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### **Weekly Briefing**

### Slovenia political briefing:

The changes on the Slovenian national television and the radio, and the mounting issues of the 15th Slovenian government

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# The changes on the Slovenian national television and the radio, and the mounting issues of the 15th Slovenian government

#### **Summary**

On their inauguration after the parliamentary election in April 2023, the winning Freedom Movement party and its coalition partners were enjoying one of the largest immediate shares of support; riding on their success in the elections, they were able to retain a lot of support in late 2022 despite the distinct lack of concrete realizations of their political program, especially in the form of many announced reforms, or at least realistic proposal for their implementations.

One of the early successes of the government was the amendment to the Radiotelevizija Slovenija Act which is believed to have improved the conditions and disallowed disproportional political meddling that its predecessor, the 14<sup>th</sup> Slovenian government is believed to have exercised. However, much like with other changes that were announced by the 15<sup>th</sup> government, the changes took a lot of time and even with their implementation, the current situation is not unanimously supported. Nevertheless, the new act on Slovenian national television and radio at least managed to get through the obstacles and has been implemented; the same cannot be said for most other announced reforms which has translated into one of the biggest slides in public support for the government and its leader(s) in Slovenian history.

## Background: the 14th Slovenian government, the political turmoil in Slovenia, and the social distress during its term

Before the parliamentary election in April 2022, Slovenia – particularly concerning its politics – was in a state of turmoil. The final year or so of the rather short-lasting 14<sup>th</sup> Slovenian government was characterized by both internal and external pressure on the performance of the governmental coalition and significant strife that reflected upon the society at large. The whole situation was not helped by the fact that alongside frequent criticism against the manners of political conduct, the society was also distraught due to the long-standing COVID-19 crisis that

only receded in the first half of 2022, and which was present for nearly the entirety of the reign of the 14<sup>th</sup> Slovenian government.<sup>1</sup>

The right-wing 14<sup>th</sup> government was inaugurated on March 13, 2020, after the previous government was dissolved at the beginning of 2020.<sup>2</sup> The government, led by the leader of the Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS), was almost immediately faced with the difficult reality of the medical crisis, oppositional disapproval, and public criticism. The situation was not helped by the unusual communicative conduct, especially in terms of political communication patterns. The unusual, seemingly aggressively ideological, and highly direct way of communicating and the public announcement of political decisions was noted even by foreign journalists and EU officials, especially during the Slovenian presidency of the Council of the European Union.<sup>3</sup> The tense social situation which was exacerbated by the restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic gave rise to a series of protests against the government which started to regularly appear soon after the 14<sup>th</sup> government was inaugurated and would in some instances last until the end of its reign; the most persistent and recognizable among the protesters were the "Friday cyclists".<sup>4</sup>

Alongside the groups with a more general political agenda, there have also been many demonstrators that conducted protests with a specific goal in mind such as the lifting or reduction of COVID-19 restrictions. Fueled by high public discontent and intense emotions, some of the anti-restrictions protests were among the most disruptive and violent demonstrations in recent Slovenian history – particularly the protests on November 5, 2020, and October 6, 2021.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Refer to "Od ponedeljka v gospodarstvu konec epidemioloških omejitev," Portal GOV.SI, accessed November 19, 2023, <a href="https://www.gov.si/novice/2022-02-19-od-ponedeljka-v-gospodarstvu-konec-epidemioloskih-omejitev/">https://www.gov.si/novice/2022-02-19-od-ponedeljka-v-gospodarstvu-konec-epidemioloskih-omejitev/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See A. S., G. C., T. H., "Janez Janša novi predsednik vlade, dobil je 52 poslanskih glasov," MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenija, March 3, 2023, <a href="https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/janez-jansa-novi-predsednik-vlade-dobil-je-52-poslanskih-glasov/516027">https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/janez-jansa-novi-predsednik-vlade-dobil-je-52-poslanskih-glasov/516027</a>; "14. Vlada Republike Slovenije od 13. marca 2020 do 1. junija 2022," Portal GOV.SI, accessed November 19, 2023, <a href="https://www.gov.si/drzavni-organi/vlada/o-vladi/pretekle-vlade/14-vlada-republike-slovenije-od-13-marca-2020-do-1-junija-2022/">https://www.gov.si/drzavni-organi/vlada/o-vladi/pretekle-vlade/14-vlada-republike-slovenije-od-13-marca-2020-do-1-junija-2022/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See e.g. Anja Intihar, "Vladni profil na twitterju pogosto »ugrabljen« za razkol in napade," *Delo*, January 5, 2023, <a href="https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/volitve-2022/vladni-profil-na-twitterju-pogosto-ugrabljen-za-razkol-in-napade/">https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/volitve-2022/vladni-profil-na-twitterju-pogosto-ugrabljen-za-razkol-in-napade/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See e.g. "Slovenia cyclists hold anti-government protest," BBC News, May 9, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-52597748. The protests which brought together anti-governmental activists riding bicycles around the center and the parliamentary premises of the Slovenian capital Ljubljana started early in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> government's term and continued to occur on a regular basis until the parliamentary election in 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Refer to Urška Rus and Meta Roglič, "#foto #video Nasilneži divjali po Ljubljani," *Dnevnik*, November 6, 2020, https://www.dnevnik.si/1042942637; and Petra Vadas, "Protesti ušli izpod nadzora, središče prestolnice

