

administration **uprava**

**mednarodna znanstvena revija za
teorijo in prakso**

**international academic journal for
theory and practice**

*Univerza v Ljubljani
Fakulteta za upravo*



**Letnik X, številka 3, september 2012
Volume X, Number 3, September 2012**

**ISSN 1581-7555
ISSN 1855-6361**

Revija Uprava je znanstvena revija, ki združuje različne discipline, povezane z javno upravo. Obravnava teoretična in praktična vprašanja ter rešitve s področja javne uprave, upoštevajoč upravne, pravne, ekonomske, organizacijske in informacijske vidike delovanja in razvoja javne uprave.

izdajatelj / publisher

Fakulteta za upravo Univerze v Ljubljani / Faculty of Administration, University of Ljubljana

naslov uredništva / address of editorial board

Fakulteta za upravo Univerze v Ljubljani
Gosarjeva 5, SI-1000 Ljubljana
tel.: +386 (0)1 5805-500 faks: +386 (0)1 5805-521
e-pošta: revija.uprava@fu.uni-lj.si

odgovorna urednica / editor

Stanka Setnikar-Cankar

uredniški odbor / editorial board

Srečko Devjak, Nevenka Hrovatin, Maja Klun, Rudi Kocjančič, Polona Kovač, Alenka Kuhelj, Rajko Pirnat, Janez Stare, Metka Tekavčič, Ljupčo Todorovski, Mirko Vintar

mednarodni uredniški odbor / international editorial board

Stephen BAILEY (Glasgow Caledonian University, Great Britain), Helena BLAŽIČ (Ekonomski fakultet Rijeka, Sveučilište u Rijeci, Croatia), Mirjana DRAKULIĆ (Fakultet organizacionih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Serbia), Jürgen HARBICH (München, Germany), Calin HINTEA (Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences, Babes Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, Romania), Gyorgy JENEI (Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary), Theo P.W.M. van der KROGT (EAPAA, European Association for Public Administration Accreditation, The Netherlands), Kveta KUBATOVA (University of Economics Prague, The Czech Republic), Margaret LINEHAN (Cork Institute of Technology, The Republic of Ireland), Alka OBADIĆ (Faculty of Economics and Business, Zagreb, Croatia), Katarina OTT (Institut za javne financije, Zagreb, Croatia), Mirko PEJANOVIĆ (Fakultet političkih nauka Sarajevo, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Bosnia and Herzegovina), Heinrich REINERMANN (Deutsche Hochschule für Verwaltungswissenschaft, Speyer, Germany), Walter SCHERRER (Economics Institute, University of Salzburg, Austria), Željko ŠEVIĆ (Glasgow Caledonian University, Great Britain), John TAYLOR (Glasgow Caledonian University, Great Britain), Neda VITEZIĆ (Ekonomski fakultet Rijeka, Sveučilište u Rijeci, Croatia), Jacques ZILLER (Università di Pavia, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Italy)

tehnično uredništvo / technical editor

Nataša Svrznjak

oblikovanje / design

Branka Smodiš

fotografije / photography

arhiv fakultete, Matevž Paternoster

prelom / text design

Anamarija Leben

lektoriranje / editing

Katarina Puc

tisk / print

Littera picta d.o.o.

ISSN

1581-7555 (printed ed.)
1855-6361 (online version)

Revija izhaja štirikrat letno. Cena posamezne številke je 25,00 EUR. Letna naročnina za pravne osebe je 60,00 EUR, za posameznike 45,00 EUR, za študente 30,00 EUR, za tujino 80,00 EUR.

Znanstveno revijo Uprava je Javna agencija za knjigo RS opredelila kot znanstveno periodično publikacijo in jo v letu 2012 tudi sofinancira. / The journal is financially supported by the Slovenian Book Agency.

Revija Uprava je indeksirana v mednarodnih bazah: / The journal Uprava/Administration is indexed and abstracted in:

- ECONLIT
- PROQUEST – CSA-Worldwide Political Science Abstracts
- PROQUEST PAIS International (Public Affairs Information Service)
- IPSA – International Political Science Abstracts
- EGPA – PA@BABEL
- EBSCO Publishing
- IBSS – International Bibliography of the Social Sciences

Vsi članki v reviji Uprava so recenzirani. / All articles are peer-reviewed.

vsebina / contents

- 5 Stanka Setnikar Cankar
Uvodnik
- 7 Thomas Döring, Birgit Aigner-Walder
**Economic Activities of German Local Authorities –
Critical Notes from a Public Finance Perspective**
1.02 Review article
- 25 Jon Aurum Andersen
**Public Managers: Their Behavior, their Change
Potential and the Behavior of Women and Men in
Public Organizations**
1.02 Review article
- 39 Julija Peklar, Eva Boštjančič
**Motivacija in zadovoljstvo z življenjem pri
zaposlenih v javnem in zasebnem sektorju**
1.02 Pregledni znanstveni članek
- 57 Julija Peklar, Eva Boštjančič
**Motivation and Life Satisfaction of Employees in
the Public and Private Sectors**
1.02 Review article
- 75 Aleksander Aristovnik, Maja Žibert
**Uspešnost črpanja evropskih sredstev za razvoj
podeželja v Sloveniji v obdobju 2003–2009**
1.04 Strokovni članek
- 97 Mateja Cugmas, Simona Kustec Lipicer
**Vrednotenje vplivov EU na področju mladinske
politike na subnacionalni in nacionalni ravni:
primer programa Mladi v akciji v Sloveniji**
1.04 Strokovni članek

povzetki / summaries

- 21 Thomas Döring, Birgit Aigner-Walder
Gospodarske dejavnosti nemških lokalnih oblasti: kritične opombe s stališča javnih financ
1.02 Pregledni znanstveni članek
- 38 Jon Aurum Andersen
Javni menedžerji: njihovo vedenje, njihova pripravljenost za spremembe in vedenje žensk ter moških v javnih organizacijah
1.02 Pregledni znanstveni članek
- 92 Aleksander Aristovnik, Maja Žibert
The Effectiveness of Disbursement of the European funds for rural development by Slovenia in the period 2003–2009
1.04 Professional article
- 109 Mateja Cugmas, Simona Kustec Lipicer
Evaluation of the Impact of EU on the Field of Youth Policy at Subnational and National Level: Example of the Youth in Action Programme in Slovenia
1.04 Professional article

Uvodnik

Spoštovani,

Javni sektor v Sloveniji se sooča s prvo resnično krizo v samostojni državi. Do sedaj so bile spremembe v njem predvsem rezultat lastnih hotenj ali odraz spremenjenih razmer, ki jih je politika ustvarila za njegovo delovanje. Nikoli do sedaj pa niso bile tako jasno postavljene omejitve pri njegovem delovanju, ki omejujejo predvsem njegovo kakovost.

Ko bo kriza čez leta izzvenela, prešla dno in se bo družba zopet nahajala na delu gospodarskega cikla z vzponom in rastjo, bodo sedanje spremembe v javnem sektorju ostale. Zato je razprava o javnem sektorju potrebna sedaj, ker se bomo kasneje soočili s posledicami, ki jih ne bo več mogoče spremeniti. Pa tudi prav je, da se čim več ljudi seznanijo z razmerami tako, da imajo jasno sliko in prave podatke. Najslabše so polovične informacije ali celo nepravilne informacije, ki ustvarjajo vtis, da so razmere samo malo spremenjene. Škoda zaradi nerodnih izjav o tistih, ki ustvarjajo in tistih, ki samo trošijo in zelo malo delajo, je bila že narejena. Skušam verjeti, da gre za nesporazum, ki ga je mogoče odpraviti. Temu cilju so bili namenjeni tudi Dnevi slovenske uprave, ki jih je Fakulteta za upravo organizirala letos že devetnajstič.

V tržni ekonomiji se pojavijo deli gospodarskih ciklov, kot je gospodarska kriza, kjer so potrebni posegi za zmanjšanje nezaželenih posledic delovanja trga. Takrat politika nacionalne države ne spodbuja globalne konkurenčnosti, ampak sprejema ukrepe, s katerimi skuša ohraniti delovna mesta v lokalnem okolju. Vedno bolj postaja očitno, da v Evropski uniji ne potrebujemo samo varčevalnih ukrepov, ampak tudi ukrepe za spodbujanje lokalnega gospodarstva in negospodarstva. Celotno največje države, kot je Nemčija, ki uradno postavljajo zelo glasne in stroge zahteve za uravnoteženje financ in zmanjšanje dolgov držav, same vodijo politiko ohranjanja delovnih mest v svoji državi. Nemški partnerji v enem od raziskovalnih projektov čezmejnega sodelovanja so potrebovali dvakrat več časa za svoj prihod z osebnim avtomobilom na delovni sestanek v Ljubljano v mesecu juniju. Deloma se je že začela turistična sezona, ampak predvsem se je Nemčija spremenila v veliko gradbišče. Nešteto avtocest je bilo deloma zaprtih, ker so jim dodajali na vsaki strani še enega, dva vozna pasova, ali ker so jih prenavljali. Veliko mest se je spremenilo v manjša gradbišča, ker so prenavljali infrastrukturo: ceste, vodovod, kanalizacijo, internetno omrežje. Skoraj vsako naselje je lahko pridobilo sredstva na različnih razpisih za prenove, popravila in celo novogradnje na področju javnega sektorja. Poznavalec takoj opazi, da gre predvsem za javna naročila manjših in srednjih vrednosti, ki so jih na razpisih dobila nemška, lokalna podjetja. Seveda, saj je tudi v Nemčiji treba preprečiti povečanje števila nezaposlenih ali ga celo zmanjšati. Leto volitev se nezadržno bliža. O tem lahko več preberete v enem od člankov tujih avtorjev.

Dejstvo je, da je predvsem v sedanjih neugodnih razmerah za gospodarstvo in negospodarstvo v Sloveniji, v Evropi in v svetu, treba iskati nove možnosti za reorganizacijo, racionalizacijo in razvoj tudi v javnem sektorju. Žal pa so odločitve, ki so bile sprejete v naglici, brez tehtnega premisleka ter brez predhodnih izračunov mogočih učinkov vedno naredile več škode kot koristi. Predhodna presoja učinkov spremembe zakonodaje, ki jo predavam našim študentom, se je tokrat uresničila kot farsa. Sprejemanje zakonov po hitrem postopku povzroča kolateralno škodo, ki je ni mogoče nikoli popraviti.

Odgovorna urednica

red. prof. dr. Stanka Setnikar Cankar

Stanka Setnikar Cankar

Economic Activities of German Local Authorities – Critical Notes from a Public Finance Perspective

UDK: 338:336.1(430)(045)

Thomas Döring

Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences
thomas.doering@h-da.de

Birgit Aigner-Walder

Carinthia Institute for Advanced Studies
aigner-walder@carinthia.ihs.ac.at

ABSTRACT

Within the last two decades, local authorities throughout Germany have increased their revenue by stepping up their economic activities. Municipal business ventures range from energy supply to catering services and even food retail, and are almost all justified by some public purpose or other. In 2010, local authorities in western Germany earned 5.3 pc of total revenue from their economic activities, compared to 4.7 pc in 1992. The share in eastern Germany was rising over the same period from 4.3 pc to 5.1 pc. In fact in 2010 a total of € 9.3 billion was earned by local authorities this way (compared to € 6.0 billion in 1992). The aim of the paper is to examine this trend from the perspective of public finance by drawing on the theory of public goods, the theory of fiscal federalism and some aspects of new political economy. Although the results vary somewhat depending on the angle taken, on balance the new economic activities by local government in Germany must be assessed negatively.

Key words: local public finance, publicly provided goods, local public enterprises, fiscal federalism, new political economy

JEL: H42, H71, L32

1 Introduction

Hardship breeds creativity: In times of budget deficits – as most of the local authorities in Germany have experienced during the last 20 years – municipalities increasingly come up with new commercial ideas in an attempt to generate more revenue. Councils no longer stop at supplying electricity, gas and water or collecting garbage all of which are traditional local public economic activities. They have also begun to offer various other goods

and services through publicly owned businesses. These economic activities include transport, IT and telecom services. Some local authorities own gravel pits, quarries and vineyards. Others run catering services, flowers shops, restaurants and hotels, travel agencies, energy consultancies, fingernail studios or even car washes. Still other councils take on the repair of private vehicles at their local transport services centers (Meyer & Scholl 1999; Fuest et al., 2002; Döring 2003a; Bardt & Fuest 2007).

The aforementioned examples of new economic activities of German local authorities in order to conquer existing budget deficits are by no means exceptions; in fact within the last two decades local authorities throughout Germany have increased their entrepreneurial activities more than ever before. In 2010 5.3 pc of local authorities' revenue in western Germany came from their own business activities, up from 4.7 pc in 1992; in eastern Germany in the same period the share rose from 4.3 pc to 5.1 pc. The business income reported here comprises the sale of electricity, gas, water, and agricultural and forestry products, renting and leasing, and profits from economic enterprises and company shareholding, as well as license taxes and concession levies. In all, in 2010 commercial earnings contributed almost € 9.3 billion to local government budget, which represents an increase of more than 50 pc compared to € 6.0 billion in 1992 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011). Considering the last decade (1999–2010), Table 1 shows from a regional perspective the development of local public revenues deriving from economic activities.

Table 1: Local public revenues from economic activities on a regional level (in million Euro – change in percentage points)

German Federal States	1999	2010	Δ 1999–2010
Baden-Württemberg	1,520	1,496	–1.57
Bavaria	1,323	1,844	+39.38
Brandenburg	216	242	+12.04
Hesse	650	674	+3.69
Lower Saxony	633	791	+24.96
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	196	210	+7.14
North Rhine-Westphalia	1,847	2,129	+13.24
Rhineland-Palatinate	382	511	+33.77
Saarland	76	73	–3.94
Saxony	392	450	+14.79
Saxony-Anhalt	211	330	+56.39
Schleswig Holstein	240	277	+15.41
Thuringia	213	243	+14.08
West Germany	6,671	7,799	+16.91
East Germany	1,228	1,477	+20.27
Total	7,899	9,276	+17.43

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2011); own calculations

As can be seen from Table 1, the quantity of economic activities of local authorities – indicated by revenues stemming from these activities – did increase from 1999 up to 2010 by a two-digit growth rate: In Germany on the whole, local economic activities did expand about 17.43 pc. Only the local authorities in Baden-Württemberg (–1.57 pc) as well as Saarland (–3.94 pc) had to face decreasing revenues concerning their economic activities within the time period under consideration. The most extensive growth of business activities of local authorities took place in Saxony-Anhalt; the related revenues increase by 56.39 pc, followed up by the cities and municipalities in Bavaria (+39.38 pc) and the Rhineland-Palatinate (+33.77 pc). Altogether, from 1999 up to 2010 the biggest extension of local public economic activities is reported for eastern Germany (20.27 pc), whereas the revenues of local authorities in western Germany stemming from business activities did only increase by 16.91 pc within the same time period. In both cases, cities and municipalities did expand their commercial activities in account of the private economic sector.

There are many reasons for this commercial expansion, one being the altered economic environment. For instance, in European Union the competition policy of the last two decades has resulted in the effect that traditional (usually monopolized) areas of business of municipal companies in Germany are coming under growing pressure from private competition (European Commission, 1996 and 2000; Hrbek & Nettessheim, 2002). Therefore, with revenues in these areas falling, tackling new fields of business is now regarded by local government as a way of compensating for the loss of income. In general it is seen as a way of earning additional revenue for local public budgets and hence indirectly helping local councils meet their responsibilities. Ultimately, expanding commercial activity is also envisaged as a way of safeguarding public jobs under threat as the turnover of existing municipal companies shrinks.

Yet this expansion strategy has encountered sharp criticism, and its economic impact has become the subject of lively debate in Germany (Otting, 1997a; Fuest et al., 2002; Döring, 2003a; Bardt & Fuest 2007; Scherf, 2010; focusing local public banks Döring, 2003b). Economic activities by local government are mainly censured by private companies and business associations, who are critical of the unequal conditions for the competition between private and local public enterprise claiming that commercial activities by local authorities should be restricted. Against this background, the paper examines the problem from various perspectives. In the first step, attention is focused below on the existing legal limitations currently imposed on local public economic activities in Germany (chapter 2). Furthermore, the described trend is analyzed from a public finance perspective by drawing on the theory of public goods (chapter 3), the theory of fiscal federalism (chapter 4) and some aspects of new political economy (chapter 5).

2 Legal restrictions on local public economic activities

The present legal framework places restrictions on the economic activities of local authorities in Germany. The German Constitution does not disallow the broadening of local public economic activities in principal, but regional laws (passed by the German federal states) regulate the legality of these activities in the charters which govern the local institutional setup (so called municipal ordinances). Although these vary somewhat between the German states, in the majority of them economic activities by local authorities are permitted if (Kuntze, 2002):

- The activity is justified by a public purpose.
- The type and extend of the activity correspond with the financial capacity of the local authority and the prospective need for the public service.
- The purpose cannot be fulfilled more or even equally effectively by the private sector (the so called subsidiary clause).
- In addition, Art. 28 Sect. 2 of the German constitution rules that a local authority may only undertake economic activities locally.

With respect to the aforementioned legal requirements, the »public purpose« item is the crucial limiting criterion regarding the commercial behavior of local government. Following a ruling by the Federal Constitutional Court, however, it is up to local political representatives to decide independently whether a public purpose exists. Consequently, the legal restrictions placed on local public economic activities are in reality rather weak. General consensus is limited to the view that a public purpose does not exist if the public enterprise solely serves fiscal objectives. The »financial capacity« criterion is meant that a local authority must be able to cope with fiscal losses in case a local public enterprise is running a deficit.

The third criterion, the »subsidiarity clause«, is not contained in all municipal ordinances. Even where subsidiarity clauses are included, they vary in meaning. In some cases the clause may imply that local public enterprises can only become active if the »narrow subsidiarity clause« is fulfilled, i.e. the public purpose in question cannot be fulfilled more effectively by private suppliers. In others, the »simple subsidiarity clause« states that proof of performance parity between public and private companies is sufficient. The narrow subsidiarity clause can be found in federal states such as Bavaria, the Rhineland-Palatinate and Thuringia; the simple subsidiarity clause is exercised in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Schleswig-Holstein. In practice, both the narrow and the simple subsidiarity clauses leave scope for interpretation because deciding whether a private company or a public enterprise is better at fulfilling a public purpose turns out to be difficult. Finally, the »local activity« criterion is designed to exclusively restrict the decision-making competence of a local authority (and

hence also its economic activity) to the local sphere. The snag is that the boundary of this sphere of responsibility is not always precisely defined.

In political practice, it ultimately largely boils down to whether expanding local government economic activity violates the aforementioned legal conditions regarding the fulfillment of a »public purpose« and »restriction to local activity« (Henneke, 1994, p. 38f.). From a public finance perspective, emphasizing the »public purpose« implies the economic justification of governmental activity usually discussed within the theory of public goods. Moreover, reference to »local activity« contains a link to the theory of fiscal federalism with its focus on the spatial range of the provision of public goods.

3 Considerations from a public goods perspective

Under a free-market system the private sector is granted priority over government (and also municipal) economic activity. The reason for this is the assumed private sector's generally higher efficiency when it comes to commercial activity compared to public sector (Hayek, 1937; Musgrave & Musgrave 1989; Bailey, 1995). These differences in efficiency are particularly important when the expansion of municipal economic activity is assessed.

3.1 Structurally related inefficiencies in local public economic activity

When municipal companies compete with private firms, there is, as far as competition is concerned, initially nothing wrong with local public economic activity. What is economically decisive is the extent. When municipal companies become larger, local governments tend to reduce their being exposed to market forces. In Germany, the chances of private companies are often relatively poor in those areas where local public companies are active, the latter being systematically advantaged over their private competitors (Fuest et al., 2002; Bardt & Fuest, 2007). This even goes so far, that private suppliers are sometimes completely barred from the market – for example in the supply of water and gas as well as in the areas of sewage disposal and rubbish collection, all of which are big earners for municipal companies. And wherever competition does exist, public suppliers are still privileged: local public companies frequently do not pay value added tax, cooperation income tax or the local business tax because they can declare their commercial activity to be a sovereign task.

Furthermore, efficient market results can only be expected if it can be ensured that the commercial risk (including bankruptcy) is completely internalized. Yet in the case of public companies there is a good chance that if it comes to the crunch, commercial risk will be »socialized« by the local public budget. With this bail-out mechanism in place, there is no pressure to calculate prices at full cost – meaning equivalent or similar products can be offered by municipal companies at much lower prices than their private competitors. Moreover,

the prospect of public refinancing also means that municipal companies enjoy higher credit-rating with private banks, including the chance of better lending terms. Other distortions of competition are to be expected if municipal companies have unjustified advantages owing to their close links to the public sector, for instance in the award of public contracts.

3.2 Local public economic activity as provision of public goods?

If the efficiency enhancing effect of markets is limited for municipal companies, market allocation loses much of its effectiveness. In overall economic terms, production will take place at unnecessarily high costs and with a mismatch concerning consumer preferences. Moreover, local public economic activity may even damage the interest of a local authority. If, for example, municipal companies can drive private competitors out of the market thank to unfair competitive advantages, this will have repercussions for the local authority's tax revenue. More obvious of course are the burdens on municipal budgets whenever a municipal company's »new business idea« fails to catch on, effecting the necessary staff lay-offs will be harder for the local authority concerned than for private companies, owing to the stricter labor legislation in force for the public sector in Germany.

But apart from such budgetary considerations, convincing reasons are required to justify local public economic activity in the first place. From a public finance viewpoint, (local) government activity is only regarded as legitimate if the market fails to provide the goods and services or if the results achieved on the market have to be augmented by the government in order to satisfy public needs (Musgrave & Musgrave 1989; Bailey, 1995). What is at stake here is the area of public good; accordingly, government units ought only to become active if the goods provided by private actors are inadequate (e.g. production costs are too high without matching costumers' preferences) and, if moreover, government provision will bring about better results. However, it is vital to note that the necessity of the municipal provision of a good or service does not automatically entail its municipal production (Rosen, 1992). Instead, production can be left to private suppliers, even in the area of public goods. This is the case if the quantity and quality of supply are regulated by government standards. This distinction between »provision« and »production« has major consequences for the assessment of an expansive business policy on the part of municipal companies.

Against this background, local public economic activity can only be regarded as expedient if it involves a necessary item of public supply, and if equivalent private production is impossible. Regarding the new fields of economic activities under discussion in Germany for municipal companies, this will only apply in extremely few cases (if any at all). For example, economically speaking there is nothing wrong with utility services such as electricity, gas and water supply, sewage disposal and rubbish collection, or telecom services being organized largely privately, as long as governmental regulations are met

and the monitoring costs incurred are not disproportionately high. Therefore, local authorities should steer clear of expanding their own economic activity (»production« in the above sense) in these areas.

Completely unjustified in terms of public finance considerations are such new economic activities by local authorities as running hotels and restaurants, solariums and fingernail studios, travel agencies, tourism services (e.g. sunshade or bicycle hire, setting up and managing campsites) or even opening municipal food retail outlets (as it has happened in the last two decades in Germany). None of those activities have any of the characteristics of a public good, and so municipal activity in these areas has no economic legitimacy whatsoever. This is all the more the case since these activities are generally exclusively fiscally motivated. From a public finance viewpoint, the fiscal aim is merely a secondary rather than an original aim of public finance.

4 Considerations from a fiscal federalism viewpoint

From the angle of the theory of fiscal federalism, citing the provision of public goods as a criterion is by itself not enough to justify local public economic activities (Ter-Minassian, 1997; Oates, 1998; Wellisch, 2000). In addition, commercial activities also have to have the characteristics of local public goods (indicated by their spatial range of benefits and costs).

4.1 Retaining the principle of fiscal equivalence

The principle of fiscal equivalence is generally used to determine the spatial efficient character of public activity (Olson, 1969; Döring & Voigt, 2006). This principle states that if the benefits of public services are subject of variation depending on the spatial heterogeneity of citizens' preferences, an efficient supply of public goods can only be expected if the administrative responsibility for the provision of these goods is geared to the (geographical) circle of beneficiaries who also have to finance them. The focus to the beneficiaries tailors the supply to people's preferences. Since those benefiting from public goods are the same as those bearing the production costs of them, this should ensure that the cost of the supply is minimized. In this way, the scope of public supply and the related public expenditure are subject to the decision-making powers of the citizens concerned.

Given this, cases in which municipal commercial activities extend beyond the local sphere of influence may be regarded as problematic. Particular attention is drawn to local energy utilities, which in addition to satisfying local demand also meet demand in other areas by taking over other councils' utilities. A similar situation exists in the case of local authority transport companies. From the angle of fiscal federalism, there is also the danger that during the course of such company take-overs, a spatial disparity may emerge between the beneficiaries and the cost bearers of public services. For example, if such a local concentration of supply leads to the effect that previous price

differences, caused by the specifics of local demand, are evened out, the economically desirable allocation of costs among the public depending on those responsible for them might no longer be ensured. Moreover, the advantages of the decentralized provision local government services (i.e. taking local citizens' preferences better into account) will be abandoned without reason.

Furthermore, the theory of fiscal federalism provides an additional perspective for the assessment of the purely fiscally motivated expansion of local public economic activity. The advocates of an expansion strategy often cite the fact that ensuring local government self-administration enshrined in the German constitution also requires a minimum of public financial autonomy, and state that since this autonomy cannot be guaranteed by the existing sources of finance (taxes and transfers), local authorities must have the option of earning the missing funds by building up their economic activities (Otting, 1997b). From the viewpoint of the principle of fiscal equivalence, however, the argument veers off in the wrong direction. The financing of local government functions from revenue which is not immediately related to these functions lacks an incentive structure in the sense of fiscal equivalence: Citizens should be able to weigh the benefits of additional local public services against the resulting fiscal burdens. And if the additional expenditure of a local authority is financed by the profits earned by its companies in business transactions with citizens from other local authorities, this results in an externalization of fiscal burdens – which from the public finance perspective ought to be avoided (Feld & Kirchgässner, 2000).

4.2 Achieving economies of scale in production

The principle of fiscal equivalence chiefly takes the demand-side characteristics of public goods – in this case the citizens' locally varying preferences – into consideration. However, the spatially efficient provision of public goods is also determined by supply-side characteristics (Fisher, 1996, p. 126ff). A key role in this respect is played by achieving economies of scale in production (i.e. falling unit costs owing to an increase in supply quantity). Clearly this argument bears a strong relation to especially the expansion of municipal economic activity, because it might achieve such economies of scale. Putting this argument forward, the greater usage of already existing production structures enables at the same time the deviation from a strict interpretation of the local sphere of activity of local government companies.

Instead, especially for cost-intensive aspects of providing public supply (e.g. waste disposal services), voluntary cooperation between local authorities (for instance by setting up a special purpose association) is a way of letting economies of scale work and of thus making supply less costly (Frey & Eichenberger, 1999). Hence for reasons of cost efficiency, the catchment area supplied by a municipal company need not necessarily conform to the local authority's geographical boundary. This could even include cases

in which products developed by a local authority that are of interest to other local authorities (e.g. the development of software services tailored to local government needs) could be marketed regionally. This would have the twin benefits of increasing the product's economic viability for the local authority developing it and of saving development costs for the other local authorities.

In this argument of the better utilization of existing production capacities which would otherwise go unused, the duration of the underutilization of the capacities should also play a role. If this situation is only temporary, expanding local government economic activity to ensure the full utilization of capacity may be justified. However, in the case of permanent underutilization the reduction of existing capacities would be the only justifiable solution. Seen from this angle, production structures not used to full capacity in the long term are nothing more than a symptom of bad public planning which needs to be corrected. An example for such bad planning at the level of local government is the waste incineration capacities built up in a whole series of German towns and cities in the last two decades, which are far too large and for this reason are the target of considerable political criticism.

4.3 Significance for competition between local authorities

Under the theory of fiscal federalism the question can also be raised whether the extent to which an expansion of local public economic activities can help intensify or on the other hand may even impair processes of competition between local authorities. The idea of competition between local authorities is based on the assumption that local authorities compete with each other to attract people and enterprise through their services and through the level of taxes they impose. Similar to the competition on private markets, it is assumed that in the long run those local government products will best attract among the public which are inexpensive and which match people's preferences best (Tiebout, 1956; Gerken, 1995; with focus on local government enterprises, Friedrich & Feng, 2000). With regard to the (spatial) expansion of local public economic activity, the perspective of competition between local authorities provides justification, though within limits. This concerns above all those economic activities in which the competitors are mainly those municipal companies that belong to other town councils. For instance, the possibility of regional marketing of municipal data-processing services may result in one local authority increasing its efforts to develop a range of services better suited to its own needs. It may also result in a local authority simply using the (better) services of another in order to save the high development costs which would otherwise be picked up by its citizens.

Against this background, the possibility of one municipal company being taken over by one which belongs to a different local authority initially seems positive. In Germany, in the last two decades such take-overs especially took place in the areas of electricity and water supply as well as garbage collection. However, it is not so much the take-over as such as the option thereof which

could generate more competition between municipal companies, resulting in the improved efficiency of the goods and services they supply. Then again, should such a hostile take-over actually take place, this will heighten the danger of supply becoming dominated by just a handful of municipal companies. The consequence would doubtlessly be a major reduction of competition between local authorities. The same situation would arise if a municipal company – say an energy utility – took the pick of the bunch by attracting large individual costumers from neighboring authorities. The utility's higher revenue would then be earned at the expense of a utility in another local authority, which would have lost large profitable customers but would still be responsible for meeting the needs of less lucrative small costumers. Rather than being advantageous for all local authorities, this form of spatial expansion of municipal economic activity would instead result in some local authorities gaining, while others significantly lose out.

5 Some political economy considerations

The so far overwhelmingly negative appraisal of the expansion of local public economic activity is backed up when considering the subject from the perspective of new political economy (Mueller, 1989; Johnson, 1991; Stevens 1993; regarding public enterprises, see Wiseman, 1978). From this view, municipal economic activity not only needs to be limited to the local sphere of activity, but also – and more importantly – (local) government activity needs to take second place to private-sector activities.

Justifying the expansion of local public economic activity – be it by the extensive interpretation of public aims (»securing jobs«, »promoting the local economic structure«, etc.) – or by reference to the »fundamental comprehensive jurisdiction of government and thus the sovereignty of the democratic legislator« (Otting, 1997b, p. 146 – own translation) – ignores from the political economy viewpoint the principal-agent problem of government activity which always exists in democratic systems based on public representation such as in Germany. Against this background, a narrow interpretation of the pursuit of public aims or even the demand that private sector activity take precedence over the public sector and would not restrict the sovereignty of (local) government but rather the discretionary room for maneuvers of bureaucrats and politicians, who do not (only) work for the general interest but also follow their own objectives (Furubotn & Richter, 1998).

Another factor arguing against the expansion of local public economic activity is that »managers in public companies – owing to their bureaucratic organization – pay less attention to the owners' advantages than do managers working in the private sector« (Schneider, 1998, p. 12 – own translation). Furthermore, the incentive situation in public companies is comparable with that in public administrations (Niskanen, 1994). Since monetary incentives are

largely lacking owing to rigid bureaucratic norms, public managers use their freedom of action not to boost production efficiency but rather to satisfy their own personal ambitions such as prestige or power (for example through a non-sanctioned strategy of maximizing turnover or increasing the number of employees). This theoretical view is confirmed by empirical studies revealing »significant differences in behavior between public and private managers« (Andersen, 2010, p. 131).

Ultimately, the political economy viewpoint also enables to assess the purely fiscal motive behind the expansion of local public economic activity. For this case, it also holds from this angle that a local authority's fiscal need should ideally be covered by (local) taxes, because only in this way can the government activity be tied to the public will. Although it is stipulated in the municipal ordinances in Germany that municipal tasks should primarily be financed using fees and charges before taxes, it cannot be inversely concluded that local public economic activity should be expanded simply because the goods and services offered by municipal companies are financed by fees and charges or market-like prices. The regional externalization of fiscal burdens (described above) is not the only danger; in addition, given the very low perceptibility of the existing financing system of local government in Germany (high proportion of federal transfers, low visibility of the income and turnover tax shares allocated to local government), the desirable link between the local government revenue and local public expenditure hardly exists (simply for reasons of political control). Covering the municipal fiscal need by means of commercial activity additionally confuse the already murky nature of the financing system of local councils.

6 Conclusion

As a result of the assessment from various theoretical angles the economic activities of local authorities appear to be admissible at best to a very limited degree. The type of business would have to be restricted to those with a strong public good content. This rules out such new economic activities by local government as running hotels, restaurants, solariums, travel agencies, catering services, flowers shops, car washes or even opening municipal food retail outlets, all of which may lead to a crowding out of private suppliers. Tapping new sources of revenue through economic activities as an end of itself is merely no original aim of local public finance.

Thomas Döring, Birgit Aigner-Walder

Thomas Döring is full Professor of Politics and Institutions, emphasizing Institutional Economics, at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Head of the Centre for Research and Development at Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences. In 1997 he obtained the title of Doctor of Economics. He is a member of the board for Institutional Economics of the German Economic Association as well as a member of the German Academy of Spatial Research and Regional Planning. His diverse research interests include Fiscal Federalism and Local Public Finance, Urban and Regional Economics as well as Environmental and Consumer Economics.

Birgit Aigner-Walder is senior scientific researcher at the Institute for Advanced Studies Carinthia. She graduated at the Faculty of Management at Carinthia University of Applied Sciences in 2005. In 2012 she obtained the title of Doctor of Economics at the University of Klagenfurt (Austria). During the years 2005-2011 she has been a junior scientific researcher at Carinthia University of Applied Sciences and was twice visiting research fellow at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her research focuses on Regional Economics and Public Finances as well as the Demographic Change and its Economic Effects (e.g. consumer behavior, labor market, services of general interest).

