelders & Vigoda-Gadot, 2015; pp. 9, 37, etc.), in particular as a consequence of the impact of the European Union (hereinafter: EU). On the other hand, individual countries and more so regions, such as Eastern Europe (hereinafter: EE), still preserve their own characteristics and peculiarities.

An analogy to the vague definition of PA is detected in PA research. Even the long-standing issue of whether there is an autonomous scientific discipline of PA or “administrative science” (in German: *Verwaltungswissenschaft*) or whether PA phenomena can be explored solely in a multidisciplinary way through PA’s “mother disciplines”, is still open.² Nevertheless, taking Slovenia as a country at the crossroads of the Central European and transitional Eastern European traditions, the question is about the relation between PA and (administrative) law (for more cf. Kovač, 2013b).

In order to verify the state of PA and its research in Slovenia in the above emphasized aspects, we designed a study based on the universally acknowledged method of content analysis of papers published in the *International Public Administration Review* (hereinafter: IPAR).³ The IPAR has been issued since 2003 and is presently the leading Slovenian PA journal.⁴ The IPAR incorporates multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary issues related to PA and tries to be as strongly internationally oriented as possible. Finally, the IPAR strives to be a medium for the transfer of theory into PA practice. The three characteristics, i.e. (1) interdisciplinary, (2) international and (3) practical

1 As regards public administration and its regulation, it is necessary to take into account at least the historically prevailing traditions (Statskontoret, 2005, pp. 74–76), namely: 1) the administration-centered tradition, as in France, 2) the individual-centered tradition, as in the UK, Ireland, and the US, 3) the German-Austrian legislator-centered *Rechtsstaat*, and 4) the ombudsman-centered tradition, as in Scandinavia. Cf. Mathis (2014).

2 Luhmann (1966, p. 14). For Slovenia and former Yugoslavia see Godec (1993, p. 9 and the following) and Pusić (2002, p. 56). See mother disciplines of PA (law, management and economics, or policy science, etc.) in Schuppert (2000, pp. 41–45), Magiera, Sommermann, & Ziller (2008, p. 802), Raadschelders, (2011, pp. 2, 30), etc.

3 The authors of this article would like to express special thanks for support at data collection to the IPAR technical editor Ms. Nataša Svržnjak.

4 There are of course other scientific PA related journals published in Slovenia, but in one or other way more specialized. For instance, *Javna uprava* (Public Administration) with the longest tradition (cf. its importance in the early stages of PA discipline development in Godec, 1993, p. 14), which is heavily law oriented, or *Lex Localis*, dedicated to issues concerning local self-government. The IPAR is by no doubt “the” PA journal from a scientific aspect, also due to its indexation in ECONLIT, EBSCO Publishing, EGPA PA@BABEL, IPSA – International Political Science Abstracts, IBSS – International Bibliography of Social Sciences, WPSA – Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, SSRN – Social Science Research Network, CSA ProQuest, ERIH PLUS, and candidacy for Scopus, Web of Science and Index of Foreign Legal Periodicals in 2015.

orientation, are emphasized consistently by the journal's title, its editorial policy, and the chief editor's introductory notes.⁵

First, the interdisciplinary approach is indicated by stressing the scientific nature of the journal for the PA field, in particular by emphasizing that it publishes articles "from various fields", while a "major competitive advantage of the journal" lies in its interdisciplinary nature "that brings together experts from the fields of economics, informatics, organization, management and administrative-legal sciences". In this part it is clear from the editorial guidelines that the editorial board, authors and reviewers have to be aware that PA (or public sector) is an interdisciplinary field since it has a decisive influence on the quality of life of the citizens: "It is therefore necessary that when compiling the journal we take into account the interdisciplinarity of the public sector and that the published articles show the administrative-legal, economic, political science, sociological, information, organizational and other aspects of its operation."

Second, the IPAR has had an international editorial board since its beginnings and supports the inclusion of foreign authors and comparative papers that, as scientific papers, are published obligatorily in English or in Slovenian and English (while expert or the so-called professional papers can be in Slovenian only). As explicitly put forward by the chief editor: "IPAR should become a part of a system that enables a comparison not only between the different organisations that provide public sector services within individual countries, but also between the member states of the EU and the rest of the world."

Third, the IPAR's aim is to bridge theory and practice by enabling academia to convey their research results of "key public administration development trends in Slovenia and throughout the globe" to PA practitioners. Simultaneously, the IPAR opens its publishing space for the latter, namely civil servants, by publishing professional and expert articles and by "informing about important events, consultations, meetings and publications related to public administration". Holistically for all three key dimensions, as put directly in the editorial policy: "The mission of the IPAR is to contribute to the development of theory and practice in the field of public administration science and related disciplines, and to the advancement and upholding of high professional and expertise standards of all public administration employees."

The present article first presents an overview of PA development in Slovenia, based on traditionally strong influences within the German-Austrian territory and the former Yugoslav (post) socialist legacy. Beside the historical method, comparative insights are given to emphasize the key milestones in Central

⁵ See the IPAR editorial policy on its official webpage, <http://www.fu.uni-lj.si/en/publishing-center/international-public-administration-review/> (retrieved 21 September 2015). Its present title suggests that the IPAR has especially an international component. The previous (sub)title – *Administration – International scientific review for theory and practice* – also incorporated elements of interdisciplinary science of PA and a practice notion in addition to theory. Nevertheless, the revised title in 2013 did not alter the directions of the editorial policy, and all three dimensions are still applicable.

and Eastern Europe. Next, the main method of research – content analysis – is defined and previous approaches presented. The content analysis (CA) method enables a relatively objective and systematic analysis of various types of communication messages, including scientific/professional contributions such as articles, doctoral dissertations, etc. By that, the method allows quantitative analysis/description of qualitative/textual content. Several authors applied this method in the field of PA; based on their approaches, the coding schema of our CA was established (and in some cases modified). The latter includes descriptive characteristics of the articles (e.g. type of paper, number of authors, etc., dominant disciplines and topics, and methodological characteristics). Following the presentation of empirical results, we explore the possible ways of a future IPAR editorial policy in terms of contributing to PA development, especially with regard to interdisciplinary and cross-border theory approaches.

2 Development of PA and Its Research (in Slovenia)

2.1 Development of PA in Slovenia

The Slovenian PA is characterized by several elements, also related to the fact that Slovenia has been a small but autonomous and independent state since 1991 and a full member of the EU since 2004.⁶ After gaining independence in 1991, Slovenia immediately started to build a democratic society founded on market mechanisms; with PA modernization associated with (cf. more in Peters & Pierre, 2005, Dunn, Staronova, & Pushkarev, 2006; for Slovenia in Godec, 1993; Virant, 2009; or Pečarič, 2011) general attempts at redefining the role of state structures and the quality of governance.

Nevertheless, efficient PA reforms based on the Weberian concept have been gradual in the last two to three decades. The most radical reform was carried out in 1994 when the functions of municipalities (local self-government) were strictly separated from those of the state administration. Reforms in Slovenian PA were introduced in several steps, mainly in the phases of creation of the new state, its PA modernization, Europeanization⁷ and consolidation. The respective changes were introduced with different

⁶ Slovenia was part of Former Yugoslavia until 1991 and previously of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire until WW1. The same goes, for instance, for Croatia, while other former Yugoslav republics differ in terms of historical tradition, size, religion, EU accession phase, etc. Slovenia has an area of app. 20,000 square km and just under 2 million inhabitants, over 80% of which are of Slovenian nationality and Catholic belief. For more than two decades, Slovenia recorded the best economic indexes in the EE, despite being heavily affected by the 2008 or even 2009 economic crisis. Slovenia has been part of the euro zone since 2007. GDP per capita is USD 29,700 as of 2014, GDP growth over 3% in 2015, while unemployment dropped to 9.8% in 2014 compared to 13% in 2013. For more, see website of the Slovenian Statistical Office, <http://www.stat.si/statweb>, or the CIA World Fact book, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/si.html> (retrieved 5 October 2015).

⁷ Cf. also for the founding Member States, e.g. for the German/Austrian circle, in Magiera et al. (2008, pp. 129, 141), or for Croatia in Koprić (2014, pp. 319–344), in particular on the European Administrative Space, with increasing importance placed on public governance through governing by administrative acts and procedural instruments.

approaches, from parliamentary strategies to legislative amendments and individual organizational measures (in detail see Kovač & Virant, 2011). Legal issues, such as regulation of PA structures and the civil service system, were based on domestic and European Commission's priorities. An example of a successful non-legislative approach is the program for cutting off red tape and removing administrative barriers in force since 2000 and still sustainable (Kovač & Virant, 2011, p. 247). The Slovenian PA is presently structured in several layers and consists of app. 45,000 civil servants in state administration with 14 ministries and app. 30 executive agencies within ministries and 58 local administrative units (state administration being constantly rationalized in terms of number of agencies as well as employees), and 212 municipalities with additional work force of altogether over 160,000 civil servants also in health, education and similar sectors.

Despite a rather smooth transition, Slovenia still witnesses post-socialism or transitional processes, partly in terms of excessive legalism and formalism, ups and downs in the introduction of market oriented measures, and a general reforms implementation gap (for instance, difficulties with downsizing public expenditure or developing a problem solving attitude toward PA users).⁸ But in terms of progress in Slovenian PA, most scholars and practitioners agree on some stories of success and others of failure or on-going search for balance. The most promising seem to be higher evaluations of a well-functioning state and PA structures, which actively contribute to shaping the European agenda despite the country's relative smallness. Furthermore, the organizational, procedural and regulatory changes bring quality of service for the users despite certain deficiencies, such as rather long administrative procedures, e.g. with regard to environmental permits (see more in Kovač & Virant, 2011). Likewise important is that individual world scales rank Slovenia rather high among the EE countries, but trends are mostly downward.⁹

The latest umbrella document was adopted by the government in April 2015 under the title *Strategy of Slovenian PA 2015–2020*, but can be assessed as rather abstract.¹⁰ As for the main orientation, beside the classical *Rechtsstaat*

8 Cf. for EE in general and Slovenia in particular Dunn et al. (2006), Eymeri-Douzans & Pierre (2011), Kovač & Virant (2011, pp. 84, 209), Kovač (2013a). There are other problems, such as lack of coordination among line ministries, relative non-transparency and low level of participation and civil-society involvement, etc., rather characteristic, as said above, for the ongoing transition. The lack of coordination is to be specifically considered since contemporary governance is (to be) conducted through networking and open structures rather than authoritatively and from top to bottom (for more see Schuppert in Bevir, 2011, pp. 289 and the following).

9 For instance, the Democracy Index in 2014 is 7.57 as "flawed democracy" as opposed to "full" only few years ago, and rankings have gone down since 2011 also as regards national and global competitiveness (cf. International Institute for Management Development or World Economic Forum scales).

10 Cf. http://www.mju.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/kakovost_v_javni_upravi/strategija_razvoja_javne_uprave/, in particular the critical comments by the Chamber of Commerce and academia, stating the document to be prepared more in order to formally fulfill the EU Cohesion Fund criteria than to enhance real progress, especially systematically coordinated on all PA fields or taking into account PA as a unified system instead of pursuing field public policies by individual ministries. Previous PAR strategies, particularly the Strategy for EU Accession (1996), Strategy on Further Development of the Slovenian Public Sector (2003), Exit (from crisis) Strategy

principle, even in the early stages of Slovenian PA development (before 2004) the New Public Management elements were introduced. The key results in this respect are the largely disseminated Total Quality Management schemes in the Slovenian PA and, at least in parts, heavily emphasized user orientation. But, in sum, one can claim today that the Neo-Weberian State prevails in both PA practice and its theoretical development, despite declaratory statements (cf. Strategy 2015–2020) of good administration and good governance concepts. A similar development is characteristic in EE (see Kovač & Gajduschek, 2015, pp. 10–13) and in the German-oriented territory (see on transition from Weber to NPM and New Administrative Law in Mathis, 2014, pp. 151–160), again proving that these two regions and traditions are the most influential for the Slovenian environment.

2.2 PA in Slovenia as an Autonomous Scientific Discipline?

Considering the German-Austrian tradition, PA in Slovenia was primarily law-driven, in order to ensure legal certainty in the sense of the a priori and predictable restriction of authority (Peters & Pierre, 2005, p. 267). Thus, it was predominantly developed by lawyers as opposed to political scientists in the UK and the USA (cf. in depth in Schuppert, 2000, pp. 41–48; Raadschelders, 2011, pp. 156–181). Yet, having in mind an integrative as well as an interdisciplinary approach to PA with its wicked and complex issues, PA studies developed in this region – particularly after 2009 due to pressures of financial crisis and internationalization in higher education – more in a complementary managerial and economic manner. This opened the question of a truly integrative research on PA (for autonomy of a science see e.g. Raadschelders, 2011, pp. 4–12, on ontology, epistemology and methodology). As indicated by several research studies, PA in Slovenia is continuously developing in the framework of a multidisciplinary or perhaps administrative-legal science rather than in an inter- or even trans- or adisciplinary manner (cf. Raadschelders & Vigoda-Gadot., 2015, p. 425, more for Slovenia under the German tradition in Kovač, 2013b). However, the majority of scholars claim administrative science has been acknowledged as autonomous, as occurred in Western Europe, since the 18th century, and particularly the early and mid-20th century.¹¹ Nevertheless, in terms of development, PA in Slovenia and Europe or beyond witnesses a transition from the initial integration of the PA mother disciplines into interdisciplinary administrative science, but in parallel in time and space also disintegration and differentiation (Pusić, 2002, pp. 53–59).

Likewise, it is important to emphasize the earlier developments of PA studies after World War II on the Slovenian territory and in the near surroundings. The Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana schools of PA or administrative sciences

(2010), have in comparison included more concrete goals, steps and measures, with clear top-down focus.

11 With von Stein, Duguit, Mayer, Kelsen, Jellinek, Sonnenfels etc., see Pusić (2002, pp. 45–52), Schuppert (2000, p. 41), Magiera et al. (2008, p. 779); for Slovenia Bučar (1969, pp. 79–82), and Godec (1993, pp. 5–16, 24).

were theoretically highly developed and recognized worldwide (cf. Pusić, 2002, p. 53; Godec, 1993, pp. 5–9; Kovač, 2013b, p. 44). The most progressive of them was the Ljubljana school, which in 1956 established the Institute of PA and the *Public Administration* journal and in the 1960s and 1970s carried out cross-sectional PA basic and applied research projects. In 1957, the today's Faculty of Administration was founded as independent from the Faculty of Law (cf. Kovač, 2013b). In this context, empirical research and topics positioned outside law were strongly encouraged and conducted despite being initiated by faculties of law.¹² Namely, in methodological terms, administrative science falls (cf. Koprić, 2014, p. 16, however ideally!) under empirical social sciences as opposed to law with its normative method, despite sharing the same materia of research with (administrative) legal science.

Nevertheless, the two national agencies relevant for R&D and study programs accreditations (Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost & Nacionalna agencija za kakovost v visokem šolstvu) do not recognize administrative science or PA as an autonomous discipline but classify PA as part of (most often) political science or law or business management or organizational science (see in detail on deficiencies and inconsistency of categorizations in Kovač, 2013b, pp. 45–50). Regardless of key topics or discipline orientation, however, given the growingly complex and global nature of contemporary societal and thus PA problems, a scientific approach to PA – by analyzing theories and practices and their synthetization to new governance models (cf. Raadschelders, 2011, pp. 12–41) – is inevitable. As for the mainstream topics, modern approaches perceive the notions of PA and public governance differently than traditional ones, with the most recent ones pursuing societal democratization, public participation, transparency, authority delegation and public-private networking, etc. Consequently PA has to be addressed interdisciplinarily¹³ to be successful in resolving cross-sectional and cross-border problems by combining bureaucracy and democracy toward result-based legitimacy issues.

3 Content Analysis of PA Research – Literature Review

Content analysis (hereinafter: CA) is “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description” of communication messages (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). It became formalized and popularized between 1930 and 1940, but it had been in use even earlier. In the early 18th century, for example, Swedish intellectuals investigated the contentious religious documents in order to explore the hymns that posed a threat in terms

¹² The legal aspects of PA were considered part of a synthetic administrative science, both empirically and normatively (Godec, 1993, pp. 6–12; cf. Bučar, 1969, pp. 69–70; Pusić, 2002, pp. 46, 57).

¹³ For a more traditional approach (in Slovenia) see for instance Bučar (1969, pp. 24–25) or Godec (1993, pp. 19–64). More modern focuses and in-between or joining-up both dimensions in Pusić (2002, pp. 248–250), Kovač & Virant (2011, pp. 31–36), Pečarič (2011, pp. 50–71), Brezovšek, Haček, & Kukovič (2014, pp. 51 and the following). For the interdisciplinary view see Eymeri-Douzans & Pierre (2011, p. 109), Bevir (2011, p. 374), Brezovšek et al. (2014, p. 46), Kovač & Gajduschek (2015, p. 16).

of leading people away from the State Church (Jomini Stroud & de Macedo Higgins, 2011). In the early 1900s, more systematic approaches to CA developed, for example the politically motivated CA conducted by Walter Lippmann who focused his CA on the New York Times coverage of the Russian Revolution in the 1920s (*ibid.*). The milestone in CA as a full-fledged scientific method dates back to World War II, when a project on evaluation of enemy propaganda was sponsored by the US government and conducted by Harold Lasswell (Prasad, 2008). Later, CA spread to other disciplines (Woodrum, in Prasad, 2008), such as sociology, psychology and business (Neuendorf, 2002).

The origin of CA in the PA research lies in the analysis of quality of doctoral dissertations in the field (Lee, Benoit-Bryan, & Johnson, 2009). Later, CA was extended to research papers many times by many researchers. The approaches differ depending on the journal, the number of papers included in the CA, and the parameters observed. The intention of some CAs is to identify the characteristics of PA research in a specific region, others tend to evaluate the methodological aspects of PA research in great detail, while most of them try to categorize the papers in pre-defined topics that constitute the PA discipline. Also, some CAs try to identify different trends in PA research in different time periods. Below, selected approaches to CA of PA research are presented in more detail.

Perry & Kraemer (1986) conducted one of the first CA in the field of PA. They analyzed 289 papers published in the Public Administration Review between 1975 and 1984. More precisely, they focused on (1) institutional affiliation(s), (2) topical orientation, (3) source of research support, (4) research stage/purpose, (5) research methodology, (6) method of empirical analysis, and (7) focus. Their CA revealed that public policy, public management, planning and administrative theory were the most frequently discussed topics. The majority of the papers was problem oriented rather than theory oriented. 80% of the papers did not present the sources of research support. Only 5% of the research was conducted at the most advanced research stages. Research methodologies were mainly logical argumentation, legal briefs and empirical analysis – the latter was identified in 52% of the papers, but very few empirical research were based on field experiments, structural equations or longitudinal studies. The authors suggest: (1) focusing on core issues in PA (e.g. study of characteristics distinguishing PA from other administration, political-administrative system interface, more focus to be put on cutting-edge research); (2) institutionalization of the research; and (3) methodological improvements of the PA research.

Bingham & Bowen (1994) focused their CA on the topics of PA research. They analyzed 240 papers published in the Public Administration Review and observed the shift in PA research over 51 years (1940–1991). They classified the papers into five ten-year periods. The CA revealed little change in the subject of PA research over the years. Namely, approximately 60% of the papers covered the topics of government and organizational behavior,

public management and human resources in all of the periods observed. However, there is a significant shift between these three topics over time.¹⁴ There are three possible reasons for such narrow focus of the papers published in the Public Administration Review journal (compared to public administration text-books).

Terry (2005) analyzed the topical orientation of the papers published in the Public Administration Review in the period 2000–2005 as part of the summary of his editorial work in this journal. He classified 350 papers into 30 topics. His research revealed that in this period, the main focus of the journal was on public management, comparative/international research and special reports/PAR report.

Lee et al. (2009) conducted an analysis of 245 papers published in four Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) journals between 2000 and 2007. The focus of their analysis was on the quality of quantitative survey methods. They observed the papers based on either primary or secondary survey data.¹⁵ Their analysis revealed that approximately half of the papers were based on primary survey research (55%). In addition, the vast majority of observed papers (95%) were based on cross-sectional surveys. Most of the surveys (55%) were conducted via mail while 23% of the papers did not specify their data collection mode. More than half of the papers did not present the sampling method utilized; among those that did, simple random sampling (27%) and stratification (24%) were the most commonly used sampling methods. Furthermore, most of the papers reporting primary survey data (65%) observed samples of less than 500 units. Almost one third of the papers did not examine (or report) the response rate of the survey. The analysis of the target population observed in the PA research revealed that most commonly these surveys were focused on the public sector, most often on employees working in local government (34%). Furthermore, more than half of the surveys did not test any hypothesis, indicating that they were prevalently descriptive. In many cases, the data analysis techniques employed were less sophisticated. To summarize, this CA revealed that there is plenty of room for improvement in data collection and analysis in the PA research based on surveys.

A PA-related CA of five leading (i.e. SSCI-indexed) Chinese journals was conducted by Cheng & Lu (2009). Using 53 parameters, they analyzed 2210

¹⁴ Namely, human resources were the focus of more than one third of the analyzed papers in the 1960s, while in the 1970s 30% of the papers fell within the public management category. The high popularity level of public management in the 1970s may be due to the higher interest in organizational development including participatory management in that period (Bingham & Bowen, 1994). Budgeting and finance issues gained on popularity in the 1960s and in the 1980s; in the 1960s, budgetary reform including program budgeting, zero-based budgeting were the main topics discussed, while in the 1980s interest in the budgeting-related topics was related to high inflations and interest rates in the late 1970s and early 1980s, together with the recessions in 1981 and 1982 (*ibid.*)

¹⁵ More precisely, they analyzed the following: (1) survey type (primary or secondary); (2) survey design (cross-sectional or longitudinal); (3) data collection mode; (4) probability sampling methods; (5) sample size; (6) reporting on how sample frame was constructed; (7) response rate report; (8) target population; (9) employed survey data analysis techniques; (10) hypothesis testing.

papers. They were observing: (1) descriptive data, (2) indicators of basic research, and (3) indicators of applied research. Regarding the type of the research, their analysis revealed that most of the papers observed (65%) were based on basic research, followed by those related to applied research (20.5%); almost 7% of the papers combined basic and applied research, 2.5% were exemplary cases and 5% of the papers contained history or Western theories or experiences. Most of the papers represented the work of individuals (97%) and among these sole-authorship was prevailing (72%). Individual authors, according to this analysis, tend to publish theory-based papers more often, compared to research teams and organizations which publish papers based on applied research more often. The vast majority of the papers classified as theoretical or combined basic and applied research were not empirical (82%).¹⁶ In addition, only 2.6% of these papers were based on primary data sources. Among the papers classified as applied or combined basic and applied research, most (53%) were based on logical analysis and only 4.5% dealt with theory application. Authors indicate that many applied research papers offer rather narrow and superficial solutions; namely, only 24% of the applied or combined papers intend to enrich theoretical knowledge. The analysis of topical orientation revealed that most of the Chinese papers observed fall within public management (38%) and administrative theory (21%).¹⁷ Authors conclude that theory building and knowledge advancement as well as lack of sophisticated methodology used in Chinese PA papers present a serious challenge in this field.

Walker, Brewer, & Choi (2014) analyzed 309 SSCI-indexed, PA-related papers published in 26 journals. Their approach was based on nine parameters (e.g. topics studied, unit of analysis, the purpose of the study, style¹⁸, treatment of time¹⁹, methods used, etc.). Their analysis revealed four main topics studied in the selected papers: management reform (19%), social policy (17%), environmental policy (15%), and economic policy (11%). The majority of papers was exploratory (42%) and prevalingly focused on subsystem (government, budgetary, etc.) and programs/policies as units of analysis. Given the style of the papers, authors noted an almost equal distribution between those based on empirical research (57%) and essay-based papers (43%). Among empirical papers, the majority was based on secondary data sources (62%) and used a single method (82%). Interestingly, only 36% of empirical papers provided clear sample size information indicating a relatively low level of research documenting/reporting.

Finally, Henderson & Terry (2014) conducted a CA of 80 papers published in 14 US-based journals. More precisely, they analyzed papers focused

¹⁶ This differs strongly from the US-based papers published in PAR, where the empirical approach was dominating in 1975–84 (Chen & Lu, 2009).