In the final months of the shortened term of the 14<sup>th</sup> government, the tension between the governmental coalition and its critics frequently escalated and the public support for the government was waning, leading pundits to see the government as a "hanging government".<sup>6</sup> With the threat of a serious political crisis looming, the president of the Republic of Slovenia Borut Pahor called for the parliamentary election on the first possible date, April 23, 2022.<sup>7</sup>

Not unexpectedly given the previous events, the parliamentary election in the Spring of 2022 saw the victory of the left-center coalition led by the newly formed party the Freedom Movement under the leadership of former businessman Robert Golob. In the wake of the elections, the winning coalition of left-wing and center-left parties the Freedom Movement, Social Democrats, and the Left was able to form a majority government that started its term on June 1, 2022.8

Given the political atmosphere before the parliamentary election, the victory of the socalled left block who previously voiced heavy opposition was not surprising and was met with great expectations and a large amount of initial trust despite the precarious social and economic situation due to the progressively more visible energy crisis and the subsequent heavy inflation. The new government was quick to assume an aggressive pose towards the work of its predecessors and from the beginning intended to eliminate what it considered "harmful measures of the previous government."<sup>9</sup>

However, despite the promising start of the term and generally well-considered political agenda, <sup>10</sup> by the end of the year the new government already become embroiled in arguments and internal issues while its popularity started to wane, in no small part due to the lack of concrete results and agenda completion that would justify the initial trust in their work. <sup>11</sup>

v oblakih solzivca," N1, October 6, 2021, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/protesti-ljubljana-shod-nasprotnikov-vladnih-ukrepov/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/protesti-ljubljana-shod-nasprotnikov-vladnih-ukrepov/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Uroš Esih, "Za Janšo met puške v koruzo ni opcija," *Delo*, April 2,

<sup>2022,</sup> https://www.delo.si/mnenja/komentarji/za-janso-met-puske-v-koruzo-ni-opcija/#!?logout.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Refer to U. Z./STA, "Zdaj je uradno: parlamentarne volitve bodo 24. aprila," *24ur.com*, January 20, 2022, <a href="https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/pahor-bo-clane-drzavne-volilne-komisije-uradno-obvestil-o-datumu-volitev-v-dz.html">https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/pahor-bo-clane-drzavne-volilne-komisije-uradno-obvestil-o-datumu-volitev-v-dz.html</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sources: "Slovenija dobila 15. vlado," STA, accessed May 10, 2023, <a href="https://www.sta.si/v-srediscu/vlada2022">https://www.sta.si/v-srediscu/vlada2022</a>; and "Republic of Slovenia: Election for Državni Zbor (Slovenian National Assembly), April 24, 2023," IFES, accessed May 10, 2023, <a href="https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/3766/">https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/3766/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See e.g. STA, "Predlog zakona proti škodljivim ukrepom prejšnje oblasti skozi drugo obravnavo," *Delo*, July 12, 2022, <a href="https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/predlog-zakona-proti-skodljivim-ukrepom-pretekle-oblasti-skozi-drugo-obravnavo/">https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/predlog-zakona-proti-skodljivim-ukrepom-pretekle-oblasti-skozi-drugo-obravnavo/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Consult e.g. the coalition contract at "Program za delo koalicije," iusinfo.si, accessed November 19, https://www.iusinfo.si/download/razno/1652697215-KoalicijskaPogodba.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The support for the government significantly fell after the conflict between the Minister of Internal Affairs Tatjana Bobnar and Prime Minister Robert Golob which led to the resignation of Bobnar and raised fears in