References

- Andersen, J. A. (2010). Public versus Private Managers. *Public Administration Review* 17(1), 131–141.
- Bailey, S. J. (1995). *Public Sector Economics*. London.
- Bardt, H. & Fuest, W. (2007). Die wirtschaftliche Betätigung der Kommunen. *iw Trends*, Nr. 3-2007. Köln.
- Baumann, B. (1993). *Offene Gesellschaft, Marktprozesse und Staatsaufgaben*. Baden-Baden.
- Döring, T. & Voigt, S. (2006). Reforming Federalism German Style. *Intereconomics* 41(4), 201–208.
- Döring, T. (2003a). Local Governments as Entrepreneurs: Critical Notes on the Commercial Activities of German Local Authorities from a Public Finance Perspective. *Philipps-Universität Marburg, Volkswirtschaftliche Beiträge*, Nr. 04-2003. Marburg.
- Döring, T. (2003b). German Public Banks under the Pressure of the EU Subsidy Proceedings. *Intereconomics* 38(2), 94–101.
- European Commission (1996). *Commission Communication on Services of General Interest in Europe*. COM (1996) 443.
- European Commission (2000). *Commission Communication on Services of General Interest in Europe*. COM (2000) 580.
- Feld, L. P. & Krichgässner, G. (2000). Income Tax Competition at the State and Local Level in Switzerland. *CESifo Working Paper Series*. Working Paper No. 238. München.
- Fisher, R. C. (1996). *State and Local Public Finance*, 2nd ed. Chicago.
- Frey, B. S. & Eichenberger, R. (1999). *The New Democratic Federalism for Europe*. Cheltenham.
- Friedrich P. & Feng, X. (2000). The Role of Public Enterprises in Regional Competition. In Batey, P. W. J. & Friedrich P. (Eds.). *Regional Competition* (186–202). Heidelberg.
- Fuest, W., Kroker, R. & Schatz, K.-W. (2002). *Die wirtschaftliche Betätigung der Kommunen und die Daseinsvorsorge*. Köln.
- Furubotn, E. G. & Richter, R. (1998). *Institutions and Economic Theory*, 2nd ed. Ann Arbor.
- Gerken, L. (1995). *Competition among Institutions*. Basingstoke.
- Hayek, F. A. (1937). Economics and Knowledge. *Economica* 4(13), 33–54.
- Hrbek, R. & Nettesheim, M. (2002). *Europäische Union und mitgliedstaatliche Daseinsvorsorge*. Baden-Baden.
- Johnson, D. B. (1991). *Public Choice*. Mountain View.
- Kuntze, Ch. (2002). *Die Grenzen der erwerbswirtschaftlichen Betätigung der Kommunen*. Köln.
- Meyer, L. & Scholl, M. (1999). Wirtschaftliche Betätigung von Kommunen. *Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung – Materialien für die Arbeit vor Ort*, Nr. 10. Bonn.
- Mueller, D. C. (1989). *Public Choice II*. Cambridge (UK).
- Musgrave, R. A. & Musgrave, P. B. (1989). *Public Finance in Theory and Practice*, 5th ed. New York.
- Niskanen, W. A. (1994). *Bureaucracy and Public Economics*. Aldershot.
- Oates, W. E. (1998). *The Economics of Fiscal Federalism and Local Finance*. Cheltenham & Northampton.

Thomas Döring, Birgit Aigner-Walder

- Olson, M. (1969). The Principle of "Fiscal Equivalence": The Division of Responsibilities among Different Levels of Government. *American Economic Review* 59(2), 479–487.
- Otting, O. (1997a). Öffentlicher Zweck, Finanzhoheit und fairer Wettbewerb. *Deutsches Verwaltungsblatt* 112, 1258–1264.
- Otting, O. (1997b). *Neues Steuerungsmodell und rechtliche Betätigungsspielräume der Kommunen*. Köln.
- Rosen, H. S. (1992). *Public Finance*, 3rd ed. Boston & Sydney.
- Scherf, W. (2010). Perspektiven kommunaler Ausgabenfinanzierung. *Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen – Finanzwissenschaftliche Arbeitspapiere*. Arbeitspapier Nr. 83-2010. Gießen.
- Schneider, F. (1998). Deregulierung und Privatisierung als Allheilmittel gegen ineffiziente Produktion von öffentlichen Unternehmen? *University of Linz – Discussion papers*, No. 9803. Linz.
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2011). *Rechnungsergebnisse der kommunalen Haushalte*. Fachserie 14, Reihe 3.3. Wiesbaden.
- Stevens, J. B. (1993). *The Economics of Collective Choice*. Boulder.
- Ter-Minassian, T. (1997). *Fiscal Federalism in Theory and Practice*. Washington D.C.
- Tiebout, Ch. M. (1956). A Pure Theory of Local Public Expenditures. *Journal of Political Economy* 64(5), 416–424.
- Wellisch, D. (2000). *Theory of Public Finance in a Federal State*. Cambridge (UK).
- Wiseman, J. (1978). The Political Economy of Nationalized Industry. *University of New York – Reprint Series: Economics*, No. 270. New York.

POVZETEK

GOSPODARSKE DEJAVNOSTI NEMŠKIH LOKALNIH OBLASTI: KRITIČNE OPOMBE S STALIŠČA JAVNIH FINANC

Ključne besede: lokalne javne finance, gospodarska ponudba lokalne uprave, podjetja v lasti lokalne uprave, fiskalni federalizem, nova politična ekonomija

V času proračunskih primanjkljajev – kar je izkusila večina lokalnih oblasti v zadnjih dvajsetih letih – se vedno pogosteje pojavljajo nove poslovne ideje, kako bi ustvarili več prihodkov. Mestni sveti se ne ustavljajo več zgolj pri oskrbovanju z električno energijo, plinom ali pri pobiranju smeti – vse to so tradicionalne lokalne dejavnosti javne uprave. Začeli so namreč ponujati različne druge proizvode in storitve podjetij, ki so v javni lasti. Te gospodarske dejavnosti so na primer prevoz, informacijska tehnologija in telekomunikacijske storitve. Nekateri lokalni oblasti imajo v lasti gramoznice, kamnolome in vinograde. Spet druge se ukvarjajo z gostinskimi storitvami, s cvetličarnami, upravljajo restavracije in hotele, potovalne agencije, energetske svetovalnice, kozmetične salone in celo avtopralnice. Drugi mestni sveti pa vozijo svoja zasebna vozila v popravilo k svojim lokalnim centrom za prevozne storitve.

Omenjeni primeri zmanjševanja proračunskega primanjkljaja z uvedbo novih gospodarskih dejavnosti nemških lokalnih oblasti nikakor niso redki; pravzaprav so v zadnjih dveh desetletjih lokalne oblasti po vsej Nemčiji povečevale svoje podjetniške dejavnosti bolj kot kdajkoli prej. V letu 2010 je 5,3 % prihodkov lokalnih skupnosti v Zahodni Nemčiji izhajalo iz lastnih poslovnih dejavnosti, kar pomeni dvig iz 4,7 % iz leta 1992; v Vzhodni Nemčiji se je v istem obdobju delež povečal s 4,3 % na 5,1 %. Tukaj so upoštevani prodaja električne energije, plina, vode ter kmetijskih in gozdarskih proizvodov, najem in zakup ter dobički iz gospodarskih podjetij in lastniški deleži družb, kakor tudi davki na licenčnine in koncesijske dajatve. V celoti so prihodki iz gospodarskih dejavnosti v letu 2010 prispevali v lokalni državni proračun skoraj 9,3 milijarde €, kar je 55 odstotna porast v primerjavi s 6,0 milijardami € v letu 1992.

Za takšno trgovinsko širitev obstaja veliko razlogov, pri čemer je eden od njih spremenjeno gospodarsko okolje. Na primer, konkurenčna politika Evropske Unije zadnjih dveh desetletij je povzročila, da se tradicionalna (običajno monopolna) področja poslovanja javnih komunalnih podjetij v Nemčiji vedno bolj srečujejo z zasebno konkurenco. Ker prihodki na teh področjih upadajo, poskuša lokalna uprava izpad prihodka kompenzirati z uvajanjem novih področij poslovanja. Ta dodatni vir zaslужka za lokalne javne proračune naj bi posredno pomagal lokalnih svetom pri izpolnjevanju njihovih obveznosti. Naraščajoča trgovinska dejavnost naj bi tudi zaščitila delovna mesta v javni upravi, ki so ogrožena zaradi upadanja prihodkov iz prodaje obstoječih

storitev javnih komunalnih podjetij. Kljub temu je ta strategija razširitve naletela na ostre kritike, njen gospodarski vpliv pa je postal predmet živahne razprave v Nemčiji. Gospodarske dejavnosti lokalne samouprave pa večinoma obsojajo tudi zasebna podjetja in poslovna združenja, ki kritizirajo neenake pogoje konkurence med zasebnimi in lokalnimi javnimi podjetji in ki trdijo, da bi gospodarske dejavnosti lokalnih oblasti morale biti omejene.

Tukaj bi morali upoštevati predvsem pravne omejitve lokalnih javnih gospodarskih dejavnosti v Nemčiji. Načeloma nemška ustava ne prepoveduje širitve lokalnih javnih gospodarskih dejavnosti, vendar pa regionalni zakoni (kot so jih sprejele nemške zvezne dežele) urejajo zakonitost teh dejavnosti v poglavjih, ki urejajo lokalno institucionalni okvir (tako imenovani občinski odloki). Čeprav se ti nekoliko razlikujejo med posameznimi nemškimi deželami, so v večini od njih gospodarske dejavnosti lokalnih oblasti dovoljene, če: (1) je dejavnost utemeljena z javnim namenom; (2) vrsta in obseg dejavnosti ustrezata finančni sposobnosti lokalne oblasti in predvideni potrebi za javno službo; (3) zasebni sektor ne more več ali vsaj enako učinkovito izpolnjevati namena (tako imenovana subsidiarna klavzula); (4) se lahko lokalna oblast loti gospodarskih dejavnosti zgolj na lokalni ravni. V politični praksi le-ta v veliki meri na koncu na kratko povzema, ali naraščajoča lokalna vladna gospodarska dejavnost krši zgoraj omenjene zakonske pogoje v zvezi z izpolnjevanjem »javnega namena« in »omejitve na lokalno dejavnost«. Z vidika javnega financiranja poudarjanje »javnega namena« pomeni ekonomsko upravičenost vladne dejavnosti, ki je običajno predmet razprave v teoriji javnih dobrin. Poleg tega sklicevanje na »lokalno dejavnost« vsebuje povezavo na teorijo fiskalnega federalizma s poudarkom na prostorskem obsegu zagotavljanja javnih dobrin.

Z gospodarskega vidika ima prosti trg zasebnega sektorja prednost pred državno (in tudi komunalno) gospodarsko dejavnostjo. Vzrok za to je domnevna splošno večja učinkovitost zasebnega sektorja, ko gre za gospodarsko dejavnost v primerjavi z javnim sektorjem. Te razlike v učinkovitosti so še zlasti pomembne pri odločanju o širitvi občinske gospodarske dejavnosti. Lokalna dejavnost velja kot pravno upravičena, če trg ne zagotavlja blaga in storitev, ali če mora vlada, da bi zadovoljila javne potrebe, povečati ponudbo. Pri tem je odločujoče področje javnega dobra; zato bi lokalne enote morale postati aktivne zgolj, če so dobrine, ki jih zagotavljajo zasebni akterji, nezadostne (npr. proizvodni stroški so previsoki in ne ustrezajo preferencam strank) in če poleg tega lokalna oskrba omogoča doseganje boljših rezultatov. Kljub temu pa je pomembno opozoriti, da nujnost komunalnega zagotavljanja dobrin ali storitev samodejno ne sproža tudi komunalne proizvodnje. Namesto tega je proizvodnjo mogoče prepustiti zasebnim dobaviteljem tudi na področju javnih dobrin.

Na podlagi tega se lokalna javna gospodarska dejavnost lahko šteje za primerno samo, če vključuje nujno potrebni element javne ponudbe in enakovredna zasebna proizvodnja ni mogoča. Glede novih področij gospodarskih dejavnosti,

ki so predmet razprave v Nemčiji, naj bi to za komunalna podjetja veljalo samo v izjemno redkih primerih (če sploh). Na primer, ekonomsko gledano ni nič narobe s komunalnimi storitvami, kot so na primer električna energija, plin in oskrba z vodo, odstranjevanje odpadkov in smeti ter telekomunikacijske storitve, ki se v veliki meri organizirajo na zasebni ravni, dokler so državni predpisi izpolnjeni in nastali nadzorni stroški niso nesorazmerno visoki. Zato se morajo lokalne oblasti izogibati širitvi svoje gospodarske dejavnosti (proizvodnja v prej omenjenem smislu) na teh področjih. Takšne nove gospodarske dejavnosti lokalnih oblasti kot je na primer vodenje hotelov in restavracij, solarijev in kozmetičnih salonov, potovalnih agencij, turističnih storitev (na primer izposoja senčnikov in koles, postavitve in upravljanje kampov) ali celo odpiranje maloprodajnih mest za prehrano (kot se je vse to zgodilo v zadnjih dveh desetletjih v Nemčiji) so popolnoma neupravičene z vidika javnih financ. Nobena od teh dejavnosti nima značilnosti javne dobrine, zato komunalna dejavnost na teh območjih nima nikakršne gospodarske upravičenosti.

Z vidika teorije fiskalnega federalizma sklicevanje na zagotavljanje javnih dobrin kot kriterija samo po sebi ni dovolj, da bi opravičilo lokalne javne gospodarske dejavnosti. Poleg tega morajo imeti komercialne dejavnosti tudi značilnosti lokalnih javnih dobrin (katere označuje njihov prostorski obseg koristi in stroškov). Načelo davčne enakovrednosti se običajno uporablja za določitev prostorsko učinkovitega značaja javne dejavnosti. To načelo določa, da če so koristi javnih storitev predmet spreminjanja v odvisnosti od prostorske heterogenosti preferenc državljanov, je učinkovito oskrbo z javnimi dobrinami mogoče pričakovati le, če je upravna odgovornost za zagotavljanje teh dobrin usmerjena h (geografskemu) krogu upravičencev, ki jih je tudi treba financirati. Glede na to so lahko primeri, v katerih se komunalne komercialne dejavnosti razširjajo zunaj lokalne sfere vpliva, problematični. Posebna pozornost je namenjena lokalnim javnim energetskim službam, ki poleg zadovoljevanja lokalnih povpraševanj prav tako izpolnjujejo povpraševanje na drugih področjih s prevzemanjem javnih energetskih služb drugih okolij. Podobna situacija obstaja glede prevoznih podjetij lokalnih oblasti. Z vidika davčnega federalizma obstaja tudi nevarnost, da se med prevzemom takšnega podjetja lahko pojavi prostorska neskladnost med upravičenci in nosilci stroškov javnih storitev. Poleg tega pa financiranje lokalnih vladnih funkcij iz prihodkov, ki niso neposredno povezana s temi funkcijami, primanjkuje spodbuda v smislu fiskalne enakovrednosti: državljanji bi morali biti sposobni pretehtati prednosti dodatnih lokalnih javnih storitev v primerjavi z davki, ki iz tega izhajajo. Če se dodatni stroški lokalne oblasti financirajo iz dobičkov, ki so jih ustvarila njihova podjetja v poslovnih transakcijah z državljanji iz drugih lokalnih skupnosti, je posledica tega eksternalizacija davčne obremenitve – kateri bi se z bilo vidika javnih financ treba izogniti.

Doslej pretežno negativna ocena razširitve lokalne javne gospodarske dejavnosti se lahko spremeni, če obravnavamo vprašanje z vidika nove politične ekonomije. S tega vidika komunalno gospodarsko dejavnost ni

treba omejiti samo na lokalno področje delovanja, temveč mora tudi lokalna dejavnost zavzeti drugačno mesto glede na dejavnosti zasebnega sektorja, kar je še pomembneje. Opravičevanje širitve lokalne javne gospodarske dejavnosti – na primer z obširno razlago javnih ciljev (»zagotavljanje delovnih mest«, »spodbujanje lokalne gospodarske strukture«, itd.) – s politično ekonomskega vidika ne upošteva problema spodbujanja državne dejavnosti, ki vedno obstaja v demokratičnih sistemih kot na primer v Nemčiji. Zato ozka razlaga zasledovanja javnih ciljev ali celo zahteve, da ima dejavnost zasebnega sektorja prednost pred javnim sektorjem, ne omejuje suverenosti (lokalne) oblasti, temveč omogoča diskrecijski prostor za manevre birokratov in politikov, ki ne delujejo (zgolj) zaradi splošnega interesa, temveč sledijo tudi lastnim ciljem.

Še en dejavnik nasprotuje širitvi lokalne javne gospodarske dejavnosti, namreč da menedžerji v javnih podjetjih – zaradi birokratske organiziranosti javnega sektorja – navadno posvečajo manj pozornosti koristim lastnikov kot menedžerji, ki delajo v zasebnem sektorju. Poleg tega pa se spodbude v javnih podjetjih lahko primerljajo s tistimi v javni upravi: ker togi birokratski predpisi precej omejujejo denarne spodbude, menedžerji v javni upravi ne uveljavljajo svobode delovanja zato, da bi povečali proizvodno učinkovitost, temveč zato, da bi zadovoljili svoje lastne ambicije, kot sta na primer prestiž in moč (na primer da bi z uvedbo nesankcionirane strategije čim bolj povečali prihodke od prodaje ali povečali število zaposlenih).

Po presoji z različnih zornih teoretičnih kotov se zdi, da so gospodarske dejavnosti lokalnih oblasti dopustne kvečjemu v zelo omejenem obsegu. Vrsta posla bi morala biti omejena na tiste dejavnosti, ki imajo velik delež javnega dobra. To izključuje večino novih gospodarskih dejavnosti lokalnih oblasti, ki lahko povzročajo izpodrivanje zasebnih ponudnikov. Poleg tega pa odpiranje novih virov prihodkov z uvajanjem novih gospodarskih dejavnosti nikakor ne more biti osnovni cilj lokalnih javnih financ.

Public Managers: Their Behavior, their Change Potential and the Behavior of Women and Men in Public Organizations

UDK: 35:005(045)

Jon Aurum Andersen
Lillehammer University College
jon.andersen@hil.no

ABSTRACT

This survey article addresses three questions based on the assumption that significant differences exist between public and private organizations. If this assumption is correct managerial and leadership behavior will differ between public and private managers. Additionally, the propensity to change will also differ between public and private managers. Since a number of studies indicate that managers' leadership behavior in public organizations differ from that of private managers, difference and similarities in leadership behavior between women and men in public organizations are examined. Three studies are presented here which show that public and private managers have different behavioral patterns of leadership. However, public managers turn out to be more change-oriented than business managers. In the public organizations investigated no differences in leadership behavior between women and men were found.

Key words: leadership behavior, public and private organization, change-oriented behavior, gender

JEL: Z00

1 Introduction – public vs. private organizations

There are two competing perspectives in the study of public and private organizations. The generic perspective contains the claim that no such differences exist. The public-private distinction perspective argues that there are significant differences between public and private organizations.

Researchers advocating the generic perspective claim that public and private organizations face similar constraints and challenges. Buchanan (1975) has held that these categories are not mutually exclusive. There is a constant need for clarification of the public-private distinction (Rainey, 1983). The problem

Andersen, J. A. (2012). Public Managers: Their Behavior, their Change Potential and the Behavior of Women and Men in Public Organizations. *Uprava/Administration X*(3), 25–37.

of defining public-private distinctions is not surprising because organizations range along a continuum of public-private control. Perry and Rainey (2001) have claimed that distinct characteristics of public organizations are merely myths, which need to be clarified or discarded through research. Vaillancourt Rosenau and Linder (2003) have noted that the distinction between the for-profit and nonprofit sectors is being questioned. In short, the authors suggest that recent events appear to be driving the two closer together. Many of the conventional distinctions between for-profits and nonprofits no longer apply.

Among the advocates of the public-private distinction, we find Rainey et al. (1976), who claimed that there is a divergence between public and private organizations. Cook (1998) has argued that it is the character of public administration as a political institution that should be at the center for the conception of public management. What makes public administration and public management *public*, and thus distinctive, is that politics of the most fundamental nature are at the heart of the enterprise. Cook pointed out that differences in external environments help us understand how public and private organizations function. Rainey and Bozeman (2000) refer to the almost universal agreement among scholars that public organizations have more complexity and ambiguity.

Perry and Rainey (2001) stated that the public-private distinction is a significant area of organizational research in need of further analysis. The »public-private difference« stream of research concerns the roles that public and private organizations have in our society. Using this framework, researchers have found that the demands placed on public and private organizations vary to the extent that different practices are recommended for each sector (Nutt, 2006). Public-management scholarship has suggested that public organizations are fundamentally different from private organizations as a consequence of the functions they provide to society.

2 Leadership behavior of public and private managers

2.1 Introduction

In support of the generic perspective Rainey et al. (1995) have found that public and private managers differed little regarding the enforcement of rules, and have found no significant difference between the public and private managers in perceived goal ambiguity. Rainey and Bozeman (2000) have found that public managers do not differ from business managers in their perceptions of organizational formalization. Additionally, Vaillancourt Rosenau and Linder (2003) have argued that executives of nonprofits and for-profits face the same pressures, and they share the same incentives.

In support of the public-private distinction, Rainey et al. (1976) have stated that there are indications of a number of important differences between private and public organizations that cannot be ignored in managerial research.

They claimed that there are significant differences in selection, management and motivation; and in controlling and measuring results between these managerial groups.

Bower (1977) has stated that public management is not just different in degree from corporate management, but is different in quality. The differences have important implications for public managers and how they view their jobs. Rainey et al. (1995) have found a striking difference between public and private managers on personnel rules and constraints. This finding is consistent with other studies. Public agencies show markedly higher levels of formalization of such functions as personnel and purchasing.

Bower (1977) has noted that although we know enough about management in the public sector to know that it is different from corporate management, we do not know nearly as much as we should. Twenty-five years later, Van Wart (2003) has pointed out the lack of empirical research on public leadership. Cook (1998) pointed out that differences in external environments help us understand how public and private organizations function and their respective managers act. Andersen (2010a) concluded that there are profound differences between public and private organizations. These differences lead to the first hypothesis: Differences between public and private organizations will induce differences in leadership behavior.

2.2 Methodology

Andersen (2010a) investigated two groups of public managers (managers of social-insurance agencies and public school principals) and a group of private managers (two samples). The analyses were based on data from 459 middle managers in four organizations in Sweden. Behavioral dimensions were investigated, including leadership style (task, relationship and change orientation), decision-making style (the functions of sensing, intuition, thinking and feeling), and motivational profile (achievement, affiliation and power motivation). Written, scientifically tested instruments were used.

2.3 Findings and conclusions

The hypothesis was partly supported as public managers' behavior differed from that of private managers in three out of four dimensions. The χ^2 tests yielded significant differences between public and private managers regarding leadership styles and motivation-profile distributions. Public and private managers differ significantly in leadership behavior but not in decision-making styles. Senior officials in social-insurance offices mostly have the change-oriented leadership style. They are mostly intuitive types and have the achievement motivational profile. Most school principals have the change-oriented style. They are basically intuitive in their decision-making. The principals are also achievement-motivated. Business managers are predominantly relationship-oriented. They are basically intuitive when making

decisions. As expected, private managers are power-motivated. It is worth noting that both public and private managers use intuition most frequently when making decisions. This is not the case for all kinds of organizational managers (Hansson & Andersen, 2001). There are significant differences between public and private managers with respect to leadership style and motivational profile. This finding is contrary to Rainey (1989), who has claimed that there is no real distinction between public and private management.

An interesting result from this study is that the public managers as a group appear to have virtually the same behavioral patterns. Public managers have the change-oriented leadership style, make decisions by use of intuition and are achievement-motivated (Andersen, 2010a). The result is contrary to Van Wart (2003), who has pointed out that the differences between public leaders are far greater and more challenging than are the similarities.

The study of Andersen (2010a) has shown that there were significant differences between public and private managers in respect of leadership behavior, while public managers appear to have virtually the same behavioral patterns. These findings are interpreted and contextualized in the light of the tradition of public-private distinctions, which is primarily rooted in public administration. They can also be explained by the person-organization fit theories, which draw from the larger body of scholarship on private-sector management. Additionally, the criteria used when promoting employees to managerial positions may also explain the differences found.

3 Change-oriented behavior in public and private managers

3.1 Introduction

Understanding when, why and how organizations need to change and develop is primarily a managerial challenge and responsibility. In the literature on change management, change is regarded as a means of enhancing organizational performance and effectiveness. Schein (2002, p. 273) has rightly noted that »Leading change is one of the most important and difficult leadership responsibilities.« Major changes, moreover, are hardly possible without strong involvement by management. Leadership may be crucial in implementing organizational change in the public sector (Fernandez & Rainey, 2006; Dull, 2009).

This issue is becoming more important. Implementing radical change in any organization takes years and demands many integrative efforts (Walston & Chadwick, 2003). In the public service in the last two decades, such rapid changes as privatization, outsourcing and downsizing have pressured both managers and employees not only to work more efficiently but also with diminishing resources (Rusaw, 2007). Public-sector organizations thus also operate in an environment of change and choice. Demands for accountability have never been higher, and market-like competition through contracting-

out and downsizing requires managers to pay constant attention to the improvement of systems and strategies for delivering services (Berry, 2007).

3.2 Change-oriented behavioral

The concept of managers' change-oriented behavior taps into some of the most well-established theories of leadership (Bass, 1990; Yukl, 2010). The concept comprises four behavioral dimensions: (1) Leadership style, the leader's behavior by task, relationship and change-orientation; (2) decision-making style, how managers typically make decisions by the functions of sensing, intuition, thinking and feeling; (3) operational demands, the focus on managers' perception of the most urgent demands within the organization, be they relationship, task or developmental demands; and (4) motivation profile, the relative strength of managers' achievement, affiliation and power motivation.

The dimensions of leadership style, decision-making style, motivational profile and operational demands comprise 13 factors. Four of these factors relate to the concept of change-oriented behavior, and the remaining captures other aspects of leadership behavior. Andersen (2010b) suggests a concept and a measurement of managers' change-oriented behavior related to the initiation and implementation organizational change. The argument is that managers have an optimal potential for achieving organizational changes if they have the change-centered style of leadership, are intuitive, recognize demands for change, and have power-motivated behavior.

The study of Andersen (2010b) has aimed at assessing whether or not there are differences between public and private managers' change-oriented behavior. O'Toole and Meier (2003) have addressed the question of stability or change in the public sector. Certain empirical evidence, though limited, has given reason to doubt the image of public managers' inclination to resist innovative behavior (Roessner, 1977). Innovative behaviors of governmental executives show that the supposed rigidity in the public sector is an unhelpful over-generalization (Doig & Hargrove, 1987).

Stupak (1996) has argued that external factors of change make managerial decision-making more difficult in public organizations. Additionally, several scholars (e.g., Cook, 1998; Van Wart, 2003; Hanbury et al., 2004) have underlined the importance of decision-making for public managers. Moreover, Haveri (2006) has argued that complexity is a dominant characteristic of changes in local government, and that decision-making becomes difficult in times of change.

There is little research on the decision-making styles of public managers. Rainey (1979, 1983) and Baldwin (1987) have found no differences in self-reported interest in innovation between middle public and private managers. Guyot (1962), comparing the motivation profiles of middle managers in

business and in the federal government, has found no significant difference regarding power motivation.

No doubt, the major part of the research on leadership has focused on business managers. Private companies deal with fast-changing environments and technologies, and change is »the name of the game.« Managers advocate new and innovative changes in the face of fierce competition and an uncertain world and are expected to be more change-oriented than public managers. Consequently, this is the formulation of the second hypothesis: Business managers are more change-oriented than public managers.

3.3 Methodology

This section presents a concept and a measurement of managers' behavior related to the initiation and implementation of organizational change using data from 343 middle managers in two public agencies (social-insurance offices and senior secondary schools) and one private company (Andersen, 2010b). The behavioral dimensions investigated were (1) leadership style (task, relationship and change orientation), decision-making style (the functions of sensing, intuition, thinking and feeling), (3) operational demands (relationship, task or developmental demands); and (4) motivational profile (achievement, affiliation and power motivation). Again, written, scientifically tested instruments were used.

3.4 Findings and conclusions

The analysis failed to support the second hypothesis. Business managers were less change-oriented than managers in public organizations. In fact, public managers surpassed business managers in this respect. There was no significant difference between heads of social-insurance offices and school principals' change-related behavior. This study indicates that heads of social-insurance offices are more change-oriented than other managers, and school principals also outdo business managers.

The main reason for the differences may relate to the fact that some areas of the public sector and some public agencies – at least in Sweden – have been subject to profound and continuous changes over the last ten years. As the study indicates that business managers' change-orientation is relatively low compared to the managers from two other organizations, further investigations are warranted.

Since the early 1970s, major changes have taken place in the Swedish public sector. The public sector has encountered both challenges (e.g., cutting down costs to reduce the burden of debt) and opportunities (e.g., new information technology) that have forced it to innovate. Yet it is not known whether and to what degree these innovations are due to internal or external forces or due to the public managers' initiative and behavior.

The practical managerial significance of this study rests on the assumption that the key word for leadership in the near future is »change«. The ambition is to understand managers' actual behavior concerning the initiation and implementation of change. This study reveals that the managers investigated do differ significantly regarding their change-orientation. The successful implementation of organizational change may depend on having top and middle managers with this kind of behavior. An assessment of managers' change-orientation may thus be useful before implementing major organizational changes in the public sector (Andersen, 2010b).

4 Leadership behavior of women and men in public organizations

4.1 Introduction

The issue of gender and management has increasingly gained more attention of researchers. Some scholars have stressed the differences between women and men in leadership positions, claiming that female leaders are inherently different from male leaders. Fondas (1997, p. 275) has argued that »[...] gender is part of the very conceptualization of management«, and Brenner et al. (1989) assert that women possess certain characteristics, attitudes and temperaments. Yet they do not explain how these characteristics manifest themselves in managerial behavior.

Cole (2004) has noted that one problem with the notion of feminine leadership is the lack of data on how women actually behave in senior positions. Consequently, the purpose of this section is report on whether there are differences in leadership behavior between women and men – when only public managers are investigated - and to suggest explanations for whatever differences and similarities there may be.

Pounder and Coleman (2002) have presented probable influences on leadership behavior: gender, national culture, socialization (society and workplace), nature of organization and organizational demographics. This study explores two of these explanations: (1) the nature of organization and (2) organizational demographics. Vecchio (2002) has claimed that the absence of strong evidence of gender differences is probably reflective of organizational influences. Two studies by Andersen (2010a, b) have found significant differences in leadership behavior between managers in private and public organizations. Additionally, the influence of organizational demographics has also been explored in relation to differences in gender distribution of all employees and gender distribution of managers in organizations.

Ferrario (1991) has found that female and male managers do not differ in task-oriented or people-oriented behavior. Gibson (1995) has reported that no gender differences were obtained on any leadership-style dimensions. On the other hand, Park (1996) has found strong support for the relationships

between masculinity and task-oriented style and between femininity and relations-oriented style. Trinidad and Normore (2005) have claimed that the presence of feminine or masculine characteristics in leadership is related to the construct of gender. It appears that Trinidad and Normore (2005) have assumed that differences exist, and they have thus called for the formulation of a female-based leadership theory. A substantial body of research does not support this assertion, however.

It needs to be stressed that previous research on gender differences are predominantly based on data from private organizations. Previous research has also indicated that differences in leadership behavior are due to organizational differences identified by the private-public distinction theories (e.g., Rainey et al., 1976; Andersen, 2010a, b). In order to eliminate the effects on behavior due to organizational differences, the Andersen and Hansson's (2011) study only investigated public managers. Based on previous research on gender differences a third hypothesis is formulated: There are no differences in leadership behavior between men and women in managerial positions in the public sector.

4.2 Methodology

The behavioral dimensions investigated included leadership style (task, relationship and change orientation), decision-making style (the functions of sensing, intuition, thinking and feeling) and motivational profile (achievement, affiliation, and power motivation). Written, scientifically tested instruments were used.

In order to eliminate any effects of organizational differences on leadership behavior, this study had only public managers responding to scientifically tested questionnaires that measured their leadership style, decision-making style and motivational profile (Andersen & Hansson, 2011). Statistical analyses were based on data from Swedish public managers in three organizations (n = 385).

4.3 Findings and conclusions

The analysis supported the third hypothesis. Virtually no significant differences in behavior between female and male managers were found. Regardless of whether there is a female or male majority of employees or a female or male majority of managers, no effect on leadership behavior occurs. A number of studies indicate that managers' behavior is different in different types of organizations. This study suggests, therefore, that independent of gender organizational and demographic characteristics modify leadership behaviors, thus explaining similarities in leadership behavior. Out of the 30 pair-wise comparisons of means for the samples consisting of 385 managers in three different organizations, only five comparisons (17 per cent) yield significant

differences in leadership behavior between women and men as managers. In only one case is the significance at the level of one per cent.

Few significant differences in leadership behavior between women and men in management surfaced in the comparison between predominantly male-led organizations. No differences emerged in leadership behavior in the predominantly female-led ones. Similarly, there were no differences in leadership behavior in the comparisons between male-led organizations with a majority of female employees and female-led ones with a majority of women.

The questions about the importance of organizational differences and organizational influences on leadership behavior also warrant some comments. We should do well to consider whether the type of organization, namely, public or private, influences leadership behavior. Instead of gender, the type of organization in which managers operate may explain their behavior to a much larger extent. Additionally, we may consider whether differences in gender distribution of all employees and gender distribution of managers in organizations affect leadership behavior. The managerial profession contains a number of behaviors that appear to override the impact of gender (Fierman, 1990; Moss & Jensrud, 1995). As theories that distinguish between private and public organizations point out, previous research indicates that the differences arise owing to the fact that managers are in charge of different organizations, which Hansson and Andersen (2008) and Andersen (2010a) have suggested on the basis of the same behavioral dimensions used in this study.

Andersen and Hansson (2011) have concluded – as have the majority of other studies – that no or only small and inconsistent differences in behavior exist. They suggest that organizational differences and characteristics modify the phenomenon of leadership itself, which would explain the similarities of behavior regardless of gender. In this respect, a germane development is the rising trend that emphasizes the need to help women and men move away from gender-based stereotypes (Ferrario, 1991). The knowledge that there are few or no differences in leadership behavior between women and men in the public sector may contribute to this movement.

5 Conclusion

Research based on the public-private distinction concerns the roles that public and private organizations have in our society. Public-management scholarship has suggested that public organizations are fundamentally different from private organizations as a consequence of the functions they provide to society. Using this framework, three studies are presented.

Jon Aurum Andersen

If there are profound differences between public and private organizations, these differences may be the reason for differences in leadership behavior. Andersen (2010a) concluded that there are significant differences between public and private organizations.

No doubt, the major part of the research on leadership has focused on business managers. Private companies deal with fast-changing environments and technologies, and change is often associated with businesses. A comparison between public and private managers gave unexpected results. Business managers were less change-oriented than managers in public organizations. In fact, public managers surpassed business managers in this respect (Andersen, 2010b).

Research on gender differences is predominantly based on data from private organizations. Previous research has also indicated that differences in leadership behavior are due to organizational differences identified by the private-public distinction theories. In order to eliminate the effects on behavior due to organizational differences, the study of Andersen and Hansson's (2011) only investigated public managers. Virtually no significant differences in behavior between female and male managers were found. Regardless of whether there is a female or male majority of employees or a female or male majority of managers, no effect on leadership behavior occurs. Current research may help women and men move away from gender-based stereotypes in management.

Professor Dr. Jon Aarum Andersen holds two Master Degrees (Master of Business Administration and Master of Social Science) from Norway. He is Doctor of Economics from Lund University, Sweden. Dr. Andersen has written 14 university level textbooks and has 25 international research journal publications. He is professor of Business Administration (management) at Linnaeus University, Sweden (partly leave of absence) and full time professor at Lillehammer University College.

