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STEERING INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN COMPLEX SOCIETIES

Borut Rončević¹, Nadja Damij²

Abstract
What can a nation, region, locality or organisation do to adjust successfully to global challenges? There are indeed no clear-cut prescriptions for adjustment, as it is a highly demanding and complex process. Namely, successful adaptation to these challenges is taking place at different levels, which have to achieve sync in a process of 'social becoming'. The outcome is a society which allows continuous innovations and strategic changes. In this paper we are analysing innovations and social change as a multidimensional process, in which we need to establish sync between macro, meso and micro levels. We offer social fields theory as a useful explanatory tool.

Keywords: societal change, innovations, complexity, steering, social fields

Introduction
Innovations are nowadays the magic key to favourable position on the global stage, be it for nation states, regions, localities or even the smallest of organisations. With increasing importance of innovation and the confirmed link between innovation and well-functioning governance system (Fagerberg and Srholec 2008), it is almost impossible in this context to imagine a successful entity without a well-functioning system of innovation, with a substantial level of strategic competencies (Rončević 2007). This poses important challenges for policy-makers and scholars alike.

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The extent and speed of globalisation introduced a new dimension to societal dynamics. Boundaries between local and global are becoming blurred. As the global economic crisis, which started in 2007, clearly demonstrated, global conditions influence localities all over the world with very short delay. On the other hand, however, even relatively minor local innovations become “more and more part and parcel of global ones” (Genov 1997). This has very important consequences for management of innovative processes. Sociological research, equipped with tools for understanding the role of societal processes and the impact of cultural patterns, can offer an important contribution to understanding the innovative processes.

We are dealing with a quite contradictory situation, in which nobody can escape the challenges posed by the global environment. Everybody has the possibility to adapt and thrive, or fail. Social settings like nation states, regions, localities and even the smallest organisations have the possibility to influence their economic and social situation in the long run and emerge as global leaders in their niche. Although the competition is global and the tasks are demanding, it is nevertheless crucial that internal social, economic, and political institutions, networks and cognitive frames become vital factors in development, and can adapt the effects of the global trends to their own benefit (van Rossem 1996: 524). The basic preconditions for this adaptation process are both endogenous and intangible in their nature (Adam et al 2005). The reality shows that the best way to adapt to global trends is by enhancing those intangibles that support innovative performances in all areas of social life.

These trends are indeed multifold. We therefore find useful conceptual framework developed by Genov (1997), which we can use to analyse the relevant adaptations of social settings to global trends. First, increasing societal complexity implies rational activities for reduction of complexity. Hence the trend of spreading of instrumental activism with its perpetuating attempts to coordinate of goals and means of action, which also includes animating culture of entrepreneurship and innovation. Ironically, attempts to reduce complexity only contribute to ‘hypercomplexity’ (Luhmann, 1995: 471), making the task even harder. As a consequence, societies attempt to develop various increasingly sophisticated and complex systems of societal steering and systems of
innovations, with all its material, social and cognitive consequences. Second, we are witnessing the trend of individualisation, a major evolutionary achievement, but also a highly controversial trend with in-built tendency to lead towards conflicts. It contributes substantially to societal complexity, as it leads to increasing demand and resources for coordination due to contributing to a large pool of options, possibilities and paths, as institutional individualisation progresses. Interestingly enough, as a result of increasing inability to efficiently control communications and actors, there is a controversial increase in need for communitarian counterbalance, evidenced by research on social capital on different levels (see Adam and Rončević, 2003; Adam and Westlund, 2010). This should not be interpreted as a societal regression, though. Introduction of communitarian factors (e.g. trust) is a correction of flawed rationalistic and incrementalist approaches to societal steering and represent development in complexity management via increasing strategic competencies of actors (Rončević, 2007). Third, as a result of increasing complexity there is a trend towards upgrading of organisational rationality. This trend has been present since the dawn of scientific management through global proliferation of large industrial organisations. This was an attempt to reduce complexity. However, complexity management became much more complex and diversified in itself, as it progressed towards ‘second industrial divide’ between mass production and flexible specialisation (Piore and Sabel, 1984). Economy of scale was either replaced or upgraded with economy of scope. Finally, as challenges are global in their nature – albeit there are important local geographical, economic, social and cultural specificities – there is also a growing need to respond positively to the trend of value-normative universalization. Efficiency in adaptation processes strongly depends on cultural tool-kit (Hannerz, 1969) at disposal that collective and individual actors utilise to construct chain of actions (Swidler, 1986) in their response to global challenges. It is therefore not surprising that cognitive frames are already being recognised as a crucial factor in development and a tool of development policy (see e.g. Wee, 2001; Etounga-Manguelle, 2000; Adam et al, 2005).

The real question is what can a nation, region, locality or organisation do to adjust successfully to global challenges? There are indeed no clear-cut prescriptions for adjustment processes, as it is a highly demanding process. Namely, successful adaptation is a multidimensional process,
where different levels have to achieve sync in a process of ‘social becoming’ (Sztompka, 1991). First, at macro level, societies have to develop adaptive mechanisms for steering in conditions of increasing complexity. By and large, this context renders obsolete old debates on the most appropriate modes of societal steering (markets vs. states vs. networks) and encourages us to search for new concepts which explain countries’ ability to carefully combine traditional modes of governance in direction of context-specific forms of ‘meta-governance’ (Jessop, 2002; 2007). Secondly, at meso level it is a question of ability of a social setting to continuously (re)produce technological and social innovations. Hence, this is fundamentally the issue of managing systems of innovation, which are essentially social fields and can be, just like markets, studied as ‘arenas of social interaction for the exchange of goods and services’ (Beckert, 2010: 609). Finally, at micro level the society has to find the way to adjust relevant social forces which are influencing social fields, i.e. relevant institutions, networks and cognitive frames. This implies analysis of this ‘invisible set of forces’ (Fourcade, 2007: 1022) contributing to emergence of a local order conducive to effective adaptation to global trends.

**Macro-level: societal steering in conditions of high complexity**

Theoretical debate on any relevant aspect of steering of societal development does not fall within exclusive domain of economics, sociology or any other social science discipline. It is an interdisciplinary research subject, tackled already by the fathers of different social sciences. For example, important segments of Adam Smith’s seminal work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* were dedicated to these issues. On the other hand, important sociologists like Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, Niklas Luhmann etc. also dealt with the question whether societal development should be subject to planned activity or to self-regulatory mechanisms. While this basic simple question is by and large rendered obsolete by immense changes in both societal environment – processes of globalisation (Axford, 1995; Waters, 1995; Urry, 2003), increasing complexity (Luhmann, 1995; Buckley, 1998; Parker and Stacey, 1997; Urry, 2003) and shift from Keynesian welfare national state to Schumpeterian workfare postnational regime (Jessop, 2002) – and recent advances in social research – studies of new modes of governance, especially
heterarchical network governance (Thompson, 1991; 2003; Mayntz, 1993; Messner, 1997; Börzel, 1998) and elaborations on meta-governance (Jessop, 2002; 2007) –, the issue of steering of societal development is nevertheless as relevant as ever. It touches the very core of research on contemporary societies, including their ability to adapt to global trends. It cannot be interpreted exclusively as a consequence of internal factors of development (e.g. theories of indigenous growth) or as a consequence of external factors, e.g. theory of imperialism, theory of dependency (Prebisch, 1950, Gunder Frank, 1969), theory of dependent development (Cardoso and Faletto, 1969) or world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974; 1983). International environment, understood either in terms of constraining ‘framework conditions’ or even ‘megatrends’ (e.g. Naisbit, 1984; Bakas, 2006) can play important role in limiting strategic choices of individual and collective actors. However, as van Rossem’s network analysis empirical test of world systems theory showed, “internal social, economic, and political structures and actors become vital factors in development, and can modify the effects of the international environment.” (van Rossem 1996: 524).

From the perspective of this research, two interrelated shifts are especially important. Firstly, when contextualising changes in the social environment, most authors are focusing on the role of globalising processes and technological development (Castells, 1996; Urry, 2003) in increasing complexity. Complexity indeed plays very important role in research on societal steering. Luhmann’s magnum opus is dedicated to analysis of the situation “when, because of imminent constraints in the element’s connective capacity, it is no longer possible at any moment to connect every element with every other element.” (Luhmann, 1995: 24). Etzioni, although coming from completely different perspective, analyses how the active society deals with ‘the rise of social options’ (Etzioni, 1968: 5). Taylor acknowledges that “the condition of complexity is irreducible and is as it is inescapable” (Taylor, 2001: 3). Attempt of the society (or social system) to grasp its complexity through cognisance or planning creates ‘hypercomplexity’ (Luhmann, 1995: 471). Although there have been some attempts to handle complexity without generating chaos (Mol and Law, 2002), in fact, much of recent social research has been a “revolt against simplification” (Ibid).
Secondly, social settings are reacting by employing multi-level strategic changes, which are best described by Jessop’s conceptualisation of a transition from Keynesian welfare national state (KWNS) to Schumpeterian workfare postnational regimes (SWPR) (Jessop, 2002). This is a tendential shift from, first, Keynesian full employment towards Schumpeterian economic intervention. Second, there is a tendency to move from welfarist mode of social reproduction towards a workfarist mode, evident in “subordination of social policy to generation of competitiveness, i.e. flexicurity (Blanpain, 2008). Third, there is a clear shift from primacy of the national state towards multi-level responsibility for social and economic policies, i.e. ‘postnational relativisation of scale’. Finally, there is a strong shift from public interventionism in market failures towards various forms of self-organising governance mechanisms in ‘networked economy’ (Jessop, 2002: 248).

These shifts rendered obsolete traditional hierarchies vs. market debates, which pervaded discussions on social steering mechanisms (Thompson, 1991; 2003). Important amalgamation of these debates was the rise of social corporatism and neo-corporatism, which shifted focus from competitiveness and confrontation to cooperation, political stability and compromising through voluntary communication. However, if societal communication only deals with the issues of redistribution, we can have problems with policies that should focus on resources that cannot be produced by classical redistribution mechanisms (Messner, 1997: 76). Highly developed and complex societies, which are not competing on the basis of ‘basic factors’ (Porter, 1990) have to focus on production of systemic competitiveness (Esser et al, 1996) or on generation of resources and mobilisation of competencies (Karnøe et al, 1996). Network forms of governance seem better for this task, implying self-organisation and self-coordination among autonomous actors. Some even see networks as a new paradigm for understanding the “architecture of complexity” (Kenis and Schneider, 1991: 25).

