

The promotion of the culture of defense in Spanish universities: Design evaluation of the collaboration Program of the Ministry of Defense

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Abstract. This article presents a design evaluation of the Collaboration with Universities Program of the Spanish Ministry of Defense, which represents the instrument for the planning and implementation of the public policy to promote the culture of defense in that field. From the perspective of the policy analysis, it assesses its rationality, relevance, internal coherence, and external coherence through various analytical techniques. On the one hand, this research is intended to deepen the knowledge of this policy and to evaluate the formulated alternative and, on the other hand, to offer a series of policy recommendations which could be useful for public decision-makers in the preparation of the new Culture of Defense Master Plan.

Keywords: Policy Analysis, Policy Evaluation, Culture of Defense, University, Spain Defense Policy.

Summary: 1. Introduction. 2. Theoretical and methodological approach. 3. University Partnership Program design evaluation. 3.1. A context of mutual suspicion and interests. 3.2. The PCU as an instrument for public action: objectives and actions. 3.3. Research results on the rationality, relevance and internal and external coherence of the program. 4. Conclusions. 5. Policy recommendations. Documents. Bibliography.

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1. Introduction

One of the most important axes of Spanish defense policy in the last two decades has been the promotion of the so-called culture of defense². The relevance of this public policy is reflected in its inclusion in the main legal-political documents on defense and security enacted in Spain since the 2000s: the White Paper on Defense of 2000, the national defense directives of the same date (2000 [directive that first formulated this policy in 2000], and the directives since the same date (2000 [directive that formulated this policy for the first time], 2004, 2008 and 2012), the Strategic Defense Review of 2003, the National Defense Act of 2005, the national security strategies published in 2011 and 2013 respectively, and the National Security Act of 2015. It has also been a component of the Spanish military transformation process (Colom, 2011).

In order to define and shape the process of implementing this policy, between 2002 and 2003 the Defense Culture Master Plan (hereinafter, PDCD, so called after the Spanish initials) and its respective derived plans were published, each dedicated to specific sectors of action: the Social Communication Plan, the Plan for Collaboration with the Educational System, the Society - Armed Forces Plan, the Public Administration Collaboration Plan, the Cultural Action Plan and the Research Plan. Since that date, they have remained in force and are therefore still being implemented.

This public intervention initiative targeted universities and the then budding population of analysts and researchers in the area of international security and defense studies. The reason was twofold: on the one hand, to be key actors in disseminating knowledge and raising awareness of the importance of such policies; on the other, to nurture a scientific muscle that, at the time, was understood to be weak given the scarce number of both think-tanks and related subjects in university curricula. For these reasons, within the derived Plan for Collaboration with the Education System (PCSE, hereinafter), a Program for Collaboration with Universities (PCU) was specifically drawn up, whose objective, among others, is to "promote study, debate and research [...] on issues related to peace, security and defense". And related to the same objectives, the derived Research Plan and its corresponding programs.

The evolution of this public policy has justified its analysis in various works, including: the "Working Paper" by Marrero Rocha (2007) for the Alternativas Foundation; two monographs by the Universities of Granada (Trujillo and García Sistac, 2006) and Córdoba (López Mora and Ballesteros, 2011), respectively, in collaboration with defense organizations; an "International Course of Defense" by the Ministry of Defense (AA.VV., 2014); two "Cuadernos de Estrategia" of the Spanish Institute of Strategic Studies (2011, 2015); as well as two monographic issues of the journal ARBOR (Ballesteros and Fernández Vargas, 2008; Fernández Vargas and Rodríguez-Toubes, 2014). It has also been the subject of regular attention in documents published by analysis centers and the specialized press.

This prolific production shows the relevance of this public policy. In general, these texts have focused on its conceptualization or characterization, or on the explanation and dissemination of many of the actions and activities carried out. The informative, rather than scientific, approach of most of these works is the predominant note.

There are numerous articles that explain the relationship between Spanish universities and the Armed Forces (FAS), but there is a lack of in-depth research on its development process and effects. There is a clear deficit in terms of its study from the discipline of Political Science and Administration and, in particular, from the field of analysis and evaluation of public policies. This circumstance coincides, however, with a scarce scientific production in general on Spanish defense policy (Jordán, 2017). Only the works by Marrero Rocha (2011) and García Palomero (2014), without being evaluation research *sensu stricto* or explicitly framed within the field of political science, offer some data on the promotion of defense culture in the university environment and its results³. Both works, together with the analysis of articles published in specialized Spanish journals or the working groups on security and defense set up for the biannual congresses of the Spanish Association of Political Science and Administration (Bueno, 2017), allow us to appreciate, despite everything, the progress of this topic in Spanish university classrooms.

As a corollary, in the absence of this type of research on these culture of defense plans and programs, it is considered useful to evaluate the fundamental instruments of their programming, which have shaped the entire development of this public policy. To this end, this article applies a design evaluation to the constituent elements of the PCU. The aim is twofold: on the one hand, to assess its structure and logical organization, obtaining information on its content and deepening knowledge about the policy of promoting culture of defense; on the other hand, to recommend diverse improvements to the program. The latter was established in response to the publication in December 2017 of a new National Security Strategy⁴ and the Ministry's intention to draw up a new Culture of Defense Master Plan, as announced by the minister in

² Also referred to as culture of security and defense, culture of security, or culture of national security. This panoply of different voices illustrates the terminological adaptation to a constantly changing reality in the field of security and defense.

³ Marrero Rocha's work, based in part on a questionnaire to various academics, points out how the policy of promoting culture of defense has been one of the factors in the consolidation of these studies in Spain. García Palomero, for his part, focuses on the analysis of published doctoral theses: one of his conclusions is the absence of research at this level on these subjects.