References

- Andersen, J. A. (2010). Public versus Private Managers. *Public Administration Review* 17(1), 131–141.
- Andersen, J. A. (2010b). Assessing Public Managers' Change-Oriented Behavior: Are Private Managers Caught in the Doldrums? *International Journal of Public Administration* 33(6), 335–345.
- Andersen, J. A. & Hansson, P. H. (2011). At the End of the Road? On Differences between Women and Men in Leadership Behavior. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal* 32(5), 328–441.
- Baldwin, J. N. (1987). Public versus private: Not that different, not that consequential. *Public Personnel Management* 16(2), 181–193.
- Bass, B. M. (1990). *Bass Stogdill's handbook of leadership*. New York: Free Press.
- Bower, J. L. (1977). Effective Public Management. *Harvard Business Review* 55(2), 131–140.
- Brenner, O. C., Tomkiewics, J. & Schein, V. E. (1989). The Relationship between Sex Role Stereotypes and Requisite Management Characteristics Revisited. *Academy of Management Journal* 32(3), 662–669.
- Buchanan, B. (1975). Red Tape and the Service Ethic. *Administration & Society* 6(4), 423–444.
- Cole, N. D. (2004). Gender Differences in Perceived Disciplinary Fairness. *Gender, Work and Organization* 11(3), 254–279.
- Cook, B. J. (1998). Politics, Political Leadership, and Public Management. *Public Administration Review* 58(3), 225–230.
- Doig, J. W. & Hargrove, E. C. (1987). *Leadership and Innovation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Dull, M. (2009). Results-Model Reform Leadership: Questions of Credible Commitment. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 19(2), 255–284.
- Fernandez, S. & Rainey, H. G. (2006). Managing Successful Organizational Change in the Public Sector. *Public Administration Review* 66(2), 168–176.
- Ferrario, M. (1991). Sex Differences in Leadership Style: Myth or Reality? *Women in Management Review & Abstracts* 6(3), 16–21.
- Fierman, J. (1990). Do Women Manage Differently? *Fortune*, 17 December, 115–118.
- Fondas, N. (1997). Feminization Unveiled: Management Qualities in Contemporary Writings. *Academy of Management Review* 22(1), 257–282.
- Gibson, C. (1995). An Investigation of Gender Differences in Leadership across Four Countries. *Journal of International Business Studies* 26(2), 225–279.
- Guyot, J. F. (1962). Government Bureaucrats Are Different. *Public Administration Review* 22(4), 195–202.
- Hanbury, G. L., Sapat, A. & Washington, C. W. (2004). Know Yourself and Take Charge of Your Own Destiny: The "Fit Model" of Leadership. *Public Administration Review* 64(5), 566–576.
- Hansson, P. H. & Andersen, J. A. (2008). Vicars as Managers Revisited: A Comparative Study. *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 21(1), 91–111.
- Haveri, A. (2006). Complexity in local government change. *Public Management Review* 8(1), 31–46.
- Moss, J. & Jensrud, Q. (1995). Gender, Leadership, and Vocational Education. *Journal of Industrial Teacher Education* 33(1), 6–23.

- Nutt, P. C. (2004). Prompting the Transformation of Public Organizations. *Public Performance and Management Review* 27 (4), 9–33.
- O'Toole, L. J. & Meier, K. J. (2003). Plus ça Change: Public Management, Personnel Stability, and Organizational Performance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 13(1), 43–64.
- Park, D. (1996). Gender role, decision style and leadership style. *Women in Management Review* 11(8), 13–17.
- Perry, J. L. & Rainey, H. G. (2001). The Public-Private Distinction in Organization Theory: A Critique and Research Strategy. *Academy of Management Review* 13(2), 182–201.
- Pounder, J. S. & Coleman, M. (2002). Women – better leaders than men? In general and educational management it still “all depends”. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal* 23(3), 122–133.
- Rainey, H. G. (1979). Perceptions of Incentives in Business and Government: Implications for Civil Service Reform. *Public Administration Review* 39(5), 440–48.
- Rainey, H. G. (1982). Reward Preferences among Public and Private Managers: In Search of Service Ethics. *American Review of Public Administration* 16(4), 288–302.
- Rainey, H. G. (1983). Public Agencies and Private Firms: Incentive Structure, Goals, and Individual Roles. *Administration & Society* 15(2), 207–42.
- Rainey, H. G. (1989). Public Management: Recent Research on the Political Context and Managerial Roles, Structures, and Behaviors. *Journal of Management* 15(2), 229–50.
- Rainey, H. G., Backoff, R. W. & Levine, C. H. (1976). Comparing Public and Private Organizations. *Public Administration Review* 36(2), 233–44.
- Rainey, H. G., Pandey, S. K. & Bozeman, B. (1995). Research Note: Public and Private Managers' Receptions of Red Tape. *Public Administration Review* 55(6), 567–73.
- Rainey, H. G. & Bozeman, B. (2000). Comparing Public and Private Organizations: Empirical Research and the Power of the A Priori. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10(2), 447–69.
- Roessner, J. D. (1977). Incentives to innovate in public and private organizations. *Administration & Society* 9(3), 341–365.
- Schein, E.H. (2002). *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Stupak, R. J. (1996). Change dynamics and public management: Challenges and opportunities. *International Journal of Public Administration* 19(10), 1669–1685.
- Trinidad, C. & Normore, A. H. (2005). Leadership and gender: a dangerous liaison? *Leadership & Organization Development Journal* 26(7), 574–590.
- Vaillancourt Rosenau, P. & Linder, S. H. (2003). Two Decades of Research Comparing for Profit and Nonprofit Health Provider Performance in the United States. *Social Science Quarterly* 84(2), 219–41.
- Van Wart, M. (2003). Public-Sector Leadership Theory: An Assessment. *Public Administration Review* 63(2), 214–228.
- Vecchio, R. P. (2002). Leadership and gender advantage. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(6), 643–671.

Public Managers: Their Behavior, their Change Potential and the Behavior of Women and Men in Public Organizations

- Walston, S. L. & Chadwick, C. (2003). Perceptions and misperceptions of major organizational change in hospitals: Do change efforts fail because of inconsistent organizational perceptions of restructuring and reengineering? *International Journal of Public Administration* 26(14), 1581–1605.
- Yukl, G. A. (2010). *Leadership in Organizations*. Upper Saddle River, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

POVZETEK

**JAVNI MENEDŽERJI: NJIHOVO VEDENJE,
NJIHOVA PRIPRAVLJENOST ZA SPREMEMBE
IN VEDENJE ŽENSK TER MOŠKIH V JAVNIH
ORGANIZACIJAH**

Ključne besede: vodstveno vedenje, organizacija, k spremembam usmerjeno vedenje, spol

Članek obravnava tri vprašanja ob predpostavki, da obstajajo pomembne razlike med organizacijami v javnem in zasebnem sektorju. Če ta predpostavka drži, potem se bo način upravljanja in vodenja javnih in poslovnih menedžerjev razlikoval. Prav tako se bo razlikovala njihova usmerjenost k spremembam. Ker številne raziskave nakazujejo, da se vodstveno vedenje menedžerjev v javnih organizacijah razlikuje od vodenja poslovnih menedžerjev, smo podrobneje preučili tudi razlike in podobnosti pri vodstvenem vedenju med ženskami in moškimi v javnih organizacijah. Članek predstavlja tri raziskave, ki kažejo različne vedenjske vzorce vodenja javnih menedžerjev in poslovnih menedžerjev. Ob tem pa se je izkazalo, da so javni menedžerji bolj usmerjeni k spremembam kot poslovni menedžerji. V javnih organizacijah, ki smo jih preučili, nismo našli nikakršnih razlik v vodstvenem vedenju moških in žensk.

Motivacija in zadovoljstvo z življenjem pri zaposlenih v javnem in zasebnem sektorju

UDK: 316.628(045)

Julija Peklar

Ministrstvo za obrambo RS
julija.peklar@mors.si

Eva Boštjančič

Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta
eva.bostjancic@ff.uni-lj.si

IZVLEČEK

Delovna motivacija je usmerjanje človekove aktivnosti k želenim ciljem, s pomočjo njegovih motivov, nastalih v človekovi notranjosti ali v njegovem okolju, na podlagi njegovih potreb. Namen raziskave je bil preveriti, ali se zaposleni razlikujejo v vrsti delovne motivacije glede na sektor, delovno mesto, spol in izobrazbo ter kako se različni tipi motivacije povezujejo z zadovoljstvom z življenjem.

V raziskavi je sodelovalo 288 zaposlenih – 153 v zasebnem in 116 v javnem sektorju (19 jih tega ni označilo). Rezultati so pokazali, da je pri vseh zaposlenih najbolj izražena notranja motivacija, da med sektorjema ni prišlo do razlik pri nobenem tipu motivacije ter da med vodji v javnem in zasebnem sektorju ni prišlo do statistično pomembnih razlik ne v zunanji motivaciji, ne v notranji motivaciji in ne v zadovoljstvu z življenjem.

Ključne besede: zunanja motivacija, notranja motivacija, teorija samodoločenosti, zadovoljstvo z življenjem, javni sektor, zasebni sektor

JEL: J24

1 Uvod

Že vrsto let se na področju organizacijske psihologije tako raziskovalci kot tudi vodje v organizacijah ukvarjajo z raziskovanjem in možnostmi vplivanja na delovno motivacijo. Najpomembnejšo vlogo pri motiviranju imajo prav nadrejeni (vodje), ki svoje zaposlene usmerjajo, poslušajo in nagrajujejo.

1.1 Javni in zasebni sektor

Po podatkih Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije je bilo julija 2010 v zasebnem sektorju zaposlenih 645.351 ljudi, v javnem sektorju pa 259.195 ljudi (SURS). Opredelitev javnega sektorja, tudi v smislu ločitve od zasebnega, ni enotna ne v zakonodaji, ne v teoriji. Različni avtorji in tudi slovenski zakoni opredeljujejo javni sektor različno, definicije zasebnega sploh ni. V tej raziskavi smo se odločili, da bomo javni sektor opredelili tako, kot ga opredelujeta zakon o sistemu plač in zakon o javnih uslužbencih. Vanj smo torej uvrstili: državno upravo, lokalne skupnosti, zdravstvo, šolstvo, kulturo, socialno varstvo, šport, znanost, sodstvo, vojsko, policijo. V zasebni sektor pa smo uvrstili vse panoge gospodarstva in samostojnega podjetništva.

1.2 Delovna motivacija

Motivi sprožajo z delom povezana vedenja ter določajo njegovo obliko, smer, intenzivnost in trajanje (Pinder, 1998, v Tremblay, Blanchard, Taylor, Pelletier & Villeneuve, 2009). Delavčeva aktivnost je vedno odvisna od notranjih pobud ali zunanjih dražljajev (motivov) in ta gibala delavčeve aktivnosti imenujemo motivacija. Motiviranje pa je proces spodbujanja delavcev z določenimi sredstvi, da bodo le-ti učinkovito in z lastnim pristankom opravili dane naloge ali delovali v smeri določenih ciljev (Uhan, 2000). Znanih je veliko motivacijskih teorij, ki skušajo pojasniti problematiko motivacije, v naši raziskavi pa smo se osredotočili na teorijo samodoločenosti.

1.3 Teorija samodoločenosti

Teorija samodoločenosti (TSD; angl. *Self-determination theory*) poudarja pomembnost človekovih notranjih nagnjenj in psiholoških potreb, ki so osnova za samomotivacijo in integracijo osebnosti (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Samodoločenost je definirana kot izkušnja opravljanja aktivnosti oz. vedenja iz avtonomnih, notranjih razlogov, ki jih v celoti podpira self, in ki so nasprotne razlogom, ki dajejo občutek pritiska ali prisile (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Teorija predpostavlja, da ima vsak posameznik naravno, notranjo in konstruktivno težnjo k razvijanju še bolj izdelanega in enotnega občutka selfa (Ryan & Deci, 2004).

TSD je zmožna identificirati različne tipe motivacij, od katerih ima vsaka po svoje specifične posledice na učenje, dosežke, osebne izkušnje in dobro počutje (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Te tipe motivacije lahko razporedimo vzdolž kontinuuma samodoločenosti, ki predstavlja stopnjo, do katere so cilji oz. vrednote ponotranjene. Izraz notranja motivacija pomeni opravljanje aktivnosti zaradi nje same, z namenom osebnega zadovoljstva, zunanja motivacija pa opravljanje naloge iz instrumentalnih razlogov.

Slika 1: Kontinuum samodoločenosti, ki prikazuje tipe motivacije ter njihove regulatorne stile in regulatorne procese

Vedenje	Ne-samodoločeno	Zunanja motivacija				Samo-določeno
Motivacija	Amotivacija					Notranja motivacija
Regulatorni stil	Ni regulacije	Zunanja regulacija	Introjekcijska regulacija	Identifikacijska regulacija	Integrirana regulacija	Notranja regulacija
Relevantni regulatorni procesi	Brez namere, pomanjkanje kontrole, brez vrednotenja, nekompetentnost	Ugoditev, zunanje pohvale in kazni	Samo-kontrola, vključevanje ega, notranje nagrade in kazni	Osebna pomembnost, vrednota, zavestno vrednotenje	Kongruenca zavedanj, sinteza s selfom	Ineteres, užitek, notranje zadovoljstvo

Na skrajnem levem koncu kontinuumu samodoločenosti se nahaja **amotivacija** (angl. *amotivation*), ki je stanje pomanjkanja namena za delovanje. Ko so ljudje amotivirani, se sploh ne odzivajo ali se odzivajo pasivno. Amotivacija se kaže v nevrednotenju dejavnosti (Ryan, 1995, v Ryan & Deci, 2000), v občutenju nekompetentnosti pri opravljanju le-te (Bandura, 1986, v Ryan & Deci, 2000) ali v občutku nezmožnosti dosega želenega cilja (Seligman, 1986, v Ryan & Deci, 2004).

Naslednja zunanje motivirana vedenja označujejo štirje različni tipi motivacije:

- zunanja motivacija, ki je najmanj avtonomna, je **zunanja regulacija** (angl. *external regulation*). Ta je klasični primer motiviranja zaradi pridobivanja nagrade ali izogibanja kazni;
- **introjekcijska regulacija** (angl. *introjected regulation*) je tip zunanje motivacije, ki je delno ponotranjena, je del osebe, vendar ni del celostnega selfa. Vedenja, ki temeljijo na tej motivaciji, se opravljajo z namenom izogibanja krivdi, strahu in osramočenosti ali za dosego občutka izboljšanja ega in ponosa;
- **identifikacija** (angl. *identified regulation*) se odraža kot zavestno vrednotenje vedenjskega cilja ali regulacije in sprejema vedenje kot osebno. Ko se oseba identificira z aktivnostjo ali z vrednostjo, ki jo ta izraža, jo osebno potrди (vsaj na zavestni ravni) (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2004);
- **integrirana regulacija** (angl. *integrated regulation*), pri kateri je aktivnost storjena z namenom določenega izida oz. rezultata in ne zaradi notranjega zadovoljstva. Vrednoti se objektivnost, zato ni nujno, da posameznik v aktivnost uživa.

Na skrajnem desnem robu kontinuumu samodoločenosti se nahaja **notranja motivacija** (angl. *intrinsic motivation*), to je aktivnost, ki jo posameznik opravlja zaradi notranjega zadovoljstva in zaradi aktivnosti same.

Indeks delovne samodoločenosti (*Work self determination index – W-SDI*; Vallerand, 1997) so raziskovalci uvedli z namenom združevanja notranje in zunanje motivacije v eno oceno (npr. Grolnick & Ryan, 1987, v Vallerand, 1997;

Vallerand & Bissonnette, 1992). Računamo ga takrat, ko želimo izpostaviti posameznike, ki imajo izrazito avtonomno (samodoločeno) vedenje oz. izrazito neavtonomno (ne-samodoločeno) vedenje.

1.4 Izsledki raziskav notranje in zunanje motivacije

Začetne študije (Deci, 1975, v Ryan & Deci, 2000) so ugotovile, da oprijemljive nagrade (npr. denar) zmanjšujejo notranjo motivacijo. Obljubljena nagrada kratkotrajno poveča motiviranost, njen učinek pa hitro oslabi in dolgoročno celo zmanjša motivacijo za nadaljevanje dela, če ni v igri še večja ponujena nagrada (Deci, 1969, v Dolenc, 2010). Notranje motivacije ne znižujejo samo oprijemljive nagrade, ampak tudi grožnje, roki, ukazi, ocene pod pritiskom in vsiljeni cilji, ki prav tako kot oprijemljive nagrade, vodijo do zunanjega zaznavanja mesta vzročnosti (Ryan & Deci, 2000). V nasprotju pa možnost za prostovoljno izbiro in izražanje čustev povišujeta notranjo motivacijo, ker dajeta ljudem večji občutek avtonomnosti (Deci & Ryan, 1985, v Ryan & Deci, 2000). Deci, Kostner in Ryan (1999, v Gagné & Forest, 2008) so ugotovili, da je bil učinek nagrad pozitiven pri verbalnih nagradah (pohvale) in negativen pri konkretnih nagradah (denar).

Prednosti notranje motivacije pa se kažejo v večji vedenjski učinkovitosti, večji vztrajnosti, povišanem življenjskem zadovoljstvu in boljši prilagoditvi posameznika v njegovi socialni skupini (Ryan et al., 1997, v Ryan & Deci, 2000).

1.4.1 Izsledki raziskav pri razlikovanju notranje in zunanje motivacije glede na sektor

Zaposleni v zasebnem sektorju višje ocenjujejo višino plače in dodatke kot v javnem sektorju, vendar pa so v nasprotju s stereotipom raziskave ugotovile tudi, da med sektorjema ni nikakršnih razlik, kar se tiče pomena varnosti zaposlitve (Frank & Lewis, 2004; Karl & Sutton, 1998; Lewis & Frank, 2002, v Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2006). Kasneje je Khojasteh (1993) ugotovil, da javni uslužbenci vrednotijo varnost zaposlitve nižje kot zasebni. Takšna nihanja lahko pripišemo pogojem na trgu (Karl & Sutton, 1998, v Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2006) – v določenem času lahko vlada odpusti veliko število javnih uslužbencev, zato se pri njih posledično poviša tudi vrednota varnosti zaposlitve.

Glede zunanjih motivatorjev pri vodjih so si raziskave dokaj enotne. McClelland (1961, v Khojasteh, 1993) je v študiji vodij zaposlenih v javnem in zasebnem sektorju v ZDA, Italiji in Turčiji ugotovil, da imajo vodje v javnem sektorju večjo potrebo po dosežkih kot vodje v zasebnem sektorju. Buchannan (1979, v Khojasteh, 1993) pravi, da imajo vodje v javnem sektorju na področju dosežkov manj možnosti, da neposredno preverjajo svoj prispevek k doseganju ciljev organizacije in zato doživljajo tudi pomembno nižjo stopnjo zadovoljstva kot vodje v zasebnem sektorju (Raine, 1979; Solomon, 1986, v Khojasteh, 1993). Vodje v zasebnem sektorju pripisujejo večjo vrednost ekonomskim nagradam,

medtem ko vodje javnega sektorja pripisujejo večjo vrednost varnosti zaposlitve (Frankel & Manners, 1980; Cacioppe & Mock, 1984, v Khojasteh, 1993).

V raziskavi Lyons, Duxbury in Higgins (2006) se je pokazala statistično pomembna razlika pri dveh notranjih motivatorjih – pri intelektualni stimulaciji in pri delu, polnem izzivov. Oba notranja motivatorja so zaposleni v javnem sektorju uvrstili višje kot zaposleni v zasebnem sektorju. Zanimivo je, da pri osebnem zanimanju za delo niso našli statistično pomembnih razlik med sektorjema. Tudi S. M. Park in J. Word (2009) sta ugotovili, da so zaposleni v javnem sektorju bolj notranje motivirani kot zaposleni v zasebnem sektorju.

Večina teh študij pa je enotnega mnenja, da je največji problem obeh sektorjev pomanjkanje notranje motiviranega kadra, ki je morda nekoliko bolj kritičen v javnem kot v zasebnem sektorju.

1.5 Zadovoljstvo z življenjem

Subjektivno blagostanje opisuje posameznikovo vrednotenje lastnega življenja, oceno tega, kako pozitivno oziroma negativno doživlja lastno življenje (Diener, 1984). Diener in Diener (2001, v Musek & Avsec, 2002) pravita, da subjektivno blagostanje pomeni posameznikova vrednotenja lastnega življenja in vključuje srečo, prijetne emocije, zadovoljstvo z življenjem ter relativno odsotnost neprijetnih razpoloženj ter emocij. Gre za zaznanje, da je življenje v danem trenutku ali celo v celoti polno, smiselno in prijetno (Myers, 1992, v Musek & Avsec, 2002). Pomensko torej ustreza pojmu sreče in nekateri raziskovalci ga dejansko uporabljajo kot strokovni sinonim za bolj poljudni izraz sreča.

1.5.1 Izsledki raziskav zadovoljstva z življenjem

Številne študije navajajo povezavo med zadovoljstvom z življenjem in objektivnim prihodkom – premožnejši posamezniki so v vseh kulturah bolj zadovoljni (Diener, 2000; Easterlin, 1984, v Diener, 1984), Musek in Avsec (2002) pa dodajata, da je ta zveza relativno nizka, čeprav je pozitivna in statistično pomembna. Psihološki vidiki kakovosti življenja so pomembnejši od materialnih in socioloških.

Zadovoljstvo z življenjem pozitivno korelira z notranjo motivacijo in negativno z zunanjo (Musek, 2006). Občutje, da delujemo v skladu z vrednotami in dosegamo cilje, pozitivno vpliva na subjektivno blagostanje. Posamezniki, ki so s svojim življenjem bolj zadovoljni, dosegajo na svojem delovnem mestu višjo učinkovitost, deležni pa so tudi drugih prednosti oziroma ugodnosti, med drugim dosegajo pomembnejša, bolj avtonomna in raznovrstna delovna mesta, več zaslužijo, poleg tega na delovnem mestu kažejo manj neproduktivnih vedenj in izgorelosti kot posledice delovnih obremenitev (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005, v Dimec, Mahnič, Marinšek, Masten & Tušak, 2008).

Cilj pričujoče raziskave je bil ugotoviti, ali se zaposleni med seboj razlikujejo glede na vrsto motivacije in kako se različne vrste motivacije povezujejo z zadovoljstvom z življenjem.

Specifične cilje smo oblikovali okoli ključnih področij:

- opredelitev vrste motivacije zaposlenih;
- samoocena zadovoljstva z življenjem zaposlenih;
- primerjava razlik med samooceno zadovoljstva z življenjem in vrste delovne motivacije zaposlenih v javnem in zasebnem sektorju glede na spol, izobrazbo in delovno mesto.

2 Metoda

2.1 Udeleženci

V raziskavi je sodelovalo 288 zaposlenih – 186 žensk (64,6 %) in 102 moška (35,4 %). Povprečna starost zaposlenih je bila 36,7 let. Glede na izobrazbo je imelo 149 zaposlenih visoko strokovno ali univerzitetno izobrazbo, 109 srednjo ali višjo strokovno šolo, 28 magisterij, specializacijo ali doktorat znanosti, 2 pa na to vprašanje nista želela odgovoriti. V raziskavi je sodelovalo 67 vodij, 216 ne-vodij, 5 pa jih ni želelo podati odgovora o delovnem mestu. Glede na sektor je sodelovalo 116 zaposlenih v javnem sektorju, ki prihajajo iz petih organizacij s področja državne uprave, lokalne skupnosti in zdravstva. Vseh pet organizacij se uvršča med srednje velike organizacije (med 50 in 250 zaposlenih). 153 udeležencev pa je zaposlenih v zasebnem sektorju, pri čemer jih 83 % prihaja iz srednje velikih ali velikih organizacij. 19 zaposlenih tega podatka ni navedlo.

2.2 Pripomočki

Vprašalnik zunanje in notranje delovne motivacije (*Work extrinsic and intrinsic work motivation scale – WEIMS*; Tremblay, Blanchard, Taylor, Pelletier & Villeneuve, 2009) meri zunanjo in notranjo delovno motivacijo pri zaposlenih. Samoocenjevalna lestvica vsebuje 18 postavk, pri katerih zaposleni odgovarjajo na vprašanje »*Zakaj opravljate svoje delo?*«. Pri vsaki postavki morajo na 5-stopenjski ocenjevalni lestvici oceniti, v kolikšni meri se strinjajo s postavko (1 = nikakor se ne strinjam, 5 = popolnoma se strinjam). Vprašalnik je razdeljen na šest podleščic (notranja motivacija, integrirana regulacija, identifikacijska regulacija, introjekcijska regulacija, zunanja regulacija in amotivacija), kjer vsaka vsebuje tri postavke.

Pri rezultatu indeksa delovne samodoločenosti (W-SDI, Vallerand, 1997) je razpon možnih točk za 5-stopenjsko lestvico med ± 24 . Končni rezultat predstavlja posameznikovo relativno stopnjo samodoločenosti. Pozitivni rezultat pomeni profil samodoločenosti, negativni pa profil nesamodoločenosti.

Lestvica zadovoljstva z življenjem (*Satisfaction with life scale – SWLS*; Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) meri posameznikovo globalno oceno kakovosti njegovega življenja glede na osebne kriterije (trajno občutje, da je življenje bilo dobro in je dobro, da je sedanji čas življenja ali celo življenje v celoti popolno, smiselno in prijetno). Samoocenjevalna lestvica vsebuje 5 postavk, ki se ocenjuje na 7-stopenjski lestvici (1 = sploh ne drži, 7 = popolnoma drži). Končni rezultat dobimo s seštevkom odgovorov vseh petih postavk. Lestvica je visoko zanesljiva, s koeficienti alfa od 0,85 (Pavot & Diener, 1993) do 0,89 (Alfonso & Allison, 1992, v Pavot & Diener, 1993).

2.3 Postopek

Na posebni spletni strani so bili objavljeni oba vprašalnika in dodatna vprašanja o demografskih spremenljivkah udeležencev (spol, starost, izobrazba, delovno področje, delovno mesto). Zbiranje podatkov je potekalo od junija do julija 2010.

Podatke smo analizirali s statističnim programom SPSS. Deskriptivna statistika (srednje vrednosti, standardne deviacije) je bila izračunana za vse obravnavane spremenljivke.

T-test smo uporabili za ugotavljanje statistično pomembnih razlik med srednjima vrednostima dveh skupin. Rezultat nam je pomagal odgovoriti, ali obravnavani skupini (če so podatki razpršeni normalno) prihajata iz iste populacije, ali prihaja do razlik zaradi naključja oz. napake merjenja.

Zaradi naključnega vzorčenja znotraj sodelujočih organizacij smo uporabili tudi neparametrični Mann-Whitney *U* test, ki je alternativa *t*-testu. Test je primeren za obravnavo, ko so odvisne spremenljivke na ordinalnem ali intervalnem nivoju, podatki pa nenormalno razpršeni. Standardizirana z vrednost je približna normalni standardni deviaciji, katere pomembnost je mogoče preveriti v tabelah normalne porazdelitve.

V analizo podatkov smo kot klasično mero povezanosti med dvema spremenljivkama vključili tudi Pearsonov koeficient korelacije.

3 Rezultati

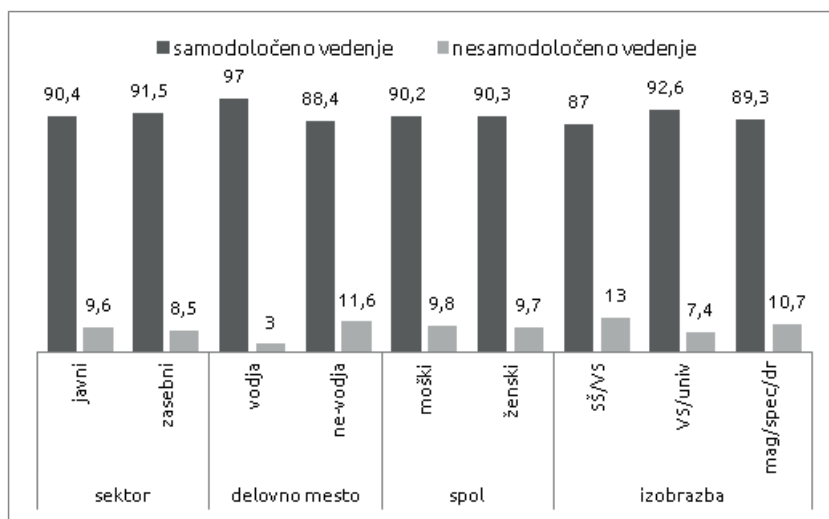
3.1 Primerjava zaposlenih glede na Vprašalnik zunanje in notranje delovne motivacije

Tabela 1: Deskriptivne statistike in mere normalnosti vseh zaposlenih (N = 288) za posamezne tipe motivacij na Vprašalniku zunanje in notranje delovne motivacije

	M	SD	Min	Max
Notranja motivacija	11,90	2,70	3	15
Integrirana regulacija	10,88	2,95	3	15
Identifikacijska regulacija	10,19	2,60	3	15
Introjekcijska regulacija	8,39	2,93	3	15
Zunanja regulacija	10,40	2,68	3	15
Amotivacija	5,09	2,34	3	12

V tabeli 1 vidimo, da je pri vseh zaposlenih najbolj izražena notranja motivacija, najmanj pa amotivacija. Pri vodjih v javnem in zasebnem sektorju ni prišlo do statistično pomembnih razlik na nobeni podlestvici. Pri ne-vodjih pa je prišlo do statistično pomembnih razlik le pri integrirani regulaciji, pri čemer imajo ne-vodje v javnem sektorju ta tip motivacije višje izražen kot v zasebnem (Mann-Whitney U : $z = -2,468$, $p = 0,014$). Med zaposlenimi z različno izobrazbo nismo ugotovili nobenih razlik pri nobenem tipu motivacije.

Grafikon 1: Prikaz odstotka zaposlenih, ki prikazujejo samodoločeno oz. nesamodoločeno vedenje, glede na sektor, delovno mesto, spol in izobrazbo



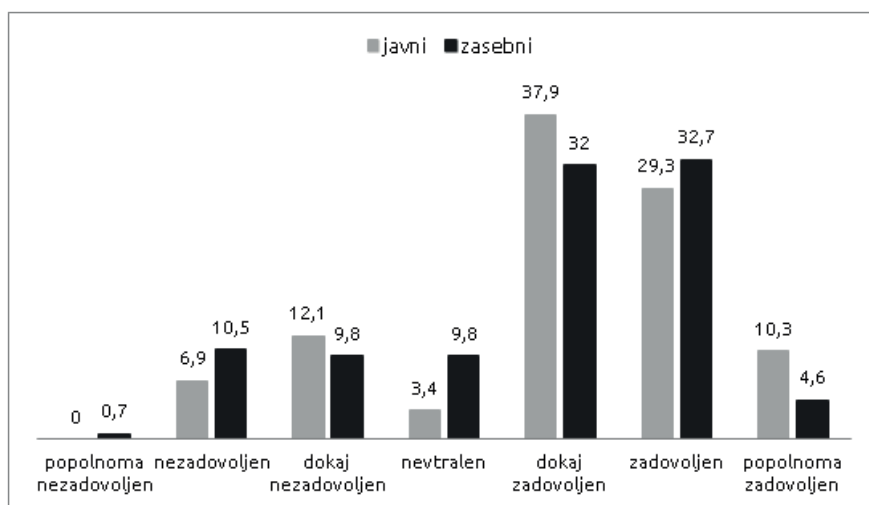
Opombe: SŠ/vs = srednja ali višje strokovna šola; vs/univ = visoko strokovna ali univerzitetna; mag/spec/dr = magistriraj ali specializacija ali doktorat znanosti

Grafikon 1 prikazuje odstotke zaposlenih glede na to, ali se pri njih pojavlja samodoločeno ali nesamodoločeno vedenje, katerega smo izračunali z indeksom delovne samodoločenosti WSDI. Glede na sektor je odstotek več zaposlenih v zasebnem kot javnem sektorju takih, ki imajo samodoločeno vedenje. Glede na delovno mesto je več samodoločenega vedenja opaziti med vodji kot med ne-vodji. Med spoloma je izražanje samodoločenega vedenja približno enako. Glede na izobrazbo pa je največ samodoločenega vedenja med tistimi z visoko strokovno ali univerzitetno izobrazbo, najmanj pa med tistimi, ki imajo srednjo ali višjo strokovno šolo.

3.2 Primerjava zaposlenih glede na Lestvico zadovoljstva z življenjem

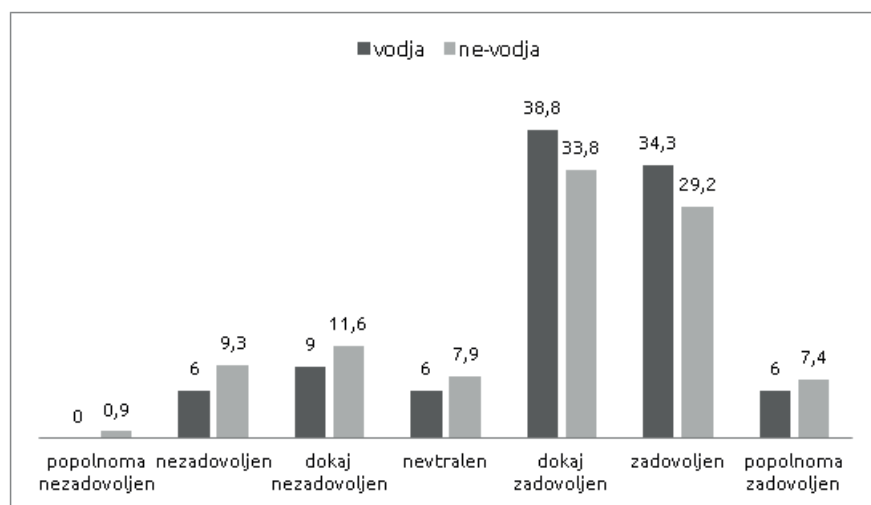
Med sektorjema ni prišlo do statistično pomembne razlike v rezultatu na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem.

Grafikon 2: Prikaz odstotkov zaposlenih glede na sektor na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem



Grafikon 2 prikazuje odstotek zaposlenih glede na sektor na sedmih stopnjah Lestvice zadovoljstva z življenjem. Vidimo lahko, da je največ zaposlenih, tako v javnem kot zasebnem sektorju, »dokaj zadovoljnih« (večji odstotek je pri zaposlenih v javnem sektorju). Visok odstotek zaposlenih v obeh sektorjih je »zadovoljnih«, v zasebnem sektorju jih je celo malenkost več »zadovoljnih« kot »dokaj zadovoljnih«. V obeh sektorjih je več zaposlenih »dokaj nezadovoljnih« kot »popolnoma zadovoljnih«. »Popolnoma nezadovoljnih« v javnem sektorju ni, v zasebnem sektorju pa je takšnih 0,7 %. Tudi »nezadovoljnih« je v zasebnem sektorju več kot v javnem. Med vodji in ne-vodji v sektorjih ni prišlo do statistično pomembnih razlik v skupnem rezultatu na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem.

Grafikon 3: Prikaz odstotkov zaposlenih glede na delovno mesto na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem



Grafikon 3 prikazuje odstotek zaposlenih glede na delovno mesto na sedmih stopnjah Lestvice zadovoljstva z življenjem. Vidimo lahko, da je največ zaposlenih, vodij in ne-vodij, »dokaj zadovoljnih« (večji odstotek je pri vodjih). Kar nekaj odstotkov zaposlenih, ki niso vodje, je »dokaj nezadovoljnih« (11,6 %) in »nezadovoljnih« (9,3 %) ter jih je več kot »nezadovoljnih« in »dokaj nezadovoljnih« vodij. Zanimivo pa je, da je nekoliko več ne-vodij bolj »popolnoma zadovoljnih« kot vodij. »Popolnoma nezadovoljnih« med vodji ni, med ne-vodji pa je takšnih 0,9 %.