The dramatic fall in support for the work of the government during the year 2023 can be attributed to many factors, including the lack of success of the government in correspondence to its agenda, inconsistent and at times erratic political performances of some of the key members of the government, and the lack of cohesion among the coalitional partners. Regardless of the reasons, however, it seems that the government is on track to become as publicly unpopular as its predecessor – the main reason the current governmental coalition gained the parliamentary majority.

### The new act on the Slovenian national radio and television and the long road to its implementation

One of the early successes of the 15<sup>th</sup> government was the confirmation of the three amendments to the act on critical social issues in the referendum in November 2022. The three acts that were given reconstructive treatment on behalf of the government - the Radiotelevizija Slovenija Act, the Long-Term Care Act (the full implementation of which was being postponed), and the act governing the composition of governmental departments act which was significantly changed – have been considered as relevant for the future politics-society relations in Slovenia and the government proposals regarding all three successfully passed the referendum vote.<sup>12</sup>

The most publicly discussed among those was the amendment to the Radiotelevizija Slovenija Act which has been closely related to the events that led to the downfall of public trust in the work of the preceding government and due to which the Slovenian government was internationally accused of politicization of important social institutions and the attempts to curb the freedom of the press by, among others, discouraging media report, unfavorable to the government coalition.<sup>13</sup>

As per the amendment to the Slovenian National Television and Radio Act, there should be less political interference in the work of the said institution; thus, the 15<sup>th</sup> Slovenian

public of continued politicization of police on behalf of the government. See, among others, M. V., "Zakaj je odstopila Tatjana Bobnar? Ministrica poslancem pojasnila razloge," *N1*, December 14,

<sup>2022, &</sup>lt;a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/zakaj-je-odstopila-tatjana-bobnar-ministrica-poslancem-pojasnjuje-razloge/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/zakaj-je-odstopila-tatjana-bobnar-ministrica-poslancem-pojasnjuje-razloge/</a>; Zoran Potič, "Prvič več nezadovoljstva kot podpore," *Dnevnik*, January 16,

<sup>2023, &</sup>lt;a href="https://www.dnevnik.si/1043005031">https://www.dnevnik.si/1043005031</a>; and R. K., "Podpora vladi še naprej upada," *SiolNET*, March 20, 2023, <a href="https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/podpora-vladi-se-naprej-pada-602159">https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/podpora-vladi-se-naprej-pada-602159</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Consult Sebastijan R. Maček, STA, "Slovenian government victorious in opposition-led referendum vote," *Euractiv*, November 28, 2023, <a href="https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/slovenian-government-victorious-in-opposition-led-referendum-vote/">https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/slovenian-government-victorious-in-opposition-led-referendum-vote/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Among others, see Valérie Gauriat, "Is freedom of the press at threat in Slovenia?" *Euronews*, June 11, 2021, https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2021/06/04/is-freedom-of-the-press-at-threat-in-slovenia.

government intended to remedy the supposed excesses of the previous government which may have had overly politicized the critical Slovenian media outlet. The culprit for the possibility of that was the previous act on the Radiotelevizija Slovenija according to which the parliamentary coalition has a critical role in the selection of the members of the Supervisory Board while the representatives of the employed were given a lesser role in the organizational structure. The previous act, which was passed in 2005, was also criticized abroad due to its potential permeability of an excessive political influence on media reporting. Domestic and international accusations of politicized management of the institution and the lack of neutrality of the board and new members of the RTV Slovenia escalated after the controversial Andrej Grah Whatmough and Uroš Urbanija were appointed as director-general of the RTV Slovenija and director of Television Slovenia in 2021 and 2022, respectively. Their appointments coincided with program changes and rumors of political and ideological decision-making on behalf of the management. The previous government which may be a supervised to the previous government which may be a supervised government government which may be a supervised government gover