¹⁷ Which differ strongly from the PAR papers (12.5% in public management and 12% in administrative reform); this may be due to the administrative reform in China in the late 1990s (Chen & Lu, 2009).

¹⁸ Empirical, argumentation/essay.

¹⁹ Cross-sectional, longitudinal (up to 2 years or more than 2 years), time series.

on NISPAcee²⁰ countries/regions. They observed author's affiliation, topical orientation and method-related parameters of the papers. Their results show that the prevailing topics were reform, education / training / teaching / pedagogy, budgeting / public finance, and ethics / corruption / transparency. The majority of the papers focused on single country analysis (among them, Russia was the most popular). Most of the papers were classified as formal research or apparent research. Quantitative and qualitative research papers shared similar portions. The purpose of the papers was mainly descriptive. Most of the papers were based on second-hand data.

Table 1 presents a meta-review of the papers focused on CA of PA research (based on the above presentation of seven approaches). Indeed, more approaches can be found in the literature; for this purpose, we selected those which are frequently cited or offer a detailed presentation of the code-book used for the CA. It is evident that the usage of CA method differs strongly. First, approaches vary regarding the time span of the CA in terms of number of years in which the analyzed journals/papers were published – the authors covered periods of 5 to 51 years in their analyses. Second, the number of papers analyzed varies from 80 to 2210. Third, the methods/procedures of papers analysis is different: in some cases, two coders conducted the CA and then compared and discussed the results until a consensus was reached; in others, two coders conducted the CA and tested the consistency/inter-assessor reliability of their results using statistical techniques; in some cases, however, this procedure is not presented. Finally, the approaches to CA in PA research differ in terms of subject of CA (i.e. what was analyzed or what code-book was used for CA). Topical orientation, for example, was analyzed in almost all cases (6 out of 7); however, their topical classification is very different, varying from 10 to 30 topics. In addition, some approaches had greater focus on methodology and others analyzed in detail the authorship-related parameters (e.g. affiliation, collaboration, institutional base, country base, etc.). The most common element of all these approaches is that they were mainly focused on US-based PA research. Thus, it is very difficult to compare their results (unless the authors used a code-book from previous approaches). This holds true especially for topical orientation, since it is questionable if the topics being popular in the US are also relevant for Central and Eastern Europe to the same extent.

²⁰ Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe.

Table 1: Meta-Review of the Papers Dealing with PA-Related Content Analysis

Author/s	Time span of the analysis	Number of papers analyzed	Method of analysis	What has been analyzed
Perry, J. L., & Kraemer, K. L. (1986)	10 years (1975–1984)	289	No specific procedure is given.	1) institutional affiliations, 2) topical orientation, 3) source of research support, 4) research stage/purpose, 5) research methodology, 6) method of empirical analysis, 7) focus
Bingham, R. D., & Bowen, W. B. (1994)	51 years (1940–1991)	240	A random sample of papers from 52 volumes was taken. Only the papers for which both authors agreed that belonged to at least one of the 14 topics were included. Using the Bernoulli approach (from the field of probability and statistics), they calculated the 75.7% probability of their agreement at random for 240 papers.	Topical content analysis (categorization of the papers into 14 topics)
Terry, L. D. (2005)	6 years (2000–2005)	350	No specific procedure is given.	Topical orientation (categorization of the papers into 30 topics)
Lee, G., Benoit-Bryan, J., & Johnson, T. P. (2009)	8 years (2000–2007)	245	One coder conducted the analysis. Then, 24 papers (10%) were selected based on systematic random sampling – those were reviewed and recorded by another coder. Cohen's kappa was employed to test the consistency between both coders.	Methodology: 1) survey type; 2) survey design; 3) data collection mode; 4) sampling method; 5) sample size; 6) sample frame construction; 7) response rate; 8) target population; 9) statistical techniques used for data analysis; 10) hypothesis testing
Cheng, J. Y. S. & Lu, L. Q. (2009)	5 years (2002–2006)	2210	Six graduate students analyzed app. 1800 papers based on draft codebook. Inter-assessor reliability was low (0.16). The codebook was then revised. After that, the inter-assessor reliability was 0.80.	53 items classified into three sections: 1) common data, 2) basic research indicators, 3) applied research indicators
Walker, R. M., Brewer, G. A., & Choi, Y. (2014)	11 years (1999–2009)	309	No specific procedure is given.	1) topics studied, 2) unit of analysis, 3) purpose of the study, 4) style, 5) treatment of time, 6) methods used, 7) single country or comparative study, 8) country base of the authors, 9) department of the authors
Henderson, A. C., & Terry, L. D. (2014)	16 years (1997–2012)	80	No specific procedure is given. Each of the two authors analyzed the papers and later the results were discussed.	1) authors' affiliation, 2) topical orientation, 3) scope and country focus, 4) genre, methods and purpose of the articles, 5) methodology-related parameters

While preparing the code-book for CA of the IPAR papers, we took into account all these approaches and tried to make some sort of synthesis.

Thus, the descriptive parameters of our CA present a synthesis of the CAs conducted by Cheng & Lu (2009), Walker et al. (2014), Perry & Kraemer (1986), and Henderson & Terry (2014). The methodological part of our code-book is mainly derived from Lee et al. (2009). The classification used for the analysis of topical orientation is our own; even though we are aware that comparison of the results is of great importance, we believe that the popularity of the topics is not the same in the US and Central/Eastern Europe (due to different historical/political/systemic background elaborated in previous chapters). Some other parameters (e.g. number of references) were noticed in other fields where CA was conducted (e.g. eGovernment – see Jukić, Todorovski, & Nemeslaki, 2015). Also, some other dimensions were included in order to analyze PA development in interdisciplinary, international and theory application modes.

4 Content Analysis of PA Research in Slovenia via the IPAR

4.1 Methodological Framework

In order to explore to which extent PA research in Slovenia (as reflected in the IPAR) reflects and pursues the contemporary nature of PA in Slovenia and beyond, we analyzed all papers published in the last four years (2011–2014). We assumed that the IPAR content analysis would provide us a rather objective and empirically verified base to state the most recurrent PA topics based on the above mentioned dimensions of PA development in interdisciplinary, international and theory application modes. In the latter, research includes analysis of mainstream topics, papers' discipline orientation, authors' affiliation, cross-border nature of their collaboration and contextual comparisons within and beyond the EU, language issues, methods of analysis (theory building vs. practical problem resolution), implications for practice, etc.

Additionally, if field scientific journals are to follow their broader mission, such an analysis will reveal whether the IPAR is rather a mirror or a true motor (cf. see Drewry, 2014, p. 19) of PA and its research in Slovenia and broader EE region. Namely, the IPAR is intended for domestic and foreign readers and aims at informing the scientific and professional community about the key trends in the public sector in Slovenia and globally

As presented in the previous section, content analysis is a well-established scientific method in many different fields, PA included. In the field of PA, CA was first conducted among doctoral dissertations in the field (Lee et al., 2009), but later often extended to research papers. However, previous CAs in this field were mainly focused on US-based PA research, while there has never been a CA conducted in the field of Slovenian PA research. Also, compared to previous approaches, ours is more focused on dimensions of interdisciplinarity, internationalization and practical usability of the PA research.

The period between 2011 and 2014 was not chosen accidentally, but in order to analyze the most recent trends and characteristics of PA in Slovenia. Particularly important in this respect was the amended editorial policy of the IPAR based on its revised title since 2013 with a focus on internationalization. However, the analysis of only the last two years with 39 papers published would lack significance due to a too low critical mass, so we took into account another two years, which gave us a sufficient base.²¹

The main research questions, arising from the introductory milestones of PA development in Slovenia and the IPAR profile addressed herein, are: Is an elaboration of PA issues more mono-, multi- or even interdisciplinary oriented, more theoretical or more practical, more nationally or broadly focused? What are the most current topics in Slovenian PA? Is Slovenian PA in the last decade still rather legally oriented or do policy or economic and managerial challenges prevail? The aim of the research is finally to conduct a review of Slovenian PA through published research results and other topics pointed out through publications in the IPAR to establish data-based future actions on the field. Taking into account all analyses and eventually using the axiological-deontological method, the following main issues for hypotheses were formulated:

- H1: The Slovenian PA is researched mostly in a multidisciplinary way, beyond mono- but not (yet) reaching interdisciplinary approach.
- H2: The Slovenian PA was traditionally more law oriented but presently managerial issues prevail with the mainstream topics of Quality and Human Resource Management (TQM and HRM).
- H3: The Slovenian PA research and the IPAR publications are not only nationally oriented but strive for international comparisons and collaboration.
- H4: The IPAR fully supports the involvement of practitioners in PA development and addresses also practical implications of theoretical topics.

In sum, we assumed that the IPAR content analysis would prove that the Slovenian PA and its research in the last few years were asymmetrically multidisciplinary, with rather managerial and legal issues at the fore but reflecting the international and practical dimensions of PA.

The following characteristic of the papers were analyzed:

- Descriptive characteristics: type of issues in which the papers were published and number of authors.
- Dominant disciplines and topics. With regard to the main PA disciplines and mainstream topics taken as a ground for the CA to check the first two hypotheses, we took – according to the established categorization –

²¹ Additionally, such an approach enables us to further research the possible differences before and after the lately revised editorial policy by answering if there is more interdisciplinary and comparative focus.

the following "mother" five PA disciplines (cf. Schuppert, 2000, p. 45; Raadschelders, 2011, p. 30; and the IPAR webpage, 2015): law, economics, management (with organization), politology (policy analysis), and informatics. Specifically, as an additional sixth category, we formulated "individual policies" (such as education, health, agriculture, etc.), since papers dedicated to these types of topics are as a rule addressed rather interdisciplinarily.

Furthermore, we developed a classification of mainstream topics in relation to the defined disciplines, taking into account that certain topics were by nature more or less monodisciplinary oriented and affiliated to certain disciplines (for instance, human rights are assumed to be legally elaborated, but also in terms of politology). When defining the mainstream topics, we intended to follow one of the more established classifications as applied in other CA in the field. But we encountered several major problems in such regard. Mainly, all analyses (see literature review in the previous chapter) were grounded on a mixed approach, so that some topics were defined by content and some in parallel methodologically, so a specific article could be categorized in two or more categories, which was not consistent in our view.²² In consequence, we prepared our own list of 14 topics (see section 4.2), thus distinguishing the main contextual areas but joining up most of them if possible. Our aim was to finally get not too many and not too few main topics, but primarily a balanced scale and exclusive individual categories.

- Methodological characteristics of the papers (measured with indicators for quantitative and qualitative research).
- With regard to the indicators selected to verify hypotheses and explore individual dimensions of interdisciplinary, international and practical orientation, we analyzed in particular the following three, which we found most significant per orientation (Table 2).

The codebook used for CA was prepared in Excel, using which the data were gathered and analyzed. Both authors conducted the CA separately. Later, the results were compared and, where required, discussed in order to reach consensus. Even though the number of papers analyzed (78) was not high (compared to other approaches), we believe that we conducted a very detailed and in-depth analysis enabling to draw a concrete description

²² First, e.g. if the article addresses leadership in municipalities, is it classified under HRM or under Local government (cf. Terry, 2005; or some even mix topics (as Ethics) and disciplines (as Administrative law), cf. Bingham & Bowen, 1994, p. 205). Second, even in at first glance comparable analyses, the authors did not apply the same or even comparable categorization (usually only referring to other sources, but at the end formulating their own lists). Third, most CAs were conducted in Anglo-Saxon environments, with different understanding of PA as compared to Central and EE and Slovenia in particular (for instance legal topics not even emerging in the USA, as also emphasized by Bingham & Bowen, 1994, p.206, but prevailing in German oriented Europe, see Kovač, 2013b, p. 49; or Koprič, 2014).

of PA research in Slovenia and to provide suggestions for further development in this field. The codebook is available in the Appendix.

Table 2: Indicators of proclaimed and assumed main orientations of PA in the IPAR

1. Interdisciplinary	Orientation of indicator	2. International Comparative	Orientation of indicator	3. Practical implications	Orientation of indicator
Addressed PA disciplines – interdisciplinary approach	<i>If topic such by nature (e.g. PAR); more disciplines, higher the rate</i>	Authors from different countries	<i>More countries, higher the rate</i>	Affiliation of author/s	<i>If practitioner, higher the rate</i>
Addressed topics	<i>More interdisciplinary and more of them and from more fields, higher the rate</i>	Comparisons in territorial sense	<i>More countries, higher the rate</i>	Collaboration of different profiled authors & balanced both types of articles	<i>If authors from practice & academia, higher the rate; app. 2/3 scientific and 1/3 expert papers</i>
Research methods applied and proportion of original scientific articles	<i>More mixed (normative, empirical) and elaborated methods, especially in original scientific papers, higher the rate</i>	Language	<i>More languages, higher the rate; if only one, higher for English</i>	Implication for practice in the discussion or conclusions	<i>More of them, higher the rate</i>

4.2 Results of the IPAR Content Analysis

4.2.1 Descriptive Characteristics of the Analyzed Papers

Generally speaking, most of the papers published in the IPAR in 2011–2014 were categorized as scientific ones, published in regularly issued individual volumes as elaborated in Table 3. In 2012, special issues emerged as a new editorial policy, following the example of other international journals and enabling more focused topical orientation. There is one issue out of four or even a double one issued as a special one, with papers usually selected from open call (see the IPAR web page²³).

Table 3: The IPAR 2011–2014 papers as the content analysis scope

Year	No. and type of issues	No. of papers = scientific + professional
2011	4 regular single issues	19 = 13 + 6
2012	3 regular & 1 special (<i>Public Sector and Economic Crisis</i>)	20 = 13 + 7
2013	2 regular & 1 double special (<i>Creativity, Openness and Professionalism – Realizable Goals of the Operation of the Public Sector?</i>)	18 = 12 + 6
2014	2 regular & 1 double special (<i>Law and PA</i>)	21 = 17 + 4
Sum	Out of 14, 3 special and 2 double issues	78 = 55 + 23

The overview reveals that we can consider the IPAR as an established journal, regularly providing a significant quantity of issues (4 annually as requested by most international data bases, e.g. SSCI and Scopus) with simultaneous

²³ Official webpage: <http://www.fu.uni-lj.si/en/publishing-center/international-public-administration-review/>

content dispersity of papers. There are 19.5 articles per year published on average; 70.51% of them categorized as scientific and 29.49% as expert or professional papers. Regular issues include 55 papers (70.5%) and special issues (one single, two double) together 23 papers out of 78 (29.5%). It is interesting to see harmony between proportions of, let us say, a principle of scientific regular contributions in 70% and a supplement of expert special input again in both elements in app. 30%.

There are altogether 132 authors contributing to the scope of respective CA if calculated autonomously, but some authors appear more often or regularly and are mostly employed at the Faculty of Administration as the publisher of IPAR. As many as half of the papers in the IPAR in 2011–2014 were written by sole authors (40 out of 78 or 51.2%), followed by 25 or 32% of the papers written by two authors, 10 or almost 13% of the papers with three authors, and 3 papers (3.8%) by 4 or 5 authors. On average, one paper was written by 1.7 author(s).

4.2.2 Dominant Disciplines and Topics Elaborated in the IPAR

CA was mainly dedicated to contextual issues of the IPAR papers, hence most analyzed characteristics were designed to verify this dimension. By exploring the indicators set in this part, we verified the first two hypotheses (H1, H2), addressing: (a) the scientific and (b) above all presumed multidisciplinary nature of the IPAR “products”. These two dimensions are important considering the initially emphasized nature of research in the field of PA, since PA as a discipline needs to address PA phenomena scientifically and interdisciplinarily in order to successfully resolve the respective problems as complex ones (see section 2.2, cf. in particular Bevir, 2011, p. 374 and the following; Raadschelders & Vigoda-Gadot, 2015, p. 443 and the following; Kovač & Gajdushek, 2015, p. 16, etc.). Despite a theoretically harmonized standing, we initially anticipated Slovenian PA and the IPAR papers to be sufficiently developed on the scientific level from the methodological point of view, but lacking full interdisciplinary understanding. Hence: (H1) expressing more of a multidisciplinary attitude and, given the historical and regional incorporation of Slovenia in the German type of PA, (H2) traditionally more legally and lately more managerially determined topics.

We formulated three indicators in this part, the first two dedicated to verify H1 and H2 by counting disciplines and topics addressed and revealing collaboration of and from different disciplines. The third indicator was measuring the scientific nature of the IPAR papers in the respective period and served as additional grounds to confirm or reject H1.

With regard to consistency of results and in order to introduce double check of content orientation, we used a model of 2x2. First, we identified each paper from two points of view, disciplinary and topical one, since some topics are characteristic for single disciplines and others are not. Second,

we also determined the second dominant discipline and topic of each paper, if applicable. By this 2x2 method, we followed the principle of in general a more multi- or interdisciplinary approach if more disciplines and topics are applicable.

As apparently revealed among all PA related disciplines (Table 4), law still plays the leading role. However, managerial and economic issues are almost as frequently elaborated as legal ones. One can consequently confirm law, management and economics to be the most important disciplines in Slovenian and broader PA, as emerging in the IPAR. Furthermore, these three disciplines are balanced in appearance (with app. 25% of appearance. On the other hand, some other disciplines, which are explicitly mentioned in the editorial policy and should be, based on theory, as much significant as the afore listed ones, in particular politology with policy analysis is highly underestimated (only 10% for politology and 6% for informatics). With regard to the second discipline, a further conclusion arises: legally and managerially oriented papers, as well as those focused on politology and informatics, address other disciplinary aspects in more than one third of the cases, whereas the papers where only economics prevails remain almost exclusively monodisciplinary.

Table 4: Dominant Disciplines in the IPAR 2011–2014 Papers (n = 78)

	1st dominant discipline		2nd dominant discipline		Sum
	n	%	n	%	n
Law	20	25.6	7	9.0	27
Management (HRM, TQM, etc., including Organization)	18	23.1	7	9.0	25
Economics	20	25.6	3	3.8	23
Politology / Policy analysis	8	10.3	3	3.8	11
Informatics	5	6.4	2	2.6	7
<i>Individual fields</i>	7	9.0	17	21.8	24

On the contrary, there is a category of individual policies which we assume to be multi- or interdisciplinary, which CA strongly proved as such. It is clear from Table 4 that any individual policy addressed, among 78 IPAR's analyzed papers even 24 of them (31%), is not monodisciplinary but stretches to at least one if not several basic PA disciplines. The individual policies (or even topics) that emerge in the IPAR relevant periods are the following: education (5 times!), sports, culture, media, youth, homecare for the elderly, health, foreign affairs/diplomacy, environment, agriculture, countryside, consumers, excises. In sum, among individual public policies elaborated, there are mostly social public services and some economic services of general interest, but all addressed in a cross disciplinary mode, most often by experts from practice (public servants).

Consistently with the discipline issue, the CA findings on topic orientation among 14 defined topics show imbalanced dispersion but same focuses of mainly managerial and legal issues (Table 5).

Table 5: The IPAR's 2011–2014 papers mainstream topics with disciplinary aspect

Topics	1st dominant topic		2nd dominant topic		Sum	Dominant disciplines
	n	%	n	%	n	
Human rights	3	3.8	1	1.3	4	Law Politicalology
PA regulation, administrative barriers, etc.)	7	9.0	3	3.8	10	Law Economics
Transparency, openness, participation	3	3.8	0	0.0	3	Law Politicalology
PA organization, state organs, decentralization	4	5.1	6	7.7	10	Management Law Economics
Regionalism	2	2.6	8	10.3	10	Law Economics
<i>HRM, Civil service</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>11.5</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Management Law</i>
<i>Public finances, budget, taxes</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>20.5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5.1</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Economics Law</i>
E-government	5	6.4	0	0.0	5	Informatics Law
<i>TQM, quality</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>11.5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>Management</i>
Privatization, PPP	2	2.6	1	1.3	3	Economics Law
<i>Processes, administrative procedures</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>Management Law</i>
<i>Individual public/ PA policies</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>Interdisciplinary</i>
Public administration reforms (PAR)	0	0.0	1	1.3	1	Interdisciplinary
PA as discipline/ Administrative science	1	1.3	9	11.5	10	Interdisciplinary

In the above table, the most recurrent and hence apparently “mainstream topics” are the following:

1. Public finances, budget, taxes with 20 appearances, 16 times as the first one;
2. Human Resource Management with 20 appearances, 11 times as the first one;
3. Individual policies (mainly education) with 16 appearances, 8 times as the first one;
4. Administrative processes with 15 appearances, 7 times as the first one.
5. Total Quality Management with 11 appearances, 9 times as the first one.

The result – i.e. public finances strongly leading – further emphasizes the above mentioned focus on economics from a rather monodisciplinary aspect. As regards the management field, HRM with TQM is highly above other subtopics.

4.2.3 Methodological Dimensions

As regards the research methods applied, the findings reflect a rather high level of scientific approach by the IPAR. Judging by a criterion of mixed, normative and empirical or qualitative and quantitative methods, the CA reveals that in the period 2011–2014 27 out of 78 IPAR papers or 34.6% are quantitative and 51 out of 78 or 65.4% are (prevalingly) qualitative. Such a result is not surprising especially in comparison to dominant disciplines and topics and type of papers – assuming law and management with expert versus scientific approach are more qualitatively oriented.

Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Among the papers employing qualitative research methods, the vast majority are based on two (41%) or three (29%) qualitative methods. Three papers (6%) used four methods, leaving only 12 papers (24%) with only one qualitative method used. There are three qualitative methods dominating: literature review (55%), review of literature or case law (53%) and review of reports, strategy or policy papers (51%). Case study, which is generally a frequently used qualitative research method, is used in 33% of the IPAR qualitative papers (Table 6).

Table 6: Methods of Qualitative Research Employed in IPAR 2011–2014 Papers (n = 51)

	n	%
Case study	17	33.3
Interviews	5	9.8
Literature review	28	54.9
Review of literature or case law	27	52.9
Focus group	0	0.0
Delphi	0	0.0
Historical review/analysis of the state	6	11.8
Review of reports (e.g. Council of Europe), strategies/policy papers	26	51.0
Other	2	3.9

Characteristics of quantitative research

27 papers (34.6%) analyzed are quantitative. These were additionally analyzed using the following eight parameters: survey design, source of data, data collection mode, sampling method, sample construction information, sampling size, sampling rate and statistical techniques used for data analysis.

In terms of design, the vast majority of quantitative surveys published in the IPAR in 2011–2014 were cross-sectional (25 or 93%). Even though the sample in this case is small, this result cannot be satisfactory since it indicates that these papers did not take advantage of longitudinal surveys – analyses of developmental trends in the field of PA. In most cases (59%), quantitative papers were based on first-hand (primary) data, which is a good sign; namely,

other CAs of PA research revealed smaller portions of primary data-based surveys. Data were mostly collected via web survey (33%), mail survey (19%), and in 22% of the cases a mixed mode was used in data collection. When it comes to the sampling method, the results are again not satisfactory; namely, in nine out of 27 (33%) cases, sampling is not described. In others, probability and non-probability sampling share the same portions (19%). The same conclusion can be drawn in case of reporting on how sample sizes were constructed – in 44% of the quantitative IPAR papers this is not presented (Table 7). Sample sizes in these papers again vary greatly – from 20 to 1879 with an average of app. 400 which is a decent number; however, in four cases this data is not presented – meaning that 15% of the quantitative papers did not reveal the sample size, which is one of the most important dimensions based on which one can judge the quality of a quantitative survey. Similar holds true for the response rate reporting – almost 19% (five out of 27) papers did not address this dimension which is, again, one of the most important criteria of quantitative survey quality. In other cases, the response rate varies from 5% to 100% – the latter mostly in cases where, for example, the sample size included all EU countries.

Table 7: Methodological Characteristics of the IPAR 2011–2014 Quantitative Papers (n = 27)

Survey design			Source of data			Data collection mode			Sampling method			Reporting on sample construction		
type	n	%	type	n	%	type	n	%	type	n	%	type	n	%
Cross-sectional	25	93	First-hand	16	59	Mail survey	5	19	Probability	5	19	Yes	14	52
Longitudinal	2	7	Second-hand	10	37	Web survey	9	33	Non-probab.	5	19	No	12	44
			Not specified	1	4	In-person interview	1	4	Other	0	0	Not applicable	1	4
						Phone interview	0	0	Not specified	9	33			
						Mixed mode	6	22	Not applicable	8	30			
						Other	3	11						
			Not specified	3	11									

The fact that 48% of the quantitative survey-based IPAR papers are based solely on descriptive statistics is not an indicator of high quality research (Table 8).