Tabela 2: Deskriptivne statistike in mere normalnosti glede na izobrazbo zaposlenih za rezultat na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem

	izobrazba	N	M	SD	Min	Max
Zadovoljstvo z življenjem	SŠ/VS	109	21,82	5,65	7	32
	VS/univ	149	24,25	5,05	10	34
	mag/spec/dr	28	25,54	5,92	10	35

Opombe: SŠ/VS = srednja ali višje strokovna šola; VS/univ = visoko strokovna ali univerzitetna; mag/spec/dr = magistrerij ali specializacija ali doktorat znanosti; M = aritmetična sredina; SD = standardna deviacija.

Razlike med zaposlenimi z različno izobrazbo smo preverjali s *t*-testom, pri čemer smo ugotovili razlike med zaposlenimi s srednjo ali višjo šolo in zaposlenimi z visoko ali univerzitetno izobrazbo, pri čemer so slednji bolj zadovoljni z življenjem ($t = 1,09, p = ,018$).

3.3 Primerjava zaposlenih glede na povezave med različnimi konstrukti

Indeks delovne samodoločenosti se statistično pomembno pozitivno povezuje z zadovoljstvom z življenjem.

Tabela 3: Povezave med rezultatom na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem in tipi motivacije na Vprašalniku notranje in zunanje delovne motivacije pri zaposlenih glede na sektor ($N_{\text{javni}} = 116$, $N_{\text{zasebni}} = 153$)

	Zadovoljstvo z življenjem (<i>r</i>)	
	Javni sektor	Zasebni sektor
Notranja motivacija	,317**	,233**
Integrirana regulacija	,087	,263**
Identifikacijska regulacija	,168	,281**
Introjekcijska regulacija	,021	,124
Zunanja regulacija	-,092	,257**
Amotivacija	-,303**	-,114

** $p < ,01$

V tabeli 3 lahko vidimo, da se pozitivno in statistično pomembno z zadovoljstvom z življenjem povezujejo: notranja motivacija, integrirana regulacija, identifikacijska regulacija in zunanja regulacija v zasebnem sektorju ter notranja motivacija v javnem sektorju. V negativni smeri in statistično pomembno se z zadovoljstvom z življenjem povezuje le amotivacija v javnem sektorju.

Tabela 4: Povezave med rezultatom na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem in tipi motivacije na Vprašalniku notranje in zunanje delovne motivacije pri zaposlenih glede na delovno mesto

	Zadovoljstvo z življenjem (<i>r</i>)	
	vodja	ne-vodja
Notranja motivacija	,309**	,224**
Integrirana regulacija	,110	,227**
Identifikacijska regulacija	,198	,244**
Introjekcijska regulacija	,203	,020
Zunanja regulacija	,124	,084
Amotivacija	-,159	-,249**

** $p < ,01$

V tabeli 4 lahko vidimo, da se z zadovoljstvom z življenjem pozitivno in statistično pomembno povezujejo naslednje motivacije: notranja motivacija, integrirana regulacija, identifikacijska regulacija pri ne-vodjih ter notranja motivacija pri vodjih. Nemotivirani ne-vodje so v primerjavi z motiviranimi z življenjem tudi manj zadovoljni.

4 Razprava

Namen raziskave je bil preveriti, ali se zaposleni razlikujejo v vrsti delovne motivacije glede na sektor, delovno mesto, spol in izobrazbo ter kako se različni tipi motivacije povezujejo z zadovoljstvom z življenjem.

4.1 Primerjava zaposlenih glede na Vprašalnik zunanje in notranje delovne motivacije

Če primerjamo zaposlene glede na sektor, imajo zaposleni v zasebnem sektorju vse tipe motivacije nekoliko višje izražene kot zaposleni v javnem sektorju, hkrati so tudi bolj amotivirani od zaposlenih v javnem sektorju, vendar razlike prav tako niso statistično pomembne. Ugotovitve so bile tudi v drugih študijah deljene. Najbolj raziskovana zunanja motivatorja, plačo in varnost zaposlitve, so v številnih študijah zaposleni vrednotili različno in enotnih ugotovitev ni bilo (Lewis & Frank, 2002; Baldwin, 1991; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Karl & Sutton, 1998, v Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2006). Nikjer pa niso ugotovili, da se sektorja statistično pomembno ne razlikujeta pri nobenem tipu motivacije, kot se je zgodilo v našem primeru.

Če pogledamo razlike zaposlenih glede na delovno mesto in sektor, pri vodjih v javnem in zasebnem sektorju ni prišlo do statistično pomembnih razlik na nobeni podlestvici, pri zaposlenih, ki niso na vodstvenih položajih, pa je prišlo do statistično pomembnih razlik le pri integrirani regulaciji, pri čemer imajo v javnem sektorju ta tip motivacije višje izražen kot v zasebnem. Pomeni, da imajo ne-vodje v javnem sektorju višje izraženo motivacijo, pri kateri se zaznane regulacije popolnoma identificirajo s ponotranjenimi vrednotami, cilji in potrebami. Zaposleni sprejemajo vrednote in cilje organizacije oz. podjetja in jih popolnoma integrirajo v svoj koncept selfa, vendar aktivnosti na delu še vedno opravljajo zaradi končnega rezultata in ne lastnega zadovoljstva. Aktivnosti so že zelo blizu notranje motivacije, vendar je aktivnost še vedno opravljena z namenom določenega izida.

Grafikon 1 prikazuje odstotke zaposlenih glede na to ali se pri njih pojavlja samodoločeno ali nesamodoločeno vedenje, katerega smo izračunali z indeksom delovne samodoločenosti WSDI. Glede na delovno mesto je več samodoločenega vedenja opaziti med vodji kot med ne-vodji. Med spoloma je izražanje samodoločenega vedenja približno enako. Glede na izobrazbo pa je največ samodoločenega vedenja med tistimi z visoko strokovno ali univerzitetno izobrazbo, najmanj pa med tistimi, ki imajo srednjo ali višjo strokovno šolo. To bi lahko pomenilo, da zaposleni v javnem sektorju, vodje in zaposleni z visoko strokovno ali univerzitetno izobrazbo na delovnem mestu pogosteje dosegajo zastavljene cilje (Sheldon & Elliot, 1998, v Gagné & Forest, 2008), imajo boljše dosežke (Baard et al., 2004), kažejo tudi več interesa, vznemirljivosti in zaupanja, kar se izraža v večji zmogljivosti, vztrajnosti in kreativnosti (Deci & Ryan, 1991; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne & Ilardi, 1997, v Ryan & Deci, 2000). Več pozitivnih izidov imajo tudi v zasebnem življenju in

imajo tako višje splošno subjektivno blagostanje (Ilardi et al., 1993, v Gagné & Forest, 2008; Ryan, Deci & Grolnick, 1995, v Ryan & Deci, 2000; Baard et al., 2004), dosegajo boljše psihološko zdravje (Deci & Ryan, 2008) ter kažejo več vitalnosti (Nix, Ryan, Manly & Deci, 1999, v Ryan & Deci, 2000) in samozavesti (Deci & Ryan, 1995, v Ryan & Deci 2000).

4.2 Primerjava zaposlenih glede na Lestvico zadovoljstva z življenjem

Med sektorjema ni prišlo do statistično pomembne razlike v rezultatu na Lestvici zadovoljstva z življenjem, torej so zaposleni v obeh sektorjih enako zadovoljni s svojim življenjem (grafikon 3).

Vodje v javnem sektorju kažejo večje zadovoljstvo z življenjem kot vodje v zasebnem, čeprav razlike niso statistično pomembne, kar je nasprotno kot v raziskavah (Rainey, 1979; Rhinehart, Barrell, DeWolfe, Griffin & Spaner, 1969; Solomon, 1986, v Khojasteh, 1993), kjer so ugotovili, da vodje v javnem sektorju doživljajo pomembno manjšo stopnjo zadovoljstva kot vodje v zasebnem sektorju.

Pri ugotavljanju razlik med zaposlenimi z različno izobrazbo smo ugotovili, da se z višanjem izobrazbe viša tudi zadovoljstvo z življenjem. Zaposleni z visoko ali univerzitetno izobrazbo in zaposleni z magisterijem, specializacijo ali doktoratom znanosti so statistično pomembno bolj zadovoljni z življenjem kot zaposleni s srednjo ali višjo šolo. Ponovno bi lahko bil vzrok temu dejstvo, da zaposleni z višjo izobrazbo več zaslužijo, hkrati pa so lahko razlogi tudi, da imajo takšni zaposleni delovna mesta z veliko več intelektualnega dela, vnašajo lahko več svojih idej, več je skupinskega dela, delo ni monotono in fizično naporno.

4.3 Povezave med različnimi konstrukti

V naši raziskavi nas je zanimala predvsem povezava zadovoljstva z življenjem z različnimi tipi motivacije in drugimi konstrukti, povezanimi z njo.

Pri obeh sektorjih velja, da so posamezniki, pri katerih se pojavlja samodoločeno vedenje, tudi bolj zadovoljni s svojim življenjem. S tem, ko ponotranjajo zunanje regulacije, izkusijo več avtonomnosti pri določeni aktivnosti in so posledično bolj zadovoljni s samim seboj – imajo višjo samozavest (Deci & Ryan, 1995, v Ryan & Deci 2000) in so potem tudi bolj zadovoljni s svojim življenjem (Ilardi et al., 1993, v Gagné & Forest, 2008; Ryan, Deci & Grolnick, 1995, v Ryan & Deci, 2000; Baard et al., 2004).

Povezanost indeksa in življenjskega zadovoljstva je pozitivna in statistično pomembna. Ta povezava potrjuje, da se pri zaposlenih z visoko izraženim indeksom pojavljajo avtonomna, samodoločena vedenja, ki se povezujejo z zadovoljstvom z življenjem.

Zanimala nas je tudi povezava zadovoljstva z življenjem in različnih tipov motivacije. Tabela 3 prikazuje te povezave glede na sektor. Vidimo lahko, da se pozitivno in statistično pomembno z zadovoljstvom z življenjem povezujejo: notranja motivacija, integrirana regulacija, identifikacijska regulacija in zunanja regulacija v zasebnem sektorju ter notranja motivacija v javnem sektorju. Zaradi različnih raziskav (npr. Kasser & Ryan, 2001; McHoskey, 1999; Ryan et al., 1999; Schmuck, Kasser & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon & Kasser, 1995; Williams, Cox, Hedberg & Deci, 2000, v Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon & Deci, 2004), ki so ugotovljale negativne življenjske izide zaposlenih z izrazitejšimi zunanjimi oblikami motivacije, smo se odločili tudi pri nas pogledati povezavo med seštevkom zunanjih motivacij (pri čemer smo po teoriji samodoločenosti sešteli integrirano regulacijo, identifikacijsko regulacijo, introjekcijsko regulacijo in zunanjo regulacijo) in zadovoljstvom z življenjem. Pri povprečju vseh zunanjih motivacij vidimo, da se le-ta pozitivno in statistično pomembno povezuje z zadovoljstvom z življenjem le v zasebnem sektorju.

Amotivacija se negativno povezuje z zadovoljstvom z življenjem pri zaposlenih v obeh sektorjih, čeprav samo v javnem statistično pomembno. Ti rezultati so pričakovani, saj je amotivacija popolno nasprotje notranji motivaciji, ki se pozitivno povezuje z zadovoljstvom z življenjem. Zaposleni, ki so amotivirani, se torej ne počutijo zadovoljno niti v službi niti nasploh v življenju. To je še en dokaz, kako pomembno je počutje pri delu, kako močno delo vpliva tudi na naše zasebno življenje in splošno življenjsko počutje.

Pri zaposlenih v zasebnem sektorju je zanimivo tudi to, da se z zadovoljstvom v življenju statistično pomembno in pozitivno povezuje več motivacij kot pri zaposlenih v javnem – tudi integrirana regulacija, identifikacijska regulacija, zunanja regulacija in povprečje zunanjih motivacij. Pri slednjih dveh motivacijah ponovno naletimo na nepričakovan rezultat, saj bi za njiju pričakovali ravno nasprotno – negativno povezavo z zadovoljstvom z življenjem. Raziskave namreč dokazujejo, da bi naj zaposleni, ki imajo bolj izražene zunanje oblike motivacije, namreč imeli več negativnih življenjskih izidov (slabše mentalno zdravje, nižje zadovoljstvo z življenjem, nižjo samozavest, več konfliktov s prijatelji in družino, večjo potrošnjotobaka (npr. Kasser & Ryan, 2001; McHoskey, 1999; Ryan et al., 1999; Schmuck, Kasser & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon & Kasser, 1995; Williams, Cox, Hedberg & Deci, 2000, v Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon & Deci, 2004). V našem primeru pa se je izkazalo ravno nasprotno. Pri zunanji regulaciji, ki se pri zaposlenih v zasebnem sektorju torej ravno tako pozitivno in pomembno povezuje z zadovoljstvom z življenjem, se srečamo s podobnim fenomenom. Več zunanjih motivatorjev zaposleni imajo, bolj so zadovoljni z življenjem. Zaposleni v zasebnem sektorju so torej zadovoljni s svojim življenjem, če jih motivirajo notranji ali pa zunanji motivatorji. Vzroki so lahko podobni tistim, ki smo jih omenjali že pri povezavi kontrolne motivacije in zadovoljstva z življenjem pri zasebnem sektorju. Verjetno imajo ti zaposleni slabše delovne pogoje od zaposlenih v javnem sektorju in jih že zadovoljitev le-teh privede do večje sreče oz. zadovoljstva z življenjem.

Pri razlikovanju med delovnima mestoma smo prišli do zelo podobnih rezultatov kot pri razlikovanju med sektorjema. Pri vodjih se z zadovoljstvom z življenjem pozitivno in statistično pomembno povezuje le notranja motivacija, pri ne-vodjih pa poleg notranje motivacije še integrirana regulacija, identifikacijska regulacija in povprečje zunanjih motivacij. Verjetno se pri njihovem odnosu do vodje pojavlja nekakšen občutek neizpolnenih delovnih pogojev ali drugih manjvrednostnih občutkov, zaradi česar pride do tega, da so ne-vodje zadovoljni s svojim življenjem tudi ko so prisotni zunanji motivatorji.

5 Zaključki

Pri vseh zaposlenih smo ugotovili, da jih pri delu najbolj motivirajo notranji dejavniki, najmanj pa je takšnih, ki so pri delu amotivirani. V zasebnem sektorju so zaposleni nekoliko bolj amotivirani kot v javnem, vendar razlike niso statistično pomembne. Rezultati so pokazali, da se s stopnjo izobrazbe viša notranja motiviranost. Pričakovali bi, da se z višanjem izobrazbe manjša tudi amotivacija, vendar se na našem vzorcu to ni pokazalo. Pri razlikovanju med spoloma nismo našli nobenih večjih razlik, razen pri integrirani regulaciji, ki je pri ženskah izražena nekoliko višje kot pri moških. V naši raziskavi več samodoločenega oz. avtonomnega vedenja kažejo zaposleni v javnem sektorju, vodje in zaposleni z visoko ali univerzitetno izobrazbo.

Razlik pri zadovoljstvu z življenjem glede na sektor nismo ugotovili. Prav tako ni razlik med vodji in ne-vodji. Se pa povečuje zadovoljstvo z življenjem s stopnjo izobrazbe.

5.1 Pomanjkljivosti raziskave, možnosti nadaljnjih raziskav in priporočila

Kljub dokaj reprezentativnemu vzorcu (nekaj manj kot 300 oseb), smo glede na teorijo in raziskave s Vprašalnikom zunanje in notranje delovne motivacije pričakovali več statistično pomembnih razlik med zaposlenimi glede na sektor in delovno mesto. Vzrok je morda lahko tudi skoraj trikrat manjše število sodelujočih vodij. Kljub temu, da je odgovarjanje bilo popolnoma anonimno, nekaj zaposlenih ni želelo podati odgovorov o sektorju ali delovnem mestu. Morda bi več pozornosti lahko namenili tudi izbiranju bolj reprezentativnega vzorca. Kljub temu, da se je povezava do vprašalnikov širila po principu snežene kepe znotraj posamezne sodelujoče organizacije (s čimer smo pridobili več udeležencev, kot bi jih z osebnim iskanjem), bi pridobivanje podatkov morda moralo biti bolj ciljno. Morda bi lahko v raziskavi bolj natančno raziskali razlike glede na različna področja v javnem sektorju (zdravstvo, šolstvo, državna uprava, policija ...) in jih primerjali med sabo.

V naši raziskavi smo se osredotočili zgolj na povezavo motivacije in zadovoljstva z življenjem, zanimivo pa bi bilo raziskati mogoče povezave še z delovnim zadovoljstvom, pripadnostjo organizaciji, delovnimi vrednotami, osebnostnimi lastnostmi zaposlenih, delovno učinkovitostjo, stresom ...

Glede na to, da je tudi socialno okolje zelo pomembno pri ustvarjanju ustreznih pogojev za razvijanje notranje motivacije, je v organizacijah treba skrbeti predvsem za ustrezno klimo med nadrejenimi in podrejenimi ter med sodelavci. Treba se je osredotočiti tudi na posameznike, saj se vsak posameznik različno odziva na posamezne obveznosti in spremembe v okolju, nekateri bodo bolj notranje motivirani, drugi bodo potrebovali več verbalnih vzpodbud in vodenja.

Kaj zaposlene motivira, je tema, ki bi jo bilo dobro uvesti tudi v letne in selekcijske razgovore. Vodja se mora poglobljati v spoznavanje podrejenih in ustvarjati okolje, kjer bodo različni posamezniki razvijali čim več notranje motiviranega vedenja. Dobro bi bilo, da bi se vodje in tudi drugi zaposleni izobraževali o tem, kaj sploh motivacija je. Pomembno je vedeti, da ne obstaja le deljenje na notranjo in zunanjo motivacijo in da obstaja več tipov zunanje motivacije. Zelo pomembno je, da vodja prepozna tip motivacije, ki se pojavlja pri zaposlenemu, da ga lahko, v primeru neustrezne motivacije ali celo amotivacije, ustrezno motivira, da bo dosegel stopnjo notranjega motiviranja. Glede na tip motivacije je treba ustrezno podajati navodila, naloge, ukrepe, spremembe, ideje in predstaviti prednosti notranje motiviranega vedenja ter se zavedati, kako velik vpliv ima motivacija na zadovoljstvo z življenjem in na splošno počutje zaposlenega.

Julija Peklar, univ. dipl. psih. je diplomirala novembra leta 2010 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. V zadnjem letniku študija je opravljala obvezno študijsko prakso na Ministrstvu za visoko šolstvo, znanost in tehnologijo, kjer si je nabrala veliko dodatnih znanj in izkušenj. Trenutno je zaposlena v Slovenski vojski na delovnem mestu psihologa.

Dr. Eva Boštjančič je diplomirala s področja psihologije potrošnika leta 1996. Zaposlila se je kot svetovalka na kadrovskega področju, vzporedno pa se je na raziskovalnem področju usmerila k raziskovanju procesa vodenja in čustvene inteligentnosti. Leta 2002 je magistrirala z nalogo Osebnostne značilnosti uspešnih managerjev, 2008 pa si je z dizertacijo Vpliv vodenja in motivov vodje na pripadnost, delovno učinkovitost, motivacijo in delovno zadovoljstvo zaposlenih pridobila naziv doktorice znanosti. Leta 2003 je pridobila naziv asistentke, leta 2011 naziv docentke za področje psihologije dela in organizacije na ljubljanski Filozofski fakulteti. Vzporedno je pridobila številne izkušnje kot svetovalka na področju kadrovskega svetovanja.

Literatura in viri

- Baard, P. P. (2004). Intrinsic Need Satisfaction in Organizations: A Motivational Basis of Success in For-profit and Not-for-Profit Settings. V Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (ur.). *Handbook of Self-Determination Research* (255–276). Rochester, New York: The University of Rochester Press.
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The “What” and “Why” of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self-Determination of Behavior. *Psychological Inquiry* 11(4), 227–268.
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Self-Determination Theory: A Macrotheory of Human Motivation, Development, and Health. *Canadian Psychology* 49(3), 182–185.
- Diener, E. (1984). Subjective Well-Being. *Psychological Bulletin* 95(3), 542–575.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J. & Griffin, S. (1985). The Satisfaction With Life Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment* 49(1), 71–75.
- Diener, E. (2000). Subjective Well-Being: The Science of Happiness and a Proposal for a National Index. *American Psychologist* 55(1), 34–43.
- Dimec, T., Mahnič, J., Marinšek, M., Masten, R. & Tušak, M. (2008). Zadovoljstvo z življenjem in delovno zadovoljstvo zaposlenih v Slovenski vojski. *Psihološka obzorja* 17(4), 117–130.
- Dolenc, S. (2010). Ali nagrajevanje zavira inovativnost? Pridobljeno 18. 9. 2010, s <http://www.kvarkadabra.net/article.php/Ali-nagrajevanje-zavira-inovativnost>.
- Državni portal Republike Slovenije (2010). Ljubljana. Pridobljeno 29. 9. 2010, s <http://e-uprava.gov.si/ispo/stran.ispo?pageTo=osistemujsp>
- Gagné, M. & Deci, E. L. (2005). Self-determination theory and work motivation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 26, 331–362.
- Gagné, M. & Forest, J. (2008). The study of compensation systems through the lens of self-determination theory: Reconciling 35 years of debate. *Canadian Psychology* 49(3), 225–232.
- Khojasteh, M. (1993). Motivating the Private vs. Public Sector Managers. *Public Personnel Management* 22(3), 391–401.
- Lyons, S. T., Duxbury, L. E. & Higgins, C. A. (2006). A Comparison of the Values and Commitment of Private Sector, Public Sector, and Parapublic Sector Employees. *Public administration review* 66(4), 605–618.
- Ministrstvo za javno upravo (2010). Spletna stran: <http://www.mju.gov.si/>.
- Musek, J. (2006). Humanistični in pozitivni psihološki model osebnosti. *Študijsko gradivo* (prosojnice iz predavanj Psihologija osebnosti). Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za psihologijo.
- Musek, J. & Avsec, A. (2002). Pozitivna psihologija: Subjektivni (emocionalni) blagor in zadovoljstvo z življenjem. *Anthropos* 1–3, 41–68.
- Park, S. M. & Word, J. (2009). Motivated to Serve: Constructs and Consequences of Work Motivation for Public and Nonprofit Managers. Članek predstavljen leta 2009 na konferenci *International Public Service Motivation (IPSM) Research Conference*, Bloomington, Indiana. Pridobljeno 17. 6. 2010, s http://www.indiana.edu/~ipsm2009/Park_Word.pdf.
- Pavot, W. & Diener, E. (1993). Review of the Satisfaction with Life Scale. *Psychological Assessment* 5(2), 164–172.
- Ryan, R. M. & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development and well-being. *American Psychologist* 55(1), 66–78.

- Ryan, R. M. & Deci, E. L. (2004). Overview of Self-Determination Theory: An Organismic Dialectical Perspective. V Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (ur.). *Handbook of Self-Determination Research* (3–33). Rochester, New York: The University of Rochester Press.
- Tremblay, M. A., Blanchard, C. M., Taylor, S., Pelletier, L. G. & Villeneuve, M. (2009). Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale: Its Value for Organizational Psychology Research. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 41(4), 213–226.
- Uhan, S. (2000). *Vrednotenje dela II. Motivacija, uspešnost, plača (osebni dohodek)*. Kranj: Moderna organizacija.
- Vallerand, R. J. & Bissonnette, R. (1992). Intrinsic, Extrinsic, and Amotivational Styles as Predictors of Behavior: A Prospective Study. *Journal of Personality* 60(3), 599–620.
- Vallerand, R. J. (1997). Toward A Hierarchical Model of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation. V Zanna, M. P. (ur.). *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 29 (271–360). San Diego, CA: Academic.
- Vansteenkiste, M., Simons, J., Lens, W., Sheldon, K. M. & Deci, E. L. (2004). Motivating Learning, Performance, and Persistence: The Synergistic Effects of Intrinsic Goal Contents and Autonomy-Supportive Contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 87(2), 246–260.

Motivation and Life Satisfaction of Employees in the Public and Private Sectors

UDK: 316.628(045)

Julija Peklar
Ministry of Defence
julija.peklar@mors.si

Eva Boštjančič
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
eva.bostjancic@ff.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

Work motivation is the steering of human activity towards a desired objective by means of motives generated internally in a person or in his or her environment, on the basis of his or her needs. The aim of this research was to verify whether the different types of work motivation employees reported in their work were influenced by sector, job, gender and education, and to assess how the different types of motivation are linked to life satisfaction.

The research involved the participation of 288 employees – 153 in the private sector and 116 in the public sector (19 did not specify). The results show that among all employees the most distinctly expressed factor is intrinsic motivation. No differences in any type of motivation were observed between sectors; between managers in the public and private sectors there were no statistically significant differences in either extrinsic motivation or intrinsic motivation or in life satisfaction.

Key words: extrinsic motivation, intrinsic motivation, self-determination theory, life satisfaction, public sector, private sector

JEL: J24

1 Introduction

In the field of organisational psychology, for a number of years both researchers and managers in organisations have been concerned with investigating – and with the scope for influencing – work motivation. The most important part in motivation is played precisely by managers, who guide their employees, listen to them and reward them.

1.1 Public and private sectors

According to data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS), in July 2010 the private sector employed 645,351 people, while 259,195 people were employed in the public sector (SORS). The definition of the public sector, including ways in which it differs from the private sector, is not made uniformly clear either in legislation or in theory. Different authors and even Slovenian legislation define the public sector differently; the private sector is not defined at all. In this research we decided to use the definition of the the public sector found in the Public Sector Salary System Act and Civil Servants Act of the Republic of Slovenia. The public sector therefore included state administration, local communities, healthcare, education, the arts, social care, sports, science, the judiciary, the military and the police. All branches of the commercial sector and sole trader entrepreneurs were classified in the private sector.

1.2 Work motivation

Motives initiate work-related behaviour, and determine its form, direction, intensity and duration (Pinder, 1998, in Tremblay, Blanchard, Taylor, Pelletier & Villeneuve, 2009). The worker's activity always depends on internal initiatives or external motives, and these spurs to worker activity are called motivation. Motivating is itself a process of stimulating workers through specific means so that they will efficiently and willingly perform given tasks or work towards specific objectives (Uhan, 2000). There exist a number of motivation theories which provide insight into the issue of motivation. In our research, we focused on self-determination theory.

1.3 Self-determination theory

Self-determination theory (SDT) emphasises the importance of a person's inner drives and psychological needs, which form the basis for self-motivation and the integration of the personality (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Self-determination is defined as the experience of performing an activity or behaviour for autonomous, internal reasons that are entirely supported by the self, as opposed to reasons that give a feeling of pressure or coercion (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The theory assumes that all individuals have a natural, innate and constructive tendency to develop an even more elaborated and unified sense of self (Ryan & Deci, 2004).

SDT is capable of identifying various types of motivation, each of which has its own specific consequences for learning, achievements, personal experience and wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2000). These types of motivation can be laid out along a continuum of self-determination, which represents the degree to which objectives or values have been internalised. The term intrinsic motivation means performing an activity for its own sake, for the purpose

of personal satisfaction, while the term extrinsic motivation means performing a task for instrumental reasons.

Figure 1: Self-determination continuum, showing types of motivation and their regulatory styles and regulatory processes

Behaviour	Non-self-determined	Extrinsic motivation				Self-determined
Motivation	Amotivation					Intrinsic motivation
Regulatory style	No regulation	External regulation	Introjected regulation	Identified regulation	Integrated regulation	Intrinsic regulation
Relevant regulatory processes	Without purpose, lacking control, without valuation, non-competence	Approval, external praise and punishments	Self-control, including the ego, internal rewards and punishments	Personal importance, value, conscious valuation	Congruence of awareness, synthesis with self	Interest, enjoyment, internal satisfaction

Source: Ryan & Deci (2000)

At the far left side of the self-determination continuum, we find **amotivation**, which represents a state of lacking motivation for active engagement. When people are amotivated, they do not respond at all or respond passively. Amotivation results in the non-valuation of activities (Ryan, 1995, in Ryan & Deci, 2000), feelings of incompetence in performing activities (Bandura, 1986, in Ryan & Deci, 2000) or a sense of inability to achieve the desired goal (Seligman, 1986, in Ryan & Deci, 2004).

Next on the continuum are extrinsically motivated behaviours, which are characterised by four different types of motivation:

- the least autonomous is **external regulation**. This is a classic case of motivation through the gaining of a reward or avoidance of punishment;
- **introjected regulation** is partially internalised and is part of the person, but not part of the whole self. Behaviours based on this motivation are performed with the intention of avoiding blame, fear and shame, or for achieving a sense of improving one's ego and pride;
- **identified regulation** is reflected as a conscious valuing of a behavioural goal or regulation and takes behaviour as personal. When a person identifies with an activity or the value that it expresses, he or she is personally affirmed (at least on the conscious level) (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2004);
- **integrated regulation** is when the activity is performed for the purpose of a specific outcome or result, and not for internal satisfaction. Objectivity is valued, so it is not essential for the individual to enjoy the activity.

At the far right side of the self-determination continuum lies **intrinsic motivation**, which represents an activity that the individual pursues for internal satisfaction and for its own sake.

Researchers introduced the **Work Self-Determination Index** (W-SDI; Vallerand, 1997) with the aim of bringing together intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in a single assessment (e.g. Grolnick & Ryan, 1987, in Vallerand, 1997; Vallerand & Bissonnette, 1992). This index is scored when we wish to highlight individuals who have distinctly autonomous (self-determined) behaviour or distinctly non-autonomous (non-self-determined) behaviour.

1.4 Results of researching intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

Initial studies (Deci, 1975, in Ryan & Deci, 2000) showed that tangible rewards (e.g. money) reduce intrinsic motivation. The promised reward increases short-term motivation, but its effect rapidly weakens, and in the long term it even reduces motivation to continue work if the offer of an even bigger reward is not involved (Deci, 1969, in Dolenc, 2010). Intrinsic motivation is not reduced just by tangible rewards, but also by threats, deadlines, orders, assessments under pressure and forced objectives, which, just like tangible rewards, lead to an externally perceived locus of causality (Ryan & Deci, 2000). By contrast, the possibility of voluntary choice and the expression of feelings raise intrinsic motivation, since they give people a greater sense of autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 1985, in Ryan & Deci, 2000). Deci, Kostner and Ryan (1999, in Gagné & Forest, 2008) found that the effect of rewards was positive in the case of verbal rewards (praise) and negative in the case of tangible rewards (money).

The advantages of intrinsic motivation can be seen in higher behavioural effectiveness, greater perseverance, higher life satisfaction and better adjustment of the individual in his or her social group (Ryan et al., 1997, in Ryan & Deci, 2000).

1.4.1 Research results for the differentiation of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation by sector

Employees in the private sector place greater value on salary levels and bonuses than workers in the public sector; however, in contrast to the stereotype, it was also found that there are no differences between the sectors regarding the importance of job security (Frank & Lewis, 2004; Karl & Sutton, 1998; Lewis & Frank, 2002, in Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2006). Khojasteh (1993) later found that civil servants value job security less than private sector employees. Such swings could be attributed to conditions in the market (Karl & Sutton, 1998, in Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2006): at a given time the government may lay off a large number of civil servants, and as a result the valuing of job security among the latter rises.

In respect of extrinsic motivators among **managers**, the research is largely in agreement. In a study of staff managers in the public and private sectors in the US, Italy and Turkey, McClelland (1961, in Khojasteh, 1993) found that managers in the *public sector* have a greater need for achievement than private

sector managers. Buchanan (1979, in Khojasteh, 1993) states that in the area of achievement, *public sector* managers have less scope for direct verification of their contribution to achieving the goals of the organisation, and thus experience a significantly lower level of satisfaction than private sector managers (Rainey, 1979; Solomon, 1986, in Khojasteh, 1993). Managers in the *private sector* attach greater value to economic rewards, while *public sector* managers attach greater importance to job security (Frankel & Manners, 1980; Cacioppe & Mock, 1984, in Khojasteh, 1993).

The research of Lyons, Duxbury and Higgins (2006) showed a statistically significant difference between two intrinsic motivators – intellectual stimulation and work full of challenges. Employees in the public sector ranked both intrinsic motivators higher than did private sector employees. It is interesting to note that no statistically significant differences between the two sectors were found in personal interest in work. S. M. Park and J. Word (2009) also found that public sector employees have greater intrinsic motivation than private sector employees.

The majority of these studies share the opinion that the biggest problem for both sectors is a lack of intrinsic motivation for personnel, which is perhaps slightly more critical for the public than the private sector.

1.5 Life satisfaction

Subjective wellbeing describes the individual's evaluation of their own life, i.e. represents an assessment of how positively or negatively they experience their own life (Diener, 1984). Diener and Diener (2001, in Musek & Avsec, 2002) state that subjective wellbeing represents the individual's evaluation of their own life, and includes happiness, agreeable emotions, life satisfaction and the relative absence of unpleasant moods and emotions. It is the perception that life at a given moment or in its entirety is full, purposeful and agreeable (Myers, 1992, in Musek & Avsec, 2002). In its meaning it therefore corresponds to the concept of happiness, and some researchers actually use it as a technical synonym for the more popular expression »happiness«.

1.5.1 Results of research on life satisfaction

Numerous studies draw a link between life satisfaction and objective income – wealthier individuals in all cultures are more satisfied (Diener, 2000; Easterlin, 1984, in Diener, 1984); Musek and A. Avsec (2002) add that this link is relatively low, but that it is positive and statistically significant. Psychological aspects of quality of life are more important than material and sociological ones.

Life satisfaction correlates positively with intrinsic and negatively with extrinsic motivation (Musek, 2006). The sense of working in harmony with values and achieving goals positively influences subjective wellbeing. Individuals who are more satisfied with their life achieve greater effectiveness in their jobs and partake of other advantages and benefits, including the attainment of more

important, more autonomous and varied jobs; they earn more, and in addition to this, in their jobs they show less non-productive behaviour and burn-out in consequence of their workload (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005, in Dimec, Mahnič, Marinšek, Masten & Tušak, 2008).

The aim of the research presented in the paper was to verify whether certain factors impact types of work motivation among employees and to assess how different types of motivation are linked to life satisfaction.

The specific aims were to:

- assess employee base work motivation;
- assess employee perceptions of life satisfaction;
- compare differences in perceived life satisfaction and base work motivation between employees who are employed in different types of organisations, and to assess these differences in terms of gender, level of education and job position.

2 Method

2.1 Participants

All study participants were full-time employees working the day shift – 288 employees (64.4% women and 35.4% men). The average age of employees was 36.7 years. In respect of education, 149 employees had a university-level professional education, 109 had a secondary or professional college education, 28 had a master's degree, specialisation or doctorate of science, and 2 did not wish to respond to this question. A total of 67 managers and 216 non-managers participated in the study; 5 participants did not wish to disclose their position. The research included 116 employees working in the public sector – in state administration, local communities, and healthcare. These came from 5 different organisations that could be classified as medium- or large-size organisations (more than 50 or more than 250 employees respectively). 153 participants worked in the private sector; 83% of these participants came from medium-size or large organisations. 19 participants did not specify their sector.

