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Journal R&R strives for innovative theoretical and empirical articles, which are trying to explain some subject from different (innovative) point of view in the field of social science and humanities.

Vsebina/Contents

Power and corporality in a London hostess club

Lung Mariana[1]

Abstract

The study is an extensive continuation of a research on the night-club institution in Romania and the condition of sex-worker women examined in terms of social and gender domination. Current research focuses on the relationship between power and corporality in a London organization whose sex-worker women are Romanian. The central idea is that power is social inscribed in their bodies, the stigma too, the relationship being analyzed in terms of delimiter institution (Goffman, 2004). The research question was whether the actors' behavior reflects rational pursuit of interests or this is shaped primarily by the organization/institution, controlling it and defining it. The research enriches the previous study with a comparative analysis between the Romanian and English organizations and with a more complete perspective on the night-club institution and on the condition of Romanian sex-worker women.

Key words: social/gender domination, power, corporality, sex-worker women, delimiter institution, stigma.

Introduction

The present study is a follow-depth research conducted five years ago on

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the night-club institution in Romania and the condition of sex worker women analyzed in terms of social and gender domination. This time, the research focuses on the relationship between power and corporality in the same type of institution, analyzed in a London organization whose sex worker female are Romanian.

The central idea of the study is that social power is inscribed in the body of sex worker women. This relationship is analyzed by focusing on panoptism, specific for the institutions with delimiter character that configures a permanent control over the sex worker female body, obeying it and transforming it. Theoretical ideas underlying this analysis are specific to the sociology of E.Goffman and M. Foucault and to sociology of organizations. Does the actors' behavior reflects pursuing rational interests and the exercise of conscious choice or is it shaped primarily by the organization, controlling it and defining it, incorporating the idea of previous research that the institution builds a negative model of the sex worker female in its speech and practices and perpetuates it? The analysis is based on rationality versus corporality relationship. It seeks a deeper understanding of the actions of social actors which undergo a process of smoothing, becoming docile, where the organization's interests prevail. Research brings completions by analyzing similar items of the night-club institution and those who are divergent dependent on the particularity of the organizations, by their rituals and meanings. Corporality is described from several perspectives in the relationship that is created inside the organization which I have called "space of the bodies". The organization becomes a "transparent booth" to present in a metaphorical way the concept of power, insisting on specific panoptic procedures.

Institutions and organizations. Fundamental theoretical perspectives

Institutions were early analyzed by the theorists of the social sciences but organizations as distinct social forms were later given importance.

A leading figure in the beginnings of institutional analysis is Philip Selznick, his vision about institutional processes being influenced by the writings of Merton. He stressed the distinction between the organization *as ''structural expression of rational action''* (Scott, 2004: 43), as a mechanical tool, designed to achieve certain goals, and organization perceived as a living and adaptable system, affected by the social characteristics of its members and environmental pressures. Organizations are transformed into a moment in time in institutions. Selznick says that *''organizations are social systems, objectives and procedures tend to acquire an established status of value impregnated [....] they become institutionalized."* (Ibid. pp. 43-44). He defines institutionalization as a process: *''is what happens over time in an organization and reflects its specific history [...]. In the deepest sense, to institutionalize is to infuse value beyond the technical requirements of the task time.''* (Ibid p. 44).

The study of organizations was originally developed in two different directions (Lafaye, 1998). The first direction imposed by Talcott Parsons, put the foundations of a theoretical formalization of the structure of formal organizations and their position in the social structure that includes them. The second direction imposed by James March and Herbert Simon focuses on the behavior of the members of the organizations. Subsequent studies have sought to reduce the distances between these first lines, Michel Crozier focusing on issues of power, studying the organized action.

Systemic vision of Talcott Parsons

Remarkable contribution of Talcott Parsons, U.S. sociologist theorist in knowledge organizations is given by the status of a legitimate object of study of formal organizations which he granted. Also, Parsons includes analysis of organizations in a general theory of social structure and social systems (Lallement,1998). Organizations are systems / subsystems, with different functions of the social system that includes them (Scott,2004). The objectives are achieved by the organizations through relations maintained with the environment in which they operate. An organization is never reducible to the purpose which it pursues. Therefore, organizations must ensure that a number of features common to all social systems are made. The first function is, according to sociologist, the reproduction of norms and values. It defines the fundamental guidelines of the organization that directs the activities of its members. A second function, the adaptation, is about mobilizing resources to achieve goals. A third function, the execution refers to goals. The latter function, the integration refers to harmonizing the various elements of the organization and the involvement and loyalty of its members. Parsons's vision is about organizations designed by the model of the society.