Table 8: Statistical Techniques Used for Data Analysis in IPAR 2011–2014 Quantitative Papers (n = 27)

	n	%
Descriptive statistics	13	48.1
T-test/chi square/ANOVA/parametric and non-parametric tests	4	14.8
Pearson correlation	3	11.1
OLS regression	4	14.8
Multinomial/logistic regression	0	0.0
WLS/GLS/2SLS	0	0.0
SEM/Factor/Path analysis	1	3.7
Hierarchical linear modelling	0	0.0
Time series/longitudinal analysis	1	3.7
Other	2	7.4

OLS (ordinary least squares) is applied in four papers and the same amount applied T-test, chi square, ANOVA, parametric or non-parametric tests, while two papers employed Pearson correlation.

4.2.4 International and Practical Dimensions in the IPAR

Following the revised editorial policy of the IPAR in force since 2013, priority is given to an international approach in order to primarily address PA trends as broadly as possible and transfer foreign practices to Slovenia and vice versa. Additionally, the proportion of foreign authors is a criterion for higher indexing of the journal. In this part, we verify the hypothesis (H3) on the effort and trend for more internationally, but in reality still predominantly nationally oriented papers in the IPAR and consequently the rather self-sufficient or closed PA in Slovenia. The selected indicators include the number and share of foreign authors, comparisons in terms of the content of the papers from the territorial aspect (limited only to Slovenia or other country or comparative and EU integrated), and English language of the papers. As regards the authors' affiliation, there are altogether 132 authors in the base.²⁴ We verified their home country and institution or employer since the latter data show not only the share of researchers from foreign universities versus domestic ones in terms of internationality, but also reveal the actual involvement of practitioners. Moreover, we identified the type of collaboration in international and practical dimension in all cases of co-authorship of the papers, namely in 38 out of 78 papers.

Furthermore, the IPAR aims at linking theory and practice, so we checked the hypothesis (H4) with regard to the extent of support to the involvement of practitioners and incorporation of practical implications in the analyzed papers. Thus, we joined some of the CA findings since the analysis of, in particular, authors' affiliation revealed both dimensions, on the international v. national and on the academic v. practical scale. In order to prove H4,

²⁴ Note: some authors appear several times. If the same author contributed three papers in this period, this author is counted three times in country-related analysis. There are 129 authors indicated in Figure 1 since two are from South Africa and one is OECD based.

we analyzed not only the origins or character of the authors being practitioners or not, but more importantly the collaboration of different profiled authors, and balanced both types of articles. Finally, as an important indicator of practical orientation, we examined the implications for practice in the discussion or conclusion of the papers.

For one author, the country base was not given, thus 131 authors were included in the following analysis. Out of those 131, 129 authors came from Europe and two from South Africa. Figure 1 shows the number of Europe-based authors ($n = 129$) for each country. More than half of the authors were from Slovenia (55.8%), and altogether 76.7% of the authors were from Eastern Europe.

Figure 1: No. of Europe-Based Authors from the IPAR in 2011–2014 ($n = 129$)



Slovenia is the country of the first author in 44 papers (56.4%) and the country of the second author in further 21 papers. Classifying the authors by country of origin regardless of whether they are first, second or third etc. authors, the result is the following:

- Slovenia: 72;
- Croatia 8, Czech Republic 7, Sweden 6;
- Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium: 5 each;
- other countries: 1–3 representatives each.

75% of the authors who contributed to the IPAR in the period 2011–2014 came from the university sphere and were almost equally distributed among domestic (Slovenian) and foreign universities (Table 9). This result proves

a rather strong international component among the academia related authors. Further, only 17.4% of authors are practitioners. This is less than expected, particularly compared to app. 30% expert papers assumed to be originated by public servants, which is obviously not the case.

Table 9: Affiliation of the Authors in the IPAR Journal in 2011–2014 (n = 132)

Type of institution *		n	%
Academia	Practice		
Slovenian university		48	36.4
Foreign university		51	38.6
	Association, NGO	6	4.5
	International organization	1	0.8
	PA (public servants)	16	12.1
	Other	10	7.6

* Additionally, we verified the “research institute” as a possibility of authors’ affiliation if such was an autonomous institution and not part of the university, but such option did not exist in any of the cases. “Other” includes authors who are students (unemployed) and in one case a pensioner.

Furthermore, in practical orientation with regard to type of the papers, there are 33 original scientific articles (42.3%) and 32 review scientific articles (41%) among 78 papers in total. Also, there are 22 expert and one popular article, thus 23 in total or 29.5% of all papers. Such empirical data and division are expected and reflect the proclaimed editorial policy on the inclusion of experts beside academia authors.

In addition, we counted the number and type of sources applied in these papers, assuming that a higher level of scientific approach requires the use of more sources and of both types thereof, mostly literature units and, in a lower proportion, other sources (laws, reports, statistics, policy papers, etc.). On the contrary, we expected the quantity of sources being lower and more other sources applied in the case of expert papers. The results are the following:

- on average, authors applied 34 sources per paper (minimum six and maximum 97 in the paper with the longest list); three papers reported less than 10 sources and 18 reported more than 20 sources;
- on average, 25 out of 34 sources (74%) were literature units with known authorship, almost exclusively representing scientific monographs and articles; the other nine were other sources (26%);
- there is a difference between scientific and expert papers but, contrary to our expectations, such is not significant, neither in terms of assumed higher quantity of all sources and literature units in particular in scientific papers nor in terms of proportion between the type of source in relation to the type of the paper.

As regards collaboration in research and authorship, such is rather low and in some aspects even non-existing. Most surprisingly, the majority of the papers published in the IPAR in 2011–2014 do not reflect international collaboration

(87.2%), leaving only 12.8% of those with identified international collaboration (Table 10).

Table 10: Type and International Nature of Collaboration in the IPAR in 2011–2014 (n = 78)

International collaboration	n	%	Nature of collaboration (academia v. practice)	n	%
Yes	10	12.8	University/faculty = same organization	12	31.6
No	68	87.2	University/faculty = different organization	10	26.3
Total	78	100	Faculty : Student (or graduate)	10	26.3
			Faculty : <i>Public servant</i>	3	7.9
			Faculty : <i>International organization</i>	1	2.6
			<i>Other</i>	2	5.3
			Total	38	100

Furthermore, among the papers written by two or more authors, which indeed indicates a potential international and theory & practice orientation, collaboration was observed mainly within the same university or even faculty (12 out of 38 papers or 31.6%), followed by collaboration between the faculty and graduate students (26.3%). Collaboration is consequently very limited – if existing, it is mainly within the same academic institution.

To check the international orientation of the IPAR, we explicitly verified the content focus of the papers. Almost 94% of the papers analyzed are somehow geographically focused – be it with focus on one or more countries (87.2%) or with a supranational dimension (i.e. focus on one or more countries and a supranational entity, most often the EU). Five papers (6.4%) do not reflect any territorial perspective. That is why we elaborated the scope of applicable papers further. Again, there is a surprising result of 87.2% of the papers reflecting a topic not elaborated in the global or EU context. But not to interpret the results wrongly, one has to add that 87.2% of papers address more than only one country. In fact, the CA reveals that most of the papers address one country – most often Slovenia (38 cases), followed by Germany (seven) and Croatia and Sweden (5 papers). Second is a comparative study between Slovenia or the home country of the author (e.g. Germany, Sweden, Croatia, Macedonia, Belgium) and one, two or several other countries. Finally, there is the category where topics are elaborated supranationally (12 papers or 16.4%), rather than “only” internationally or comparatively.

Almost two thirds of the papers present some form of comparison. The prevailing comparative dimension is the one between different countries (23 papers, 29.5%), as presumed. This is followed by comparison among organizations or groups (17 papers, 21.8%). 41% of the papers do not reflect any kind of comparison, which is a rather high proportion given the effort for interdisciplinarity emphasized in the previous section.

As regards the language perspective – the expected prevalence to be established by the CA was English (Table 11). In fact, the share of English papers accounts for almost 80%. However, for practical needs of public servants, Slovenian might be more understandable, which is the case in 41%. One fifth of the papers are available only in Slovenian.

Table 11: Language of the Papers in the IPAR in 2011–2014 (n = 78)

Language(s)	n	%
Slovenian	16	20.5
English	46	59.0
Slovenian and English (or German in one case)	16	20.5

Last but not least is the indicator of practical implications in the papers, measured by their presence or absence (yes, no; Table 12). We took into consideration both specific and general conclusions and/or recommendations of the author(s) as such, presented both in the nucleus of the paper as research results and (more often) in the final sections under discussion or conclusions.

Table 12: Practical Implications of the IPAR Papers in 2011–2014 (n = 78)

Practical implications and applicability	n	%
Yes	45	57.7
No	33	42.3

We need to mention that some authors elaborated practical implications directly and in detail (for instance stating what they recommend to a certain stakeholder to do in a specific period), while others did so in a more general mode. However, in a surprisingly high proportion of the papers we did not note any practical implications formulated by the authors, although they had the opportunity to do so. We therefore suggest this dimension be strengthened.

5 Discussion and Recommendations: What Has Been Done and How to Proceed

Following theoretical guidelines on PA development as a discipline and its research material, the IPAR editorial policy seems to be in full compliance by setting interdisciplinary, international and practical orientations in its publications. However, there is an implementation gap between goals and empirical results in all three elements, more so if we follow the nine indicators related to content and authors' affiliation.

Namely, by identifying the three major guidelines of PA development and the IPAR editorial policy, we assumed that the IPAR would stipulate and support the papers that reflected a (more) (1) scientific and interdisciplinary,

and (2) international and comparative attitude with (3) related theory and practice of PA. But taking into account the results from the previous section and transforming them into descriptive grades of (A) fully, (B) mostly, (C) partially (minor) and (D) rather anecdotal level, the following picture presents itself (Table 13).

Table 13: Descriptive Grades on Proclaimed Indicators of the IPAR in 2011-2014

1. Interdisciplinary	Grade	2. International	Grade	3. Practical	Grade
Addressed PA disciplines (more, diverse)	B	Authors from different & foreign countries	C	Affiliation of author/s (practitioners with academia)	C
Addressed topics (more, more interdisciplinary)	B-C	Comparisons in territorial sense	B	Collaboration of different profiles & balanced types	C
Use of scientific methods (more elaborated, mixed)	B	Language	B	Implication for practice	B-C
In sum	B		B-C		C

We believe the IPAR to be the most important factor of PA development in Slovenia. In consequence, we see the implementation gap observed in the above results as an excellent opportunity to systematically and strategically improve further measures in order to strengthen the priorities of scientific interdisciplinarity and internationalization in particular.

Based on empirical, descriptive and comparative elaboration, we therefore confirm all four initially formulated hypotheses. First, according to the IPAR CA, in recent years the Slovenian PA has been researched mostly in a multidisciplinary way, beyond mono- but not (yet) reaching a full interdisciplinary approach. Second, the dominant disciplines and related topics refer mostly to law, management and economics, while almost neglecting other major aspects, such as politology, informatics and other PA related disciplines.

Despite (only) multidisciplinary research, there is also the question of which discipline(s) is (are) predominant, since given several PA's mother disciplines there have been different options and trends over time. Especially in the German oriented tradition, the role of law seems prevailing, mainly in the past (cf. on *Juristenmonopol* Luhmann, 1966, p. 12-14) or in connection with the countries' peculiarities, usually with regard to ongoing transition and strive for (legal) certainty (cf. Kovač, 2013a, pp. 154, 174). Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the role of law today and worldwide.²⁵ With a focus on the respective content analysis, we anticipated the IPAR to be predominantly

²⁵ Cf. Schuppert (2000, p. 42) or Drewry (2014, p. 12-13), with the latter arguing that the sentiment of certain countries or traditions will continue to follow the historical significance of law and lawyers nowadays since administrative law is most directly concerned with the function of government. Or as pointed out by Kovač (2013b) for Slovenia: "PA ... should comprise a legal determinant since the legal regulation of public administration is an essential element of constitutional democracy and the rule of law ... however, PA cannot be examined from a legal perspective only ...".

law oriented, but proved otherwise from the developmental point of view. The results of disciplinary analysis clearly reveal that today strong emphasis is given to managerial issues, in particular those relating to HRM and TQM, together with broader economic aspects of public finances. The question, however, remains whether the IPAR reflects the actual PA development in Slovenia and the region in this respect (cf. Koprić, 2014; Kovač & Gajduschek, 2015).

Nevertheless, if we compare our results to some of the most outstanding CAs (such as on the PAR, cf. Terry, 2005, and Bingham & Bowen, 1994), we can conclude that the IPAR or PA in Slovenia vs. PA in the USA is apparently more Central European oriented. In terms of disciplines and topic, this means significant differences, with politology and other disciplines (informatics, sociology, psychology, etc.) being underestimated in Slovenia in favor of the traditional role of law and the increasing significance of management and economics (for similar conclusions see Lopžič, 2014). However, this does not mean that the one or the other trend is better or worse per se since PA needs to be researched and developed interdisciplinarily in both models. Hence, a more Anglo-Saxon approach would require more evolvement of law while a more Central European one would call for more policy analysis in addition to law and management. However, interdisciplinarity is indeed present in the IPAR and Slovenia where a certain notion – the subject or a policy – is studied and taught with a specific combination of procedures and methods, as well as in terms of its own substantive interest or problem, with the ultimate test of quality where one can detect an understanding of a particular phenomenon that is more comprehensive than what is possible by a disciplinary approach (cf. Raadschelders, 2011, p. 81; Schuppert, 2000, p. 45).

If we compare the most emphasized topics (for instance to the PAR, cf. Terry, 2005, p. 644, or in general to theory Drewry, 2014, p. 15), there is an obvious discrepancy to the IPAR issues in some topics, again connected with a lack of policy discipline, such as transparency, openness, participation, but also contemporary managerial and economic notions such as public-private partnerships. On the other hand, by identifying not only the first but also the second dominant discipline, the respective CA suggests a rather different conclusion. In particular, we did not expect the most interdisciplinary and strategically important topics of reforms (PAR) and PA as a discipline to be that low in appearance, and practically non-existing if we take into account only the first dominant topic. However, if the second topic is considered as well, PA as a discipline emerges ten times altogether (once as the first and nine times as the second dominant topic, see Table 5).

Taking a deeper look and comparing the first and the second dominant topics, we see that some topics are more homogenous or, in other words, broader per se and not to be mixed with others – such as transparency, openness and participation, and e-government. Other topics are clearly more difficult to interpret, and in addition to these, more topics emerge regularly. It is so

particularly in the case of organization and regionalism, but also in topics concerning procedures and PAR. All these topics are highly horizontal by nature and it is therefore not surprising they appear frequently yet only if the second dominant topic is identified as well, since the prevailing one is usually some other topic (for instance, the first topic is participation and the second one only procedures, if we examine a paper on public consultation and access to information in policy making). We believe that the identification of the second dominant topic revealed in this sense significantly more issues in comparison to the common approach in other CAs (see literature review). In our view, these observations are particularly important since both extremes – namely homogenous and secondly emerging topics – offer a better opportunity for a further interdisciplinary development of the IPAR and PA when pursuing these topics as future priorities.

As regards the research methods applied, the findings reflect a relatively high level of scientific approach by the IPAR. This holds true especially when judging in terms of mixed, normative and empirical, or qualitative and quantitative methods. Namely, the CA in the case of the IPAR in 2011–2014 reveals that 27 out of 78 papers (34.6%) are quantitative and 51 out of 78 (65.4%) are qualitative. Even though some other CAs revealed a more or less equal ratio between quantitative and qualitative research (e.g. Walker et al., 2014; Henderson & Terry, 2014), such a result is not surprising especially in relation to dominant disciplines and topics and type of papers – assuming law and management with expert versus scientific approach are more qualitatively oriented. Furthermore, those of quantitative nature, that is 27 out of 78, are more or less elaborated (see Table 8). Qualitative, more descriptive, less empirical methods – as found in this case with almost two thirds of a share – are expected on the field of PA due to its mostly social science related character. On the other hand, research in PA is increasingly in need of empirically based data, especially if PA issues are explored interdisciplinarily.²⁶ However, taking into consideration that in more than one fifth of the papers the number of sources used is lower than 20, one cannot say that this is an indicator of high-quality research. Lovaglia (1991) calculated an ideal number of 66 references cited in the field of sociology. Taking into account that PA is highly influenced by law, which is by nature different in terms of research methods and “literature” review, we believe that app. 40 references would present a very decent number. Furthermore, there are several weaknesses identified in the quality of the quantitative surveys reported in the analyzed papers, among them the most important or in need of consideration in the future being editorial policy and review process: (1) 12 out of 27 quantitative papers do not report on how their sample sizes were constructed; (2) four out of 27 (15%) of the papers do not present the sample size; (3) five papers (19%) do not report on the response rate; (4) almost half of the quantitative papers

²⁶ Cf. Bevir (2011), Raadschelders (2011), Kovač & Gajduschek (2015), Raadschelders & Vigoda-Gadot (2015, p. 444). The latter authors evolve in that respect four phases of PA (comparative) research, differing between descriptive legal and political phases at the beginning of the 19th century, followed by the normative phase until the empirical phase prevails in 1970.

(48%) are based solely on descriptive statistics which indicates that there is room for improvement in terms of more advanced statistical techniques used for data analysis. These four elements are among the most important quality indicators in quantitative surveys. Thus, we believe that they should gain more attention in PA research. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that these results are completely in line with the results of other CAs in the field. Namely, methodological weaknesses in PA research were identified in CAs conducted by Perry & Kraemer (1986), Lee et al. (2009), and Walker et al. (2014).

Mention is to be made at such point of the IPAR's special issues. Namely, individual issues include some special dedication to currently emerging topics, covering for example – as indicated in Table 3 – economic crisis (2012), innovation and professionalism (2013), and the contemporary role of law in PA (2014). These issues are also most internationally oriented, judging by territorially focus and authors' affiliation.²⁷ On the other hand, these issues are apparently rather monodisciplinarily oriented (economics or law; with some ambitions of interdisciplinary approach in the initial stage, for instance on the topic of creativity, innovation and professionalism). In sum, to meet editorial objectives, special issues seem to be a valuable addition to regular issues but interdisciplinary topics and at least di- or multidisciplinary coverage should prevail over the monodisciplinary approach. This could be a result of carefully selected topic that requires the involvement of several disciplines or a methodological attitude of pursuing, for instance, co-authorship of authors of different profiles (for instance, an economist and a lawyer on the topic of taxes).

We find as confirmed also the third and the fourth hypotheses on Slovenian PA research and IPAR publications being not only nationally oriented but striving for international comparisons and collaboration and addressing also practical implications of theoretical topics. However, grades B-C and C (Table 13) in this respect reflect more a goal than real practice. Hence, we suggest a more proactive approach in the search for foreign authors and especially the collaboration of foreign and domestic researchers. Papers written in collaboration between authors from different countries and different disciplines, (at least) one from academia and the other one from practice, should be favorized and hence officially given priority in review and publishing procedure.

Comparatively, the IPAR presents a rather high share of non-scientific articles accounting for up to 30%, which is surprisingly not necessarily affiliated with practitioners as authors. Such an approach is perhaps an evolutionary step, but we believe the IPAR is more useful to the intended circle of readers in PA

²⁷ The most international one seems to be the 2014/2–3 issue on law; with 9 out of 10 papers outside Slovenia and 20 out of 21 authors non Slovenians. Further, the 2013/3–4 issue incorporates four out of eight international placed papers and seven out of 12 authors, and the 2012/4 issue three out of five papers and six out of ten authors – which significantly exceeds the average (see section 3.2.3 on results).

practice. On the other hand, collaboration of practitioners and with practice could be strengthened. Additionally, since the practical orientation of the IPAR seems to be evaluated as the lowest (grade C, see Table 13), we strongly suggest to the IPAR editorial board to define the involvement of practical implications as an obligatory part of the papers in the guidelines to the authors and as a criterion for reviewers. Such an approach should additionally contribute to a more coherent scientific methodology.

With regard to contributing authors, the prevailing majority does research individually (here over 50%) and does not collaborate neither with colleagues from other disciplines (here not explored but almost fully absent) or countries (here only in 10 papers with 12.8%) nor with practitioners. At first glance, such findings seem comparable with other journals (e. g. Cheng & Lu, 2009), but are more disciplinarily homogeneous. Beside PA being inevitably interdisciplinary, we have to point out that the proportion of co-authorship was expected to be higher and should further increase if we are to pursue international collaboration, more interdisciplinary research and connection between academia and practitioners as stated in the IPAR declarations.

As regards the origins of the authors where as many as 76.7% come from Eastern Europe, we do not find such data problematic since we believe – as stated already above – that PA is societally and hence geographically determined. For the Slovenian PA this means that Slovenia is usually more comparable to other EE countries (such as Croatia, Hungary, Estonia, etc.) than to Western European ones. However, also the theory and practice from the West are most relevant and deserve their proportional share. The IPAR editors should indeed stretch their effort to attract more foreign contributors since presently the share of Slovenian authors (mainly from the faculty itself) is prevailing. Some comparative rules of other journals could be applied here, such as the possibility to submit a paper by the same author only once in two years and giving priority to co-authorship papers by colleagues from abroad. We also suggest further preparation of special issues by selecting an umbrella (interdisciplinary) topic that would attract regionally distinguished researchers and, preferably, combinations of domestic and foreign guest editors (the special issue of 2014 can serve as a model).

The share of Slovenian and/or English language seems sufficient in terms of internationalization, with 41% Slovenian and 80% English available papers (some in both languages). Considering the rather high level of language proficiency in the Slovenian PA with active command of (usually) English as an official requirement for employment, this is adequate also for the practical dimension. But if the IPAR sees its role not only in developing domestic and cross-border PA discipline in a contextual view but also in strengthening the often weak Slovenian professional terminology, its policy should support bilingual contributions as a principle.

Finally, is the IPAR delivering what has been set in its mission in terms of disciplinary approach, scope, research contribution, etc.? Based on the results of the content analysis covering the 2011–2014 period, the answer is positive in terms of trends and declarative policy, but a stricter and more elaborated policy is required to turn from being only a static mirror into becoming the dynamic motor of PA development in Slovenia or broader.²⁸

6 Conclusion

Public administration is an important part of the society which either provides for the welfare of its people and organizations or blocks them. It cannot be neutral; PA can only stimulate or aggravate sustainable development. Its development, as a discipline and in practice by reforming and modernizing its functions, procedures, structures and management, is consequentially very important. The problem is especially pressing in Eastern Europe and in Slovenia in particular due to ongoing transitional and post-socialism related phenomena, such as excessive formalism and hierarchy, lack of administrative capacity and accountability, etc. Developing PA by scientific methods and publication therefore plays a key role.

In this respect, content analysis as a method of identification of the state of affairs and further trends is a valuable approach. As shown in this paper, CA offers empirical grounds to assess the original point and its potential gap in relation to the set goals. CA is in this context an objective base to formulate further measures. As for the IPAR editorial policy in connection to the general development of Slovenian PA, we can see that there is room for improvement especially in terms of a more interdisciplinary evolution and even more comparative and cross-border oriented theory and practice, all on the level of content of research and papers as well as authors' affiliation. Similar holds true for the quality of quantitative surveys reported in the papers – considerable room for improvement has been identified, mainly related to the usage of more advanced statistical techniques for data analysis and adequate reporting on the sample size, its construction and response rate. Likewise, we believe that since the number of references listed is also one of the indicators of research quality, the review process should include this dimension as well.

Combining the above emphasized issues we can finally answer the main research questions posed at the beginning. Apparently, PA in Slovenia is not sufficiently interdisciplinary, which has been verified subjectively, descriptively, and empirically. All key PA disciplines need encouragement and the wicked issues of contemporary PA can be resolved only by involving all those disciplines as relevant ones. The most recurrent topics of public finances, HRM and TQM, administrative procedures and individual public policies prove to be themes that require more than the multidisciplinary approach presently

²⁸ However, this state of affairs is characteristic for PA and its research in other countries as well as globally (see Drewry, 2014, p. 19).

applied. All disciplines (or topics) are equally important and all need to be urgently taken into account due to the complexity of the modern society with globalization, digitalization, revised holders of power, etc. The same goes for the question of international orientation. If decades ago national and pure theoretical levels sufficed, the current society simply does not allow inert and distant attitude anymore, more so in the case of small states members of the EU, such as Slovenia. Hence, PA must evolve as more open both (1) in the regional and global setting and in (2) researching by academia the real problems from practice and conveying theoretical findings back into practice.