2.2 Instruments

The questionnaire on the *Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale* (WEIMS; Tremblay, Blanchard, Taylor, Pelletier & Villeneuve, 2009) measures extrinsic and intrinsic work motivation among employees. The self-assessment scale comprises 18 items where employees answer the question »Why do you do your work?« For each item they must assess on a 5-point scale the extent to which they agree with the item (1 = completely disagree, 5 = completely agree). The questionnaire is divided into six sub-scales (intrinsic motivation,

integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation and amotivation), with each one containing three items.

In the results of the *Work Self-Determination Index* (W-SDI, Vallerand, 1997), the number of possible points for the 5-point scale has a range of ± 24 . The end result represents the individual's relative level of self-determination. A positive result means a profile of self-determination, while a negative one means a profile of non-self-determination.

The *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) measures the individual's overall assessment of the quality of his or her life in terms of personal criteria (a lasting feeling that life has been and is good, that the current period of life or even life as a whole is full, purposeful and pleasant). The self-assessment scale comprises 5 items graded on a 7-point scale (1 = completely false, 7 = completely true). The end result is obtained with the sum of responses from all five items. The scale is highly reliable, with alpha coefficients from 0.85 (Pavot & Diener, 1993) to 0.89 (Alfonso & Allison, 1992, in Pavot & Diener, 1993).

2.3 Procedure

A special website published the two questionnaires and additional questions on the demographic variables of participants (gender, age, education, field of work, position). Participants were selected using the snowball principle within selected organisations. Data collection took place from June to July 2010.

The data were analysed using SPSS for Windows. Summary statistics (means, standard deviations) were computed for all measures collected.

The *t*-test was used to determine whether there was a significant difference between two group means. It helped to answer the underlying question: Do the two groups (normally distributed) come from the same population and only appear to be different because of chance errors?

We used also the Mann-Whitney *U* test because our sample was randomly selected from the population, the dependent variables were either ordinal or interval, and the results were not normally distributed in some cases. It is the nonparametric alternative to the independent *t*-test. The standardized *z* value is approximately a standard normal deviate whose significance can be checked in tables of the normal distribution.

A Pearson correlation matrix of the variables in this study is also included.

3 Results

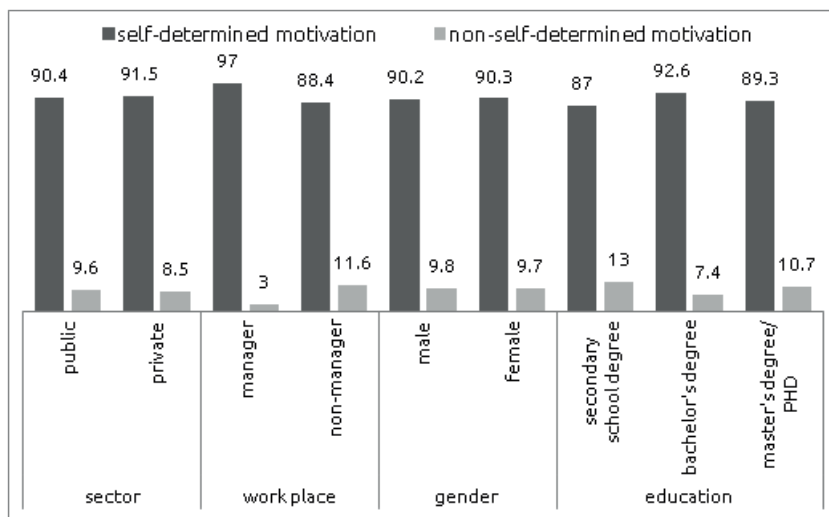
3.1 Comparison of employees' responses to the questionnaire on the Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale

Table 1: Descriptive statistics (N = 288) for individual types of motivation in the Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale

	M	SD	Min	Max
Intrinsic motivation	11.90	2.70	3	15
Integrated regulation	10.88	2.95	3	15
Identified regulation	10.19	2.60	3	15
Introjected regulation	8.39	2.93	3	15
External regulation	10.40	2.68	3	15
Amotivation	5.09	2.34	3	12

For all participants the most pronounced feature is intrinsic motivation, and the least pronounced is amotivation (Table 1). Among managers in the public and private sectors there were no statistically significant differences in any sub-scale. Among non-managers, however, there were statistically significant differences in *integrated regulation*, this type of motivation being more pronounced in public sector non-managers than among those in the private sector (Mann-Whitney U : $z = -2.468$, $p = 0.014$).

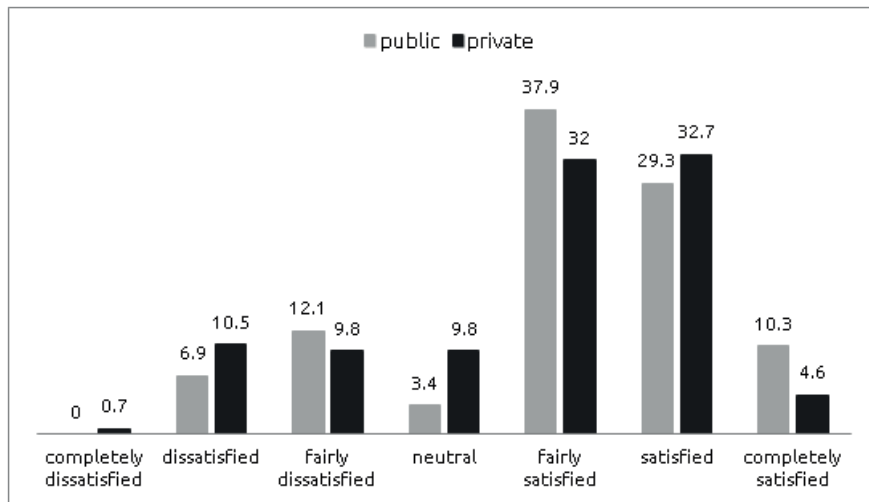
Graph 1: Percentage of employees who express self-determined or non-self-determined behaviour, by sector, job, gender and education



The level of expressed self-determined or non-self-determined behaviour was calculated using the Work Self-Determination Index/WSDI (Graph 1). The presence of private sector employees with self-determined behaviour is one percentage point greater than in the case of public sector employees. A greater degree of self-determined behaviour can be observed among managers than among non-managers. The expression of self-determined behaviour is approximately the same for both sexes. In terms of education level, the highest frequency of self-determined behaviour was found among those with a university-level higher professional education, and the lowest among those with a secondary or professional college education.

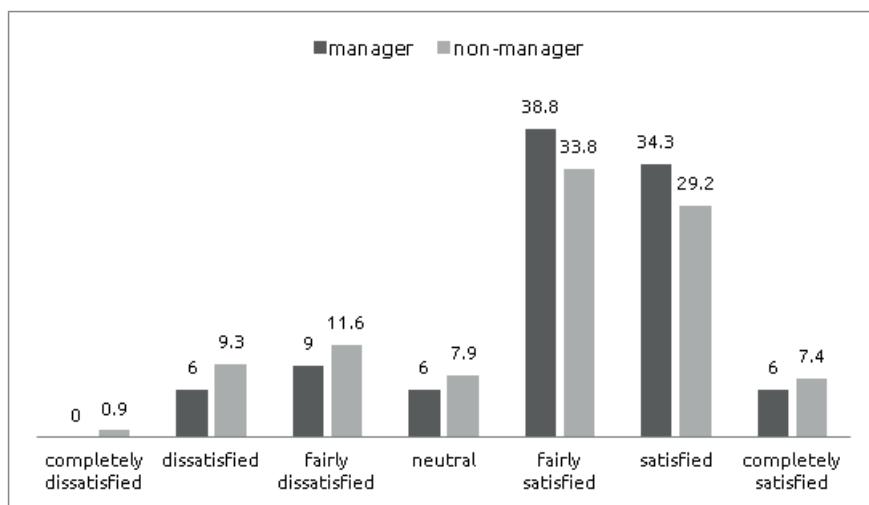
3.2 Comparison of employee results on the Satisfaction With Life Scale

Graph 2: Percentages of employees on the Satisfaction With Life Scale, by sector



Between the two sectors there were no statistically significant differences in the results on the Satisfaction With Life Scale (Graph 2). The largest share of employees, both in the public and private sectors, are »fairly satisfied« (this value is represented by a higher percentage among public sector employees). A high percentage of employees in both sectors are »satisfied«, and in the private sector there are even slightly more »satisfied« than »fairly satisfied« employees. No one in the public sector was »completely dissatisfied«, while this response could be found in 0.7% of private sector employees. There are also more »dissatisfied« employees in the private sector than in the public sector.

Graph 3: Distribution of responses on the Satisfaction With Life Scale, by job



There were no statistically significant differences between managers and non-managers in the sectors in the overall results on the Satisfaction With Life Scale. Graph 3 shows that the highest number of employees, both managers and non-managers, are »fairly satisfied«. A fair number of employees who are not managers are »fairly dissatisfied« (11.6%) and »dissatisfied« (9.3%). It is interesting to note that slightly more non-managers are »completely satisfied«. There are no »completely dissatisfied« managers, while 0.9% of non-managers expressed this.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics on the Satisfaction With Life Scale, by employee education

	Education	N	M	SD	Min	Max
Life satisfaction	Secondary/college	109	21.82	5.65	7	32
	University	149	24.25	5.05	10	34
	Masters/specialisation/PhD	28	25.54	5.92	10	35

Notes: M = arithmetical mean; SD = standard deviation.

The differences between employees with different education levels were checked using a *t*-test. Employees with a university-level education and employees with a master’s, specialisation or doctorate of science are more satisfied with life than employees with a secondary or college education ($t = 1.09, p = 0.018$).

3.3 Comparison of employees in terms of associations between different constructs

The Work Self-Determination Index is linked with statistical significance to life satisfaction.

Table 3: Associations between the results on the Satisfaction With Life Scale and types of motivation in the Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale questionnaire among employees, by sector (N_{public} = 116, N_{private} = 153)

	Life satisfaction (<i>r</i>)	
	Public sector	Private sector
Intrinsic motivation	,317**	,233**
Integrated regulation	,087	,263**
Identified regulation	,168	,281**
Introjected regulation	,021	,124
External regulation	-,092	,257**
Amotivation	-,303**	-,114

** $p < 0.01$

The following are associated positively and in a statistically significant way with life satisfaction (Table 3): intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, identified regulation and external regulation in the private sector, and intrinsic motivation in the public sector. Only amotivation in the public sector is associated negatively and in a statistically significant way with life satisfaction.

Table 4: Associations between the results on the Satisfaction With Life Scale and types of motivation in the Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale questionnaire among employees, by job

	Life satisfaction (<i>r</i>)	
	manager	non-manager
Intrinsic motivation	,309**	,224**
Integrated regulation	,110	,227**
Identified regulation	,198	,244**
Introjected regulation	,203	,020
External regulation	,124	,084
Amotivation	-,159	-,249**

** $p < 0.01$

Managers and non-managers who express intrinsic motivation and integrated and identified regulation report a higher level of life satisfaction (Table 4). Amotivated non-managers are also less satisfied with life than motivated ones.

4 Discussion

The aim of this research was to verify whether the different types of work motivation employees reported in their work were influenced by sector, job, gender and education, and to assess how different types of motivation were associated with life satisfaction.

4.1 Comparison of employees in terms of the questionnaire on the Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale

Comparing employees by sector, it may be noted that employees in the private sector show slightly higher levels of all types of motivation compared to employees in the public sector. At the same time they are also more amotivated than public sector employees, although differences in this regard are not statistically significant. These findings also appeared in other studies. The most commonly researched extrinsic motivators, salary and job security, have been evaluated in different ways in numerous studies, and the findings are not in agreement (Lewis & Frank, 2002; Baldwin, 1991; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Karl & Sutton, 1998, in Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2006). However, no study had found that there were no statistically significant differences between sectors regarding type of motivation, as happened in our case.

Looking at the differences between employees by job and sector, between managers in the public and private sectors there were no statistically significant differences in any sub-scale. Among employees who are not in management positions, however, there were statistically significant differences in *integrated regulation*, with this type of motivation more pronounced in the public sector than in the private sector. Our results indicate that in the public sector, non-managers accept, to a greater degree than managers, the values and goals of the organisation or company and completely integrate them into their concept of self, although they still perform activities at work for the final outcome and not for their own satisfaction. Activities are already very close to intrinsic motivation, but the activity is still performed with the aim of a specific outcome.

Viewed by sector, in the private sector the share of employees with self-determined behaviour is a percentage point higher (Graph 1). In terms of jobs, more self-determined behaviour can be observed among managers than among non-managers. The expression of self-determined behaviour is approximately the same for both sexes. In terms of education, the greatest frequency of self-determined behaviour is shown by those with a university-level professional education, and the lowest by those with a secondary or college education. This could mean that employees in the public sector, managers and employees with a university-level education more frequently achieve set goals in their jobs (Sheldon & Elliot, 1998, in Gagné & Forest, 2008), record better achievements (Baard et al., 2004) and also show greater interest, excitement and confidence, which is reflected in greater capacities,

perseverance and creativity (Deci & Ryan, 1991; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne & Ilardi, 1997, in Ryan & Deci, 2000). They also have more positive outcomes in their private lives and higher general subjective wellbeing (Ilardi et al., 1993, in Gagné & Forest, 2008; Ryan, Deci & Grolnick, 1995, in Ryan & Deci, 2000; Baard et al., 2004), achieve better psychological health (Deci & Ryan, 2008) and exhibit greater vitality (Nix, Ryan, Manly & Deci, 1999, in Ryan & Deci, 2000) and self-confidence (Deci & Ryan, 1995, in Ryan & Deci 2000).

4.2 Comparison of employees in terms of the Satisfaction With Life Scale

There were no statistically significant differences between the two sectors in the results on the Satisfaction With Life Scale, from which we may conclude that the included samples of employees from both sectors are equally satisfied with life (Graph 3).

Between managers in the two sectors there were no statistically significant differences in life satisfaction, a finding which runs counter to previous research (Rainey, 1979; Rhinehart, Barrell, DeWolfe, Griffin & Spaner, 1969; Solomon, 1986, in Khojasteh, 1993), which found that managers in the *public sector* experience a significantly lower degree of satisfaction than private sector managers.

In determining differences between employees with different educations, we found that the higher the education, the greater the life satisfaction. This explanation could be based on the fact that employees with a higher education earn more and that a majority of them hold jobs involving more intellectual work into which they introduce more of their own ideas and jobs where there is more group work and where work is not as monotonous and physically arduous. They might also have better working conditions (e.g. their own office) and more benefits in other areas (company car, telephone, etc.).

4.3 Associations between different constructs

In our research we were interested primarily in the association of life satisfaction with different types of motivation and other constructs associated with it.

It is true of both sectors that individuals showing self-determined behaviour are also more satisfied with life. By internalising external regulation, they experience greater autonomy in a given activity and are consequently more satisfied with themselves – they have more self-confidence (Deci & Ryan, 1995, in Ryan & Deci 2000) and are thus also more satisfied with their lives (Ilardi et al., 1993, in Gagné & Forest, 2008; Ryan, Deci & Grolnick, 1995, in Ryan & Deci, 2000; Baard et al., 2004).

The association between the self-determination index and life satisfaction is positive and statistically significant. This association confirms that employees with a highly expressed index show autonomous, self-determined behaviour, which is associated with life satisfaction.

We were also interested in the association between life satisfaction and different types of motivation (Table 3). It is interesting to note that a greater number of types of motivation with a positive, statistically significant association with life satisfaction was observed among employees in the private sector – in this sector, associations with integrated regulation, identified regulation and external regulation were found. Other research has shown that employees who show more extrinsic forms of motivation had more negative life outcomes (poorer mental health, lower life satisfaction, lower self-confidence, more conflicts with friends and family and greater tobacco consumption; e.g. Kasser & Ryan, 2001; McHoskey, 1999; Ryan et al., 1999; Schmuck, Kasser & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon & Kasser, 1995; Williams, Cox, Hedberg & Deci, 2000, in Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon & Deci, 2004). In our case we noted precisely the opposite – the more employees have extrinsic motivators, the more satisfied they are with life. Employees in the private sector are therefore satisfied with life regardless of whether they are motivated by intrinsic or extrinsic motivators. Perhaps these employees have poorer basic working conditions than employees in the public sector, and the mere satisfaction of these needs leads to greater happiness or life satisfaction.

Differentiating between jobs, we found that among managers there is a positive and statistically significant association only between life satisfaction and intrinsic motivation, while among non-managers, there is, in addition to intrinsic motivation, also an association with integrated regulation and identified regulation. We can probably see a phenomenon of the positive association of life satisfaction with extrinsic motivators that is similar to what was noted above in the differentiation between sectors; perhaps among non-managers (as opposed to managers), there is a certain feeling of unfulfilled working conditions or other feelings of inferiority, for which reason non-managers become more satisfied with life in the presence of extrinsic motivators.

5 Conclusions

Among all employees (study participants) we found that motivation in one's work is most associated with intrinsic factors, and that the fewest in number are those employees who are amotivated in their work. Employees in the private sector are slightly more amotivated than in the public sector, but the differences are not statistically significant. The results showed that intrinsic motivation rises with level of education. We might expect amotivation to drop with a rise in education, but our sample did not show this. In terms of

gender we found no major differences; integrated regulation is an exception, as women expressed this type of motivation slightly more than men. In our research, more self-determined or autonomous behaviour was shown by employees in the public sector, managers and employees with a university-level education.

We found no differences in life satisfaction in terms of sector. Equally, there are no differences between managers and non-managers. However, life satisfaction does rise with level of education.

5.1 Drawbacks of the research, possibilities for further research and recommendations

Despite the appropriate size of the sample (a little less than 300 persons), given the theory used and other research using the Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale questionnaire we anticipated more statistically important differences between sectors and jobs. One reason for a lack of these differences in the case of the latter could be the much smaller number of participating managers compared to non-managers. The other reason is the selection of participants using the snowball principle within selected organisations – the task of obtaining data could have been approached more systematically. Perhaps we could have also researched more precisely the differences between various public sector fields (healthcare, education, state administration, the police, etc.) and compared these fields.

In our research we focused solely on the association between motivation and life satisfaction. It would have been interesting if we would have also researched possible associations with job satisfaction, organisational commitment, work values, work efficiency and so forth.

In creating appropriate conditions for developing intrinsic motivation, we should not forget about the social environment. Within organisations there is a need to ensure a suitable atmosphere between superiors and subordinates and among co-workers. There is also a need to focus on all employees, since each individual responds differently to obligations and changes in their environment, with some being more intrinsically motivated and others needing more verbal encouragement and guidance.

It would be beneficial to introduce the issue of what motivates employees in annual talks and recruitment interviews. Managers must immerse themselves more in learning about their subordinates and creating an environment where different individuals will develop intrinsically motivated behaviour to the greatest possible extent. It would be good for managers and other employees to educate themselves about what in fact motivation is. Organisations should devote greater attention to intrinsic motivation factors – more training in communication skills, listening, offering individual feedback with open hints, what the organisation expects, and suggestions as to how employees should

Julija Peklar, Eva Boštjančič

develop. There can be no doubt that in difficult times, such as during a global financial crisis or a crisis in a company, employees are more motivated by regular pay, higher pay and bonuses; in the long term, however, this reduces their intrinsic motivation.

Julija Peklar (Krnjak) graduated in November 2010 on Faculty of Arts at University of Ljubljana. In her last year of study, she attended academic practice at Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, where she acquired additional knowledge and experience. She is currently employed in the Slovenian Armed Forces as psychologist.

*Eva Boštjančič, Ph.D., graduated in the field of consumer psychology. In 2002 she introduced her master thesis *The personality characteristics of successful managers*. She received Ph.D. in psychology from University of Ljubljana in 2008, with the doctoral dissertation *The influence of leader behaviour and motives on employee commitment, effectiveness, motivation, and satisfaction*. Since 2011 she has been Assistant Professor for the field *Psychology of work and organization* at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. Her professional career outside of academia includes consulting on HRM.*

References

- Baard, P. P. (2004). Intrinsic Need Satisfaction in Organizations: A Motivational Basis of Success in For-profit and Not-for-Profit Settings. In Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (ur.). *Handbook of Self-Determination Research* (255–276). Rochester, New York: The University of Rochester Press.
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The “What” and “Why” of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self-Determination of Behavior. *Psychological Inquiry* 11(4), 227–268.
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Self-Determination Theory: A Macrotheory of Human Motivation, Development, and Health. *Canadian Psychology* 49(3), 182–185.
- Diener, E. (1984). Subjective Well-Being. *Psychological Bulletin* 95(3), 542–575.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J. & Griffin, S. (1985). The Satisfaction With Life Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment* 49(1), 71–75.
- Diener, E. (2000). Subjective Well-Being: The Science of Happiness and a Proposal for a National Index. *American Psychologist* 55(1), 34–43.
- Dimec, T., Mahnič, J., Marinšek, M., Masten, R. & Tušak, M. (2008). Zadovoljstvo z življenjem in delovno zadovoljstvo zaposlenih v Slovenski vojski. *Psihološka obzorja* 17(4), 117–130.
- Dolenc, S. (2010). Ali nagrajevanje zavira inovativnost? Retrieved 18. 9. 2010, from <http://www.kvarkadabra.net/article.php/Ali-nagrajevanje-zavira-inovativnost>.
- Državni portal Republike Slovenije (2010). Ljubljana. Retrieved 29. 9. 2010, from <http://e-uprava.gov.si/ispo/stran.ispo?pageTo=osistemujsp>
- Gagné, M. & Deci, E. L. (2005). Self-determination theory and work motivation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 26, 331–362.
- Gagné, M. & Forest, J. (2008). The study of compensation systems through the lens of self-determination theory: Reconciling 35 years of debate. *Canadian Psychology* 49(3), 225–232.
- Khojasteh, M. (1993). Motivating the Private vs. Public Sector Managers. *Public Personnel Management* 22(3), 391–401.
- Lyons, S. T., Duxbury, L. E. & Higgins, C. A. (2006). A Comparison of the Values and Commitment of Private Sector, Public Sector, and Parapublic Sector Employees. *Public administration review* 66(4), 605–618.
- Ministrstvo za javno upravo (2010). Website: <http://www.mju.gov.si/>.
- Musek, J. (2006). Humanistični in pozitivni psihološki model osebnosti. *Študijsko gradivo* (prosojnice iz predavanj Psihologija osebnosti). Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za psihologijo.
- Musek, J. & Avsec, A. (2002). Pozitivna psihologija: Subjektivni (emocionalni) blagor in zadovoljstvo z življenjem. *Anthropos* 1–3, 41–68.
- Park, S. M. & Word, J. (2009). Motivated to Serve: Constructs and Consequences of Work Motivation for Public and Nonprofit Managers. Članek predstavljen leta 2009 na konferenci *International Public Service Motivation (IPSM) Research Conference*, Bloomington, Indiana. Pridobljeno 17. 6. 2010, s http://www.indiana.edu/~ipsm2009/Park_Word.pdf.
- Pavot, W. & Diener, E. (1993). Review of the Satisfaction with Life Scale. *Psychological Assessment* 5(2), 164–172.
- Ryan, R. M. & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development and well-being. *American Psychologist* 55(1), 66–78.

- Ryan, R. M. & Deci, E. L. (2004). Overview of Self-Determination Theory: An Organismic Dialectical Perspective. In Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (Eds.). *Handbook of Self-Determination Research* (3–33). Rochester, New York: The University of Rochester Press.
- Tremblay, M. A., Blanchard, C. M., Taylor, S., Pelletier, L. G. & Villeneuve, M. (2009). Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale: Its Value for Organizational Psychology Research. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 41(4), 213–226.
- Uhan, S. (2000). *Vrednotenje dela II. Motivacija, uspešnost, plača (osebni dohodek)*. Kranj: Moderna organizacija.
- Vallerand, R. J. & Bissonnette, R. (1992). Intrinsic, Extrinsic, and Amotivational Styles as Predictors of Behavior: A Prospective Study. *Journal of Personality* 60(3), 599–620.
- Vallerand, R. J. (1997). Toward A Hierarchical Model of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation. V Zanna, M. P. (Ed.). *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 29 (271–360). San Diego, CA: Academic.
- Vansteenkiste, M., Simons, J., Lens, W., Sheldon, K. M. & Deci, E. L. (2004). Motivating Learning, Performance, and Persistence: The Synergistic Effects of Intrinsic Goal Contents and Autonomy-Supportive Contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 87(2), 246–260.

Uspešnost črpanja evropskih sredstev za razvoj podeželja v Sloveniji v obdobju 2003–2009

UDK: 339.727.22:338.43(497.4)(045)

Aleksander Aristovnik

Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za upravo
aleksander.aristovnik@fu.uni-lj.si

Maja Žibert

maja_zibert@hotmail.com

IZVLEČEK

Skupna kmetijska politika je že več kot štirideset let najpomembnejša skupna evropska politika. Kmetijstvo je edini sektor, ki se v celoti sofinancira iz proračuna EU. Velik delež proračuna EU je namenjen izvajanju skupne kmetijske politike, čeprav se ta delež v zadnjih letih zmanjšuje. Leta 1984 je ta delež predstavljal 77 % vseh sredstev proračuna EU, danes predstavlja 40 %, leta 2013 pa bo samo še približno 33 %. Začetki politike razvoja podeželja v RS segajo v 80. leta prejšnjega stoletja, ko so se začeli izvajati prvi strukturni ukrepi za razvoj podeželja. Večji pomen pa je politika razvoja podeželja dobila leta 1993, ko je bila sprejeta prva strategija razvoja slovenskega kmetijstva. Politika razvoja podeželja v Sloveniji je glede financiranja začela pridobivati pomen šele leta 2003 oziroma šele takrat, ko so se ukrepi politike razvoja podeželja začeli sofinancirati iz proračuna EU. Od leta 2003 so se v Sloveniji izvajali štiri programi razvoja podeželja, ki so bili sofinancirani iz sredstev EU. To so bili program SAPARD, Enotni programski dokument 2004–2006, Program razvoja podeželja 2004–2006 in Program razvoja podeželja 2007–2013. RS je bila pri črpanju sredstev za razvoj podeželja v obdobju 2003–2009 relativno uspešna, še zlasti to velja na področju kmetijsko okoljskih plačil, vendar pa so v trenutno veljavnem programskem obdobju potrebne izboljšave oziroma odprava določenih težav pri posameznih ukrepih.

Ključne besede: SAPARD, EPD, program razvoja podeželja, uspešnost, črpanje sredstev EU, politika razvoja podeželja

JEL: F15, F36, Q14

1 Uvod

Že več kot 40 let je skupna kmetijska politika (v nadaljevanju: SKP) najpomembnejša evropska skupna politika. Kmetijstvo je edini sektor, ki se v celoti financira iz proračuna EU. To pomeni, da evropska sredstva nadomeščajo nacionalna sredstva. Velik del proračuna EU je zato namenjen ravno izvajanju SKP, čeprav se ta delež iz leta v leto zmanjšuje. Tako je bil leta 1984 ta delež 71 %, danes predstavlja 40 %, leta 2013 pa bo padel samo še na približno 33 % skupnega proračuna EU. V trenutnem finančnem okviru 2007–2013 sredstva za pospeševanje rasti in zaposlovanje prvič presegajo sredstva, ki so na voljo za izvajanje SKP. Izdatki za financiranje kmetijske politike danes prihajajo iz dveh skladov, ki sta del splošnega proračuna EU, in sicer iz Evropskega kmetijskega jamstvenega sklada ter iz Evropskega kmetijskega sklada za razvoj podeželja (v nadaljevanju: EKSRRP). Iz prvega se financirajo neposredna plačila kmetom, ukrepi za ureditev kmetijskih trgov (izvozne podpore, intervencijski ukrepi itd.), medtem ko se iz drugega sklada financirajo programi razvoja podeželja v državah članicah (v nadaljevanju: članicah). Za finančno obdobje 2007–2013 je za financiranje celotne kmetijske politike predvidenih 862,4 milijarde EUR, od katerih je za razvoj podeželja namenjenih 88,3 milijard oziroma 10,2 % (European Commission, 2007; European Commission, 2007a; Evropska komisija, 2011b).

Republika Slovenija (v nadaljevanju: RS) je prva evropska sredstva za razvoj podeželja začela črpati leta 2003 v okviru Posebnega predpristopnega programa za kmetijstvo in razvoj podeželja (programa SAPARD). Po vstopu v EU je RS črpala evropska sredstva na podlagi Enotnega programskega dokumenta (v nadaljevanju: EPD), Programa razvoja podeželja 2004–2006 (v nadaljevanju: PRP 2004–2006) in Programa razvoja podeželja 2007–2013 (v nadaljevanju: PRP 2007–2013).

Namen članka je bil analizirati uspešnost črpanja evropskih sredstev za razvoj podeželja, ki so bili namenjeni RS od leta 2003 pa do konca leta 2009. Glede na to, da je politika razvoja podeželja del SKP, pa je bil tudi namen analizirati, kako je in kako je bila RS uspešna pri črpanju sredstev v primerjavi z drugimi članicami EU. Torej tudi ugotoviti, ali je bila RS pri črpanju sredstev programa razvoja podeželja v letih od 2003 do 2009 uspešna in kako uspešna je bila RS pri črpanju teh sredstev v primerjavi z drugimi članicami.

Pri pripravi članka je bila kot glavna metoda raziskovanja uporabljena metoda dokazovanja, v katero so vključeni tudi naslednje metode raziskovanja in metodološki pristopi: induktivna in deduktivna metoda, generalizacija in specializacija, analiza in sinteza (Zelenika, 2000, str. 334). Pri primerjavi podatkov o črpanju med posameznimi članicami EU pa sta bili uporabljeni tudi deskriptivna metoda in komparativna metoda oziroma metoda primerjanja ter statistična metoda.

V članku sta naprej predstavljeni skupna kmetijska politika in politika razvoja podeželja v EU in v RS, nato sledi analiza črpanja sredstev programa razvoja podeželja od leta 2003 od leta 2006 ter analiza črpanja sredstev razvoja podeželja na podlagi Programa razvoja podeželja 2007–2013. Analizi sledita predstavitev ukrepov za boljše črpanje sredstev v RS in zaključek.

Slovenija je tako kot druge nove članice z vstopom v EU spoznala, da so evropska sredstva najpomembnejši vir financiranja različnih ukrepov, projektov oziroma politik. Zato se vse članice v EU trudijo, da se črpanje v vsakem naslednjem programskem obdobju izboljšuje (Markovič Hribernik et al., 2008, str. 1220).

2 Skupna kmetijska politika in politika razvoj podeželja v EU in RS

2.1 Skupna kmetijska politika in politika razvoja podeželja v EU

Že od samega začetka oblikovanja evropske integracije, torej od leta 1958 naprej, je glavni cilj EU zmanjšanje gospodarskih in socialnih razlik med regijami ter članicami. Pri tem ima pomembno vlogo tudi SKP (Heijman & Koch, 2011, str. 49). Ukrepe za uresničevanje ciljev SKP razvrščamo v dve skupini oziroma dva stebra. Bistvo SKP predstavlja prvi steber, ki ga sestavljata dva dela, in sicer neposredna plačila in skupne tržne ureditve. SKP je postopoma prevzemala naloge tudi na področju razvoja podeželja, ki predstavlja drugi steber SKP. Ukrepi razvoja podeželja so po letu 2005 postali samostojna politika EU, navezana tako na prvi steber skupne kmetijske politike kot tudi na regionalno in strukturno politiko EU (Erjavec et al., 2007, str. 14–15).

Teoretično bi se posamezne članice EU lahko odločile za popolnoma samostojne politike razvoja podeželja. Vendar pa bi to v praksi slabo delovalo, saj si vsaka članica ne bi mogla privoščiti politike, ki jo potrebuje. Veliko področij, ki jih obravnava politika razvoja podeželja, namreč presega nacionalne in regionalne meje ter vplive na ljudi v drugih članicah. Poleg tega se vsaka članica srečuje z različnimi fizičnimi, klimatskimi in socialno-ekonomskimi ovirami v svoji državi ter z različno stopnjo razvitosti posameznih kmetijskih panog. Iz vseh teh razlogov ima zato EU skupno politiko razvoja podeželja, ki pa vseeno daje velike pristojnosti članicam (Evropska komisija, 2011a; Council for the Rural Area, 2010). Vsaka članica ima drugačne težave v kmetijstvu, različne so stopnje razvitosti in konkurenčnosti in zato so programi med seboj različni. Glede na različno stopnjo razvitosti so nato članice izbrale tudi različne ukrepe, s katerimi so poskušale svoje kmetijstvo in podeželje narediti bolj razvito in konkurenčno (European Commission, 2000).

2.2 Politika razvoja podeželja v RS

RS je nekatere strukturne ukrepe za razvoj podeželja začela izvajati že v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Večji pomen je politika razvoja podeželja dobila leta 1993, ko je bila sprejeta Strategija razvoja slovenskega kmetijstva. S tem

dokumentom je bila kmetijstvu prvič priznana večnamenska vloga. Kmetijstvo od takrat dalje nima več samo tradicionalne vloge, to je proizvodnjo hrane, temveč mu je priznana tudi pomembna vloga na področju varstva okolja, prostorska vloga in socialna vloga (Računsko sodišče, 2010). Z vstopom RS v EU je samostojno izvajanje kmetijske politike nadomestila SKP EU. Politika razvoja podeželja v RS je v finančnem smislu začela pridobivati pomen šele leta 2003 oziroma šele takrat, ko so se ukrepi politike razvoja podeželja začeli financirati iz proračuna EU. Od leta 2003 so se v RS izvajali štiri programi razvoja podeželja, ki so bili sofinancirani iz sredstev EU. Programski dokumenti za črpanje sredstev razvoja podeželja v RS so bili v obdobju 2003–2009 naslednji (Računsko sodišče, 2010):

- program SAPARD,
- EPD 2004 – 2006,
- PRP 2004 – 2006 in
- PRP 2007 – 2013.

3 Uspešnost črpanja sredstev za razvoj podeželja v RS v obdobju 2003–2009

3.1 Uspešnost črpanja sredstev za razvoj podeželja od leta 2003 do leta 2006

Od leta 2003 pa do konca leta 2006 je RS izplačevala sredstva za razvoj podeželja na podlagi treh programskih dokumentov in sicer: programa SAPARD, EPD 2004–2006 in PRP 2004–2006.

Program SAPARD je bil namenjen pripravi kmetijskega sektorja in podeželskih območij v državah kandidatkah za članstvo v EU (European Commission, 2000a str. 1). Program SAPARD je bil posebna predpristopna pomoč EU za področje kmetijstva in razvoja podeželja, s katerim je EU želela zagotoviti posebno pomoč državam, ki so zaprosile za pristop k EU, z namenom, da bi podprla tedanje procese gospodarske in družbene reforme v 10 državah prosilkah ter jih pripravila ter olajšala integracijo njihovih gospodarstev v gospodarstvo EU (glej Trdan, 2002, str. 19). RS je začela črpati sredstva za izvajanje ukrepov politike razvoja podeželja EU na podlagi predpristopnega programa SAPARD leta 2003. Pristojno ministrstvo¹ je finančne podpore iz tega programa usmerilo v izvajanje ukrepov za izboljšanje konkurenčnosti kmetijskega sektorja, v gospodarsko diverzifikacijo ter izboljšanje podeželske infrastrukture (Računsko sodišče, 2010; Računsko sodišče, 2010c).