⁴ The 2017 National Security Strategy, like that of 2013, from its comprehensive approach, includes national defense among its strategic lines of action, and with it the promotion of a culture of defense.

charge of the portfolio, M^a Dolores de Cospedal, in her appearance before the Senate Defense Committee in February 2017 (Ministry of Defense, 2017: 12).

The structure of the article is as follows: first, the theoretical approach and methodology are presented. The third section explains the key features of the policy and how it has been deployed in the field of higher education. The next section presents the design evaluation carried out. Finally, a number of conclusions are offered to guide the final policy recommendations.

2. Theoretical and methodological approach

The twofold objective of this article is guided by the dual perspective that underpins policy analysis, which is directed towards the contents and processes of policies, either to increase knowledge about them or to improve decision-making (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). These attributes contribute to its descriptive, explanatory, prescriptive or normative character. This dual orientation, originally defined by Harold D. Lasswell (1970) as knowledge of (analysis of) policy and knowledge in (analysis for), has guided the research carried out, interested in both knowledge about the development of culture of defense promotion policy and its improvement.

For its part, policy evaluation, as an integral part of policy analysis, not only includes this approach, but is situated at “the frontier between analysis of and analysis for policies” (Pérez Sánchez, 2005: 60). Under these coordinates, evaluative research (Briones, 1991; Bartolomé, 1998, Trinidad, 1995) aims to generate knowledge and improve the state of the art of the policy in question (Rossi and Freeman; Rutman, 1984b), as well as to support the decision-making process of public intervention (Weiss, 1972; Chelimsky, 1987). In this way, its academic use is linked to applied social research (Agencia de Evaluación y Calidad [AEVAL], 2010), a logic that, as mentioned, guides this work. The analysis and evaluation of public policies, in its quest to generate relevant information on a given problem (Ballart, 1992), is ultimately conceived as a field of scientific research and as a working method (Mèny and Thoening, 1992).

Under this reasoning, the reflective activity involved in evaluation (Bartolomé, 1995, in Trinidad, 1995; Nirenberg, 2013; Gutiérrez Díaz, 2014) is characterized by the systematic and applied application of the theories and research methods of the Social Sciences (Anguera and Moscoso, 2008; Ballart, 1992; Fernández-Ballesteros, 1996), from which its multidisciplinary derives (AEVAL, 2010). Evaluation is situated on a *continuum* between its “rational” construction (Weiss, 1987: 47) and its “creativity” as a “conceptual process” (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 1985: 44-45). Its purpose is to obtain valid, reliable, sufficient and relevant data (Aguilar Idáñez and Ander-Egg, 1994) in order to assess the actions of the public authority. These are, therefore, the postulates that preside over this research.

Likewise, the evaluation carried out is part of the academic current (Alvira, 1991; Aguilar Idáñez and Ander-Egg, 1994; Cirera and Vélez, 2009; Alemán and Trinidad, 2012; Gutiérrez Díaz, 2014) that conceives evaluative research not only as the analysis, interpretation, knowledge and judgement on the results and effects, but also on the needs that motivate the intervention, its conceptualization and design, its implementation processes and the instruments used.

In particular, it studies and evaluates the design of the PCU of the PCSE, itself derived from the PDCD. This systematic and applied research reviews the components and the way in which the intervention has been articulated (Cicera and Vélez, 2000), carrying out a logical analysis of the program in relation to the problem it seeks to solve: in this case, the PCU attempts to respond to the problem, as understood by Defense decision-makers, of the Spanish university community's lack of culture of defense. Based on the investigation of its constituent elements (Gutiérrez Díaz, 2014), it provides information to estimate the extent to which the program design serves the stipulated objectives, as well as to further understand and explain how public interventions are developed (GV, n.d.). Ultimately, this evaluation aims to answer the question of whether it is “the best possible alternative to respond to the needs addressed by the policy” (Alemán and Trinidad, 2012: 133).

To do so, it judges the formal and potential relevance, the intrinsic rationality (AEVAL, 2010; GV, n.d.), as well as the internal (Aguilar Idáñez and Ander-Egg, 1994) and external (Cirera and Vélez, 2000; GV, n.d.) coherence of the program. In general, the first two dimensions link the nature and characteristics of the problem identified with the objectives set. Coherence refers to the analysis of the hierarchy of objectives (internal) and the strategy followed in relation to other intervention programs (external).

In particular, each of these dimensions focuses on different aspects: rationality assesses the veracity and quality of the diagnosis, analyzing the problems described and noting whether they are explicit, clear, rigorous, complete and measurable, as well as the sources of information used for their enunciation. Relevance, on the other hand, studies the quality of the program's objectives in order to verify whether they are “valid for what the program is trying to achieve” (Rutman, 1984a: 29), indicating how they are defined (and whether they admit interpretations or not), whether they respond to a single goal, whether they are clear and concrete, whether each one corresponds to a single result or product, and whether a time limit is foreseen for their achievement. With regard to internal coherence, this analyzes the logic of programming and the hierarchy of objectives. Finally, external coherence assesses the degree of correspondence between the program under evaluation and other interventions being implemented in the same temporal or

physical-territorial space.

In terms of the characteristics of the research carried out, it is characterized as an external evaluation⁵, proactive⁶, produced during the life of the program⁷, formal and substantial⁸, and partial⁹. With regard to the methodological approach, a qualitative one was chosen, following the consolidated criterion of Amezcua and Jiménez Lara (1996) of applying qualitative techniques for design evaluation. The study of the qualitative secondary information has been carried out on the basis of the strategic legal-political documents listed and applicable to the PCU, as well as a bibliographic study to analyze the context (Pérez-Llantada and López de la Llave, 1999). Considering at the same time the multidisciplinary (Alvira, 1991), open and flexible (AEVAL, 2010) nature of the evaluation, different technical tools have been selected to assess the above dimensions: indicators and problem diagram for rationality; SWOT analysis for relevance; objectives tree for internal coherence; and matrix for assessing the compatibility of the intervention with other programs (Research and Dissemination of Strategic Issues of Interest and Historical Research programs) for external coherence.