It would be interesting to analyze a longer period (i.e. more than four years) in order to examine the trends in the field, as well as to focus on more (especially international journals). Even though, a lot has been done in this field in terms of CA, comparison of the results of surveys based on different methodologies is not completely reliable. Thus, longer time-span and more journals analyzed are the main suggestions for further research. Moreover, the content analysis proves to be an effective method for similar research focuses, such as identification of key PA authors and the networks established among them.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the IPAR publishes relatively high-quality papers, relevant for both domestic and foreign academics and practitioners. Where room for improvement has been identified, it does not vary significantly from other mature PA research fields (e.g. US-based). Being the most important PA journal in Slovenia, we consider it as the main PA research field in this country, meaning that the state of research published in the IPAR reflects the general state of PA research in Slovenia.

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Appendix: Coding Scheme

1. Paper ID
2. Year of publication
3. Paper title
4. Typology
 - 1.01 – Original scientific article
 - 1.02 – Review article
 - 1.03 – Short scientific article
 - 1.04 – Professional article
 - 1.05 – Popular article
5. Language
 - 1 – SVN
 - 2 – ENG
 - 3 – SVN+ENG
 - 4 – SVN+GER
6. Type of publication
 - 1 – regular
 - 2 – regular double
 - 3 – special
 - 4 – special double
7. Number of authors
8. 1st – 5th author's name
9. 1st – 5th author's country (alpha-3 code of the ISO standard)
10. 1st – 5th author's institution name
11. 1st – 5th author's institution type
 - 1 – University (local/domestic)
 - 2 – University (foreign)
 - 3 – Research institute
 - 4 – Associations, NGOs
 - 5 – Public sector (non-university/research)
 - 6 – International organization (e.g. OECD)
 - 7 – Other
31. Nature of collaboration (if more than one author)
 - 1 – Faculty/research institute : Faculty/research institute (same organization)
 - 2 – Faculty/research institute : Faculty/research institute (different organizations)
 - 3 – Faculty : Graduate/ student
 - 4 – Faculty : Public sector/civil servant
 - 5 – Faculty/research institute : International organization
 - 6 – Other
32. International collaboration?
 - 1 – yes
 - 2 – no
33. Geographical focus of the paper (Is the paper focused on specific country?)
 - 1 – yes, one or more countries
 - 2 – yes, one country + supranational dimension (e.g. EU)
 - 3 – no
34. Geographical focus of the paper (IF 33 = 1, which country?)
35. First dominant discipline
 - 1 – Law
 - 2 – Economics
 - 3 – Management, organization, HRM, TQM
 - 4 – Politology/policy analysis
 - 5 – Informatics
 - 6 – Individual fields (e.g. diplomacy, social care etc.)

36. Second dominant discipline (optional)
 - 1 – Law
 - 2 – Economics
 - 3 – Management (+ organization, HRM, TQM ...)
 - 4 – Politology/policy analysis
 - 5 – Informatics
 - 6 – Individual fields (e.g. diplomacy, social care etc.)
37. First dominant topical orientation
 - 1 – Human Rights
 - 2 – Regulation of PA (RIA, Better Regulations, administrative barriers, etc.)
 - 3 – Transparency, openness, participation
 - 4 – Organization in PA, state organs, decentralization etc.
 - 5 – Regionalism
 - 6 – HRM, Civil Service
 - 7 – Public finances, budget, taxes
 - 8 – E-government
 - 9 – TQM, quality
 - 10 – Privatization, PPP
 - 11 – (Work) processes, administrative & other legal procedures
 - 12 – Individual public/ PA policies
 - 13 – PA/PS (general) reform/s
 - 14 – PA discipline/administrative science
38. Second dominant topical orientation (optional)
 - 1 – Human Rights
 - 2 – Regulation of PA (RIA, Better Regulations, administrative barriers, etc.)
 - 3 – Transparency, openness, participation
 - 4 – Organization in PA, state organs, decentralization etc.
 - 5 – Regionalism
 - 6 – HRM, Civil Service
 - 7 – Public finances, budget, taxes
 - 8 – E-government
 - 9 – TQM, quality
 - 10 – Privatization, PPP
 - 11 – (Work) Processes, administrative & other legal procedures
 - 12 – Individual public/ PA policies
 - 13 – PA/PS (general) reform/s
 - 14 – PA discipline/administrative science
39. Elements of Europeanization in topic elaborated?
 - 1 – yes
 - 2 – no
40. Comparative research?
 - 1 – yes, comparison between countries
 - 2 – yes, country vs. EU
 - 3 – yes, comparison between organizations
 - 4 – yes, time-based comparison
 - 5 – no
41. Type of research
 - 1 – quantitative
 - 2 – qualitative
42. **Quantitative survey:** sample size (number)
43. **Quantitative survey:** survey design
 - 1 – cross-sectional
 - 2 – longitudinal

44. **Quantitative survey:** source of data
 - 1 – first-hand
 - 2 – second-hand
 - 3 – not specified
45. **Quantitative survey:** data selection mode
 - 1 – self-administered survey (mail)
 - 2 – self-administered survey (web)
 - 3 – in-person interviews
 - 4 – telephone interviews
 - 5 – mixed survey mode
46. **Quantitative survey:** sampling method
 - 1 – probability sampling
 - 2 – non-probability sampling
 - 3 – other
 - 4 – not specified
47. **Quantitative survey:** reporting on how sample frames was constructed
 - 1 – yes
 - 2 – no
48. **Quantitative survey:** response rate (%) or not specified
49. **Quantitative survey:** statistical techniques of data analysis
 - 1 – Descriptive statistics
 - 2 – T-test/chi square/ANOVA
 - 3 – Pearson correlation
 - 4 – OLS regression
 - 5 – Multinomial/logistic regression
 - 6 – WLS/GLS/2SLS
 - 7 – SEM/Factor/Path analysis
 - 8 – Hierarchical linear modelling
 - 9 – Time series/longitudinal analysis
 - 10 – other
50. **Qualitative research:** method
 - 1 – case study
 - 2 – interview
 - 3 – literature review
 - 4 – review of legislation + case law.
 - 5 – focus group
 - 6 – Delphi
 - 7 – historical review/analysis of the state
 - 8 – review of reports (e.g. Council of Europe), strategies/policy papers
 - 9 – other
51. **Practical applicability of the paper:** are there points for practitioners stressed in the paper?
 - 1 – Yes
 - 2 – No
52. Number of references listed
53. Number of literature units
54. Number of other sources
55. % of literature units
56. % of other sources

POVZETEK

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Razvoj javne uprave in njenega proučevanja v Sloveniji v vsebinski analizi *Mednarodne revije za javno upravo*

Razvoj javne uprave je predmet raziskav po vsem svetu, saj je pomen javne uprave pri razreševanju upravljavskih problemov v sodobni družbi ključen. V tem okviru se odpira vprašanje javne uprave kot znanstvene discipline, tako na nacionalni ravni kot širše. S ciljem identifikacije stanja in razvojnih trendov javne uprave v Sloveniji in regiji, je bila zato izvedena vsebinska analiza 78 člankov, objavljenih med letoma 2011 in 2014 v vodilni slovenski znanstveni reviji na področju javne uprave, tj. *Mednarodni reviji za javno upravo* (MRJU). Vsebinska analiza je priznana raziskovalna metoda, ki se uporablja v družboslovnih znanostih in tudi v javni upravi. Proučena so bila tri zatrjevana poglobljena vodila uredniške politike MRJU, to so interdisciplinarnost, mednarodna in praktična usmerjenost. Ta vodila so bila analizirana prek prevladujočih disciplin in vodilnih tem, jezika, metod raziskav in drugih elementov proučenih člankov ter izvora in sodelovanja med avtorji. Iz rezultatov izhaja, da je javna uprava v Sloveniji proučevana multi-, ne še interdisciplinarno, s prevladujočo vlogo menedžmenta, posebej na področju kadrovskega vira, ter prava in ekonomije. Članki, pripadajoči slednji disciplini, so večinoma le monodisciplinarni. Prostor za bolj dosledno sledenje vodilom uredniške politike bi lahko bil tudi z doslednejšim uveljavljanjem mednarodne in praktične usmerjenosti. Če naj bi MRJU celostno podpirala razvoj javne uprave, kot izhaja iz globalnih trendov in poslanstva MRJU, bi morali v prihodnje podpirati zlasti članke, ki bi sistematično sledili interdisciplinarnosti upravnih tematik v evropskem okolju.

Povezanost vodenja in zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov na Policijski upravi Ljubljana

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ZVLEČEK

Kvantitativna raziskava, katere cilj je bil raziskati vpliv elementov vodenja na zavzetost uniformiranih policistov, je bila izvedena med 514 uniformiranimi policisti na vseh 22 policijskih postajah na območju Policijske uprave Ljubljana. Ugotovili smo močan pozitiven vpliv odnosa vodje, kot enega izmed elementov vodenja, na zavzetost uniformiranih policistov. Z raziskavo smo tudi ugotovili, da je kljub v povprečju dobri oceni vodenja njihovih vodij več kot tri četrtine uniformiranih policistov pri svojem delu nezavzetih. Pri načrtovanju, organiziranju, vodenju in kontroliranju organizacije bodo izidi raziskave v praktično pomoč tako vodjem policijskih postaj na območju Policijske uprave Ljubljana, kot tudi izvajalcem izobraževanj vodij policijskih postaj.

Ključne besede: policijska postaja, uniformirani policist, vodenje, zavzetost zaposlenih

JEL: J24

1 Uvod

Uspešnost vodenja zaposlenih se presoja po doseženih ciljih v organizaciji. V pridobitnih organizacijah so to ekonomsko–finančni cilji, medtem ko so v slovenski policiji cilji operativna uspešnost, učinkovitost in legitimnost delovanja (Anželj, 2001).

Rezultati raziskave (Aristovnik et al., 2012) o učinkovitosti slovenske policije na regionalni ravni so pokazali visoko stopnjo neenakosti med posameznimi obravnavanimi policijskimi upravami. Izvedba raziskave je temeljila na primerjavi statističnih podatkov ocen o (ne)učinkovitosti opravljanja policijske

Žužman, D., & Moretti, M. (2016). Povezanost vodenja in zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov na Policijski upravi Ljubljana [Correlation between Leadership and Engagement of the Uniformed Police Officers at the Ljubljana Police Directorate]. *International Public Administration Review*, 14(1), 115–155.

dejavnosti pri preprečevanju, odkrivanju in preiskovanju kaznivih dejanj v časovnem obdobju 2005–2010, letnih poročilih policijskih uprav, podatkovnih bazah Ministrstva za notranje zadeve in Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije. Zaradi ugotovljenih rezultatov raziskave (Aristovnik et al., 2012) ter zaradi dejstva, da je slovenska policija v zadnjih dveh desetletjih doživela mnoge spremembe na področju ciljev, vrednot, organiziranosti, opreme, infrastrukture, načinov nagrajevanja ipd., postaja vodenje zaposlenih v slovenski policiji še toliko večji izziv.

Uspešnost vodenja zaposlenih je povezana s stopnjo njihove zavzetosti (Fleming & Asplund, 2007). Zavzeti zaposleni so pri svojem delu uspešnejši od nezavzetih zaposlenih (MacLeod & Clarke, 2009; Harter, Schmidt, Agrawal, & Plowman, 2013). Ob tem se zastavlja vprašanje, ali elementi vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji vplivajo na zavzetost uniformiranih policistov. V ta namen smo postavili naslednjo hipotezo: elementi vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji statistično značilno vplivajo na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov.

Cilj prispevka je, predstaviti značilnosti zavzetosti zaposlenih (opredelitev, pomen in dejavniki zavzetosti zaposlenih) in vodenja na splošno, in obravnavati izsledke kvantitativne raziskave, ki smo jo izvedli v avgustu in septembru 2013 na naključnem vzorcu uniformiranih policistov na vseh 22 policijskih postajah na območju Policijske uprave Ljubljana.

2 Vodja in vodenje

Vodja ima pomembno vlogo v vsakodnevnem življenju zaposlenih in ima nad njimi določeno socialno moč (Schermerhorn, Osborn, Hunt & Uhl-Bien, 2011; Griffin & Moorhead, 2014; McAuley, Duberley & Johnson, 2014; Schermerhorn & Wright, 2014).

Vodenje je tako proces usmerjanja, vplivanja, spodbujanja in spremljanja zaposlenega ali skupine zaposlenih (Robbins & Judge, 2012; Yukl, 2013; McAuley et al., 2014). Opira se na t. i. mehke dejavnike, kot so vrednote, etika, pričakovanja, interesi in zaupanje (Tavčar, 2006; Yukl, 2013; McAuley et al., 2014). Med elemente vodenja štejemo odnos vodje do zaposlenih (motivacija, skrb, komuniciranje, reševanje konfliktov ipd.), zadovoljevanje potreb zaposlenih (prilagajanje dela) in pomoč vodje (Schermerhorn, 2012; McAuley et al., 2014; Schermerhorn & Wright, 2014). Neposreden vpliv na uspešnost vodenja imajo osebne (npr. spol, starost, delovna doba, analitičnost, komunikativnost), delovne in socialne (npr. olikanost, pripravljenost za sodelovanje) značilnosti vodje (Armstrong, 2009).

Za uspešno vodenje so pomembne kompetence vodje (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Kompetence vodje delimo na tehnične kompetence (obvladovanje dela, specialna znanja, analitične sposobnosti, razreševanje konfliktov ipd.), medosebne kompetence (sposobnost komuniciranja, motiviranja

in koordiniranja) in konceptualne kompetence (sposobnost razmišljanja, sposobnost odločanja, sposobnost dolgoročnega pogleda ipd.) (Yukl, 2013).

Poleg kompetenc vodje sta za uspešno vodenje pomembni tudi moč in vpliv vodje (Schermerhorn et al., 2011; Griffin & Moorhead, 2014) – sposobnost vplivanja na zaposlene, ki izhajajo iz položaja, ki ga vodja ima (t. i. pozicijska moč) in njegovih osebnih značilnosti (t. i. osebnostna moč) (Daft & Marcic, 2013).

Med sestavne dele vodenja štejemo delegiranje, spodbujanje in mentorstvo/poučevanje (Armstrong, 2009; Schermerhorn et al., 2011). Delegiranje je prenašanje dela na podrejene zaposlene in njihovo pooblaščenje (Schermerhorn, 2012; McAuley et al., 2014). Z delegiranjem vodja na zaposlene prenaša del pooblastil, odgovornosti pa ne (Biloslavo, 2008). Delegiranje razbremenjuje vodjo tekočih opravil in reševanja podrobnosti. Na ta način se vodja lahko osredotoča na nujne in pomembne zadeve (Armstrong, 2009). Kdaj, kaj, komu in kako delegirati, presodi vodja sam, pozoren pa mora biti, da oseba/podrejeni, ki mu vodja preda del svojih pristojnosti, delo zna opravljati (Biloslavo, 2008; Schermerhorn, 2012). Z mentorstvom/poučevanjem vodja poskuša povečati zmožnost zaposlenih, da bi bolje razumeli, ravnali in obvladovali spremembe, s spodbujanjem tega pa vodi zaposlene v zavzeto dejavnost (Tavčar, 2006).

Splošni način vodenja zaposlenih v policiji je linijsko-kooperativni način vodenja – način vodenja, ki je naravnani na linijske odnose med posameznimi ravnmi vodenja in na operativno izvajanje nalog in ukrepov (Anželj, 2001). Vodenje na ravni operativnega vodenja se deli na operativno usklajeno vodenje (vodenje regijskih policijskih uprav), operativno usmerjevalno vodenje (vodenje oddelkov in drugih organizacijskih enot znotraj policijskih uprav – policijskih postaj) in operativno taktično vodenje (vodenje policijskih postaj) (Vršec, 1993; Anželj, 2001). Sistem vodenja v policiji ni enak sistemu vodenja drugih organizacij, saj sistem vodenja v policiji oblikuje »narava dela«: delo, ki terja delovanje 24 ur na dan, posebni pogoji dela (npr. tudi ponoči, ob nedeljah in praznikih, stalna dosegljivost ipd.), uniformiranost policije, status policije kot državnega organa, zakonsko določene funkcije, pristojnosti in pooblastila, javnost in tajnost delovanja (Vršec, 1993; Anželj, 2001; Žužman, 2014).

Po pregledu raziskav s področja vodenja v policiji lahko razberemo naslednje značilnosti učinkovitega vodenja v policiji, in sicer: 1) ustvarjanje skupne vizije (Schafer, 2008; Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Miller, Watkins & Webb, 2009; Andreescu & Vito, 2010; Vito & Higgins, 2010; O'Leary, Resnick-Luetke & Monk-Turner, 2011; Vito, Suresh & Richards, 2011); 2) gradnja zavezanosti organizaciji (Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Vito & Higgins, 2010; Dick, 2010; Johnson, 2012); 3) skrb za podrejene (Singer & Singer, 1990; Moore, 1994; Bryman, Stephens & Campo, 1996; Densten, 1999, 2003; Davies, 2000; Metcalfe & Dick, 2000; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Butterfield, Edwards & Woodall, 2004; Fleming, 2004; Murphy & Drodge, 2004; Andreescu & Vito, 2010;

Schafer, 2010; Vito & Higgins, 2010; Žagar & Durić, 2012); 4) nadzorovanje sprememb (Vito, Walsh & Kunselman, 2005; Butterfield, Edwards & Woodall, 2005; Brodeur, 2005; Clarke, 2006; Silvestri, 2007; Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Miller et al., 2009) in 5) razreševanje problemov (Silvestri, 2007; Miller et al., 2009; O'Leary et al., 2011; Meaklim & Sims, 2011; Žagar & Durić, 2012).

3 Zavzetost zaposlenih

Samoumevno se nam zdi, da razumemo pomen zavzetosti (angl. *employee engagement*) in najbrž večina ljudi verjame, da je zavzetost zaposlenih koristna, niso pa povsem prepričani, kako se zavzetost kaže, z izjemo tega, da si predstavljajo ljudi, ki trdo delajo in jim je mar za svoje delo. Kljub velikemu številu opredelitev zavzetosti ne moremo podati enoznačne opredelitve, s katero bi se strinjali vsi avtorji, vendar vse vsebujejo nekatere skupne sestavine.

3.1 Opredelitve zavzetosti zaposlenih

Eden od prvih teoretikov, ki je začel pisati o zavzetosti v povezavi z delom, je bil Kahn (1990). Kahn je zavzete zaposlene opisal kot povsem fizično povezane s svojimi delovnimi vlogami (kot fizično energijo, ki jo posameznik vloži v opravljanje svojih delovnih nalog), kognitivno povezane (kot posameznikovo prepričanje o organizaciji in delovnih pogojih) in čustveno povezane (kot pozitivna ali negativna čustva zaposlenega, ki mu jih vzbujajo organizacija, vodje in delovni pogoji). Glede na omenjene dimenzije zavzetosti je Kahn (1990) mnenja, da je zaposleni lahko zavzet bodisi v eni bodisi v drugi dimenziji in bolj kot je zavzet v izbrani dimenziji, večja je njegova zavzetost.

Maslach in Leiter (1997) trdita, da je zavzetost zaposlenih nasprotje izgorelosti, saj menita, da je izgorelost stanje telesne, čustvene in mentalne izčrpanosti, medtem ko zavzetost poseblja pozitivno energijo, visoko učinkovitost in intenzivno vpletenost.

Schaufeli in Bakker (2004) sta nasprotnega mnenja in menita, da zavzetost in izgorelost nista dva nasprotujoča si pola iste dimenzije, ampak da sta to dva ločena in med seboj negativno povezana pojma, saj odsotnost nečesa negativnega še ne pomeni prisotnosti nečesa pozitivnega. Avtorja (2004) menita, da si je zmotno predpostavljati, da bo posameznik, ki ne doživlja izgorelosti, zavzet.

Bakker, Albrecht in Leiter (2011a) zavzetost opredeljujejo kot pozitivno čustveno stanje, za katerega je značilna visoka stopnja energije in visoka stopnja vpletenosti v delo. Avtorji (2011a) menijo, da zavzete zaposlene za razliko od zadovoljnih odlikuje visoka stopnja zadovoljstva s svojim delom (predanost), ki jo združujejo z visoko aktivnostjo (živahnost, zatopljenost). Zadovoljstvo pri delu opredeljujejo kot pasivno obliko dobrega počutja zaposlenega na delovnem mestu (Bakker et al., 2011a). Prav tako zavzetost razlikujejo od z delom povezanega zanosa, saj zanos običajno traja krajši

čas (uro ali manj), medtem ko zavzetost traja daljše obdobje (Bakker et al., 2011a). Zavzetost zaposlenih se prav tako razlikuje od motivacije zaposlenih. Za motivirane zaposlene je značilna velika predanost, medtem ko zavzete zaposlene še dodatno odlikuje visoka aktivnost, ki jo kažejo s svojo živahnostjo, zatopljenostjo in večjim uspehom pri delu. Zato je po mnenju Bakkerja (2011) zavzetost, pred motivacijo in zadovoljstvom, najboljši napovedovalec uspeha.

Iz opisanega lahko ugotovimo, da avtorji zavzetost opisujejo z izrazi, kot so strast, navdušenje, povezanost, zanos in usmerjen trud. Kljub neenotnim opredelitvam zavzetosti zaposlenih vse vsebujejo dve osnovni komponenti:

- pozitivno in energično motivacijsko stanje, povezano z delom, in
- pristno pripravljenost prispevati k delovni vlogi in uspešnosti organizacije.

Avtorji (Kahn, 1990; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Wagner & Harter, 2006; Macey & Schneider, 2008; Bakker, 2011; Harter et al., 2013) so si prav tako enotni, da je zavzetost pozitivno, z delom povezano psihološko (kot navdušenje, energija, strast in živahnost) in motivacijsko stanje (kot pristna pripravljenost vložiti trud za doseg zastavljenih ciljev organizacije).

Zaradi tega se, v pridobitnih pa tudi vse več v nepridobitnih organizacijah (predvsem v javnem sektorju) osredotočajo na človeške dejavnike poslovanja, da bi izboljšali nizko stopnjo zavzetosti zaposlenih.

3.2 Dejavniki zavzetosti zaposlenih

Dejavniki zavzetosti so zanimivi za vse, ki se na teoretičen, empiričen ali praktičen način ukvarjajo z zavzetostjo zaposlenih. Dejavniki zavzetosti so postali ključni za načrtovanje dejavnosti v smislu zvišanja zavzetosti pri zaposlenih.

Z modelom delovnih zahtev in virov (angl. *job demands-resources model*) kot najbolj citiranim in uporabljenim modelom ugotavljanja zavzetosti zaposlenih, se pojasnjuje, kako značilnosti delovnega mesta in osebni viri neposredno vplivajo na zavzetost zaposlenih (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). V prispevku bomo predstavili značilnosti delovnega mesta, ki imajo notranjo motivacijsko vlogo, saj pospešujejo rast, učenje in razvoj ter zunanjo motivacijsko vlogo, ker povečujejo prizadevanje in sposobnost posameznika pri opravljanju dela.

Na podlagi omenjenega modela delovnih zahtev in virov so značilnosti posameznega delovnega mesta razdeljene v dve širši dimenziji, to sta zahteve delovnega mesta (delovna in čustvena obremenitev, fizične zahteve, časovni pritisk, izmensko delo, delo doma in slabi odnosi med zaposlenimi) in delovni viri (avtonomija pri delu, podpora vodstva, nagrade in priznanja, pravično razdeljevanje koristi, primerna nadzorna in socialna podpora pri delu, možnost razvoja in sodelovanja pri odločanju, povratne informacije ter varna zaposlitev) (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Zahteve delovnega mesta po mnenju

Van den Broeckove in sodelavcev (2008) vodijo v izgorelost, delovni viri pa nasprotno zavzetost zaposlenih povečujejo in se nanašajo na tiste vidike dela, ki imajo namen funkcionalno dosegati cilje dela, zmanjšati zahteve na delovnem mestu in s tem povezane fiziološke in psihološke stroške ter spodbujati osebno rast in razvoj (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner & Schaufeli, 2001).