¹ Od leta 2003 do 3. 2. 2012 je bilo to Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano. Po 4. 2. 2012 je to Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo in okolje (v nadaljevanju: MKO).

Tabela 1: Višina načrtovanih in izplačanih sredstev za izvajanje posameznih ukrepov programa SAPARD v RS v EUR

Ukrep	Načrtovana sredstva v EUR*	Izplačana sredstva v EUR*	Delež izplačanih sredstev glede na načrtovana sredstva
Ukrep 1	13.208.221	15.218.943	115 %
Ukrep 2	15.095.105	16.584.274	110 %
Ukrep 5	5.283.488	5.513.985	104 %
Ukrep 12	4.105.412	4.793.678	117 %
Ukrep 15	282.808	99.357	35 %
SKUPAJ	37.975.033	42.210.236	111 %

* tečaj 1 SIT=239,64 EUR

Vir: MKO (2007, str. 36)

RS se je odločila za izvajanje 5 od 15 ukrepov programa SAPARD. Ti so bili: Naložbe v kmetijska gospodarstva (Ukrep 1), Naložbe v predelavo in trženje kmetijskih in ribiških proizvodov (Ukrep 2), Gospodarska diverzifikacija na kmetiji (Ukrep 5), Razvoj in izboljšanje infrastrukture na podeželju (Ukrep 12) in Tehnična pomoč (Ukrep 15). Iz tabele 1 je razvidno, da je RS upravičencem do plačil za posamezne ukrepe skupaj izplačala 42,2 mio EUR, kar pomeni, da je izplačala 4,2 mio EUR več, kot je načrtovala. To pomeni 11 % več, kot je načrtovala. Do največjega odstopanja med izplačanimi in načrtovanimi sredstvi je prišlo pri Ukrepu 12, kjer je bilo izplačanih kar 17 % več sredstev, kot je bilo načrtovanih. Za Ukrep 15 je bilo izplačanih 65 % manj sredstev, kot jih je bilo načrtovanih, vendar pa gre tu za poseben ukrep, pri katerem ne kandidirajo isti prosilci kot pri ostalih ukrepih, saj je ta ukrep namenjen predvsem državi za promocijo in različne analize v okviru izvajanja programa SAPARD. Glede na to, da je pri drugih ukrepih prišlo do večjega črpanja, kot je bilo načrtovano, je MKO odstopilo od načrtovanih analiz oziroma ukrepov, ki jih je načrtovalo v okviru Ukrepa 15, saj je že tako primanjkovalo razpoložljivih sredstev.

V nadaljevanju je predstavljena stopnja črpanja sredstev med članicami, ki so leta 2004 postale članice EU in so prav tako kot RS izvajale program SAPARD. Iz tabele 2 je razvidno, da članice na začetku izvajanja programa SAPARD niso izplačale skoraj nič sredstev. Zlasti to velja za prvo leto izvajanja programa, ko prav nobena članica ni izplačala sredstev za izvajanje posameznih ukrepov. Dve članici, in sicer Malta in Ciper, programa SAPARD nista izvajali.

Tabela 2: Stopnja izplačanih sredstev po posameznih letih za izvajanje programa SAPARD 2000–2006

Država/leto	2000	2001	2002	2003	2006
Češka	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	95 %
Estonija	0 %	24 %	51 %	130 %	95 %
Madžarska	0 %	0 %	23 %	0 %	95 %
Litva	0 %	24 %	10 %	77 %	95 %
Latvija	0 %	24 %	12 %	89 %	95 %
Poljska	0 %	0 %	23 %	55 %	95 %
Slovenija	0 %	24 %	1 %	81 %	95 %
Slovaška	0 %	0 %	23 %	24 %	95 %
EU-10	0 %	5 %	20 %	50 %	95 %

Vir: European Union (2007, str. 341) in lastni izračuni

Bolje je bilo v letu 2001, ko so štiri članice izplačale 24 % načrtovanih sredstev, med njimi je bila tudi RS. Skupaj je bilo izplačanih le 5 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev. Veliko bolje je bilo v letih 2002 in 2003. Zelo uspešna je bila Estonija, ki je leta 2003 izplačala 30 % več, kot je načrtovala. RS je bila med bolj uspešnimi državami, saj je bila leta 2003 glede na izplačana sredstva na tretjem mestu, takoj za Estonijo in Latvijo. Za leti 2004 in 2005 javno dostopni podatki glede črpanja niso bili najdeni. Na koncu obdobja so vse države izplačale 95 % načrtovanih sredstev, kar lahko ocenimo kot izjemno uspešno.

Po vstopu RS v EU leta 2004 se je program SAPARD nadaljeval z ukrepi 3. prednostne naloge programa EPD 2004–2006, ki so zajemali prestrukturiranje kmetijstva, gozdarstva in ribištva. V okviru tega programa se je izvajalo 7 ukrepov, od tega pet za področje kmetijstva in dva za področje ribištva. EPD 2004–2006 se je tako kot program SAPARD sofinanciral iz sredstev Evropskega kmetijskega usmerjevalnega in jamstvenega sklada (v nadaljevanju: EKUJS), in sicer iz usmerjevalnega dela. Ukrepi so bil usmerjeni predvsem v prestrukturiranje kmetijskega sektorja, povečanje konkurenčnosti in izboljšanje trženja. Pri ukrepih EPD 2004–2006 je šlo za ukrepe, pri katerih je bil poudarek na razvojnem vidiku. Za izvajanje ukrepov s področja kmetijstva je bilo namenjenih 47,1 mio evrov, kar predstavlja 15 % vseh razpoložljivih sredstev EPD (Računsko sodišče, 2010; Wostner, 2005, str. 64–65).

Iz tabele 3 je razvidno, da je bila višina sredstev, ki so bila izplačana na koncu, nekoliko drugačna od načrtovanih. Razvidno je, da je RS največ sredstev izplačala za ukrep 3.2. (Naložbe v kmetijska gospodarstva), in sicer 16,8 mio EUR, kar predstavlja 33 % vseh sredstev, ki so bila izplačana za izvajanje tretje prednostne naloge EPD 2004–2006 (Služba Vlade RS za lokalno samoupravo in regionalno politiko, 2010, str. 57). Za ukrep 3.1. (Izboljšanje predelave in trženja kmetijskih proizvodov) je bilo izplačanih manj sredstev od načrtovanih, in sicer 16,1 mio EUR, kar predstavlja 31 % vseh sredstev, ki so bila izplačana

za izvajanje tretje prednostne naloge EPD 2004–2006. Na področju ribištva je bilo za ukrep 3.7. (Ribogojstvo, predelava in trženje) izplačanih več sredstev, kot je bilo načrtovanih, saj je bilo izplačanih 4,9 mio EUR, načrtovanih pa 4,2 mio EUR. Obratno je bilo pri ukrepu 3.6. (Posodobitev obstoječih plovil in mali priobalni ribolov), kjer je bilo izplačanih 310.949 EUR, načrtovanih pa 408.159 EUR (Služba Vlade RS za lokalno samoupravo in regionalno politiko, 2010, str. 57). Pri ukrepih 3.3. (Diverzifikacija kmetijskih dejavnosti in dejavnosti, ki so blizu kmetijstvu), 3.4. (Investicije v gozdove za izboljšanje gospodarske in ekološke vrednosti gozdov) in 3.5. (Trženje kakovostnih kmetijskih in živilskih proizvodov) je RS izplačala vsa načrtovana sredstva.

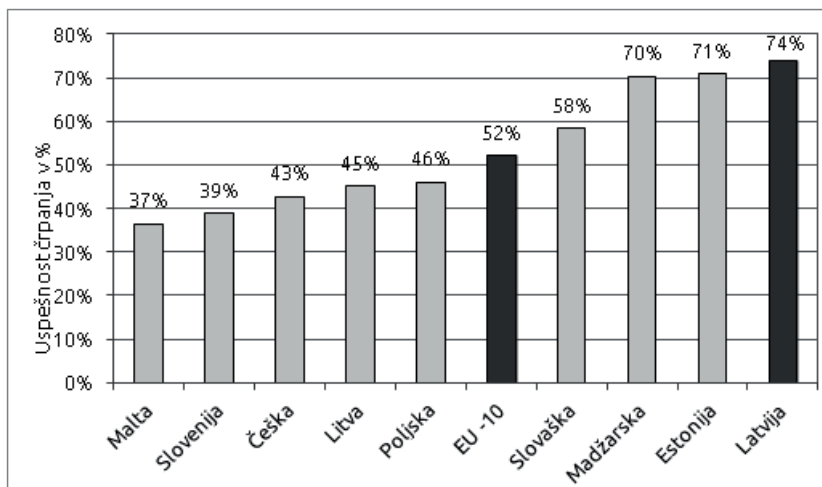
Tabela 3: Višina načrtovanih in izplačanih sredstev za izvajanje posameznih ukrepov EPD 2004–2006 v RS v EUR

	Načrtovana sredstva v EUR	Izplačana sredstva v EUR
Ukrep 3.1.	17.129.338	16.069.787
Ukrep 3.2.	16.820.704	16.820.346
Ukrep 3.3.	9.227.854	9.221.432
Ukrep 3.4.	3.248.778	3.240.190
Ukrep 3.5.	711.512	711.513
Ukrep 3.6.	408.159	310.949
Ukrep 3.7.	4.214.064	4.851.163
SKUPAJ	51.760.409	51.225.380

Vir: Služba Vlade RS za lokalno samoupravo in regionalno politiko (2010, str. 57)

Glede na to, da ni javno dostopnih podatkov o uspešnosti črpanja EPD 2004–2006 po posameznih letih v posameznih članicah EU, razen za leto 2006, je v prispevku predstavljena kumulativna uspešnost črpanja do 31. 12. 2006. Kot je razvidno iz grafikona 1, je bila leta 2006 pri črpanju sredstev iz EKUJS najbolj uspešna Latvija, saj je izplačala 74 % vseh sredstev, ki jih je za izvajanje tretje prednostne naloge EPD 2004–2006 načrtovala pridobiti iz EKUJS. Malo slabše sta se odrezali Estonija z 71 % izplačanih sredstev ter Madžarska s 70 % izplačanih sredstev, ki sta jih načrtovali izplačati iz EKUJS. RS je bila leta 2006 zelo slaba pri črpanju sredstev, saj je izplačala 39 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev iz EKUJS. Slabša od nje je bila Malta, ki je izplačala 37 % načrtovanih sredstev. Stopnja črpanja na ravni EU-10 je bila 52 %. To stopnjo so presegle Slovaška, Madžarska, Estonija in Latvija, za njo so zaostale Malta, RS, Češka, Litva in Poljska.

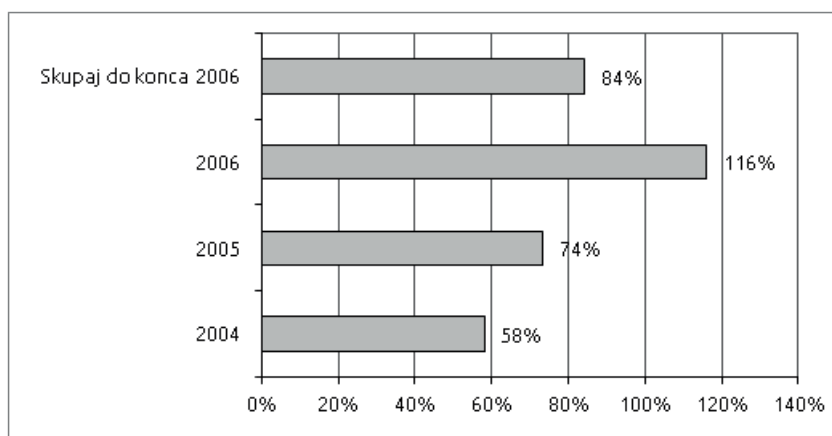
Grafikon 1: Stopnja črpanja sredstev iz EKUJS za izvajanje tretje prednostne naloge EPD 2004–2006 v novih članicah EU-10 leta 2006 glede na skupna načrtovana sredstva



Vir: European Union (2006, str. 357–358), European Union (2007, str. 321–322) in lastni izračuni

Vendar glede na zgoraj navedeno ne moremo sklepati, kakšno je bilo črpanje ob koncu EPD 2004–2006, saj so se določene obveznosti izplačevale tudi v kasnejših letih, ko so hkrati že potekali drugi programi.

Grafikon 2: Stopnja izplačanih EU sredstev po posameznih letih za izvajanje PRP 2004–2006 v RS



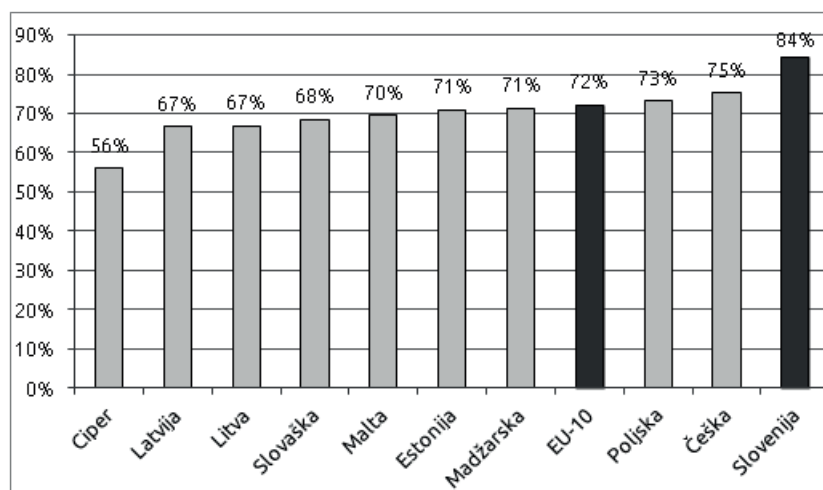
Vir: European Union (2007, str. 329) in lastni izračuni

RS je za izvajanje PRP 2004–2006 skupaj načrtovala 281,6 mio EUR. Od tega je bilo za leto 2004 načrtovanih 84,7 mio EUR, za leto 2005 94,4 mio EUR in za leto 2006 102,5 mio EUR. Iz grafikona 2 je razvidno, da je bila RS v obdobju

2004–2006 pri črpanju sredstev relativno uspešna. Leta 2004 je RS izplačala 58 % načrtovanih sredstev, leta 2005 74 % načrtovanih sredstev, leta 2006 pa je RS izplačala 16 % več, kot je načrtovala. Skupaj je RS do konca leta 2006 izplačala 84 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev (Računsko sodišče, 2010c, str. 45).

Za izvajanje PRP 2004–2006 novih članic EU-10, ki so leta 2004 vstopile v EU, je bilo skupaj namenjenih 5,8 milijard EUR. RS je iz EKUJS dobila 5 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev EKUJS, ki so bila namenjena izvajanju PRP 2004–2006 (European Union, 2007, str. 329). Za izvajanje ukrepov PRP 2004–2006 so se odločile vse nove članice EU-10. Iz grafikona 3 je razvidno, da je bilo na ravni EU-10 do konca leta 2006 izplačanih 72 % načrtovanih sredstev iz EKUJS. Najbolj uspešna med novimi članicami EU je bila RS, ki je do konca leta 2006 izplačala 84 % načrtovanih sredstev. RS sta sledili Češka, ki je izplačala 75 % načrtovanih sredstev ter Poljska, ki je izplačala 73 % načrtovanih sredstev. Najmanj uspešna članica pri črpanju oziroma pri izplačilih iz EKUJS je bil Ciper, ki mu je do konca leta 2006 uspelo izplačati 56 % načrtovanih sredstev iz EKUJS. Slabše od povprečja EU-10 so bile pri izplačilih iz EKUJS Litva, Latvija in Slovaška, ki so do konca leta izplačale manj kot 70 % načrtovanih sredstev iz EKUJS. 1 % pod povprečjem EU-10 sta bili Estonija in Madžarska, ki sta izplačali 71 % načrtovanih sredstev (Računsko sodišče, 2010c, str. 51). Glede na zgoraj navedeno ne moremo sklepati, kakšno je bil črpanje ob koncu izvajanja PRP 2004–2006, saj so se določene obveznosti izplačevale še v kasnejših letih, ko so hkrati že potekali drugi programi. Nekatere obveznosti iz tega programa so se izplačevale do konca leta 2010, saj so bile določene petletne obveznosti sklenjene še v letu 2006.

Grafikon 3: Delež izplačanih sredstev iz EKUJS za izvajanje PRP 2004–2006 po posameznih članicah EU-10 do konca leta 2006

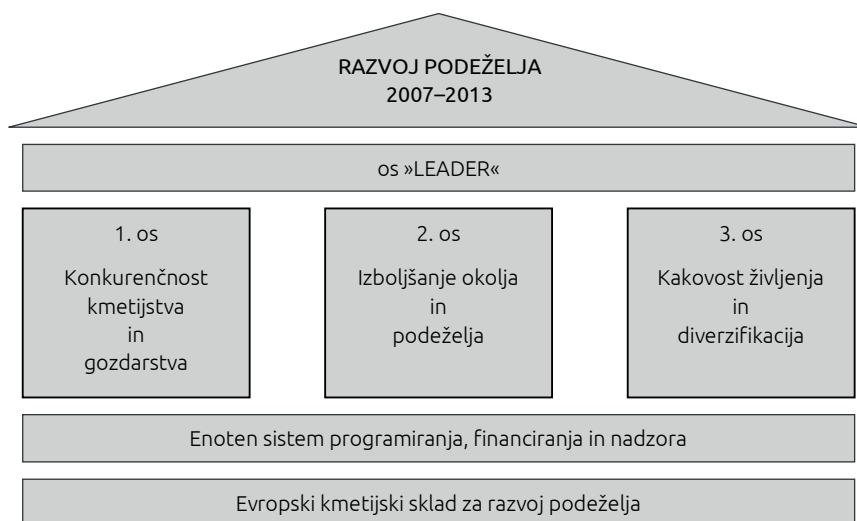


Vir: European Union (2007, str. 329) in lastni izračuni

3.2 Uspešnost črpanja sredstev PRP 2007–2013

Glavni cilji SKP razvoja podeželja v trenutnem programskem obdobju so: izboljšanje konkurenčnosti kmetijstva in gozdarstva s podporo za prestrukturiranje, razvoj in inovacije, izboljšanje okolja in pokrajine s podporo za upravljanje z zemljišči in izboljšanje kakovosti življenja na podeželskih območjih in spodbujanje diverzifikacije gospodarskih dejavnosti. Za vsak zgoraj navedeni cilj je oblikovana tematska os, v kateri so med seboj povezane skupine ukrepov s posebnimi usmeritvami, ki naj bi prispevali k uresničenju enega ali več ciljev. Za doseg te ciljev so bile oblikovane tri osi, in sicer prva, druga in tretja, dodatno pa je bila oblikovana še četrta os za krepitev razvojnih spodbud (LEADER). Skupni obseg vseh razpoložljivih sredstev za sedemletno programsko obdobje tako znaša 1,2 milijarde evrov (Računsko sodišče, 2010).

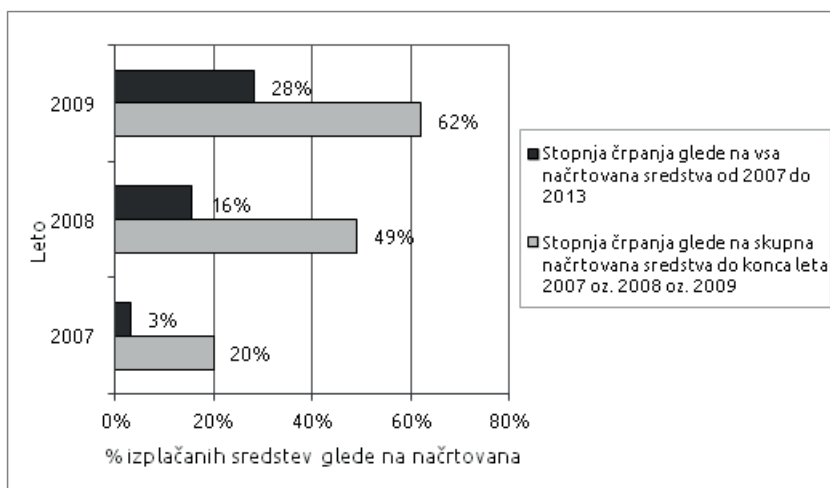
Slika 1: Struktura Programa razvoja podeželja 2007–2013



Vir: MKO (2007a, str. 6)

Če pogledamo uspešnost črpanja sredstev EKRSP RS po posameznih letih, je iz grafikona 4 razvidno, da se stopnja uspešnosti povečuje. Leta 2007 je bilo izplačanih samo 20 % načrtovanih sredstev za leto 2007, leta 2008 je stopnja izplačil narasla na 49 %, če gledamo kumulativno oziroma skupaj načrtovana sredstva za leto 2007 in 2008. Do konca leta 2009 je RS izplačala 62 % sredstev, ki so bila načrtovana do konca leta 2009. Če gledamo stopnjo izplačanih sredstev EKRSP glede na vsa načrtovana sredstva v obdobju 2007–2013, stopnja izplačanih sredstev prav tako narašča. Leta 2007, na začetku izvajanja PRP 2007–2013, je bila stopnja izplačanih sredstev samo 3 %, leto kasneje je delež narasel na 16 %, leta 2009 na 28 % sredstev EKRSP, ki so načrtovana za obdobje 2007–2013 iz tega sklada.

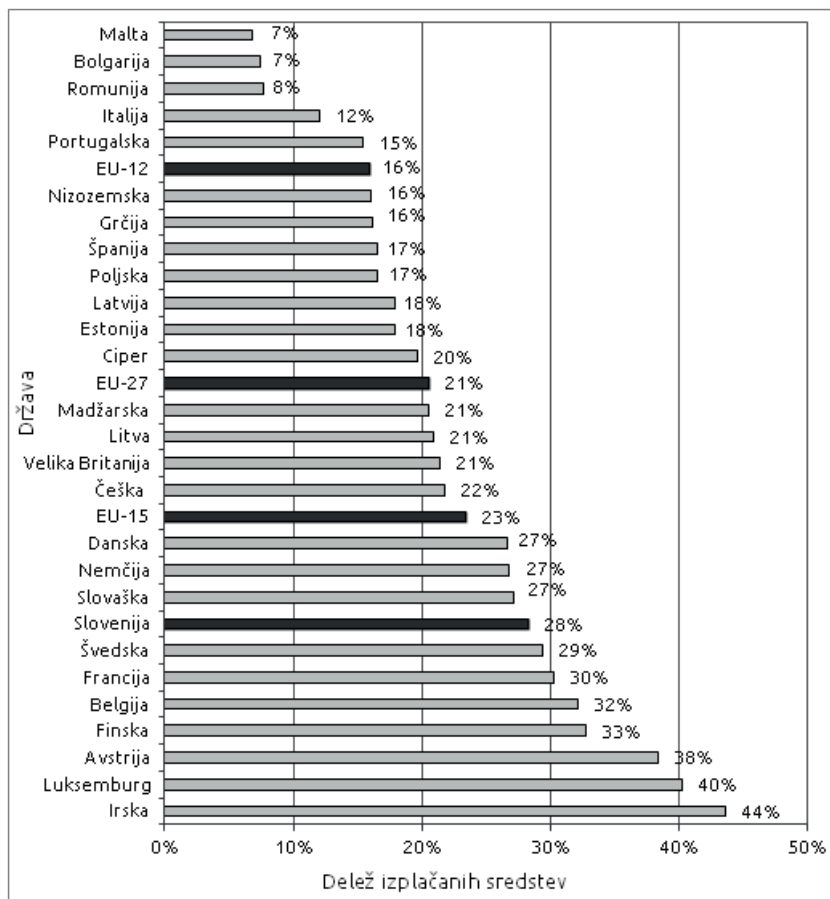
Grafikon 4: Kumulativne stopnje črpanja sredstev RS iz EKSRP od 2007 do 2009



Vir: European Union, 2010 in lastni izračuni

Kot je razvidno iz grafikona 5, je bilo na ravni EU-27 do konca leta 2009 skupaj izplačanih 21 % vseh sredstev iz EKSRP, ki so bila načrtovana za izvajanje ukrepov v obdobju 2007–2013. Pri črpanju so bolj uspešne stare članice oziroma EU-15, saj je njihova stopnja črpanja nad povprečno stopnjo EU-27 in znaša malenkost več, to je 23 %. Da so stare članice bolj uspešne, je razvidno iz tega, da so na prvih sedmih mestih Irska, ki je izplačala 44 % načrtovanih sredstev, sledi ji Luksemburg s 40 %, Avstrija z 38 %, Finska s 33 %, Belgija z 32 % in Švedska z 29 % izplačanih sredstev glede na načrtovana sredstva v obdobju 2007–2013. Nove članice EU-12 so pri črpanju trenutno manj uspešne, saj so v povprečju izplačale samo 16 % načrtovanih sredstev za obdobje 2007–2013. Na prvem mestu med novimi članicami je RS, ki je do konca leta 2009 izplačala 28 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev, hkrati pa je tudi na osmem mestu med vsemi članicami EU-27. Takoj za RS je Slovaška, ki je izplačala 27 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev. Na zadnjih treh mestih so Romunija, Bolgarija in Malta, ki so do konca leta 2009 izplačale manj kot 10 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev v obdobju 2007–2013. Podatki o izplačanih sredstvih glede na načrtovana sredstva po posameznih letih so zelo podobni.

Grafikon 5: Stopnja izplačanih sredstev do 31. 12. 2009 glede na skupna načrtovana sredstva v obdobju od 2007 do 2013 iz EKSRRP po posameznih članicah



Vir: European Union, 2010 in lastni izračuni

3.3 Ukrepi za boljše črpanje sredstev v RS

Večina članic je imela določene težave pri črpanju evropskih sredstev v prvih letih po vstopu v EU, in sicer predvsem zaradi pomanjkanja dolgoročnih vizij pristojnih organov, pomanjkanja privatnih finančnih virov, slabe administrativne usposobljenosti pristojnih organov na nacionalni in regionalni ravni, slabe koordinacije med pristojnimi organi, napak pri javno-zasebnem partnerstvu, omejenih človeških virih itd. (Zaman, v Cace et al., 2010, str. 90). Posamezne članice imajo pomisleke glede smotrnosti dolgoročnega oblikovanja programov razvoja podeželja, po drugi strani pa EK zavzema stališče, da je potreben namenski oziroma ciljno usmerjen pristop oblikovanja politike razvoja podeželja s poudarkom na zasebnem sofinanciranju in na t. i. pristopu od »spodaj navzgor«, pri katerem imajo veliko vlogo lokalne

skupnosti. S tem se v primeru spremenjenih zunanjih okoliščin zagotovi večja učinkovitost (Schrader, 1994, str. 364). Veliko članic in držav kandidatk se je soočilo oziroma se sooča s problemom absorpcijske sposobnosti, ki se kaže v uspešnosti in učinkovitosti črpanja razpoložljivih sredstev iz evropskih skladov (Mrak & Horvat, 2009, str. 86).

RS je porabila vsa razpoložljiva evropska sredstva za izvajanje programov razvoja podeželja, in sicer programa SAPARD, EPD 2004–2006 in PRP 2004–2006. Pri programu, ki se izvaja trenutno, pa je RS delno uspešna. RS je bolj uspešna pri črpanju ukrepov 2. osi, manj pa pri izvajanju nekaterih ukrepov 1. osi in 3. osi. Vzroki za manj uspešno črpanje na teh dveh oseh so (Računsko sodišče, 2010 in 2010a): nepravočasno informiranje MKO o terminskih planih javnih razpisov, nezadostno informiranje MKO o ukrepih, prenizka stopnja sofinanciranja, nepoznavanje ukrepov, prezahtevni razpisni pogoji, neustrezna svetovalna podpora in neustreznost prispelih vlog. Zato je MKO, tudi na podlagi zahtev Računskega sodišča Republike Slovenije, sprejelo ustrezne ukrepe, da se poveča uspešnost črpanja sredstev na 1., 3., in 4. osi. Ti so predvsem naslednji: povečanje deleža sofinanciranja, izobraževanje javnosti o posameznih ukrepih PRP 2007–2013 (predvsem občin), dialog s potencialnimi prijavitelji, da bi bilo manj nepopolnih vlog, poenostavitev razpisnih pogojev, objava terminskih planov o tem, kdaj bodo objavljeni določeni javni razpisi ter prerazporejanje sredstev med ukrepi, kjer je slabo črpanje, na tiste, kjer je črpanje sredstev bolj uspešno (Računsko sodišče, 2010 in 2010b; Razvojna agencija Slovenske Gorice, 2010).

Pri analizi uspešnosti črpanja posameznih ukrepov je razvidno, da je uspešnost črpanja najboljša pri tistih ukrepih, ki so se že izvajali v preteklih programih razvoja podeželja v obdobju 2003–2007, saj so tu naložbe in priprava vlog preprostejša, s tem pa je tudi večji interes vlagateljev (Računsko sodišče, 2010). Poleg tega pa je treba upoštevati, da se je črpanje dejansko začelo šele leta 2008, saj je bil PRP za RS potrjen šele septembra 2007. (MKO, 2010; MKO, 2008).

4 Zaključek

RS je evropska sredstva za razvoj podeželja izplačevala oziroma jih izplačuje na podlagi različnih programskih dokumentov, ki so oziroma veljajo v različnih programskih obdobjih. Programu SAPARD, na podlagi katerega so se sredstva izplačevala v predpristopnem obdobju EU 2000–2003, so sledili še trije programski dokumenti. V obdobju od 2004 do 2006 je RS evropska sredstva za razvoj podeželja izplačevala na podlagi EPD 2004–2006 v okviru tretje prednostne naloge ter v okviru PRP 2004–2006. V trenutnem programskem obdobju, ki velja do konca leta 2013, RS evropska sredstva za razvoj podeželja izplačuje na podlagi PRP 2007–2013. Sredstva, ki so bila na voljo na podlagi programa SAPARD, je RS dobro izkoristila, saj je izplačala vsa sredstva, ki so bila načrtovana oziroma je izplačala še celo 11 % sredstev več, kot je načrtovala.

V okviru EPD 2004–2006 je RS izplačala 99 % načrtovanih sredstev, čeprav podatki za leto 2006 kažejo, da je do takrat izplačala samo 39 % načrtovanih sredstev in da je bila na predzadnjem mestu med članicami EU-10, ki so ta program izvajale. Vendar pa je treba upoštevati, da je šlo tukaj za večletno izvajanje in da so se obveznosti, ki so se sicer sklenile pred koncem leta 2006, izplačevale tudi še kasneje, saj gre za večletne pogodbene obveznosti. Na podlagi PRP 2004–2006 je RS do konca leta 2006 izplačala 84 % načrtovanih sredstev, vendar je tudi tukaj treba upoštevati, da so se sredstva izplačevala tudi še po tem letu, saj gre pri tem programu za petletne obveznosti in nekatere od teh so se končale šele leta 2010. V trenutnem programskem obdobju 2007–2013 je bila RS delno uspešna pri črpanju sredstev PRP 2007–2013. Ob koncu leta 2009 je RS izplačala 28 % vseh načrtovanih sredstev v programskem obdobju oziroma 62 % sredstev, ki so bila na voljo do konca tega leta. Če RS v trenutnem programskem obdobju primerjamo z drugimi članicami EU-27, je bila RS ob koncu leta 2009 nad povprečjem EU-12 in EU-27, ter tudi nad povprečjem EU-15, saj je bila tega leta RS po uspešnosti črpanja na osmem mestu med vsemi članicami ter prva med novimi članicami. Večina članic je imela določene težave pri črpanju evropskih sredstev v prvih letih po vstopu v EU, in sicer predvsem zaradi pomanjkanja dolgoročnih vizij pristojnih organov, pomanjkanja privatnih finančnih virov, slabe administrativne usposobljenosti pristojnih organov na nacionalni in regionalni ravni, slabe koordinacije med pristojnimi organi, napak pri javno-zasebnem partnerstvu, omejenih človeških virov. Zato so bili sprejeti v RS ukrepi za izboljšanje črpanja. Ti so povečanje deleža sofinanciranja, izobraževanje javnosti o posameznih ukrepih PRP 2007–2013 (predvsem občin), dialog s potencialnimi prijavitelji, poenostavitev razpisnih pogojev, objava terminskih planov o tem, kdaj bodo objavljeni določeni javni razpisi, ter prerazporejanje sredstev med ukrepi, kjer je slabo črpanje, na tiste, kjer je črpanje sredstev bolj uspešno. Na koncu lahko zaključimo, da je RS pri črpanju evropskih sredstev za razvoj podeželja relativno uspešna, vendar pa so potrebne izboljšave oziroma odprava določenih težav pri posameznih ukrepih.

Izr. prof. dr. Aleksander Aristovnik je doktor ekonomskih znanosti, zaposlen na Fakulteti za upravo Univerze v Ljubljani kot docent za področje ekonomike javnega sektorja. Prav tako je izredni profesor za področje mednarodne ekonomije na Ekonomski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Je avtor oz. soavtor številnih domačih in tujih člankov ter delov monografij. V svojem raziskovalnem delu se ukvarja predvsem s področjem mednarodne ekonomije, ekonomike javnega sektorja, javnih financ in procesov evropskega integriranja. Dr. Aristovnik je (so)avtor več kot 360 bibliografskih enot in med njimi je okoli 40 člankov v revijah, ki jih indeksirajo SSCI, IBSS in Econlit baze.

Mag. Maja Žibert je zaposlena na Ministrstvu za kmetijstvo in okolje. Leta 2001 je diplomirala na Visoki upravni šoli na visokošolskem programu, leta 2004 pa na univerzitetnem študijskem programu Politologija, smer Analiza politik in javna uprava na Fakulteti za družbene vede. Leta 2008 je nadaljevala podiplomski magistrski študij Uprava na Fakulteti za upravo, kjer je leta 2012 pridobila znanstveni naslov magistrica znanosti.