Networks are social innovations that can solve complex problems, where traditional forms fail. However, superiority of networks cannot be taken for granted, as networks are also prone to failure (Jessop, 2002: 236). According to Castells, networks can have “considerable difficulties in coordinating functions, in focusing resources on specific goals, in managing the complexity of a given task beyond a certain size of
network" (2000: 15). In spite of his technological deterministic claims that ICT development can render these weaknesses obsolete, some authors argue that exactly due to these difficulties it is unlikely that networks would replace traditional modes of governance. Consequently, it cannot be considered as a neutral, but as a new, third mode of governance (Jessop, 2002: 237). We have to look for theoretical and practical solutions in the emergence of fourth, ‘umbrella’ type of governance, meta-governance, which involves “rearticulating and calibrating different modes of governance” (Ibid: 241). We can hypothesise that in some cases meta-governance can solve problems which cannot be solved by other modes of governance, especially focusing on jointly defined goals and managing the tasks, i.e. ensuring effective implementation.

Path creation as coordination through discourse
Some social settings are able to handle problems of adaptation to global trends and others fail. Some adjusted quickly to demand for new complex forms of governance, others failed. The difference lies in the ability to actively grasp the situation. This is perhaps best captured by Etzioni’s concept of active society as a society that distinguishes itself by two qualities. Firstly, it is able to develop consensus on key developmental goals, values and strategies and secondly, develops the ability to implement this consensus, i.e. it has the necessary tools, commitments and competencies (Etzioni, 1968). The active society is therefore, applying Parsons’ distinction, not adapted, but adaptable (Parsons, 1966; also Boulding, 1978). Active orientation implies for individual or collective actor to stand “above and beyond the ongoing processes” (Etzioni, 1968: 4). “To be active is to be in charge. To be passive is to be under control, be it of natural processes, of social waves and streams, or – of active others.” (Ibid.) The active orientation has three major components, which are relevant from our perspective, which helps to solve governance failures. First, individual or collective actors have to be self-conscious and knowing. Second, actors are committed to realize one or more clearly defined goals. Finally, they need to have access to levers (or power) that allow resetting the social (Etzioni, 1968).

Resetting the social is the key issue for several reasons. First, alternative institutional arrangements are very often the key difference between economic growth, stagnation and recession (North, 1990; Nee, 1998). Secondly, social actors are regularly acting in the context of
incomplete information and mental models, which contributes to transaction costs (Nee, 1998: 1). As transaction costs are important part of costs of production and exchange in contemporary economies, they hinder change in institutional arrangements. Finally, they usually do not have free choice, but make ‘choices within constraints’. A number of formal and informal constraints are shaping selection of options (Nee, 1998: 8). This hinders ability to react positively to global trends, implying path-dependency of strategic choices. Process is ‘path-dependent’ in cases, when initial movement in one direction determines future direction, limiting other options. Social forces structuring social fields (institutions, networks or cognitive frames) have to change in order to create a new path. Sequence of events influences new events in a way that developmental trajectories limit set of options for future trajectories (Kay, 2003: 2).

However, ‘choice within constraints’ implies ‘path-shaping’. In his analysis of institutional reforms of welfare state – undoubtedly a case of institutional arrangement where it is very difficult to achieve fast changes due to numerous vital and expensive interests – Torfing demonstrates that changes in well-established arrangements are indeed taking place, but policy-makers and other stakeholders have to take complex constellations of interests into account. Hence, policy path can also be defined as a relatively stable way to structure certain social field. Policy path is not just a policy-making method for regulation of objects, processes and actions, it is a discursive terrain at which objects of regulation, regulatory agencies and institutional forms of regulation are mutually structuring (Torfing, 2001: 286-287).

Path-shaping is possible through changing social field in reciprocal influence of institutions, networks and cognitive frames (Beckert, 2010: 612). Nevertheless, total discontinuity is not possible as old arrangements and structures exercise some influence on the new ones. It is therefore not possible to discuss institutional vacuum, not even in such rapid social and institutional changes like the post-socialist transition. (Nielsen et al, 1995). It is a difficult process, because we face the problems of ‘hyper-rationality’ ‘mental residuals’ (Offe, 1995). Therefore, two conditions have to be met in order to achieve successful institutional design (1995: 54-55). Firstly, existing arrangements have to be discredited and without legitimacy and ability to deal with challenges
that come from their environment. In the case of economic development this could be the situation of a deep and lasting economic crisis, which cannot be solved in the framework of existing arrangements (e.g. cases of Ireland and Finland in the 1980’s). Secondly, they have to offer alternative vision. Therefore, such models are usually not “structured“ in a specific social setting, but are in their initial form imported from different and more successful one and adapted to local circumstances.

Consequently, analytical step forward is to develop “explanatory frameworks, theories and models, explaining micro-foundations of these path-dependent processes” (Kay, 2003a: 406-407). We will move in this direction in next two chapters.

**Meso level: (re)creating systems of innovation**

The meso level of systems of innovations is where social settings exhibit ability – or lack thereof – to adjust to global trends by continuously (re)producing technological and social innovations. Basic factors of production and investment intensiveness are no longer the key factors of competitiveness of the most developed localities. Instead, it is innovativeness and sophistication of products and services. (Porter, 1990). This implies that we are dealing with context-specific process in which the key role is played by unique and locally embedded knowledge. Differences between the most competitive are getting smaller and smaller but at the same time these small differences are increasing in importance. This has since long been acknowledged for high-tech sector (Garnsey, 1998). However, the role of localised learning is perhaps even more important for medium- and low-tech sectors, where continuous improvements are the only key to success and survival of these activities, especially in areas with very high costs which do not allow for strategies of cost competitiveness (Lorenzen, 1998). Typical examples are Scandinavian countries, which prove that low-tech activities can prosper also in such areas (Maskell et al., 1998).

**On innovation**

To understand this phenomenon, we have to broaden our understanding of innovation in several directions. Many authors focus on the issue of technological innovation, leaving aside the notion of non-technological innovations. However, the issue of social innovations is becoming
increasingly important, even going as far as becoming a crucial factor in achieving and retaining competitive edge.

Furthermore, even when dealing with technological innovations, we have to distinguish between different types. Not only innovations, which are radically new in global context, are important (de Propris, 2001). Differences in types of innovations also imply differences in structuration of relationship between relevant actors. For example, in medium- and low-tech sectors non-radical types of innovation seem to be much more important. Case of Denmark is very informative in this respect. Structure of business sector is not very supportive of RTD activities, as we are mainly dealing with small companies with small resources. Nevertheless, these companies show very high levels of innovativeness in products, production processes and organisation. Dominant type of innovation is local incremental adaptation, a result of continuous process of cognitive and social learning. (Lundvall, 2002). The fact that these innovations are not radical does not reduce competitiveness of Danish companies.

This implies a new, interactive conceptualisation of innovative processes, taking interactions between actors into account (Lundvall, 2002: 3). Knowledge is no longer just information, it is a social process. Development and dissemination of knowledge is a social process, implying inter-organisational learning and communication. Innovation is therefore ‘process rather than structure’ (De la Mothe and Paquet, 1998). Knowledge is stored in in ‘cognitive space’ between actors of this innovative process and organisations differ in their ability to detect and absorb this knowledge. To understand innovative processes we therefore have to identify broader social processes and understand how this is influenced by relationship between actors in system of innovation.

**Systems of innovation as adaptive infrastructure**

System for production of innovations is primarily a social system. Learning and knowledge are central to innovation processes and involve interactions between different actors in markets as fields where knowledgeable actors meet (Meeus et al, 1999; Beckert, 2010). The term ‘systems of innovation’ is a generic term for a variety of systems of innovation at different levels: national, regional or local systems of innovation, and also sectoral, technological and metropolitan systems of innovation. We can observe systems of innovations as social fields
influenced by three social microforces: institutions, networks and cognitive frames. Key function of this social field is (re)production, transfer and diffusion of knowledge and technology. It can be diagnosed as a broad and dense infrastructure of knowledge-based enterprises, universities, universities, research and development institutions, a continuous and sufficient supply of highly qualified labour and a generally good infrastructure of business support institutions, as well as a dense network of intermediary institutions (liaison offices, technology transfer offices etc.). or their functional substitutes (e.g. think-tanks) to foster formal and informal interactions and dissemination of cognitive frames (Welter et al, 2009). It is based on the assumption that location and spatial proximity matter for innovation activities (Porter, 1998).

The positive influence of these systems has been acknowledged over a century ago. Alfred Marshall discussed the issue of “localisation” already in 1890. His discussion is considered to be a predecessor of now fashionable debates on business clusters (Brown and Duguid, 2000). The interest in flexible relations among different types of organisations grew exponentially after the end of the classical Fordist paradigm and emphasis put on flexible specialisation (Piore and Sable, 1984) and in a rather short period these linkages gained “discrete charm of secret objects of desire” (Steiner, 1998). It is therefore not surprising that governments at different levels (national, regional, local) are attempting to establish policies aiming to enhance specialisation and flexible forms of network organisation, although the success is rather limited (Lee et al., 2000).

As a result of this immense interest, different analytical approaches and research foci and substantial differences of this context-specific phenomena we have a plethora of partially overlapping concepts at our disposal and at the same time a lack of a coherent theoretical, conceptual and methodological approach to the study them. Authors are applying concepts of industrial districts, technopoles, business networks (Feser, 1998), systems of innovations at national (Lundvall, 1992), local and regional level (de la Mothe and Paquet, 1998). Methods for their systematic detection are poorly developed. Basic dynamics of their formation and operation is not well known (Rončević, 2007). Consequently, policies to support these linkages are not based on knowledge about these phenomena.
In this we cannot follow simple prescription. These processes are strongly context-specific. Empirical evidence from various international reports on competitiveness clearly demonstrates that intensiveness of formation of developmental coalitions differs among nations, regions and even localities within the same countries. Italy is a typical example of such differences in dynamics; some regions in the north are archetype of vibrant and propulsive entrepreneurial regions with abundance of successful business clusters. Regions in the south are, on the other hand, typical example of “amoral familism” (Banfield, 1958), weak social capital and inability to engage in heterarchical network-type of interorganisational linkages (Putnam, 1993).

