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HAS OUR DREAM COME TRUE?

20 years of Civil Society in Slovenia

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Executive Summary

The overall aim of 'Have our dreams come true' project was to evaluate to what extent the dreams about civil society in Slovenia have come true after the country's transition to democracy.

The report has 4 main parts. In **Chapter 1** we explore how the civil and political elites defined dreams about civil society in 1980s and how have these dreams developed since. In **Chapter 2**, we use a comprehensive data analysis to present the main features of the civil society in Slovenia in both past and present times. We also provide the mean explanations to the sluggish development of the Slovenian civil society. **Chapter 3** embarks on a multi-level analysis of the embeddedness of advocacy organisations of Slovenian civil society. The concluding **Chapter 4** provides general oversights and policy recommendations.

In the 1980s, the authors of the Slovenian dreams about civil society were working mainly on the change of political system and not on a search for the answer how to empower the individual to fully function in the democratic system.

In the 1980s, intellectuals together with the alternative civil society and the Roman Catholic Church made the dreams possible to emerge and flourish. Mainly the arguments of sovereignty and self-determination of the Slovene nation, political pluralism and respect for human rights were used. Dreams were later operationalized by the oppositional politicians into dreams of Slovenia as an own country.

After 1991, the basic responsibility for the provision of social welfare should be transferred from the state to the individual. This should reduce the significance of public sector and increase the significance of civil society. However, at the time of democratic transition, Slovenia did not experience a quick increase in institutionalized civil life as majority of other post-communist countries did. One of main reasons for that can be found in 1974 institutional changes which made associational life limited but possible.

While after 1991 the numbers of organized membership and the NGOs has been steadily increasing, the Slovenian civil society remains marginalized. Its personnel and financial potential is unexplored and poorly used. Civil society is poorly organized and poorly interconnected. Their personnel are usually poorly trained and inadequate.

The citizens in general do not distinguish between the sources of a service, i.e., provided by the state, civil society, or the market. What matters most for them is that such a service is available.

Embededness of an individual organization of the civil society in a specific environment depends on three parameters: democratic and participatory culture in the environment, the advocacy area of organization functioning and organizational management. It seems that only when all the three parameters are fulfilled at the same time, we can declare organisation as embedded.

Some advocacy areas are more or less popular in the public. Areas that address concrete issues, which people have in their everyday life, are considered by the people as the most embedded areas. More abstract or global areas stand on the bottom of the charts.

A big part of the representatives of civil society organizations see advocacy in a very limited and often even deformed way. Thus they do not fully recognize the mission of advocacy function of their organizations, nor the needs and opportunities in advocacy.

Most of the civil society organizations do not use all the potentials speaking about the involvement of the citizens in the advocacy activities. Communication with different public, be it membership, supporters, experts, targeted public, or country, in most organizations is not carried out in the long-term or intentionally. We notice a strong presence of the ad-hoc organizational culture.

Representatives of the organizations do not pay enough attention to contacts with different public. The employed are a very influential group. They often decide on matters

which should be, according to the statutes in organizations, decided by other bodies.

Civil society organizations are too small to be able to visibly influence on the democratic and participatory culture in the country. Majority does not have an effective access to the population.

I. The 'Dream' of a Country

There is a basic distinction between the social situation in Slovenia on the verge of the 1990s and the parallel situation in other countries explored in the project 'Have our dreams come true?' Slovenes never lived in their own country until the beginning of the 1990s. The dreams of democratization, freedom, and human rights were intrinsically linked to the dreams of having a country of one's own and autonomy of decision-making.

France Bučar, the then-president of the National Assembly, delivered the following message on June 25, 1991 at the proclamation of the Basic Constitutional Charter of the Autonomy and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia (Pesek, 2009): *"This is one of the most important events in our history.... This act is certainly the culmination of the Slovenian nation who has been trying to make its own home for centuries. However, this is not the end, nor the beginning of our history. It is the epoch-making point in our national lives, for we have come in a position where we can decide independently about our destiny."*

This great desire to create a 'home' has clouded a more fundamental dream of political pluralism and respect for human rights. Moreover, an autonomous and independent country as such does not make the life of its citizens necessarily better or freer. The significance of independence lies mainly in the ability of an autonomous and responsible decision-making of the citizenry.

Twenty years later, Bučar (Siol, 2010) expressed doubts about this having happened: *"Before 1990, we wanted our own country and more freedom. We expected people to accept their country more as a part of their own system of values and to treat it as something that is theirs."* This evaluation represents a colourful example both of what the dreams of Slovenian society looked like twenty years ago and of the fact that these expectations never fully

materialized. Bučar, one of the founding fathers of Slovenian independence thus helps us in this chapter to address the following questions: What kind of dreams was expressed in the period of democratic changes? What social groups were able to articulate and express these dreams within the Slovenian public discourse? And, what specific dreams in regards to civil society were present alongside with the dreams of an autonomous and independent country?

I.I. Pre and Post World War II Social Conditions and the Idea of Autonomy

To be able to fully understand the social conditions in which emerged and flourished the idea of an autonomous country, we first present the relations between the nations within former Yugoslavia.

After the First World War emerged a new and artificially created state unifying several distinct nations of what was soon to be called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. These international conditions influenced the future unity– and disunity – of the Yugoslav nations much more than any potential desire of these peoples could ever have. Before the First World War, no collective Yugoslav nation or even culture existed. The citizens of the new country spoke different languages. Most often, for example, the citizens from other regions could not understand Slovenian language. Among these emerging nations there also existed important religious differences. Catholics, the Orthodox Church, Muslims, Jews and many other denominations inhabited the new state. And, significantly, political ideas used by the leaders to unite these diverse nations, such as 'Yugoslavization' of the king Aleksander Karadjordjević the ensuing Josip Broz Tito's concept of fraternity and unity, proved largely unsuccessful.

Within the new interwar political setting, the economy in

Tito said in 1965: "If in 1970 dinar[1] is not convertible, the people will righteously lose their trust in the Federation of Communists." The year 1970 passed, the year 1980 passed; now we are in 1988, and we have to face worse problems than just the inconvertible 'dinar'.

A politician Ivan Oman at the Assembly for the foursome, 1988

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1) *Currency of Yugoslavia at that time*

the region inhabitated by Slovenes started to deteriorate. Before 1918, Slovenian economy was still competitive with other European economies. However, while after the war Slovenia benefited from exporting products to the joint Yugoslav market. However, after 1918 it started to fall behind heavily. The simple reason for the failing market was the fact that other Yugoslav regions fell behind other countries (Granda, 2008). This trend continued after the Second World War. Moreover, among the Slovenes there was an acute perception of economic exploitation by Belgrade. This sentiment started to grow in strength particularly in the 1960s and 1970s with the events of the so-called 'road affair in 1969', and the affaires connected to the lack of collecting taxes in some parts of Yugoslavia. Federal politics often focused narrowly on the least developed parts of the country, frequently disregarding economically more developed Slovenia.

In addition to the growing social and economic dissatis-faction among the Slovenes came the death of Josip Broz-Tito. Tito's death in the 1980 created a sense of an integra-tive and ideological emptiness. What is more, his death coincided with the World Energy Crisis, the closing of Slo-venian mines, the crisis of several industrial branches (e.g., car and textile industries) and the financial pressures of the overdue Yugoslav debts. Federal government frequently reacted to the general crisis with unreasonable measures. For example, the government took away autonomous rights from Kosovo and Vojvodina and started to heavily centralize the country. The leaderships within different republics reacted to these trends and started to work more on a national than federal level. Questions of national and nationalist identities merged and the self-awareness of several Yugoslav nations grew stronger. In Serbia, for instance, a nationalistic leader Slobodan Milošević used the political vacuum created in Yugoslavia in order to come to power and advance his agenda. His rise to power caused more and more conflicts between the republics as well as serious mi-litary threats to which other republics such as Slovenia quickly responded with an intention of separation and independence.

I.2. Developing a Dream of One's Own Country

After the Second World War, the idea of having one's own country started to become progressively more popular among the Slovenes. This idea was especially strong among the post-war political emigrants and the many economic emigrants who went abroad after 1960. There was a massive support to the idea of an independent country at the time of the above-mentioned 'road affair' in 1969 (Granda, 2008), when the federal government took away the international loan intended to build motorways.

The window of opportunity emerged with the gradual collapse of communism and the beginning of a global re-arrangement of Europe. These historic events fatally loosened the Yugoslav federation, making possible the emergence of new independent nations.

Starting in 1987, Slovenian intellectuals published articles about the Slovenian National Programme in the memorable 57th issue of Nova Revija. Since that moment, the events occurred much faster than anyone ever expected. In 1988, several crucial developments took place. Democratic political parties appeared under the form of civil initiatives. Three journalists of the Mladina newspaper and the military non-commissioned officer revealed a secret military document that suggested resorting to violent measures to address the people who were in charge of the demand of democracy. Their arrest made people come out on the streets. In 1989, the May Declaration was proclaimed. The declaration openly demanded a sovereign and democratic country. In 1989 a multiparty system was legislated, and in 1990 the first democratic elections were held. The Democratic Opposition Demos won the election. These events set the scene for the establishment of the independence. At the plebiscite of December 23, 1990, a great majority (93.2% of the electorate) voted in favour of the independence.

A few months after the plebiscite, the Basic Constitutional Charter of the Autonomy and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia was proclaimed. A 10-day war followed, in which the Slovenian army surprised Europe by its well organized resistance to the Yugoslav People's Army. The European Union quickly proclaimed a successful tree-month cessation of fighting, which brought about peace and offered the young government time to lobby for the international recognitions of independence. Most of the world countries recognized Slovenian political independence in 1991 and in 1992. On May 22 of 1992, Slovenia became a member of the United Nations.

I.3. Sudden Unity in Dreaming of an Independent Country?

The convincing majority, with which the citizens of Slovenia declared their dreams of an independence, raises amazement even after more than twenty years within both scientific and general views. Never before has the Slovenian nation achieved that kind of unity. We explain this sudden unity by the following factors.

The first factor is a **common external enemy**. At the end of the 1980s it started to become obvious that a conflictual, single-party, and economically stagnating Yugoslavia was a frame too tight for the further development of Slovenia. Imperialistic aspirations of Milošević's Serbia became more and more obvious. These were not just economic threats to Slovenia, but implied that large armed conflicts may happen in the immediate future.

The second factor is the **wholeness** of the dreams about one's own country. These dreams were so broad that one could address someone entirely, that is in all of their dimensions (as implied by Čerin). We present this factor under the following dimensions.

• **Financial dimension.** The citizens of Slovenia were on

the one side observing their home economy go down, but on the other they were right next to the economically much more developed Austria and Italy. Many Slovenian citizens were paying regular visits to these countries.

- **Social dimension**. The inhabitants were observing social injustices and illogicalities that were happening in the Yugoslav political peak and in connection with the Yugoslav People's Army on a daily basis. Consequently, people were organizing different forms of protests, which had a multiplying effect (a support for others).
- **Emotional dimension**. The Yugoslav identity weakened, and the Slovene identity became stronger. Here were crucial all organized and unorganized forms of support of the Slovenian cultural tradition as well as the emphasis on national characteristics, which were at that time present in the culture, the economy, sports, etc.
- **Cognitive dimension**. New facts in relation with the functioning of the communist government after the Second World War were being found. These put doubt in the legitimacy of the functioning of the Communist Party, and revealed a number of post-war violent actions and mass slaughter of the innocent civilians. Even after 20 years all of them have not been revealed.
- **Moral dimension**. In public, people talked more about democracy and respect for human rights, especially in connection with daily political issues, such as the arrest of the foursome.
- **Spiritual dimension**. Catholic Church was a strong pillar of the Slovenian culture before the Second World War, but the post-war events and processes almost stopped its functioning. With government's seemingly higher tolerance threshold to the civil society and the church, the events related to religiosity developed quickly.

The third factor explaining the unity in relation to the dreams of an independent country is what we call '**width'**. The dreams included almost everyone. Anyone could find

a part in these dreams, be it a businessman dreaming of less bureaucratic obstacles at the opening of his enterprise, a consumer who dreamt of a more varied choice of products on the market, a cultural creator who dreamt of more freedom of expression, a future politician who dreamt of his own political career, or someone who saw in his own country the only chance to preserve the privileges obtained in the former regime.

The fourth factor is the **concreteness of dreams**. It is about dreams whose final result is possible to imagine. They are realizable.

However, if concreteness of dreams provided their wide social support, there is a question about the negative effects of this concreteness. Do dreams which are too solid deserve to be called dreams at all, or was there some sort of a vision, (partial) objective in this case? If dreams are realizable, there is always a danger of them leaving behind some emptiness.

I.4. Who Was Dreaming and What Were They Dreaming about?

The main 'dreamers' in Slovenia were the following: the intellectuals, politicians, civil society, the Roman Catholic Church, and alternative cultural movements. In this section we first present the main 'dreams' of each of these crucial social groups. In the last part of this section some pieces are stated which in our opinion complete and actualize the picture of dreams and had a strong influence primarily on the widest circles of the population.

1.4.1. Intellectuals

Slovenian dreams were expressed in the most clear and extensive way in the 57th issue of Nova Revija. Nova Revija, a monthly magazine of culture was allowed by the government in 1982. Since then the magazine became an

intellectual home primarily for cultural workers. Occasionally, other intellectuals would join this circle, such associologists, lawyers, and philosophers. This particular issue published in 1987 was titled 'Articles of the Slovenian National Programme'. The authors examined questions of the identity of the Slovenian nation, its sovereignty, national character, confidence, position of the Slovenes in Yugoslavia, Slovenian language and Slovenian history. The preface of this issue states: *"It is about initiative to think differently about the Slovenes, the new concept of Slovenianism, which is supposed to be constituted in the institutions of a potentially sovereign nation in its everyday life – considering the demands of the new historical epoch."*

Perhaps there is no exaggeration in saying that intellectuals were the first to publicly and loudly express their opinion. They opened the public space for a new type of discussion. They encouraged members of other social groups to reflect on these issues. And, most importantly, they paved the way for the emergence and consolidation of Slovenian dreams. Some of its authors (such as Dr Jože Pučnik, Dr France Bučar and Dr Dimitrij Rupel) later actively entered the politics. They in part made it possible for the hypotheses which are based on justice of sovereignty of the Slovenian nation to realize in practice as well.

1.4.2. Politicians

Slovenian political opposition movement of the late 1980s followed the ideas of the intellectuals. The opposition movement operationalized these ideas and translated them into concrete political dreams of an independent state.
Slovenian opposition movement was formally founded in May 1988 with the foundation of Slovenian Farmers Federation. Many others federations followed in 1989.[2] Having entered political life, these newly founded 'federations', often advocated for completely different political programmes. Some of them emphasized democracy, others the

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2 Slovenian Democratic Alliance (Dimitrij Rupel), Social-Democratic Union of Slovenia(France Tomšič),Slovene Christian Social Movement ((Peter Kovačič), Burgois Green Party (Marek Lenardič), Yugoslav Federation (Matjaž Anžurjev), Green Movement (Dušan Plut), Federation of a Yugoslav Democratic Incentive (Rastko Močnik) and some other groups.

nation. Still others built their image on anticommunism. Many of these federations became political parties after a new law on parties was passed at the beginning of 1990. The parties existing within the communist regime joined new political arena. For example, the Liberal Democratic Party emerged from the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia. The Party of Democratic Renewal arose from the League of Communists of Slovenia. And the Socialist Federation of Slovenia emerged from the Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia.

The basic political document of the opposition was the 'May Declaration'. The May Declaration was not only signed by the influential Society of Slovenian Writers but also the Slovenian Democratic Alliance, the Slovenian Farmers Federation, the Slovene Christian Social Movement, and the Social-Democratic Union of Slovenia. The demands of the May Declaration were the following:

- A life in a sovereign country of the Slovenian nation,
- the right to independent decision-making about the connections with South Slavonic and other nations in the renewed Europe,
- a demand of justification of the Slovenian country, based on respect for human rights and liberties, democracy which includes political pluralism and social order which shall guarantee a spiritual and financial welfare in accordance with human ability of the citizens of Slovenia.

On the basis of the demands of the May Declaration and the programmes of the individual parties, 7 parties united into a Democratic Opposition Demos before the elections in 1990. 'Demos' made a programme emphasizing two fundamental demands:

- A civil society, including a country of rule of law and pluralistic democracy, and
- National political and economic sovereignty.

"We are attending elections in order to win. And to end a political and economic experimentation, which has led our society and economy to the brink of an abyss. By winning we shall prevent them from pushing us into the abyss. We shall be deciding for a normal European country, a normal order, a normal life where we shall not fear all-night sessions and other similar circuses."
Politician Ivan Oman, at the assembly of Demos, 1990

"Only when we will have realized these two fundamental demands", the programme states, *"shall Slovenia be incorporated in the civil and democratic Europe."*

The parties within the coalition Demos were ideologically very different. Internal agreements within the coalition were time-consuming and wearisome. After the project of the independence was successfully carried out, and when it was already well-known that Slovenia would become a member of the Organization of the United Nations, the coalition fell apart. However, although it was seemingly ephemeral, the coalition accomplished the main objectives of its programme.

1.4.3. Civil Society

Even though the Slovenian parliament in 1974 passed a relatively liberal legislation on the functioning of (civil) societies, we cannot talk about an existing civil society in the 1970s and 1980s. As the constitution states, the 'civil society' was presented in the assembly by the Socialist Alliance of the Working People (SAWP), as a kind of an umbrella organization. It was obviously not founded 'bottom-up' but was strongly influenced by the Communist Party of Slovenia. Edvard Kardelj wrote in his work 'Political System of the Socialist Self-Management' (Kardelj, 1979) about the SAWP: *"While the Communist Federation is by its social-historical role focused mainly on the ideational and general political problems of the development of the socialist society, the Socialist Federation has to address chiefly the problems of the realization of interests of the working crowds and their self-managing communities, which arise from general ideational and political movements of the society, and by all means, it also has to define its attitude towards ideational and political problems of the further development of socialism."* The role of the SAWP was in theory a means for the people to realize their interests. However, this realization was not to take place in the

Firstly: the concept of a socialist society seems problematic to me. The forces of the civil society were wearing down the socialism. And vice versa.

Gregor Tomc in the 57th issue of Nova Revija (1987)

field of 'ideational and general problems' but in the area of self-managing socialism.

In the political and scientific field, there were and still are different opinions on to the extent to which the regime in the 80s in Slovenia was authoritarian/totalitarian. Pučnik (1987) writes: *"At the moment we are living in a liberal phase in Slovenia… (but) even though there was no voluntary administration in any cultural field in Slovenia at this very moment, the political system would still be totalitarian because the party can decide to use stronger or even maximal amounts of power any time… That is where the anxiety and fear in people, even in myself comes from: What if it comes to an extraordinary session of the Central Committee and they 'estimate' that 'order has to be made' tonight?"* Even if we cannot say the regime in the 80s was totalitarian the fear was still the main source of holding back the development of the civil society.

Despite the authoritarian or even midly totalitarian nature of the political regime, specific activities were financed through the SAWP. These activities were finances especially through the Union of Socialist Youth of Slovenia (USYS), which was represented in the SAWP. This would never have happened through the Communist Party. The activities were about the new social movements, which were then included in it. Thus (Pinosa, 2009) the USYS was the first political organization to mark the then-political--social condition as a social crisis at the congress in Novo Mesto in 1984. In the USYS's documents the background of the crisis is revealed. It passed a diagnosis of social condition, which differentiated in many ways from the one that other social-political organizations were offering.

New social movements were an ideal partner from the inside of the USYS. They focused on the resolving of concrete problems and did not problematize the existing political system. It seems that the movements offered

a response to the USYS at the right moment. They sugge-sted the contents that the form called 'independent and democratic front of youth' has to be filled with, without having to renounce its socialist ideological direction (Pinosa, 2009). According to (RSNZ, 1986), there were three types of alternative movements included in the USYS: peace movements, ecological movements, and spiritual movements. According to the same source, other 'new movements' were:

- the Cultural-Artistic Student Center (CASC), and inside of the movement a female section and the section of the so-cialization of homosexuality,
- the Slovenian Sociological Society,
- the Slovenian Journalistic Society.

These alternative movements, included in the USYS, had a strong influence on public opinion. Groups which were actively incorporated into the institutional frame were in favour of the objectives that were in accordance with values of the system (peace and non-alignment, protection of environment, women's equality, objectivity of informing…). However, they also claimed that formal institutions were not realizing the objectives consistently and sufficiently enough. Groups constantly collaborated and organized joint public events (round table events, lectures, assem-blies, stands…). They represented an alternative. And the alternative was a figment of their own thinking and foreign theoretic results.

Peace movements were especially important. Their contri-bution to the dreams could be observed through the shifts in public opinion. For example, opinion survey from 1990 shows that 38,3% of the interviewees were in favour of demilitarization of the country (29,8% were in favour of the Slovene Army). According to SPEM (October 4, 1990), 25% of the interviewees were in favour of the Slovenia without army. And, according to the information of Varianta (January 29, 1991), 48,8% of the interviewees were in favour of the Slovenia without army, while 27,1% were in favour of the

Slovene Army (Jalušič, V. 'Post Scriptum'. Mladina no. 8, February 25 2003, p. 6.) These dreams had such power and political influence that they were formed as one of the constitutional points. The 63rd article of the Constitution states: *"Any inciting of violence and war is unconstitutional."*

It is worth mentioning that all the above-mentioned federations, turned into political parties with the act of 1990, can be considered at their beginning as civil-social movements. This part of the civil society is probably the one that contributed the most to the fulfilment of the Slovenian dreams. There were often dilemmas inside the specific social movements whether to stay in the civil society or to turn into a political party. All the big federations in the end opted for the latter. Some scientists link the posterior powerlessness of the Slovene society with personnel shortage, which occurred with it.

1.4.4. The Roman Catholic Church

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church increased significantly in the 1980s. While the Church did not possess capital power, it became a moral authority. It did not get involved into the daily political happening, although the Communist government struck it a heavy blow after the Second World War. Its main asset in that time was a high level of trust by the majority of population.