Demeroutijeva in sodelavci (2001) z modelom razlagajo, da sta z zahtevami delovnega mesta povezani predvsem izčrpanost in izgorelost ter da pomanjkanje delovnih virov povzroči umik z delovnega mesta. Zahteve na delovnem mestu sprožijo proces energijskega izčrpanja, v katerem naraščanje prizadevanja zaposlenega zaradi doseganja zahtev delovnega mesta povzroča povečanje psiholoških in fizičnih naporov, ki porabljajo energijo zaposlenih. Delovni viri kot so rast, učenje in razvoj, pa lahko po drugi strani nasprotno v njih spodbudijo motivacijski proces (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner & Schaufeli, 2001).

Kahn (1990) je mnenja, da delovna mesta, ki zagotavljajo izziv in raznovrstnost na delovnem mestu, omogočajo uporabo različnih vrednot, veščin in znanj, s tem pa zaposlenim ponujajo možnost, da prispevajo k čim boljšim poslovnim rezultatom organizacije ter povečujejo občutek psihološke smiselnosti.

Številne tuje raziskave so pokazale, da so poleg nagrad in priznanj (Mauno, Kinnunen & Ruokolainen, 2007; James, McKechnie & Swanberg, 2011), ustrezen nadzor (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; James, et al., 2011), avtonomija (Bakker, Hakanen, Demerouti & Xanthopoulou, 2007; Mauno et al., 2007; Schaufeli, Bakker & Van Rhenen, 2009; Tims, Bakker & Derks, 2012; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Breevaart et al., 2014), povratne informacije (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Bakker et al., 2007; Mauno et al., 2007; Schaufeli et al., 2009; Albrecht & Su, 2012; Tims et al., 2012; Van den Berg, Bakker & Ten Cate, 2013; Bakker, Sanz Vergel & Kuntze 2015), podpora sodelavcev (Bakker et al., 2007; Schaufeli et al., 2009; Petrou, Demerouti, Peeters, Schaufeli & Hetland, 2012; Breevaart et al., 2014; Breevaart, Bakker, Demerouti & Van den Heuvel, 2015) in nadrejenega (Bakker et al., 2007; Schaufel et al., 2009; Breevaart et al., 2015) ter dobri odnosi med sodelavci (Nahrgang, Morgeson & Hofmann, 2011; Petrou et al., 2012; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Bakker et al., 2015; Breevaart et al., 2015) tisti vidiki delovnega okolja, ki naj bi razložili razlike v zavzetosti zaposlenih.

3.3 Pomen zavzetosti zaposlenih za delo

Zavzeti zaposleni so navezani na svojo delovno vlogo, ki jim pomeni pomemben del njihove identitete, saj so ponotranjili aspiracije (težnje, želje) in cilje svoje organizacije. Sami svojo utrujenost kljub napornemu delu opisujejo kot prijetno stanje, povezano z uspehi v organizaciji. Obratno pa nezavzeti zaposleni v opravljanje dela ne vlagajo svojih čustev, energije, strasti in so le fizično prisotni na delu. Vseeno jim je za cilje organizacije in le redko

se jim zgodi, da so zatopljeni v delo organizacije, do katere ne čutijo nobene pripadnosti (Bakker, Albrecht & Leiter, 2011b). Zavzeti zaposleni po mnenju Gorgievskega, Bakkerja in Schaufelija (2010) delajo zato, ker jih delo zabava in ne zaradi močnega in nepremagljivega notranjega nagona (kot na primer deloholiki).

Zavzeti zaposleni imajo prav tako občutek energične in učinkovite povezave s svojo delovno aktivnostjo, svoje delo opravljajo trdo, z občutkom navdušenja, navdiha, ponosa ter si ves čas sami zastavljajo nove izzive, ki jih prinaša delovno mesto, z namenom da ostanejo zavzeti (Bakker et al., 2011b). Kahn (1990) meni, da zavzeti zaposleni ni samo nekdo, ki trdo dela. Zavzeti zaposleni izraža tudi svoja mnenja, ideje, slutnje, čustva glede problemov, ki jih želi razrešiti, hkrati pa se čuti obvezanega, da dela najboljše, kar zna, in raje spregovori, kot da je tiho.

Zavzeti zaposleni so po mnenju različnih avtorjev:

- bolj ustvarjalni, produktivni in so na delovnem mestu pripravljene storiti več (Bakker & Demerouti, 2008);
- željni učenja ter v celoti povezani s svojo delovno vlogo (Sonnentag, 2003);
- polni energije, zatopljeni v svoje delo in delovne aktivnosti (Bakker, 2011);
- tisti, ki imajo občutek energične in učinkovite povezave s svojo delovno aktivnostjo in ki sebe vidijo kot popolnoma sposobne soočiti se z zahtevami ter pričakovani svojega delovnega mesta (Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzáles-Roma & Bakker, 2002);
- sposobni in željni delati še več, zato je za organizacijo pomembno, da razumejo motive za njihovo zavzetost (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007).

4 Raziskava

4.1 Metode raziskovanja

Za zbiranje podatkov in informacij smo uporabili modificiran vprašalnik zaprtega tipa, ki smo ga oblikovali na podlagi teoretičnih izhodišč, vprašalnika Gorenaka (2003; segment: vodenje zaposlenih v slovenski policiji) in vprašalnika Wagnerja in Harterja (2006; segment: osebna zavzetost zaposlenih).

Vprašalnik je bil sestavljen iz treh sklopov, in sicer:

- Prvi sklop: demografski podatki anketiranih oseb (spol, starost, izobrazba, delovno mesto, čas zaposlitve v Policiji);
- Drugi sklop: trditve uniformiranih policistov s področja vodenja zaposlenih na posameznih policijskih postajah;
- Tretji sklop: trditve uniformiranih policistov s področja zavzetosti zaposlenih na posameznih policijskih postajah.

Stopnjo strinjanja s posamezno trditvijo v drugem in tretjem sklopu vprašalnika so anketirane osebe označile na podlagi Likertove petstopenjske ocenjevalne lestvice.

Metoda anketiranja: vprašalnike smo s prazno pisemsko ovojnico, spremnim dopisom z osebno predstavitvijo, namenom anketiranja ter zagotavljanjem anonimnosti v anketi osebno dostavili vsem komandirjem na izbranih policijskih postajah (število dostavljenih vprašalnikov je bilo prilagojeno številu uniformiranih policistov na posamezni policijski postaji).

Podatke smo statistično obdelali in analizirali s pomočjo programske opreme SPSS 22.0. V raziskavi smo opravili:

- osnovno statistično analizo: izračun osnovnih značilnosti vzorca in posameznih spremenljivk s področja vodenja in zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov (uporaba aritmetične sredine, standardnega odklona, frekvenčna porazdelitev ipd.);
- faktorsko analizo: potrdili smo manjše število nemerljivih skupnih faktorjev vodenja uniformiranih policistov na izbranih policijskih postajah (dejavnikov načina vodenja zaposlenih) in manjše število nemerljivih skupnih faktorjev zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov na izbranih policijskih postajah (dimenzij zavzetosti zaposlenih), ki pojasnjujejo večino variance večjega števila merljivih indikatorjev – te faktorje smo v nadaljevanju uporabili kot pojasnjevalne spremenljivke;
- multivariatno linearno regresijsko analizo: izračunali smo opisne mere za vsako spremenljivko, mere korelacije, vrednosti parametrov regresijskega modela, ocene parametrov regresijske funkcije in vrednosti preizkusov neodvisnosti ocen parametrov in vrednosti ostankov.

4.2 Ciljna skupina raziskovanja

Populacijo predstavljajo vsi (932¹) uniformirani policisti na vseh 22 policijskih postajah na območju Policijske uprave Ljubljana, kar je tudi vzorec anketiranih.

Anketiranje smo izvajali v mesecu avgustu in septembru 2013. Prejeli smo 514 popolnoma izpolnjenih vprašalnikov (55,15 % odzivnost), kar je bilo zadostna podlaga za nadaljnjo statistično obdelavo in analizo.

Reprezentativnost vzorca smo na podlagi podatkov Ministrstva za notranje zadeve, Urada za organizacijo in kadre, Službe za kadrovske zadeve, na dan 1. 8. 2013, potrdili po spolu (na izbranih policijskih postajah je bilo skupno zaposlenih 78,7 % uniformiranih policistov in 21,4 % uniformiranih policistk), po delovnem mestu (na izbranih policijskih postajah je bilo skupno 40,9 % policistov, 24,6 % vodij patrolj, 13,0 % policistov kriminalistov, 9,9 % vodij policijskega okoliša, 7,4 % dežurnih policistov in 5,0 % vodij izmen) in po

¹ Med uniformirane policiste nismo vključili vodstev policijskih postaj (komandirji in njihovi pomočniki).

povprečni starosti uniformiranih policistov (povprečna starost uniformiranih policistov je bila 34,9 let).

4.3 Rezultati raziskave

Anketiranci so v vprašalniku na trditve s področja vodenja in zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov lahko odgovarjali na podlagi Likertove ocenjevalne lestvice od 1 (nikakor se ne strinjam) do 5 (popolnoma se strinjam). Ocene 2, 3 in 4 pa so pomenile vmesne stopnje.

4.3.1 Vodenje

Iz tabele 1 je razvidno, da so anketiranci namenili v povprečju najvišjo oceno trditvi »Upošteva vaše želje o koriščenju dopusta.« ($M = 4,53$), najmanjšo pa trditvi »Odkriva konfliktne situacije v kolektivu.« ($M = 3,64$). Standardni odkloni (SD) se gibljejo med 0,800 in 1,143.

Tabela 1: Vodenje uniformiranih policistov na policijskih postajah

Trditve	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Upošteva vaše želje o koriščenju dopusta.	4,53	0,80
Prilagaja razpored dela, če to vi predlagate zaradi vaših službenih obveznostih.	4,47	0,87
Prilagaja razpored dela, če to vi želite zaradi osebnih obveznosti.	4,45	0,91
Pripravljen je na pogovore s policisti.	4,21	0,94
Izvaja nadzor nad delom policistov.	4,11	0,88
Pripravljen je na pogovore s policisti o načrtovanju dela.	4,11	0,98
Podpira policiste pri njihovem delu.	4,10	1,00
Načrtuje delo policistov.	4,09	0,83
Policistom daje navodila.	4,09	0,86
Prizadeva si za vzpostavljanje pozitivnega odnosa do policistov.	4,03	1,04
Preden greste k njemu na pogovor, zaupate v uspešnost komunikacije med vami in njim.	4,03	1,05
Prizadeva si za uspešno informiranje in komuniciranje s policisti.	4,00	0,96
V informiranju in komuniciranju med njim in policisti prevladuje sproščen odnos.	3,95	1,10
Neposredno se vključuje v razreševanje zahtevnejših operativnih primerov.	3,94	1,04
Policistom nudi pomoč pri delu.	3,87	1,07
Policistom postavlja jasne cilje.	3,87	1,00
Skrbi za soudeležbo policistov pri soodločanju o operativnih nalogah.	3,74	1,02
Skrbi za nagrade in pohvale policistov.	3,74	1,14
Odpravlja konflikte v kolektivu.	3,73	1,12
Preprečuje konflikte v kolektivu.	3,68	1,14
Prizadeva si za motivacijo policistov pri delu.	3,68	1,12
Odkriva konfliktne situacije v kolektivu.	3,64	1,09

V nadaljevanju smo izvedli redukcijo sklopov trditev s področja vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji, kjer smo s faktorjsko analizo generirali nove neodvisne spremenljivke – elemente vodenja, in sicer: »Odnos komandirja policijske postaje do podrejenih« (krajše Odnos), »Komandirjevo zadovoljevanje potreb podrejenih« (krajše Potrebe) in »Komandirjeva pomoč podrejenim« (krajše Pomoč) – tabela 2. V regresijskem modelu so te spremenljivke predstavljale vzrok – neodvisne spremenljivke. Pri preverjanju zanesljivosti smo ugotovili, da imajo vsi trije elementi visoko stopnjo zanesljivosti (Cronbach Alfa nad 0,7) in skupaj pojasnijo 74,62 % celotne variance.

Tabela 2: Elementi vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji in komunalitete posameznih spremenljivk

Spremenljivka	Rotirana vrednost			Komunalitete
	V1	V2	V3	
V informiranju in komuniciranju med njim in policisti prevladuje sproščen odnos.	0,848			0,805
Prizadeva si za motivacijo policistov pri delu.	0,846			0,808
Prizadeva si za vzpostavljanje pozitivnega odnosa do policistov.	0,841			0,832
Skrbi za nagrade in pohvale policistov.	0,827			0,750
Prizadeva si za uspešno informiranje in komuniciranje s policisti.	0,827			0,818
Preden greste k njemu na pogovor, zaupate v uspešnost komunikacije med vami in njim.	0,817			0,781
Pripravljen je na pogovore s policisti.	0,778			0,775
Skrbi za soudeležbo policistov pri soodločanju o operativnih nalogah.	0,764			0,674
Odpravlja konflikte v kolektivu.	0,759			0,715
Podpira policiste pri njihovem delu.	0,747			0,778
Preprečuje konflikte v kolektivu.	0,747			0,725
Pripravljen je na pogovore s policisti o načrtovanju dela.	0,699			0,775
Odkriva konfliktne situacije v kolektivu.	0,649			0,636
Policistom nudi pomoč pri delu.	0,623			0,696
Neposredno se vključuje v razreševanje zahtevnejših operativnih primerov.	0,602			0,624
Policistom postavlja jasne cilje.	0,574			0,668
Prilagaja raspored dela, če to vi želite zaradi osebnih obveznosti.		0,866		0,876
Prilagaja raspored dela, če to vi predlagate zaradi vaših službenih obveznosti.		0,846		0,859
Upošteva vaše želje o koriščenju dopusta.		0,824		0,837
Izvaja nadzor nad delom policistov.			0,753	0,569
Policistom daje navodila.			0,701	0,740
Načrtuje delo policistov.			0,678	0,693
% pojasnjene variance skupaj: 74,629	62,856	6,189	5,584	

* Faktorji: V1 – Odnos; V2 – Potrebe ; V3 – Pomoč.

4.3.2 Zavzetost zaposlenih

Podatke v tabeli 3 smo razvrstili padajoče glede na povprečno vrednost posamezne trditve. Razvidno je, da so anketiranci namenili v povprečju najvišjo oceno trditvi »Točno vem, kaj se pričakuje od mene na delovnem mestu.« ($M = 4,26$), najmanjšo pa trditvi »Moj najboljši prijatelj je iz službe.« ($M = 2,20$). Standardni odkloni (SD) se gibljejo med 0,759 in 1,291.

Tabela 3: Zavzetost uniformiranih policistov na policijskih postajah

Trditve	M	SD
Točno vem, kaj se pričakuje od mene na delovnem mestu.	4,26	0,76
Moj vodja me upošteva kot celovito osebo.	3,74	1,02
Moje mnenje se ceni in upošteva.	3,43	1,01
Moji sodelavci so iskreno zavzeti za dobro in kakovostno delo.	3,34	1,03
Vsaj nekdo načrtno spodbuja moj razvoj.	3,24	1,09
V tem letu sem imel priložnost za učenje in razvoj.	3,11	1,25
Imam priložnost početi praktično vsak dan tisto, v čemer sem najboljši.	3,05	1,08
Imam na voljo vse, kar potrebujem, da dobro opravim svoje delo.	2,93	1,08
V zadnjih šestih mesecih so se z menoj pogovarjali o mojem razvoju.	2,91	1,29
V zadnjih sedmih dneh so moje delo pohvalili.	2,82	1,26
Moj najboljši prijatelj je iz službe.	2,20	1,24

Pri merjenju zavzetosti smo trditve zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov po Gallupu razvrstili v tri kategorije (Harter et al., 2013):

- Zavzeti zaposleni: energični zaposleni, ki so zaupljivi tako do sodelavcev kot do svojih predpostavljenih (vodij). Delajo s strastjo in so globoko povezani z vrednotami in poslanstvom organizacije, kjer so zaposleni (merilo: $M > 3,7$).
- Nezavzeti zaposleni: »delno odsotni« zaposleni. Delo opravljajo korektno. V delo vložijo svoj čas, energije in strasti pa ne (merilo: $2,6 < M < 3,7$).
- Aktivno nezavzeti zaposleni: zaposleni, ki so nezadovoljni na svojem delovnem mestu. To nezadovoljstvo tudi aktivno izkazujejo. Ti zaposleni podcenjujejo delo zavzetih sodelavcev in vplivajo na splošno klimo v organizaciji (merilo: $M < 2,6$).

V nadaljevanju smo izvedli redukcijo sklopa trditev s področja zavzetosti zaposlenih, kjer smo s faktorsko analizo generirali nove neodvisne spremenljivke, in sicer: »Pripadnost in rast«, »Prispevek« in »Pogoji dela« (tabela 4). Pri preverjanju zanesljivosti smo ugotovili, da imajo vsi trije elementi visoko stopnjo zanesljivosti (Cronbach Alfa nad 0,7) in skupaj pojasnijo 64,24 % celotne variance.

Tabela 4: Elementi zavzetosti zaposlenih in komunalitete posameznih spremenljivk

Rotirana vrednost				
Spremenljivka	Faktor*			Komunalitete
	Z1	Z2	Z3	
Moj vodja me upošteva kot celovito osebnost.	0,813			0,741
Moje mnenje se ceni in upošteva.	0,763			0,750
Vsaj nekdo načrtno spodbuja moj razvoj.	0,760			0,729
V zadnjih sedmih dneh so moje delo pohvalili.	0,699			0,546
V zadnjih šestih mesecih so se z menoj pogovarjali o mojem razvoju.	0,660			0,653
Poslanstvo naše organizacije odslkava tudi to, kako pomembno je moje delo.	0,616			0,617
V tem letu sem imel priložnost za učenje in razvoj.	0,487			0,506
Imam na voljo vse, kar potrebujem, da dobro opravim svoje delo.		0,837		0,772
Imam priložnost početi praktično vsak dan tisto, v čemer sem najboljši.		0,741		0,676
Točno vem, kaj se pričakuje od mene na delovnem mestu.		0,572		0,487
Moj najboljši prijatelj je iz službe.			0,841	0,725
Moji sodelavci so iskreno zavzeti za dobro in kakovostno delo.			0,477	0,507
% pojasnjene variance skupaj: 64,237	47,084	8,744	8,409	
Rotacijski seštevki kvadratov uteži (λ)	3,650	2,510	1,548	

* Faktorji: Z1 – Pripadnost in rast; Z2 – Prispevek; Z3 – Pogoji dela.

Za ugotavljanje skupne stopnje zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov na izbranih policijskih postajah smo z metodo tehtanega povprečja (angl. *Weighted Average Cost Of Capital* – WACC) dobili novo spremenljivko »Stopnja zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov na policijskih postajah« :

$$\text{COMPUTE } i1 = (Z1 * 3.650 (\lambda1) + Z2 * 2.510 (\lambda2) + Z3 * 1.548 (\lambda1)) / (3.650 (\lambda1) + 2.510 (\lambda2) + 1.548 (\lambda3))$$

V regresijskem modelu je ta spremenljivka predstavljala posledico (odvisno spremenljivko).

4.3.3 Preverjanje zastavljene hipoteze

Na preizkus smo postavili naslednjo hipotezo: »Elementi vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji statistično značilno vplivajo na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov«.

Izide regresijske analize smo predstavili z modelom. Izpolnjene so vse predpostavke veljavnosti regresijskega modela (ostanki so normalno porazdeljeni, prisotnosti heteroskedastičnosti ni, vrednost VIF posameznih trditev ni zadosti visoka (< 2), da bi vplivala na izide ocene).

Tabela 5: Ocene regresijskih koeficientov modela

Model	Nestandardni koeficienti		Standardni koeficient Beta	t	sig
	Beta	Standardna napaka			
Stopnja zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov	1,258	0,137		9,153	0,000
Neodv. sprem. Odnos	0,635	0,037	0,762	17,207	0,000
Neodv. sprem. Potrebe	-0,117	0,041	-0,127	-2,867	0,004

Regresijska analiza (tabela 5) je pokazala (z uporabo Stepwise regresijske metode), da le en element vodenja v nasprotju s pričakovanji pozitivno vpliva na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov, in sicer: »Odnos komandirja policijske postaje do podrejenih« (krajše Odnos; $\beta_n = 0,635$) ima močan pozitiven vpliv. Element vodenja »Komandirjeva pomoč podrejenim« (krajše Pomoč) je statistično neznačilen ($\beta = 0$). Element vodenja »Komandirjevo zadovoljevanje potreb podrejenih« (krajše Potrebe) ima na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov negativen vpliv ($\beta_n = -0,117$), β pa dokazuje, da je prispevek tega elementa zelo majhen.

Regresijsko funkcijo tako lahko zapišemo v obliki enačbe regresijske hiperravnine, zato zapišemo:

Stopnja zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov = $1,258 + 0,635 * \text{Odnos} - 0,117 * \text{Potrebe}$

S hipotezo smo predvidevali, da elementi vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji statistično značilno vplivajo na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov. Ugotavljamo, da hipotezo lahko delno sprejmemo.

5 Razprava

Raziskava je pokazala, da je vodenje uniformiranih policistov na območju Policijske uprave Ljubljana v povprečju dobro ($M = 4,00$). Upoštevanje želja glede razporejanja delovnega časa in letnega dopusta so policisti ocenili najboljše. Odlična ocena kaže na to, da vodjem kljub slabši kadrovski zasedenosti policijskih postaj pri razporejanju delovnega časa in dopusta »zaenkrat« še uspeva zadovoljevati želje policistov.

Tudi področje nadzora nad delom policisti dobro ocenjujejo. Kar 79,50 % policistov je ocenilo, da je vodja vedno pripravljen na pogovore s policisti. Najslabše so ocenili njihovo prizadevanje za motivacijo policistov pri delu ($M = 3,68$) ter njihovo skrb za nagrade in pohvale ($M = 3,74$). Policisti so dobro ocenili tudi odnose vodstva do njih ($M = 4,00$). Kar 69,06 % policistov je ocenilo, da si vodstvo zelo prizadeva vzpostaviti pozitiven odnos.

Merjenje zavzetosti policistov je pokazalo, da jih je glede na stopnjo zavzetosti pri delu največ nezavzetih (58,00 %), sledijo zavzeti policisti (24,50 %), najmanj pa jih je pri delu aktivno nezavzetih (17,50 %). Poleg visokega odstotka nezavzetih policistov je skrb zbujač tudi podatek o aktivno nezavzetih

policistih. Aktivno nezavzeti zaposleni so nezadovoljni na svojem delovnem mestu in to tudi aktivno izkazujejo. Izražajo vedenja, ki so negativna, nesodelovalna in celo sovražna (Wagner & Harter, 2006) ter s tem zmanjšujejo zadovoljstvo in zavzetost svojih sodelavcev.

Hipotezo, s katero smo predvidevali, da elementi vodenja zaposlenih v slovenski policiji statistično značilno vplivajo na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov, smo delno sprejeli. Raziskava je pokazala, da ima odnos vodij policijskih postaj, kot eden izmed elementov vodenja, močan pozitiven vpliv na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov (glejte tabelo 5).

6 Zaključek

Z raziskavo smo ugotovili, da je kljub v povprečju dobri oceni vodenja njihovih vodij več kot tri četrtine uniformiranih policistov pri svojem delu nezavzetih. Ugotovitev ne preseneča, saj policisti praviloma uporabljajo tudi stara in iztrošena vozila, veliko policijskih postaj je v slabem stanju in delajo na računalnikih, ki jih na drugih ministrstvih odpšejo. Policijske postaje na območju Policijske uprave Ljubljana so tudi kadrovske podhranjene (povprečna kadrovska zasedenost je 72,64 %, najslabše kadrovske zasedene policijske postaje dosega le 60,87 % zasedenost). Delovna obremenitev, časovni pritisk in izmensko delo že ob »normalni« kadrovske zasedenosti pri policistih povzročajo negativen stres. Neustrezna kadrovska zasedenost policijskih postaj, zaradi še večje količinske pripadnosti dela na posameznega policista, delovne zahteve policistov in s tem povezani stres samo le še povečuje. Takšen stres lahko vodi v izgorelost policistov (Maslach & Leiter, 1997).