Hence, the ability to formulate generally valid theories and relevant policy measures is rather limited. The solution is to develop context-specific analysis of social fields. This analysis in itself is rather complex as this is quite close to “networked polity”, where the unit of planning and leadership is not a single organisation, but a “multi-organisational project team” (Ansell, 2000: 309). This implies that we cannot focus only on single organisation or sector; instead, have to take into account all relevant stakeholders, as well as the infrastructure for (re)production of knowledge, intermediary organisations and relevant NGOs. Actors are vertically and horizontally disaggregated, but are at the same time engaged in continuous process of co-ordination. There is a continuous interaction and mutual influence between forces structuring this social field. Systems of innovation are a special type of social field where numerous formal and informal communications between members of this system are taking place. Innovative processes are above all social processes and social field can be structures to enable or prevent positive responses to global challenges.

**Social Fields: institutions, social networks and cognitive frames**
The success or failure of a specific social setting depends on our ability to adjust social forces operating at micro level. Institutions, social networks and cognitive frames have in the past been repeatedly confirmed as relevant in determining a rich variety of outcomes (Fligstein and Dauter, 2007: 106-107; Beckert, 2010: 605), like competitiveness of economies (Hall and Soskice, 2001), formation of prices (Uzzi and Lancaster, 2004) or levels of inward foreign direct investments (Bandelj,
2008), access to labour market (Granovetter, 1995) etc. These three forces are forming relational topography of social field, making it more or less conducive to successful adaptation to global trends by determining the outcome of innovative processes.

Relevant social forces are necessary and sufficient conditions of innovative outcomes. Interestingly enough, sociological analysis of systems of innovation seems curiously underdeveloped. Economy, economic and regional geography and political science are in the forefront of this strand of research. However, analysing systems of innovation as social fields constituted by social forces, sociology has much to offer. First, neo-institutionalism has much to offer in analysis of institutions (Dobbin 1994; Fligstein 1990, 2001; DiMaggio and Powell 1991). Second, social network analysis is one of the most thriving areas of sociological research in the past two decades, leading to important breakthroughs (e.g. Burt 1992; Granovetter 1973; White 1981, 2002). Finally, sociology of culture provides us with theoretically informed accounts of cognitive frames’ role in influencing social action (e.g. Swidler, 1986).

Since Lewin developed the first version of social field concept (Lewin, 1951), new versions appeared (DiMagio and Powell, 1983; Fligstein, 2001; Bourdieu, 2005). However, hey all share the view of social fields as “being structured by social forces that increase stability in social interaction” (Beckert, 2010: 609). Three social structures all contribute to continuous (re)formation of social field to shape a topography of relations. Consequently, social fields are not determined by geography, but are culturally, socially and politically established (Scott, 1994: 206). This is not only theoretical-analytical assumption, but is true even in case when we are using social field as analytical tool for the analysis of a specific delimited phenomenon, e.g. regional system of innovation.

How do social forces shape specific social fields under scrutiny in this paper? First, institutions exert their influence by limiting permissible scope of actions, encouraging some and discouraging others. For example, supportive governmental regulation for establishing new firms and generating spin-offs, innovation support services, a dense network of technology parks and technology transfer entities, or presence of top-
quality universities is generally supportive to adapting to global trends by generating high innovation performance.

Secondly, social networks position individual and collective in social space, limiting ties with specific nodes and encouraging others. So, we can identify high levels of university-industry cooperation, inter- and intra-regional cooperation, cooperation of producers with customers and high level of mutual trust, social networks are ‘lublicating’ project-based organisations, resulting in higher innovative performances.

Finally, cognitive frames provide the necessary mental tool-kit to interpret introduction and nurturing firm-based innovation system, absorption of new knowledge or RTD expenditure as relevant. These interpretations are highly relevant because in complex environment we cannot foresee all possible combinations and formalise them as rules. These scripts contribute to desired structuring of social field by suggesting social action in spite of uncertainty of outcome (Beckert, 2010: 610).

**Conclusion**
Most of the problems that nations, regions, localities or organisations today are facing are of external nature. However, internal processes play very important role as well (Hales, 1993; Paolucci et al. 1997; Tumay 1995). On all levels – macro, meso and micro - these are all too often insufficiently define for ill-managed. Hence, processes of social change are ineffective and innovative performance is failing. These processes are non-transparent and inflexible, too often fragmented and would in many cases require radical societal innovation. On the micro level we can, for example, observe that one of the main problems for the failure of organisational process reengineering is the lack of available tools to evaluate the effects of specific solutions before they are actually implemented (Paolucci et al. 1997, Tumay1995).

Process change and innovation has roots that extend into the middle of last century, however even on the micro level organizations perceived it as a potential threat (Davenport, 1993) while on the macro level it seems too complex task (the problem of hypercomplexity). The need to improve operational processes was nevertheless found as one of the underlying requirements and concerns of the profit and non-profit
organizations of the 20th century and societies are increasingly trying to manage overwhelming complexity with more and more sophisticated policy mechanisms. As a consequence, an abundance of available methods, innovative techniques and academic research is today accessible (Crosnan et al, 2010; Foss, 2009; Stanko et al, 2011).

According to Davenport (1993) process innovation combines new strategy development with actual process planning and change implementation within all of its complex dimensions such as technological, human and organizational. Rockart in Short (1989) furthermore argue that process innovation can successfully cater the need for better co-ordination and the functional dependencies management. The fact still remains that the reasons, which compel societies and organizations to examine any innovation methods lay in the need to significantly improve their competitiveness. The process innovation radically and uniquely changes the key processes.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELDS AS A SOURCE OF EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION

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Abstract
The issue of European identity has been a topic of various political and academic discourses, which nonetheless narrate more about the functioning of particular institutions, integration projects or cultural politics on national or supranational levels, than the European identity itself. The article attempts to recognise, which factors influence the social processes enabling identifications with European space and who can participate in them. It is argued that the intensity of identifications on the European level depends significantly on the participation in European transnational social fields, where symbolic capital, embracing social and cultural capital, substantially influences the existence of European (transnational) habitus and accordingly the identifications. The most significant result of the analysis thus lies in the relationship between the structural properties in terms of what the people are and practices in terms of what they do within the (transnational) social fields and how are both related to the European identification. Applying binary logistic regression analyses to the survey data from all EU member states provides evidence that the practices within the transnational social fields do contribute to the European identification.

Keywords: European Union, European identification, transnational social fields, social practices

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The existence of European identity has inspired a myriad of academic, professional and political contributions on the topic. It is a complex and ambiguous issue denoting multiple levels of perceptions of the European space as geographic and imagined territory on the one hand, and European Union as a political and social entity on the other. Accordingly, it can be tackled from different angles, which entail exploration of various historical, economic, political and social contexts influencing its construction. Important perspective lens, which seem to consider ambivalent ideas of European identity, distinguish at the first instance between the identity as political projects and as social processes (Checkel in Katzenstein, 2009). An escalating interest in European identity certainly coincided with concerns of the architects of the European Union, which failed to build the foundations for a cohesive European demos. The role of common European history, heritage and culture as crucial ingredients of European identity has thus become tightly knitted with the project of more successful integration. The essentialist ideas of European Union as the imagined community based on national conceptual roots or more recent cosmopolitan ideas seeing Europe as diversity of cultures (Mokre, 2007) are certainly a most interesting topic to examine. Nevertheless, those examinations narrate more about the work of particular institutions, integration projects or cultural politics on national or supranational levels, than the European identity itself. While there is undoubtedly a social category of national collective identity, we believe that no such thing exists on the European level. There are many, but still rather ambiguous, reasons for the latter. One can recognise particular social processes on supranational level enabling identifications with the European Union and common European space but as some scholars argue, those processes are supposed to be limited to certain social groups. As Pichler illustrates in his paper, “Europe and European identity are clearly perceived as options among the better off” (2008a: 392). Beside that, identity as something representative of late-modernity or postmodernism is in itself extremely dynamic, variable, never entirely formulated and therefore evasive. According to Zygmunt Baumann, this realisation strongly opposes the modern age that constantly tends to construct a fixed identity and makes great efforts to keep it within clearly defined boundaries (Baumann, 1992). Identities are sources of meaning for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through the process of individuation and self-construction (Castells, 1997, 6-7). Therefore, it seems to be more
appropriate to talk about identification as a process of constant (self)-recognition rather than about an identity as a static “property of the individual” (Hall and Du Gay, 2000, 16). In order to understand social realities of contemporary society, one needs to focus more on action and interaction than just on feelings of belonging and belief (Petithomme, 2008). In that light, we attempt to recognise which factors have actual influence on the social processes enabling identifications with European space and who can participate in them. We ensue from the presumption that a crucial role is played by actual daily or regular practices and activities on the European level. As Favell argues, being European is as much likely to be about this, as it is about shopping across borders, buying property abroad, handling a common currency, looking for work in a foreign city, taking holidays in new countries, buying cheap airline tickets, planning international rail travel, joining cross-national associations. What seems to be important are actions facilitated by the European free movement accords (Favell, 2005: 1113). This thesis, however, lacks empirical testing. Therefore, with empirical findings we intend to substantiate those prepositions and theoretically enriched ideas of European identification within a framework of transnational social fields, which can offer a deeper understanding of the issue. Our main goals herein are:

- To explain that the exploration of identification in a contemporary word demands different perspective lens as it was assumed before, since increasing global flows of ideas, and popular culture, money and employment coinciding with a changes in communications, have transformed traditional, positional view on identities.
- To recognise the factors influencing identifications on the European level, while ensuing from the important role of everyday practices and activities on supranational instance.
- To evaluate the meaning of transnational social fields in that context that insinuate on the existence of the European habitus. The latter reflects the role of various social fields (national and transnational) in the construction of European identities, and highlights the ideas of situated inter subjectivity (Bottero, 2010).