3. University Partnership Program design evaluation

3.1 A context of mutual suspicion and interests

The policy of promoting culture of defense began to be defined in the 1990s. Its main interest lay in ensuring that society was aware of the general lines of national defense and had more information about Spain's commitments in the framework of international security. Spain's international isolation, together with a still emerging Political Science (Jerez Mir and Luque)¹⁰, among other factors, meant that subjects related to military studies, defense or international security were in a state of research and analysis that was, at best, incipient. Moreover, historical conditioning factors, for social, political, and military reasons, were a reason for suspicion, if not outright rejection, of "the military". Hence, in its first precedents, such as the National Defense Directive I/1006, the need was stated to "strengthen the harmony between society and its armies on the basis of greater knowledge".

All these conditioning factors were present in university classrooms and faculties. The reasons for this "mismatch" can be framed in four key variables (Bueno, 2016a): the historical reasons already mentioned, epistemological dissonances¹¹, the military institutional culture¹² and the late interest in Spain in security and defense studies, which is largely the result of the aforementioned isolation.

The initiative to try to reverse this situation attained the status of public defense policy with the publication in 2000 of the Defense White Paper and the Defense Directive, documents of a top-level political-strategic nature that officially defined it as an objective of Spanish defense policy. At the same time, the Directorate General for Institutional Relations (DIGERINS) was created in 2001, under the General Secretariat for Defense Policy (SEGENPOL). DIGERINS was responsible for the planning and development of the Ministry's cultural policy and for institutional relations with other state bodies and institutions, such as the universities themselves.

This Directorate General was in charge of drawing up the PDCD as a planning instrument to organize and structure the objectives, principles, management and coordination bodies, and areas of action of each of the derived plans. In turn, these plans establish in a concatenated manner the principles, objectives, programs, actions, etc., to be developed in each designated sector. The DIGERINS, the Defense General Staff and the Army and Navy Headquarters were responsible for drawing up the derived plans. Among them, the PCU, within the framework of the PCSE.

The implementation of these plans and programs came under the responsibility of several organizations: integrated then in the Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies (IEEE)¹³, the Sub-Directorate General for

⁵ A requirement highlighted by Alemán and Trinidad (2012).

⁶ Since a number of *policy recommendations* are also set out in the final section.

⁷ Although the literature recommends that design evaluations should be ex-ante, the research objectives force it to be carried out with this approach, also assuming that "evaluation, regardless of when it is carried out, can cover all stages of the intervention" (GV, n.d.:14) and that, therefore, this does not imply an element of distortion.

⁸ Since it looks at the internal components of the program and judges the relevance of the program or coherence between its different components.

⁹ The research is limited to the PCU and its relation to two of the programs of the Research Plan, and not to the PDCD as a whole.

¹⁰ Although international security and defense are multidisciplinary fields of research, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world they have usually been framed within the discipline of Political Science.

¹¹ Referring to those academic sectors that, from anti-militarist ideological positions, rejected university relations with the military and even the very legitimacy of research into military affairs or strategic studies.

¹² Related to the military's reluctance to allow civilians to discuss issues related to the military sphere due to the institution's particular and distinct values in relation to society.

¹³ Subsequently, in 2012, the IEEE was reincorporated into the organizational structure of the CESEDEN, with functional dependence on SEGENPOL for the dissemination of security and culture of defense. With this mechanism, SEGENPOL is responsible

Historical and Artistic Heritage and the Sub-Directorate General for Social Relations and Defense Communication; the Higher Centre for National Defense Studies (CESEDEN); and finally, in their respective areas of competence, the General Staff and the General Staff of the Army and the Navy. The latter in turn implied that the different units spread throughout the territory would be in charge of participating in or promoting activities linked to the dissemination of defense culture in their geographical area.

This configuration has made it possible to conclude agreements between the respective universities of reference (based mainly on territorial criteria), not only with these central defense bodies, but also with military academies, training centers and research units. This is because the PCU considered that university autonomy, as well as the efforts that have been made since the 1990s to promote this type of action in university centers, would favor such collaboration. On the other hand, it was also seen as an incentive for universities to accept these relations for their own interests, that is, in order not to remain on the margins of the disciplinary consolidation that international security issues enjoyed. These studies experienced a strong expansion after the end of the Cold War (Buzan and Hansen, 2009).

3.2 The PCU as an instrument for public action: objectives and actions

The objectives of the PCU are not listed separately but are subsumed under those of the PCSE. These objectives are oriented towards the need to generate knowledge on security and defense issues, commitment to international peace or membership of security cooperation organizations such as NATO. Specifically, the aim is to promote study, debate and research among university students. Logically, these aims fit in with the objective of the PDCD to promote such activities on peace, defense and security issues. In addition, it wants to train experts with security and defense expertise to participate in the public debate. This is not limited to universities, although their academics would obviously be an integral part of those contributing to Spanish strategic thinking.

Regarding specific actions to be implemented, it refers mainly to the consolidation and expansion of the volume of seminars, summer courses, conferences, etc., that are held, as well as to increasing the number of chairs, postgraduate degrees or subjects in the degrees. Generally speaking, it sets itself the task of providing military speakers or subsidizing part of the activities. Its focus is on university centers, regardless of their public or private nature or location¹⁴.

On the other hand, the PCU must be linked, as mentioned above, with the Research Plan and its derived programs: 1) the Sociological Surveys and Studies Program; 2) the Research and Dissemination of Strategic Issues of Interest Program; and 3) the Historical Research Program. The latter two are more closely related to academia and have therefore been analyzed here to assess the external coherence of the PCU¹⁵. However, the Research Plan is broader, as it also targets think-tanks and counterpart institutions in order to stimulate an increase in the number of security and defense analyses and events.