Literatura in viri

- Cace, C., Cace, S., Iova, C. & Nicolaescu, V. (2010). *Capacity of Phare and structural funds absorption: pre-accession versus post-accession*. Lumen Publishing House. On behalf of »Alexandru Ioan Cuza« University, Department of Sociology and Social Work and Holt Romania Foundation.
- Council for the Rural Area (2010). *Comparative analysis. Cap implementation in the EU-27 Member States*. Pridobljeno 25. 10. 2010, s <http://www.rlg.nl/cap/analysis.html>.
- Erjavec, E., Juvančič, L., Rednak, M. & Volk, T. (2007). »Zdravstveni pregled« skupne kmetijske politike – v kakšnem stanju SKP pričakuje izzive prihodnosti? V Kavčič, S. (ur.). *Slovensko kmetijstvo in podeželje v Evropi, ki se širi in spreminja*. Domžale: Društvo agrarnih ekonomistov – DAES.
- European Commission (2000). *SAPARD programmes 2000–2006 – Estonia*. Directorate-General for Agriculture, Unit B1. Pridobljeno 25. 10. 2010, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/external/enlarge/countries/estonia/overview/est_en.pdf
- European Commission (2000a). *SAPARD programmes 2000–2006 – Czech Republic*. Directorate-General for Agriculture, Unit B1. Pridobljeno 25. 10. 2010, s <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/external/enlarge/countries/czech/overview/czrep.pdf>
- European Commission (2007). *Managing the Agriculture budget wisely*. Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission (2007a). *The European Union's Financial Framework 2007–2013*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Evropska Komisija (2011a). *Politika razvoja podeželja 2007–2013*. Pridobljeno 17. 1. 2011, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rurdev/index_sl.htm
- Evropska Komisija (2011b). *Skupna kmetijska politika in kmetijstvo EU – Stroški SKP*. Pridobljeno 28. 11. 2011, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/faq/cost/index_sl.htm
- European Union (2006). *Rural Development in the European Union. Statistical and Economic Information. Report 2006*. Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/agrista/rurdev2006/RD_Report_2006.pdf
- European Union (2007). *Rural Development in the European Union. Statistical and Economic Information. Report 2007*. Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/agrista/rurdev2007/RD_Report_2007.pdf
- European Union (2010). *Rural Development in the European Union. Statistical and Economic Information. Report 2010*. Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development. Pridobljeno 17. 11. 2010, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/agrista/rurdev2010/RD_Report_2010.pdf
- Heijman, W. & Koch, T. (2011). The allocation of financial resources of the EU Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund during the period 2007–2013. *Agricultural Economics – Zemedelska Ekonomika* 57(2), str. 49–56.
- Markovič Hribernik, T., Kirbiš, M. & Vek, U. (2008). Institutional Regulation and the Effectiveness of Absorbing EU Funds: The Experiences of Ireland, Estonia and Slovenia. *Društvena Istraživanja*, leto 2008, št. 6., 1219–1239.

- MKO (2007). *Končno poročilo o izvajanju programa SAPARD*. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s http://www.mf.gov.si/slov/suseu/Koncno_porocilo_SAPARD-29_6_2007-cistopis.pdf. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano.
- Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano (2007a). *Nacionalni strateški načrt razvoja podeželja 2007–2013*. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano.
- Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano (2008). Zapisnik 2. seje Nadzornega odbora za Program razvoja podeželja RS za obdobje 2007–2013. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s http://www.mkgp.gov.si/fileadmin/mkgp.gov.si/pageuploads/PRP/Nadzorni_odbora/Zapisnik_2._seja.pdf
- Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano (2010). *Poročilo o vmesnem vrednotenju Programa razvoja podeželja 2007–2013*. Pridobljeno 13. 10. 2011, s http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rurdev/countries/sl/mte-rep-sl_sl.pdf
- Mrak, M. & Horvat, A. (2009). Macroeconomic and Financial Absorption Capacity of Turkey for the Use of EU Structural Funds. *Eastern European Economics* 47(4), 86–113.
- Računsko sodišče Republike Slovenije (2010). *Revizijsko poročilo – Razvoj podeželja v Republiki Sloveniji*. Pridobljeno 17. 11. 2010, s [http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/K612CACE2B64A34B9C125771F005F99F5/\\$file/OhrRzvPodez_RSP.pdf](http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/K612CACE2B64A34B9C125771F005F99F5/$file/OhrRzvPodez_RSP.pdf)
- Računsko sodišče Republike Slovenije (2010a). *Razvoj podeželja v Republiki Sloveniji. Predstavitev revizijskega poročila*. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s [http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/K2774C9D15D82DC0EC125772000319C32/\\$file/Predstavitev_Razvoj_podezelja.pdf](http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/K2774C9D15D82DC0EC125772000319C32/$file/Predstavitev_Razvoj_podezelja.pdf)
- Računsko sodišče Republike Slovenije (2010b). *Porevizijsko poročilo – Popravljalni ukrepi Ministrstva za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano*. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s [http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/K15ADB083EDCFEB64C12577970039A6AA/\\$file/OhrRzvPodez_RSP_porev.pdf](http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/K15ADB083EDCFEB64C12577970039A6AA/$file/OhrRzvPodez_RSP_porev.pdf)
- Računsko sodišče Republike Slovenije (2010c). *Revizijsko poročilo – Črpanje sredstev evropskega proračuna*. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s [http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/KD22C369387B21A1AC125776E00334B1A/\\$file/EU_crpanje_SP04-08.pdf](http://www.rs-rs.si/rsrs/rsrs.nsf/I/KD22C369387B21A1AC125776E00334B1A/$file/EU_crpanje_SP04-08.pdf)
- Razvojna agencija Slovenske Gorice (2010). *Razpisi in ukrepi Programa razvoja podeželja 2007–2013 kot priložnost za Slovenjgoriška kmetijska gospodarstva in splošno javnost*. Pridobljeno 13. 10. 2010, s <http://rasg.si/kmetijstvo/>
- Služba Vlade RS za lokalno samoupravo in regionalno politiko (2010). *Končno poročilo o izvajanju Enotnega programskega dokumenta Republike Slovenije za programsko obdobje 2004–2006*. Pridobljeno 21. 9. 2010, s http://www.euskadi.si/publikacije/letna_porocila/download/LP2010_koncno.doc
- Schrader, H. (1994). Impact Assessment of the EU Structural Funds to Support Regional Economic Development in Rural Areas of Germany. *Journal of Rural Studies* 10(4), 357–365.
- Trdan, A. (2002). Možnost predpristopne pomoči SAPARD pri prestrukturiranju podeželja v državah kandidatkah. *Diplomsko delo*. Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, Ekonomska fakulteta.
- Zelenika, R. (2000). *Metodologija i tehnologija izrade znanstvenog in stručnog djela*. Rijeka: Ekonomska fakulteta.
- Wostner, P. (2005). *Kako do denarja EU*. Ljubljana: GV Založba.

SUMMARY

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DISBURSEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN FUNDS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT BY SLOVENIA IN THE PERIOD 2003–2009

Key words: SAPARD, SPD, Rural Development Programme, effectiveness, disbursing EU funds, rural development policy

For over 40 years the Common Agricultural Policy (hereinafter: the CAP) has been the most important European common policy. Agriculture is the only sector entirely financed from the EU budget. This means that EU funds substitute national funds. Therefore, a large proportion of the EU budget is earmarked for implementation of the CAP, even though it has been decreasing over the years. In 1984 it equalled 71 percent, at present it accounts for 40 percent and, in 2013, it will drop to only about 33 percent of the total EU budget. In the current 2007–2013 financial framework, the funds aimed at promoting growth and employment have for the first time exceeded those allocated to implementation of the CAP. Today the financing of the agricultural policy is underpinned by two funds that form part of the general EU budget, namely the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (hereinafter: the EAFRD). The former finances direct payments to farmers and measures to regulate agricultural markets (export and intervention refunds etc.), whereas the latter finances actions in the field of rural development in the EU member states (hereinafter: the Member States). In the financial period 2007–2013, EUR 862.4 billion were earmarked for financing the entire agricultural policy, of which EUR 88.3 billion or 10.2 percent went to rural development (European Commission, 2007; European Commission, 2007a; European Commission, 2011b).

The purpose of the article was to analyse the effectiveness of disbursing EU funds for rural development that were allocated to the Republic of Slovenia from 2003 to the end of 2009. Since the rural development policy is part of the CAP, another purpose was to analyse the success of the Republic of Slovenia in disbursing these funds in the past and the present when compared to other Member States. Namely, the article aimed to establish whether the Republic of Slovenia was successful in disbursing the funds within the Rural Development Programme in the period 2003–2009 and what was its success rate compared to other Member States.

Theoretically, every Member State can decide to pursue its own completely autonomous rural development policy. However, this would not function properly in practice because not every Member State could afford the policy it would in fact need. Many areas discussed by the rural development policy extend beyond the national and regional borders and affect the lives of people

from other Member States. Moreover, every Member State has to overcome a number of its own physical, climatic and socioeconomic obstacles and deal with the different levels of development of its individual agricultural branches. For the above reasons, the EU pursues a common rural development policy which, nevertheless, confers large powers to the Member States (European Commission, 2011a; Council for the Rural Area, 2010). Every Member State has to overcome specific difficulties in its agriculture, along with differing levels of development and competitiveness and, therefore, the programmes differ from each other. Depending on the development level, the Member States have chosen different measures to boost the development and competitiveness of their agriculture and rural areas (European Commission, 2000).

The Republic of Slovenia started disbursing funds for implementation of the EU rural development policy on the basis of the SAPARD pre-accession programme in 2003. The competent ministry appropriated the financial support from this programme for implementing measures geared at improving the competitiveness of the agricultural sector, economic diversification and the improvement of rural infrastructure (Court of Audit, 2010; Court of Audit, 2010c). The Republic of Slovenia decided to implement five of the 15 SAPARD measures. These included: Investments in agricultural holdings (Measure 1), Investments in the processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products (Measure 2), Economic diversification of farms (Measure 5), Development and improvement of rural infrastructure (Measure 12) and Technical assistance (Measure 15). The Republic of Slovenia paid the beneficiaries of individual measures a total of EUR 42.2 million, that is EUR 4.2 million more than planned, exceeding the plan by 11 percent. The Republic of Slovenia was among the most successful countries, ranking third in 2003 in terms of the amount of paid funds, following Estonia and Latvia.

After Slovenia joined the EU in 2004, the SAPARD programme continued providing the measures under Priority 3 of the 2004–2006 Single Programme Document (SPD) geared towards the restructuring of agriculture, forestry and fisheries. In the framework of this programme seven measures were implemented, of which five were in the area of agriculture and two in the area of fisheries. In 2006 Latvia was the most successful country in drawing from the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) as it paid out 74 percent of all funds planned to be obtained from the EAGGF for the purpose of implementing the third 2004–2006 SPD priority. The Republic of Slovenia was not successful in disbursing the funds in 2006, paying out just 39 percent of the planned EAGGF funds. Malta ranked even lower, paying out 37 percent of the planned funds. The EU-10 disbursement rate was 52 percent.

A total of EUR 5.8 billion was earmarked for implementation of the 2004–2006 Rural Development Programme in the ten new Member States (EU-10) which joined the EU in 2004. The Republic of Slovenia obtained from the EAGGF 5 percent of all planned EAGGF funds that had been appropriated for

implementation of the 2004–2006 Rural Development Programme (European Union, 2007, p. 329). All ten new Member States decided to implement the measures under the 2004–2006 Rural Development Programme. At the EU-10 level 72 percent of the funds planned from the EAGGF had been paid out by the end of 2006. The most successful of the new Member States was the Republic of Slovenia, paying out 84 percent of the planned funds by the end of 2006. It was followed by the Czech Republic and Poland, paying out 75 and 73 percent of the planned funds, respectively.

The three main objectives of the CAP in the area of rural development in the current programme period are as follows: improving the competitiveness of agriculture and forestry by supporting restructuring, development and innovation; improving the environment and the countryside by supporting land management; and improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging the diversification of economic activity. Each of the above objectives has a thematic axis that intertwines with groups of measures containing special guidelines that should contribute to the achievement of one or more goals. Three axes were established to accomplish these goals, namely Axis 1, 2 and 3, whereas a fourth axis was created subsequently to bolster the development incentives (LEADER). All available funds for the seven-year programme period thus total EUR 2 billion (Court of Audit, 2010). At the EU-27 level, 21 percent of all EAGGF funds that had been earmarked for implementation of the measures in the period 2007–2013 had been paid out by the end of 2006. The old Member States, the EU-15, were more efficient in disbursing the funds given that their disbursement rate was higher than the EU-27 average. The new EU-12 Member States are currently less successful in disbursing the funds as they have paid out on average only 16 percent of the funds planned for the period 2007–2013. Among the new Member States, the first place was occupied by the Republic of Slovenia, paying out 28 percent of the planned figure by the end of 2009 and thus ranking eighth among all EU-27 Member States.

Most Member States had some difficulties in disbursing the European funds in the first year following their accession to the EU, mainly due to the lack of long-term vision of competent bodies, a scarcity of private financial sources, a low level of administrative qualifications of the competent bodies at the national and regional levels, poor co-ordination between the competent bodies, deficiencies in public-private partnerships, limited human resources etc. (Zaman in: Cace et al., 2010, p. 90). Some Member States have scruples about the expediency of the long-term designing of rural development programmes while, on the other hand, the European Commission maintains that a special-purpose or targeted approach is necessary in the making of the rural development policy, with an emphasis on private co-financing and the »bottom up« approach where local communities play an important role. Based on requests by the Court of Audit of the Republic of Slovenia, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Environment (MAE) adopted appropriate

measures to improve the success rate in disbursing funds from Axes 1, 3 and 4. These mainly include: an increase in the co-financing share, informing the public about individual measures of the 2007–2013 Rural Development Programme (especially the municipalities), dialogue with potential applicants to reduce the number of incomplete applications, simplification of the tender conditions, publication of publishing time schedules of concrete public tenders as well as the reallocation of funds from measures characterised by low disbursement to those where disbursement is more effective (Court of Audit, 2010 and 2010b, and Slovenske gorice Development Agency, 2010). It is clear from the analysis of the effectiveness of the disbursement of individual measures that the rate was higher with those measures that had already been implemented under the previous Rural Development Programmes over the period 2003–2007, because the investments and drawing up of applications were simpler, which in turn increased the interest of investors (Court of Audit, 2010). Moreover, it should be noted that disbursement only started in 2008 because the Rural Development Programme for the Republic of Slovenia was only approved in 2007 (MAE, 2010 and MAE, 2008). To conclude, the Republic of Slovenia has been relatively successful in disbursing the European funds for rural development, yet some improvements in managing should be introduced.

Vrednotenje vplivov EU na področju mladinske politike na subnacionalni in nacionalni ravni: primer programa Mladi v akciji v Sloveniji¹

UDK: 323:316.346.32053.6(045)

Mateja Cugmas

Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede
mateja.cugmas@gmail.com

Simona Kustec Lipicer

Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede
simona.kustec-lipicer@fdv.uni-lj.si

IZVLEČEK

V članku se osredotočamo na analizo dosedanjih vplivov programa EU Mladi v akciji (2007–2013) na nacionalnih in subnacionalnih ravneh mladinske politike v Sloveniji. Program je zastavljen z namenom povečanja zavzetosti mladih in krepitve ključnih kompetenc za vseživljenjsko učenje, kar naj bi povečevalo zaposljivost in vključevanje mladih v družbo. Z analizo izvajanja programa poskušamo z vidika vsebine zastavljenih ciljev, upravljavskih vidikov in ocene učinkov ciljev ovrednotiti, kako se v doseženih rezultatih izvajanja programa odraža koncept večnivojskosti in ali ima izbrana javna politika pričakovane učinke na mlade. Za konkretno študijo vzamemo primer podravske regije, ki je na polju mladinske politike označena kot najmanj razvita. Raziskovalne ugotovitve kažejo, da so učinki ciljev programa MvA na mlade v izbrani regiji prevladujoče uspešni, a se hkrati kot pomembna in pomanjkljiva kaže odsotnost klasičnega večnivojskega upravljanja samega programa in nadalje tudi mladinske politike v širšem smislu.

Ključne besede: večnivojsko upravljanje, vrednotenje, mladinska politika, program Mladi v akciji 2007–2013, Podravje

JEL: Z18

¹ Izhodišče za pripravo članka predstavljajo spoznanja diplomskega dela Vrednotenje evropskega sodelovanja na področju mladinske politike v Sloveniji (Cugmas, 2011). Avtorici tega članka sta za omenjeno diplomsko delo prejeli priznanje Mladinskega sveta Slovenije za najboljšo diplomsko delo in mentorstvo.

1 Uvod

Vodilno načelo mladinske politike je utemeljeno na spodbujanju in ponujanju pozitivnih materialnih in nematerialnih transferjev, ki pripomorejo k izboljšanju in razvijanju življenjskih razmer mladih in k njihovi vsesplošno večji participativnosti v družbi. Mladinska politika ima naravo povezovalne, medsektorske politike, katere namen je sodelovanje mladih z upoštevanjem celotnega obsega družbenih, kulturnih in političnih vsebin, ki zadevajo mlade (European Union, 2012). V okviru opisanega izjemno pomembno vlogo prevzema mladinsko delo, ki je oblika dela z mladimi in poteka prostovoljno. Pri tem morajo mladi najti motivacijo za participacijo in zadovoljitev aktualnih potreb ter pridobiti znanja in spretnosti, ki jih potrebujejo v vsakdanjem življenju, a jih ne pridobijo v drugih formalnih sistemih (Kuhar, Leskovšek, 2008, str. 328). Poleg izobraževanja, ki velja za tipično mladinsko vertikalo, izvajanje dela z mladimi obsega tudi ukvarjanje s temi kot so zaposlovanje, stanovanjska politika, družinska in demografska politika, mladi z manj priložnostmi, medgeneracijska solidarnost in sožitje (Cepin, 2009, str. 8).

V tem članku je osrednji poudarek namenjen evalvacijski analizi slovenske izkušnje z izvajanjem in upravljanjem programa Mladi v akciji 2007–2013 (v nadaljevanju MvA) ter učinkom, ki ga le-ta prinaša na različnih političnih ravneh, na katerih deluje – lokalni, nacionalni in nadnacionalni, ter za različne skupine mladih, kot neposrednih uporabnikov tega programa. V okviru izvajanja aktualnega programa MvA morajo na lokalni ravni prijavljeni in izvedeni projekti zasledovati naslednje vsebine: mladinske izmenjave in pobude, izvajanje mladinske demokracije, evropsko prostovoljstvo, sodelovanje mladih s sosednjimi državami Evropske unije, usposabljanje in povezovanje v mrežo tistih, ki so aktivni v mladinskem delu in mladinskih organizacijah in podpiranje evropskega sodelovanja na mladinskem področju (Movit na mladina, 2009). Skozi neposredno izkušnjo z izvajanjem programa v podravski regiji, ki v okviru mladinske politike na nacionalni ravni velja kot najmanj razvita, bomo v tem članku izvedli večnivojsko evalvacijsko študijo z naslednjih vidikov:

- vsebinske skladnosti ciljev;
- upravljaljskih vidikov;
- ocene doseženih učinkov.

Empirični del študije temelji na kritični in primerjalni analizi primarnih in sekundarnih virov in na podatkih iz polstrukturiranih intervjujev, ki smo jih med leti 2010 in 2011 izvedli na Uradu za mladino, pri nacionalnih koordinatorjih programa Movit na mladina in na Mladinskem svetu Slovenije. Pomemben vir podatkov črpamo tudi iz raziskovalnih podatkov, ki so bili za Evropsko komisijo zbrani v okviru priprave t. i. vmesne evalvacijske študije izvajanja programa MvA 2007–2010 v Sloveniji (Kustec Lipicer & Deželan, 2010; Kustec Lipicer & Deželan, 2010a).

2 Mladinska politika in EU

Mladinska politika na ravni EU je bila prvič pravno opredeljena leta 1993 z Maastrichtsko pogodbo. Danes jo opredeljuje peti odstavek 165(2). člena Pogodbe o delovanju Evropske unije (TFEU), ki določa, da so cilji dejavnosti Unije spodbujanje razvoja izmenjave mladih ter izmenjave pedagoških in drugih strokovnih delavcev ter spodbujanje sodelovanja mladih v demokratičnem življenju v Evropi (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, 165(2). Article). Ekonomsko socialni odbor in odbor regij dajeta pomen mladinski politiki predvsem v smislu, da mora ceniti mlade kot družbeni potencial in jim omogočiti, da postanejo dejavni, svobodni in odgovorni (White Paper, 2001).

Strateški politični okviri in cilji javne politike mladinske politike EU so bili sprejeti leta 2001 v Beli knjigi »Nova spodbuda za evropsko mladino« (European Commission, 2012). Bela knjiga je predlagala nov okvir za povečanje sodelovanja med igralci na področju mladinske politike ter večje upoštevanje mladih v odločitvah sektorske politike (White Paper on Youth, 2011). Omenjeni dokument je bil leta 2009 pomembno strateško izdelan z Evropsko strategijo za mlade (European Commission, 2012), ki posveča posebno pozornost mladim z manj priložnostmi. Strategija predstavlja medsektorski politični pristop k mladinskim vprašanjem, ob tem pa krepi sodelovanje pri oblikovanju politik na vseh političnih ravneh.

Drug pomembni dokument je resolucija Sveta EU o prenovljenem okviru za evropsko sodelovanje na področju mladih (European Commission, 2012). Resolucija je bila oblikovana za zagotovitev boljših pogojev evropske mladine. Njen cilj je izboljšati učinkovitost in uspešnost evropskega sodelovanja z vzpostavitvijo strategije za naslednje desetletje, ki gradi na doseženem napredku ter izkušnjah iz prejšnjega okvira. Nova strategija EU za mlade opredeljuje dva splošna cilja novega okvira: več priložnosti in enake možnosti za mlade v izobraževanju in na trgu dela ter dejavno državljanstvo, socialno vključenost in solidarnost mladih (Nogueira, 2012).

Že pred omenjenimi aktivnostmi je bila mladinska politika v EU osredotočena na razpisovanje programov, namenjenih mladinskim organizacijam na nacionalnih in subnacionalnih ravneh, najprej s programom »Mladi za Evropo« iz leta 1988, da bi vzpodbudili izmenjave mladih (Itzel, 2008), kasneje leta 1996 pa je Evropska komisija predlagala akcijski program EU: Evropska prostovoljna služba za mlade. V letu 2000 sta se oba programa združila v akcijski program Mladina (2000–2006) (European Commission, 2007), ki je bil dopolnjen z dodatnimi ukrepi, kot je projekt Pobude za mlade, namenjen inovativnim in ustvarjalnim projektom, s katerimi se spodbuja socialno vključevanje mladih. Program Mladina je bil novembra 2006 z odločbo 1714/2006/ES nadgrajen v program Mladi v akciji (2007–2013), ki ga različni raziskovalni zaključki navajajo kot vodilen instrument na področju mladinskega dela in mladinske politike tako na ravni EU, kot tudi na nižjih političnih ravneh (Itzel, 2008; European Commission, 2011; Ferjančič, 2011; Kustec Lipicer & Deželan, 2010).

Odgovornosti in pristojnosti za izvajanje mladinske politike so torej še vedno v rokah posamezne države članice EU, ob hkrati dokaj aktivnih spodbudah, ki jih v obliki priporočil in z razpisovanjem programov za razvijanje sodelovanja ter mobilnosti mladih na (sub) nacionalnih ravneh, kot je to primer analiziranega programa MvA, pripravlja Evropska komisija. Kot pomemben upravljavski mehanizem pa se sicer nasploh na področju mladinske politike na ravni EU uporablja odprta metoda koordinacije² (glej tudi Laine & Gretschel, 2009, str. 192; Fink Hafner, 2010; Lajh & Štremfel 2012).

3 Teoretsko problemski kontekst programa Mladi v akciji

Gledano s teoretskega zornega kota javnih politik in upravljanja (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984; Fink Hafner, 2007) je na ravni EU mladinska politika, kot opredeljena v pravkar izpostavljenih temeljnih dokumentih in smernicah, razumljena kot t. i. medsektorska politika. Izvajanje politike je usmerjeno v različne ciljne skupine mladih. Skozi čas so bili s temi nameni v okviru Evropske komisije vzpostavljeni že omenjeni programi za mlade, ki jih je mogoče glede na njihove funkcije in namen razumeti kot posebno vrsto spodbujevalnih, finančno-operativnih in informacijskih javnopolitičnih ukrepov (Majchrzak, 1984; Holwett & Ramesh, 1995), s katerimi želi EU doseči temeljni cilj poseganja na področje problematik mladih, to je spodbude različnih skupin mladih k aktivnejšemu sodelovanju in participaciji v družbi. S takim pristopom k razumevanju in vstopanju v javno politiko mladih se je EU z uvedbo programa MvA mnogo aktivneje vpletla v dejansko izvajanje mladinske politike tako v okviru EU kot tudi na politično nižjih ravneh.

V praksi to pomeni, da Evropska komisija v imenu EU razpiše program, ki ga na nacionalni in subnacionalnih ravneh izvajajo mladinske organizacije na omenjenih dveh ravneh. Mladinske organizacije tako pri izvajanju projektov, ki jih prijavljajo v okviru programa MvA, postanejo ključni udeleženci programa oz. s tem izvajalci javnopolitičnega instrumenta, ki spodbuja participacijo mladih v EU in v lokalnem okolju posameznih držav članic (Williamson, 2002, str. 46). Na nekakšen način omenjene organizacije v imenu in za EU v praksi prevzemajo in izvajajo ključno vlogo pri zagotavljanju mladinske politike z vidika svetovanja za konstruktiven razvoj, tako da prispevajo k partnerstvu storitev za mlade.

Z upravljavskega vidika Evropska komisija na nacionalni ravni izbere koordinatorske, ki skrbijo za razpis in nadzor nad izvedbo programa na nacionalni ravni. To funkcijo v Sloveniji izvaja Zavod Movit na mladina. Vloga nacionalnih

² Odprto metodo koordinacije na področju mladine je kot ustrezno obliko sodelovanja predlagala Evropska komisija s sprejemom Bele knjige: Nova spodbuda za evropsko mladino (White Paper, 2001). Gre za vzpostavitev sodelovanja med državami in med različnimi igralci znotraj držav, vendar to ne pomeni pogodbene vzpostavitve sodelovanja znotraj EU (Fink Hafner, Lajh & Deželan, 2010, str. 28). Temelji predvsem na skupnem ugotavljanju in določanju ciljev, ki bi jih naj dosegli (sprejema Svet EU); skupnem določanju merilnih instrumentov (statistika, kazalniki, smernice); ter na primerjalnih analizah, primerjavi zmogljivosti držav članic in izmenjavi najboljših praks (nadzoruje Evropska komisija) (Europa, 2012).

državnih institucij, pristojnih za izvajanje politike v državi, je pri opisanem programu mladinske politike EU omejena na nadzorno funkcijo izvajanja dela nacionalnih koordinatorjev. V slovenskem primeru je to Urad RS za mladino (v nadaljevanju URSM), ki je organ v sestavi Ministrstva za znanost, izobraževanje, kulturo in šport³, katerega siceršnja naloga na nacionalni ravni je izvajanje ukrepov, s katerimi spodbuja in razvija organiziranost mladih v državi. Glavni namen sodelovanja URSM z drugimi mladinskimi organizacijami v Sloveniji je izboljšati položaj mladih ter povečati njihov vpliv v družbi.

Z upravljskega in hkrati tudi javnopolitično širšega vidika v opisanem programu MvA lahko prepoznamo ideje t. i. večnivojskosti in večnivojskega vladanja ter upravljanja (angl. *multilevel governance*). Ta se nanaša na razmerja med političnimi igralci – javnimi in zasebnimi, ki so medsebojno bolj ali manj intenzivno povezani in z zasledovanjem istega cilja delujejo na različnih ravneh delovanja, od subnacionalne, nacionalne, do nadnacionalne. Večinoma je ta koncept prepoznan kot pozitiven pristop k deliberativnemu oblikovanju in izvajanju javnih politik, v katerega imajo demokratično možnost vključitve vsi javni in zasebni igralci na različnih ravneh političnega odločanja (Marks, 1996; Marks & Hooghe, 1997; Citi & Rhodes, 2007). Kot se pokaže skozi čas in izkušnje v vsakodnevnih javnopolitičnih in upravljskih procesih, pa lahko prihaja od opisanega teoretskega ideala tudi do velikih odstopanj. V tem kontekstu npr. Piattoni (2009) predpostavlja in nadalje preverja, ali v primeru zagotavljanja načel večnivojskega upravljanja med javnimi in zasebnimi igralci, kot tudi med subnacionalnimi, državnimi in naddržavnimi oz. med domačimi in mednarodnimi igralci prihaja do načrtnega zamegljevanja njihovih formalnih pristojnosti, kar naj bi igralcem prinašalo večje koristi in lažje zadovoljevanje njihovih interesov. Piattoni (prav tam) predpostavlja, da se lahko v opisanih razmerah tovrstni odnosi utrjujejo in postajajo močnejši, povečuje se njihova stopnja legitimnosti v javnosti, ki se jo utemeljuje na novem, »všečnem« diskurzu in prikazovanju dejstev, ki jih ni mogoče preveriti oz. ki se na koncu zožijo zgolj na zadovoljevanje normativnega izpolnjevanja pogojev za sodelovanje.

Ključna težava mladinske politike na nacionalni ravni v Sloveniji je splošno pomanjkanje systemske ureditve. Do nedavnega je bila ključni in edini dokument na področju mladinske politike na nacionalni ravni Strategija URSM na področju mladinske politike do leta 2010 (URSM, 2012), ki pa ni imela ustrezne zakonske podlage in zato ni nikoli dejansko zaživela. Po dolgih letih razpravljanja je bil leta 2010 sprejet Zakon o javnem interesu v mladinskem sektorju (ZJIMS, 2010) kot krovni zakon na mladinskem področju, ki med drugim opredeljuje tudi mladinsko delo, kamor spada tudi izvajanje projektov v okviru programa MvA EU.

3 URSM, kot organ v sestavi Ministrstva za znanost, izobraževanje, kulturo in šport opravlja naloge in izvaja ukrepe, s katerimi spodbuja in razvija organiziranost mladih, njihovo participacijo v družbenih procesih, neformalno izobraževanje mladih, informiranje in svetovanje za mlade, mobilnost in mednarodno sodelovanje mladih. Urad spremlja aktivnosti mladinskih in drugih organizacij, evalvira njihovo delo, izobražuje in usposablja izvajalce dejavnosti za mladinsko delo na nacionalni in lokalni ravni (Urad RS za mladino, 2011a).

Ko se odločimo za preučevanje vplivov izvajanja programa MvA, se moramo torej izhodiščno osredotočiti na tiste vsebine ciljev programa, ki jih je postavil sofinancer razpisanih programov, kljub temu da na nacionalni ravni svoje cilje in načela za razvoj in delovanje mladinskega sektorja neodvisno od tega postavlja tudi nacionalni organ mladinske politike, URSM. Za izpolnjevanje ciljev in načel osrednja organa na obeh političnih nivojih uvajata mehanizme, s pomočjo katerih se zasledujejo njihovi cilji. Cilje Evropske komisije, kot so opredeljeni v analiziranem programu MvA, je mogoče prepoznati v petih akcijah, na katere mladinske organizacije z nacionalnih in subnacionalnih ravni, v slovenskem primeru torej lokalnih, prijavljajo svoje projekte (Movit na mladina, 2009; Cugmas, 2011).

Nadaljnja analiza ciljev mladinske politike, kot jo opredeljujejo samostojno posamezne od preučevanih ravni (European Commission, 2010; URSM, 2011; Murn, 2010) pokaže, da vsaka raven poudarja svoje vsebinske cilje, na vseh pa je mogoče prepoznati cilje kot so participacija mladih, vključevanje in motivacija mladine z manj priložnostmi in aktivno državljanstvo. Glede na nakazane vsebinske podobnosti in specifično področja mladine in načel mladinske politike – vlogo mladih in mladinskih organizacij ter reprezentativnih struktur na nacionalni in evropski ravni – bi sicer bilo zelo pomembno, da bi se sprejeti cilji med posameznimi ravnimi tudi upravljavsko operativno dopolnjevali, do česar pa po primerjavi vsebin operativnih ciljev neposredno ne prihaja. Organi na različnih ravneh postavljajo različne cilje, kar pomeni da z izvajanjem programa MvA vsebinskega dopolnjevanja ciljev in tako tudi medsebojne prepletenosti njihovega izpolnjevanja neposredno ne gre pričakovati.

4 Izkušnja izvajanja programa Mladi v akciji v podravski regiji

Po pregledu vseh projektov in razvrščanju v posamezne sklope akcij lahko vidimo, da se je v podravski regiji v Sloveniji največ projektov izvajalo v okviru podakcij 1.1 in 1.2 in akcije 2., ki se vsebinsko nanašajo na spodbujanje evropskega sodelovanja in aktivnega državljanstva mladih ter evropskega državljanstva in evropske prostovoljne službe (Cugmas, 2011). Z vidika ciljev EU to odraža pomemben premik k razvoju solidarnosti in spodbujanju strpnosti med mladimi, predvsem z namenom krepitev socialne kohezije znotraj EU. Po drugi strani je bilo najmanj izvedenih projektov v podakcijah 1.3, 3.1 in 5.1 (Cugmas, 2011) oz. neuresničevanje ciljev mladinske politike EU, ki se nanašajo na medsebojno razumevanje mladih iz različnih držav, prispevanje k razvoju kakovosti sistemov podpore za aktivnosti mladih ter zmogljivosti organizacij civilne družbe na področju mladine.

Z upravljavsko operativnega vidika se kaže, da število projektov, ki jih prijavljajo podravske mladinske organizacije z leti narašča, čeprav je v celotni slovenski strukturi odstotek prijavljenih projektov relativno nizek glede

na število mladih v tej regiji.⁴ Od leta 2008 do 2010 je bilo v regiji prijavljenih za več kot 35 % več projektov. Vendar pa obratno sorazmerno s to številko delež sprejetih projektov pada, iz 50,4 % na 43,6 % v letu 2010.

Tabela 1: Primerjava med številom prijavljenih in sprejetih projektov v obdobju 2008–2010 v celotni Sloveniji in v podravski regiji

Akcija	Skupaj		Skupaj	
	Število vseh predloženih projektov v Sloveniji	Število predloženih projektov v podravski regiji (%)	Število vseh sprejetih projektov v Sloveniji	Število vseh sprejetih projektov v podravski regiji (%)
podakcija 1.1	174	22	86 (24,9)	12 (33,3)
podakcija 1.2	274	25	70 (20,3)	10 (27,8)
podakcija 1.3	16	2	9 (2,6)	0 (0)
akcija 2	167	11	122 (35,4)	10 (27,8)
podakcija 3.1	85	12	27 (7,8)	2 (5,6)
podakcija 4.3	51	5	25 (7,2)	2 (5,6)
podakcija 5.1	12	1	6 (1,7)	1 (2,8)
Skupaj	737	78 (10,6)	345 (46,8)	37 (47,4)

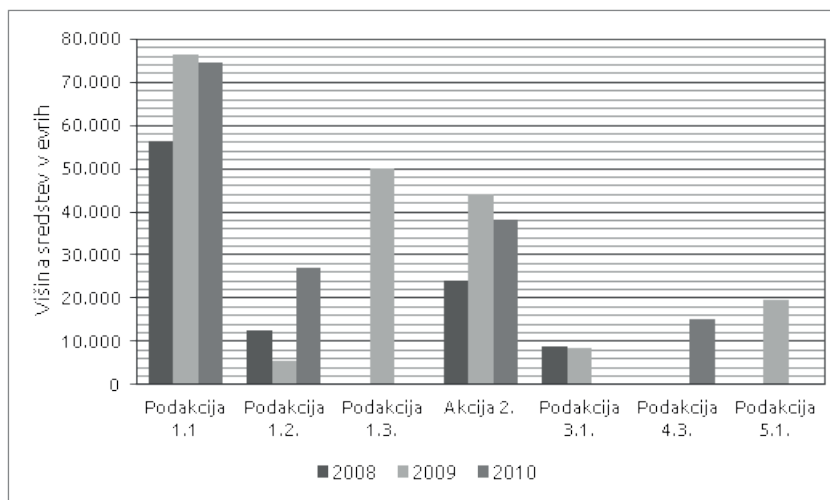
Vir: lastni

V obdobju 2008 do 2010 je bilo v okviru izvajanja programa MvA v Sloveniji skupaj prijavljenih 737 projektov, od tega 78 oz. 10,6 % v podravski regiji. Na ravni cele države je bilo v povprečju končno sprejetih 46,8 % vseh prijavljenih projektov in 47,1 % v podravski regiji. Tako na ravni države kot tudi na ravni preučevane regije je posameznim akcijam namenjena podobna pozornost (glej tabelo 1).