We argue that the intensity of identifications on the European level depends on the participation in European (transnational) social fields.
Particular symbolic capital, embracing social and cultural capital, have a substantial influence on the existence of European (transnational) habitus and accordingly on the identifications.

**From identity to identification**

Identifications with the European Union illustrate the changing conditions of (post)modern world, resulting on global, national and local level. It is beyond doubt that global processes caused by technological development and mass media have significantly changed certain aspects of people’s everyday life. New views on people and the world they live in have come to the fore. It has become widely recognised that social and cultural processes regularly exceed boundaries of nation-states, and thus enable cultural circulation, identification and action (Kearney, 1995; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Appadurai, 1996; Crang et al., 2003). Social transformations conditioned by global processes, which connect different regions of the world through trade and labour exchange, as international laws and organisations, and rapidly advancing transportation and communication technology have enabled new perspectives on space detached from local places. Global processes denote simultaneous connections of people from different parts of the globe comprising various activities, individuals and their identifications. Limitations of social time and geographical places, as a key coordinates of modern social life, do not pose insurmountable obstacles to various forms of social interactions and organisations anymore (Held and McGrew, 2003: 3). Social life is increasingly seen as constituted by the material world, which reflects new distinguishing connections enabling and providing new mobilities (Urry, 2003: 122). The intensity of global connections and interactions and their everyday presence in social reality certainly have a great impact to the meaning of nation states and they therefore influence national identities. Rapidly advancing transportation and communication technology have contributed to ideas of imagined communities exceeding national borders, while visual images and popular culture complements the role of the language in constituting the communities. As Anderson (1983) postulated, language and printed media established national and cultural boundaries to a large extend, while nowadays especially rapid internet connections may redefine them or perhaps even offer some new elements of identifications. Therefore, new perspectives considering individuals and their attachments to territories have come to the fore.
(Hannerz, 1996). The latter does not mean that territory has become irrelevant; nonetheless under global conditions it has become re-imagined and situated into global context (Held in McGrew, 2003:8). New intersections have emerged between national units and their actors on the one side and transnational actors, identities, social spaces and situations on the other side (Rek, 2006: 47).

A flow of goods, people, and services across national borders and geographic regions present a complex set of conditions that affect construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities. These identities play out and position individuals in the course of their everyday life within and across each of their places of attachment or perceived belonging (Vertovec, 2001). In order to encompass global, transnational, and translocal spatial transformations produced by the economy of a late capitalism, focusing on people on the move, the concept of transnational or global space has come to the fore (Low and Zúñiga, 2003: 23-25). Transnational social spaces present a complex set of conditions that affect construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities. Taking into consideration that each habitat or locality represents a range of identity-conditioning factors, the experiences gathered in multiple habitats enable the construction of multiple identities (Hannerz, 1996).

The concept of multiple identities is nevertheless a contested one. One needs to consider that it has taken an exquisite position also in the European cultural and integration political projects, as an appropriate explanation for European identities as a supplement identity to national ones, but nonetheless without any substantial explanation (Sassateli, 2002). Assuming harmonic coexistence of national and European identities does not embrace a complex relation of individuals to the European space and the European Unity. Contemporary social processes enable high heterogeneity of social networks, which can emerge as a consequence of the attachment of individual to the European space or vice versa: it influences these attachments. We argue that mutual interactions among individuals or social groups contribute to the existence of multiple identifications, which also include an element of Europeaness. Those identifications emerge from the actual social practices, which individuals choose to perform, and expect some sort of benefits from them. They do not necessarily emotionally belong to the European Union, but regular movement in European
physical and cognitive space increasingly contributes to their attachments to the European Union. Accordingly, individuals’ perception of the unity and construction of their identities gradually changes in terms of being Europeans to a much greater extend.

In order to understand the constructions of European identities, we consider identifications in a transnational context, seeing them as a result of participation in supra-national or transnational social fields. We ensue from the conceptualisation of social fields as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977), but we predominantly deploy a further elaboration of the notion as suggested by Baschet. al. (1994). They define transnational social fields as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships, through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised and transformed. The participation in European transnational social fields is certainly conditioned by the participation in other fields that disposes them to a particular lifestyle, or a way of living associated with the particular social group from which they derive. The individual has to possess particular economic and symbolic resources which ‘open the gate’ to transnational fields. As it was written elsewhere, socio-structural elements certainly hold an impact on the identification processes with Europe (Petithomme, 2008; Pichler, 2008a; Fligstein, 2009). We argue that particular social fields could provide individuals with resources enabling them to implement social practices that help them to attach to the European space. Their participation in transnational social fields does not necessarily mean that they will identify with the European Union but it makes the identification significantly more likely. Transnational fields should be considered as sites of resistance, implying a higher level of agency (Guarnizo, 1998; Low and Zúñiga, 2004). The conceptualisation of transnational social fields suggested by Lewitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) highlights the difference between the ways of being as opposed to the ways of belonging. The former refers to actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to identities associated with their action. Social fields comprise institutions, organisations and experiences that generate categories of identities that are ascribed to or chosen by individuals or groups. On the other hand, ways of belonging refer to the practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. Individuals within transnational social fields combine both ways differently in specific
context (Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 10-11). This could explain why national identity does not endanger the European one. Individuals are able to choose wheatear to be European or not, but certain conditions have to be fulfilled. Transnational social spaces should be thus considered as multi-dimensional, encompassing structured interactions of differing forms (Basch et al., 1994; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), involving individuals’ active production of social space exceeding national borders (Low and Zúñiga, 2003). Interpersonal interactions among individuals and groups within transnational social networks can influence the existence of European habitus acting as a result of dialectical relationship between individuals’ actions and intersubjective consideration of their actions. As Bottero argues, in order to understand contemporary identifications, we have to take into account the dialectic relationship between the reflexive, collective and dispositional components of the identification processes. Therefore, in the efforts to explore European identifications, it is important to consider “the intersubjective nature of practice, and the concrete ‘calls to order’ that arise from networks of variously disposed agents, whose actions must be accounted for, negotiated and aligned” (Bottero, 2010: 20).

National social fields are limited by national borders, while transnational social fields connect actors through direct and indirect relations across borders (Lewit and Glick Schiller, 2004: 9). But as we mentioned before, particular national social fields determine the individuals’ possibility and ways of participating in transnational ones. As Fligstein argues, not everyone is likely to adopt a European identity, but those who tend to be specific strata of a society: managers, professionals, white-collar workers, educated people and young people (2009: 133).

We assume that the major factors influencing European identification include:

- Economic development of the state and an economic status of individual may therefore be an important factor in identifications on European level. Economic development and economic resources have a great impact on social stratification and thus influence on individual’s ability to participate in transnational social fields. Focusing on actual social practices on the European level, such as traveling, shopping, buying property abroad, certain material resources seem to be crucial.
Another indicator presumed to be important herein is gender. In his study on social structural differences and identification with Europe, Pichler argues that subordinated role of women in European political, economy and culture influence their much weaker identification with Europe comparing to males (2008a: 384). Women still occupy more traditional positions and have more traditional roles in society than men (McNay, 1999).

Taking into account social-structural-differences, age of individuals might be an important indicator as well. We intend to include the indicator in our empirical research, presuming that younger people can be more involved in social practices on European level. Nevertheless, there may also be some factors influencing the identification, that are related to older generations, for instance going abroad after retirement, buying property abroad, taking holidays.

We expect cognitive mobilisation to be much more important than age in identifications with European Union. We presume that education can be considered as a proxy indicator of cognitive mobilisation. More educated people occupy a better position in social ladder, have a better occupation, a better economic situation, and have better prepositions to participate in social practices on the European level. Education is also an important factor in the emerging transnational civil society or transnational citizenship. Knowledge about European civil rights, political institutions and projects can influence political motivation, participation and civil competence (Fuchs and Schlenker, 2006). Beside that, more educated individuals are more likely to have a particular cultural capital, which influences their perception and position in social fields. The latter is tightly knitted with another important aspect, we assume to confirm, i.e. cosmopolitan, open-minded world view.

As Thorpe argues, individuals entering fields oriented to Europe posses a particular cultural capital comprising experiences of European travel, knowledge about European cultural form and practices (2008: 502). Therefore, openness of society and individuals are important factor influencing the identifications on the European level. It can contribute to the decision to participate in transnational social fields, while participation also increases the cosmopolitan view.
Testing the impact on European identification: structure, attitudes and transnational social fields

The typical factors that are supposed to influence individual’s European identification can be summarised into three major categories of indicators, namely (1) the structural properties of the individual’s social status such as her or his gender, age, education, income; (2) attitudes towards one’s nation, cosmopolitanism, Europe and its institutions, which may also be related to some more general attitudes and basic values; and (3) the actual practices within the transnational social fields. While structural properties can be mostly considered as an independent variable within this conceptual framework, attitudes and practices are supposed to have the intervening role influencing the level of identification with Europe. Although, in fact, the causation is more complicated since the attitudes (and some underlying basic values in particular), for instance also have a significant impact on social practices and, indirectly, even status properties, our hypothetical model is simplified to focus only on the causation resulting in European identifications – as the central point of our interest in this paper (see Figure 1).
Figure 1: A hypothetical model of the categories influencing the European identification

Fligstein (2009) has mostly focused on the impact of structural properties, including gender, age at school completion, income, age, occupation, country of living in his logit regression model. The only attitude aspect he included together with this structural dimension was individuals’ self-positioning at the left-right scale. His model thus mostly lacks most of the values-attitudes category and does not deal at all with the impact of practices in the super-national fields.

Mostly the same can be argued concerning the research of Pichler who has also examined only the structural categories, which were analysed versus logit regression analysis, including gender, age, education, domicile in terms of rural or urban environment and social class in terms of occupational categories. (Pichler, 2008a). In an earlier study he investigated some of the attitudes related to the European identification noting the identifying the cultural and political aspects of European identification through both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses (Pichler, 2008b).