As one of the main goals of its political program, the 15<sup>th</sup> Slovenian government proposed the amendment to the act on the national radio and television that would disallow disproportional power of governmental coalition in setting up the management of the institution; at the same time, the unpopular acting leadership would resign. The amendment was confirmed in a referendum on November 27, 2022, and should be implemented in early 2023.<sup>16</sup>

However, even after the confirmation of the amendment in the parliament and the public approval of the changes in the referendum in November 2022, the political opposition-backed acting leadership of the RTVS refused to back down and resign while pointing out the unconstitutionality of the changes to the Radiotelevizija Slovenija act. Early in 2023, the representatives and supporters of the still-acting management board filed a motion against the changes to the Constitutional Court of Slovenia, citing questionable legality and potential

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Source: "Kaj prinaša novi zakon?" MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenija, accessed November 19, 2023, https://www.rtvslo.si/referendum-o-rtv/kaj-prinasa-novi-zakon/43432.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Among other sources, see "Slovenia: Concerns over controversial changes to RTV programming," Media Freedom Rapid Response, accessed November 19, 2023, <a href="https://www.mfrr.eu/slovenia-concerns-over-controversial-changes-to-rtv-programming/">https://www.mfrr.eu/slovenia-concerns-over-controversial-changes-to-rtv-programming/</a>; and STA, "Vodstvo RTVS obtožbe označuje kot neutemeljene," <a href="https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/vodstvo-rtvs-obtozbe-oznacuje-kot-neutemeljene/">https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/vodstvo-rtvs-obtozbe-oznacuje-kot-neutemeljene/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See "Slovenian referendum backs RTV SLO reforms," accessed November 19, 2023, <a href="https://www.ebu.ch/news/2022/12/slovenian-referendum-backs-rtv-slo-reforms">https://www.ebu.ch/news/2022/12/slovenian-referendum-backs-rtv-slo-reforms</a>; and Sebastijan R. Maček, STA, "Slovenian government victorious in opposition-led referendum vote," *Euractiv*, November 28, 2023, <a href="https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/slovenian-government-victorious-in-opposition-led-referendum-vote/">https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/slovenian-government-victorious-in-opposition-led-referendum-vote/</a>.

unconstitutionality of the amendment, especially regarding the forced resignation of the previous management on the implementation of the legal changes. In February 2023, the Constitutional Court suspended the implementation of the amendments. <sup>17</sup> The conflict regarding the RTVS Act has been seen as a conflict of opposing ideological political positions and the operation of the Constitutional Court drew criticism due to the possible political bias of some of the judges. <sup>18</sup>

On May 26, 2023, the suspension of the implementation of the amendment to the Radiotelevizija Slovenija Act was lifted and the new management board could be constituted.<sup>19</sup> In August 2023, the new leadership of the RTVS headed by the president of the board Zvezdan Marič started its work; alongside Martič, the board of directors now includes Simon Kardum, Andrej Trček, and the representative of the employees Franci Pavšar.<sup>20</sup> From the start of its term, it became clear that both the new management board and the rest of the leadership team intends to pursue a politics of low tolerance for the supporters of the previous regime and some of the high risers during the previous leadership of the institution, including some notable reporters of the national television, quickly saw their positions demoted.<sup>21</sup>

That being said, it is believed that the new leadership tends to cherish merit rather than political stance in the distribution of critical positions and is promoting the freedom of information and greater political neutrality. Nevertheless, the aggressive stance toward the supporters of the previous regime has raised some concerns, especially due to the seemingly uncompromising stance and wave of demotions on behalf of the acting director of Television Slovenia Polona Fijavž which may betray continuous politicization - however, this could very