The other two programs emphasize the role that universities can play in promoting research topics in their fields of activity. These programs, with a similar structure to the PCU, propose a series of actions along similar lines¹⁶: holding specialized research conferences and seminars, setting up working groups at the CESEDEN and the IEEE to consolidate these areas of work, holding summer courses and encouraging doctoral theses. The aim of these actions is to ensure that collaboration between universities and the Spanish Armed Forces fosters research in these areas.

3.3. Research results on the rationality, relevance and internal and external coherence of the program

a) Rationality

In order to better understand the intrinsic rationality of the program, the diagnosis of the problems covered

for signing all agreements and grants with the different universities, while the IEEE supports these actions. In this way, national and international congresses, conferences, summer courses, master's degrees, etc. have been set up.

¹⁴ It is worth mentioning an express mention of its special promotion in the faculties of Information Sciences, under the premise that their students, future communicators and journalists, could offer better and more complete information to public opinion on these matters. With this premise, the specific purpose of this public policy to influence public opinion can also be seen, in greater abundance with the derived Social Communication Plan, aimed at these professionals and with similar aims.

¹⁵ The first program, Surveys and Sociological Studies, is not analyzed in this article, on the understanding that those responsible for it decided to approach it from a different perspective than that of collaboration with universities. Of course, sociologists and other academics can make a significant contribution to identifying the indicators and motivations that explain the interest or lack thereof, appreciation or disaffection, for security and defense issues, and the military in particular. However, the program concentrates on the work of other institutions, such as think-tanks (at a time when few such think-tanks existed or were beginning to be created); Without wishing to be exhaustive, the Strategic Studies Group, the Institute of International Issues and Foreign Policy, and the Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies should be highlighted here) or public research centers (such as the Sociological Research Center and its survey «National Defense and the Armed Forces», commissioned since 1997 by the Ministry of Defense) and, in particular, it is directed towards work commissioned by the Ministry.

¹⁶ However, it is noted that the activities will fall under the derived Research Plan as long as they have not been previously set out in the PCSE.

by the PDCD has been studied, as neither the PCSE nor the PCU devotes any section to this issue. First of all, it analyses the quality of the problem definition; secondly, the diagnostic analysis set out in the plan is examined.

Table 1. Quality of problem definition.

		Indicators					
		Explicit	Clear	Rigorous	Complete	Measurable	Info sources
Problems	Lack of adequate national defense awareness	-	-	+/-	-	+	+/-
	Some reluctance to engage in defense and arms investments	-	-	-	+/-	+	+/-
	Sense of non-existence of threats	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-
	Sense that risks are unrelated to security and defense	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-
	Impact on Defense's perception of the professionalization of the armed forces	-	-	-	-	+	+/-
	The risk of participating in European integration while neglecting security and defense issues	-	-	-	-	+	+/-

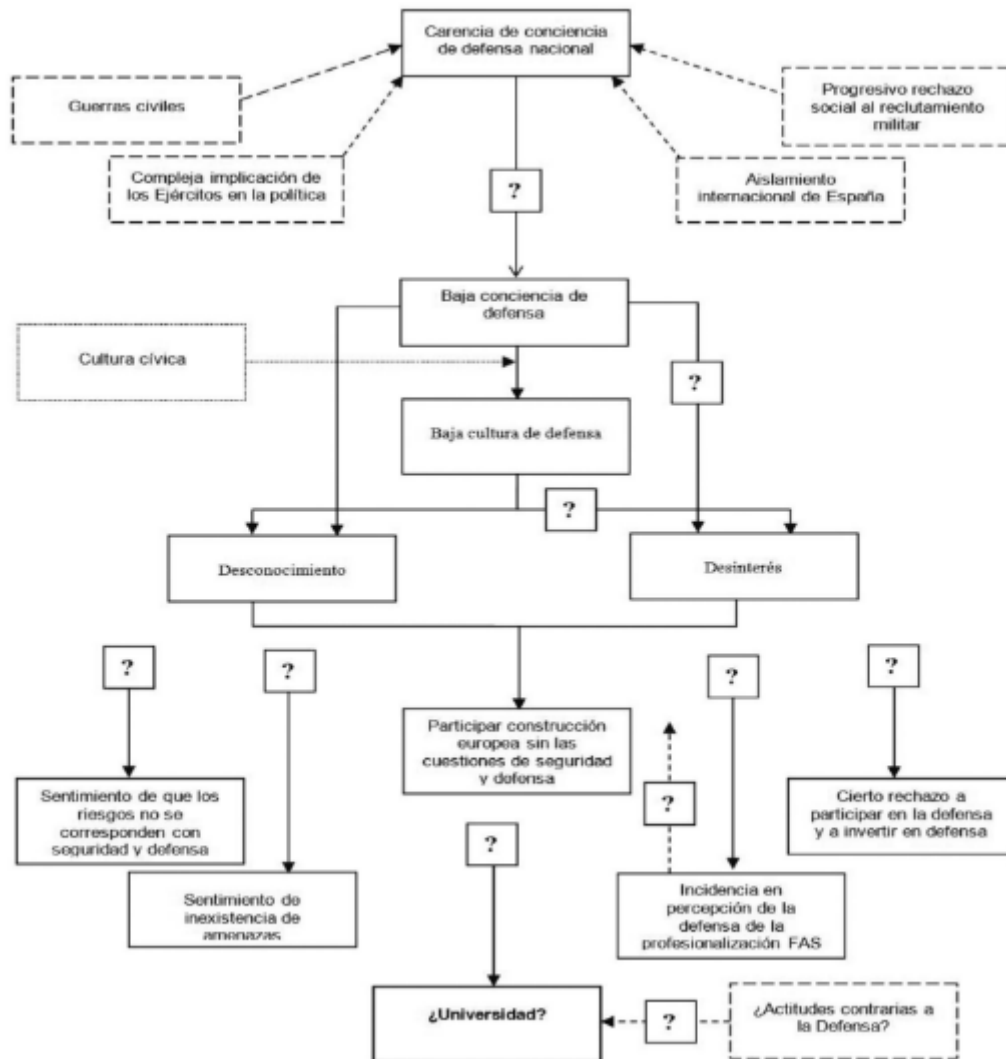
Own elaboration. The values given set three positions: adequate conceptualization of the problem (+), deficient (-), or correct but subject to improvement (+/-).