Unlike Fligstein and Pichler, we intend to combine more categories within a single model to observe their relative relevance. For the purpose of this paper, we do not make a distinction between the independent and intervening categories of variables. Instead we have chosen to focus on
the relative impact of the selected variables to the dependent variable of European identification using the binary logistic regression model.

First, we have used the dataset from the European Values Study 2008 (EVS, 2010). As the proxy indicator for European identification we have applied the combination of the questions, to which geographical group a respondent belongs first of all and to which she or he belongs secondly – selecting in both cases between locality or town, region, country, Europe and the world as a whole. The respondents who selected Europe either under the first or under the second question have been classified as identifying with Europe. Our regression model has thus been formally based on predicting the probability of identifying with Europe. Obviously, our ambition has not been to develop a complete predicting model, since we are aware that the issue is too complex to be explained mostly by a few variables included in the survey but only to observe the relative impact of particular independent variables.

From the European Values Study dataset we have selected the following variables as approximate indicators of our three dimensions for which we hypothesise to have relevant impact on the European identification: The structural properties consists of gender, age, education (in terms of the distinction between those with the tertiary education and the rest), monthly income and the occupational status in terms of distinction between large employers, managers and professionals on the one hand and the rest on the other.

The attitudes category includes:

- some basic value orientations that can be implied from the answers to the questions on the qualities children should be encouraged to learn at home; we have assumed that selecting obedience reflects some typical traditional values, selecting work and responsibility classical modern values, while independence and tolerance may imply postmodern values;

- a general political orientation expressed in terms of self-placement on the left-right continuum, which we have decide to include in the model mostly to enable a comparison with the findings of Fligstein(2009);
• the attitudes towards cosmopolitanism, national identity and the foreigners expressed by one’s concern how people live all around the world, the level of national pride, and the reluctance to accept the members of different races, immigrants and Muslims as one’s neighbors;
• the concrete attitudes towards the EU including the fear of losing the national identity and culture because of the EU and the confidence towards the European Union and the concern for how people live in Europe.

The practices in the transnational fields are almost absent from the European Values Study. The closest – but still rather questionable – approximation can be found in the questions on some particular non-governmental organisations for which we can assume to be engaged in the rather transnational and cosmopolitan issues. We have thus included the belonging to and working voluntarily for the associations dealing with the development of the Third World and human rights, professional associations and peace movement. Additionally, we have also included the questions whether a respondent belongs and works for none of the civil society associations listed in the EVS 2008.

Applying the logistic regression with the backward conditional method in Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software has generated the final model presented in Table 1.

The explanatory (predictive) power of the model remains rather limited, since Nagelkerke R square only equals 11.1 per cent. The value of the model, however, is in the insights provided about the relations between particular variables to the European identification.

Within the structural category of variables, women, as hypothesised and confirmed by research of Fligstein (2009) and Pichler (2008a) tend to identify with Europe significantly less than men. The same is true for older people though the relationship is less intensive. Occupational position turns to be another significant aspect, since large owners, managers and professionals identify with Europe more than the rest. It may be argued that this is at least to some extent related of greater activity of the people with these occupations within the transnational social fields. Cultural capital expressed through the structural dimension
of education turns out to have significant positive effects on identifying with Europe as well. Among the structural properties included in the initial model, only monthly income has turned out to have no independent effect and has thus been omitted from the final model.

Table 1: Binary logistic regression for European identification based on the European Values Study, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables in the Equation</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 8(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belonging to the Third World development and human rights groups</td>
<td>0.267</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belonging to no NGO/movement</td>
<td>-0.105</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>0.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for peace movement</td>
<td>0.531</td>
<td>0.285</td>
<td>0.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusing muslims as neighbours</td>
<td>-0.376</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having confidence in EU</td>
<td>0.421</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerned about Europeans</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerned about humanity</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having tertiary education</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being proud to his/her nation</td>
<td>-0.230</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fearing loosing national identity and culture because of EU</td>
<td>-0.100</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender: Female</td>
<td>-0.246</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation: large employer. manager. Professional</td>
<td>0.476</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children should learn independence</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children should learn to work</td>
<td>0.104</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>0.037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children should learn obedience</td>
<td>-0.151</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-1.721</td>
<td>0.183</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EVS, 2010, own calculations.

Some basic value orientation turned out to be significant as well. Traditional values as manifested by the emphasis on obedience contribute negatively to the European identification. On the other hand, the more modern concept of work and independence as an example of a post-modern (in the sense of Inglehart, 1997) or late modern values of individualisation (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) are positively related to European identification. Political orientations in terms of left-right placement turn out to have no significant effect. Concerns for how
people in the world live are also positively related to European identification as manifestations of cosmopolitan value orientation. In a similar way, the rejection of having Muslims as neighbours is negatively related to the dependent variable. There is also some negative connection with the national pride. Very strong national feelings thus do not seem to be entirely compatible with high probabilities of European identification. Among the concrete attitudes towards Europe being concerned with how Europeans live and having confidence to the European Union are positively related to European identification, while this relationship is negative with the fears of losing national identity and culture because of the EU. The results are thus rather close to what could have been expected. They also do not contradict the previous findings.

On the other hand, it is questionable whether we can conclude anything from the EVS data on the participation within the transnational social fields. Working for peace movements and belonging to the Third World development and human rights organisations is also positively related to European identification while belonging to no NGO or movement is negatively related to it. However the former does not necessarily indicate the actual inclusion into transnational social fields but only the individual’s cosmopolitan values and attitudes. On the other hand, there may also be many more individuals that are regularly active in transnational social fields without being (active) members of peace movements, human rights and third world development groups. As far as these transnational practices are concerned one should look for better indicators for these particular aspects, which cannot be found in the EVS survey.

Consequently, we have applied the data from the Eurobarometer 73.4 survey from 2010 (European Commission 2010). Although this dataset includes less indicators dealing with general human values and attitudes than the EVS, it provides some useful insights into human practices within the transnational social fields. Following our basic categorisation, the following categories of variables have been selected:

The structural properties have included gender, age, education (whether a person had been 20 or more years when finishing his/her education as an Eurobarometer proxy indicator of having at least some postsecondary
or tertiary education) and occupational status in terms of distinction between managers and professionals on the one hand and the rest on the other. Unfortunately, there has been no proper measure of person’s income available.

The attitudes category for Eurobarometer provides a more limited selection than in the case of EVS: therefore, we have not been able to include some general attitudes concerning cosmopolitanism, nationalism etc. We have thus included:

- a general political orientation expressed in terms of self-placement on the left-right continuum;
- the concrete attitudes towards the EU including the perception of the EU image; trust in the European Union; trust in the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, respect for one’s country’s interest within the EU; the issues whether globalisation requires common global rules (‘worldwide governance’), whether the EU has sufficient power and tools to defend economic interests in the global economy, and whether it helps to protect the European citizens from the negative effects of globalisation; and being familiar with EU citizens’ rights

The practices in the transnational fields could be inferred from the questions on visiting other EU countries; reading books, newspapers and magazines in languages other than one’s mother tongue; socializing with people from another EU country; watching TV programmes in tongue other than one’s mother tongue; using internet in order to purchase products and services from another EU country; benefiting from less border controls when travelling abroad, from improved consumer rights when buying products and services in another EU country and from less expansive communication costs when using a mobile phone in another EU country. In addition, we have included the questions whether volunteering in the fields of intercultural and interreligious dialogue as well as in building European identity are considered important. These may be both proxy indicator of active engagement in transnational NGO activities and simply an indicator of transnational and cosmopolitan attitudes.
For the dependent variable indicating the European identification, we have selected the distinction between those who claim that they definitely feel to be European citizens and the rest (namely those who claimed that they only feel that to some extent, not really, not at all, or do not know), since we needed an indicator of a relatively clear feeling of belonging.

The result of applying binary logistic regression based on the SPSS backward conditional method is presented in Table 2. Clearly, the new model makes a significant difference and provides some relevant insights. Moreover, with Nagelkerke R Square of 31.2 per cent, our second regression model has significantly higher predictive capabilities than the previous one obtained from the EVS dataset.3

Among the structural aspects, both education and gender have turned out to be significantly related to the European identification in a way consistent with our previous model and with the previous studies: men (see: Pichler, 2008a: 384) and more educated (see: Fligstein, 2009: 133) tend to identify with Europe to a higher extent. The effects of age and occupational status, however, turned out to be insignificant in statistical terms in this combination and have thus been dropped from the model. This may imply that it is less important what people are in terms of their occupational statuses and age but what they actually do, particularly within the transnational social fields. In other words, age and occupation do not seem to have a significant independent effect as such to the probability of identifying with Europe when actual practices in transnational social fields are taken into account.

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3 We have also tested alternative models with only a single category of variables. A binary regression model consisting of values and attitudes only produces the Nagelkerke R Square of 29.1 per cent, which is understandable due to the fact that identification is itself an attitude that is thus quite consistently related to other attitudes. On the other hand, the model that includes only structural properties generates Nagelkerke R Square of only 3.4 per cent. Finally, for the model that includes only the indicators of practices in the transnational social fields Nagelkerke R Square is 10.0 per cent. Although the European identification as an attitude is most clearly related to other attitudes, the independent (and intervening) role of the practices in the transnational social fields should clearly not be ignored.
Table 2: Binary logistic regression for European identification based on the Eurobarometer survey, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables in the Equation</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU image-positive</td>
<td>0.461</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusting EU(yes)</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusting Council of the EU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusting Council of the EU (yes)</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusting Council of the EU (no)</td>
<td>-0.268</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country's interest respected</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country's interest respected(yes)</td>
<td>0.419</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country's interest respected (no)</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalisation requires global rules – worldwide governance</td>
<td>0.199</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU sufficient power in globalisation</td>
<td>0.165</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing European citizen's rights</td>
<td>0.826</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading in other language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading in other language (several times)</td>
<td>0.516</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading in other language (once, twice)</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.090</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising with people from another EU country</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising with people from another EU country (several times)</td>
<td>0.206</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising with people from another EU country (once, twice)</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet purchase abroad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet purchase from another EU country (several times)</td>
<td>-0.228</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet purchase from another EU country (once, twice)</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefit from less bordercontrols</td>
<td>0.154</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefit from lower mobile phone costs</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteering – intercultural</td>
<td>0.239</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (female)</td>
<td>-0.271</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished education at age 20+</td>
<td>0.151</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-6.439</td>
<td>0.276</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: European Commission 2010; own calculations.
Among the general attitudes, the self-positioning on the left-right scale turns out to be insignificant just like in our previous model and has thus also been dropped from the regression equation. Both models indicate that the European identification clearly lies beyond the classical distinctions between the political right and the political left.