The dreams of the Roman Catholic Church can be best presented by relying on two sources. The first is the Committee for Justice and Peace at the Slovene Regional Episcopal Conference (in the beginning it was named the Justice and Peace Council of the Slovene Regional Episcopal Conference). This Committee, under the leadership of Dr. Anton Stres, actively contributed to public discourse all the way from 1986. The other source of the dreams of the Roman Catholic Church came the Church's 'fieldwork'. According to its web site, the Justice and Peace Council was founded in 1985, but is started to function at the beginning of October in 1986. The contents of the Council's

work can be seen from its statements for the Slovene and international public. It raised moral questions, such as conscientious objection to the national service, broad-minded thinking, nation's independence, religious freedom, judicial independence, etc.). All the statements have in common a special concern for the respect of human rights, which are the Committee's measure to judge the social happening. The Committee in its statements between 1986 and 1991 never takes political stand but does dare to judge and condemn the social happening when the human rights based on human dignity are broken.

As an instance the reaction of the Committee to the 57th issue of Nova Revija can be given. The Committee does not give (1987) any opinion on the contents of the articles, but only comments on their procedural level, referring to the 19th article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."* And further: *"One should debate with authors of the articles, and renounce their statements if needed."*
As we discuss the Roman Catholic Church's 'fieldwork', we must not forget its youth work. In the period after the 2nd Vatican Council, forms of educational-pastoral approach in youth work became very popular. They almost completely replaced traditional forms of religion teaching. In the 80s, the so-called youth groups were in their highlights. It was about groups of young people, which had meetings once a week, where the youth were discussing different questions about life. Music, trips and different national and international meetings were often included. Social topics were frequently on the repertory of their formal as well as informal conversations.

1.4.5. Alternative cultural movements

Individuals who did not have the possibility to express themselves in this system, where the country controlled

the culture, associated into the first complete subcultural movement. It developed its own social and social-political network on the basis of its own musical aesthetics. Inside the operating system a new subsystem emerged, which had a strong influence on the youth. At the same time it was pointing to the happenings in the society through cultural interventions, and was in favour of dignity of each individual, human rights, non-violence, and demilitarization.

In the 80s, there was a flow of information of the foreign alternative culture in the Slovene media space. The radios Študent and a weekly magazine Mladina were spreading the word, the Student Cultural Center (SCC) in Ljubljana, which was founded from the student movements in the 70s, became one of the leading stimulators and promoters of the alternative culture. The SCC had a support of the governing parties, for it was functioning inside the UC USYS (the University Conference of the Union of Socialist Youth of Slovenia).

Musical production of the alternative groups was presented at the festival Novi Rock each year. Through the years people had different reactions to it. There were cancellations, replacements at the last moment, prohibitions, censorship and discords. At the same time theatre (FV 115/12) and different art practices which included video production and performance events developed.

In 1984 the collective NSK with its cultural production (music – Laibach, art – Irwin, design – Novi Kolektivizem, theatre – Noordung, and philosophy) was in its own way revealing attitudes to totalitarianism in the society.

While different alternative cultural practices were being developed in the 80s, more than 200 different partners (individuals, groups, organizations) gathered under the wing of the ŠKUC (the Student Cultural Center) Forum and the Society for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in 1990, and linked themselves into the Network for Metelkova. The latter started to promote the idea about a demilitarized zone in the former military premises. After

the Yugoslav Army left in 1991, the establishment of the multicultural centre in Metelkova was suggested; however, the municipal and state government were not willing to give away the premises, which led to their gradual decay. On September 9, 1993, the Township of Ljubljana started with demolition of the north part of Metelekova. A day later the premises were occupied by an organized group of volunteers, and that was when the permanent occupation of the uninhabited premises started. These turned into the Alternative Cultural Center Metelkova Mesto through the years.

1.4.6. Other Fragments

This short section presents three special but crucial circumstances or environments in which the dreams of the intellectuals, politicians and others were translated into the general public. All the three environments were loaded with shared emotion, based on the understanding of Slovenia as a homeland.

- **Popular Culture**. As an instance of a popular music group whose lyrics portray a piece of dreams the group Agropop, founded in 1984, has to be mentioned. The lyrics of the group were at first making fun of the Slovenian characteristics, the figures in their songs were simple people (volunteer firemen, butchers, farmers, alcoholics…). Between 1988 and 1991, their songs got more patriotic, the lyrics were expressing a wish of a free and independent Slovenia. Some of their albums' titles are: 'Going Forward for our Homeland with Agropop' (1989), 'Under the Free Sun' (1989) and 'In the Name of People' (1989). One of their most successful albums is 'Just a Million', which was sold in 110.000 copies. It sings about the persistence of the Slovene nation and the right to self--determination.
- **Sports**. Patriotic feelings were expressed in Slovenia throu-

gh sports as well. The main sport was the alpine skiing, which had a good influence on the self-confidence of the nation. The whole Yugoslavia was rejoicing the first Yugoslav Winter Olympic medal (Jure Franko, Sarajevo 1984), the medals from the World Cup and other important events; however, only Slovenian sportsmen were winning them. The alpine skiers were the Slovene national heroes in the 80s and the early 90s. The support campaign Podarim Dobim shows the value of this sport for the Slovene youth.

- **Slovenia – my homeland**. In 1986, a resonant promotional video clip was filmed for the Slovenian tourism needs. The Chamber of Commerce of Slovenia ordered it. The video clip was designed as a part of a broad promotional campaign designed in 1983, whose object was to strengthen the image of Slovenia in the world. The video clip in a few short takes shows tourist workers doing their last chores before the tourists come (a decoration of the boat, painting of the fence, sprinkling the sugar over the Slovene cake called 'potica', cleaning the Lipizzaner horse…). All the takes are linked together by the scene in which a man is writing a welcome note on a big local billboard in seven languages. The effects of the video clip exceeded the economic intentions, for it had a strong effect on the patriotic emotions of the Slovenes. It emphasized natural resources, good and working people and national pride. Everything we need for the independent country.

1.4.7. A Short Conclusion on Who Was Dreaming

The analysis of the 'dreamers' and their dreams confirms the starting hypothesis that Slovenian dreams are based mainly on the enforcement of having a country of one's own. Intellectuals together with the alternative civil society and the Roman Catholic Church made it possible for the dreams to emerge and flourish and used mainly the arguments of sovereignty and self-determination of the Slovene

nation, political pluralism and respect for human rights. On the other hand, the oppositional politics operationalized these dreams into dreams of their own country. Popular culture, sports and promotional campaigns translated these dreams into the language of the crowds.

Next we are trying to respond to the question how 'general dreams' reflected in dreams of the civil society and civil--social organizations. This aspect of the Slovenian dreams is crucial for the research titled 'Have our dreams come true'.

1.5. Dreams about the Civil Society

In the 57th issue of Nova Revija three authors were reflecting upon the civil society: Alenka Goljevšček, Jože Pučnik and Gregor Tomc. What is interesting is that in their own articles they do not talk so much about the civil society, but mainly about the (political) system, which was supposed to enable the functioning of the civil society. It is not so much about dreams of what the civil society is supposed to achieve or how it is supposed to function, but mainly about dreams of how to create the environment for its plural and effective functioning.

All the three authors emphasize that the civil society cannot function freely in the socialist political system. Tomc (1987) states that *"as soon as the party lets the reigns out of its hands, white stains of the uncontrolled social life start to appear, where suppressed autonomous particular social interests are manifested."* Pučnik (1987) in the same context mentions planned Lenninistic politization of the whole life, which goes so far that it dares to arrange even the relations between parents and children in the family in order to enable the politics immediate regulation.

Pučnik is convinced that *"the basic task of a political system is to regulate intervention of the government to specific fields, where more subtle differences already function and also have to function… all the way to the solid functioning of in-*

dividual persons." This can be interpreted as the making of space so that those questions which demand that (most of them are like that) are addressed by the civil society, and not by the political system. Tomc is even more vivid and solid: *"Specificity of the present conditions is in the fact that neither the defined area of state, nor the defined area of social functioning exists. In those conditions we pretend that we represent the interests of the civil society…, indistinctive political elite stands the opposite of us, and helplessly observes the happening."*

According to Pučnik, the civil society should be subordinate to the primate of a person. It has to enable self-construction (autopoiesis) to an individual when he is around other people. For him only the primate of the person is the one who makes it possible for us to talk about constructs, such as culture, civil society, political system, law, science, etc. Pučnik sees political system as a system of arranging people according to their difference. *"The arranging is happening due to the lack of information about mutual relations among individuals and specificity of each of them."* He speaks about the absurdity of a pragmatic demand. He insists that *"this violent arranging is valid for several million different people at the same time."*

The only hope he sees for a development of the civil society is in political pluralism: *"The elite cannot (in case of democratic elections) usurp the power anymore, for it was only lent to it for a short mandatory period of time. The parties have to continually answer for their use (and abuse) of this equivalent and its amount in the democratic public and in the next elections."* He does not think that political pluralism eliminates abuses, but it definitely diminishes it.

1.6. Dreams - Means or an End?

Slovenian dreams flourished most during the crisis of the 1980s, when the seemingly solid Yugoslavia started to fall apart. Intellectuals were the first ones to build their dreams

mainly on the consciousness of sovereignty of the Slovene nation, but later most of the population was fascinated by the idea about its own country Slovenia.

This realizable and visionary 'big goal' about the independent country also had negative consequences. When it was finally fulfilled in 1992 with the acceptance of the Organization of the United Nations, it left some sort of emptiness behind. The only goal for which there was a solid consensus on the national level was the entrance into the European community (2004), and it seems that the emptiness has amplified after this goal was fulfilled.

Dreams of the independent country Slovenia are worth something only when they represent a means to achieve higher values. Dreams in the real sense cannot be expressed by a solid vision or goal. They can only be expressed by (never completely achievable) universal values, such as respect for human dignity, political pluralism and religious freedom.

Nejc Zaplotnik, perhaps the most quoted Slovene alpinist, wrote in his book titled 'A Way': *"If you are looking for a goal, you shall be left empty when you find it. If you find the way, you shall always carry the goal inside you."*

There were many social groups in Slovenia, which were looking for a way, thus dreaming universal values, but they saw their own country mainly as a means for an easier realization of these dreams. The question left is how these dreams about the nation's own country were seen by most of the population.

The unbelievable power of the goal about the nation's own country was probably diminishing the amount of discussions about what to do with your own country later on. And it seems as if the Slovenes still did not find a basic consensus on the level of the basic values. That kind of environment represented great humus for stories for the next 20 years: for the stories about the unjust privatization of the state assets, still not investigated crimes from the epoch after the Second World War, villainous political conflicts and finally social apathy.

I.7. Conclusion

The authors of the Slovenian dreams were working mainly on the political system. Beside a clear and in the end by everyone accepted goal about the nation's independence, the ideas about political pluralism, free economy and freedom of decision-making were prevailing on the level of values. In the 80s, where any 'daring idea' could still be punished, there were certainly the most urgent, right and also exceptionally far-reaching thoughts.

On the other hand, we notice that after 20 years even the constitutionally assured political pluralism, market economy and freedom of thought do not make the life of the citizens better if these do not take responsibility for their decisions (or non-decisions).

With this scruple, dreams of the political system seem only partial. They need to be balanced with dreams of the responsibility of the citizens as individuals, and with a search for the answer how to empower the individual so that he will know how and wish to fully function in the democratic system after his experience of the totalitarian regime. Barely anyone discussed this question at the end of the 80s.

2. Civil Society in Slovenia: A Failure of a Democratic Ideal

2. I. Introduction

Civil society is one of the crucial democratic arenas that allow the citizens of a particular country to make informed and democratic decisions within a political community of equals. Scholars and practitioners of democracy and civil society have often argued that the level of a country democratic development can in fact be measured by the degree of development of its civil society. And vice versa: It has been argued that a high level of a country's democracy represents a reliable measure of a success of civil society.

Slovenia has been one of the success countries in terms of democratization and market liberalization. In the years during and after the transition to democracy, Slovenia often reached the highest yearly GDPPC in the post-communist region (Eurostat). More importantly, Slovenia has scored high on several measures of political and democratic development. One would therefore expect for Slovenian civil society to be at least as developed as in an average civil society in Central Europe country.

Curiously, Slovenian civil society is one of the least developed of the entire post-communist region. According to the USAID data of 2009 and the NGO sustainability index, Slovenia scored last among the ten countries that joined the EU in 2004. What is more, in 2008 Slovenia achieved a lower score on the NGO sustainability index than Bulgaria, Romania and the countries of the Western Balkans such as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Macedonia. Only Serbia and Monte Negro scored lower than Slovenia.

What factors explain this outstanding weakness of civil society in Slovenia? Does the early departure of international foundations from Slovenia sufficiently explain this weakness? Was

the sluggish development of Slovenian civil society influenced by factors such as the small size of the country, or the historical and national character of the Slovenian citizens, or even political decisions made in the last twenty years?

In this chapter, we describe and analyze the puzzle of the sluggish development of the Slovenian civil society in the period from the time of the transition to democracy until the present day. The chapter shows that while in the past twenty years Slovenia has experienced crucial democratic changes, its civil society has improved modestly at best. In order to support this descriptive claim and to find the main factors that have lead to such a puzzling outcome, this chapter relies on current literature and secondary data covering the various aspects of the Slovenian civil society. First it provides a historical context of civil society in Slovenia. Then it provides specific data on different sectors of Slovenian civil society and finally, it describes the main attitudes of the citizenry towards civil society. The chapter also discusses the role of civil society in major decision-making processes.

2. 2. Historical Context

Slovenian society has a long and extensive tradition of associating according to the interests and the self-organization of people. The first civil society organizations can be found in the early urban forms of human associating in the medieval towns of 13th and 14th centuries (Črnak-Meglič, Vojnovič, 1997:156). In that period emerged the first craft-guilds, religious charity organizations, and funds. In the later periods, the Catholic Church played an important and primary role in the development of charity and social activities. The Church was not only as religious but also as social institution and it represented a strong political force in the Slovenian life.

In the first half of the 19th Century emerged the first labour movements. While they were soon prohibited or restricted

in their action by the later regime, the bourgeois revolution of 1848 brought freedom of association. The freedom of association was introduced as a classical constitutional right and legal norms, which regulated the foundation of associations and other forms of association of people on the basis of common interests. Being a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Slovenians had no legislation of their own (Črnak-Meglič, Vojnovič, 1997:156). However, despite the fact that the majority of Slovenians were peasants and workers and while the leading classes mostly consisted of foreigners, several movements emerged aiming at the national awakening. The most important forms of association were reading rooms, i.e., meeting places of the upper strata, and camps, i.e., a form of mass meeting of people outdoors. Especially in the late 19th Century, national defence associations became important as well, along with expert and professional associations (Črnak-Meglič, 2000:132).

Third sector organizations had an important economic function. At the end of the 19th Century, the emerging system of co-operative societies ramified into a mass social movement. This movement came about as an expression of the defence mechanism of farmers, workers and craftsmen against the growing capitalism (Črnak-Meglič, Vojnovič, 1997:158). Their initiator, Janez Evangelist Krek, greatly contributed to their development in both his written works and practical social action. Almost in every small town, a peasant or craftsmen cooperative was set up on the principle of self-support and self-organization. Savings and loan associations were also established on the same principles. In smaller number also technical, stockbreeding, dairy, cheese making, wine production and purchase-and-selling co-operatives emerged. Housing, production and loan co-operatives were founded to help the working class. (Hvalič, Ramovš, Ramovš, 2002). By the time of the interwar period, the civil society encompassed an extensive network of ideologically plural associations, co-operatives, charity organizations, trade unions, and professional organizations.

The end of the World War II and the arrival of the socialist social system broke up with the tradition of a strong and developed third sector. To a great extent, the functions of the third sector were taken over by the public sector (Črnak-Meglič, 2000). In the socialist times, the work of third sector organizations presented a danger to men in power. As a consequence, the third sector became restricted to a local level functioning and for the purposes of particular professions (firemen, mountaineers...). While some organizations did enjoy the state support (e.g., the Red Cross, The Association of the Friends of Youth, The Association of Pensioners), numerous activities were transferred to the so-called socio-political organizations. In other words, most of associations came under the state control or were included into the public sector. Moreover, the work of religious organizations was prohibited or restricted to exclusively religious affairs, their charity and other organizations and their property being nationalised. (Hvalič, Ramovš, Ramovš, 2002).

The year 1974 marks the beginning of a new era in the development of the third sector. The new Constitution and new Societies Act opened and promoted the foundation of third sector organizations. While these organizations remained small and constrained in their numbers due to scant financial support from the state, the third sector witnessed a certain development of self-support groups, groups for mutual help, and alternative groups. These groups emerged in areas where such services were not provided by the state. However, these new social movements in Slovenia were not 'grassroots' movements as they were not mass based (Črnak-Meglič, 2000).

After 1980, numerous social movements emerged, focusing on the broader questions of peace, ecology, human rights protection, and even spirituality. Many a member of these movements later entered the political sphere or remained highly active at the non-governmental level. The rise in the number of third sector organizations was in fact the most intense in the period between 1975 and 1985. This rise was

considerably greater than the one in the 1990s, following the the change of the political system. This proves that as early as 1970's and 80's, Slovenia experienced democratic changes within the emerging civil society and the ensuing change of attitude of the state towards the third sector. (Kolarič in: Črnak-Meglič, 2000:137) In contrast with other transitional countries, the gaining of independence in 1991 did not bring Slovenia a mass emergence of new third sector organizations except in some fields such as sports, culture, and social welfare. (Hvalič, Ramovš, Ramovš, 2002).

Slovenian civil society reached the peak of its success with the introduction of significant democratic changes between 1987 and 1990. The changes resulted in a plebiscite on independence. The independence was supported by 88.5 per cent of the voting body. While the democratic regime change in Slovenia was a part of a larger European story that influenced the emergence of civil society, the democratization of Slovenian civil society depended on some local and national factors. Among these factors are the following:

- Slovenia had never been an autonomous and independent state;
- The KulturKampf (Cultural/Civil war) during the WWII and after the war that resulted in the total supremacy of the Communist Party;
- The under-studied and under-publicized mass killings following the WWII;
- The relative well-being and apparent freedom in the 1980s;
- The challenge of the rising Serb nationalism at the end of the 1980s.

Slovenian civil society in the early 1990s did not enjoy the same heyday as did the other post-communist countries. One of potential factors explaining this immediate weakness of Slovenian civil society was the economic crisis. This crisis emerged as a result of the many international sanc-

tion against different Yugoslav markets and the ensuing Balkan wars. The consequences of this crisis were strongly felt in Slovenia up until 1995. The government was therefore more concerned with salvaging the economy than with promoting the development of civil society. While in the last 20 years the numbers of organized membership and the NGOs has been steadily increasing, the Slovenian civil society remains weak. While we present this weakness in detail in the following chapters, we can summarize the main weaknesses as they follow.

- Many of the newly founded NGOs are not functioning, let alone being active.
- Also, the NGOs enjoy only a weak financial support of the state.
- Foreign donors left the country soon after the independence.
- Financial support of the citizenry remains week as well. Even in 2008, the citizens of Slovenia were able to contribute up to 0.5 per cent of their income for civil society.
- Furthermore, Slovenian NGOs rarely work together on common projects (Hvalič, Ramovš, Ramovš, 2002). Regional or project-based NGO networks rarely come into existence.
- Such networks – even if they exist - are often not a result of bottom-up process from the NGOs themselves but come about as a consequence of state/EU invitation. For example, in 2000/01 emerged the currently leading network of Slovenian NGOs called the CNVOS. The CNOVS came about as a result of the initiatives from the Government Office for Development and European Affairs.
- Finally, despite these EU and state initiatives, Slovenian politics does not seem to understand the NGOs as serious partners in the social and civil dialogue. The main and a rare improvement of this dialogue came about with the Slovenian accession to the EU in 2004 and Slovenian Presidency of the EU Council in 2008. The 2008 experience of a dialogue between the NGOs

and the state and, in particular, the advocacy function of the civil society will be discussed later in this chapter.

2. 3. Slovenian NGOs: Their growth and State of Affaires

2. 3. 1. Legal Framework

Main forms of the organized part of Slovenian civil society are the following: association, union of associations, private institutes, foundations, religious institutions, cooperatives and trade unions.

Associations are membership-based organizations. Members pursue common interests. Associations couldn't be established for the purpose of generating profit, although they may engage in economic activities that support their primary non-profit objectives.

Foundations are grant-making, asset-based organizations established by foreign or domestic legal entities or individuals for charitable purposes or for the public benefit. A foundation may engage in every activity that is necessary for the advancement of its objectives as well as in activities aimed at its promotion, which can also include economic activities.

Private institutes are non-membership organizations established by individuals and/or domestic or foreign legal entities. Institutes can conduct activities in the areas of education, science, culture, sports, health, social welfare, children's welfare, social care, social security etc. They may engage in economic activities to support the non-profit objectives for which they were originally established. They may also provide services for the public benefit if they meet the state or local authority conditions.

Housing and other **co-operatives** are founded by individuals to promote the economical benefits of their members and are based on the voluntary association and equal cooperation

and management of their members; special rules defining the activities of the housing co-operatives stipulate that members should use any profits for the purpose for which the co-operative was founded.

Religious organizations are founded by individuals in accordance with the Constitution and the Legal status of Religious Communities.
Each of these forms is regulated by respective laws and is handled by respective registrars. This legal framework is additionally complicated by certain peculiarities:

- Student organizations, defending student rights require mandatory membership and are regulated by separate legal provisions;
- The Youth Council of Slovenia and Youth councils from local communities are regulated by separate legal provisions;
- Justice and Peace Commission (within the Catholic Church) is a non-formalized association responding to current social debates with significant impact.