V nadaljevanju bomo poglobljeje pogledali še izvedbo ustreznega razporejanja finančnih sredstev. Sedemletni proračun programa MvA (2007–2013) znaša 885 milijonov evrov. O letnih proračunih odločata Evropski parlament in Svet EU (Evropska komisija, 2008). Vsaka akcija in podakcija ima vnaprej dodeljena finančna sredstva, ki se razdelijo glede na vsebinske prioritete, ki jih postavi Evropska komisija. V letu 2008 je bilo v Sloveniji skupaj podeljenih 87 % razpoložljivih sredstev, v letu 2009 97,27 % sredstev, v letu 2010 pa se je dodelilo 98,54 % razpoložljivih sredstev, kar je največ v analiziranih letih (Movit na mladina, 2010). Od omenjenih zneskov se je podravski regiji v letu 2008 odobrilo 6 % sredstev, v letu 2009 16 %, v letu 2010 pa je delež padel na 10,49 %, kar pomeni iz 204.339,00 € na 154.794,00 €, pri čemer sta bila v letu 2009 v podravski regiji prijavljena dva večja vsebinska projekta, ki sta dobila večino finančnih sredstev namenjenih podravski regiji, v letu 2010 pa je bil takšen en projekt (Mladi v akciji, 2010).

⁴ Na program MvA se v Sloveniji prijavljajo mladinske organizacije iz desetih regij. Največ prijavi je iz osrednjeslovenske regije, nato savinjske, tretja glede na oddane prijave je podravski regija (Mladi v akciji, 2010).

Grafikon 1: Višina sredstev, namenjenih posamezni akciji v podravski regiji v obdobju 2008–2010



Vir: Movit na mladina (2009, 2010)

Največ sredstev je bilo v Sloveniji dodeljenih podakciji 1.1 – Mladinske izmenjave, enako velja tudi za podravsko regijo, v tej podakciji je bilo tudi največ izvedenih projektov (glej grafikon 1). Najmanj sredstev pa je bilo namenjenih za usposabljanje in povezovanje v mrežo tistih, ki so aktivni v mladinskem delu in mladinskih organizacijah, torej podakciji 4.3.

Končno je za nas relevanten tudi vpliv izvedbe projektov, torej kakšne učinke imajo cilji, ki smo jih opredelili kot izpolnjene z izvedbo projektov. Kustec Lipicer & Deželan (2010) sta učinke ciljev, ki jih postavlja Evropska komisija, identificirala na treh ravneh: vsebinski; vodstveno-operativni in socio-demografski. Merjenje učinkov ciljev je izjemno težko, zato je za nas relevantno predvsem vsebinsko vrednotenje učinkov ciljev, saj nas zanima, v kolikšni meri, na koga in kakšen vpliv imajo posamezni izvedeni projekti. V primeru preučevane regije se pokaže, da se na normativni ravni z izvedbo projektov izpolnjuje večina ciljev, ki jih poudarja Evropska komisija. Učinek teh ciljev, ki bi se neposredno odražali na različnih vpletenih ciljnih skupinah, pa je mnogo težje izmeriti. Še najbližje temu je merjenje učinkov na samih mladih. V primeru obravnavane podravske regije bi glede na dejstvo, da organizacije prijavljajo vedno več projektov, pričakovali pozitiven učinek izvajanja programa MvA, vendar pa podatki hkrati tudi pokažejo, da je število sodelujočih v projektih manjše. Vzrok temu lahko iščemo v naravi projektov, torej primarno vsebini in ciljih EU, ki morajo biti izpolnjeni, a se hkrati vsebinsko ne skladajo z dejanskimi potrebami ter zmožnostmi mladinskih organizacij na lokalni ravni, nadalje pa tudi v finančno-operativnih omejitvah. Večina organizacij v regiji namreč zaradi svoje majhnosti nima zadostnega lastnega vložka za sodelovanje pri projektih,

ali pa lahko preživi zgolj za čas trajanja projekta (več o tem glej na primeru slovenske izkušnje npr. tudi v Kustec Lipicer & Deželan, 2010).⁵

Prav tako je podajanje celovite vsebinske ocene učinkov doseženih ciljev v primeru analiziranega programa problematično zaradi vsebinske ohlapnosti in (ne)izmerljivosti ciljev programa bodisi na nadnacionalni, nacionalni, ali lokalni ravni. Objektivno merjenje sprememb v odnosu do evropskega državljanstva, aktivnega državljanstva, razvoja solidarnosti in spodbujanja strpnosti ter krepitev medsebojnega razumevanja je praktično nedosegljivo in neizvedljivo, zato je mogoče o njem sklepati zgolj posredno preko pridobivanja subjektivnih ocen, zaznav in mnenj o odnosu in vedenjskih spremembah vpletenih ter morebitnih normativnih spremembah in redefiniciji javnopolitičnih ciljev v primeru odločevalskih struktur. Nesporno pa je na sedanjih točki mogoče zatrditi, da sodelovanje v programu MvA za mladinske organizacije pomeni večjo aktivnost tako organizacij samih, kot tudi posameznikov.

5 Zaključek

Program Mladi v akciji je program mladinske politike na ravni EU, s katerim le-ta ozko formalno gledano zasleduje zgolj lastne cilje, in za izvajanje katerega se lahko prijavijo tisti nacionalni in subnacionalni igralci, ki jih tovrstno zastavljene vsebine zanimajo. Vendar pa praksa, ki jo potrjuje tudi v tem članku izvedena analiza, kaže, da program MvA EU tako vladni igralci na različnih političnih ravneh, mladinske organizacije, kot tudi strokovna javnost pojmujejo kot bistven in nepogrešljiv element na področju mladinske politike in mladinskega dela na različnih, ne zgolj na politični ravni EU. Program je skozi leta postajal vedno bolj priljubljen tako med vladnimi igralci kot tudi med mladimi, kar potrjujejo številski podatki, iz katerih je razvidno, da se za njegove namene pripravlja vedno več projektnih predlogov in da se zaradi naraščajoče konkurence s tem povečuje tudi kakovost teh predlogov. Nadalje se je v analizirani primeru podravske regije pokazalo, da program v njej izvaja t. i. eksistencialno operativno-finančno funkcijo, saj mnogo mednarodnih mladinskih aktivnosti na področju mladinskega sektorja na lokalni ravni brez finančne podpore EU za realizacijo projektov, ne bi bilo nikoli izvedenih. V vsebinskem smislu se vpliv programa EU kaže predvsem v povečani mobilnosti mladih, v pridobitvi izkušenj, spoznavanju novih kultur in vključevanju v družbo, nenazadnje tudi v pridobivanju kompetenc za kasnejšo zaposlitev. Tudi mladinske organizacije pozitivno ocenjujejo program (več v Kustec Lipicer & Deželan, 2010). Z upravljaljskega vidika pa se vpliv kaže v krepitvi elementov vodenja, menedžiranja, projektnega menedžmenta v javnih politikah in tudi med posameznimi skupinami igralcev, ki jo oblikujejo in izvajajo (prav tam).

⁵ Gre za koncept t.i. »muh enodnevnica«, torej organizacij, ki se na sceni lokalnih mladinskih organizacij obdržijo povprečno kratek čas, saj se njihovo delovanje ukine zaradi nezainteresiranosti mladih in pomanjkanja sredstev in so zato uspešne le pri prijavi projektov. Več kot enkrat je projekt prijavilo le 10 organizacij, kar predstavlja le tretjino vseh organizacij v tej regiji (Mladi v akciji, 2010).

Kljub pozitivnim izsledkom, ki jih za sabo pušča izvajanje programa MvA nasploh, pa je za njegovo delovanje v načrtani smeri izjemnega pomena, na kakšen način se oblikujejo ustrezna upravljavska razmerja med igralci, vpletenimi v izvedbo programa. Tako je mogoče opaziti, da je zlasti strateški in dolgoročnejši medsebojni dialog med igralci navkljub vsebinski sorodnosti ciljev na različnih političnih ravneh neprepoznaven in osnovan pretežno na izvrševanju formalnih pristojnosti. EU z omenjenim programom sicer skrbi za zasledovanje lastnih ciljev, ki pa so hkrati z izjemo bolj evroskeptičnih držav članic, sorodni vsebinskim ciljem tudi na nižjih političnih ravneh. V našem primeru se je tudi pokazalo, da izvajanje programa MvA, ki ga podpira EU, ni ozko osredotočeno zgolj na zasledovanje evropskih ciljev, ampak pogosto zagotavlja preživetje posameznih mladinskih organizacij in s tem posredno tudi nadaljevanje zastavljene mladinske politike in dela tako na nacionalni kot na lokalni ravni, in ima zato pomemben posreden učinek tudi na javnopolitične procese na omenjenih ravneh.

Koncept večnivojskosti kot v začetku teoretsko opredeljen, se torej v analizirani izkušnji izvajanja programa MvA dejansko izvaja v neke vrste svojstveno prilagojeni obliki, čeprav v njegovem konceptu ideja večnivojskosti formalno sploh ni predvidena. EU kot finančna podpornica s programom MvA namreč narekuje dinamiko izvajanja lastne politike, pri čemer za izvedbo programa politično nižje ravni nudijo zgolj svojo administrativno pomoč. Hkrati pa omenjene nacionalne in subnacionalne ravni na račun te finančne podpore, ki jo dobijo izvajalci projektov, in hkratne ohlapnosti ciljev programa MvA, lahko razvijajo svojo lastno politiko na polju mladih, ki vsebinsko sploh ni nujno skladna s pričakovanji, cilji in upravljanjem mladinske politike EU.

Mateja Cugmas je leta 2011 diplomirala na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani, na študijski smeri Politologija – analiza politik in javna uprava. Šolanje nadaljuje na Fakulteti za družbene vede, smer Politologija – svetovne študije. Za diplomsko delo je skupaj z mentorico izr. prof. dr. Simono Kustec Lipicer prejela priznanje Mladinskega sveta Slovenije.

Dr. Simona Kustec Lipicer je izredna profesorica za področje analize politik, kot visokošolska učiteljica je zaposlena na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani in kot raziskovalka na Centru za politološke raziskave iste institucije. Pedagoško sodeluje v okviru policy analitičnih predmetov na domači fakulteti, Fakulteti za upravo Univerze v Ljubljani in Fakulteti za politične znanosti Univerze v Zagrebu. Raziskovalno sodeluje v okviru več domačih in mednarodnih raziskovalnih projektov s področij volilnega vedenja, analize politik in športne politike. Je (so) avtorica znanstvenih monografij, številnih domačih in mednarodnih strokovno-znanstvenih člankov, prejemnica štipendij EU.

Literatura in viri

- Cepin, M. (2009). *Mladinsko delo kot instrument mladinskih politik*. Pridobljeno 20.8. 2012, s <http://www.mladinski-delavec.si/datoteke/mdnfi/images/03-02.pdf>
- Citi, M. & Rhodes, M. (2007). New Modes of Governance in the EU: Common Objectives versus National Preferences. *European Governance Papers (EUROGOV)*, No. N-07-01. Pridobljeno 18. 5. 2012, s <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/New%20OMC%20links/egp-newgov-N-07-01.pdf>
- Cugmas, M. (2011). Vrednotenje evropskega sodelovanja na področju mladinske politike v Sloveniji. *Diplomsko delo*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Europa (2011). *White Paper on Youth*. Pridobljeno 21. 6. 2012, s http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/youth/c11055_en.htm.
- Europa (2012). *Open Method of Coordination*. Pridobljeno 23. 7. 2012, s http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/open_method_coordination_en.htm
- European Commission (2007). *Youth Programme*. Pridobljeno 3. 7. 2012, s http://ec.europa.eu/youth/archive/program/index_en.html.
- European Commission (2010). *Youth in Action Programme*. Pridobljeno 13. 6. 2012, s http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-in-action-programme/doc74_en.htm
- European Commission (2011). *Commission report to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Interim evaluation of the 'Youth in Action' Programme*. Pridobljeno 20. 7. 2012, s <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0220:FIN:EN:PDF>
- European Commission (2012). *Legal Basis*. Pridobljeno 21. 6. 2012, s http://ec.europa.eu/youth/policy/legal-basis_en.htm
- European Union (2012). *Education, Training, Youth*. Pridobljeno 3. 7. 2012, s http://europa.eu/pol/educ/index_en.htm
- Evropska komisija (2008). *Vodnik po programu Mladi v akciji 2008*. Pridobljeno 20. 7. 2011, s http://ec.europa.eu/youth/pdf/doc599_sl.pdf
- Ferjančič, P. (2011). Intervju z avtorico, Ljubljana, 20. julij 2011.
- Fink Hafner, D. (2007). *Uvod v analizo politik*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Fink Hafner, D. (ur.) (2010). *The Open Method of Coordination*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Fink Hafner, D., Lajh, D. & Deželan, T. (2010). The Open Method of Cooperation in the Global Context of Policy Cooperation. V Fink Hafner, D. (ur.). *The Open Method of Coordination* (17–35). Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Hogwood, W. B. & Gunn, A. L. (1984). *Policy Analysis for the Real World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Howlett, M. & Ramesh, M. (1995). *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Itzel, C. (2008). *Youth*. Pridobljeno 25. 6. 2012, s http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/Fact_sheets/info/data/policies/culture/article_7316_en.htm
- Kuhar, M. & Leskošek, V. (2008). Mladinsko delo na lokalni ravni: primerjalna analiza petih držav. *Socialna pedagogika* 12(4), 325–345.

SUMMARY

EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT OF EU ON THE FIELD OF YOUTH POLICY AT SUBNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL: EXAMPLE OF THE YOUTH IN ACTION PROGRAMME IN SLOVENIA

Key words: multi-level policy, evaluation, youth policy, program Youth in Action, Podravje

In the article the main emphasis is given on the evaluation analysis of Slovenian experience with the implementation and management of EU program Youth in Action 2007–2013 and to the impacts that it brings to the different political levels at which it operates – subnational, national and transnational, and to different groups of young people, as direct users of this program. The program has been designed in order to increase the commitment of young people and the strengthening of key competences for lifelong learning, known as increasing the employability and inclusion of young people into the society. The guiding principle of youth policy is based on promoting and offering positive tangible and intangible transfers that contribute to the improvement and development of young people's lives and to their generally higher participation in society. Youth policy is an integrative, cross-sectoral policy, with the aim of promoting cooperation between young people, taking into account the total volume of social, cultural and political issues that affect them. In the above context the concept of youth work as a form of working with young people on voluntary basis takes one of the crucial roles. In the youth field this focus is of strong public interest and is closely related to the Youth in Action Programme, which is also the subject of the analysis in this article.

The aim of our analysis is to evaluate how the results achieved in the implementation of the program at the subnational level meet the multi-level policy idea on one hand and young people as direct target group of the program on the other. With this regard the analysis of the program in terms of evaluating its goals, objectives and management aspects is being conducted. A concrete case study of Podravje region, designated as least developed in the field of youth policy in Slovenia is analysed.

Theoretical foundations for the analysis are based on the theories of public policy, governance and especially the principles of multi-level governance. Within the evaluation study of the impacts of the program Youth in Action it is necessary to focus on the content of the program objectives which were set by the EU as the co-financier of the program, despite the fact that at the (sub)national levels objectives and principles for the development and operation of the youth sector are independently imposed by (sub)national authorities in the field of youth policy. To fulfill the objectives and principles

the central authority at each political level introduce mechanisms through which to pursue their goals. The objectives of the European Commission, as defined in the analysed program Youth in Action, can be identified in five actions on which youth organizations, from national and subnational level, are applying their projects. According to the substantive similarities and specifics of youth area and youth policy principles – role of youth and youth organizations and representative structures at the national and EU level – we should expect that adopted goals of each individual political level would be complemented in managing and operation, but by the comparison of the content of operational objectives this has not been directly confirmed. Authorities at various levels set different goals, so that with the implementation of the Youth in Action program there are no substantive complementarities of goals and also the interlink of their compliance cannot be directly expected.

Research findings in the case of Slovenian case study Podravje region, considered as one of the least developed in terms of youth policy principles in Slovenia show that the effects of the objectives of the Youth in Action on young people in a region have been clear and successful. After reviewing all the projects and classification in the various parts of actions, we can see that in the Podravje region in Slovenia most projects were carried out in the framework of 1.1 and 1.2 as well as also 2. subaction, which are essentially concentrated on the promotion of European cooperation, active citizenship of young people, European citizenship and European voluntary Service. The managerial point of view shows that the number of projects registered by youth organizations in Podravje increases in time, although the percentage of projects in the entire Slovenian structure is relatively low in relation to the number of young people in the region. More than 35% more projects were reported as submitted from 2008 to 2010 in the region. However, conversely proportional to this, the percentage of accepted projects dropped from 50.4% to 43.6% in 2010. All together 737 projects were implemented in the frameworks of Youth in Action program in Slovenia in the period between 2008–2010, from this 78 or 10.6% in the analysed region. At the level of entire country on average 46.8% of all registered projects and 47.1% in Podravje region were finally accepted. Both, at the state level as well as at studied region level, similar attention to each action was dedicated. In 2008, in Slovenia 87% of the available funds were conferred, in 2009 97.27% funds, in 2010 98.54% of the available resources were conferred, which is the highest share in the analysed years (Movit on Youth, 2010). In the case of Podravje region 6% of the above mentioned funds were approved in 2008, in 2009 16%, in 2010 the share dropped again to 10.49%, which means from 204,339.00 € to 154,794.00 €, but with the observation that in 2009 two major substantive projects in the region were reported positive, receiving most of the funding, and in 2010 one such project was reported to be financed. Most of the funds in Slovenia were allocated to the sub-action 1.1 – Youth Exchanges, the same applies for Podravje region, in this sub-action was also taken up the most of projects. For the training and networking of those who were active in youth

work and youth organizations, so in the sub-action 4.3 at least funds were earmarked. Finally, the impacts of the implemented projects are also relevant for us to be aware of, knowing the effects of the goals that were in advance defined to be set with the implementation of the projects. Measuring this kind of impact is extremely difficult, since we need to be interested in how much, to whom and what impacts have been made by or because of the implementation of the individual project. In a way the question of knowing substantive project as well as also program and indirectly youth policy goals performance is at stake. In the case of the studied region it was shown that at the normative level project implementation meets most of the objectives highlighted by the European Commission which are at the same time also close to the policy goals as defined at the national level. The effect of these goals, which would directly reflect at the different involved groups is much more difficult to tackle. The closest to these is to measure the effects on the young people themselves. In the case of Podravje region, despite the fact that organizations have been applying more and more projects, we would expect positive impact of the implementation of Youth in Action program, but at the same time the data also show that the number of participants in projects is decreasing. The reason for this can be found in the nature of the projects, so primarily in the content and objectives of the EU, which must be met, and which at the same time substantively does not match with the actual needs and capacities of youth organizations at the local level. Also the financial and operational constraints at the local level are evident frequently. Most organizations in the region do not have sufficient background of financial and human resources for the application and later implementation of the project due to their small size.

The practice, which is also confirmed in the article, shows that governmental actors at different political levels, youth organizations, as well as expert community see the EU program Youth in Action as an essential and indispensable policy measure in the field of youth policy and youth work in various, not only at the EU political level arena. Over the years the program has become increasingly popular among government actors on both the national and subnational levels as well as among young people, which is confirmed by numerical data that report the increasing number of project proposals and also their quality. Furthermore, in the analysed case of Podravje region it has been shown that the Youth in Action program serves also in the operational and financial function for the region and even for the national policy, meaning that without the EU support the realization of projects would never be implemented in the youth sector. From the theoretical view it seems that the conclusions of the analysed case study reopen the debate of governing and managing the youth field from the multi-level perspective, which would fill the gap of the existing absence of more coherent, although in practice obviously present goals and principles of youth policy at various political levels.

Navodila avtorjem

V reviji Uprava objavljamo izvirne članke, ki obravnavajo teoretična in praktična vprašanja razvoja in delovanja javne uprave.

Znanstvene članke objavljamo v slovenskem in v angleškem jeziku, izjemoma v nemškem ali francoskem jeziku. Druge članke objavljamo v slovenskem, angleškem, nemškem ali francoskem jeziku, z daljšim povzetkom v angleškem oziroma slovenskem jeziku.

Članek za objavo v reviji Uprava pošljite na elektronski naslov: revija.uprava@fu.uni-lj.si.

Članek imenujte po priimku prvega avtorja (Novak.doc). Članku priložite izpolnjeno Izjavo o avtorstvu, s katero potrdite, da se strinjate s pravili objavljanja v teh navodilih.

Za avtorsko delo, objavljeno v reviji Uprava, pripadajo vse moralne avtorske pravice avtorju. Materialne avtorske pravice reproduciranja (vsebuje tudi shranitev v elektronski obliki, 23. člen ZASP), pravico dajanja na voljo javnosti (32. a člen ZASP), pravico distribuiranja (24. člen ZASP) v Republiki Sloveniji in tujini pa avtor brezplačno, enkrat za vselej, za vse primere in neomejene naklade ter vse medije prenese izključno na izdajatelja.

Avtorji so za objavo slik, tabel in grafičnih prilog, za katere nimajo avtorskih pravic, dolžni pridobiti dovoljenje, ki ga pošljejo na naslov uredništva.

Vsakemu avtorju pripada 1 tiskan izvod revije in separat članka v e-obliki.

Članki niso honorirani.

Citiranje člankov, izdanih v reviji Uprava, pomembno prispeva k uveljavljanju revije. Zato vas glavna urednica prosi, da pregledate arhiv revije na naslovu <http://www.fu.uni-lj.si/uprava/arhiv.asp>, kjer najdete članke, izdane v reviji v letih 2007–2011, odnosno od letnika V do letnika IX, ki bi bili morda zanimivi za vašo tematiko, in jih citirate v literaturi svojega članka.

Uredniški postopek:

1. Uredništvo lahko še pred recenzijo zavrne objavo članka, če njegova vsebina ne ustreza najavljeni temi, če je bil podoben članek v reviji že objavljen, ali če članek ne ustreza kriterijem za objavo v reviji. O tem uredništvo pisno obvesti avtorja.
2. Članek naj bo lektoriran, v uredništvu se opravlja samo korektura. Izjemoma se po dogovoru z avtorjem besedilo tudi lektorira.
3. Vsi članki se recenzirajo in razvrstijo.¹ Med recenziranjem avtorji in recenzenti niso imenovani. Članki po 1.01, 1.02 morajo za objavo prejeti

1 Članke razvrščamo po tipologiji COBISS:

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek. Izvirni znanstveni članek je samo prva objava originalnih raziskovalnih rezultatov v takšni obliki, da se raziskava lahko ponovi, ugotovitve pa preverijo. Praviloma je organiziran po shemi IMRAD (Introduction, Methods, Results And Discussion) za eksperimentalne raziskave ali na deskriptivni način za deskriptivna znanstvena področja.

1.02 Pregledni znanstveni članek. Pregledni znanstveni članek je pregled najnovejših del o določenem predmetnem področju, del posameznega raziskovalca ali skupine raziskovalcev z namenom povzemati, analizirati, evalvirati ali sintetizirati informacije, ki so že bile objavljene. Prinaša nove sinteze, ki vključujejo tudi rezultate lastnega raziskovanja avtorja.

dve pozitivni recenziji, od tega eno od tujega recenzenta. Če recenzenti razvrstijo članek različno, o končni razvrstitvi odloči uredniški odbor.

4. Članek, ki ga je avtor poslal v slovenskem jeziku in sta ga recenzenta razvrstila po 1.01, 1.02, mora avtor nato poslati še v prevodu v angleški jezik.
5. Avtor prejme rezultate recenziranja praviloma v treh mesecih od oddaje članka.

Oblikovanje članka:

1. Naslovu prispevka naj sledi: a) polno ime avtorja/avtorjev, b) naziv institucije/ institucij in c) elektronski naslov/naslovi.
2. Članek mora vsebovati še: a) *izvleček*, ki naj v 8 do 10 vrsticah opiše vsebino prispevka in dosežene rezultate raziskave; b) *ključne besede*: 1–5 ključnih besed ter c) *kodo iz klasifikacije po Journal of Economic Literature – JEL* (http://www.aeaweb.org/journal/jel_class_system.html).
3. Članek, ki je bil razvrščen po 1.04, 1.05 ali 1.08, naj vsebuje tudi povzetek v angleškem jeziku v obsegu 3 strani. V povzetku prevedite naslov in ključne besede ter predstavite vsebino članka (opredelitev problema in ugotovitve). Prevod povzetka članka tujih avtorjev v slovenski jezik zagotovi uredništvo.
4. Članek naj bo napisan v urejevalniku besedil Word (*.doc, *.docx) v enojnem razmiku, brez posebnih ali poudarjenih črk. Ne uporabljajte zamika pri odstavkih. Razdelki od Uvoda do Sklepnih ugotovitev naj bodo naslovljeni in oštevilčeni z arabskimi številkami.
5. Slike in tabele, ki jih omenjate v članku, vključite v besedilo. Opremite jih z naslovom in oštevilčite z arabskimi številkami. Revijo tiskamo v črno-beli tehniki, zato barvne slike ali grafikoni kot original niso primerni. Če v članku uporabljate slike ali tabele drugih avtorjev, navedite sklic pod sliko, tabelo ali kot sprotno opombo. Enačbe oštevilčite v oklepajih desno od enačbe.
6. Članek naj obsega največ 30.000 znakov.
7. Članku dodajte kratek življenjepis avtorja/avtorjev (do 8 vrstic).
8. V besedilu se sklicujte na navedeno literaturo na način: (Novak, 1999, str. 456).
9. Na koncu članka navedite literaturo po abecednem redu avtorjev in vire, po naslednjem vzorcu:

1.04 Strokovni članek. Strokovni članek je predstavitev že znanega, s poudarkom na uporabnosti rezultatov izvirnih raziskav in širjenju znanja, zahtevnost besedila pa prilagojena potrebam uporabnikov in bralcev strokovne ali znanstvene revije.

1.05 Poljudni članek. Poljudnoznanstveno delo podaja neko znanstveno ali strokovno vsebino tako, da jo lahko razumejo tudi preprosti, manj izobraženi ljudje.

1.08 Objavljeni znanstveni prispevek na konferenci. Predavanje, referat, načeloma organiziran kot znanstveni članek.

1.19 Recenzija, prikaz knjige, kritika. Prispevek v znanstveni ali strokovni publikaciji (reviji, knjigi itd.), v katerem avtor ocenjuje ali dokazuje pravilnost/nepravilnost nekega znanstvenega ali strokovnega dela, kriterija, mnenja ali ugotovitve in/ali spodbija/podpira/ocenjuje ugotovitve, dela ali mnenja drugih avtorjev. Prikaz strokovnega mnenja, sodbe o znanstvenem, strokovnem ali umetniškem delu, zlasti glede na njegovo kakovost.

1.21 Polemika, diskusijski prispevek. Prispevek, v katerem avtor dokazuje pravilnost določenega kriterija, svojega mnenja ali ugotovitve in spodbija ugotovitve ali mnenja drugih avtorjev.

Članek v reviji:

- Gilber, G., & Pierre, P. (1996). Incentives and optimal size of local jurisdictions. *European Economic Review* (40), 19–41.

Knjiga:

- Katzenbach, J., & Smith, D. (1993). *The wisdom of teams*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Knjiga z urednikom:

- Keene, E. (Ur.). (1988). *Natural Language*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Prispevek na konferenci:

- Bugarič, B. (2002). Od hierarhične k participativni (odprti) javni upravi. *IX. dnevi slovenske uprave. Portorož* (str. 23–29). Ljubljana: Visoka upravna šola.

Internetni vir:

- Tax Administration of the Republic of Slovenia. (n.d.). Pridobljeno 8. 5. 2007, s <http://www.durs.gov.si/>

Uradna publikacija, poročilo:

- World Bank. (2001). *World Development Indicators*. Washington: World Bank.

Disertacija:

- Richmond, J. (2005). Customer expectations in the world of electronic banking: a case study of the Bank of Britain. *PhD*. Chelmsford: Anglia Ruskin University.

Kadar ima publikacija več kot pet avtorjev, navedite samo prvega avtorja, npr. Novak et al. Če navajate dve deli ali več del istega avtorja, letnico označite, npr. 2005a, 2005b ... Priporočamo, da uporabite samodejni zapis literature, ki ga omogoča Word 2007 (zapis APA).

Instructions for Authors

The *Uprava* (Administration) journal publishes original articles on theoretical and practical issues in the development and function of public administration.

Academic articles are published in Slovene and English, and exceptionally also in German and French. Other articles are published in Slovene, English, German or French with an extended summary in English or Slovene as appropriate.

Please send articles for publication in *Uprava* to this address:

revija.uprava@fu.uni-lj.si.

The article filename should be the surname of the principal author (e.g. Novak.doc). A completed **Copyright Statement** should be sent as an attachment to the article to confirm agreement with the rules of publication, as set out in these instructions.

The author retains all moral rights to any copyright work published in *Uprava*. The author transfers the economic right to reproduction (including saving in electronic format pursuant to Article 23 of the Slovenian Copyright and Related Rights Act – the CRRA), the right of communication to the public (Article 32a of the CRRA), and the right of distribution (Article 24 of the CRRA) in the Republic of Slovenia and abroad exclusively to the publisher free-of-charge and once and for all for all cases and an unlimited number of copies, and for all media.

Authors are required to obtain permission for the publication of any images, tables and graphic material for which they do not own the copyright, which they must submit to the journal's editorial board.

All published authors are entitled to one printed copy of the journal and a copy of the article in electronic format. Fees are not paid for the articles.

Citations of articles published in *Uprava* contribute significantly to developing the journal's standing, therefore the chief editor has asked that you review the journal archive (available at <http://www.fu.uni-lj.si/uprava/en/arhiv.asp>), where you will find articles published from 2007 to 2011 (Year V to IX), which may be of relevance to your subject, and which you may cite in the literature of your article.

Editorial policy

1. The editorial board may decide not to publish an article even before the peer-review phase, if its content does not match the stated subjects, if a similar article has already been published in the journal, or if the article does not meet the criteria for publication in the review. The editorial board will inform authors of such a decision in writing.
2. The article should already have been language edited, and the editorial board only takes responsibility for proof-reading. Exceptionally it may also edit a text in agreement with the author.
3. All articles are peer-reviewed and classified.¹ The author and reviewer are not named during the peer review process. Articles classified as 1.01 and 1.02 must have two positive peer reviews in order to be published, one of

¹ **Articles are classified according to the COBISS typology:**

1.01 Original scientific article – first publication of original research results in a form that allows the research to be repeated and the findings verified. In general it must be organised

which from a foreign reviewer. If peer reviewers assess an article differently, the editorial board will make the final decision on the assessment.

4. If an article submitted in Slovene is classified as 1.01 or 1.02 by the reviewers, the author must then provide a translation into English.
5. The author will generally receive the results of the peer review within three months of submitting the article.

Article formatting

1. The article's title should be followed by: a) the full name of the author/authors; b) the name of the institution/institutions, and c) email address(es).
2. The article must also include: a) *an abstract* defining the content of the contribution and research results in 8 to 10 lines; b) *keywords*: 1–5 keywords, and c) a *JEL (Journal of Economic Literature) code* – (http://www.aeaweb.org/journal/jel_class_system.html).
3. An article classified as 1.04, 1.05 or 1.08 must also have a summary in English, 3 pages in length. The summary should offer a translation of the title and keywords and present the content of the article (define the argument and findings). For foreign authors, the translation of the article abstract into Slovene will be arranged by the editorial board.
4. An article must be supplied in MS Word (*.doc, *.docx) with single spacing, without special or highlighted characters. Do not indent paragraphs. Sections should be titled and numbered with Arabic numerals from the introduction to the conclusion.
5. Figures and tables mentioned in the article should be included in the text. They should be titled and numbered with Arabic numerals. The journal is published in black and white, so the original of figures and graphs should not be in colour. If the figures or tables of other authors are used in the article, give the reference below the figure or table or as a footnote. Equations should be numbered in brackets to the right of the equation.
6. Articles should not exceed 30 000 characters.

according to the IMRAD structure (Introduction, Methods, Results And Discussion) for experimental research or in a descriptive manner for descriptive academic areas.

1.02 Review article – an overview of the latest articles in a specific subject area, the works of an individual researcher or group of researchers with the purpose of summarising, analysing, evaluating or synthesising data that has already been published. It offers new syntheses, including the results of the author's own research.

1.04 Professional article – a presentation of what is already known, with an emphasis on the applicability of original research results and the dissemination of knowledge, with readability adapted to the needs of users and readers of the professional or scientific journal in which it appears.

1.05 Popular article – popular (science) articles offer professional or scientific content in a simpler form, making it accessible to people without higher education in the field.

1.08 Published scientific conference contribution – lecture, presentation, organised in principle as a scientific article.

1.19 Review, book review, critique – a contribution in a scientific or professional publication (journal, book, etc.) in which the author evaluates or demonstrates the validity or otherwise of a scientific or professional work, criterion, opinion or finding and/or disputes, supports or evaluates the finding, work or opinion of other authors. The presentation of an expert opinion, a critique of a scientific, professional or artistic work, particularly in terms of its quality.

1.21 Polemic, discussion – a contribution in which the author demonstrates the correctness of a specific criterion, his or her own opinion or findings and disputes the findings or opinions of other authors.

7. A short CV of the author or authors should be added to the article (up to 8 lines).
8. References in the text to cited literature should be made as follows: (Novak, 1999, p. 456).
9. List the literature in alphabetical order of author and source at the end of the article, in the following manner:

Article from a journal:

- Gilber, G., & Pierre, P. (1996). Incentives and optimal size of local jurisdictions. *European Economic Review* (40), 19–41.

Book:

- Katzenbach, J., & Smith, D. (1993). *The wisdom of teams*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Book with editor:

- Keene, E. (Ed.). (1988). *Natural Language*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Conference contribution:

- Bugarič, B. (2002). Od hierarhične k participativni (odprti) javni upravi. *IX. dnevi slovenske uprave. Portorož* (pp. 23–29). Ljubljana: Visoka upravna šola.

Internet source:

- Tax Administration of the Republic of Slovenia. (n.d.). Retrieved 8. 5. 2007, from Tax Administration of the Republic of Slovenia: <http://www.durs.gov.si/>

Official publication, report:

- World Bank. (2001). *World Development Indicators*. Washington: World Bank.

Dissertation:

- Richmond, J. (2005). Customer expectations in the world of electronic banking: a case study of the Bank of Britain. *PhD*. Chelmsford: Anglia Ruskin University.

If a publication has more than five authors, state only the first author, e.g. Novak et al. If citing two works or more by the same author, indicate the year, e.g. 2005a, 2005b, etc. We recommend the use of the automatic literature citation, which is supported by Word 2007 (APA citation).