On the other hand, several concrete attitudes towards the European Union turn out to be significantly related to European identification. Believing in a positive image of the EU, trusting EU, believing that country’s interests are respected by the EU, that EU has sufficient power in globalisation, that globalisation requires worldwide governance; and knowing EU citizen’s rights are all positively related to our dependent variable.

The issue of trust towards some EU institutions is less straightforward. Distrust in the Council of the EU is negatively related to the European identification, which does not seem surprising. However, this is not the case for the trust in the European Parliament and the European Commission where the B coefficients are statistically insignificant and thus dropped from the model. It may be argued that trust into certain political institutions in not necessarily related to the identification with a given community – in a similar manner that people who do not trust their national parliaments and governments are not necessarily less patriotic than those who do.

Among the practices in the transnational social fields as we have specified them, reading books, newspapers and magazines in non-native languages, which takes place several times (not just once or twice), turns out to be the relatively most important contribution to the European identification. It may be tempting to compare this to the findings of Anderson (1983) who also saw reading printed materials as the key factor of producing the identification with the national ‘imagined communities’. Despite the indications in our model we still consider it premature to draw the same conclusion for the transnational European level – the special role of the printed materials can only be a hypothesis that requires further testing but it may be assumed that they do play a significant role in the reproduction of transnational social fields.
Regular socialising with the people from another EU country (again, not just once or twice) also has a significant positive impact on the European identification. Growing body of research on social capital clearly shows the relevance of social interaction (c.f. Adam and Rončević, 2003). Direct social interaction thus also turns out to be an important aspect of transnational social fields in their contribution to the European identification signifying the importance of social capital in this respect.

Nevertheless, not all practices are relevant. Travelling to another country indicated no significant relation with the European identification. It may be argued that simply travelling to another country as such generates relatively superficial relationships that do not guarantee the interactions deep and intensive enough to generate the transnational social fields that would actually contribute to the European identification. The same is the case for watching TV in non-native languages.

Regular internet purchasing from another EU country is even negatively related to European identification, which seems somehow surprising. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that relationships that are only based on consumption do not represent a basis for kind of identification and that the virtual worlds as such are not always able to generate sufficient community identifications as well. As noted by Wellman et al. (2001) there is a clear difference between using the internet for social activities, which promote interaction (and may contribute to one’s identification) and using it for asocial activities, such as Web surfing (and, of course, online shopping). They claim that while social users may build and maintain social capital, networked individualism reduces social cohesion and ‘weakens their sense of community online’ (Wellman et al., 2001: 451).

Finally, being able to benefit from less border control and lower mobile phone costs are also two practical issues related to higher probabilities of identifying with Europe. Consequently, despite some understandable exceptions, the concrete practices that contribute to the (re)production of the transnational social fields are also clearly positively related to the European identification.

Towards a conclusion
European identification is a rather vague concept. It is an attitude closely related to other attitudes concerning Europe and the European Union. This may explain why most of the predictive potential to determine the probability of European identification in our regression models is
explained by them. However, explaining attitudes by similar attitudes does not provide a very beneficial scientific insight.

The most significant result of our analysis thus lies in the relationship between the structural properties in terms of what the people are and practices in terms of what they do within the (transnational) social fields. Our analysis provides evidence that the practices within the transnational social fields do contribute to the European identification.

We believe that the people’s practices within the transnational social fields that are gradually becoming more and more everyday practices offer a particularly beneficial starting point for further research how the identification with Europe as well as other attitudes towards Europe and the European Union are produced and (re)produced. Clearly, we cannot claim that the practices in transnational social fields are the only or even the most significant single factor contributing to the probability of identifying with Europe. One’s European identification can also be significantly influenced not by one’s personal experiences but, for instance, by a variety of the media, political, economical, expert and other discourses that influence the people beyond their direct personal experience (in these processes the national elites may play a significant role as demonstrated, for example, by Adam et al., 2009). However, there are also the practices in the European transnational fields that may make one more European – in explicit or implicit and more latent terms. Transnational social fields encompass the networks and ties through different countries of the European Union and present a complex set of conditions that affect construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities (Vertovec, 2001). Those who predominantly identify with Europe are not just individuals occupying a better position within national sphere. They possess certain economic and symbolic capital which exceeds national borders. Their perception and attitudes toward European Union ensue from the specific European (transnational) habitus, which reflects their participation in multiple social fields (national and transnational). Practices and social positions, which spread across borders, produce conscious and non-conscious dispositions to act in specific ways in specific situations (Guarnizo, 1998). European habitus functions as a result of dialectical relationship between individuals’ actions and intersubjective consideration of their actions (Bottero, 2010). Interpersonal interactions among individuals and groups within
transnational social networks, and the circulation of particular symbolic capital thus have certain impact on multiple identifications, including European. Those identifications certainly do not refer to ‘ways of belonging’ but refer more to actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in (Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2003: 10), and accordingly denote new categories of contemporary world, exceeding the traditional conceptualisation of imagined community.

Notes
1 In some specific situations this may have been reversed as well, such as in the case of Slovenia during the 1990s when social surveys demonstrated that people expressing strong national pride also supported entering the European integration to a higher extend (Uhan et al., 2000). This was based mostly on the fact that Slovenian nationalism of that time was mostly based on identifying with Europe as contrasted with the former Yugoslavia.

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In no innate issues and Apparitions in Social Sciences, Vol. 4, No. 3

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Favell, Adrian (2005): ‘Europe’s Identity Problem’, West European Politics, vol. 28, no. 5 pp. 1109 – 1116


Employment Rehabilitation Developments, Innovative Solutions and Researches in Slovenia for Persons with Disabilities

Aleksandra Tabaj

Abstract

The purpose of an article is to present innovative solutions in the field of employment rehabilitation in Slovenia in last five years. The basis act for this field is Slovenian Act on Employment and Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities (2004). All solutions described are nationally defined on the level of legislation, this is of highest importance.

Several innovative solutions occurred in Slovenia in the last five years:

- Assessment of disability, based on the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health, and its outcomes in ordinary employment, sheltered employment, supported employment and social inclusion programmes

- Social inclusion programmes for persons with disability who are not able to work

- Employment centres-sheltered employment, as new form of employment, for severely disabled persons

- The beginning of supported employment

- New model of employment rehabilitation network, combining employment rehabilitation providers and services, with standards of services

- Main evaluations of the system, carried through Development centre of employment rehabilitation, are presented in the text.

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Assessment of Disability

Slovenian Act on Employment and Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities (Act, 2007) and its Rules on Criteria and Method for Acquiring Status of Person with Disability (Rules, 2005) provided several novelties in employment rehabilitation. Definition of disabled person and disability is based on International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health, concerning the connection of disability and difficulties/barriers on the area of employment and linked with the right of employment rehabilitation. Five level degree of assessing disability was prepared.

Table 1: Assessment of disability

| Level 0: No disability (0-4%), nor the right of employment rehabilitation services |
| Level 1: Mild disability (5-25%), no right of employment rehabilitation services |
| Level 2: Moderate disability (25-49%) → status of person with disability → right to employment rehabilitation services |
| Level 3: Severe disability (50-95%) → status of person with disability → right to employment rehabilitation services |
| Level 4: Complete disability (96-100%) → status of person with disability, but no right of employment rehabilitation services |

Source: Rules (2005)

In the assessment, the level of functioning, and the level of barriers/difficulties and needs is assessed with connection of employment and health status and environment factors influencing on situation of a person. Orientation description of levels is attached to the rules.

Criteria for the right of person to get employment rehabilitation services are also described, and based on five level degrees, from 0 to 4. Criteria are:

- Level of motivation
- Level of knowledge
- Work experience
- Acquired competences
• Limitations of workability
• Psychosocial needs in accepting disability
• Employment profile needs
• Level of social skills
• Social support network
• Level of searching for work
• Level of barriers – movement, communication
• Need for analyzing workplace
• Need for adaptation of workplace
• Level of independence in training and education
• Level of independence after being employed

Criteria have to result in the employment rehabilitation services. Rehabilitation committees of Employment Service of Slovenia decide on status of disabled persons and on the right to employment rehabilitation services.

Table 2: Assessments of Status of Person with Disability with Decisions on Status and Right to Employment Rehabilitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rehabilitation committees</th>
<th>Status of PwD</th>
<th>Status of PwD with the right of VR</th>
<th>Right to VR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>1,264</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Approximately, about 500 persons were appointed yearly from 2006-2009 to employment rehabilitation services.

Sheltered employment: Employment centres

Decision for sheltered employment is taken at the end of rehabilitation and for those persons who are assessed to be productive on the level 30-70%, so the loss of productivity is from 70-30% (Rules, 2005).

Data for the period 2006-2009 shows that 373 persons with disability, assessed having employment possibility in sheltered employment; and
63% of them are employed there (Vidmar et al., Evaluation of Employment Centres in 2009 (2010).

Employment centres are business subjects for employing persons with disabilities with decisions for sheltered employment. Minimum possible number of that kind of business is to employ five persons. People without disability can only be employed as supportive staff and management.


What was exposed in evaluations of sheltered employment (employment centres):

- There were no financial resources for starting employment centre.
- All employed persons are persons with disability (except management and supported-professional staff).
- Management complained, that local community wasn’t interested in their work.