Prerequisites for founding an NGO are straightforward and financially inexpensive. The CSI index (Verbajs, 2006) accords the process of creating NGOs a number of two (on a 0-3 scale). An association can be registered in a local administrative unit if it consists of at least 3 founding members. The decision is granted within 30 business days. It is slightly more difficult to register a private institute, which is the second most present form of the NGOs life in Slovenia. However, even a process of founding a private institute is relative simple and open; a single person can found it.
The law on associations allows for a particular public interest status. This status is accorded to an association if an association is active in one or more of the following spheres: culture, education, health, social security, family politics, human rights protection, environment protection, animal

protection, sports, defence, natural disaster protection, econo-my, agriculture, forestry, veterinary medicine, nutrition, foreign affairs, and development of democracy. The status can be accorded to other associations as well, if their activity transcends the interests of their members and leads to common good. The public interest status is granted by a proper state ministry. This status can help an association with achieving up to 20 additional percent points when its projects are evaluated in state-funded grants. The process of acquiring this status at a competent ministry can be a lengthy and demanding procedure. For example, the Slovenian Scout Organization enjoys a particularly high number of members on both national and local levels and a widely recognized reputation for their positive contribution to the public good. Yet, it took this organization from March 2003 to June 2005 for their status to be recognized by the Ministry of Education and Sport.

2. 3. 2. Number of NGOs

The number of NGOs in Slovenia is constantly growing. Among the various forms of NGOs, the most widely present are associations (about 80 percent). Associations were to a certain extent allowed with a low of 1974. The 1974 legislation provision from the socialist times introduced a high level of liberalization in terms of rights to associate. It is therefore not surprising that with the democratization and Slovenian independence the number of association did not rocket but continued to steadily increase.

Associations / Year	1965	1975	1976	1980	1985	1990	1995	2007	2010
Sports and Recreation					2691	2976	4448	6781	7767
Associations for helping others					2856	2870	2756	2664	2819
Culture and Arts					1068	1141	1509	2797	3228
Research, educational and vocational associations					1102	671	1764	1809	2078
Environment protection, Breeding and care of animals and plants					516	492	555	1458	1571
Associations of professionals					547	548	609	1300	1442
Local community development associations					273	314	446	1236	1396
National, political and human-rights associations					9	7	9	218	311
Spiritual life								318	455
Other associations					957	1017	1888	594	561
No data								507	
Total	6919	6761	7965	8446	10098	10320	13984	19682	21628

Table 1: Number of registered associations in Slovenia according to activity type
(Kolarič, Črnak - Meglič, Vojnovič, 2002), (Ajpes, 2010)

Number of associations
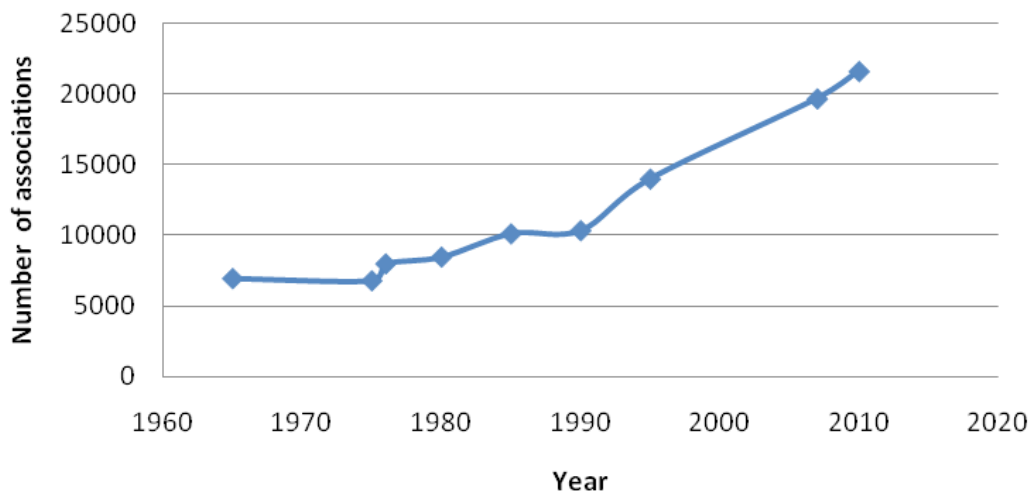
NGOs other than association are significantly less frequent in Slovenia. Among these, the most numerous are trade unions. Their number however is about ten times smaller than the number of associations.

The growth rate of institutes was steady, particularly in the period from 1998 to 2006. Foundations also experienced a steady growth, except for a period of stronger growth between 1999 and 2000.

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Foundation	370	432	507	565	663	741	863	1006	1162
Trade Union	2808	3382	3606	3708	3823	3749	3685	3716	3677
Institute	44	69	104	124	141	155	162	170	184
Total	3222	3883	4217	4397	4627	4645	4710	4892	5023

Table 2: Number of institutions, trade unions and institutes in Slovenia (Statistični urad RS, 2009)

Number of private institutes, trade unions and foundations in the period from 1998 to 2006
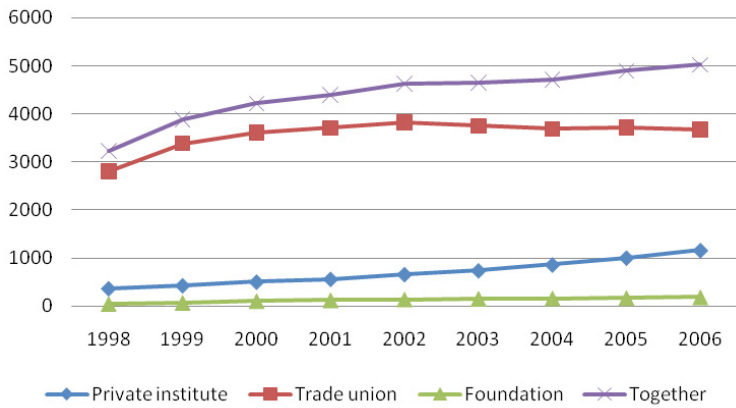
Figure 2: Number of institutions, trade unions and institutes in Slovenia (Statistični urad RS, 2009)

(PRIVATE) INSTITUTES

The 1991 law on institutes enables domestic and foreign individuals and corporations to found an institution. From a legal perspective, institutions broaden the sphere of civil society. They transcend the scope boundaries of membership-based organizations (i.e. of associations). The law on private institutes allows the institutions to perform public service. Private institutes can take over or perform activities of public service.

After 2000, strong tendency emerged to abrogate private institutes and transfer the activities of this kind to companies (Mladina 2002). According to Jalušič (2002), such an intervention would have represented the end of numerous independent NGOs. The abrogation tendencies never materialized but it pointed to a certain attitude of the state towards civil society. Another peculiarity related to private institutes is the fact that some institutes operate as businesses and cannot be considered as NGOs or as civil society organizations.

TRADE UNIONS
Slovenian trade unions have to a large extent succeeded the trade unions from before the 1990s. In the pre-1990s era, the social dialogue in Slovenia relied mainly on socialist grounds. In such socialist environment, membership in trade unions was self-evident to some and obligatory to others. In the 1990s, the role of trade unions began to change. However, the trade unions established before 1990 retained their monopoly. Several trade union leaders from before the 1990s kept their position or acquired important positions in politics. Only recently, in the time of the latest financial and economic crisis, have workers started to seek their rights by circumventing the trade unions and their monopoly.

COMPARING GROWTHS OF MEMBER-BASED AND
NON-MEMBER-BASED ORGANIZATIONS
Analyzing the participation of citizens in civil society, one notices that the difference in growth between member-based and non-member based organizations. Organizations, which are not based on organizational membership, grow faster than member-based organizations. While the former are less numerous, they grow faster than the latter. For example, the association growth index from 1995 to 2007 reached 141 percent, and the trade union growth index from 1998 to 2006 reached 131 percent. However, from 1998 to 2006, non-member NGOs such as private institutions grew by 314 percent and institutes by 418 percent.

2. 3. 3. Geographical Framework and the Different Activity Levels

Slovenia faces a challenge of strong centralization. The GDPPC of the central region is significantly higher than in other Slovenian regions. Slovenian central region is a destination of significant migration. Ljubljana has the prestige to own

the most and the major state and business headquarters. Civil society is no exception to this centralization. 36 percent of all non-profit organization are located in the central region. These organizations employ 57.2 percent of all employed in the non-profit sector and they represent 66.1% of income among all Slovenian non-profit organizations. Causes for the15se trends can be found in the highest development levels of the central region. Also, the majority of national NGOs have their headquarters in Ljubljana. Nevertheless, many NGOs remain regionally or locally oriented. As of 2006, the largest share of NGOs functions on the municipal level, i.e., 36.6 percent, 22 percent on the village level, 20.3 percent on the regional level, and 14.2 percent on the state level (Kolarič, Z., Črnak-Meglič, A., Rihter, L., Boškič, R., Rakar, T., 2007).

2.3.4. Financial Framework

The share of the GDP allocated to NGOs is significantly lower in Slovenia than in several other European countries. In 2008, this share (for Associations, Private Institutes and Foundations together) equalled 1.99 percent (Črnak-Meglič, 2009). This information might be an important explanation to why Slovenian civil society is as weak as it is.

	1996*	2004**	2007
Revenue from services provided (in percent)	43,8	44	53
Public grants (in percent)	27,3	27	27,34
Private donations (in percent)	28,8	29	13,64

Table 3: Income type structure of NGOs *(Kolarič, Črnak-Meglič, Vojnovič, 2002, 124)
**(Črnak - Meglič, 2008 27), (Ajpes: Poslovni izid društev in nepridobitnih organizacij, 2010), (Kolarič in ostali, 2008)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number	12.687	15.073	17.044	18.474	19.166	19.682	20.131
Income in million SIT(EUR)	78.210 (339)	88.118 (372)	100.573 (419)	96.479 (402)	107.263 (447)	482	518
Public Sources in million EUR						114	123
Donations and grants in million EUR						94	97
Market Sources in million EUR						224	245
Other in million EUR						48	51
Expenses in million SIT (EUR)	75.755	84.695	96.055	93.793	105.102	467	518
Net surplus in million SIT (EUR)	2.694	3.423	4.517	2.058	2.059		-11
Exchange Rate SIT/EUR	230,27	236,69	239,74	239,58	239,64	51	
Average income per NGO in SIT (EUR)	6,164,605 (27,772 €)	5,846,084 (24,699 €)	5,900,791 (24,613 €)	5,222,424 (21,799 €)	5,596,525 (23,354 €)	24,499	25,744
Income as a share of 2002	100%	79%	77%	66%	69%	69	71%

Table 4: Incomes and Expenses of Associations (Ajpes - Informacije iz letnih poročil društev, accessed on March 15 2010 http://www.ajpes.si/Letna_porocila/Drustva/Informacije?md_id_menu=132)

Table 6 demonstrates a stable source of income from the public sector. Private donations, however, have decreased for almost 30 percent in the period from 1996 to 2007; this could be in part explained by the growth of new NGOs, who have not yet earned trust from private donors. Finally, many NGOs have developed their potential to generate income by offering different services. Such a turn shows to a possible independence of the NGO sector from the donors and a capacity to carry out programs that the NGOs see as most responding to the needs. The following table demonstrates more in detail the income growth of associations between 2002 and 2008.

From 2002 to 2008, the total overall income of associations increased by 53 percent. The average income for an association, however, decreased by 7.3 percent. In fact, accounting for inflation, the six-year period points to 29.9 percent decrease in average association income. This trend points to the fact that the major segment of the civil society faces a deteriorating and alarming financial situation. For example, in 2008, associations with the highest income (1.1. percent) receive almost two thirds of the income of all associations (i.e., (154.068.417 EUR, cf. Črnak-Meglič, 2009). The remaining about 19,800 of associations (98.9 percent) receive about 363.214.800 EUR, i.e., 18.324 EUR for an association on average. Again, this situation can be explained by the growing number of association and by the way these organizations are co-founded by different private and public sources (Črnak-Meglič, 2009). Slovenian income tax relieves are particularly low. Slovenia has no development fund dedicated for the NGO sector. Donations, which are usually small, contribute to higher competition and the fragmentation of NGOs.

However, unlike associations, the average income of other non-profit organizations (Private Institutes, Foundations, Trade Unions and Religious Community together) has increased from 2007 to 2008 by 14 percent (cf. Table 8). Moreover, there are important income differences between associations and institutes. The average income for Private institute equaled 145,000 EUR, while the average income for associations equalled 21.000 EUR.

2007				
	Number of Employees	Number of Organisat.	Income Total (in 1,000 EUR))	Expense Total (in 1,000 EUR)	Surplus (in 1,000 EUR)
Fundation	80	171	30,244	28,842	1,384
Trade Union	240	3168	49,755	45,545	4,107
Religious Community					
Other Forms	333	188	68,269	65,586	2,529
TOTAL	3252	4757	319,789	305,866	12,207

2008				
	Number of Employees	Number of Organisat.	Income Total (in 1,000 EUR)	Expense Total (in 1,000 EUR)	Surplus (in 1,000 EUR)
Fundation	96	176	38,353	37,148	1,171
Trade Union	230	3143	49,300	46,296	2,845
Religious Community	2	27	2,425	2,138	287
Other Forms	330	223	68,361	67,214	803
TOTAL	3488	4936	356,679	348,133	6,927

Table 5a and 5b: Yearly Reports from non-profit organizations (Ajpes, 2010)

As private institutes grow in strength, they also shift the balance from membership organizations to non-membership-based organizations. While one may conclude that associations struggle financially more than institutes, it has to be noted that many institutes function as businesses (see above) and for their own interests.

Moreover, although NGOs substantially rely on public funds, they claim to be completely independent from the government and political life. Yet, in order to get public grants, NGOs need to apply for numerous proposals and therefore comply to the directives related to a proposal. For that reason, they often cannot answer the needs of their beneficiaries. What is more, NGOs claim that despite fulfilling the mission given by grant proposal, they cannot participate in decision-making processes (Divjak, 2006). While the state guaranties the right for the NGOs to participate in decision making, a legitimate question arises regarding the need of explicit state support for the NGOs in decision-making. Since so many NGOs face significant financial challenges one wonders how effective the NGOs can be in decision-making if much of their energy is spent in grant seeking. The financial independence from the state in that sense represents an additional burden for the NGOs, particularly for the newer or smaller ones. The roots to the financial challenges of NGOs often stem from Slovenian tax legislation.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND TAX LEGISLATION

According to the CSI (Berdajs, 2006), Slovenian tax legislation is not favorable to civil society. Legislation, for example, does not make distinctions in terms of tax relief between profitable NGOs and businesses. However, since 2006, a special law does allow NGOs to seek income from income tax of natural (non-corporate) persons. A citizen has the right to assign 0.5 percent of her income tax for activities that support public good, religious communities, political parties, or trade unions. In 2007, 20.8 percent of citizens donated the 0.5 percent of their income tax to NGOs, yielding 2.7 million Euros.

In 2008, the percentage of these citizens grew to 24.9 percent. This confirms our previous claim that Slovenian citizens actually are willing to support NGOs without necessarily being a member of and NGO. However, this type of income represents a very small contribution to NGOs. And, most of this contribution goes to well-know and widely-recognized organizations only, while other NGOs remain dependent on public financing.

ACQUIRING PUBLIC FUNDS

Successfully applying for public funds is a demanding and difficult task for Slovenian NGOs. In order to analyze this difficulty, we need to look at the different sources of public funds. These are European, national, and local funds.

European funds usually require international cooperation and Slovenian NGOs are poorly present in international NGO networks. Moreover, since Slovenian NGOs are in average small, they find the competition with the NGOs from other countries more challenging. Furthermore, because of low national funding it is often difficult for them to find co-financing that is usually required in EU projects. Finally, several European programs are more 'user friendly,' but this is normally connected with lower financial support.

National funds are usually granted by a certain ministry. However, since some ministries do not offer any funding, we can expect that NGOs with certain type of activities or end-populations will be less likely to find grants. This challenge is also related to the fact that while some ministries started to support NGOs immediately after the independence, other ministries followed the suit much later. What is more, the shares of public sponsorship are relatively low and they are not consistent on a year to year basis. Public funds are only available for specific projects. Moreover, calls for proposals are often open to public institutes, which enjoy a secure and stable financing from the state, and have thus an important comparative advantage in applying for grants. Finally, since many of the state funds for NGOs rely on European funds,

the payments are often delayed due to bureaucratic issues. In some cases, NGOs went bankrupt because of delayed payments.

Local funds for NGOs are usually extremely low. In some cases, municipal offices accorded grants that did not exceed the costs of grant application. Moreover, Slovenia has not yet introduced a regional distribution of funds.

Finally, the way of distributing funds to NGOs on a local level is often disconnected with the policies and plans of a municipality. For that reason, NGOs may enjoy significant freedom in carrying out their programs but no particular role in the processes of decision making.

INVENTORY

Slovenian NGOs are poorly accoutred in terms of space and office equipment. Only 13.2 percent of NGOs own their offices, 28 percent rent their offices and more than a third uses office space of another organization (Divjak 2006). Better off are those NGOs which existed before the regime change. Most of them own their own office space, mainly in Ljubljana. Only 30.4 percent of NGOs own a computer. Office equipment is additionally hard to acquire since many grants do not allow for financing it.

2. 3. 5. Employment in NGOs

Employment in the non-governmental sector represents one of the most significant indicators of the development of civil society. The data below show that while the number of non-profit organizations except associations has increased from 2007 to 2008 by 3.8 percent, the number of employees in these organizations has increased by 7.3 percent.

Data for the 1990s are difficult to obtain, except in regards to associations (Kolarič, Črnak - Meglič, Vojnovič, 2002). In 1996, the associations altogether employed 2,930 people, i.e., 0.4 percent of all employed in Slovenia. In 2008, the number of employed in associations totalled 5,769 people,

	2008		2007	
	N. of employees	N. of organizations	N. of employees	N. of organizations
Private Instit.	2830	1367	2599	1230
Institute	96	176	80	171
Trade Union	230	3143	240	3168
Religious community	2	27		
Other forms	330	223	333	188
TOTAL	3488	4936	3252	4757

Table 6: Employment in non-profit organizations (Ajpes, 2009)

i.e. 0.54 percent of the working force (Črnak-Meglič, 2009, 23).

If we count both data for 2008 together, we get the number of 9,257 employed i.e. 0,87 percent of the working force in the whole NGO sector. Comparing to Western Europe, this share is minuscule and highly related to the financial situation of the non-governmental sector. What is more, in 2004, 80.6 percent of NGOs had no employees. Also, since 1996, the share of NGOs that have few or no people employed has grown strongly.

It may be inferred that since the NGO sector faces significant financial and employment challenges, the available and competent NGO work force may be more reluctant to seek jobs in the NGO sector.

2. 3. 6. Volunteers

The work of the volunteers and the work of those employed by an NGO are complementary. A survey has shown that in 2004, volunteers worked on average 149 hours within an organization. The total number of volunteer hours in 2004 equalled 1,239,756 hours, i.e., hours for 7,124 full time employees. That represents 126 percent of work that is carried out by those employed and paid by NGOs (Kolarič,Z., Črnak-Meglič, A., Rihter, L., Boškič, R., Rakar, T., 2007).

2.3.7. Training

In recent years, those who work for an NGO (either employed or volunteers) receive an increasingly more training. Almost two thirds of NGOs (62.7 percent) have in 2004 received some form of training related to their work and mission (Kolarič, Z., Črnak-Meglic, A., Rihter, L., Boškic, R., Rakar, T., 2007). This share is lower for trainings aimed at organizational, financial and administrative part of their functioning. 24.4 percent of NGOs participated in know-how trainings (foreign language, computer skills, accountancy and legislation). 17.7 percent of NGOs participated in trainings aimed at project proposal preparation. 17 percent of them received training in business. Much fewer organizations participated in project-leadership trainings (11.4 percent), or in human resources training (13.2 percent). This could be explained by the fact that in 2004 more than 80 percent of NGOs did not have any employees.

From 2004 onwards, the approach to education and training of NGO personnel has improved. There is more available training for leadership, finance, and other infrastructural skills needed in an NGO. First grounds for this kind of training were offered by National Youth Council of Slovenia in 2003. This organization was the first one to offer training for future instructors in youth organizations.

In 2008, Slovenian NGOs became eligible for the first time

to access the means available in European Structural Funds that support the development of the NGO sector. Projects that were financed from these funds enabled a strong development of training in the area of strategic planning, project leadership, legal counselling, and project counselling (2008 NGO Sustainability index, 2009).

From 2008, there are 10 regional centres of NGOs, which are co-sponsored by the Ministry for Public Administration and the European social found. These centres offer short trainings in the area of leadership, financing, NGO promotion.

2.4. Relationship of the Citizens towards Civil Society

The attitudes of the citizenry towards Slovenian civil society are complex and poorly understood. One of the reasons contributing to the poor understanding of this relationship is the inconsistent data about the activities of Slovenians in the civil sphere. As this section of our chapter presents the crucial civil society data for Slovenia, we need to take into account that the different data rely on different definitions of civil society and of different activities within the civil sphere. The various questionnaires are difficult to compare since they rely on different analytical and methodological frameworks.

2.4.1. Social Participation of Citizens

The European Value Study of 1999/2000 provides the following data about the participation in civil society organizations (Table 7. Membership and active membership). The data show (see the line 'none') that about 48 per cent of the interviewees belonged to a civil society organization and that about 26 per cent were actively involved in civil society. The most popular civil society organizations are related to sports and recreation, trade unions and education, arts, music or cultural activities. The data also reveal a

significant difference in ratios between active and non-active membership according to different groups: 50 per cent of the members of sports and recreation organizations are active members, and only 25 percent of the members of trade unions are active. While the data may be skewed due to the answers of non-members, the ratio does indicate a higher active membership in sports than in trade unions. The highest ratio of active membership per all members enjoy the category of the service to the elderly, poor, and disabled (85 percent) and the category for environmental protection and animal rights movements (78 percent). The lowest ratio of active membership is found in the trade unions (25 percent) and political parties or groups (47 percent).

The 2005 Civil Society Survey (Verbajs, 2006) shows slightly different results. The data show that 55 percent of Slovenians belong to an organization. The most popular form of membership are trade unions, followed by the unions of peasants and fishermen (a category that is omitted in the European Value Study), followed by sports association. The data differ significantly in regards to voluntarism: in civil society organizations only 12 percent are active on a voluntary (non paid) basis while outside them more than half of the people (52%) are active as volunteers. However, this last data has been put under question also among the national advisory body of the 2005 Civil Society Survey itself.