*Meaning of indicators: Explicit: highlighted and not included in a discursive structure. Clear: unambiguous about their content. Rigorous: they provide a "true picture" of the target population. Complete: they exhaustively characterize the reality of the object. Measurable: they must be quantified or, at least, measurable. Sources of information: the sources of information and work on the research work carried out for the diagnosis must be specified.

From the introduction of the PDCD it is possible to deduce up to six problems that are considered to require intervention, listed in Table 1. However, each one is open to different interpretations as to its nature and constituent elements, and their mere fitting into the narrative description makes it difficult to complete their definition or the relationship (if any) between them. This unclear description also affects its thoroughness and the population or objects that would be affected, given that there are only generic references to society or citizens, with no specific mention of the university community. The paper also does not go into conceptualizing the term defense culture, beyond a brief notion. The problem of "poor culture of defense" is not quantified, although it would be possible to measure it. The dimension concerning the sources of information used is also inadequate, as there is little specification of the references used ("analyses by thinkers and sociologists, opinion polls and sociological analyses")¹⁷.

¹⁷ Some authors, such as (Noya, 2013), claim that the problem of the scarce culture of defense is molded to a conservative bias in

Figure 1. Cause-effect diagram of the problem that is the object of public intervention.



Own elaboration. The cause-effect diagram determines this relationship from top to bottom. Effects are shown in bold, while causes are shown in dashed lines. The question marks show moments where the causal relationship is not or only weakly explained. "Civic culture" is shown with a dotted outline since it is not clear whether it is a cause or an effect of the problem, whether it is a problem to be solved or an element for its solution.

Another key dimension is the examination of the cause-effect relationship of the problem to which the plan and program seeks to respond, explained in Figure 1. The PDCD includes four causes of the "lack of national defense awareness", although it hints that there may be more; this lack of comprehensiveness is in itself a flaw. The introductory section mentions the lack of defense awareness as a final effect of a poor defense culture, which in turn is determined by the population's lack of interest in and ignorance of defense and security issues. It is not clear, therefore, which elements correspond to consciousness and which to culture¹⁸, or whether both are present in both dimensions. The paper concludes that this disinterest and lack of awareness can be an obstacle to participation in the European Union¹⁹. In this way, the other problems listed are disconnected from this possible lack of defense culture. Moreover, one of them, the "impact on

its conceptualization, due to the ideological positions of some of its early scholars.

¹⁸ The definition of the concepts of culture and defense awareness have been suffering from a terminological confusion that can hinder their correct understanding (Bueno, 2016b) and, with this, the formulation of alternatives to respond to the problem posed.

¹⁹ The implementation of this policy coincided with a time of deepening EU political union and the launch of various security and defense initiatives such as the Battlegroups and the increase in missions abroad.

professionalization"²⁰, is extremely ambiguous, as it is not easy to discern whether it is a problem of origin, as it seems to be presented, or an effect to be considered.

Finally, it should be noted that there is no specific mention of universities or the possible impact or otherwise of such deficits in this area. It can be seen, therefore, that despite having a specific collaboration program and two other related programs, this field of action is left without any reference whatsoever. This could have caused, for example, that specific problems for its implementation, such as the presence of attitudes of reluctance or suspicion of collaboration with the military among the university community, were not taken into account.

b) Relevance

The potential and formal relevance of the objectives set by the program is analyzed through a SWOT analysis.

From the examination of Table 2, the clarity and concreteness of the objectives stand out as strengths, as they adequately reflect the aim they pursue and correspond to a single purpose. Another strength lies in the fact that several of the objectives were already being developed through a number of the actions proposed in the program, such as the creation of university chairs or the holding of courses and conferences on these subjects²¹.

On the other hand, as opportunities, the objectives are adapted to the local particularities of their field of action or to how the implementation of the program evolves. This opportunity was nourished by the interest that these issues were arousing in the universities. In this sense, another incentive for the universities could be the possibility of receiving external subsidies for the implementation of these activities.

On the contrary, a number of weaknesses emerge that could have a particular impact on the evaluation of the effects of public intervention. This is caused by the way the objectives are formulated, which are always formulated using "weak" verbs ("support", "stimulate", "encourage" ...); for their measurement, it would be preferable for them to reflect specific actions aimed at measurable behaviors ("decrease", "increase" ...). This gives rise to another difficulty in determining the effectiveness of the plan: the mere promotion of an activity does not guarantee a result. To go further: even the increase in the number of conferences, seminars, lectures, etc., i.e. the products of the intervention, does not necessarily add information about its effects: perhaps we are working with individuals, teachers, or students, who already have a sensitivity and interest in these issues. Similarly, measurement of results can be complicated by the lack of timing in the objectives. The flexible nature of the program may have discouraged the setting of a date, at least tentative, for its implementation. However, this is a serious shortcoming in the long term, insofar as prolonging its action *sine die* avoids establishing a mandatory moment to review and evaluate it, and, with it, a moment to consider the need for reform, reformulation, etc. Finally, there are no indications on how to proceed with the implementation of the objectives. An incrementalist and clearly path-dependent approach can be seen, in line with the criteria, actions and collaboration formats that were already being developed. Therefore, the question arises as to how to implement, or under what criteria and conditions, other initiatives that do not have any previous precedent or reference.