Evaluation interviews in the period 2006-2010 with persons with disability in employment centres showed that:

- 90% are satisfied with their work and support they get
- 12% of them think they can do more, but they don’t look for new job, because they are satisfied
- They are very happy, if they have celebrations, or other events, so that their routine is broken
- They are satisfied with mentors and management
- In 2009, minimum wage was increasing on the level of Slovenia, so they are very pleased with the salary
- They think they do not need further rehabilitation
- They feel useful and important
Table 3: Employment centres (EC), in the units of Employment Service of Slovenia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>PwD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velenje</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maribor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murska Sobota</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kranj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptuj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celje</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sevnica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novo mesto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LJUBLJANA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Dynamics of establishing employment centres was not balanced over Slovenia. It was very developed in Maribor region, but regions Trbovlje and Nova Gorica didn’t establish any employment centre. No. of persons with disability, with decisions of sheltered employment were there very low: only four persons in Nova Gorica and in Trbovlje one person.

Founders of employment centres were predominantly enterprises for PwD, associations or other persons. They are mainly the part of wider network on disability area, and they combine employment rehabilitation with other programmes for persons with disabilities. Their point of view is, that local community didn’t recognise their role and it didn’t support them at the beginning and later. They pointed out the view that they need financial resources for investments and starting new programmes.
They will need also promotion activities. Their programme of work is mainly appropriate for all disabilities.

Persons with disability employed received minimum wage, and additionally they can get benefits for good work.

Employment centres are very much dependent on quota system – they cooperate with businesses, which do not employ enough persons with disability, as an obligation in Slovenian quota system.

So far, they did all survive economic crisis and they have plans for widening theirs programme. In 2012 it is expected more challenging economic situation, not only due to economic crisis, but also connected with changes in legislation concerning state aid regulations.

**Table 4 : Education of employed persons in employment centres**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of education</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 31.12.2008 | PwD | 58 | 36 | 44 | 32 | 23 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 194 |
|            | Staff | 1 | 16 | 8 | 19 | 2 | 46 |
| 31.12.2009 | PwD | 62 | 47 | 64 | 29 | 28 | 1 | 1 | 233 |
|            | Staff | 1 | 6 | 17 | 7 | 27 | 2 | 59 |

**Source:** (Vidmar et al., Evaluation of Employment Centres in 2009 (2010).

In 2009, there were 233 persons with disability employed in sheltered economy. Their employees had predominantly lower degrees of education.

**Table 5: Age structure in Employment Centres**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>till 18</th>
<th>18–25</th>
<th>25–30</th>
<th>30–40</th>
<th>40–50</th>
<th>50–60</th>
<th>over 60</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.12.2008</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.12.2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Persons with disabilities of all ages are employed in employment centers. Predominantly are employed persons between the age from 30-50 years (61,8%), in the age up to 30 years, 29.2% and over 50 years, 9%.

Employment centers are financed through the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs (33,35% of all resources), from Foundation for Promoting Employment of Persons with Disabilities (12,32%), from subvention for wages (33,36%) and Pension and Disability Insurance Institute (20,72%).

On the level of active resources they earned 62,82% of resources, almost half in quota system contracts (36,40% of active resources).

In 2009, they employed 22,63% PwD more than last year (they employed 43 PwD). Also their incomes were bigger than last year for 23% (4,3 mio euro). Average income per person with disability is 18.406 euro, average cost is 17.873 euro.

Employment centres are non-profit organizations. Their resources could only be spent for costs and improvement of their work.

Programmes of social inclusion

Programmes of social inclusion are intended for persons who due to their disability are not able to work and their intention is to support their working ability. They have to achieve decision from Employment Service of Slovenia. Their workability is assessed lower than 33% comparing persons without disability, disability assessed as complete (96-100%), in accordance with the Act on Employment and Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities (Act, 2007).

The first public tender for social inclusion programmes was published in 2006, and it covered all Slovenia, for the period 2006-2010. 21 providers of programme were chosen. Providers at the beginning of the programme had to prepare an agreement for inclusion with person with disability. Programmes are running all year, at least 6 hours per day. Minimum obligation is also at least 6 users and up to 30 users. First programmes started in July 2006. At the end of 2006, we had 11 providers, with 121 users. At the end of 2009, we had 15 providers and 272 users. Persons with decisions reached the number 531. Evaluation noticed big dynamics when users went from one provider to another,
and some of them stopped going to the programme (65 persons), 19% of dropouts were found out (Vidmar et al., Evaluation of Social Inclusion Programmes in 2008 (2009).

Table 6: Network of social inclusion programmes, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Providers</th>
<th>Users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kranj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velenje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maribor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murska Sobota</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velenje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptuj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS Celje</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS Sevnica</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS Novo mesto</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS Koper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS LJUBLJANA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maribor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murska Sobota</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velenje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kranj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Resources from the state budget

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>Total 2006 to 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costs of programme</td>
<td>147.133€</td>
<td>589.134€</td>
<td>750.120€</td>
<td>1.107.236€</td>
<td>2.593.623€</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(80%)</td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>(82,4%)</td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel costs</td>
<td>36.321€</td>
<td>132.079€</td>
<td>165.545€</td>
<td>236.533€</td>
<td>570.478€</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>(17,6%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>183.454€</td>
<td>721.213€</td>
<td>915.665€</td>
<td>1.343.769€</td>
<td>3.164.101€</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When programmes started, it was needed to agree with Centres of social work, the right of all users for social aid, not to cut off their social benefits. The benefit for social inclusion is cca 69 euro per month, a person also gets lunch and transfer costs reimbursed. The benefit for social inclusion, given by the provider increased, for almost 50% in average, through the years (from 2006 - to 2010). Additional right is also absence for 20 days and other absence due to the health reasons etc. In case of their changed workability status, person's workability can be reassessed.

Table 8: Comparison: decisions for social inclusion with inclusions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of decisions</th>
<th>No. of included in programme</th>
<th>Percentage of included</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>73 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>58 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>51 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, less than 10% of persons with disability, coming to employment rehabilitation programme, got the decision of non able to work. Half of all persons with decisions are included in the programmes. Reasons for dropouts are mainly alternative programme choices.

Economic crisis influenced on programmes. Providers decreased their costs for professional workers, but costs for users were increased. In 2009, it was noticed on the level of regions that programmes cover better the needs of population. What is also important, is the fact, that providers of social inclusion programmes as added value take care of additional activities – social skills, sport activities, creative workshops etc. Contacts with local community were strengthened. Majority of providers give higher benefits as demanded from rules.
The beginning of supported employment in Slovenia

When comparing possibilities for persons with disabilities, the weakest improvement was found out on the supported employment possibility. From 2004, it is possible to get support services for persons with disabilities as supported employment, in accordance with Slovenian act (Act, 2007). Necessary condition is a decision of Employment Service in Slovenia. On the basis of Employment and Rehabilitation of persons with disabilities Act, Slovenian Foundation for promoting employment of person with disabilities, has an obligation for paying supported employment, if person is employed at least for the period of 2 years, and employer fulfils the quota obligation. Support services can be given for max 30 hours per month. So far, such support from the foundation was given only in one case. Other possibility is to get supported employment services from network of providers of employment rehabilitation. In reality, numbers of supported services are very low, if compared with sheltered workshops/employment centres and social inclusion programmes. Reasons are several – there were no pilot projects of supported employment, no job-coaches as profession were raised, long procedures on the foundation were found out, etc.

Support could include expert and technical support, awareness raising activities/information activities, counselling, training, personal assistance, follow-up support at workplace and assessment to person with disability or to employer. Wage subsidy is also possible. Person has to be trained, motivated and having individual support plan. Employer has to be cooperative. These are necessary conditions from basic act on Employment and Rehabilitation for Persons with Disabilities.

Table 9: Supported services for persons with disability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supported services For period 3-6/2010</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>No. of hours</th>
<th>Average of hours per person per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 2010</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2010</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maj 2010</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2010</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per month</td>
<td>11,25</td>
<td>37,75</td>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kovač et al., 2010)
Follow up for supported employment services was taken in 2010, from March 2010 to June 2010, on the level of network of providers of employment rehabilitation. The number of persons in this form of support found out was low, yet we know, that till the end of July, 126 persons with disability had decision of supported employment. From all persons with disabilities, who received support, only 9-13 got it, this represents only 7% of eligible persons. More coordinated action of Employment Service of Slovenia and providers of services will be necessary in the future for better results, if we compare figures with sheltered employment/employment centres and social inclusion programmes.

**New model of employment rehabilitation network, combining employment rehabilitation providers and services, with standards of services**

Employment rehabilitation is a public service and it covers in a network 14 providers - University rehabilitation institute as a public entity and 13 private entities. Teams of experts have to be chosen on the basis of necessary conditions (university degree, at least 2 years of work experience in disability). Each team has five members, one of them is medical doctor, others are occupational therapists, psychologists, social workers etc. Standardisation of services was made in 2006. Beside that, other necessary conditions like accessibility, respect of needs, ethical codes, are also respected. Employment rehabilitation follows the object to gain, retain, develop or change work for persons with disabilities on the labour market. Employment rehabilitation is provided through different services, which include:

- Motivating activities
- Employment assessment
- Psychosocial rehabilitation
- Vocational guidance
- Social skills development
- Job finding
- Work place analysis and accommodation
- Training
- Counselling in training and education
- Follow up professional support and supported employment

The network of providers covers all Slovenia territory and was settled as 17 teams, on the level of units of Employment Service of Slovenia, for the 4 year period (2006-2009 and 2010-2013).
System of employment rehabilitation is based on rights oriented and active approach, with person centred planning (individual rehabilitation plan) and working on constant improvement. Every provider also has to create and maintain a network with employers, and also annually report about this cooperation. What is of main importance is that outcomes of employment rehabilitation can be mainstreaming employment, supported employment, sheltered employment or social inclusion, with rules and criteria settled.