Another research, **Study of Volunteering in the EU, Country Report Slovenia** (2009) shows that according to the Ministry of Education and Sport, the number of volunteers ranges between 280,000 and 350,000 (i.e., 14-18 percent of the population). A study carried out by **Slovenska Filantropija** points to a lower overall volunteer membership: 182,128 volunteers in 3,226 organizations and 897 in 39 public institutions **The Study of Volunteering in the EU** also shows that men participate more as volunteers than women do, and the study explains that by pointing out the importance of sport associations.

	Do you belong to…?(%)	Do you work unpaid for…?(%)
Social welfare services for elderly, handicapped or deprived people	7.7	5.9
Religious or church organisations	9.5	5.4
Education, arts, music or cultural activities	12.5	7.6
Trade unions	13.4	3.4
Political parties or groups	3.9	1.9
Local community action on issues like poverty, employment, housing, racial equality	2.0	1.7
Third world development or human rights	1.9	1.2
Conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights	5.4	4.2
Professional association	7.2	4.0
Youth work (e.g. scouts, guides, youth clubs etc.)	5.6	4.2
Sports or recreation	20.3	10.2
Women groups	4.0	2.4
Peace movement	1.1	0.7
None	51.6	74.4

Table 7: Membership and active membership in civil society organizations in Slovenia (European Values Study, 2008)

There are important differences in data regarding the number of work hours volunteers spend in an organization. The 2008 research by **Slovenska Filantropija** shows that in 2008 the volunteers carried out about 14 million hours of volunteer work. Other data however point to a number ranging from 1.2 to 1.3 million hours. The 2005 Civil Society Survey shows that 61 percent of the volunteers dedicate on average about four hours a month of their time to volunteerism. The most popular forms of volunteer work are shopping, child care, instructions/teaching and technical assistance (Civil Society Survey 2005). According to the Study of Volunteering in the EU, the most important motives for volunteer work are the following:

- spiritual and personal growth,
- acquisition of knowledge, skills and experiences,
- desire to do useful work (sense of achievement) and help others,
- socialising and extending one's social network (sense of belonging),
- reputation (good public image),
- expectation of improved self-image and personal satisfaction and
- confidence in one's own abilities, understanding of personal feelings and actions, and giving sense to life.

Civil participation goes well beyond organized membership and volunteerism and includes the following forms. The 2005 Civil Society Survey found that up to that year about 13.7 percent of Slovenians had written a letter to the editor. 35.5 percent had signed a petition and 13.4 percent had been involved in protests or political demonstrations. 46 percent of the respondents have used at least one of the forms of participation just mentioned. However, we may add that some members of the National Advisory Group conducting the 2005 Civil Society Survey expressed doubts in the results. They claimed that these forms of participation

may not be as developed as shown by the survey.

The 2008 European Value Study provides slightly different data. A petition has been signed by 33.6%, a boycott was joined by 7.2% and legal demonstrations 12.7 percent. 3.4 percent of the respondents participated in unannounced protests and 0.8 percent of the respondents at one point participated in taking over a factory or a building.

Participation in charitable movements and organizations shows the following picture. According to the 2005 Civil Society Survey, 66% of respondents donated money, food, or other goods for charitable purposes in the 12 months preceding the survey. Most of the donors are women and these donors come from urban areas. The income level does not seem to influence charity contributions.

Our descriptive analysis has so far acknowledged that social participation takes several forms. Organizational member-ship as a traditional form of social participation is relatively easy to measure. However, the raw data do not reveal much as such since different types of organizations reflect diffe-rent ratios between active and passive members.

Moreover, while the typical advocacy forms of civil society such as peace movements and human rights associations enjoy low levels of membership, the majority of their members prove to be highly active, including in the media. Finally, many advocacy organizations provide services other than advocacy. Yet, the kinds of work mostly performed by the volunteers (as shown in the data) are not directly connected to advocacy.

2.4.2. Disbelief in the Power of Collective Decision-Making

The level of disbelief in the power of collective decision -making is reflected in the (mis)trust of the citizenry in different institutions (Toš, 2007). According to the surveys measuring the trust in twenty different institutions, the two most visible institutions of civic decision-making enjoy the least trust, i.e. political parties and the parliament. The best scores achieve

private institutions and the state institutions for wellbeing: 1. family, 2. schools, 3. Slovenian currency at the time, 4. banks. Among the institutions of the civil sphere, the trade unions deserve the citizens' trust (8th place), media (10th) and the Church and clergy (18th). While among the civil society institutions only the trade unions make it among the first ten, it has to be acknowledged that the survey took into consideration only the above-mentioned civil society institutions as significant.

The low trust in the power of collective decision-making was confirmed by a parallel study measuring values (Toš, 2007/2). Among six possible values (family, friends, work, leisure, religion, and politics) the politics scores at the rear end. Moreover, if one has to decide between freedom or safety, only 30 percent of respondents opt for safety.

And if asked what achievements are Slovenians most proud of, the collective decision-making scores seventh out of nine. More than freedom or politics, Slovenians pride themselves on the independence, success in sport, history, culture, and democracy. Only social security and tolerance score lower then collective decision-making.

The reasons behind the low levels of collective decision-making may be found in the issues for which Slovenians show much interest. For example, according to a 2009 Eurobarometer survey, comparing to other EU members, Slovenians are more interested in the issues of unemployment (EU27: 51%, Slovenia: 56%) and the state of the economy (EU27: 40%, Slovenia: 52%). Slovenians are less interested in global issues such as migration (EU27: 9%, Slovenia: 1%), terrorism (EU27: 4%, Slovenia: 0%), environment (EU27: 4%, Slovenia: 2%) and energy provision/dependence (EU27: 2%, Slovenia: 1%). The results show a stronger interest according to other EU citizens in local and private matters and lower interest according to other EU citizens to global and public issues. We could also say that Slovenians are more concerned about their personal safety than other EU citizens and in a great scale they expect the state/government to care for it. They

see their state/government as responsible for taking care of
several issues (see Table 3, in Toš 2007/3).

	Fully responsible	Partly responsible	Negative answers or without answer
To ensure health care for ill people	75,6%	21,8%	2,6%
To ensure fellowships for students with lower incomes	70,7%	26,0%	3,3%
To ensure a suitable space of leaving for pensioners and elderly people	64,4%	31,4%	4,2%
To legally prevent the damage caused in the environment by industry	63,1%	30,2%	6,7%
To help industry to ensure its development	48,1%	43,7%	8,2%
To ensure a suitable place of leaving for those who can't afford it by themselves	42,9%	48,9%	8,2%
To lower differences between the rich and the poor	53,4%	36,2%	10,4%
To ensure a working place for everybody who wants to work	46,9%	40,5%	12,6%
To control the prices	47,4%	36,5%	16,1%
To ensure a suitable standard of leaving for unemployed	25,5%	55,3%	19,2%

Table 8: Slovenians' responses to the question: 'What for should the state in Slovenia be responsible for?'
(Toš, 2007/3)

Slovenians don't only seem to shift their burdens from themselves onto the state but also from the state onto the others. Table 9 presents insightful information stemming from the question: 'In your opinion, which of the following is best able to take effective actions against the effects of the financial and economic crisis?' (Eurobarometer, Fall 2009)

	EU27	Slovenia
The European Union	22%	20%
The Slovene government	19%	12%
The G20	18%	20%
The United States	12%	16%
The International Monetary Fund (IMF)	11%	16%

Table 9: Slovenians' responses to the question: 'In your opinion, which of the following is best able to take effective actions against the effects of the financial and economic crisis?' (Eurobarometer, Fall 2009)

The institutions in which Slovenians have direct representatives (national government and the EU) receive less credibility from the Slovenians (than form the EU27 average). The institutions on which Slovenians can exercise almost no influence deserve more credit in terms of salvaging the economic crisis.

2.5. The NGO participation in the processes of decision-making

The areas of advocacy and NGO participation in the processes of decision-making are poorly developed. According to the NGO Sustainability Index, Slovenia trails last in Easter Europe and the Balkans on the scale of civil society development in general. The score for advocacy is particularly low on that index. The score of 3.9, Slovenia shares the same place as Serbia and Kosovo (2008 NGO Sustainability index, 2009). In 2004, only 0.03 percent of all NGOs were registered as operating in the area of law and advocacy. Among these, there were no associations (non-member organizations only). Nevertheless, some changes for the better have recently taken place. These changes were encouraged from the top. A strong initiative occurred at the time of Slovenian accession to the EU and Slovenian Presidency in 2008.

2.5.1. Pro-action of NGOs

Pro-action of NGOs towards the state and local administration is an important and telling indicator of how strong the advocacy function of civil society is. The strength of civil society is actually strongly reflected in the initiatives of the NGO sector itself. In this section we analyze if and how NGOs offer their services to local or state governments.

A 2004 survey shows a strong sense of NGOs to take the initiative on the local level and a weak one on the state level. Almost half of the NGOs on a local level (48.2 percent) offer their services occasionally and 27.8 percent frequently. On the national level 67.8 percent of the NGOs never offer any service, occasionally 27.8 percent and only 7.5 percent of the NGOs offer their services on a frequent basis (Kolarič et al 2006).

2.5.2. Efforts of the Government

We estimate that the government has only in recent years started to systematically strengthen and develop the advocacy function of civil society. These governmental measures can be classified as establishing special working bodies and other measures. These measures have been (often uncritically) adopted by following different examples abroad. The transfer and translation of these foreign models into the reality of Slovenia has often been done directly and without sufficient evaluation.

The following measures have been adopted on the level of working bodies:

- In 2005, the government established an interdisciplinary working group to address and harmonize the issues of cooperation between the government and the non-governmental sector. This group contains the representatives of the ministries and of certain governmental offices. A state secretary for the NGO sector works in the cabinet of the prime minister.
- Within the Ministry of Public Administration, a Service for non-governmental organizations promotes the strengthening of democratic standards.

And the following measures have been adopted on the level of other models:

- Resolution about normative activities
- Guarantees for the civil society to participate in the processes of decision-making
- A code on resolving objections against social and security services.

In 2009, the parliament adopted resolution on normative activities. The resolution clearly point out collaboration of professionals and other interested public by preparing legal

codes and acts. While the resolution calls for the inclusion of several principles including expediency, transparency or accessibility, it also gives odd recommendations. For example, the resolution welcomes the help of the public, of civil society and the experts outside administration. However, it states that all these *"cannot and may not perform tasks instead of them [the administration], since they [civil society etc] are not adequately trained nor have they sufficient insight into the state of affairs."* (Resolucija o normativni dejavnosti, 2009) Such a statement clearly underestimates and denigrates the civil society from the part of the state. What is more, the state itself often violates this resolution. According to web counter, the government violated the resolution in 104 cases in the period of four months (until March 2010).

Cooperation between civil society and the government has been increasingly put into practice. Representatives of civil society often participate in governmental bodies shaping various policies. The CNVOS, the main supporting and umbrella NGOs in Slovenia is in charge of selecting the representatives. The civil dialogue processes such as selecting of these representatives is often financed by the state. Moreover, the government's standing orders require that prior to adopting new laws and strategic documents, different bodies of public administration need to consult the broader public and civil society (Mežnarič, Rep, Zupan, 2008). For instance, the Ministry of Public Affairs set forth a manual for planning, conducting, and evaluating the processes of public participation. The manual emphasizes the importance of mutual inclusion of both the administration and the public. Yet, while the manual represents an important step forward in terms of mutual cooperation, the manual proves to be long--winded and at times unclear.

The improving but still poor culture of dialogue can be further developed by educating and training the public servants, responsible for carrying out the processes of consultation and deliberation. The purpose of this training is to enable the state representatives to actively participate in the civil dialogue.

3) *http://www.civilni-dialog.net/stevec/*

This training would also further implement the Resolution on normative activities. These trainings are to be carried out in 2010.

2.5.3. Slovenian Presidency and e-democracy

At the time of Slovenian Presidency to the EU Council, a special web portal was created to assure a fuller inclusion and participation of the NGO sector during the Presidency. This was the first time that a presiding country would establish such a portal (Delakorda, 2007). The web portal aimed at providing the following services:

- informing the NGOs about the EU and the Presidency;
- participation of Slovenian and European NGOs in the processes of decision-making;
- communication of Slovenian NGOs with domestic and foreign media;
- establishing networks between the Slovenian civil society and European partners.

During the time of Presidency, the portal became widely used and very active. From January 1st until July 30th, the portal hosted eight broad discussions. These discussions referred to the priorities of Slovenian Presidency and other priorities that were recognized as important from the part of the civil sector. The discussions involved 15 open categories, in which 138 articles were published. 81 of these articles came from the NGO sector and 57 from individuals (Delakorda, 2008). Despite the Government's communications bureau, the response of the government and ministries remained minimal. There were only two articles provided by the state, one from the Government PR Office and the other from the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs. Both articles were more courteous than engaging.

The internet portal experience allows for three conclusions. First, the NGO sector showed its capacity to be creative and engaging in (electronic) cooperation. Second,

the share of NGOs and individuals participating in the portal discussions was not negligible, however, only a small part of NGO participated in the project. Poor advertisement and the fear of the portal inefficiency might have contributed to low participation. Third, the extremely poor response of the state points to the general attitude of the state towards the NGO sector. The state parties views the cooperation with NGOs as an obligation rather than value added.

2.6. Conclusion and Extensions

There is no guarantee that a country with a relatively high level of economic and political development will enjoy a flourishing civil society. The case of Slovenia proves to the contrary. At the time of democratic transition in the late 1980s, Slovenian civil society proved to be strong in organization, networking, and activating the populace. It had a clear vision, was based on democratic values, and enjoyed credibility from the part of the people. Nevertheless, twenty years later, the decision makers still do not take civil society as a serious and equal partner. Civil society remains marginalized, its personnel and financial potential is unexplored and poorly used. Civil society is poorly organized and poorly interconnected. Their personnel are usually poorly trained and inadequate.

2.6.1. Development

At the time of democratic transition, Slovenia did not experience a quick increase in institutionalized civil life. From 1974, associational life was limited but possible as long as it did not represent ideological threats to the communist regime. For example, the NGO sector answered the societal needs for association in the areas including sports, leisure, culture, and social welfare. However, due to its ideological-threat component, the advocacy function of civil society could not be

developed. In fact, advocacy NGOs were forbidden.

The most important innovation after 1991 was a new social programme. Its starting point was the re-orientation of the welfare state into a corporativist type. The basic responsibility for the provision of social welfare should be transferred from the state to the individual, for which the state should provide appropriate possibilities. This should reduce the significance of social insurance regulated by the state and increase the significance of private and additional insurances of the individuals. This introduced the principle of subsidiarity, which is one of the basic elements of the corporativist welfare model. (Hvalič, Ramovš, Ramovš, 2002). Services of public institutions should complement services of the commercial and third sector (Kidrič, 1994 in: Črnak-Meglič, 2000:126).

In the transitional period, the third sector and commercial production of goods and services grew in Slovenia, while the public sector remained unchanged. According to UMAR[4],between 1991 and 2009, public expenditure never dropped below 40 percent of GDP and even not below the rate it had in 1991. In 2009, also due to the effect of financial crisis, public expenditure even rose to 48%! The role of the state has never weakened and the state never ceded some of its role to the civil sector. The state has not limited the number of employees in the public sector. On the contrary, this number seems to be growing. Slovenia never faced the post socialist welfare gap (Svetlik, 1992 in: Črnak-Meglič, 2000:127), characteristic of other post-socialist countries.

2.6.2. Perceptions of the Citizenry

Perceptions of the citizenry towards the civil society reflect well the state of the NGO sector in Slovenia. The citizens in general do not understand the concept of civil society and are often not familiar with the activities of the NGO sector. What is more, the citizens do not use equally well the available opportunities provided by different NGOs. Some functions

4 http://www.umar.gov.si

of the civil society are better understood than the others.

Many citizens are familiar with sports clubs. The citizens see them as organizations providing sport activities, recreation, and leisure. For example, a particular place is granted to Planinska zveza Slovenije. Besides its sport dimension, the citizens recognize in this association a national and emotional component. However, when asking for these services the citizens in general do not distinguish between the sources of a service, i.e., provided by the state, civil society, or the market. What matters most for them is that such a service is available. In this sense, the citizens are able to identify civil society by its services. The least recognized function of the civil society is its advocacy dimension. The citizens expect the state to solve the major political and economic issues. The citizens do rarely understand that just like the politicians they too have a say in decision-making.

2.6.3. Current Status of NGOs

The evidence provided by this chapter has shown that despite the crucial role of civil society in a democratic policy's decision-making, Slovenian NGOs face marginalization. This marginalization comes from different direction. First, the citizenry does not seem to understand the role of free association and the role of civil society's contribution to the common good. NGOs are often seen as unnecessary, except when they offer services that are cheaper and better from other providers.

Second, the state does not consider the NGO sectors as an equal partner in the civil dialogue. While legal provisions point to the importance of civil society in civil dialogue, the state does not take NGOs seriously, partly because of its size. Since the Slovenian civil sector is comparatively among the smallest in Europe, they are not considered as important. Yet, as we have pointed out, due to the dire financial state of the civil sector, NGOs most of the time cannot fully express their contribution.

Finally, the civil sector itself is divided. Within the NGOs sector, organizations often prove to compete against each other instead of collaborating with one another. Due to the uneasy financial situation, poor management and the state environment, NGOs often fight one another. What is more, as a sign of unfinished democratic transition, certain NGOs remain privileged by the government or business sectors. They are better off and therefore more influential than the others.

3. Embeddedness of Advocacy Organisations in Slovenia

The aim of this chapter is to analyze embeddedness of advocacy organizations in Slovenia. It consists of six parts. Presentation of theoretical and methodological background is in the 3rd part followed by quantitative research analysis. 4th part brings interview analysis, 5th part deals with focus groups analysis and conclusions are presented in the last, 6th part.

Quantitative research was implemented in June 2010 on the target group of 800 respondents via telephone survey. The aim of the survey was to analyse the perception of advocacy civil society organisations (CSOs) among the general public. Interviews were conducted between October 2010 and January 2011 with 30 representatives of CSOs. The third part of research is the analysis of 4 focus groups with the representatives of CSOs conducted in January 2011.

Both interviews and focus groups provide us with more insight into the situation of CSOs in Slovenia. We will analyse them and compare the findings with the results of the quantitative part of the research in order to make some more conclusions about the situation of CSOs in Slovenia at the present time.

3.1. Theoretical background

However long past it has and however widely it is used, there is no commonly agreed definition for 'civil society'. Moreover, there are other concepts being in use, interchangeably, but with slightly different content: civil sector, NGO sector, nonprofit sector, etc. Most do not question, however, that civil society is the arena of voluntary, unforced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values (Merkel/Lauth 1998:7).

The Centre for Civil Society, at the London School of Economics, considers civil society as a sector on its own vis-à-vis the three other main sectors: state, business and family: *"Civil society refers to the arena of unforced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group."[5]*

In our opinion, it would be a major mistake to simplify civil society purely to civil society organizations. In our understanding, civil society is the arena, outside the family, the state, and the market, created by public oriented actions, organizations and institutions to advance shared interests. This broad understanding includes three potential layers of the concept. First, civil society includes enduring organized actors and impacts of organized interests (CSOs, local community organizations, charity, voluntary, etc. organizations). Second, part of the civil society is not formally organized but consists of) temporary and loosely organised networks and activities (campaigns, events, social actions). Third, civil society is present on the individual level of individual engagements, expressed in active citizenship, volunteering and participation.

We believe that we can explore the nature of civil society in our countries if we do not get stuck in the terminology problem. According to the existing literature in our countries, there is a wide spectrum of literature dealing with the legal, financial status of NGOs, their activities are widely researched. We

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5 http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/introduction/what_is_civil_society.htm

believe that we do not get closer to civil society only on that basis. This is why we – not denying the importance of the analysis of NGOs – concentrate on the functions and the performance of civil society in our countries.

There is a large and growing literature discussing the functions of civil society and the nonprofit sector in social sciences. We cannot say that there is a consensus on identifying the functions but there are definite overlappings in the different approaches. The problem is that there is a divergence in terms of exactly whose functions the authors are talking about: the nonprofit sector, civil society, NGOs, the voluntary sector, etc. However, we believe that we can summarize the different approaches and apply them to our definition of civil society.

If we look at the literature on the functions of civil society, some authors (like Niemayr et al.) set up a system of functions, identifying and sescribing several of them, others (like Salamon et al, J. Kendall, etc.) elaborate on one particular function. On our part, putting it rather simply, we find 3 major functions of civil society: community building, service provision and advocacy.

Concerning the community building function of civil soiety, many approaches share the opinion that participation by local citizens in nonprofit organizations encourages social interaction and help to create trust and reciprocity, which leads to the generation of a sense of community (Donoghue 2004:8, Salamon et al. 2000:7). Community building thereby means as well the mobilization of a community on a certain issue (community of interest) or on the base of locale (geographical community) (Donoghue 2004:8).

Besides the impact of volunteer participation on the individual level, separate functions for the larger society are served as well. Among these there are mediation 'between groups of individuals and the larger society , the integration of 'groups into that society', the provision of 'opportunities for value communication', for 'development of community services', for the 'initiation of change, and the distribution of power' (Kramer 1981:194).

Other authors, when referring to the community building function, mention positive impacts on both, the individual as well as the societal level. For instance, Kendall quotes that participation in nonprofit organizations (NPOs) *"could foster 'personal development', improve social relationships, give people 'control over their lives' and thus make society operate more 'healthily.'"* (Kendall 2003:113). In Hungary for example, there are research projects that try to explore the correlation between participation and physical health and data show that the correlation does exist. (Kopp et al, 2008) The popular concept of Robert Putnam, the issue of social capital can also be included in the community biulding function area of civil society.