Vodje policijskih postaj, katerih odnos do podrejenih ima močan pozitiven vpliv na stopnjo zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov, lahko storijo veliko, da zaščitijo policiste in sebe. Avtorji v vseh opravljenih raziskavah o vplivu delovnih virov na zavzetost zaposlenih, ki smo jih omenili v prispevku, prepričljivo trdijo, da na stopnjo zavzetosti zaposlenih najbolj vpliva vodja. Prav vidiki delovnega okolja, ki so pod neposrednim vplivom vodje, naj bi razložili razlike v zadovoljstvu in zavzetosti zaposlenih (Harter, Schmidt & Hayes, 2002).

Na osnovi spoznanj naše raziskave bi bilo smiselno izvesti sistematično evalvacijsko študijo programa usposabljanja Vodenje v policiji, ki bi pokazala, ali program usposabljanja zagotavlja ustrezna znanja in veščine, ki pripomorejo h gradnji pozitivnih medsebojnih odnosov in ali obstaja prenos znanj in veščin v vsakdanjo prakso vodenja v slovenski policiji. V trenutnih razmerah, ko izboljšanja finančnih in kadrovskih težav ter težav, povezanih z opremo ne moremo pričakovati, je vloga vodje ključna.

Mag. Dominik Žužman je zaposlen v slovenski policiji in dela v Centru za varnost in zaščito. Magistriral je področju organizacijskih znanosti na temo zavzetosti zaposlenih v slovenski policiji na Univerzi na Primorskem. Je doktorski študent, ki v cilju izboljšanja zavzetosti uniformiranih policistov pri njihovem delu še naprej raziskuje učinke vodenja in socialnega kapitala na zavzetost uniformiranih policistov.

Dr. Melita Moretti je doktorirala na področju organizacijskih znanosti na temo trajnostne rabe energetskih virov na Univerzi na Primorskem. Njeno raziskovalno, razvojno in strokovno delo je usmerjeno na področje menedžmenta, menedžmenta znanja, marketinga in prodaje. Sodeluje na mednarodnih znanstvenih konferencah, je avtorica in/ali soavtorica strokovnih in znanstvenih člankov ter članica različnih projektnih skupin, ki so povezane z gospodarstvom in s šolstvom.

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Correlation between Leadership and Engagement of the Uniformed Police Officers at the Ljubljana Police Directorate

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ABSTRACT

Quantitative research aims to examine the impact of the elements of leadership on the engagement of uniformed police officers and was conducted among 514 uniformed police officers in all 22 police stations in the area of the Ljubljana Police Directorate. We have found a strong positive impact of the leader's attitude on the engagement of uniformed police officers as being one of the elements of leadership. The research study has also shown that, despite of the average good rating of the leader's leadership, more than three-quarters of uniformed police officers are disengaged in their work. In planning, organizing, leading and controlling of the organization, the research results will provide practical assistance to the leaders of the police stations in the area of the Ljubljana Police Directorate as well as to the training providers for the leaders of police stations.

Keywords: police station, uniformed police officer, leadership, employee engagement

JEL: J24

1 Introduction

Leadership effectiveness is determined according to the goals achieved in an organization. Profit organizations strive for economic and financial goals, while the goals set at the Slovenian police force are operational performance, efficiency and legitimate functioning (Anželj, 2001).

The research results (Aristovnik et al., 2012) on efficiency of the Slovenian police force at the regional level have shown a high level of inequality between individual police directorates analyzed. The conducted research was based

on a comparison of statistical data on assessments of (in)efficiency in performing police activities in preventing, detecting and investigating criminal offences between the period of 2005–2010, annual police directorates reports, databases of the Ministry of the Interior and the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia. Given the identified research results (Aristovnik et al., 2012) and the fact that, in the last two decades, the Slovenian police force has been facing with many changes in goals, values, organization, equipment, infrastructure, modes of remuneration etc., leadership in the Slovenian police force is becoming even more challenging.

Leadership effectiveness is correlated with the level of their engagement (Fleming & Asplund, 2007). Engaged employees are, compared to the disengaged employees, more successful at their work (MacLeod & Clarke, 2009; Harter, Schmidt, Agrawal & Plowman, 2013). This raises a question whether the elements of leadership in the Slovenian police force have an impact on engagement of the uniformed police officers. To this end, we have postulated the following hypothesis: Elements of leadership in the Slovenian police force have a statistically significant impact on the level of engagement of the uniformed police officers.

The aim of this paper is to present the characteristics of employee engagement (definition, importance and factors of employee engagement) and leadership in general, and to analyze the findings of quantitative research which was conducted in August and September 2013 on a random sample of uniformed police officers in all 22 police stations in the area Ljubljana Police Directorate.

2 Leader and Leadership

Leader plays an important role in daily lives of the employees and has a certain social power over them (Schermerhorn, Osborn, Hunt & Uhl-Bien, 2011; Griffin & Moorhead, 2014; McAuley, Duberley & Johnson, 2014; Schermerhorn & Wright, 2014).

Leadership is thus a process of directing, influencing, encouraging and monitoring an employee or group of employees (Robbins & Judge, 2012; Yukl, 2013; McAuley et al., 2014). It draws on the so-called soft factors, such as values, ethics, expectations, interests and confidence (Tavčar, 2006; Yukl, 2013; McAuley et al., 2014). The elements of leadership include: leader's attitude towards its employees (motivation, attention, communication, problem solving, etc.), fulfilling the employees' needs (work adjustment) and leader's assistance (Schermerhorn, 2012; McAuley et al., 2014; Schermerhorn & Wright, 2014). A direct impact on the effective leadership have personality traits (e.g. gender, age, length of service, analytical skills, communication skills), work-related and social characteristics (e.g. good manners, willingness to participate) of a leader (Armstrong, 2009).

The competences of a leader are important for a successful leadership (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). The leader's competences are divided into technical competence (control of the work, special skills, analytical skills, problem solving, etc.), interpersonal skills (communication, motivation and coordination skills) and conceptual skills (ability to think, decision-making, long-term vision, etc.) (Yukl, 2013).

In addition to the leader's competences, power and influence of a leader are also important for an effective leadership (Schermerhorn et al., 2011; Griffin & Moorhead, 2014), that is the leader's ability to influence his employees arising out of his position of a leader (the so-called positional power) and his personality traits (so-called personal power) (Daft & Marcic, 2013).

The components of leadership include delegating, encouraging and mentoring/coaching (Armstrong, 2009; Schermerhorn et al., 2011). Delegation is defined as the transfer and appointment of the work to the subordinate employees (Schermerhorn, 2012; McAuley et al., 2014). By delegating, the leader transfers to the employees a part of his powers, but not his responsibilities (Biloslavo, 2008). Delegating helps the leader to relieve current tasks and solve the details. In this way, the leader can focus on urgent and important matters (Armstrong, 2009). When, what, to whom and how to delegate is determined by the leader himself, but he must pay attention that the person/the subordinate to whom the leader delegates a part of his competences knows how to do the work (Biloslavo, 2008; Schermerhorn, 2012). By mentoring/coaching, the leader is trying to increase the ability of the employees to better understand, handle and manage the changes, and by such encouragements, he builds the employees' engagement in the activity (Tavčar, 2006).

Linear-cooperative leadership style – a mode of leadership that is focused on linear relationships between different levels of leader and on operational implementation of tasks and measures is a general method of leadership at the police force (Anželj, 2001). Leadership at the level of operational leadership is divided into operational coordinated leadership (leadership of regional police directorates), operational visionary leadership (leadership of departments and other organizational units within the police directorate – police stations), and operational tactical leadership (leadership of police stations) (Vršec, 1993; Anželj, 2001). The police leadership system is not the same as the leadership system of other organizations since the police leadership system is defined by the nature of its work: work that requires action 24 hours a day, special working conditions (e.g. also nights, on Sundays and holidays, constant availability, etc.), uniformity of the police force, status of the police force as a state's authority, statutory functions, responsibilities and powers, the public and secrecy of operation (Vršec, 1993; Anželj, 2001; Žužman, 2014).

After reviewing the researches in the field of police leadership, the following characteristics of effective police leadership can be observed, namely: 1) creating a shared vision (Schafer, 2008; Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Miller, Watkins & Webb, 2009; Andreescu & Vito, 2010; Vito & Higgins, 2010; O'Leary, Resnick-Luetke & Monk-Turner, 2011; Vito, Suresh & Richards, 2011); 2) building an engagement towards the organization (Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Vito & Higgins, 2010; Dick, 2010; Johnson, 2012); 3) a concern for the subordinates (Singer & Singer, 1990; Moore, 1994; Bryman, Stephens & Campo, 1996; Densten, 1999, 2003; Davies, 2000; Metcalfe & Dick, 2000; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Butterfield, Edwards & Woodall, 2004; Fleming, 2004; Murphy & Drodge, 2004; Andreescu & Vito, 2010; Schafer, 2010; Vito & Higgins, 2010; Žagar & Durić, 2012); 4) monitoring changes (Vito, Walsh & Kunselman, 2005; Butterfield, Edwards & Woodall, 2005; Brodeur, 2005; Clarke, 2006; Silvestri, 2007; Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Miller et al., 2009); and 5) problem solving (Silvestri, 2007; Miller et al., 2009; O'Leary et al., 2011; Meaklim & Sims, 2011; Žagar & Durić, 2012).

3 Employee Engagement

It would seem natural to understand the importance of employee engagement, and probably most people believe that it is beneficial that the employees are engaged at their work, yet they are not quite sure how exactly the engagement manifests itself, with the exception that they depict people who are hard-working and care about their work. Despite a large number of definitions of engagement, an unambiguous definition which could be agreed by all the authors cannot be given, yet all of them contain some elements in common.

3.1 Definition of Employee Engagement

Kahn (1990) was one of the first theorists who began writing about the engagement associated with the work. He described engaged employees as purely physical (as physical energy that an individual invests in the performance of his duties), cognitive (as an individual's belief about the organization and working conditions) and emotional dimension (as positive or negative emotions of an employee inspired by an organization, leaders and working conditions) related to their job roles. Depending on the mentioned dimensions of engagement, Kahn (1990) argues that the employee may be engaged in one of the dimensions and the more the employee is engaged in the chosen dimension, the greater the engagement.

Maslach and Leiter (1997) argue that the employee engagement is opposite of burnout as they consider that burnout is a state of physical, emotional and mental exhaustion, while the engagement embodies positive energy, high efficiency and intensive involvement.

Schaufeli and Bakker (2004) take the opposite view and believe that engagement and burnout are not regarded as two opposite poles of the same dimension, but they are two separate and negatively correlated concepts since the absence of something negative does not imply the presence of something positive. The authors (2004) believe that it is a mistake to assume that an individual who does not suffer from burnout is engaged.

Bakker, Albrecht and Leiter (2011a) define employee engagement as a positive emotional state characterized by a high level of energy and a high degree of involvement in work. The authors (2011a) believe that engaged employees, unlike satisfied employees, are distinguished by a high degree of satisfaction with their work (commitment) combined with a high level of activity (liveliness, immersion). They define work satisfaction as a passive form of employee's well-being in the workplace (Bakker et al., 2011a). Moreover, they also distinguish engagement from the work-related enthusiasm since enthusiasm usually lasts for a short time (an hour or less), while engagement persists over a longer period (Bakker et al., 2011a). Employee engagement is also different from the employees' motivation. Motivated employees are characterized by a high level of commitment, while engaged employees are additionally distinguished by a high level of activity manifested by liveliness, immersion and greater success at work. Therefore, according to Bakker (2011) engagement is, surpassing motivation and satisfaction, the best predictor of success.

The description above leads us to a conclusion that the authors describe engagement with the terms such as passion, enthusiasm, consistency, liveliness and focused effort. Despite of divergent definitions of employee engagement, all definitions include these two basic components:

- positive and energetic motivational state associated with the work, and
- genuine willingness to contribute to the work role and performance of the organization.

The authors (Kahn, 1990; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Wagner & Harter, 2006; Macey & Schneider, 2008; Bakker, 2011; Harter et al., 2013) also share the same opinion that engagement is a positive and work-related psychological (such as enthusiasm, energy, passion and liveliness) and motivational state (as a genuine willingness to invest effort to achieve the goals of an organization).

As a consequence, a growing number of non-profit organizations (particularly in the public sector), in addition to profit organizations, are focusing on human factors of leadership to improve low level of engagement among the employees.

3.2 Factors of Employee Engagement

Factors contributing to engagement are of interest to all who address the employee engagement in a theoretical, empirical or practical ways. Factors

contributing to engagement have become crucial for planning the activities in terms of increasing the level of engagement among the employees.

Job demands – resources model as the most quoted and used model of determining employee engagement helps to explain how the characteristics of a workplace and personal resources may have a direct impact on employee engagement (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). In this paper we present the characteristics of a workplace which play an internal motivational role as they enhance efforts, learning and development, and external motivational role as they enhance individual's efforts and ability to perform his work.

Based on job demands-resources model, the characteristics of each workplace are divided into two broad dimensions, namely job demands (work and emotional overload, physical demands, time pressure, shift schedules, work at home and poor relations between employees) and job resources (autonomy at work, leader's support, rewards and recognition, equal distribution of benefits, adequate control and social support at work, the possibility of development and participation in decision making, feedback and safe employment) (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). According to Van den Broeck and colleagues (2008), job demands lead to burnout, and on the other hand, job resources increase employee engagement and refer to those aspects of work aimed at functionally achieving work objectives, reducing job demands and the related physiologic and psychological costs and promoting personal growth and development.

According to Demerouti and colleagues (2001) the job demands-resources model is used to explain that job demands are mainly related with exhaustion and burnout, and that the lack of job resources could lead to withdrawal behaviors in the workplace. Job demands launch a process of energy depletion in which the increased employee's efforts to attain the objective of job demands lead to increased psychological and physical efforts which result in energy consumption of the employee. Job resources such as growth, learning and development may, on the contrary, encourage motivation process (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner & Schaufeli, 2001).

Kahn (1990) believes that the jobs that provide challenge and diversity in the workplace, enable to apply different values, skills and knowledge, and thereby offer the employees an opportunity to contribute to the best possible business results of an organization and increase a sense of psychological meaningfulness.

Numerous foreign researches have shown that, in addition to rewards and recognition (Mauno, Kinnunen & Ruokolainen, 2007; James, McKechnie & Swanberg, 2011) are adequate control (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; James, et al., 2011), autonomy (Bakker, Hakanen, Demerouti & Xanthopoulou, 2007; Mauno et al., 2007; Schaufeli, Bakker & Van Rhenen, 2009; Tims, Bakker & Derks, 2012; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Breevaart et al., 2014), feedback

(Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Bakker et al., 2007; Mauno et al., 2007; Schaufeli et al., 2009; Albrecht & Su, 2012; Tims et al., 2012; Van den Berg, Bakker & Ten Cate, 2013; Bakker, Sanz Vergel & Kuntze 2015), coworker support (Bakker et al., 2007; Schaufeli et al., 2009; Petrou, Demerouti, Peeters, Schaufeli & Hetland, 2012; Breevaart et al., 2014; Breevaart, Bakker, Demerouti & Van den Heuvel, 2015), supervisory support (Bakker et al., 2007; Schaufel et al., 2009; Breevaart et al., 2015), and good coworker relationships (Nahrgang, Morgeson & Hofmann, 2011; Petrou et al., 2012; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Bakker et al., 2015; Breevaart et al., 2015) the aspects of working environment which could explain the differences in employee engagement.

3.3 Importance Of Employee Work Engagement

Engaged employees are attached to their job role which constitutes an important part of their identity as they have internalized their aspirations (endeavours, wishes) and the objectives of their organization. Despite the onerous work, they describe their own fatigue as a pleasant condition associated with the success of the organization. In contrast, disengaged employees do not invest their emotions, energy, and passion in their work and are only physically present at work. They are indifferent of the organization's objectives and it rarely happens to them that they are immersed in the work of the organization to which they feel no affiliation (Bakker, Albrecht & Leiter, 2011b). According to Gorgievski, Bakker and Schaufeli (2010), engaged employees work because their work makes fun to them, not because of a strong and invincible inner instinct (such as workaholics).

Engaged employees have also a sense of energetic and effective connection with their work activity, they work hard with a sense of enthusiasm, inspiration, pride, and they always set new challenges, arising from their workplace, on their own in order to remain loyal (Bakker et al., 2011b). Kahn (1990) believes that engaged employee is not only a hard working employee. Engaged employee also expresses his points of view, ideas, hunches, feelings regarding the problems he seeks to solve, while feeling the need to work at its best as he can, and prefers to speak up rather than keep silent.

According to different authors engaged employees are:

- more creative, productive and are ready to do more in their workplace (Bakker & Demerouti, 2008);
- eager to learn and are fully connected with their work role (Sonnentag, 2003);
- full of energy and immersed in their work and work activities (Bakker, 2011);
- those who have a sense of energetic and effective connection with their work activity and who see themselves as fully capable to meet their job demands and expectations (Schaufeli, Salanova, González-Roma & Bakker, 2002);

- capable and eager to work more, therefore it is important for an organization to understand the motives for their engagement (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007).

4 Survey Research

4.1 Survey Research Methods

To collect data and information we used modified close-ended questions designed on the basis of theoretical principles, the Gorenak questionnaire (2003; segment: Leadership in the Slovenian Police Force) and the Wagner and Harter questionnaire (2006; segment: Employee Engagement).

The questionnaire was composed of three sets, namely:

- First set: demographical data of respondents (gender, age, education, job, period of employment within the police force);
- Second set: statements of uniformed police officers in the field of leadership at individual police stations;
- Third set: statements of uniformed police officers in the field of employee engagement in individual police stations.

In the second and third part of the questionnaire the respondents marked level of agreement with each statement on the basis of a 5-point Likert rating scale.

Survey method: the questionnaires were personally delivered to all the leaders at the selected police stations in an empty envelope, containing cover letter with a personal presentation, the purpose of the questionnaire and ensuring the anonymity of the purpose of the questionnaire (the number of delivered questionnaires was adapted to the number of uniformed police officers at each police station).

The data were statistically processed and analyzed by using SPSS 22.0 software. The following analyses were conducted within the research:

- basic statistical analysis: calculation of basic characteristics of the sample and individual variables in the field of leadership and engagement of uniformed police officers (use of arithmetic mean, standard deviation, frequency distribution, etc.);
- factor analysis: a smaller number of non-measurable common leadership factors of uniformed police officers at the selected police stations was confirmed (factors influencing leadership style) and a smaller number of non-measurable common engagement factors of uniformed police officers at the selected police stations (dimensions of employee engagement) that explain a greater part of the variance of a larger number of measurable indicators – these factors were subsequently used as explanatory variables;

- multivariate nonlinear regression analysis: descriptive dimensions of each variable were calculated, correlation coefficient, parameter values in regression model, parameter estimates of regression function, test values of independent estimates of the parameters and residual values.

4.2 Focus Group

The population is represented by all (932¹) uniformed police officers at all 22 police stations in the area of the Ljubljana Police Directorate which is also represented by the sample of respondents.

The research survey was conducted in August and September 2013. We received 514 fully completed questionnaires (55.15% response rate) which was a sufficient basis for further statistical processing and analysis.

Based on data obtained from the Ministry of the Interior, Organisation and Personnel Office, Human resource Department of 1. 8. 2013, the representative sample was confirmed according to gender (a total of 78.7% of uniformed male police officers and 21.4% of uniformed female police officers were employed at the selected police stations), workplace (a total of 40.9% of police officers, 24.6% of heads of patrols, 13.0% of police criminalists, 9.9% of heads of police precinct, 7.4% police officers on duty and 5.0% shift leaders were present at the selected police stations), and the average age of uniformed police officers (the average age of uniformed police officers was 34.9 years).

4.3 Research Survey Results

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to rate the statements in the field of leadership and engagement of uniformed police officers based on the Likert rating scale ranging from 1 (Completely disagree) to 5 (Completely agree). The rates 2, 3 and 4 present intermediate levels.

4.3.1 Leadership

Table 1 shows that the respondents gave, on average, the highest rate to the statement "Takes into account your wishes regarding home leave." ($M = 4.53$), and give the lowest rate to the statement "Identifies conflict situations within the team." ($M = 3.64$). The standard deviations (SD) range between 0.800 and 1.143.

¹ The leaders of police stations (commanders and their assistants) were not included among uniformed police officers.

Table 1: Leadership of Uniformed Police Officers at the Police Stations

Statements	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Takes into account your wishes regarding home leave.	4,53	0,80
Adjusts the work schedule due to your work obligations, if you suggest it.	4,47	0,87
Adjusts the work schedule due to your personal obligations, if you suggest it.	4,45	0,91
Is willing to discuss with the police officers.	4,21	0,94
Exercises control over the work of police officers.	4,11	0,88
Is willing to discuss with the police officers regarding work planning.	4,11	0,98
Supports the police officers in their work.	4,10	1,00
Plans the work of police officers.	4,09	0,83
Gives instructions to the police officers.	4,09	0,86
Seeks to establish a positive attitude towards the police officers.	4,03	1,04
You believe in effective communication between you and him before talking to him.	4,03	1,05
Strives to effectively inform and communicate with the police officers.	4,00	0,96
In informing and communicating with the police officers an easygoing attitude is predominantly established.	3,95	1,10
Is directly involved in solving more complex operational cases.	3,94	1,04
Assists the police officers in their work.	3,87	1,07
Sets clear objectives for the police officers.	3,87	1,00
Is in charge of co-participation of police officers while undertaking a co-decision on operational tasks.	3,74	1,02
Is in charge of rewards and recognition of the police officers.	3,74	1,14
Resolves conflicts within the team.	3,73	1,12
Prevents conflicts within the team.	3,68	1,14
Seeks to motivate the police officers at work.	3,68	1,12
Identifies conflict situations within the team.	3,64	1,09

As explained further below, a reduction of set of statements in the field of leadership in the Slovenian police force was conducted, whereas new independent variables – elements of leadership, namely: “Attitude of the commander of the police station towards the subordinate” (abbreviated “Attitude”), “Commander’s ability to meet the subordinates’ needs” (abbreviated “Needs”), and “Commander’s assistance to the subordinates” (abbreviated “Assistance”) – were generated through the factor analysis (Table 2). These variables (independent variables) represented the cause in the regression model. In verifying the reliability, we have found that all three elements have a high degree of reliability (the Cronbach’s alfa above 0.7), and thus jointly explain 74.62% of the total variance.

Table 2: Elements of Leadership in the Slovenian Police Force and Communalities of Individual Variables

Values of rotated factor				
Variable	Factor*			Communalities
	V1	V2	V3	
In informing and communicating with the police officers an easygoing attitude is predominantly established.	0,848			0,805
Seeks to motivate the police officers at work.	0,846			0,808
Seeks to establish a positive attitude towards the police officers.	0,841			0,832
Is in charge of rewards and recognition of the police officers.	0,827			0,750
Strives to effectively inform and communicate with the police officers.	0,827			0,818
You believe in effective communication between you and him before talking to him.	0,817			0,781
Is willing to discuss with the police officers.	0,778			0,775
Is in charge of co-participation of police officers while undertaking a co-decision on operational tasks.	0,764			0,674
Resolves conflicts within the team.	0,759			0,715
Supports the police officers in their work.	0,747			0,778
Prevents conflicts within the team.	0,747			0,725
Is willing to discuss with the police officers regarding work planning.	0,699			0,775
Identifies conflict situations within the team.	0,649			0,636
Assists the police officers in their work.	0,623			0,696
Is directly involved in solving more complex operational cases.	0,602			0,624
Sets clear objectives for the police officers.	0,574			0,668
Adjusts the work schedule due to your personal obligations, if you suggest it.		0,866		0,876
Adjusts the work schedule due to your work obligations, if you suggest it.		0,846		0,859
Takes into account your wishes regarding home leave.		0,824		0,837
Exercise control over the work of police officers.			0,753	0,569
Gives instructions to the police officers.			0,701	0,740
Plans the work of police officers.			0,678	0,693
% of explained variance in total: 74.629	62,856	6,189	5,584	

* Factors: V1 – Attitude; V2 – Needs; V3 – Assistance.

4.3.2 Employee Engagement

The data as shown in Table 3 were sorted in descending order according to the average value of each statement. It is evident that the respondents attributed, on average, the highest rate to the statement "I know exactly what is expected of me at work." ($M = 4.26$), while the lowest rate was attributed to the statement "My coworker is my best friend." ($M = 2.20$). The standard deviations (SD) range between 0.759 and 1.291.