Population of persons with disabilities entering in employment rehabilitation, increased. In 2006, there were 885 persons included, in 2007, 1411 persons and in 2008, 1532 persons. Regarding their age structure, we discovered, that over 40% of the population were over 40 years old, with trends of aging in the structure. Education picture shows low education level. Also the level of work experience of persons with disabilities entering employment rehabilitation, in this three years period shows low results from their past work history. What is one of our biggest concerns is the period of unemployment – between 30-42% of population is unemployed more than 5 years. Unemployed less than a year, was only 7-11% of population. Analyse of criteria for rehabilitation discovered, that motivation is an important barrier, and the situation is getting worse year by year. Also we noticed a gap in knowledge and work experience, which they should result in training programmes. Assessment of workability also shows low levels. The need for support is increasing, and it should result in supported employment and sheltered employment. Vocational guidance should also be strengthened, and transition programmes from education to employment should be developed. Analyse of needs also shows increasingly psychosocial needs – coming from mental health problems and personal problems. Level of independence is also low. Outcomes analysis showed that population included in employment rehabilitation in 2007 resulted in employment in two years period in 51% of all cases. But there are big differences between regions. (Vidmar et al., Evaluation of Employment Rehabilitation Services and its Outcomes in 2008 (2009).

Conclusion

Basic questions, which we will have to answer in the future in Slovenia, regarding employment rehabilitation are concentrated on:

- Administration and long-term procedures
- Empty time between procedures
- Connection with other measures – Active labour market programmes, Centres for social work, tenders, – do we actually have holistic model and inter-institutional connection
• Disability: from disability into ability
• Multidisciplinary team approach
• Do we see right to rehabilitation before right of social transfer
• Are there separations between medical/employment rehabilitation/employment
• Are employers and local community included
• Is education of professional workers and committees guaranteed
• Do we have cost benefit studies
• Do we have analysis of rehabilitation, case studies, evaluations, and other development tasks – evaluations
• Working places: are they organized safe, efficient and so, that negative influences are minimized for the worker with disability
• Do we have measures for retaining workplaces for workers with disability, who are in dismissal procedure
• Do we respect reasonable accommodation as a right of person with disability
• Do we have benefit traps
• Considerable support should be put on supported employment services

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SPECIAL ACADEMIC EVENT REPORT
A UNIQUE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME AT THE FACULTY OF ECONOMICS, TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF KOŠICE

SUMMER SCHOOL ON LOCAL POLICY MAKING AND POLITICS

Daniel Klimovský

A few dozens of university students and young academics from several Central and Eastern European countries spent two weeks (19 June-3 July 2011) in Košice, Slovakia. A reason for their stay in Košice was an implementation of intensive educational project aimed at local political issues: “Politics and Policy Making at the Local Level” (POL-LOC).

The mentioned event – 1st Summer School of the Faculty of Economics, Technical University of Košice: Politics and Policy Making at the Local Level: V4 countries and other CEE countries in comparative perspective – was the first of planned series of summer schools. Patronage of the event was taken by Dr. Richard Raši, the Mayor of Košice, and Prof. Vincent Šoltés, the Dean of the Faculty of Economics, Technical University of Košice. Project Manager is Dr. Daniel Klimovský, who works as Assistant Professor at the Department of Regional Economics and Management of the mentioned faculty, and he played a role of Director of the Summer School at the same time.

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Overall, 52 university students and 14 young university teachers (up to 35 years) attended the first event. One of the main objectives of the summer school was strengthening of interdisciplinary nature of local policy making and politics study through a creation of proper space for mutual exchange of knowledge as well as experience of the participants who dispose with different background (economics, law, human geography, political science, sociology, public administration, management). A main criterion for the participants' selection had been their interests in local political issues.
The participants came from the following countries and institutions:

- Slovak Republic (Technical University of Košice / Comenius University in Bratislava / University of Economics in Bratislava / University of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava)
- Czech Republic (Charles University in Prague / University of Pardubice)
- Hungary (Corvinus University in Budapest)
- Poland (University of Marie Curie-Sklodowska in Lublin)
- Slovenia (School of Advanced Social Studies in Nova Gorica)
- Romania (National School of Political Studies and Public Administration in Bucharest)
- Croatia (University of Rijeka)
- FYR of Macedonia (South-East-European University in Tetovo)
- Moldova (University Perspectiva-Int in Chisinau)
- Ukraine (Uzhgorod State University)
- Latvia (University of Latvia in Riga)
- Estonia (University of Tartu)
- Finland (University of Tampere).

Educational programme of the summer school primarily consists of a series of keynote lectures. They were given by 13 invited experts on
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various topics related to local policy making and politics. An introductory lecture was given by Prof. Garri Raagmaa (Estonia) and it was aimed at urbanism in Europe. A lecture of the Prof. Anders Lidström (Sweden) was targeted at state of local democracy in Europe. E-government as a main topic was presented during the lecture of Prof. Tomáš Sabol (Slovakia). A lecture of Prof. Milan Vemic (Serbia) was focused on local economic development with special regard to Eastern and Central Europe. Very similar topic was presented by Prof. Alexandru Stratan (Moldova) too. He dealt with position of public authorities within local economic development. Very popular topic was presented by Prof. István Tózsa (Hungary) who dealt with various marketing tools and techniques which aim to promote urban and rural areas. A relationship between local economic development and regional economic development was presented by Prof. Oto Hudec (Slovakia). Dr. Michal Illner (Czech Republic) lectured the participants on the impacts of heterogeneous social, economic and political factors on the quality of local policy making and politics in the Central and Eastern European region. Prof. Emilia-Sičáková Beblavá (Slovakia) aimed her lecture on corruption, openness and transparency within the local policy making. Prof. Veli Creci (FYR of Macedonia) gave a lecture on policy analysis with special focus on the local public policies. Prof. Katarína Staroňová (Slovakia) discussed during her lectures methods of policy analysis as well. Prof. Soňa Čapková (Slovakia) gave a lecture on local financial management. A final lecture was given by a longtime expert of the Council of Europe, Prof. Robert Hertzog (France), who spoke especially about phenomenon of inter-municipal/communal cooperation.
Prof. István Tózsa during his lecture

Prof. Robert Hertzog during his lecture
Prof. Anders Lidström during his lecture

Dr. Michal Illner during his lecture
Optional seminars and workshops were organized for students-participants in the afternoons. They were prepared by the participating young teachers. In addition, several practically oriented presentations
were organized too – practical examples of concrete implemented projects were presented:

Ms. Slavomíra Mačáková (ETP – Slovakia) introduced the projects aimed at inclusion of Roma communities; Mr. Tomáš Jacko (Transparency International Slovakia) presented project called “Open Local Government”; Ms. Nataša Matulayová (Agency for Support of Regional Development, Košice) compared the quality of cross-border cooperation between the Slovak and Hungarian as well as between the Slovak and Ukrainian subjects; Mr. Peter Germuška (Košice 2013 - European Capital of Culture) dealt with both the implementation of the project “Košice 2013 – European Capital of Culture” and creative economy. Apart from them, the Governmental Commissioner for Local Self-government and Integral Management of River Basins and Land, Mr. Martin Kováč, introduced intentions of the Government of the Slovak Republic in the area of flood protection. Furthermore, he presented also some ideas related to planned municipal/communal reform. Local governments are faced with many challenges nowadays. On this matter, Ms. Ingrid Štegmannová (Association of Towns and Municipalities of the Czech Republic) and Mr. Jaroslav Hlinka (Association of Towns and Communities of Slovakia) took part in a moderated discussion. Contributions of all these presenters provoked intensive discussions between the participants.
A few leisure-time activities were organized for the participants too. Three of them (a visit of Košice ZOO, high ropes track Tarzania, and a summer bobsleigh) were called ice-breaking activities. The participants had an opportunity to know each other, and to train their both physical and mental abilities. Besides, the participants took part in music performance of Ólafur Arnalds (Iceland), a trip “UNESCO sights in Eastern Slovakia” (Aragonite Cave in Ochtiná, Spiš Castle, Town Levoča etc.) was organized during the free days, and the Mayor of Košice invited the participants for a barbecue. The last but not least, a bowling tournament was organized for the participants in the end of the event.
Final photo from the bowling contest

Barbecue with the Mayor of Košice and the Director of the Summer School
Two weeks of intensive summer school culminated on Friday, 1 July 2011, when the participating students completed written tests and colloquial examination. Although the results varied a lot, all participants fulfilled at least minimal requirements in order to be awarded by 4 ECTS. Six students, who reached the best results – namely: Mr. Denis Babič (Croatia), Mr. Jorge Marcano (Latvia/Venezuela), Ms. Mária Špesová (Slovakia), Ms. Darina Ondrušová (Slovakia), Mr. Andrei Nicolae (Romania), and Mr. Ivan Dušević (Croatia) – received also special prizes (for instance selected publications from NISPAcee and Regional Studies Association). The best participant received a symbolic cash prize too.
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Director of the Summer School, members of the Steering Committee, and the best participants (from left): Mr. Daniel Klimovský, Ms. Katarzyna Radzik, Mr. Denis Babić, Mr. Jorge Marcano, Ms. Mária Špesová, Ms. Darina Ondrušová, Mr. Andrei Nicolae, Mr. Uroš Pinterič, Mr. Ivan Duševič and Ms. Diana-Camelia Iancu.

The first year of the summer schools could not be organized and prepared without financial or other contributions from the partner universities/faculties, financial sources grant scheme Erasmus – Intensive Programmes, or contributions from donors, sponsors or other partner subjects: Central European Initiative: CEI University Network Programme, Council of Europe, International Visegrad Fund: Visegrad Universities Studies Grant, Foundation of Tatra banka: Support of Quality of Education at the Universities, Foundation of Slovenská sporitelňa: Open Programme for the Universities, Foundation of St. Archangel Michael – Substructio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, Foundation Centre for Local Development Foundation in Lublin, Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in Bratislava, MUNICIPALIA, Inc., City of Košice, Association of Towns and Communities of Slovakia, Association of Towns and Municipalities of the Czech Republic, Slovak Tourist Board, Analytica, Skopje, , elfa, Ltd., Coca-Cola Czech Republic, Ltd., Boutique Hotel Maraton**** in Košice, Association for Regional Science and Policy (Slovak section of the ERSA – European Regional Science Association), NISPAcee – Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe, RSA – Regional Studies Association. A group of media partners of the event consisted of the

Project POL-LOC was not completed by the end of the first summer school. On the contrary, the event should be considered the first summer school of the series of similar events. All relevant and important information – including the information about the second year of the event that will be held in June/July 2012 again in Košice – can be found at the official project web-site: www.polloc.eu.
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