In terms of the service function of of civil society organizations are targeted usually to those, usually individuals who are unable to pay for certain services, for those who are in need. Usually these services fill the gaps where both the state (government) and the market is unable to respond. (Kendall 2003: 92) They can range from tangible services (food distribution, free condoms, shelter for the homeless, endangered mothers, etc.) to intangible services (counseling, free courses, etc.). (Jenkins 1987:297)

According to Jenkins, *"every activity that focuses on changing policies or securing collective goods can be called an advocacy function"* (Jenkins 1987:297). According to another, more detailed definition, advocacy comprises all activities that *"push for changes in government policy or in societal conditions", "serve a link between individuals and the broader political process, … bring group concerns to broader public attention and ... push for policy or broader social change, not only on behalf of those belonging to a group but also on behalf of the general public"* (Salamon et al. 2000:6). We have to add here that this definition includes activities that are characteristic of pressure groups and professional organizations, namely lobbying efforts for the interests of a group, not the wider or general public.

Furthermore, we can split advocacy into two sub-functions

called 'policy advocacy' and 'citizens' advocacy'. Policy advocacy means all those activities that focus on changing policies or securing collective goods, which are directly addressed to *"any institutional elite"* (Jenkins 1987:279). Citizens' advocacy refers to all activities that focus on changing policies or securing collective goods, which are addressed to the general public and aim at increasing public awareness or mobilize individual citizens' advocacy about certain issues. The different activities connected to the public advocacy function can be legislative activities, political campaign activities, litigation, etc.. 'Boycotts' – convincing a critical mass of public not getting involved in business with a particular institution, demonstrations can be assigned to both sub-functions.

We identified the advocacy function of Central European civil societies as central in our research. We had two reasons for chosing that.Certain theoreticians of the system changing elite – in some countries - expected that our societies would become ones where citizens can stand for their rights and interests, able to organize, be active in expressing their views and preferences, thus providing the day-to-day basis of democracy. We argue that neither the analysis of the service function, nor the community building function takes us closer to exploring the fulfillment of the original dream. Second, in the mid 1990s a growing number of literature, on the basis of different approaches and methods came to rather similar findings and confirmed the 'weakness' of civil society in post communist societies. (see a collection in Howard 2003: 31-56.) They seem to share the idea that despite the relatively high number of civil society organizations, civil society is weaker in these countries than in 'the West'.

3.2. Methodological background

On the one hand, our societies are considered as suffering from symptoms of low level of trust and solidarity, and the

general level of social participation is described as very poor [Howard 2003]. Consequently, there is no (vibrant) civil society in this area or its certain functions are said to be underdeveloped or even absent. In methodological terms, this view builds predominantly upon individual-level evidence as citizens surveys etc.

On the other hand, our countries are comparatively developed in terms of the number of civil society organizations, details of their legal frameworks, richness of sectoral divisions or the structure of financing (state versus private donors). This empirical evidence of considerable political engagement usually builds upon meso-structural level: it uses organizational surveys and focuses on institutionalized (organized) forms of activism, on their mutual interactions and also on their exchanges with political institutions (Flam 2001; Petrova, Tarrow 2007; Císař 2008).

In our research, we were trying to precisely elaborate and understand the extent, the structure and the nature of this discrepancy in our countries. It is clear that there are many advocacy CSOs and some of them are very visible, active and also successful in their missions. And it also seems that one of the main reasons of the relatively well developed civil society infrastructure in our countries (apart from rapid opening of political opportunities for various political actors) is the role of external supporters of the democratic change – i.e. of foreign donors, mostly from the United States. These considered the advocacy as the key function to stabilize new democracies and a lot of issues could not be represented in our societies if this external support did not reach particular actors here – especially human rights, transparency, environmental issues, equal opportunities, etc. Although U.S., EU and private foundations, or state institutions supported service providers and community organizations as well, they focused mainly on human rights, advocacy, green and watchdog NGOs (Quigley, 1997; Carothers, 1999).

Later on, as the donors supposed that after a while advocacy

can stand and survive without them, most of these support programs were ended and financing ceased to operate. Thus, foreign donors believed that advocacy organizations became widely accepted and socially embedded in our societies, and that they also turned into economically self--sustainable actors. It seems that, however, the situation may be less satisfying (McMahon 2001; Aksartova 2006).

Following these considerations, we turn to the general line of our inquiry: twenty years after the series of systemic political changes and the fall of the authoritarian regimes, we want to explore the level and structure of the advocacy function of our civil societies and assess the main obstacles for its proper fulfillment. We are not interested in quantitative empirical comparison of our civil societies with Anglo--Saxon standards or in testing hypotheses that were developed in different parts of the world; we are rather trying to deeply explore and carefully evaluate contemporary state of the evolution of key aspects of our civil societies functioning, and confront it with original visions and expectations of the dissent elites.

In order to be able to answer to accomplish this undertaking, we reformulate our aims into several key questions that we are trying to respond. First of all, and following the issue of discrepancy between organizational and individual level of civil advocacy, we restrict our interest into collectively organized advocacy efforts, so we focus on CSOs as the main bearers of advocacy function in our societies. Generally, we want to find out an answer to the following question:

• What is the degree to which structures and actions of advocacy CSOs are able to reflect on societal problems, to recognize, represent and channel them, in other words, to what extent are they integrated into the society (life of citizens)?

In order to find the valid answer and deal with our research problem comprehensively, we further specify and transform it into four more focused and mutually connected research sub-questions. The sub-questions are the followings:

- How these advocacy areas become 'embedded'? (If citizens are involved, how are they involved and how did they get involved? To what extent and how precisely citizens are involved in civil advocacy activities, and what are the main obstacles of their involvement in organized advocacy activities?)
- What advocacy areas in our countries are most 'embedded'? (Where citizens are most involved? In what kind of activities citizens are most eager to be involved?
- Are CSOs embedded? Which CSOs are 'embedded'? (Are there some common features and motives of CSOs that integrate / don't integrate citizens into their structures and actions in both the least supported and the most supported advocacy areas?)
- How CSOs become embedded? (How CSOs integrate citizens into their structures and actions?)

As obvious from the above questions, the key concept of our research is embeddedness. Embeddedness is originally a concept applied to firms and/or individuals and expresses that they are part of or enmeshed in a social network. The embeddedness of economic actors, mainly companies was analysed by Mark Granovetter (Granovetter 1985) stating the companies do not operate only in the market but are part of a particular social network. Putnam, in his popular book – Bowling alone -used the concept of embeddedness for individulals (Putnam, 2000).

In our case, we applied the concept of embeddedness to CSOs. In our understanding, embeddedness of civil society orgnaizations means

- being known, locally and/or nationwide
- involving people in 'passive ways' – donations, signing petitions, etc.
- including people in the acivities of CSOs in activities, like campaigns and other activities, also to the strategic planning of the organization.

In order to find answers to these questions, we used both quantitative and qualitative research methods. In the quantitative part, we carried out surveys (800n) via telephone interviews, in the quantitative part we used the focus group and interview methods.

In the survey we intended to find out in which advocacy areas of citizens are the most /least involved (either through their support, participation or organizing activities).

If we found out that citizens were somehow involved, we asked them how are they involved and how did they got involved to identify possible motives, channels and mechanisms of their involvement which was later be compared with findings in the interviews with CSOs.

We used telephone survey to map the advocacy issues and sectors (environment, human rights, community etc.), which people support/take part/organize most or less. The list of advocacy areas were developed for all our countries by listing and discussing possible areas/themes. On the basis of the findings we elaborated a so-called 'embeddedness index' that showed which are the advocacy areas that are most embedded in our societies.

The research section of the project included 4 focus groups and 30 interviews. The aim of the qualitative methodology was to get a picture of embeddedness of advocacy organizations and their campaigns from the side of the collective actors (NGOs and formally non-organized groups). In the case of focus groups we wanted to explore their attitudes towards embeddedness and in the case of interviews we wanted to know empirical facts, how they relate to their 'electorate'. These two features of qualitative methodology are also connected by sampling strategy: focus group technique could give us – among other things - an expert judgement on most and least embedded advocacy CSOs and their campaigns within the least and the most embedded advocacy areas.

3.3. Quantitative survey analysis

The aim of the quantitative survey was to analyse the perception of advocacy CSOs among the general public in Slovenia. Four goals were defined:

- To scan general embededness of advocacy CSOs
- To analyse the differences between embededness of civil society advocacy areas
- To identify channels of communication and means of involvement of citizens in civil advocacy actions and CSOs
- To list known and trusted advocacy CSOs.

3.3.1. General embeddedness of advocacy CSOs

General embededness of advocacy CSOs will be discussed through analysing the share of citizens active in advocacy, trust of citizens into the capabilities of advocacy CSOs, reasons why respondents are not and think other people are not active in advocacy and responsiveness or usefulness of the CSOs are towards citizens.

According to the research, 23% of people living in Slovenia (185 of 800 respondents) are personally active in advocacy activities (see Figure 3). This result is comparable to other countries participating in this research.

Are you personally active in one or more of the above activity areas or organizations?

■ Yes
■ No
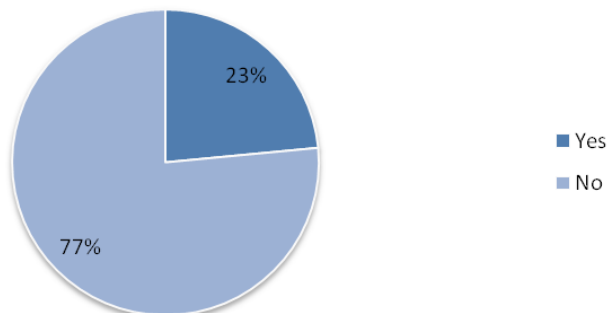
Figure 3: Share of citizens active in advocacy in Slovenia

The following question attempts to uncover the reasons for some people not being active in advocacy activities: **'I will present you some of the reasons for which people say why they are not active in civic activities. Please tell me, which of them apply to you?'** The question was set only to the respondents who do not declare themselves as 'active' (= around 77% of the population).

The main reasons for not being active in civil society are the following: not having time (nearly 60%), not having money to support them (around 55%) and not feeling responsible to do so (nearly 50%). Other answers (not interested, health, disappointment, and not believing in possibility to change) are less frequent.

The next parameter measures the trust in civic organisations' capability to solve concrete societal problems. It shows that 29% of population doesn't believe CSOs can solve problems on the fields of 15 advocacy areas (see Section 3.3.2).

I will present to you some of the reasons, for which people say why they are not active in civil activities. Please tell me, which of them apply to you? (% of 'yes' answers)
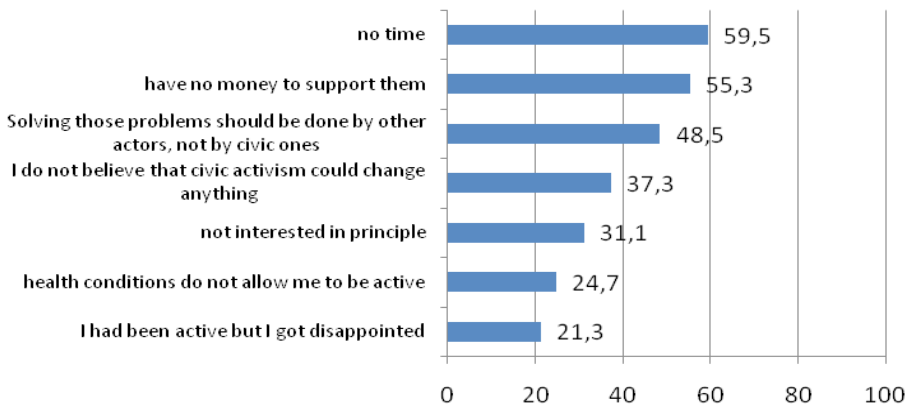
Figure 4: Reasons why some respondents are not active in advocacy

Do you believe that civic organizations can solve some of those previously listed problems?
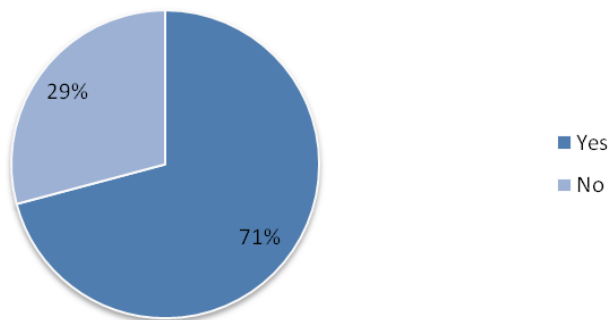
Figure 5: Trust in the capabilities of advocacy CSOs

This parameter enables the comparison of this question to one of the possible answers set in the previously analyzed question: 'I do not believe that civic activism could change anything'.

If 29% of respondents believe CSOs are not able to solve relevant problems, even a little bit more (37%) believe citizens themselves are not able to change anything.

In the next question we ask those who do not believe that civic organizations can solve problems (171 persons), why they think so. We offer them several answers (see the following chart).

Majority of respondents connect actions of CSOs to their own financial benefits, to the interests of political parties and to business interests. A clear pattern can be recognised from the top 3 answers: CSO's are seen as satellites or expositures of bigger and stronger actors, used for their illegal or at least non-transparent enrichment or advantage.

5 of 7 suggested answers received agreement of more than 60% of respondents. That shows a big distrust of this target group[7] into CSOs.

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7) *171 of 800 respondents which means 21% of the whole target group.*

What do you think is the reason CSOs can not solve any previously listed problems? (% of 'yes' anwsers)
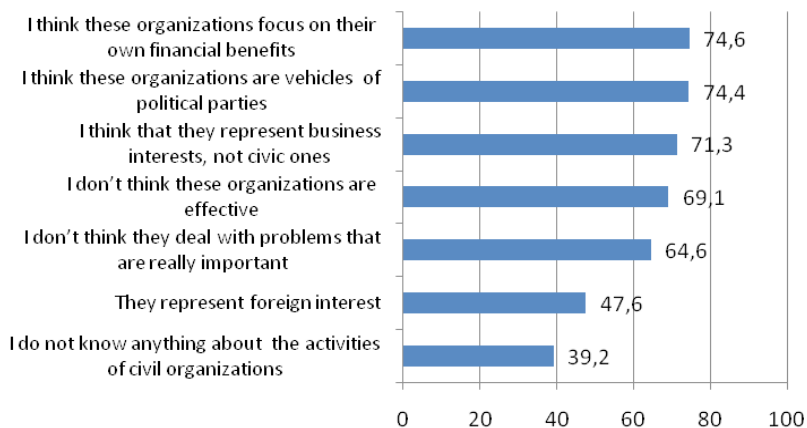
Figure 6: Reasons why respondents think other people are not active

Asking the question: **'How much do you think civil organizations and their advocacy activities reflect on the problems, needs which YOU face?'** (ranking the answers from 1 meaning 'not at all' to 5 meaning 'very much') we got a median of 3 and the mean of 2,73. The median indicates indifferent perception of general public[8] and the mean indicates slightly negative perception.

Mean	2,73
Median	3

Table 10: How responsive/useful the CSOs are towards citizens?

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8) *The whole target group (800 respondents) were asked this question.*

The results, however, are not fully surprising if we consider the present times, in which confidence in all institutions in Slovenia is very low (see next question). This result might also indicate that people do not take CSOs as their own tools. The majority might perceive CSOs out of their personal engagement and expect them to work for them.

Trust into CSOs can be explored into more detail putting the following question: **'In case of having a problem, how likely is it for you to turn to the following institutions/people?'** (answer 5 meaning very likely and 1 not at all). The results can be seen in the following chart.

CSOs achieved higher level of trust than members of parliament, local and national government or authority, the media, European democratic institutions and church communities. They achieved lower level of trust than family,

How likely / probably is it that you turn to the following if you have a problem? (5 = very likely, 1 = not liekly at all)

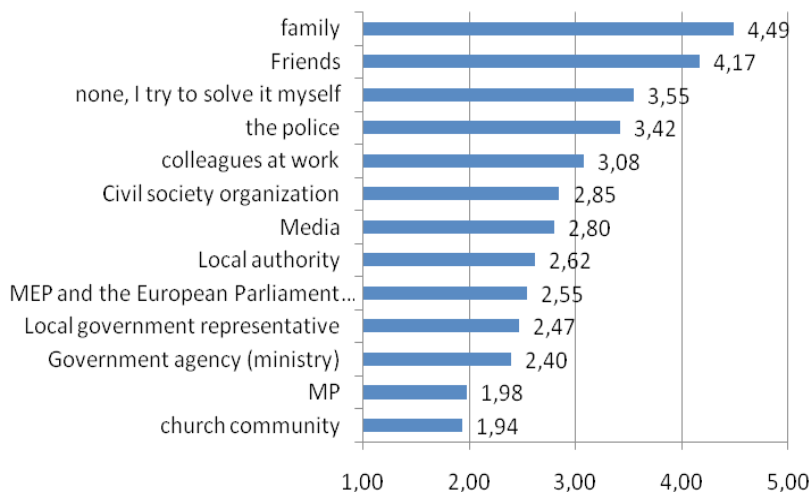|	
family	4,49
Friends	4,17
none, I try to solve it myself	3,55
the police	3,42
colleagues at work	3,08
Civil society organization	2,85
Media	2,80
Local authority	2,62
MEP and the European Parliament…	2,55
Local government representative	2,47
Government agency (ministry)	2,40
MP	1,98
church community	1,94

Figure 7: How big is the trust to advocacy CSOs compared to other institutions?

friends, colleagues at work and the police. According to answers, CSOs can be positioned in the middle between sphere of community (family, friends, colleagues) on one side and public institutions (members of parliament, ministries, local government representatives, etc.) on the other[9].

3.2. Embeddedness of civil society advocacy areas

For the purpose of analysing different advocacy areas, the framework of following 15 advocacy areas was used:
• work of democratic institutions
• human and citizens' rights and freedoms
• consumer protection
• environment
• animal rights
• anti-corruption
• national minority rights
• LGBT rights
• women rights
• rights of children
• disabled peoples rights
• international and global issues
• education, health, social policy
• economic policy
• citizens' security

Embededness of the different advocacy areas of civil society was analyzed through combination of following three questions:

• **'What do you think, how important advocacy activity of civil society organisations would be in these areas in Slovenia?'** This question was set to all 800 respondents and is interpreted as the perceived importance of a particular advocacy area (people want CSOs to be active there). As such, it somehow covers cognitive level of embeddedness.
• Respondents who declared themselves as 'active' in CSOs

9) *The police in this context has a special role as a public institution. One should not forget that respondents answered about turning to institutions when having a problem and the police in such situation certainly has an important role.*

(185 out of 800) were asked **'In which advocacy area are you active in?'** This question is interpreted as a reported activity of citizens.

- Respondents who did not declare themselves as 'active' but are planning to get involved in advocacy activities (70 out of 800), were asked **'In which area are you planning to become involved in?'** This question is interpreted as a potential citizens´ involvement in advocacy on specific advocacy areas. It reflects their personal interest in particular area but is speculative at the same time.
- The level of embededness (in the table 11 marked as 'overall ranking') is calculated according to the ranking of the sum of ranks for every specific variable. Overall ranking 1 means most embedded advocacy area and overall ranking 15 means least embedded advocacy area.

	Importance of CSOs (Q1)		Personal involvement (Q7)		Potential involvement (Q13)		sum of ranks	overall ranking
	mean	ranking	mean	ranking	mean	ranking		
rights of chidren	4,47	1	1,52	1	1,66	1	**3**	1
environment	4,35	6	1,50	2	1,59	2	**10**	2
disabled people's rights	4,44	2	1,36	4	1,45	6	**12**	3
women rights	4,38	4	1,26	7	1,57	3	**14**	4

Table 11: List of most / least embedded civil advocacy areas

	Importance of CSOs (Q1)		Personal involvement (Q7)		Potential involvement (Q13)		sum of ranks	overall ranking
	mean	ranking	mean	ranking	mean	ranking		
human and citizens' rights and freedoms	4,38	3	1,32	6	1,45	6	**15**	5
education, health, social policy	4,35	7	1,42	3	1,48	5	**15**	5
animal rights	3,96	10	1,36	5	1,55	4	**19**	7
citizens' security	4,37	5	1,24	8	1,43	8	**21**	8
consumer protection	4,03	9	1,19	9	1,32	10	**28**	9
anti-corruption	4,25	8	1,12	12	1,41	9	**29**	10
work of democratic institutions	3,74	14	1,17	10	1,22	12	**36**	11
national minority rights	3,88	11	1,16	11	1,16	14	**36**	11
international and global issues	3,77	12	1,12	13	1,22	12	**37**	13
economic policy	3,77	13	1,12	13	1,23	11	**37**	13
LGBT rights	2,98	15	1,07	15	1,09	15	**45**	15

As it is evident from the table, advocacy area 'rights of children' is recognised as the most embedded one. The advocacy area 'LGBT rights' is considered as the least embedded. The first reached ranking of [1, 1, 1]. This means that participants of the survey see the rights of children as important (cognitive level), are most frequently active in it and are also most likely prepared to become active in the field. The advocacy area 'LGBT rights' reached the ranking of [15, 15, 15] meaning it is neither important neither respondents are active in that area and will not become active.

Some other most embedded areas are environment, disabled peoples' rights, women rights, human and citizens' rights and freedoms, education, health and social policy.

As other least embedded areas the following were recognised: international and global issues, economic policy, work of democratic institutions and national minority rights.

There are some differences between ranks of specific variables in advocacy area. The difference between cognitive level of embededness (Q1) and real personal engagement (Q7) is of special interest.

For example, the biggest difference between Q1 and Q7 consists in 'animal rights' advocacy area. While the respondents do not see this area as significantly important (ranking 10) they are still quite active in this area of civil society (ranking 5). Animal rights area is even more popular with 'potential activists' who on average ranked it on the 4th place. Similar applies to advocacy areas of 'environment' and 'education, health and social policy'.

The 'anti-corruption' advocacy area stands out in the opposite direction. Respondents see it as somewhat important (ranking 8 in Q1), yet they are obviously not prepared to do anything about it (ranking 12 in Q7). Similar patterns can be found in women rights and citizens' security. Advocacy area of 'women rights' has the biggest difference between people active in the field and people declaring that they could potentially become active. Taking 7th place in regards to Q7, this advocacy area is in the middle of the popularity

ranking among 'activists' but holding 3rd place in regards to Q13, it becomes a rather popular area among potential activists.