Table 2. Quality of the objectives.

Internal Analysis	Weaknesses	Strengths
	Weak formulation Measurement complexity: easy to measure outputs, very difficult to measure outcomes No timetable is set No guidance on how to proceed	Concreteness Clarity Have only one purpose Several of them are already being implemented
External Analysis	Threats	Opportunities
	They do not provide for the existence of refractory currents or sectors. No funding specified	Flexibility Wide nature Easy development Attractive due to area interest

Own elaboration.

²⁰ It refers to the end of compulsory military service and the requirement to form a purely professional FAS, with no more replacement soldiers. The concern was therefore whether there would be sufficient human resources to respond to defense needs, considering that a significant part of society had no interest or disaffection for the army and military matters.

²¹ During the 1990s, various initiatives were launched within the framework of what would later become known as the promotion of defense culture, such as the creation of the General Gutiérrez Mellado University Institute and the creation of various university chairs with the support of the CESEDEN.

In terms of threats, the lack of an explicit allocation of resources (only a generic mention in the PDCD of the budget items concerned) or a clear hierarchy or distribution of the bodies in charge²² may lead to the underfunding of larger but less relevant actions or the overlapping of resources²³. Another threat to the proper functioning of this public policy is the difficulties in accessing the labor market for all those students who specialize in this field (Jordán, 2016), an issue that is completely overlooked in the program, is another threat to the proper functioning of this public policy. Lastly, and as already noted, here we also detect a lack of attention to those actors or university sectors with anti-defense and anti-military attitudes. Consequently, no actions are proposed to try to respond to this problem.

In conclusion, the SWOT analysis shows that the internal quality of the objectives is generally adequate. However, they also present elements of criticism: regarding the difficulty of evaluating them and determining their effects; regarding the professional options that this academic, extracurricular or research training could offer beyond the SAF itself; and, finally, regarding the possible resistance to their deployment.

c) Internal coherence

Internal coherence looks at the planning and hierarchical structure of the envisaged objectives. Figure 2 shows both the general objectives of the PDCD and the specific objectives of the PCSE, as well as the actions proposed in the PCU.

The analysis of internal coherence starts from a problem already detected in the study of the quality of the problem, which is the lack of conceptualization of the problem of the scarce defense culture in Spanish universities. However, based on the bibliographical analysis, it is possible to complete the assessment of the hierarchy of objectives.

At the first level of objectives there are some aspects that would require a revision of the design. The promotion of knowledge on peace, international security and defense would correspond to more than one objective of the PDCD. This dissonance is caused by the fact that it is not clear whether or not the promotion of this policy excludes the university from the field of education (since the general education system includes Compulsory Secondary Education and Baccalaureate-Vocational Training). It is explicitly presented for one (Objective b), but doubt remains with regard to the others (Objectives e, g, h), including the contribution to the shaping of strategic thinking or that of a community of experts.

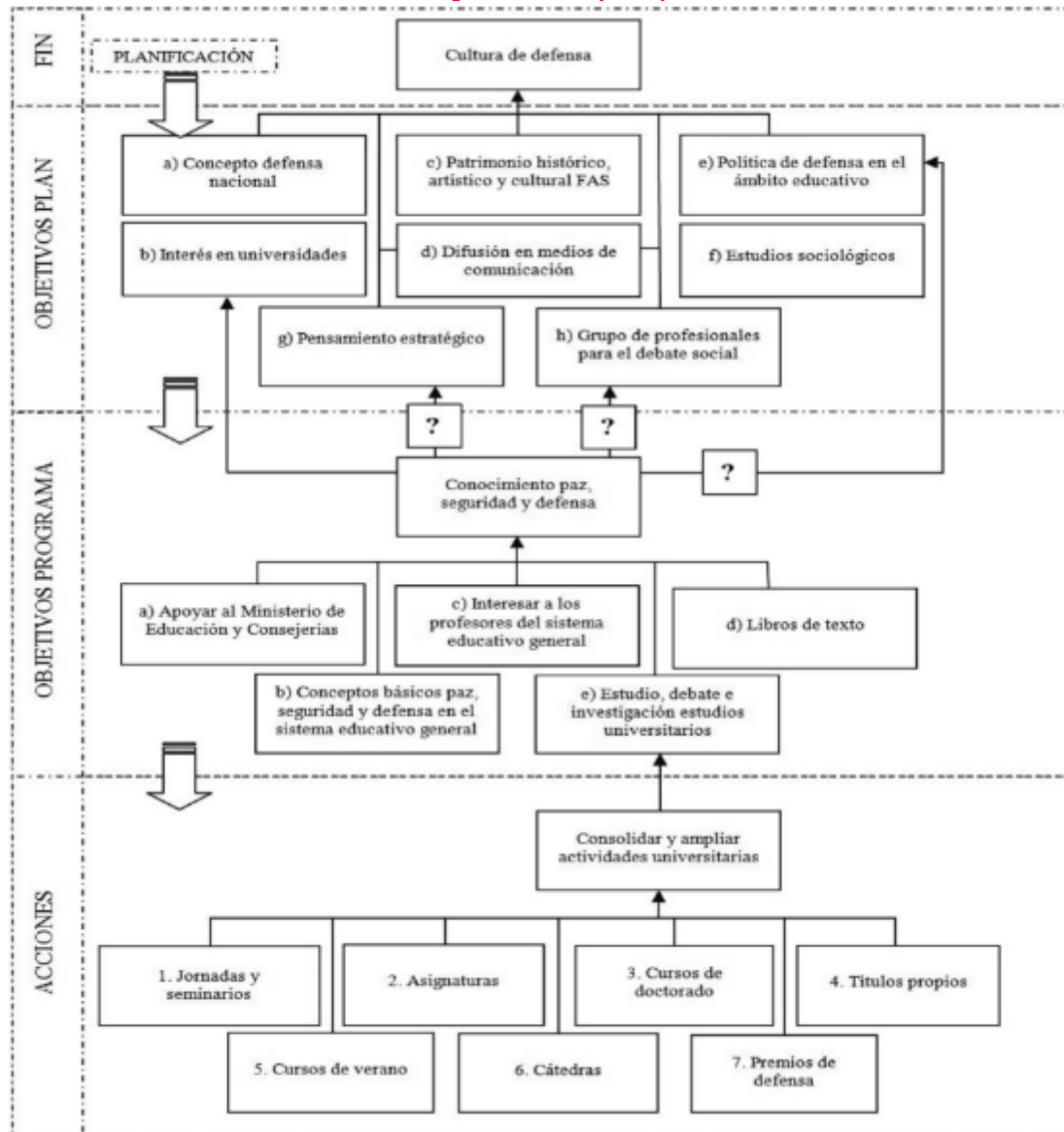
The latter two are paramount for the favorable development of the defense culture. However, it is not clear how they are interrelated. Only a careful and integrated reading of the PDCD, the PCSE and their respective programs allows for a better understanding of their configuration, which undermines the hierarchy and linearity of objectives. This lack of hierarchical linkage could lead to inadequate coordination of efforts, as it is logical to think that many of these objectives find common ground for their development²⁴.