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See K. J., "Constitutional Court stops implementation of new RTV Slovenija Act," *MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenija*, February 20, 2023, <a href="https://www.rtvslo.si/radio-si/news/constitutional-court-stops-implementation-of-new-rtv-slovenija-act/658558">https://www.rtvslo.si/radio-si/news/constitutional-court-stops-implementation-of-new-rtv-slovenija-act/658558</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See e.g. STA, "Gregorčič vložil predlog za izločitev ustavne sodnice iz odločanja o zakonu RTVS," *N1*, March 30, 2023, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/na-mizi-ustavnih-sodnikov-znova-pobuda-za-ustavno-presojo-novele-zakona-o-rtvs/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/na-mizi-ustavnih-sodnikov-znova-pobuda-za-ustavno-presojo-novele-zakona-o-rtvs/</a>; and D. K., STA, "Vlada ustavnemu sodišču predlaga izločitev Jakliča," *SiolNET*, April 5, 2023, <a href="https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/vlada-ustavnemu-sodiscu-predlaga-izlocitev-jaklica-603555">https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/vlada-ustavnemu-sodiscu-predlaga-izlocitev-jaklica-603555</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Source: M. Z., La. Da., "Ustavno sodišče odpravilo začasno zadržanje vladnega zakona o RTV Slovenija," *MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenija*, May 26, 2023, <a href="https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/ustavno-sodisce-odpravilo-zacasno-zadrzanje-vladnega-zakona-o-rtv-slovenija/669609">https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/ustavno-sodisce-odpravilo-zacasno-zadrzanje-vladnega-zakona-o-rtv-slovenija/669609</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See M. Z., "Delo začenja nova štiričlanska uprava RTV Slovenija," *MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenija*, August 17, 2023, https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/delo-zacenja-nova-stiriclanska-uprava-rtv-slovenija/678279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See e.g. A. P. K., "Luka Svetina ne bo več voditelj Odmevov, Plaskanova ne bo več vodila Dnevnika," *SiolNET*, September 22, 2023, <a href="https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/luka-svetina-ne-bo-vec-voditelj-odmevov-plaskan-ne-bo-vec-vodila-dnevnika-616223">https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/luka-svetina-ne-bo-vec-voditelj-odmevov-plaskan-ne-bo-vec-vodila-dnevnika-616223</a>.

well be only necessary acts of a long-term depoliticization.<sup>22</sup> It is nevertheless of no doubt that the behavior of the new RTVS leadership in many ways reflects the first acts of the 15<sup>th</sup> government which immediately set out to undo political and social changes as well as personnel installed by the previous government.

The success of the new management is especially vital due to two factors: the unexpected and shocking death of the popular and celebrated Slovenian satirist and presenter on Radio and Television Slovenia Sašo Hribar who was a critical figure in the program of the RTVS; and the problematic situation regarding the 15<sup>th</sup> government, who is supportive of and politically compatible with a large part of the current RTVS leadership. As the action against the previous regime and the implementation of the amendment to the Radiotelevzija Slovenija Act has been an important part of the political program of the 15<sup>th</sup> Slovenian government, the success of the new regime, based upon the enacted legal changes, will be of high political importance for the future of the (ailing) government – especially in the light of its current struggles.

#### The lack of reforms and the fall in support for the current government

In the final stages of 2022, as the government was still riding on the support from the election and the possibility of satisfaction of lofty public expectations still looked promising, Prime Minister Robert Golob announced 2023 to be the "year of reforms". However, in the first months of 2023 public support for the work of the government started to wane after internal issues, outside pressure, and the lack of clear results – including slow progress regarding practically any of the many proposed reforms, including the critical reforms in health, education, and economic sectors.

During 2023, significant pressure started to be generated for the leading coalition as the issues mounted, many of them related to the lack of progress regarding critical social reforms and the opaque manner of public communication, frequently due to the inability of the government to show actual results regarding the development of the reforms. Prime Minister

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See e.g. N1, I. M., "O šikaniranju, pogromih, eksekucijah ... obračunavanjem na TVS ni videti konca," *N1*, September 27, 2023, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/o-sikaniranju-pogromih-eksekucijah-obracunavanjem-na-tvs-ni-videti-konca/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/o-sikaniranju-pogromih-eksekucijah-obracunavanjem-na-tvs-ni-videti-konca/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See e.g. STA, "Premier Golob za leto reform državljanom zaželel pozitivno energijo in pogum," *N1*, December 30, 2023, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/golob-v-novoletni-poslanici-vlada-v-slovensko-druzbo-vrnila-obcutek-normalnosti/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/golob-v-novoletni-poslanici-vlada-v-slovensko-druzbo-vrnila-obcutek-normalnosti/</a>.