	Reported activity (Q7)		Perceived activity (Q2)		Difference in ranks
	mean	ranking	mean	ranking	
work of democratic institutions	1,17	10	2,96	13	-3
human and citizens' rights and freedoms	1,32	6	3,27	6	0
consumer protection	1,19	9	3,29	4	5
environment	1,50	2	3,22	7	-5
animal rights	1,36	5	3,19	10	-5
anti-corruption	1,12	12	2,74	15	-3
national minority rights	1,16	11	3,20	9	2
LGBT rights	1,07	15	2,97	12	3
women rights	1,26	7	3,37	2	5
rights of children	1,52	1	3,59	1	0
disabled people's rights	1,36	4	3,31	3	1
international and global issues	1,12	13	3,02	11	2
education, health, social policy	1,42	3	3,21	8	-5
economic policy	1,12	13	2,85	14	-1
citizens' security	1,24	8	3,27	5	3

Table 12: Comparison of real and perceived activity of CSOs in the society

We further compare the data about activism of CSOs (rank Q07) with the question Q02 in which all 800 participants were asked **'How active are civil organizations in Slovenia in these advocacy areas'**. The comparison of these data tells us something about actual and perceived presence of organisations in specific advocacy areas.

There is no change at the top of the scale. Organisations active in the field of the rights of children that showed the highest level of embeddedness (Table 11) also score the highest at Q2 (seen as the most present). In the eyes of the public they respond to the most important challenges and are therefore also (justifiably) the most visible.

At the bottom of the ladder of the most active organisations we cannot find the LGBT rights organisations. They ranked at the level 12, therefore 3 ranks higher. Respondents see them as more active than the organisations active in the field of anti-corruption (rank 15), economic policy (rank 14) and work of democratic institutions (rank 13). We can conclude that LGBT rights organisations are more present in the society than the relevance of their work is important to the citizens. We could assume that activists of these organisations are more willing to stand out and that they prepare more provocative campaigns.

A similar conclusion can also be made for two more areas. The field of consumer protection ranked as 9th on the scale of reported activity, and ranked 4th on the scale of perceived presence of the organisations. The field of women rights ranked 7th on the scale of reported activity and 2nd place on the scale of presence of the organisations in this field.

Reverse cases are the fields of a) environmental issues, b) animal rights and c) education, health and social policy. Perceived activity of each of these advocacy areas is 5 places lower than reported activity of citizens in them.

Table 13 on the next page: Biggest differences in advocacy area rankings between importance of CSO advocacy activities, perceived activity of CSOs and personal involvement of individuals.

Rank	Importance of NGO advocacy activities in the area (Q1)	Perceived activity of CSOs (Q2)	Personal involvement in the civil activities in the area (Q7)
1	rights of children	rights of children	rights of children
2	disabled people's rights	women rights	environment
3	human and citizens' rights and freedoms	disabled people's rights	education, health, social policy
4	women rights	consumer protection	disabled people's rights
5	citizens' security	citizens' security	animal rights
6	environment	human and citizens' rights and freedoms	human and citizens' rights and freedoms
7	education, health, social policy	environment	women rights
8	anti-corruption	education, health, social policy	citizens' security
9	consumer protection	national minority rights	consumer protection
10	animal rights	animal rights	work of democratic institutions
11	national minority rights	international and global issues	national minority rights
12	international and global issues	LGBT rights	anti-corruption
13	economic policy	work of democratic institutions	international and global issues
14	work of democratic institutions	economic policy	economic policy
15	LGBT rights	anti-corruption	LGBT rights

The following variables could help us to understand communication between CSOs and the people. In combination with our qualitative research they can be a useful when discussing how and why people engage or want to engage in CSOs and whether the strategies CSOs use to mobilise them respond to their needs and needs of people or not.

Majority of the respondents have heard about civil society organizations or their activities through public media. Television still has the No.1 role with more than 90 percent. It is followed by newspapers and magazines (78.6%) and radio (67.5%).

Where or how did you hear about civil society organizations or their activities? (% of 'yes' answers)

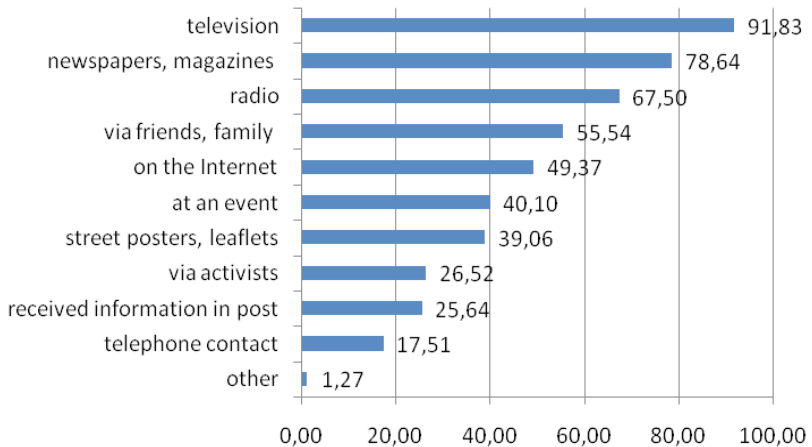|	%
television	91,83
newspapers, magazines	78,64
radio	67,50
via friends, family	55,54
on the Internet	49,37
at an event	40,10
street posters, leaflets	39,06
via activists	26,52
received information in post	25,64
telephone contact	17,51
other	1,27

Figure 8: How people become acquainted with CSOs and their activities

What is interesting is that those 3 channels of communication do not allow CSO's to use and influence them directly. CSOs can have more direct influence on all the other listed channels (internet, street posters, leaflets, post information, telephone contacts, friends & family, activists, events) but not on these 3.

Traditional media still play a crucial role in supporting or not supporting advocacy activities. They represent some sort of a threshold for CSOs. Those who succeed to attract attention of traditional public media seem to have much more possibilities for success.

The number of those who heard about the activities of CSOs or their activities form the activists is surprisingly low (27%). The number is only a half of the number of the people getting acquainted with the work of CSO through the personal social networks (family and friends).

The following chart (Chart 10) demonstrates in what ways respondents became involved in advocacy activities. Following areas stand out: voluntary work (70.4 %), donation (63.0 %) and supporting (e.g. signing petitions, participation in campaigns) with 61.4 %. Other answers achieved less than 40 %.

This question was answered only by the respondents that defined themselves as active in the advocacy processes. They represent 23% of all respondents.

If (as evident from Chart 10) 70% of them are active as volunteers this would mean that 16% of all the respondents (and therefore the whole population) is active in advocacy in Slovenia. This fact is comparable with similar researches from this field (Civil Society Survey: 12%, Study of Volunteering in the EU: 14-18%) and experiences of CSOs (probably the biggest event in 20-years-long Slovenian history, ecological action 'Let's clean Slovenia in one day' activated 13.5 % of people).

High level of donors among residents of Slovenia was also proved in other studies. For example, the Civil Society Survey (2005) states that 66% of respondents donated

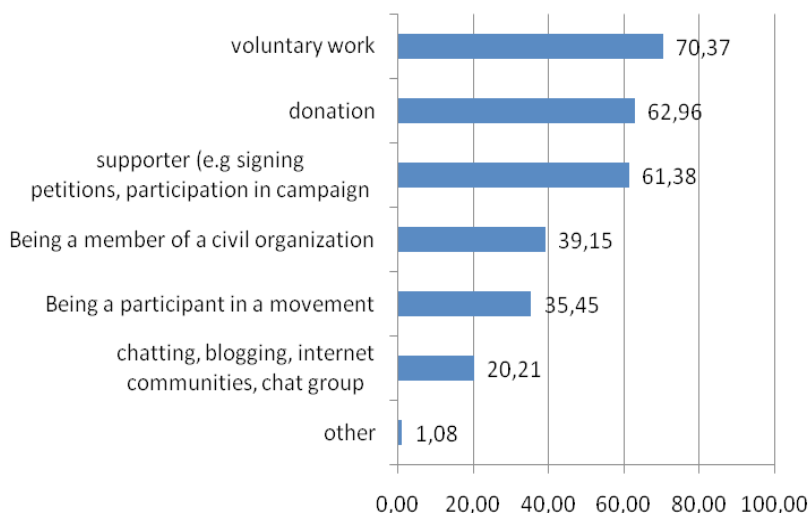## Means of real involvement in civil activity (% of 'yes' answers)

Figure 9: Means of real involvement in civil activity

money, food, or other goods for charitable purposes in one year. In this research donation scored much lower results (63% of active population which is around 14-15% of whole population). But it is difficult to interpret this result since donation in this research is seen only as a tool of advocacy, not in general. However, the ratio of those declaring themselves as donors in both researches is similar (60-70%).

Only 20.2 % of respondents declare that they have participated in advocacy activities through chatting, blogging, internet communities and chat groups. This is in a way surprising, especially because during the last few years we have been able to witness several social movements worldwide evolving mainly through the internet. The internet and social networks seem to be a powerful mean to facilitate advocacy activities. Yet, the data show that the potential of these networks is in Slovenia[10] still not used.

10) *70% of 23% of respondents equals to 16% of respondents.*

What is also true is that communication through the internet demands much more intellectual effort than for example donation, signing petition or even most forms of voluntary work.

The continuation of the questionnaire focused on the CSOs the interviewees were active in. We asked them about the means of their involvement in them. Therefore the answers to this question could be interpreted as a sort of a control question to the previous one.

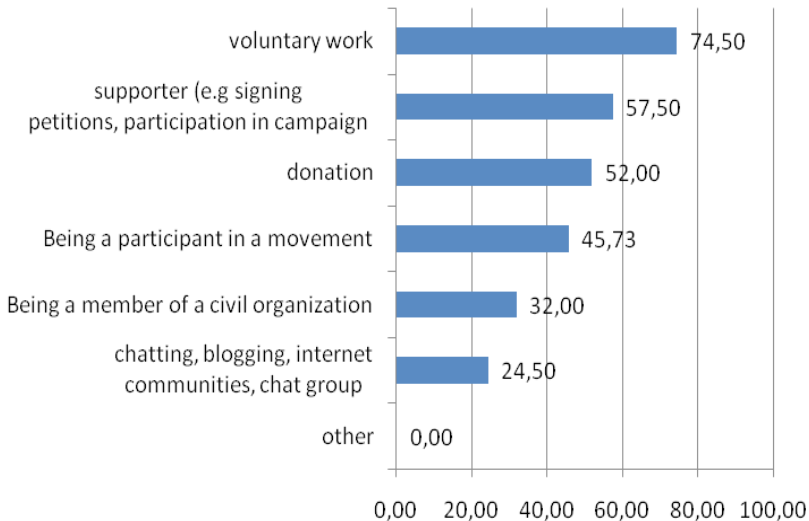## Means of real involvement in CSOs (% of 'yes' answers)

Figure 10: Means of real involvement in CSOs

While in comparison to the previous question the share of voluntary work, the involvement in the movements and the web based advocacy activities are slightly higher the other activities show smaller shares (donations, support and membership). The reason for this score could be the fact that the individuals relate more to the organisations in which they perform higher levels of social participation.

The question 'How do you plan getting involved in the (this/these organization/s) activities?' was put only to those respondents that expressed their interest to get involved in the advocacy activities in the future. The number of answers (70) is too low to make any conclusions out of them. Among this group voluntary work seems to be the most popular followed by support and membership.

Potential means of involvement in CSO and its activities (% of 'yes' answers)

Figure 11: Potential means of involvement in CSO and its activities (Q15)

3.3.4. Advocacy CSOs citizens know and trust

In the questionnaire three questions about the concrete CSOs were put to respondents. The respondents that defined themselves as 'active' were asked about the organisations they work in (Q8). Those who do not see themselves as 'active' were asked about the organisations they might cooperate with in the future (Q14). All the respondents were asked which organisations they trust (Q17).

The first places are as a rule taken by CSOs active in the field of social policy (Rdeči križ and Karitas), rights of children (Unicef) and protection of human rights (Amnesty International). Even though the organisations active in the fields of rights of disabled people and women rights were ranked high in the embeddedness scale they are not very high on these lists.

In the list of organisations in which the 'non-active' wish to participate in the future the organisations active in the field of animal protection are at the highest level. This field ranked the 4th also in the list of advocacy areas in which the respondents would like to activate in the future (see Table 11). Other two measures of embeddedness for this advocacy area did not place this area as high as this.

Organisations that ranked low on the embeddedness scale also do not appear high in the lists of concrete names of the organisations[11].

3.3.5. Note

The concepts of operating of the civil society like advocacy, volunteering, petition, support, donation and similar are often not clear to the general public or have diverse interpretations. The presentation of the precise definitions of the concepts is not possible in the telephone survey. It appears that the respondents did not connect the concepts with their practical experience.

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11) *Some answers to the questions were so ambiguous it was not possible to decipher the concrete organization they should represent. These answers were therefore omitted in the frequency analysis. In general the tendency to name the activity instead of the names of organizations was seen (for example: 'animal protection' or 'philanthropy'). Where the strong possibility that the jargon name of an organization ('philanthropy' for Slovenska filantropija - Slovene Philantropy) was used we marked it as an answer for the concrete organization.*

Cases:
- One of the widest spread non-governmental organisations in Slovenia – Gasilska zveza Slovenije (The Firemen Association of Slovenia) was rarely connected to the advocacy area of citizens' security.
- We assume it was hard for the respondents to judge if a certain type of their activity (like voluntary work) serves advocacy or some other function of civil society (like service to the community).
- In listing the names of organisations it was seen that respondents often do not distinguish between the public sector and the civil society sector (instead of the names of civil society organisations they were naming the public offices).
- The more concrete (not conceptual) the questions were the more positive the answers of the respondents were - they were able to relate to their concrete experience more.

3.4. Interviews analysis

The aim of interviews was to get a clearer picture of embeddedness from the side of the collective actors (CSOs). Results which had been before acquired through quantitative survey were set to and checked with CSO representatives.
The interviews with the representatives of CSOs were conducted by 3 interviewers. They all took the shape of a structured interview[12]. Huge majority of the interviews was done in person and a few over the telephone. The full list of the representatives of the organizations interviewed is in the appendix to this document. The organizations[13] were selected by the interviewers.

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12) *The structure of the interviews was identical in all the countries participating in the research. The list of questions can be found in the appendix to this document.*
13) *DrogArt, Ekvilib, Društvo Temnonebo Slovenije, Društvo Informacijski center Legebitra, Društvo distrofikov Slovenije, Zveza Sožitje, Platforma nevladnih organizacij za sodelovanje in pomoč SLOGA, Agencija za razvojne iniciative, Slovenska filantropija, združenje za promocijo prostovoljstva, Zavod Voluntariat, Umanotera, Amnesty International, Mariborska kolesarska mreža, PiC, Zveza potrošnikov Slovenije, Zveza ekoloških gibanj Slovenije, Društvo za zaščito živali Ljubljana, Združenje Moč, YHD, Evropa Donna, Beli obroč, Zveza delovnih invalidov Slovenije, Slovenska zveza za tobačno kontrolo, PiP, ZPM Maribor, Inštitut za razvijanje družbene odgovornosti (IRDO), Slovenska Karitas, Zavod Salesianum - OE Skala, KD Pina, Jezuitsko združenje za begunce Slovenije.*

Two keys for the selection were used. The first one was to interview the representatives of all the advocacy areas defined in the quantitative research. This key was well regarded, so the representatives of the organizations came from 14 of the 15 advocacy area categories defined. The second key was to involve both local and national CSO. This key was less observed due to different reasons. The interviewees were asked to define their geographical area of work and many (83%) defined themselves as working on the national level. Since Slovenia is quite small this was an expected result as most of the advocacy activities soon have a wider impact than just local[14.]

• The legal status of the organizations interviewed is shown in the following table. Some of the organizations also have an additional
• limited legislative status (work in public interest, humanitarian organization, representative organization of disabled) accredited by the government bodies that enable them a specific position in the relation towards the government.

3.4.1. Definition of interviewees

Identification of organization/campaign: (local / national / international)

Local	8
National	25
International	6

Table 14: Identification of interviewed organizations/campaigns:
(local / national / international)

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14) *Slovenia is not officially divided into regions that could be used as tool to define the difference between the local and national involvement. The governmental units smaller than the regions are the 211 municipalities (on April 21st 2011) and the CSO often implement their activities in more than one.*

Legal personality

Association	16
Private institute	8
Federation of associations	4
Foundation	1
Organization registered in accordance with the legislation on religious communities	1
Limited additional legislative status	
Public interest	2
Humanitarian organization	1
Representative organization of disabled	2

Table 15: Legal personality of interviewed organizations/campaigns

Advocacy areas where they operate

Advocacy area	Rank	Frequency
rights of children	1	5
environment	2	7
disabled peoples rights	3	5
women rights	4	3
human and citizens' rights and freedoms	5	14
education, health, social policy	5	7
animal rights	7	1
citizens' security	8	1
consumer protection	9	2
anti-corruption	10	0
work of democratic institutions	11	1
national minority rights	11	1
international and global issues	13	4
economic policy	13	2
LGBT rights	15	2

Table 16: Frequency of interviewed CSOs according to advocacy areas

Frequency of interviewed CSOs according to the rank of their advocacy area
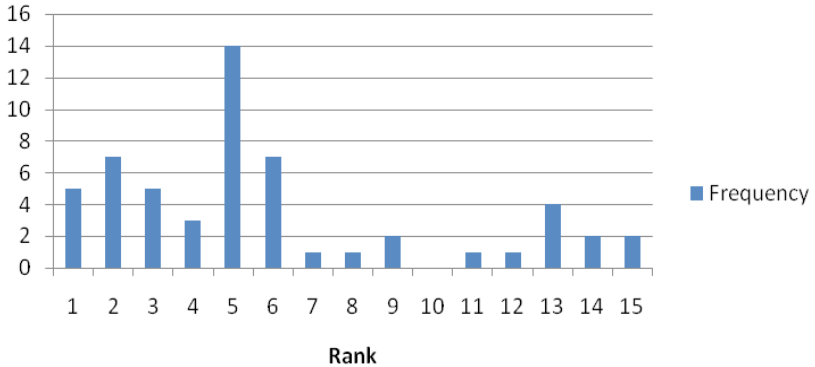

Figure 12: Frequency of interviewed CSOs according to the rank of their advocacy area

3.4.2. Openness of the inner structure of CSO

The first set of questions in the interview was set to explore the inner structure of the CSOs. The questions dealt with the membership, employees and co-workers, annual meetings, long term goal definition and the contact with the supporters of the organisation.

The membership of the organisations

Although the membership of an organisation is in a way defined by its legislative form the practice shows the organisations operate in their own way.

The association as a legislative form aims at connecting people with similar interests, although in practice we can see that membership is not the basic source and measure of power of an association. There are more associations that have 30 formal members, but have larger networks of non-

-formal members, volunteers and sympathizers. Organizations providing concrete services to their own members (organizations of disabled, association of consumers...) have the largest memberships. Sometimes people become members of the organization in order to resolve a problem and then distance from it again when the problem is solved (for example: Association of consumers).

On the other hand there is a category of private institutes. By formal definition these organizations do not have a membership structure envisaged in the legislation, but some of them try to develop non-formal structures (for example: club of volunteers) that serve as a replacement for formal membership.

Federations of organizations are a special category. The criteria for membership are formalized. Organizations often build their public credibility based on the memberships in these associations. The associations of organizations provide services to the organizations members and through them provide services to the individual members and supporters of the member organizations.

Only a half of the organizations are trying to recruit new members. All are trying to address different target groups to support them in their work or get involved in their programs. The benefits of membership are most clearly presented by the associations of organizations and in some cases the organizations with individual membership. The organizations of disabled have the system of informing potential members incorporated into the health care system (maternity wards, centre for muscular disorders …). Most organizations do not plan the recruitment of new members as a specific activity.

Most of the organizations do not have formal criteria for membership. The exceptions are the federations and the organizations with collective memberships[15]. The key criteria for membership are the potential member's own interest and the agreement with the mission and the values of the organization.

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15) *Organizations where the members are organizations.*

On the side of media through which the recruitment is taking place organizations report that personal contact is undoubtedly more effective than any kind of advertising. From the other approaches the web sites and electronic newsletters stand out and are used by the majority of the organizations. Universities are also a strong source of volunteers, since the organizations offer the students a possibility to perform practical tasks related to their study program.

Many organizations think about attracting new members, but not many work on maintaining the existent networks that could strengthen the long term cohesion between the organization and the members. This could support the integration of members into the work of the organization on the strategic level instead of just support to the organization in the implementation of individual activities. Long--term cooperation with members would strengthen the possibility to attract new members through the work of the existing networks.

We conclude that organizations often do not know how to forage the potential of the membership and therefore not invest in the membership at all. Often they are not even trying to attract new members and the members they have do not have an important role in organization's work.

From the previous observations the following question arises: What would the formalization of the membership mean to the organizations? On one hand it could strengthen the relationship between the member and the organization resulting in a stronger involvement of the members in the work of organization and also support the independence of the organization form the other sources of financing (in the form of membership fees, gifts …). On the other hand it could mean a downsize in the non-formal networks in which the members are cooperating with the organization, but are not willing to take a stronger responsibility for the work of the organization.

Employees and volunteers of the organisations

One tenth of interviewed organizations have no employed staff. Half of the organizations have up to 3 employees. Two thirds of the organizations have up to 5 employees and only one third has more than 5 employees. Karitas with all the related institutes and two organizations of disabled[16] stand out. These organizations have more than 20 employees.

In a way the number of employments shows the strength of the CSOs in the society. A significant part of these employees are employed through the programs of public work[17]. There's a strong possibility that the fluctuation of the employees in these organizations is high and the lack of continuity in the employments has an impact on the quality of the programs the CSO are implementing.