Table 3: Engagement of Uniformed Police Officers at the Police Stations

Statements	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
I know exactly what is expected of me at work.	4,26	0,76
My leader considers me as a complete person.	3,74	1,02
My point of view is appreciated and respected.	3,43	1,01
My colleagues sincerely strive to achieve good and quality work.	3,34	1,03
At least someone deliberately encourages my development.	3,24	1,09
This year I had the opportunity to learn and develop.	3,11	1,25
I have the opportunity to do every day practically what I am best at.	3,05	1,08
Everything I need to do my job well is at my disposition.	2,93	1,08
In the last six months my development was discussed with me.	2,91	1,29
In the last seven days my work was complimented.	2,82	1,26
My coworker is my best friend.	2,20	1,24

To measure employee engagement, the statements referring to engagement of uniformed police officers were categorized, according to Gallup, into three categories (Harter et al., 2013):

- Engaged employees: energetic employees who have confidence both in their colleagues and their superiors (leaders). They work passionately and are deeply connected to the values and the mission of the organization where they work at (criterion: $M > 3.7$).
- Disengaged employees: partly absent employees. They carry out their work properly. They invest their time and energy in work, but not passion (criterion: $2.6 < M < 3.7$).
- Actively disengaged employees: employees who are not satisfied in their workplace. This dissatisfaction is also actively manifested. This type of employees underestimates the work of engaged colleagues and has an impact on the overall climate in the organization (criterion: $M < 2.6$).

As explained further below, a reduction of set of statements in the field of employee engagement was conducted, whereas new independent variables – elements of leadership, namely: “Affiliation and growth”, “Contribution” and “Working conditions” – were generated through the factor analysis (Table 4). In verifying the reliability, we have found that all three elements have a high degree of reliability (the Cronbach’s alfa above 0.7), and thus jointly explain 64.24% of the total variance.

Table 4: Elements of Engagement of Uniformed Police Officers in the Slovenian Police Force and Communalities of Individual Variables

Values of rotated factor				
Variable	Factor*			Communalities
	Z1	Z2	Z3	
My leader considers me as a complete personality.	0,813			0,741
My point of view is appreciated and respected.	0,763			0,750
At least someone deliberately encourages my development.	0,760			0,729
In the last seven days my work was complimented.	0,699			0,546
In the last six months my development was discussed with me.	0,660			0,653
The mission of our organization also echoes how important my job is.	0,616			0,617
This year I had the opportunity to learn and develop.	0,487			0,506
Everything I need to do my job well is at my disposition.		0,837		0,772
I have the opportunity to do every day practically what I am best at.		0,741		0,676
I know exactly what is expected of me at work.		0,572		0,487
My coworker is my best friend.			0,841	0,725
My colleagues sincerely strive to achieve good and quality work.			0,477	0,507
% of explained variance in total: 64.237	47,084	8,744	8,409	
Rotation sums of squared loadings (λ)	3,650	2,510	1,548	

* Factors: Z1 – Affiliation and growth; Z2 – Contribution; Z3 – Working conditions.

To determine a total level of engagement of uniformed police officers at the selected police stations, the weighted average cost of capital (WACC) generated a new variable “level of engagement of uniformed police officers at police stations”:

$$\text{COMPUTE } i1 = (Z1 * 3.650 (\lambda_1) + Z2 * 2.510 (\lambda_2) + Z3 * 1.548 (\lambda_3)) / (3.650 (\lambda_1) + 2.510 (\lambda_2) + 1.548 (\lambda_3))$$

In the regression model, the variable represented a result (dependent variable).

4.3.3 Hypothesis Verification

The following hypothesis was tested: “Elements of leadership in the Slovenian police force have a statistically significant impact on the level of engagement of the uniformed police officers.”

The results of regression analysis are presented based on this model. All the assumptions of validity of regression model are confirmed (residues are normally distributed, no presence of heteroscedasticity, the VIF of individual statements is not sufficiently high (<2) to influence the outcome of the estimate results).

Table 5: Estimate Results of Regression Coefficient Model

Model	Non-standardized Coefficients		Beta Standardized Coefficient	t	sig
	Beta	Standard Error			
Level of Engagement of Uniformed Police Officers	1,258	0,137		9,153	0,000
Independent Variable Attitude	0,635	0,037	0,762	17,207	0,000
Independent Variable Needs	-0,117	0,041	-0,127	-2,867	0,004

Regression analysis (Table 5) has shown (by using the Stepwise regression method) that there is only one element of leadership, contrary to the expectations, which has a positive impact on the level of engagement of uniformed police officers, namely: “The attitude of the commander of the police station towards the subordinate” (abbreviated Attitude; $\beta_n = 0.635$) has a significant positive impact. The element of leadership called “Commander’s assistance to the subordinates” (abbreviated Assistance) is statistically insignificant result ($\beta = 0$). The element of leadership called “Commander’s ability to meet the subordinates’ needs” (abbreviated “Needs”) has a negative impact ($\beta_n = -0.117$) on the level of engagement of uniformed police officers, thus β proves that the contribution of this element is very low.

The regression function can be written in the form of regression hyperplane equation, therefore we write:

$$\text{Level of engagement of uniformed police officers} = 1,258 + 0,635 * \text{Attitude} - 0,117 * \text{Needs}$$

By this hypothesis, we have assumed that the elements of leadership in the Slovenian police force have a statistically significant impact on the level of engagement of uniformed police officers. We have found out that the hypothesis can be partially accepted.

5 Discussion

The research survey has shown that the leadership of uniformed police officers in the area of the Ljubljana Police Directorate is, on average, good ($M = 4.00$). Taking into account the wishes regarding the organization of working time and annual leave was ranked highest by the police officers. The excellent rank implies that, for now, the leaders still manage, despite understaffed police stations, to satisfy the wishes of police officers regarding the organization of working time and home leave.

The field of control over the work of police officers was also rated as good. As many as 79.50% of police officers estimated that the leader has always the willingness to discuss with the police officers. Nevertheless, their efforts to motivate the police officers at work ($M = 3.68$) and their concern for

the rewards and recognition of the police officers ($M = 3.74$) were ranked the lowest. Police officers also ranked well the leader's attitude towards them ($M = 4.00$). As many as 69.06% of police officers estimated that their leaders strive hard to establish a positive relationship.

The results of police officer engagement have shown that, compared to the level of engagement in their work, most of the police officers are disengaged (58.00%), followed by the engaged police officers (24.50%) and the lowest percentage present actively disengaged police officers (17.50%). In addition to the high percentage of disengaged police officers, the data on actively disengaged police officers is also alarming. Actively disengaged employees are not satisfied in their workplace and they also actively manifest it. They express the behaviors that are negative, non-cooperative and even hostile (Wagner & Harter, 2006), and thereby reduce satisfaction and engagement of their colleagues.

The hypothesis assuming that the elements of leadership in the Slovenian police force have a statistically significant impact on the level of engagement of the uniformed police officers was partially accepted. The research survey has shown that the attitude of the leaders of police stations as one of the elements of leadership has a strong positive impact on the level of engagement of the uniformed police officers (See Table 5).

6 Conclusion

The research study has shown that, despite of the average good rating of the leader's leadership, more than three-quarters of uniformed police officers are disengaged in their work. This finding is not a surprise since the police officers ordinally also use old and worn out vehicles, many of the police stations are in poor condition and they work on computers which have been written off by the other ministries. Police stations in the area of the Ljubljana Police Directorate are also understaffed (the average number of staff responds to 72.64%, and the most understaffed police station attains only 60.87% of occupancy level). Workload, time pressure and shift work cause negative stress for the police officers already at a normal occupancy level. Inadequate level of police staffing at the police stations due to an even greater workload assigned to an individual police officer only contributes to higher job demands of police officers and the associated stress. Such stress may lead to burnout of the police officers (Maslach & Leiter, 1997).

The leaders of police stations, whose attitude towards their subordinates has a strong positive impact on the level of engagement of uniformed police officers, can do a lot to protect the police officers and themselves. Authors of all the conducted research studies on the impact of job resources related to the employee engagement mentioned in this article convincingly argue that the level of employee engagement is most affected by the leader. The aspects of the working environment which are under the direct influence

of the leader should explain the differences in employee satisfaction and engagement (Harter, Schmidt & Hayes, 2002).

Based on the findings of our research study, it would be reasonable to conduct a systematic evaluation research on the Police leadership training program which would show whether this training program provides adequate knowledge and skills that contribute to building positive relationships and whether there is a transfer of knowledge and skills in the everyday practice of the Slovenian police leadership. In the current situation, when improving financial and staffing problems and equipment-related problems cannot be expected, the leader plays a key role.

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Odnos med javnim podjetjem in lokalno skupnostjo v luči korupcijskih tveganj

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IZVLEČEK

Korupcijo so kot velik gospodarski in socialni problem začeli prepoznavati šele proti koncu prejšnjega stoletja in od leta 1995 tudi sistematično raziskovati. Veliko so raziskovali korupcijo v javnem sektorju, predvsem v zdravstvu in javni upravi. Javnih podjetij, ki pa so prav tako pomemben del javnega sektorja, pa v teh raziskavah v glavnem ni niti zaznati. V teh podjetjih, ki so vitalnega pomena za lokalno skupnost, se obrača veliko denarja, ki izvira delno iz proračuna lokalnih skupnosti in delno iz plačila občanov za opravljene storitve; hkrati pa lahko lokalni politiki prek teh podjetij vplivajo na vsakdanje življenje v lokalni skupnosti. Kjer pa sta denar in vpliv, je pogosto tudi korupcija oziroma korupcijsko tveganje. Ker je ta tema dokaj neraziskana, je namen tega članka prikazati možna korupcijska dejanja oziroma korupcijska tveganja ter s tem odpreti v Sloveniji še neraziskano poglavje korupcije, ki bo v pomoč tudi vsem drugim raziskovalcem korupcije v javnem sektorju, hkrati pa opozoriti na možnost korupcije, ki se je še premalo zavedamo.

Zato se je na podlagi raziskave različnih arhivov oblikovala osnovna taksonometrija korupcije, ki lahko nastane v razmerju med javnim podjetjem in lokalno skupnostjo, kjer tudi številni drugi avtorji zaznavajo možnost nastanka korupcijskih tveganj. Zaradi slabe medijske pokritosti pa tudi splošnega nepoznavanja korupcije na eni strani (časopisni arhivi) in predvsem statističnega navajanja na drugi (arhivi policije in KPK) je bilo težko narediti ustrezno taksonomijo. V taksonomiji so naštetih najpogostejši primeri korupcije, primeri oblike le-teh in tudi področja, kjer se pojavljajo. V zaključku članka so navedene tudi nekatere ugotovitve glede na taksonomijo.

Ključne besede: korupcija, taksonomija, javna podjetja, lokalna skupnost

JEL: P3, P37

1 Uvod

Najbolj zanimiva in enostavna je definicija korupcije z matematično formulo, kjer je korupcija definirana kot odvisna spremenljivka, na katero vplivajo tri neodvisne spremenljivke (Fitzsimons v Brackings, 2008, str.61) in je z njo zajeta dejanska vsebina korupcije:

KORUPCIJA = MONOPOL + DISKRECIJSKA PRAVICA – ODGOVORNOST

Torej, če se prenese ta enačba na obravnavano temo: tehnični monopol, ki ga imajo javna podjetja, in diskrecijska pravica, ki jo ima lokalna skupnost v odnosu do javnega podjetja (izbira direktorja oziroma vodstva podjetja, sprejemanje cen, vpliv na poslovne odločitve ...), povzroča ob pomanjkanju odgovornosti velika korupcijska tveganja.

Oba deležnika, tako javno podjetje kot lokalna skupnost spadata v javni sektor s tem, da gre pri javnih podjetjih za specifičnost v okviru javnega sektorja, za servisno dejavnost države in lokalnih skupnosti (pri tem ni nikakršnih oblastnih funkcij). Med njima je vedno neki neuravnoteženi odnos, saj je v veliki večini javnih podjetij njihov lastnik lokalna skupnost (predvsem občine) in tako kot lastnik vpliva posredno ali neposredno na poslovanje in poslovne odločitve javnega podjetja.

Za javna podjetja velja, glede na njihov status, neke vrste dualizem¹, saj zaradi opravljanja gospodarskih javnih služb za njih velja Zakon o gospodarskih javnih službah² (predvsem sta tu pomembna 26. člen, ki govori o sprejemanju cen in 27. člen, ki govori o imenovanju direktorja), po svoji organiziranosti (d.o.o ali d.d.) spadajo pod Zakon o gospodarskih družbah³ (prav tako ZGD ureja vprašanja glede javnega podjetja, ki v ZGJS niso urejena), zaradi lokalne vpetosti in lastniške strukture pa tudi pod Zakon o lokalni samoupravi⁴ (61. člen, ki govori o Svetu ustanoviteljic, ki ga sestavljajo župani in skrbi za uresničevanje ustanoviteljskih pravic) in pogosto prihaja do samovoljnih tolmačenj posameznih zakonov (brez upoštevanja vpliva drugih dveh), z namenom izkoriščanja le-tega zaradi trenutnih političnih interesov.

Javna podjetja se pretežno ukvarjajo z javno infrastrukturo oziroma so upravljalec lokalne javne infrastrukture (vodovod, kanalizacija, čistilne naprave ...). Lokalna skupnost je zadolžena za investicije, ki jih pogosto v imenu skupnosti izvajajo javna podjetja. Javna podjetja so kot velik potrošnik določenih vrst blaga in opreme (gradbeni materiali, gradbeni stroji, tovornjaki ...) in dober plačnik zelo zanimiva za dobavitelje. Prav tako pa so, kot dokaj zanesljiv delodajalec in dober plačnik, privlačna tudi za iskalce

1 Dualizem kot delitev oziroma reduciranje celotne resničnosti na dva, med sabo ločena in nezamenljiva dela.

2 Zakon o gospodarskih javnih službah (Uradni list RS, št. 32/93, 30/98 – ZZLPPO, 127/06 – ZJZP, 38/10 – ZUKN in 57/11 – ORZGJS40) v nadaljevanju ZGJS

3 Zakon o gospodarskih družbah (Uradni list RS, št. 65/09 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 33/11, 91/11, 32/12, 57/12, 44/13 – odl. US, 82/13 in 55/15), v nadaljevanju ZGD-1

4 Zakon o lokalni samoupravi (Uradni list RS, št. 94/07 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 76/08, 79/09, 51/10, 40/12 – ZUJF in 14/15 – ZUUJFO), v nadaljevanju ZLS

zaposlitve. Skratka, obrača se precej denarja in marsikdo bi rad dobil svoj delež pogače.

Vendar vpliva korupcije na javno infrastrukturo oziroma dejavnosti, ki se z javno infrastrukturo ukvarjajo, ni mogoče meriti, mogoče pa jo je ocenjevati tako skozi njen neposredni vpliv na uporabnike (na primer omejevanje dostopa uporabnikom do osnovnih storitev, kot sta voda in kanalizacija, s povečevanjem stroškov javnih storitev ali z nižanjem njihove kakovosti) in njen posredni vpliv (s preusmerjanjem javnih sredstev od uporabnikov in z omejevanjem razvoja ter zmanjševanjem revščine). Lahko pa uporabniki uporabijo korupcijo tudi v svojo korist. Na primer, uporabniki lahko podkupujejo uradnike za dostop do storitev ali za izboljšanje količine/kakovosti storitev, so lahko vpleteni v korupcijo pri goljufiji razvojnih projektov ali pa uporabniki lahko volijo skorumpirane politike zaradi obljube o oskrbi z vodo ali za neko drugo korist. Toda, ko si revna gospodinjstva ne morejo privoščiti, da bi plačala podkupnino (ali nimajo pravih stikov za sodelovanje pri korupciji), so odrinjena od dostopa do infrastrukture, kot sta voda in elektrika (Sohail & Cavill, 2007, str. 10). In ravno korupcija v javnih podjetjih, torej podjetjih, ki se ukvarjajo z javno infrastrukturo (voda, čiščenje odpadne vode, elektrika, kanalizacija, zbiranje odpadkov ...) in so v lasti lokalnih skupnosti oziroma države, je od vsega javnega sektorja (kamor ta podjetja spadajo) najmanj raziskana.

2 Raziskave korupcije v javnih podjetjih

Zagotavljanje javnih storitev na lokalni ravni izhaja iz procesa decentralizacije. Decentralizacija prenaša izvajanje javnih storitev po načelu subsidiarnosti na najnižjo možno lokalno raven, ki je še zmožna kakovostno zagotavljati določeno javno storitev. Takšno razumevanje določanja pristojnosti prinaša tri glavne prednosti: (1) lokalna oblast je najbližja prebivalcem, zato najbolje razume in prepozna njihove potrebe, poleg tega pa ima legitimnost za takšno delovanje; (2) fleksibilnost lokalnega političnega odločanja omogoča prilagajanje lokalnim razmeram in spremembam pri povpraševanju po javnih storitvah; (3) prednost pa je tudi učinkovitost pri zagotavljanju javnih storitev, ki nastaja zaradi politične odgovornosti lokalnih oblasti (Bačlija, 2011, str. 101). Ravno tu Evropska komisija (2014, str.16) v svojem poročilu ugotavlja, da obstajajo velika korupcijska tveganja na regionalni in lokalni ravni, kjer pretežno delujejo tudi javna podjetja in sta medsebojno preverjanje in notranji nadzor običajno šibkejša kot na centralni ravni.

V številnih državah članicah se široka diskrecijska pooblastila lokalnih vlad ali lokalnih uprav (ki prav tako upravljajo znatna sredstva) ne ujemajo z ustrezno ravno odgovornosti in nadzornimi mehanizmi. Posebne težave na lokalni ravni povzročajo navzkrižja interesov. Potrebna so dodatna prizadevanja za razširjanje dobrih praks, ki jih uporabljajo nekatere regije ali lokalne uprave, in vzpostavitev enakih konkurenčnih pogojev za izvoljene in imenovane funkcionarje na lokalni ravni, zlasti glede standardov preglednosti, prijave

premoženja, preprečevanja in sankcioniranja navzkrižja interesov ter nadzora javne porabe.

Raziskava Zgodovina javnih storitev (Troesken, 2006) je pokazala razvoj korupcije v javnih podjetjih v Združenih državah Amerike, kako so politiki na koncu 19. stoletja in v začetku 20 stoletja prav na lokalni ravni izrabljali javna podjetja za zmage na volitvah. V mestih, kjer so bile komunalne storitve (voda, kanalizacija ...) v javni lasti, torej v lasti mest ali drugih lokalni skupnosti, so delavci zaslužili tudi do 40 odstotkov več na uro in delali do 17 odstotkov manj ur od primerljivih delavcev v zasebnem sektorju. Pogosto pa so morali zaposleni zato dati prispevke za kritje volilnih kampanj na lokalni ravni. Velikost »prostovoljnega« prispevka je znašala med 2 in 4 odstotke delavčeve letne plače, odvisno od zaposlitve delavca. Politiki so v javnih podjetjih pogosto zaposlovali tudi več delavcev, kot je bilo potrebno, samo zato, da so si zagotovili več podpornikov, ko je prišel čas volitev. Cene storitev pa so bile seveda nižje kot tam, kjer je te storitve opravljalo zasebno podjetje.

Raziskava, ki jo je v letih 2012–2013 v osmih izbranih evropskih državah (Francija, Madžarska, Italija, Litva, Nizozemska, Poljska, Romunija in Španija) za OLAF izvedel PWC (2013), kaže, da je bilo na področju oskrbe z vodo in ravnanja z odpadki (torej storitvah, ki jih med drugimi, opravljajo javna podjetja) med 27 in 38 milijonov evrov direktnih stroškov korupcije, najpogostejša vrsta korupcije pa ravno zavajanje pri javnih razpisih.

Tabela 1: Direktni stroški korupcije pri javnih naročilih

Sektor	Direktni stroški korupcije (v milijon evrih)	% od celotne vrednosti javnih naročila v sektorju v 8 državah članicah
Ceste in železnice	488–755	1,9% do 2,5%
Voda in odpadki	27–38	1,8% do 2,5%
Urbana infrastruktura	830–1141	4,8% do 6,6%
Usposabljanje, izobraževanje	26–86	4,7% do 15,9%
Raziskave in razvoj	99–228	1,7% do 3,9%

Vir: PWC (2013, str. 6)

Dube (2011) ugotavlja, da težave s korupcijo v javnih podjetjih izhajajo iz nepreglednega oziroma skoraj tajnega dela, saj vodstvo teh podjetij pogosto izkorišča projekte, za katere je zadolženo ali jih izvaja, za lastno korist, ne pa za korist širše javnosti. Prav tako navaja neustrezno upravljanje javnih podjetij, ki se kaže v pomanjkanju preglednosti, discipline, poštenosti in odgovornosti. Študija je pokazala tudi, da pomanjkanje znanja in usposobljenosti v boju proti korupciji in neustrezno korporativno upravljanje pomaga pri uničevanju nekdanjih močnih podjetij v škodo širše javnosti. Vse to pa je na dolgi rok ogrožalo finančno sposobnost javnih služb in tudi mestno oziroma občinsko blagajno, hkrati pa je ogrožalo tudi potrebno izboljšavo infrastrukture.

V raziskavi z naslovom Javni denar in korupcijska tveganja (Bouda et al., 2013) so raziskovali tveganje sistemske politične korupcije pri upravljanju z evropskim

denarjem in v podjetjih v državni (javni) lasti na Češkem, Slovaškem in Poljski. Ugotovili so, da so podjetja v državni lasti pogosto tarče klientelističnih skupin, povezanih s politiko, ki prejemajo javna sredstva iz podjetij v državni lasti s pomočjo anonimnih pogodbenih partnerjev podjetij v državni lasti, odsotnost lastniške politike pa povzroča šibko in nepregledno korporativno upravljanje teh podjetij. Ta podjetja pogosto niso pripravljena razkriti informacij o svojem poslovanju javnosti.

Raziskava korupcije in kriminala v Bosni in Hercegovini (UNOCD, 2013) je med podjetji zajela tudi podjetja, ki bi jih lahko šteli za del javnega sektorja oziroma kot javna podjetja (distribucija in proizvodnja energije, distribucija plina in vode), kjer pa je, zanimivo, ugotovljeno, da je ta sektor bistveno manj koruptiven kot drugi gospodarski sektorji, saj je povprečje stopnje prisotnosti podkupovanja v tem sektorju 6,2 %, povprečna stopnja prisotnosti podkupovanja (ki se računa v odstotkih podjetij, ki so vsaj enkrat na leto dala podkupnino) pa je v Bosni in Hercegovini 10,2 %. Stopnja prisotnosti podkupovanja javnih uslužbencev, ki jih izvajajo podjetja, pa se giblje med 8,5 % (za delavce v zdravstvu) in 2,2 % (za davčne uslužbence). Tudi tu so uslužbenci komunalnih služb pod povprečjem z 2,5 %.

Veliko avtorjev zagovarja privatizacijo kot enega izmed učinkovitih ukrepov v boju proti korupciji. Da pa vse le ni tako enoznačno, kaže raziskava Velika korupcija v javnih storitvah (Kenny & Soreide, 2008). Tudi zasebna podjetja, ki opravljajo javne storitve, se trudijo ali pridobiti javna naročila ali pa novo dobičkonosno koncesijo s korupcijo. Za to vrsto korupcije je značilna korupcija pred razpisom, z namenom, da se prilagodijo pravila igre, ki zagotavljajo vnaprej zelene rezultate, sami razpisni postopki pa nato niso sporni. Prav tako so značilna za to obliko korupcije ponovna pogajanja (mogoče kakšno leto po sklenitvi koncesionarske pogodbe) z namenom pridobiti boljšo pozicijo ali doseči višjo ceno.

Raziskava v letu 2014 (Domadenik, Prašnikar & Svejnar, 2014) je pokazala, da v manj razvitih demokracijah, kot je na primer slovenska, ki ne kaznuje politične korupcije, to negativno vpliva na poslovanje podjetij. Večji delež politično povezanih članov v nadzornih svetih vodi k znižanju factorske produktivnosti podjetja. Pri ločeni raziskavi proizvodnih, k tujim trgom usmerjenih podjetij, in neproizvodnih podjetij, pa je raziskava pokazala, da ima pomemben negativen vpliv na produktivnost na daljši rok večji delež politično postavljenih članov nadzornega sveta v neproizvodnem sektorju, medtem ko je sestava nadzornih svetov v proizvodnem sektorju statistično nepomembna. Iz česar avtorji sklepajo, da je »legalna« korupcija veliko močnejše prisotna v neproizvodnem sektorju, torej tudi na področjih, ki jih pokrivajo javna podjetja.