Golob was particularly hit by criticism due to his comments regarding the state and prospects of some of the reforms.<sup>24</sup>

While it is true that there have been severe external obstacles (including the ongoing energy crisis with high inflation and the devastating floods in Slovenia in August), it seems safe to say that the performance of the government regarding the announced reform has so far been disappointing which has reflected on the public support for its work.

The health reform has been particularly highlighted as being critical due to the poor condition of the Slovenian health system with overly long waiting times for medical services and with many people without a personal doctor. <sup>25</sup> After the apparent failure of the first interventional act that was supposed to remedy the situation in November 2022, a year new interventional act was confirmed by the government that is supposed to contribute to greater accessibility and efficiency of the health system. Among other things, the proposal envisages expanding the list of beneficiaries of the allowance for choosing a specialization in family medicine. <sup>26</sup>

The new act has been heavily criticized by the members of the medical community,<sup>27</sup> and the health reform, including the seminal reform of the medical insurance policy in Slovenia, remains a work in (slow) progress without clear solutions for critical issues in sight.

The main issue for the government regarding the lack of updates on reforms is that their support heavily relies on the success of the attempts at the improvement of the social situation in Slovenia, as they were considered a cornerstone of the 15th Slovenian governmental coalition's political program.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For example, see Barbara Eržen, "Neznosna lahkotnost potez Roberta Goloba," *Delo*, March 30, 2023, <a href="https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/neznosna-lahkotnost-potez-roberta-goloba/">https://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/neznosna-lahkotnost-potez-roberta-goloba/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Consult "Z ukrepi interventne zakonodaje do večje dostopnosti zdravstvenih storitev," Portal GOV.SI, accessed November 826, 2023, <a href="https://www.gov.si/novice/2022-11-21-z-ukrepi-interventne-zakonodaje-do-vecje-dostopnosti-zdravstvenih-storitev/">https://www.gov.si/novice/2022-11-21-z-ukrepi-interventne-zakonodaje-do-vecje-dostopnosti-zdravstvenih-storitev/</a>; or "Težave v zdravstvu," *Delo*, accessed November 26, 2023, <a href="https://www.delo.si/mnenja/pisma-bralcev/tezave-v-zdravstvu/">https://www.delo.si/mnenja/pisma-bralcev/tezave-v-zdravstvu/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Source: STA, "Vlada sprejela interventni zakon: spremembe tudi pri bolniških," *N1*, November 24, 2023, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/vlada-sprejela-interventni-zdravstveni-zakon-kaksne-resitve-prinasa/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/vlada-sprejela-interventni-zdravstveni-zakon-kaksne-resitve-prinasa/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See Dijana Zajec, "Je mogoče, da vlada z načrtovanimi interventnimi ukrepi na področju zdravstva želi stlačiti krog v kvadrat?" *Zdravstveniportal.si*, November 26, 2023,

https://www.zdravstveniportal.si/zdravstvo/politika/1053/zdravstvo-interventne-resitve; or Igor Dernovšek, "#video Prevolnik Rupel napoveduje dopolnitev spornega člena interventnega zakon v zdravstvu," *Dnevnik*, November 27, 2023, https://www.dnevnik.si/1043038208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Refer to "Program za delo koalicije," iusinfo.si, accessed November 19, https://www.iusinfo.si/download/razno/1652697215-KoalicijskaPogodba.pdf.

It is not only that the progress on reforms proper has been slow, but the responses of the government's representatives regarding the intended changes were sometimes inconsistent and confusing. For example, while Golob was keen last year about a full reconstruction of the departments of the government with the vast this year he indicated an intention to reduce its number of departments, perhaps in an attempt to have a more cohesive governmental team. Regardless of the agenda, the intention sent mixed signals to the public and may have additionally stirred the already conflicted situation in the government.<sup>29</sup>

The issues that the current government is experiencing have translated into a severe loss of public support for its work. After a promising start of the term, in early 2023, a significant decrease in support has already been recorded<sup>30</sup> which was followed by a period of slight improvement, likely due to the promising development regarding the insurance reform and the successful maneuvering in external policy and concerning external issues.<sup>31</sup>

In November 2023, all the issues accounted for one of the bigger slides in public support for the leading party and Prime Minister in Slovenian history compared to the state a year earlier.<sup>32</sup> In particular, Prime Minister Rober Golob is believed to be subject to the biggest decline in popularity in a similar time frame; among the main reasons for that appear to be issues between the ruling party and the Prime Minister's aggressive stance when meddling in party's affairs, his rhetoric and the lack of concrete results of the 15th government.