Two thirds of organizations have up to 20 volunteers, others have 30 or more. Karitas (with 8.000 volunteers), Sožitje (with 1.000 volunteers) and Association of Friends of Youth Maribor (with 550 volunteers) stand out. We need to keep in mind that in Sožitje and Association of Friends of Youth the volunteers get a small financial reward for their work. Most of the organizations do not see a unique potential of volunteering and in line with that do not know how to attract volunteers and work with them. Only a few organizations really strive and plan the recruitment of the volunteers and also know what the role of the volunteers in the organization will be. In many organizations the only volunteers are the members of different constitutional bodies of the organization.

There is a tendency among the organizations[18] to formalize the work of the volunteers in a form of codex and a signed agreement on cooperation. This way of formalizing intends to ensure taking the responsibility by the volunteers and prevent the conflicts of interest.

If we make a conclusion that there is a relationship between the number of the employees and a number of the volunteers of an organization it seems that a

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16) *Organizations of disabled employ many personal assistants supporting their members.*
17) *The program of active employment policy supported by the government.*
18) *At least a third of the organizations interviewed.*

network of 20 volunteers requires around 3 employed people to manage it. If the number of the volunteers is bigger there is a need for a bigger support network.

Annual meetings of the organisations

Formally anyone can participate in the annual meetings of the associations. The associations are by law obliged to work transparently and the transparency is also defined in their statutes. In practice the statutory meetings of the organizations are attended by the people really interested and involved in the work of the organizations, usually the employees and the officials. The rigidity of the concept was also seen in the interviews where these groups of people were usually referred to in line with their names used in the legislation. The practice in some organizations also shows that the statutory meetings prescribed by the legislation are often avoided. The documents that should be the result of these meetings are formulated in a less formal way.

Some organizations use a less formal form of meetings such as experts meetings and similar activities. These meetings open the work of organizations at least in the area of situation analysis and gathering ideas.

We can conclude that there are not many people involved in the annual statutory meetings of the organizations where the formal decisions on the long term goals and the activities are taking place.

Formulation of the long-term goals of the organisations

In the process of formulation of the long-term goals of the organizations the opinions coming from two sources are important. The first source is the opinions from within the organization and the second is the opinions coming from the environment of the organizations.

People involved in the formulation of the long term goals of the organizations are most commonly the employees of

the organization and the volunteers who are the members of the statutory bodies of the organizations. Some of the organizations also expressed the role of the president of the organization as the key source of ideas. The members of the statutory bodies are the representatives of the membership and therefore represent the interest of the members in the development of the strategic long-term goals of the organizations although in many cases the members of these bodies are people working in line with the ideas of the employees and/or president or on the other hand their power to transfer the opinions from the members is relatively small. This circle of people is sometimes expanded with the members of a narrow work task focused groups.

The ideas formulated by the headship of the organisation are later supplemented by the opinions of the members expressed at the annual and the statutory meetings, but there is not much chance to do it since the possibility arises only once or twice per year and the meetings are often very formal (as we have already seen in the previous section).

The basic guidelines for the development of the long--term strategic goals of the organisations often come from the base of the organization (usually from the side of the beneficiaries of the activities of the organization) through the information hot-lines, project activities and the strategic consultations. In the organizations where the telephone information and counselling services are established for the beneficiaries of the programs, the opinions of the beneficiaries are transmitted to the organizations in form of questions and concrete problems. The opinion of beneficiaries in this way influences the long term objectives of the organisation. One of the organizations even organises a work-camp for the beneficiaries of their activities with the sole intention of the formulation of the annual priorities in the program. Participants of this longer event define their needs and priorities through the series of facilitated processes. Relatively high strength of the employees in formulating the long-term strategic goals of the organizations could

indicate they are the real motor of the organizations and that the volunteers and the beneficiaries have less influence on the work of the organizations. One of the possible explanations of this finding can be the fact that most of the organizations are dependent on the financial sources provided by the public sector (through the scheme of public procurement and grants) where the grant maker often defines the strategic priorities of the activities.

The second source, conveying the information relevant for the formulation of the long-term goals of the organization from the outside of the organization is represented by the ministries, EU and experts.

A number of organizations expressed their belief that there should not be any influence of the politics and the organizations providing financial support to the organizations on the formulation of long term goals of the organizations because it would hamper the CSOs' potential to act as watchdogs in the society.

In reality the public sector defines the priority areas through the policy documents that are later reflected in the public procurement and grant schemes. In this way politics often indirectly influences the long-term objectives of the organizations. Since many organisations do not have access to funding to cover their overheads they try to get as much funds as possible form the grants. Therefore they tend to plan the content of the projects in line with the guidelines of the calls for proposals instead of looking for funding for the projects they already planned as a reaction to the needs of their beneficiaries and members.

In best practices examples the voice of the experts comes to the organizations through a number of open consultations and the participation of experts in the consultative bodies of the organizations.

The conclusions of this research lead us to believe that the grant makers have much stronger role in forming the long-term objectives than acknowledged by the CSO. The sustainability of financial support is one of the elements in

implementation of the mission and the long-term objectives of the organizations. Since the employees of the organizations are the people usually preparing the project proposals to the grant makers their opinion in often the one with the most strength. The opinions of other constituents are often filtered through the eyes of the employees before they are included into the organizational strategies. In this way the organizations get caught in the trap of a seeming independence of the politics and seeming commitment to the beneficiaries and members. This might also be one of the reasons for the perception of the CSOs in general public as presented in the table 13 of the results of the quantitative part of the research.

Contact with the supporters of the organisations

The contacts with different groups of supporters vary significantly. There in not much contact with the policy makers and the financial supporters of the organizations. Only some organizations have established permanent cooperation with decision makers, policy developers and other formal organizations that support their work.

There is also very low cooperation with other actors of civil society. The networks of organizations and consortia are often created on the demand of funders and only rarely on the initiative of the CSO themselves because they would see potential synergies in the cooperation with others.

There is more contact with the interested individuals. Most organizations inform the individuals interested in their work through their own web sites, electronic newsletters and publications. A part of these activities also takes the shape of experts meetings, but there is not many of them. Organizations report that contact in person is still the strongest tool of cooperation and an information exchange.

In general we see the cooperation with supporters as impulsive, based on the current needs of the organization, but lacking the planned, systematic constant relationship. This way of conducting relationships is also shown in the

sustainability of financial support to the organizations. Most of the organizations do not have a systemic funding for their core activities but rely on the projects to cover the overhead costs of the organization. If there was stronger connection with different constituents the systemic funding could be secured form the community support to the organizations.

3.4.3. Advocacy campaigns and projects

The second set of questions in the interview explored the practices of advocacy campaigns form their conception and development of the ideas through the planning and implementation and also the involvement of people in their implementation.

Citizens as a source and as a target group of the advocacy campaigns and projects

Organizations are (in general) aware of the importance of the fact that citizens are a source and a target group of their advocacy campaigns. Most organizations do not have a methodology how to harness the full potential of this fact. They are more focused on citizens as a target group than on citizens as the resource and work primarily on the awareness raising activities. Some organizations have a good source of information about the needs of citizens through the system of support to the individuals (support and counselling telephone lines, personal counselling …) and use it. The organizations often claim the lack of human resources and funding is a reason for the lack of capturing and transmitting the 'voice of the citizens'. The employees of the organizations often act as filter that follows the needs of the citizens but at the same time filter the contents according to their own perspective. This is especially true for the institutes and other organizations focused primarily on the work for the target group.

Setting the advocacy agenda

Defining the advocacy agenda is seldom a group and a planned process. There are quite some cases of a key individual setting advocacy agenda in the organization. This individual can consult with the broader base of the organization but in the end takes the decision on its own.

The most relevant opinion is very often the one of employees and key volunteers (the leaders of the organization). Many organizations rely on the opinion of the experts (gathered through the expert board or external collaborators) and some use the information gathered through their own research. The organizations learn from this process and are able to recognize more and more of the complex phenomena and react on them.

In some cases the membership decides on the basic guidelines and key projects[20] and some of the associations report that the opinion of the membership is very important. Since the membership only convenes once or twice a year most of the operational decisions are taken by the narrow circle of leaders and employees. Only some organizations clearly stated that the strategy of their organization is the basis of the creation of the advocacy program and activities. A few of them consistently involve their target groups into the setting of the advocacy agenda.
A small number of organizations have an open communication channel with the beneficiaries or target group. Information and opinions are gathered through the communication of the beneficiaries with the employees through a personal contact or via telephone. Quite many organizations start from concrete cases. They analyse them

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21) *The process of adopting a law is often seen by the CSOs as a single case that needs to be addressed and the consequences of the law to be mitigated. Since there is no strong culture of involving CSOs in the process of preparation of the legislation, the organizations often get acquainted with the new piece of legislation just before it gets to the parliament procedure. Often the deadlines for the comments are very short. Therefore the CSOs do not have time for in-depth analysis of the proposed law and to implement proper consultations with wider public but just react to the text with the knowledge and resources that they have.*
20) *That is the practice envisaged by the legislation on associations.*

and mitigate the effects and later develop an approach to change the social situation.

The agenda is also often set by the deadlines of legislative process. Many organizations intuitively react to ad hoc cases (including the legislative process[21]). The agenda is often created within the narrow circle of employees, leading activists and headship of the organization and is therefore dependent on the potential of these people.

In the organizations that are a part of wider international networks the advocacy program is strongly influenced by these networks.

Development, implementation and evaluation of an advocacy strategy and means

Most organizations do not have a developed advocacy strategy. What they present as a strategy is often the mission of the organization and some methods and tools they use most often. The most spread strategy is (the subconscious) following of the current needs and current processes of the legislation changes. Organizations have some general guidelines defined in order to help them in setting the advocacy priorities or the strategy is hidden in the thoughts of the organization leaders.

Organizations involved in international networks often take the elements of their strategy form their networks.

In the interviews the organizations tended to list the advocacy tools they use, but did not give an impression that the tools are selected with a certain purpose. This is also in line with (the gaps in the) strategy definition. Organisations select tools according to the financial resources available.

The list of tools is not uncommon: e-mail, web sites, fliers, Facebook, pressure of the group, personal contacts, petitions and letters, organization of events and non-formal

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21) *The process of adopting a law is often seen by the CSOs as a single case that needs to be addressed and the consequences of the law to be mitigated. Since there is no strong culture of involving CSOs in the process of preparation of the legislation, the organizations often get acquainted with the new piece of legislation just before it gets to the parliament procedure. Often the deadlines for the comments are very short. Therefore the CSOs do not have time for in--depth analysis of the proposed law and to implement proper consultations with wider public but just react to the text with the knowledge and resources that they have.*

education. Testing of the advocacy tools is done by only one organization.

In most cases the management of the advocacy activities does not differ from the project management. This is often done by the demand of the funders of the advocacy activities but can be also contributed to the fast that the project management culture in the organizations is more rooted in the CSO than the culture of strategic thinking.

One of the organizations has an external support in financial management and another one has a support in public relations. Many relatively large organizations are leaded by one key person. The one headed leadership and project management are quite in line with the ad hoc culture already described earlier. As a consequence this sort of culture leads to poor use of resources available to the organization.

Most organizations do not evaluate the strategies since they are non-existent. In most cases they do not evaluate the campaigns and actions. The evaluation is done on a more subjective level like for example: the law was passed, the public supports usand the interest of the politicians was shown … They also count the response of the general public to the information telephone line as an evaluation.

Two organizations evaluate their campaigns through research. In this way they measure the recognition of the activities and the contentment with the activities in their target group. Organizations systematically evaluate the non-formal education they implement and the concrete activities (for example: concrete therapeutic work with the victims).

Mobilising and involving citizens

Many organizations do not mobilize their supporters. One of the organizations even claims they do not implement the activities in which the supporters would be needed. Others mostly use the basic elements of public relations (invitations to events, contacts with the journalists, e mails …). The contacts with experts are also common in a sense of finding

potential co-workers and contributors to the organization. Two organizations stand out. First one is Europa Donna since they are the only CSO interviewed that has a contract with a PR agency. The second organization is Federation of associations for tobacco control that collaborates with Ministry of Health in these issues.

It is very interesting that none of the organizations see the donors as supporters and it looks like there is no collaboration with them.

The lack of time on the side of potential co-workers end the lack of funding, mentors and space on the side of the CSO were the main reasons for not involving citizens in the activities expressed in the interviews. Often there is also a need for hard and expert work and that limits the number of candidates.

There is not much interest for some advocacy areas in the general public. These areas attract a very narrow group of people (for example: animal protection). In some cases (animal protection, LGBT issues) many people have prejudice. General public opinion about people who are active in LGBT organizations is that they are homosexual themselves, which is not the real case.

In some organizations the membership is related to an illness and therefore the members do not have the energy to become more involved.

Another big set of obstacles for involvement is related to the passivity and disillusion of the people and their unrealistic expectations form the public sector.

There is more involvement in the organizations with collective membership then in organizations with individual membership. It seems that these organizations have a bigger degree of involvement in their organizational culture, but the reason could also be found in the demand of grant makers, requesting networking and consortia building as an element of project proposals.

In general involvement of experts through workshops and expert opinions is seen. Communication with other groups is more one way (announcements and invitations from the side of organizations). People are more involved in imple-

mentation of the activities than in planning and defining goals.Some organizations just let the people express their opinions through telephone calls, web sites and communication in person.

3.5. Focus groups analysis

The intention of focus groups was to explore advocacy function of civil society in Slovenia. Since interviews provided us mainly information about the concrete ways of functioning of CSOs, focus groups were directed more into general viewpoints representatives of CSOs share about advocacy.
4 focus groups were carried out, 2 with organizations that function mainly on the national level and 2 with those that function mainly on the local level. Inside each of these two levels of functioning we separately chose organizations which function in the most embedded advocacy areas, and separately those functioning in the least embedded areas.

3.5.1. Development of the advocacy function of the civil society in Slovenia over the last 20 years

According to the opinion of the participants of the focus groups, the civil society played an important role in the formation of the country in the time of democratic changes. Thus it contributed a big share to achieving of the main dreams of the then-agents: the independence of Slovenia. Unfortunately, many important representatives of the civil society entered politics and other state jobs, which strongly weakened the civil society.
Participants notice that the civil society in the later period did not engage enough in different important social situations, among which corruption and economic crime were emphasized in one of the groups. One of the participants of the focus groups compares the civil society to a big and

seemingly dangerous tiger that does not have teeth. In participants' opinion, helplessness of the civil society arises mainly from the low level of its professionalization. The participants mentioned that Slovenia is among the countries with the least employees in the NVO per 1,000 inhabitants.

In participants' opinion, the level and quality of advocacy is additionally hindered by the way the media work. They rarely make it possible to present the real arguments, promote consumerism with their general culture, and do not let enough of media space to some of the issues.

The participants of the focus groups are noticing a wish of people to associate. As a proof they point to the existence of many little societies, playbills, etc. However, not enough of cultural activity has been recognized by the society. 'Children are full of ideas and initiatives, but by youth they realize that no one supports them and intercedes for them. That is why they become passive.'

Despite all of this, the participants of the focus groups state many positive instances. Some mention influence of the civil society on the passing of specific laws in the areas where they work. The year 2010 was also a year full of broad campaigns in the areas of environment, and against corruption. The participants found out that the civil dialogue is well--developed in theory, but not effectively used in practice.

3.5.2. Successful and unsuccessful advocacy campaigns

We have noticed that criteria for success or unsuccess of the advocacy campaigns can be divided into two basic groups: those linked with the contents of the campaign, and those linked with its leadership and management.

On the level of the contents of the campaign we notice these success criteria:

- election of the campaign topic that does not divide people but brings them together instead,
- clearly formed and presented viewpoints,
- clear goals of the campaign, which are clearly formulated,
- to present an issue that political parties cannot openly oppose to,
- not just 'being against it', but at the same time offer the solutions.

On the structure, management and leadership level we notice the following success criteria:

- broad and branching network which organizes a campaign,
- linking with as many different political groups as possible, among the non-governmental groups as well,
- collecting and presenting information from different sources,
- marketing approach,
- professionalism,
- active embededness of the population,
- long-term relation with focus groups (behaviour of the workers in campaigns can change through time, you cannot just inform)
- being in the right spot at the right time (luck).

The main reasons for the unsuccessfulness of the advocacy campaigns are stated below:

- inappropriate selection of the topic (full of the previous negative experience with the focus group),
- dismissal of the specificities of the individual (local) environment,
- short-term contact with users (only informing, which 'gets passed by' and only achieves minimal effects),
- campaigns focused only on certain or very narrow focus groups,
- inaccurate planning of the campaigns or done 'too quickly',
- linking with only specific political parties or linking with political parties in general.

3.5.3. Involvement of the citizens into advocacy

Participants were asked the question: **What do you think: is involvement of citizens in the formation and achieving of the advocacy goals possible, needed, useful and effective? Why?**

A big part of the participants agrees that it is easier and makes more sense to involve the citizens in the achieving of the advocacy goals than in their formation. They think most of people involve in the achieving of the goals rather than in their formation because they need a sense of leadership and clearly presented vision. In some participants' opinion, leadership and delegation inside it are crucial for the mobilization of the people and their effective contribution.

When talking about the involvement of the citizens in the formation of the goals, the least embedded organizations mention limitation of sources needed for more comprehensive activities in this area. On the other hand, one could sense the under estimative attitude of these organizations of this kind of involvement.

The two main characteristics of the groups of citizens, which are preconditions for their involvement, are according to the participants, interest and professionalism of those groups. It seems that organisations do not have resources or interest to convince uninterested public. Besides that, they also care about the competences of involved citizens.

People often do not want to get involved. 'If they are not involved,' participants say, 'it is imperative at least to obtain information from these groups. Vulnerable target groups are especially sensitive due to fear or other obstacles, and need special motivation.'

Organizations frequently divide wishes and needs of the citizens: 'Wishes of the citizens are often not real' they say. Information obtained from the citizens is thus **filtrated** from various aspects by the representatives of the organizations: from the priority aspect, the aspect of their mission and vision, and from professional aspect as well.

A big part of the organization representatives is aware that

they as well as their co-workers (members…) often speak in favour of the aspects on society which are not in accordance with public opinion and are somewhat alternative. That is why in their opinion public opinion cannot be regarded immediately – it can only be processed as one of the parameters which need to be taken into account in the advocacy functioning.

The most embedded organizations have pointed to the significance of the networks on the national and local levels for involvement of citizens. They mainly get sources for formulation and achieving of the advocacy goals from such networks. It seems that their advantage is chiefly in being part of the organization structure, which assures a certain number of embedded citizens for itself. Huge network also allows you to observe people better: 'You sense it on the terrain or the volunteers tell you…' With other words, qualitative and informal research methods are often used as a part of the learning process by such organizations.

The least embedded organizations have especially pointed out the role of the media when trying to mobilize people. 'If you cannot get to the media, it is much more difficult to mobilize people.' The representative of one of the most embedded organizations has said something similar: 'We have a lot of media attention, that is why we invite to our events those who do not have that attention and try to help them.'

3.5.4. General findings

The findings about characteristics of specific focus groups (most and least embedded, national and local) are stated in the chart below.

	Most embedded	Least embedded
National	• present in the media • they have a sense of influence on the formation of politics on the national level • are aware of their advocacy role • have a branching structure; are larger systems • refined organizational philosophy and know how • are learning organizations	• organizations are strong in academic approaches (research, think-tanks) • less engaged in the area of the people work and acquiring of broad support • prevailing way of advocacy: public statements • they do not embed people in formation of the goals • critical to social situation
Local	• they do not use the campaign and advocacy vocabulary • on the local level not many politics are accepted; they do not see their own influence in this context as strong • their advocacy activities are not present in the media • there is no culture of the systematic planning and evaluation of campaigns	• they do not use the campaign and advocacy vocabulary • they work solidly, make solid activities • they do not embed many people or organizations • it is more difficult for them to influence on politicians because it is difficult for them to find a way to the decision-makers on the local level

Table 17: Abstract of general findings from focus groups analysis

3.6. Conclusions

On the basis of the survey we can conclude that embededdness of an individual organization of the civil society in a specific (local or national) environment depends on three parameters:

• Democratic and participatory culture in the environment,
• the advocacy area of organization functioning and
• organizational management.

It seems that only when all the three parameters are fulfilled at the same time, we can declare organisation as embedded.

Let us depict that with a metaphor of a plant and earth. Democratic and participative cultures represent earth, from where the organizations – plants grow. Different plants (that is different organizations) need and get different nutritious substances. That is why specific organizations in specific earth grow faster than others. But general earth quality is higher or lower – and that quality influences on the **success** of the most of organizations.

Advocacy area of the organization in this metaphor represents plant species. Due to the characteristics of the environment, some plant species grow faster and other grow slower. Similarly, organizations from specific advocacy area in a specific social situation and climate attract more attention than those from the other.

Organization management is in this metaphor health of a specific plant. A healthy plant has better perspective for growth than the unhealthy one. It can also use better (limited) resources from the environment and turn them into a quality fruit.

3.6.1. Democratic and Participatory Culture in Slovenia

A Democratic and participatory culture in Slovenia can, according to our information, be compared to the culture in other researched countries. All of the countries have proved that approximately a quarter of population is in some way active in the processes of advocacy, and they stated similar reasons for inactivity and similar activities they embed in.

It proved that CSOs in the establishment of democratic and participative culture in Slovenia are not the most influential, because they do not have an effective access to the population. The most important role is the role of the mass media, in organization representatives' opinion, also educational system and democratic tradition in the society.
Trust in the organizations of the civil society plays an important part. According to our research, it ranks between private structures (which possess the highest level of trust) on one hand, and public institutions (which possess lower levels of trust) on the other hand. Trust in a specific organization is, according to our research, very different. It depends on the organization's image in the public. Solid experience of an individual with specific organization bears an important influence.

3.6.2. Advocacy Area of the Organization

A research has shown that some advocacy areas are more or less popular in the public. There is a relatively strong connection between the three factors that embeddedness of a specific advocacy area was measured with. Areas that address concrete issues, which people have in their everyday life, are considered by the people as the most embedded areas. More abstract or global areas stand on the bottom of the charts. The first places belong to areas related to specific prevailing groups of people (children, handicapped, women …), environment, health and social services. The last places

belong to areas of global-political nature and related to minorities (LGBT rights in ethnic minorities).