Po raziskavi iz leta 2012 Komisije za preprečevanje korupcije (KPK, 2013, str. 89) pa je bila korupcija pri javnih naročilih prepoznana kot druga najvplivnejša oblika korupcije, ki vpliva na poslovanje podjetij, takoj za političnimi pritiski na poslovanje slovenskih bank (slaba polovica, tj. 40 odstotkov, predstavnikov

slovenskih podjetij ocenjuje, da korupcija javnih uslužbencev in funkcionarjev pri oddaji javnih naročil znatno ali zelo vpliva na poslovanje njihovega podjetja). V isti raziskavi (str. 28) so bili ugotovljeni primeri pri imenovanju javnih funkcionarjev in drugih odločitvah, sprejetih na podlagi politične ali poslovne diskrecije v javnem sektorju, prihaja do kršitev dolžnega ravnanja z znaki korupcije, do nasprotja interesov, drugih nezakonitih in neetičnih ravnanj (predvsem z političnimi imenovanji in drugimi odločitvami diskrecijske narave, ki objektivno predstavljajo korupcijska tveganja nasprotja interesov, klientelizma, nepotizma, pa tudi kronizma). Raziskava Škrbca v njegovi doktorski nalogi (Škrbec, 2013, str. 107) pa kaže, da so na prvem mestu med področji korupcije ravno javna naročila in na petem mestu lokalna raven, med subjekti korupcije pa občinski funkcionarji in uslužbenci, torej tudi zaposleni javnih podjetij.

Zaradi same narave lastnikov, pri katerih ni v ospredju ustvarjanje dobička v podjetju, kot je to normalno v gospodarstvu, pač pa so, sploh v predvolilnem času, taki povsem drugi interesi, je vodstvo javnih podjetij še bolj pod pritiskom in se mora zatekati pogosto v čisti machiavelizmu, sklepanje kompromisov in v boj za lastno preživetje. Vse prepogosto so vodstva javnih podjetij samo grešni kozli za neuspešnost lokalnih veljakov in se hitro najdejo na listi za odstrel, sploh če ne upoštevajo njihovih namigov (tudi posrednih), želja ali pa tudi direktnih ukazov, pa čeprav so sprti z ekonomsko logiko, ki bi jo moralo vodstvo podjetja, kot dober gospodar upoštevati. Vse to pa, žal, lahko vodi v moralno sporna, če ne že koruptivna dejanja. Razen tega, da se v javnih podjetjih, zlasti s področja gospodarskih javnih služb varstva okolja, vršita pogosto nadzor in ocenjevanje uspešnosti izvajanja nalog varstva okolja (za razliko nadzora nad poslovanjem, kjer je tveganje za korupcijo veliko večje), to pa seveda znova vodi v določena korupcijska tveganja. Na voljo je veliko raznovrstne zakonodaje, kar lahko v javnosti vzbuja malce zmedenosti, saj je področje varstva okolja razdeljeno na zelo veliko manjših področij, poleg tega je ponekod besedilo razloženo na zelo dolg, zapleten in preveč podroben način. Morda je to dobro zaradi samega urejanja, vendar bi se lahko predpisi pisali bolj razumljivo (Vojnovič, 2011, str.48). Dodati pa je treba še, da je zakonodaja na nekaterih področjih zelo nedosledna in nedorečena, kar dopušča diskrecijsko pravico in različna tolmačenja.

V svoji doktorski disertaciji je Škrbec (2013, str.107) raziskoval tudi vzroke in motive za nastanek korupcije v Sloveniji in ugotovil štiri najpogostejše. Prvi oziroma najpogostejši vzrok in motiv korupcije je izboljšanje ekonomskega statusa (torej pohlep). Drugi najpogostejši vzrok so navade iz preteklosti, kjer so ljudje v bivši Jugoslaviji iskali načine kako zaobiti sistem in pravila igre. Tretji vzrok za korupcijo je sistemske narave, saj že sam sistem vpliva na povečanje korupcije. Četrty najpogostejši vzrok pa je majhnost Slovenije in delovanje vez in poznanstev, zato je urejanje stvari v Sloveniji specifično, ker smo tako majhni in se med seboj poznamo, na ta način pa se lažje ustvarijo neformalne mreže in se zato tudi lažje prikrijejo. Ljudje pa se prek neformalnih mrež srečujejo

in skupaj iščejo poti za zadovoljevanje lastnih interesov. Prav tako navaja raziskava (str. 120) ugotovitev, da so Slovenci egoistična bitja in da nekaj spoštujejo, šele ko je to dobro za njih, to spoštujejo, drugače pa poskušajo najti obvod omejitvam oziroma stvari, ki jim ne ustreza. Pravna kultura v Sloveniji pa je na ravni, na kateri ljudje spoštujejo pravo zgolj tedaj, ko imajo od njega osebno korist. Tisti, ki v Sloveniji dosledno spoštujejo pravo, so prej izjeme kot pravilo in so v javnosti včasih celo ožigosani kot »idioti, bebci ali kaj podobnega«. Podobno navaja v svoji raziskavi Grodeland (2005), ki ugotavlja, da večina anketirancev v Sloveniji meni, da Slovenci ne spoštujejo vladavine prava in da je iskanje lukenj v zakonu nacionalni šport. Po Grodelandu Slovenci na splošno menijo, da treba biti iznajdljiv, zakone pa spoštujejo le v delu, ki jim koristijo. Nespoštovanje zakonov pa po mnenju anketiranih izhaja predvsem iz komunistične preteklosti.

3 Korupcijska tveganja in taksonomija korupcije v odnosih med javnim podjetjem in lokalno skupnostjo

Območij korupcijskega tveganja pri javnih podjetjih je več, saj so pogojena s tem, kdo vstopa v odnos z javnim podjetjem oziroma na kateri relaciji se korupcija lahko dogaja in kdo so akterji. Kot akterji v odnos (poslovni, lastniški, zakonodajni, nadzorni ...) z javnim podjetjem vstopajo: lokalne skupnosti (kot lastniki in uporabniki storitev), država (včasih kot lastnik, pogosteje pa z nadzorom in regulativo, včasih tudi kot uporabnik storitev), podizvajalci in izvajalci storitev (ko jim delo daje javno podjetje), dobavitelji blaga in storitev javnemu podjetju ter seveda tudi uporabniki storitev (kot fizične osebe). In naša raziskava obravnava samo območje odnosov na relaciji javno podjetje – lokalna skupnost.

Lokalna skupnost ima kot lastnik javnega podjetja pravico tako do nadzora⁵ kot tudi do, vsaj v enem delu, regulativnega delovanja in tudi omejene pravice odločanja, hkrati pa pogosto naroča pri javnih podjetjih storitve in nastopa kot stranka oziroma plačnik. Prav tako lokalna skupnost postavlja in odstavlja vodstvene kadre ter z dajanjem soglasja k cenam storitev obveznih gospodarskih javnih služb⁶ in naročanjem storitev vpliva na poslovanje podjetja. Korupcijska tveganja nastajajo pri odnosu med javnim podjetjem in lokalno skupnostjo, ker ima lokalna skupnost precejšen vpliv na kadrovanje (postavljanje in odstavljanje vodstva)⁷, ker naroča delo in sprejema cene ter s tem vpliva na poslovanje (dobro ali slabo) in lahko poskuša vplivati na poslovne odločitve (izbira podizvajalcev, dobaviteljev ali zaposlovanje) ter tudi na druge odločitve (sponzoriranje, donacije). Ravno zaradi naštetih vplivov je vodstvo v odnosu do lokalne skupnosti pogosto prisiljeno sprejemati določene odločitve, ki mejijo na korupcijo, so moralno sporne ali celo koruptivne,

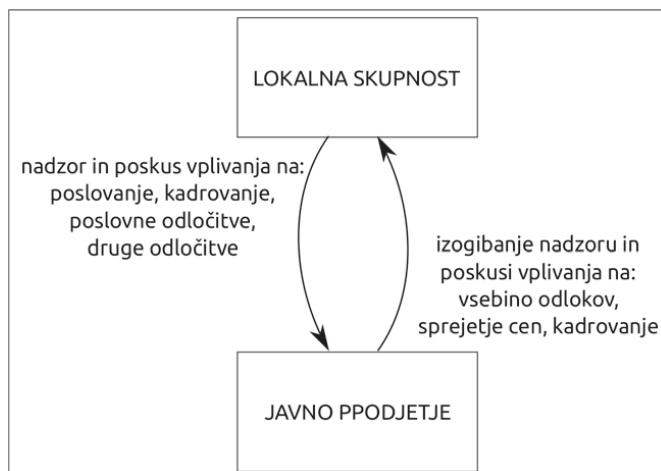
⁵ ZGD-1, Nadzorni svet, revizija

⁶ ZGJS, 26. člen

⁷ ZGJS, 27. člen

saj lahko prihaja do izsiljevanja pri imenovanju vodstva, pri sprejemanju cen in pri naročanju storitev.

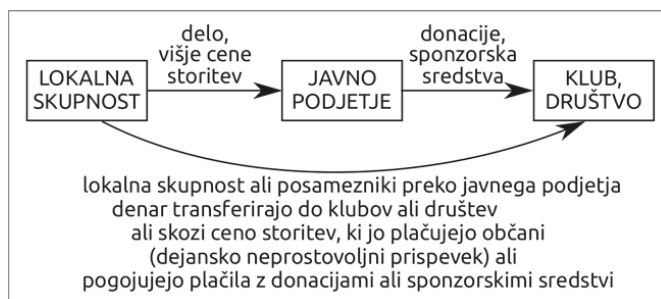
Slika 1: Obojestranski vplivi, kjer nastajajo korupcijska tveganja



Vir:lasten

V tem odnosu je javno podjetje (vodstvo javnega podjetja) akter aktivne korupcije, saj omogoča tako lokalni skupnosti kot posameznikom (občinskim veljakom, funkcionarjem, vplivnežem) tako materialno kot nematerialno korist. Zahteve, s katerimi se pogojujejo npr. direktorsko delovno mesto, soglasje k spremembi cen, naročilo določenih del in podobno, lahko postavljajo lokalna skupnost oziroma posamezniki v obliki zahtevkov zase ali za druge, to so predvsem brezplačne storitve (običajno manjša gradbena dela), zaposlitev določene osebe, doniranje ali sponzorska sredstva športnemu klubu ali društvu, pogosto pa gre tudi za čisto politične, strankarske interese.

Slika 2: Primer preusmeritve dela denarja preko javnega podjetja



Vir:lasten

Včasih pa tudi lokalne skupnosti ali vplivni posamezniki javno podjetje uporabijo za pomoč pri izogibanju javnemu naročanju ter prelivanju javnih sredstev k fizičnim osebam ali društvom in klubom (ta način je sploh pogost,

kadar ni zagotovljenih sredstev v proračunu in jih je treba preusmeriti iz drugih proračunskih postavk).

Na osnovi raziskovanj dostopnih arhivov časopisov (Delo, Večer), arhiva Komisije za preprečevanje korupcije in arhiva policije je nastala osnovna taksonomija korupcije, ki se pojavlja v odnosu med javnim podjetjem in lokalno skupnostjo, skupaj s primeri in pojavnim območjem v javnem podjetju. Pregledani so bili arhivi za obdobje desetih let (2005–2014).

V arhivu časopisov Delo in Večer sva iskala ustrezne članke z ključno besedo *korupcija*. V dnevniku Delo je bilo v raziskovanem obdobju objavljenih 9793 člankov na temo korupcija, v dnevniku Večer pa le 1056, zato sva v arhivu Večera raziskovanje nadaljevala z ključnimi besedami *podkupovanje*, *klientelizem* in *nepotizem*, tako da sva našla še dodatnih 831 člankov s temi ključnimi besedami (nekateri so se med seboj pokrivali).

Po pregledu vseh člankov sva ugotovila, da je le teh o korupciji oziroma o njenih pojavnih oblikah (podkupovanje, klientelizen in nepotizem) v javnih podjetjih zelo malo, pa še med temi jih je veliko bolj splošnih (se nanašajo na glas ulice) in ne konkretnih, takih, ki bi opisovali dejansko korupcijo, z imeni in obliko le-te (se pa je iz proučevanja člankov pokazalo, da novinarji zelo slabo poznajo problematiko korupcije, saj med sabo mešajo osnovne pojme, sploh klientelizem in nepotizen; podkupovanje v nekaterih primerih sploh ne smatrajo kot korupcijo, hkrati pa nekaterih vrst korupcije sploh ne prepoznavajo kot korupcijo).

Prav tako se je kot dokaj omejeno področje za raziskavo korupcije v javnih podjetjih pokazal arhiv policije oziroma letna poročila policije za obdobje 2005–2014, saj ima policija zelo natančno in ozko opredelitev, kaj je korupcijsko kaznivo dejanje (kar je razumljivo, saj morajo, kot organ pregona kaznivo dejanje natančno specificirati). Tako je v tem obdobju obdobju policija obravnavala le 711 tako imenovanih tipičnih korupcijskih dejanj⁸.

V arhivu Komisije za preprečevanje korupcije pa sva raziskala Načelna mnenja, Mnenja, Pojasnila, Stališča, Zaključne ugotovitve ter Letna poročila in Ocene stanja. Ta arhiv je bil bistveno obširnejši od policijskega in tudi bistveno več konkretnih primerov posameznih oblik korupcije se je v njem analiziralo ter pridobilo tudi več uporabnih podatkov, ki so se uporabili pri izdelavi taksonomije.

⁸ Med tako imenovana tipična korupcijska dejanja, glede na policijsko statistiko, spadajo: kršitev proste volje volilcev, prejemanje podkupnine pri volitvah, nedovoljeno sprejemanje daril, nedovoljeno dajanje daril, jemanje podkupnine, dajanje podkupnine, sprejemanje daril za nezakonito posredovanje, dajanje daril za nezakonito posredovanje.

Tabela 2: Taksonomija korupcije na relaciji javno podjetje – lokalna skupnost

Taksonomija korupcije na relaciji javno podjetje – lokalna skupnost	Vrsta korupcije	Primer poteka korupcije	Pojavno območje korupcije
	Podkupovanje	V obliki brezplačnih storitev (urejanje okolja, manjša gradbena dela, razne manjše druge storitve ...) ali brezplačna dobava materiala lokalnim veljakom, županu, lokalni skupnosti, klubom ali društvom	Pojavno območje je na relaciji med top menedžmentom in srednjim menedžmentom in veljaki lokalne skupnosti
	Klientelizem	Imenovanje direktorja na osnovi politične pripadnosti, zaposlovanje po nareku lokalnih veljakov (župana, članov občinskega sveta, strankarskih veljakov ...), določanje javnemu podjetju s kom bo poslovalo oziroma pri kom bo naročalo material ali storitve	Tu je pojavno območje korupcije relacija med top menedžmentom in veljaki lokalne skupnosti
	Konflikt interesov	Omogočanje poslov prek javnega podjetja tem, ki direktno z občino ne morejo oziroma ne smejo poslovati zaradi omejitve poslovanja.	Tudi tu je pojavno območje korupcije relacija med menedžmentom in veljaki lokalne skupnosti
	Nezdružljivost funkcij	Imenovanje v organe odločanja, upravljanja ali nadzora ljudi, ki se jih zaradi njihovih funkcij, povezanih z lokalno skupnostjo, ne bi smelo imenovati.	Tu je pojavno območje predvsem lokalna skupnost, javno podjetje imam na to samo posreden in zelo omejen vpliv.
	Izsiljevanje	Izsiljevanje vodstva s pogojevanjem sprejetja cen ali sprejetja drugih, za podjetje pomembnih odločitev za pridobitev koristi zase ali za lokalno skupnost	Pojavno območje korupcije je med veljaki lokalne skupnosti in vodstvom podjetja
	Uporaba javnega podjetja za izogibanje javnim naročilom	Lokalna skupnost (tu je mišljena občina) ima v primerjavi z javnim podjetjem precej nižji cenovni pritis, pri katerem mora začeti z postopki, predpisanimi v zakonu o javnem naročanju. Zato storitve ali blago naroči pri javnem podjetju in se s tem ogne postopkom javnega naročanja. Od javnega podjetja pa zahteva, da odda delo točno določenemu izvajalcu, ki pa v primeru izvedbe javnega naročila ne bi ali izpolnjeval pogojev ali ne bi bil konkurenčen.	Pojavno območje korupcije je med veljaki lokalne skupnosti (predvsem vodstvom občine) in vodstvom podjetja

Vir: lasten

4 Zaključek

Ugotovitve Škrbca (2013) in Grodelanda (2005) veljajo tudi v razmerju, ki je ustvarjeno med lokalno skupnostjo in javnim podjetjem (nespoštovanje vladavine prava, iskanje vez in poznanstev, pohlep, izogibanje pravilom igre ...), zato tudi javna podjetja niso imuna na korupcijo, le manj vidna je kot v drugih javnih sektorjih in manj zanimiva za javnost, saj nima tako direktnega vpliva na vsakodnevno življenje ljudi kot npr. korupcija v zdravstvu ali v javni upravi.

Naštetim generatorjem korupcije pa je v veliko pomoč tudi nedorečena zakonodaja, saj je zakon o gospodarskih javnih službah v določanju pravnega režima javnih podjetij zelo skop, ker za vsa vprašanja v zvezi s položajem javnih podjetij, ki v ZGJS-ju niso navedena oziroma urejena, napotuje na uporabo predpisov, ki urejajo položaj podjetij oziroma gospodarskih družb, torej na ZGD, kar pa lahko sproža dvome o pravilnosti umestitve javnega podjetja med osebe javnega prava, saj je v vprašanih pravnega statusa, upravljanja in poslovanja javnega podjetja javno podjetje, glede na določbo 28. člena ZGJS-a, povsem izenačeno s kapitalskimi gospodarskimi družbami.

Zaradi navedenega se kaže bistvena pomanjkljivost v sedanji ureditvi javnega podjetja (Brezovnik, 2009, str. 177–195) v dvojni vlogi države (oziroma lokalne skupnosti) v javnih podjetjih, ko v razmerju do javnega podjetja nastopa na eni strani kot regulator dejavnosti gospodarske javne službe, ki jo opravlja javno podjetje, na drugi strani pa kot lastnica kapitalskih deležev v javnem podjetju ter v *sui generis* organizacijski obliki javnega podjetja, kar pa včasih kar samo kliče k svojevolskemu tolmačenju zakonov in posledično tudi h korupciji.

Korupcija je lahko pasivna ali aktivna. Aktivna korupcija pomeni dajanje podkupnin, daril, obljub ali drugih materialnih ali nematerialnih koristi, pasivna korupcija pa je prejetje podkupnin, daril, obljub in drugih materialnih ali nematerialnih koristi (obe pa sta kaznivi oziroma v nekaterih primerih vsaj moralno sporni). Pričakovati, da v primeru javnega podjetja poteka samo pasivna korupcija, torej sprejetje koristi vseh vrst je zmotno, obstaja kar precej odnosov, v katerih javno podjetje nastopa kot aktivni akter korupcije, oziroma vsaj v nekaterih odnosih potekata obe vrsti korupcije, tako aktivna kot pasivna.

Vsekakor je korupcija, ki poteka med javnim podjetjem in lokalno skupnostjo, običajno dokaj dobro skrita (sploh če poteka med javnim podjetjem in občinskimi veljaki), pogosto pa je tudi širše družbeno sprejemljiva (zlasti tedaj, če so v pridobitev koristi vpletena razna športna ali kulturna društva) ali pa se sploh ne zaznava kot korupcijsko dejanje. Tudi poročanje lokalnih medijev je prav tako zgolj nevtrarno, saj zaradi svoje vpetosti v lokalno skupnost in pogosto tudi zaradi odvisnosti od oglaševalcev, ne morejo pisati kritično, saj lahko vsako tako pisanje pogosto pomeni tudi njihovo izgubo, ker so oglaševalci pogosto vključeni v lokalno gospodarsko mrežo, katere del sta tudi lokalna politika in javno podjetje. Tu se je treba strinjati s Toninom (2009), ki je zapisal, da zaradi številnih povezav in soodvisnosti lokalni mediji pogosto ne morejo opravljati funkcije, ki bi jo kot četrta veja oblasti morali.

Sama privatizacija javnih podjetij oziroma podelitev koncesije zasebnim podjetjem seveda ne rešuje težav s korupcijo, kot trdi večina avtorjev, ki se s to tematiko ukvarja, saj se, ko upravljajo zasebniki javno infrastrukturo, problem korupcije samo prestavi. Če v primeru podjetij v lokalni lasti zaradi korupcije trpijo predvsem proračuni države ali lokalnih skupnosti, pa pri upravljanju infrastrukture od zasebnikov finančno trpijo predvsem uporabniki storitev.

Zaradi zgoraj navedenih ugotovitev bo osnovna taksonomija korupcije na odnosu javno podjetje – lokalna skupnost pripomogla k prepoznavanju posamičnih korupcijskih dejanj in tako olajšala delo vsem, ki se bodo ukvarjali z raziskovanjem korupcije na tem odnosu v prihodnosti, hkrati pa bo pripomogla tudi k širšemu vpogledu v korupcijo vsem, ki se ukvarjajo ali se bodo ukvarjali z raziskovanjem korupcije v javnem sektorju.

Naj še dodamo, da je zelo veliko vprašanje, ki se pojavi pri proučevanju korupcije na odnosu javno podjetje – lokalna skupnost, kako korupcija, seveda skozi povišane stroške poslovanja, vpliva na cene storitev javnih podjetij? Vendar pa je to vprašanje primerno za drugo, bistveno razširjeno raziskavo.

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SUMMARY

1.04 Professional article

The Relationship between Public Enterprises and the Local Community in View of Corruption Risks

Corruption as a major economic and social problem began to be recognized only towards the end of the last century. Since 1995 it has also been systematically researched. There are many researches of corruption in public sector, especially in the health care and in public administration. But public enterprises that are the important part of the public sector as well, in these researches cannot be found. In these companies, which are of vital importance to the life of the local community a lot of money is turning, whose origin is partly from the budget of local communities and partly from payment of citizens for services rendered and which may also enable local politicians to impact on the daily life of the local community. Where there are money and influence, there are often corruption and corruption risks. Since this topic has been relatively unexplored, the purpose of this paper is to show the potential corruption offenses and corruption risks, and thus open, in Slovenia, the still unexplored issue of corruption, which might be helpful to all other researchers of corruption in the public sector, while making us aware of the possibility of corruption which has still not sufficiently been recognized.

There are several areas of corruption risks in public enterprises. They are stipulated by the relations and the actors in the corruption. There are different relations between public enterprises and local communities as owners and users of services. The state sometimes acts as owner, most commonly by control and regulation. Performers of services (when their job is given by public enterprises), are suppliers as well as users of services.

This research treats only the area of relation public enterprise – local community. Local community as the owner of the local enterprises has the right to control their decisions and very often gives orders to public enterprises. It acts as the client or the payer. The local community forms and suspends the managing infrastructure and by giving accord to prices of economic public services, it controls the management of the enterprises. The corruption risks appear in relation between the public enterprises and the local community, because local community has important influence on forming and suspending the management, because it orders services and accepts their prices and so it influences the management and tries to influence business and other decisions (engaging suppliers or employing). Because of this influence the management is forced to make particular decisions relating to local community. These decisions might be morally controversial and corruptive, if resulting from blackmailing for accepting prices, ordering services.

Following the research of different archives the authors of the paper created a primary taxonomy of corruption appearing in relationship between the public sector and local community, where many authors detected the possibility of corruption risks. However, due to the poor media coverage as well as the general ignorance of corruption on the one hand (newspaper archives), and in particular the inadequate statistical references on the second (archives of the police and of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption), it was difficult to make a proper taxonomy. In the taxonomy there are most common examples of corruption, as well as their appearances and the areas. In the conclusion, the paper also lists some findings relating to the taxonomy.

However, the corruption between public enterprise and local community might be well hidden, particularly if it takes place between the enterprise and the municipal men of wealth, or could be often socially acceptable if getting benefits concerning sports or cultural activities or it cannot be perceived as a corruptive act at all. But there is the important question how this kind of corruption influences the prices of services. Privatisation of public enterprises or giving concession for services to private companies does not solve the problems with corruption. The problem of corruption is postponed, above all suffer the users of services.

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