²² Although the IEEE plays an essential role, above it are DIGERINS and SEGENPOL, the latter currently responsible for the Institute. Horizontally, other centers are also responsible for the promotion of defense culture in their respective geographic areas or areas of competence, as noted above.

²³ It is conceivable, for example, that, given the large number of universities in the Madrid region, together with the high concentration of centers linked to the Ministry of Defense, there would be an agglutination of activities in this region as opposed to an under-representation of other areas of Spain. As a consequence, objects or scenarios would be neglected due to a possible lack of coordination and prioritization of competences and resources.

²⁴ For example, if the PCU promotes the creation of chairs, doctoral theses or summer courses, it would seem positive that there would be a better fit with those other programs and objectives (Research and Dissemination of Strategic Issues of Interest, and Historical Research) that also promote research seminars or doctorates.

Figure 2. Hierarchy of objectives and actions.



Own elaboration. The arrowed lines establish a link, in this case bottom-up, between actions and objectives, and objective-objective, a relationship analyzed in the opposite direction to how implementation takes place.

d) External coherence

The external coherence of the program compares its objectives with those of other programs that are closely related to it, either because of their application in the same physical space or because of their simultaneity in time. In this case, the coherence between the PCU and the Research and Dissemination of Strategic Issues of Interest (PIDCE) and Historical Research (PIH) programs has been analyzed, a comparison shown in Table 3.

Table 3. External coherence of the programme.

	University Partnership Program	Research and Dissemination of Strategic Issues of Concern and Historical Research Programs
Overall objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting awareness of peace, security and defense issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing strategic thinking adapted to Spain's needs Encourage the study of historical topics about the armed forces.
Specific objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote study, debate and research among university students on issues related to peace, security and defense. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote research work, meetings and seminars with national and foreign experts and specialized centers. Promote historical research on the evolution of the FAS, the influence of its most prominent figures and lessons learned from conflicts.
Actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support universities in organizing conferences and seminars. Supporting universities in the programming and development of subjects Support the inclusion of specific modules in doctoral courses offered by universities. Support universities in the development of their own degrees aimed at training specialists. Offer collaboration for summer courses Supporting the creation and maintenance of specialized Chairs that will and coordinate the activities on these issues that are developed in the universities. Encourage greater participation in defense prizes for university research on defense, peace, security and military history. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supporting universities, institutes, foundations and study centers in the organization of specialized research seminars and conferences Maintain the organization of the CESEDEN and IEEE working groups and undertake improvements in the development of their contents with a view to achieving a greater appreciation and better dissemination of the work. Stimulate the study of military history in universities and other institutions involved in historical research. Courses on military history at leading summer universities. Stimulate the writing of doctoral theses on historical subjects through the promotion of university studies, the announcement of research grants, etc.

Own elaboration. Arrowed lines indicate the similarity or coincidence in objectives or actions between the programs.

In line with the final conclusions of the previous section, there is a clear overlap of objectives between the three plans. This is because the PCU is particularly focused on the training of students, while the PIDCE and the PIH are aimed at the teaching and research sector. This circumstance does not prevent us from assessing the clear convergence between them, both in their general and specific objectives. Therefore, it could be thought that the main differences would be evidenced in their respective levels of action. This is not the case. The actions of the PCU fit in with many of the actions foreseen for the other programs. They all share the promotion of seminars, conferences, summer courses, etc., as well as doctoral theses.

The only nuance is provided by the PIH, which obviously focuses on its area of study. Defense decision-makers wanted to devote special attention to history, arguing that ignorance of military history is one of the causes of poor defense culture. However, such a differentiated prioritization is surprising, when other disciplines are equally interested in the study of peace, international security and defense issues, and multidisciplinary research is nowadays a necessity.

On the other hand, it is difficult to understand the separation between the creation of chairs and the training of specialists, on the one hand, and the participation of experts from the academic field in Defense seminars and working groups, on the other. Clearly stating the complementarity of the two initiatives would certainly help them to feed into each other. Understanding the overlapping of objectives and actions could help to save efforts and synergies and avoid the concentration of actions in certain areas (see footnote 23).