As of November 2023, as much as 54 percent of respondents rate the work of the government as negative, the largest coalition party Freedom Movement is supported by only

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See M. R., "Po dvigu števila ministrstev na 20 bi imel premier Golob sedaj sedem ministrov," *N1*, October 25, 2023, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/po-dvigu-stevila-ministrstev-na-20-bi-imel-premier-golob-sedaj-sedem-ministrov/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/po-dvigu-stevila-ministrstev-na-20-bi-imel-premier-golob-sedaj-sedem-ministrov/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See e.g. Zoran Potič, "Prvič več nezadovoljstva kot podpore," *Dnevnik*, January 16, 2023, <a href="https://www.dnevnik.si/1043005031">https://www.dnevnik.si/1043005031</a>; and G. K., "Raziskava: Nov padec podpore Golobovi vladi," *MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenije*, April 7, 2023, <a href="https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/raziskava-nov-padec-podpore-golobovi-vladi/664150">https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/raziskava-nov-padec-podpore-golobovi-vladi/664150</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Consult A. S., "Anketa: Podpora vladi zrasla prvič po štirih mesecih padanja," April 24, 2023, *MMC Radiotelevizije Slovenija*, <a href="https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/preberite-tudi/anketa-podpora-vladi-zrasla-prvic-postirih-mesecih-padanja/665928">https://www.rtvslo.si/slovenija/preberite-tudi/anketa-podpora-vladi-zrasla-prvic-postirih-mesecih-padanja/665928</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See M. P., "Golobova stranka po padcu podpore: Edini pravi pokazatelj so volitve," *24ur.com*, November 27, 2023, <a href="https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/golobova-stranka-po-padcu-podpore-edini-pravi-pokazatelj-podpore-so-volitve.html">https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/golobova-stranka-po-padcu-podpore-edini-pravi-pokazatelj-podpore-so-volitve.html</a>.

14.4 % of respondents, and the prime minister fell to the low 19th place out of 20 politicians that were ranked in terms of popularity in November.<sup>33</sup>

Regardless of background reasons for such a dramatic loss of popularity and general support for one's work, Golob and his Freedom Movement seem to be enduring hard times that are not unlike the situation that their predecessors had to cope with; the same predecessors that were the main reason for the success of the 15th government on the election and which have been the target of much of their political activity.

#### Conclusion

While it seems that even with the significant fall in support for the government, the latter is still likely to have time to attempt to produce at least some of its reforms, the current situation shows that even a majority government with excellent election results may fall victim to its own inability to rise past internal strife and produce reforms in the sectors which were traditionally notoriously difficult to hand and amend: the health and education sectors, and infrastructure policies.

The 15th government had a lot of social issues at stake on their agenda but may have been hampered as regards the implementation of solutions for the most glaring problems (such as affordable housing) due to unfortunate circumstances out of their control, such as the August floods. Nevertheless, the current inefficiency of the government is seen and can be a cause of some concern even for its avid supporters.

Despite the above, the government still enjoys a solid internal reputation and Slovenia appears to be on the right track regarding its social and economic development; this may at the very least buy some more time for the government to sort out the glaring issues it currently experiences and produce the results in the form of the reforms the Slovenian society certainly needs. After all, the social program of the current coalition seems to still enjoy the support of a significant part of the population and is likely still the program that Slovenia needs – even if it is difficult to implement.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Source Marko Valadžija, "Analitiki o padcu podpore Golobu: Ponavlja se zgodba SMC, a v hujši obliki," *N1*, November 14, <a href="https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/analitiki-o-padcu-podpore-golobu-ponavlja-se-zgodba-smc-a-v-hujsi-obliki/">https://n1info.si/novice/slovenija/analitiki-o-padcu-podpore-golobu-ponavlja-se-zgodba-smc-a-v-hujsi-obliki/</a>.