Interviews and focus groups have shown that the leading personnel in the organizations often feel weather they work in the areas which are quite interesting for the citizens or not. There are areas where the individuals are willing to get engaged more, although they do not consider this area that problematic. And on the contrary – there are areas which people consider problematic but are not willing to get engaged in them as much as in the other ones. We assume that it is related to a professional difficulty of a specific area (international and global issues as professionally difficult, and rights of children as probably the least difficult area in the citizens' opinion).

3.6.3. Organisational Management

We notice a lack of strategic approach in the planning and pursuance of advocacy activities. Most of the organizations, those from the most as well as those from the least embedded advocacy areas react spontaneously to the challenges that environment brings. We notice a strong presence of the ad-hoc organizational culture.

One of the main sources in the advocacy is the people: employed, experts, supporters, public's affinity. According to our research, representatives of the organizations do not pay enough attention to contacts with different public. The employed are a very influential group. They often decide on matters which should be, according to the statutes in organizations, decided by other bodies (such as the council of society). An organizational structure also plays an important part. If it is planned well, it makes it possible for the organization to get closer to people and use more of their potentials with less effort.

We noticed that the researched organizations have a somewhat under estimative attitude to getting new members and supporters. In most of the organizations this attitude is related to a lack of personnel and financial sources. This

gives us an impression of a vicious circle (due to a lack of personnel we cannot look for new personnel!) It seems a way out of this circle is possible only with innovations in the management area and approaches to engage people.

Factor of trust plays an important role in the involvement of the citizens into advocacy processes. The organization can gain trust mostly with long-term hard work; however, it loses it much faster. That is why many organizations are aware of the significance of being independent of political parties or other ideologically somewhat more positioned organizations.

3.6.4. What Works?

At the end of the chapter we state some suggestions for planning and implementation of advocacy activities, which come from experiences of the participants in the research.

- **Leadership.** A society always needs a certain amount of leaders. They are the ones who dream the picture of future, know how to visualize it and communicate effectively about it. On the other hand, they know how to involve in their picture a circle of citizens as big as possible – and how to use their potentials. Being next to good leaders, people do not feel only as consumers but also as active participants in the process. On the other hand, people feel that the road on which they walk is secure. They feel that the leaders walk in front of them and guide them. **Listening.** Organizations often find themselves in a situation when their leaders have more knowledge and experience than the average citizens. Leaders claim that they cannot be helped by public opinion. However, the research showed that the successful always listen to the area. They are always researching it and learning from it. Researching by participation is mentioned as a very practical approach by them. This kind of researches are cheaper than classic ones, on the other hand it immediately and directly influences the further functioning of the activists in the

organization. In the organizations which use such approach learning is a continuous process.

- **The consciousness that we are alternative people!** The research has shown that leaders in the organizations have a strong consciousness about being 'alternative people', no matter which advocacy area they come from. They claim that dreaming makes changes, and that actively striving after their realization is an alternative posture in today's society. Those who successfully use this claim that there is a strong need of the people to stand out, be unique and be something special. They claim that advocacy activity has much more possibilities for success if we succeed in waking up this need in people.

- **Networking, specialization, and quality.** Organization cannot be the best in all the areas. You can be the best in only a few narrow specialized areas. That is why specialization brings positive results in a long-term. The need to network the organizations among themselves is linked to it. Networking in Slovenia is still project encouraged. To be able to successfully network there has to be a matching in the area of values, and complementarity in the offer area.

4. General Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

The research 'Have our dreams come true?' has shown that organizations of the civil society in Slovenia do not perform advocacy function well enough. We have shown in the research that the main reason for this is a low level of the general democratic and participative culture in Slovenia. Less than a quarter of population (23%) is active in advocacy organizations. Most of the citizens do not know the advocacy concept, and do not see their role in organizations of the civil society as one of the possible paths for solving the problems which they encounter.

4.1. Knowledge about CSOs and the Level of Trust in Them

When the citizens speak about solving solid problems, they state that they have little trust in the organizations of the civil society. These organizations are placed on the chart of trust after family, friends, police, colleagues, and even after trust in oneself. Half of those who are not active in the CSO think that 'social problems should be solved by other agents, and not the CSO' (graph 5). A lack of time ('I do not have time') and financial assets ('I do not have any money') are stated as the main reasons for the inactivity in the advocacy processes by the citizens (graph 5).

The Slovenes think that their country is responsible for solving most part of their problems (Figure 2), although the country and its institutions possess one of the lowest levels of trust (Figure 8). Besides, they ascribe it a relatively low power in the global world (Figure 3).

Most of the citizens do not form their viewpoints on the CSOs by a direct contact with the organizations but mainly by observing the mass media (Figure 9). The CSOs do not

appear in the mass media very often and are usually not exposed in them, which is especially true for successful advocacy stories. The research has shown that the CSOs are too small to be able to visibly influence on the democratic and participatory culture in the country.

Most of the youth in Slovenia do not know much about the topics, such as social participation, active participation and responsible citizenship. According to the opinion of the focus groups participants, this work is not done by the family or the formal educational system. A very small number of youth is embedded in the informal forms of education of the active citizenship areas. Examples which the youth are given in the family and at school are often just the opposite and lead them into consumerism (results of the focus groups).

4.2. Social Participation

We are discovering that social participation of the citizens in the communicational society is getting different images. Many other forms are appearing next to traditional forms of participation, such as membership in organizations, volunteering, and donations. These new forms of participations are connected to the acquisitions of the communicational society (social networks, electronic notifications, interactive web sites, surveys, etc.) or modern marketing approaches, which link social participation to a party and socialising. Volunteering, donations and support are still the main forms of participation. The research has shown that global web is still underused as a participation medium. The citizens involve in those advocacy activities which are more definite and connected to their own everyday life. They rather carry out the advocacy activities than participate in planning them (the results of the interviews), which organizations recognize as well. They like those advocacy areas which are not connected to minorities or alternatives.

The activists in the CSOs often feel as alternative peo-

ple when carrying out the advocacy activities (look at the results of the focus groups). They say that in today's society the posture of an individual who is prepared to risk something for the common good and also be willing to get exposed for it is considered alternative. Thus it is obvious why most of the CSOs have serious problems when addressing and mobilizing different target groups (members and future members, supporters, experts..) and searching of the personnel potential for their work.

4.3. How Do Organizations React to These Conditions?

Most of the CSOs do not use all the potentials speaking about the involvement of the citizens in the advocacy activities. Communication with different public, be it membership, supporters, experts, targeted public, or country, in most organizations is not carried out in the long-term or intentionally. Organizations often communicate unbridled, as a spontaneous reaction to the stimuli from the environment. Real strategic and communicational organization plans, which the activists knew and were committed to, could substantially improve the condition in this area. The fact is that planning often aggravates the unstable year--long project funding from the public resources. Most organizations on the local and national level depend mainly on this way of funding.

In relation to financial position, many organizations report problems of maintaining that number of employees which still makes these organizations survive and function. In comparison with other countries of European federation, Slovenia has one of the smallest relative numbers of employees in the sector of the civil society, if not the smallest number in the European Union. There is a strong competition in trying to get public resources, that is why the invitators' priorities somewhat define their advocacy agenda when it comes to

organizations. There is a question what income share from the public resources makes it possible for a specific organization to perform the advocacy function rather independently.

The employees are often the most responsible for the organizations' functioning. Thus they frequently make strategic decisions which were in accordance with the organizational structure supposed to be done by volunteers – the holders of formal functions. These are small collectives (often equivalent 1-3 persons with a full-time job), that is why the employees have to be competent in different areas. Large numbers of (usually unpaid) overtime are normal in the sector of the civil society. Consequently, overload occurs– one of the main obstacles in strengthening of the civil society organizations in Slovenia. The overload is paralysing the innovativeness, long-term planning, and relations which are crucial when working with specific focus groups (f.e. volunteers).

4.4. Civil Society in Slovenia and Advocacy

Interviews with representatives of the civil society have shown that a big part of the representatives see advocacy in a very limited and often even deformed way. Thus they do not fully recognize the mission of the organizations in the advocacy area, nor the needs and opportunities in this area. The sector of the civil society in Slovenia is lacking personnel and finances. The sphere of the state was operating most of the functions in the former socialist society. It was expected that with the transition into the democratic system the country would diminish its role and pass it to the developing sphere of the civil society. But the opposite happened: after 20 years, the sphere of the state is spending even a larger share of GDP, but the civil society, and especially its advocacy function are marginal and in the eyes of the citizens an unimportant part of the society.

At the end of the 80s of the previous century, the Slovenes were dreaming about their own country and democratic political system. Both were quickly achieved. Democracy together with respect for human rights and political pluralism in the internationally recognized country is a value which was dreamt of by many Slovenian generations. However, the research has shown that after 20 years most people, despite the democratic regime, do not engage in social participation as much as they did in the late 80s. It has turned out that just dreaming of a democratic political system was not enough. These dreams should be balanced with dreams of the citizens competent for the life in the democratic society. Democracy is valued by the citizens only if they possess competence for life in the democratic society. In the last 20 years, there was not enough education and preparation of the youth and adults for active and democratic citizenship done in Slovenia.

4.5. Policy Recommendations

To improve the advocacy function of the CSOs in the years to come in Slovenia, the authors of the research **'Have our dreams come true?'** suggest these measures. We focus on the measures which can be carried out with some innovativeness and restructuring without spending too much of the public resources, for all the others measures seem unreal in the current social situation, related to economic crisis.

• Education and preparation of the youth and adults for a responsible participation in democratic society. It is about formal and informal ways of up-bringing and education, based on three elements: theoretic knowledge, practical skills and values ('attitude to'), which are the three elements of competence. Theoretical knowledge is not enough if practical skills are not added to it and if it is not based on the moral, attitude to the country and society, emotional component and internalized democratic values.

• To encourage the media as one of the basic agents of the

informal learning to support active participation, strengthen trust in the CSOs and their reputation. The media is lacking successful advocacy stories and examples of successful and active CSOs.

- To strengthen the training of the main personnel in the CSOs. Especially long-term trainings in the field of advocacy strategies, management, long-term planning, leadership and communicating with different focus groups. Consciousness of the significance, needs and possibilities of advocacy in the society needs to be raised in the whole non-governmental sector.

- Long-term forms of financing the CSO need to be established, which will enable long-term planning and smaller dependency on yearly fluctuations in income of public resources. Intentions, objectives and suggested activities in the notices have to be set more openly for the advocacy area, and thus enable the organizations to react to concrete and mostly new needs.

- The transmission of the part of social functions, which is now done by the state, into the sphere of the civil society. At the same time to make sure the quality of the services remains the same or better, as well as the price. The civil society, unlike the sphere of the state, has a potential to ensure the same or a better service for the same or lower price. At the same time to ensure that the CSOs will not only be the executors but also active co-formers of policies in the areas where the services are being performed.

- The time of the 80s of the 20th century needs to be precisely reflected from the aspect of the civil society in Slovenia, as well as the effects of the relative liberal socialism in that time for the later development of the civil society in Slovenia. The authors of the research think that such analysis could help understand many happenings in the civil society in Slovenia in the last 20 years.

- It is needed to continue with the encouragement of different forms of networking among the CSOs. The already existing and well performing networks need to be strengthened and new ones need to be made. At the same time it is important to strengthen the advocacy function of the networks.

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6. Annexes

6.1. Advocacy organizations respodents are active in

Please name the advocacy organizations you are active in!	Freq.
Rdeči križ (Red Cross)	23
Unicef	9
Amnesty International	9
Firefighters	9
Zveza prijateljev mladine Slovenije (Slovenian Association of Friends of Youth) and its member associations	8
Karitas (Caritas)	6
Associations, connected to protection of animals	6
Zveza društev upokojencev Slovenije (Association of Pensioners) and its member associations	6
Zveza Sožitje	5
Organisations of disabled people	3
Europa donna	3
Slovenska filantropija (Slovene Philanthropy)	2
Student organisation and its members	2
Youth senter(s)	2
Zveza združenj borcev za vrednote NOB Slovenije (II. World War Veterans)	2
Lovska družina (hunters)	2

Zavetišče Horjul	2
Eko šola	2

Table 18: Participation (Q8; only answers with frequency 2 or more are listed)

6.2. Organizations respondents plan to get involved with

Which organization or organizations do you plan to get involved with?	Freq.
Associations, connected to protection of animals	4
Unicef	2

Table 19: Will to participate (Q14; only answers listed with more than 1 mention listed)

6.3. Organisations and movements respondents trust

Could you name a civic organisation(s) or a civic movement which you trust?	Freq.
Rdeči križ (Red Cross)	58
Karitas (Caritas)	39
Unicef	35
Amnesty International	23
Associations, connected to protection of animals	14
Zveza potrošnikov Slovenije (Slovene Consumers' Association)	13
Firefighters	12
Zveza društev upokojencev Slovenije (Association of Pensioners) and its member associations	8

Could you name a civic organisation(s) or a civic movement which you trust?	Freq.
Zveza prijateljev mladine Slovenije (Slovenian Association of Friends of Youth) and its member associations	6
Beli obroč	5
Zveza Sožitje	4
Organisations of disabled people	4
Slovenska filantropija (Slovene Philantrophy)	4
Umanotera	4
Sonček	4
Europa donna	3
SOS telephone	3
Društvo Ključ	3
Zeleni krog	2
Društvo za nenasilno komunikacijo	2
Student organisation	2
Clean Slovenia in one day	2
Univerzalno življenje	2
Tržnice ne damo	2
Pes moj prijatelj	2
Green Peace	2

Table 20: Trust – (Q17, only answers with frequency 2 or more are listed)

6.4.Overall ranking of organizations mentioned

	Q8: Please name the advocacy organizations you are active in!	Q14: Which organization or organizations do you plan to get involved with?	Q17: Could you name a civic organization(s) or a civic movement which you trust?	Sum
Rdeči križ (Red Cross)	23	1	58	82
Unicef	9	2	35	46
Karitas (Caritas)	6	1	39	46
Amnesty International	9	1	23	33
Associations, connected to protection of animals	6	4	14	24
Firefighters	9		12	21
Zveza prijateljev mladine Slovenije (Slovenian Association of Friends of Youth) and its member associations	8	1	6	15
Zveza društev upokojencev Slovenije (Association of Pensioners) and its member associations	6		8	14
Zveza potrošnikov Slovenije (Slovene Consumers' Association)	1		13	14
Zveza Sožitje	5		4	9

	Q8: Please name the advocacy organizations you are active in!	Q14: Which organization or organizations do you plan to get involved with?	Q17: Could you name a civic organization(s) or a civic movement which you trust?	Sum
Organisations of disabled people	3		4	7
Slovenska filantropija (Slovene Philantrophy)	2		4	6
Europa donna	3		3	6
Umanotera	1		4	5
Sonček	1		4	5
Beli obroč			5	5
Student organisation and its members	2		2	4
Youth center(s)	2	1	1	4

Table 21: Overall ranking (Q8+Q14+Q17 frequencies; only organisations with 4 or more mentions listed

6.5. Organizations participating in focus groups

	Locally	Nationally
Most embedded	• Municipal Scout Association of Ljubljana (MSC) – the chief of public relations • Youth Information and Counselling Centre of Slovenia (YICCS) – project manager • SOS Telephone for Women and Children Victims of Violence– the head of the SOS telephone programme • Institute for Preservation of the Ljubljana Marshes (IPLM) • Youth Help Centre (YHC) • Youth Cultural Centre Domžale, Society for Promotion of the Unauthorized Market with Ideas (SPUMI)	• Association of Friends of Youth, secretary general • Trepetlika, vice-president • Ecologists without Boundaries, founder • Student Organization of University of Ljubljana, ex-director • Scout Association of Slovenia, secretary general • Youth Association No Excuses, president • Association Pelikan Karitas, director
Least embedded	• Juncture of the Non-Governmental Organizations of Podravje • Infopeka (Volunteer Network) • Tourist Association of Styria • Youth Society Frka • Association for the Culture of Habitation Maribor	• Association Dih • Association of Serbian Societies • Civil Iniciative for Family and Children Rights • Papilot • Institute Novum • Association of Christian Businessmen of Slovenia • Liberal Academy

Table 22: The list of organizations, embedded in 4 focus groups

6.6. Successful and unsuccessful promotional campaigns and initiatives as stated by focus groups respondents

Campaign	Leverages for Success
Karitas: 40 Days without Alcohol	The campaign encourages solidarity to others. It does not make someone feel like a bad person because he drinks, but encourages him to renounce alcohol for others instead.
Youth Association No Excuses: Influence on the Limiting Law of the Use of Tobacco Products	Clear viewpoints, innovativeness.
Association of Friends of Youth: A Campaign against the Physical Punishment of Children in the Family	(it brought consensus on the social level that physically punishing children is not appropriate) It was successful due to the broad network (1,300 answers of parents and children – almost twice as much as they are used for public opinion). The network has 150 societies.
Scout Association of Slovenia: Raising of Youth questions	A very short tradition. There has not been any success yet, but the Council for Youth Questions was established.
Ecologists without Boundaries: Cleaning Slovenia in a Day	A good (linking) idea. 'Attack' from everywhere (from umbrella organizations as well as local organizations). Not just criticizing, but at the same time they offer a solution. As many people as possible must feel included – real coalition.
Society Trepetlika: Training of the Patients with Parkinson Disease	Informal atmosphere. No lectures or sitting in the hall.
Society Ljubor: Green Slomšek Market	They embedded experts that presented their own viewpoints. The initiative was very interesting for the media. They won media over.

Campaign	Leverages for Success
Kings of the Streets: Advocacy of the Homeless	A comparison with other countries was made. They used a structured approach, and incorporated professional support. It was a long-term campaign.
Institute Novum: Universal Basic Income	Systematic and long-term work, public discussion and confrontations are set.
The Law of Volunteering.	The agents see the need of systematic order of volunteering in different areas, and it was inevitable for the law to be formed. There was no principled opposition. After it was lying in drawers for some years, the government and civil society made it possible for the law to be passed.
Advocacy of the Irased	The politics solved the problem well. The mistake was admitted, but no one answered for it.
Rado Pezdir: Overpaid electricity	It is about the problem that did not divide people – each saw himself in it. At the same time, it is about the matter that represents the core of the problem of our society.
Tourist Association of Styria and Other Tourist Society: In the Strategy of the Development of Tourism the Society Is the Main Pillar.	They found political parties which could support this concept and establish it (successful lobbying).
SPUMI (Society for Promotion of the Unauthorized Market with Ideas DPNTI: Campaign for the Establishment of the MKC Domžale	A cultural event, organized by the youth (from different organization), there were representatives of all the political parties in the district council and the local media, despite the cold. It was so obvious that the youth has nowhere to go that it was impossible not to agree.
YHC (Youth Help Centre): For New Possibilities	Big billboards with solid statements of the youth about the poverty, combined with the presence of the media. A big response of the public, the goal to establish the immediate connection between the donor and recipients of the help was not achieved. Despite this the organization received a lot of material help.

Campaign	Leverages for Success
IPLM (Institute for Preservation of the Ljubljana Marshes): Competition of the Movers and Rakes	With an idea of a competition and through the embededness of the communities and other societies that function in this area. The competition developed into a cultural ethnological event, which is hosted by different communities every year. It raises awareness and it also has an applicative value in the preservation of the habitats (they mow by hand 70,000 m2 of meadows each year).
SOS Telephone: Collaboration in the Making of the Constitution	Due to their professionalism they entered the working institutions that treat constitution from the field of the violence in the family. They were successful at the initiatives for the amendments to the laws.
SOS Telephone in Collaboration with Other Organizations: What Is Wrong, Girl?	Black and white billboards of a woman with a bruise in 1999 had an effect in the broad public. A good billboard, which was spread all over Slovenia.
MISSS: Fieldwork – Basketball	Connecting of the youth from the block of flats through sports, and supporting their active participation (field care).
ZOLB: Endangered Animal and Plant Species of the Ljubljana Marshes	Billboards with photos of the endangered species in the public institutions (schools, health centres, municipal buildings) in the marshes area remind people of the biotic diversity. The organization offers an upgrade in the form of presentations of the specific animal and plant species according to the wish of the institution. Every morning when the mayors go to work, they meet an endangered animal or plant specie.

Table 23: Cases of successful advocacy campaigns

Campaign	Leverages for Success
Karitas: Working with Roms	The opinion of the interior public that the Roma people cannot be helped or that there is no sense in that.
Youth Association No Exuses: Peer Workshops	At the workshops one can only inform, but behaviour cannot be changed. We can function on the inside as those who change behaviour but on the outside we can only inform.
Association of Friends of Youth: Guardian of the Rights of the Child	The idea does not come through state-judicial channels.
Ecologists without Boundaries: Plastic Bags	Indiscreet collaboration with politics; consensus is not broad enough.
Campaign for Prohibition of Animal Breeding for Fur	Not enough time for planning was taken, that is why the strategy was not complete. They also clashed against the cold bureaucracy (VURS). Powerful interests of economy were present.
Campaign against SAZAS	Powerful lobbies, there is no broad unified support and unified presentation of the civil society.
Society Ljubor: The Signs of Discernment in Maribor	It is about an idea of the society. However, they could not attract crucial people and embed them in the co-creation.
Liberal Academy: Referendum of RTV (2005)	The journalists took neutral viewpoint and the holders of the campaign could not inform and convince the public.
Society Dih in other LGBT Organizations: Same-Sex Parenting	When the government changed there was also a change of the proposal because the wishes of the initiators were no longer the same. People are not willing to support these rights because they fear they will be considered homosexuals as well.

Liberal Academy: Story of Non-Payers	There was the media blockade, that is why several statements of the agents were not published.
Initiative for Intergenerational Centre Maribor	The government uses the ideas of the civil society and realizes them. Economy is not able to collaborate with the civil society.
Society Ljubor: Collaboration in the Preparation of Nature Conservancy in Maribor	It is purely about the principled embeddedness of the civil society in the happening, in some cases the local government does not give space for active co-creation.

Table 24: Campaigns stated as unsuccessful