4. Conclusions

The evaluative research on the design of the Ministry of Defense's University Partnership Program assessed four dimensions of its constituent elements: rationality, relevance, internal coherence and external coherence. After examining its rationality and relevance in relation to the PDCD and PCSE from which it derives, the first is judged critically and the second positively. The dimensions of coherence are ambivalent in their judgement. These considerations are detailed below.

The aim pursued by this policy can be deduced from the text of the plan and from a review of the bibliography. The PDCD presents a poorly enriched conceptualization of the problem to be addressed: its nature and characteristics are not described in depth and are easily interpreted from different points of view. This is something that any public intervention document should avoid. There is also a certain disorder in establishing cause and effect relationships. This raises the possibility that, in the course of program implementation, different approaches to collaborative projects may emerge or that aspects of the problem may remain uncovered. Of concern is the lack of any reference to the existence of attitudes against it or the reluctance to engage with the military and defense in universities. On the contrary, the policy's objectives are broadly well identified, probably because of the consensus on the goal to be achieved, i.e. the promotion of a culture of defense. This is the most positive dimension of the program. The main weakness of the objectives approach is the difficulty of evaluating the effects and results of the policy. To this end, the formulation of objectives should be concrete and measurable. Similarly, the lack of time limits makes it difficult to specify a point in time from which the plan or programs need to be revised. This leaves the door open for the decision-maker to have no pressure in this regard and, therefore, for the action program to be delayed over time without knowing whether or not the expected results are being achieved, or whether its implementation shows deviations from the initial plan. Indeed, this is the current situation: three decades after its publication, there has still been no revision of the PDCD.

With regard to the internal and external coherence of the program, two divergent conclusions can be drawn. The internal coherence of the program can be judged to be very good, as the objectives and the actions foreseen in the program are clearly articulated and have a logical structure. Moreover, there are no significant contradictions between the different levels, which reinforces this assessment. However, it would be desirable to be clearer about the connection between the objectives of the PCU and the PCSE and the overall objectives of the PDCD, as several objectives are interrelated, which could lead to distortions.

Regarding external coherence, it is felt that coordination between the PCU and the PIDCE and PIH, respectively, should be much stronger. Overlapping objectives do not correspond to greater cooperation between action initiatives; obedience to different objectives does not justify this. This results in a lack of continuity between the different stages of training, specialization and professionalization in universities, or a failure to link work in academia with the social and strategic debate on national security and defense issues.

In conclusion, and in response to the question of whether the alternative proposed is the best possible way to meet the needs raised, it can be considered that the plan and the program are appropriate, since the promotion and dissemination of culture of defense in Spanish universities present objectives that indicate the direction to follow and, for this reason, the actions planned are correct. However, it has several shortcomings in its formulation that should be remedied: 1) The conceptualization of the problem does not delve between causes and effects, which would weaken the deployment of public action; 2) It ignores the presence of refractory elements in university centers, a factor that would hinder its implementation; 3) It lacks a clear allocation or prioritization in the allocation of resources, which could lead to inefficiencies in their allocation; 4) It does not establish a timeframe to develop it and, then, proceed to its evaluation; 5) The work between the different competent agents is not coordinated.

5. Policy recommendations

In relation to the conclusions reached, in particular those critical elements of its programming, and the remaining assessments obtained from the evaluative research, a series of policy recommendations are now proposed that could be of use to public decision-makers in the process of drafting the new Culture of Defense Master Plan. This purpose is intended to indirectly serve the progress towards a greater evaluative culture in the Spanish Public Administration and, in particular, in the Defense Administration, as part of the "continuous process of rationalization and objectification" (Alvira, 2000: 231) in which they are immersed (Alvira, 2000: 231). Therefore, five policy recommendations are set out below, linked, on the one hand, to the objectives and actions to be implemented, and, on the other, to the very formulation of public intervention with a view to its future evaluation.

On the one hand, the deployment of the objectives would benefit from a deeper conceptualization of the concepts of defense culture and defense awareness, especially in order to determine the relationship between them, as well as to clearly delimit the causes of their possible absence and the effects. Understanding advocacy culture as an integral part of political culture, and thus the existence of different subcultures (Bueno, 2016b), will help to specify the subjects of policy attention.

In relation to the presence of different subcultures, it could be positive to pay attention to those sectors

of the university community most reluctant or opposed to the presence of the SAF in universities. Proposing actions to strengthen dialogue and interaction with these groups could be a tool to bring both positions closer together and thus enrich the public debate. Otherwise, we run the risk of 'convincing' those already convinced.

In this line, it is appropriate to propose innovations in some of the actions already implemented, moving away as far as possible from the incrementalism followed. Not because this is a wrong approach (on the contrary, it has successfully consolidated some of the initiatives launched in the 1990s), but because it creates uncertainty as to whether areas of potential interest or future goals are being overlooked. Related to this point, initiatives aimed at increasing the role of security and defense experts in the development of defense policy, through advisory, consultancy or research work, could be considered. This would activate and harness "culture of defense infrastructure" (Fojón, 2017) for the production of strategic thinking and analysis. Moreover, the equal attendance of civilian and military experts in professional, academic or social forums would project shared work and research and analytical synergies. Taking advantage of the current interest of universities in strengthening knowledge transfer to society can help in this endeavor.

In addition, mechanisms should be put in place to support the evaluation of the PDCD. This makes it necessary to implement evaluation processes throughout the plan's useful life, from the design evaluation itself to an evaluation of results. Quantifying the number of conferences, congresses or seminars held is undoubtedly an excellent indicator of the progress of the plan and the generation of defense culture products, but it is not enough. For this reason, qualitative measurement instruments must also be considered. For this purpose, it is essential to have a timeframe that establishes their review and thus address possible deviations or errors in their implementation. In this sense, the six-year period set by the defense planning cycle (OM 60/2015) for its review and revision could be emulated, with biannual periods for updating actions and activities.

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