Theoretical perspectives on the behavior of members of organizations

In 1958, in the U.S. James March and Herbert Simon were launching "*Organizations*" (Lafaye,1998) In their view, any theory of organizations has a philosophy of the human being. The authors' analysis sought to identify the main concepts about human behavior present in the different approaches to organizations previously completed. The first concept, illustrated by Taylor's works and theories of administrative management (Lafaye,1998), emphasizes rationalization of work. Thus, their members, especially officers, are passive instruments. March and Herbert criticize this perspective because it doesn't take into account social actors, overestimating the importance of money and underestimating conflicts of interest. It also overlooks unforeseen contingencies faced by programs of activities and coordination problems.

A second view, represented by Elton Mayo, industrial social psychology focused on the issue of job satisfaction and research on group dynamics, underlines that organization members have attitudes and personal value systems and these are not always congruent with the objectives of the organization (Lafaye,1998). Because of the high probability of generating tension paramount importance is given to human relations, building a process of motivation that contributes to achieving organizational objectives. Theorists' criticism is that the perspective fails to consider one dimension of human activity, that of making decisions, the central element of the third concept.

The third concept highlights the idea that the members' task of an organization is to make decisions and solve problems, focusing on cognitive processes, modes of reasoning and analysis (Lafaye,1998). This conception is present in the studies about the mechanisms of administrative planning and analysis work psychology interested in problem-solving processes March and Simon have brought important contributions to these directions. The theory of limited rationality of the authors reveals that members of organizations have not irrational behavior but that their choices and decisions are subject to constraints.

Authors' analysis is important because it not only provides a systematization of concepts, but it also presents a reflection on the evolution of organizations.

A philosophy of the actor in the analysis of the behavior of organizations members

Sociology of organizations announced its development in France by Michel Crozier who, at the beginning of' 60s, created Sociology Center of Organizations.

Inspired by Merton, Crozier called bureaucratic organization any organization paralyzed by too many procedures. Novelty to the analysis of power relations is his observation that argues that power is not reducible to hierarchical relationships, but lies in the ability of players, regardless of where it takes the organization to exploit areas of uncertainty (Lafaye,1998). Crozier and Friedberg believ that social actors always have a margin of freedom. Within organizations, they do not accept to be treated just like tools in organizations goals, but pursue their personal goals which may be incompatible with those of the organizations. Organization never fails to reduce total social actors' play. Strategic analysis demonstrates how players take advantage of this relative freedom. The freedom of actors is subject to constraints so that they regulate their cooperation through various means structured fields of action. Strategic review reveals mechanisms by which this structure operates. The analysis also argues that actors act strategically to hold power over the other actors. Power is a key element of the dynamics of collective action organizations. Organizations are trying to regulate power relations through organizational charts to limit the power of actors. Strategic review of system uses the concept *system* referring to features of the actor's game, a complex space of relations. Such a perspective emphasizes the active nature of social actors (Lafaye,1998).

Total Institutions

Most approaches consider institutions universes open to the outside. But there are organizations that operate as closed universes. *Total institution*'s concept of Goffman's, released in the early 60s, is "*a place where their life and work out a large number of individuals with similar status, away from the rest of society for a considerable period of time and lead a life with strictly defined , officially regulated by the institution."* (Goffman, 2004:11). Essays book focuses on the situation of institutionalized persons.

Imprisonment is a fundamental feature of this institutions setting up a complete break between the members of the organization and the outside social environment. Social distance is very large and formally prescribed.

Institutionalized persons enter the institution with a current culture but within the total institution undergo a series of changes in the *moral career* of individuals. The barrier imposed by total institutions between individuals and outside world is a first restriction by the deprivation of identity roles. The legal aspects of permanent dispossession are *civil death*. Admission procedures are programmers, the individual being coded, modeled, commoditized, existing a process of ego's aggression.

Institutionalized persons resort to coping strategies. *The situational withdrawal tactic* involves reducing involvement in social interaction. *Inflexible tactics* involves challenge and refusal to cooperate institution, usually being in the initial phase The *colonization* tactic assumes constructing a stable and relatively satisfactory life inside the organization, the tension between the world outside and the institution decreasing. *The conversion* tactic is where the individual adopts a disciplined style, moralist, presenting himself as an institutional model with enthusiasm to the institution. *Minimizing risk* is the tactic adopted as a mix between conversion and colonization.

According to Edgar Schein, organizational culture is "*the basic model expectations that a certain group invented, discovered or developed during the learning process of solving the problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be presented to new members as the correct way to understand, think and feel in relation to those problems.*" (Schein, 1992, pp.373-374). Analyzing the institutional culture, Goffmam discovered a great level of concern of self of the institutionalized individual. Entry in institution requires acquiring *proactive status*, the social position between the walls of the institution is different from the outside. If proactive status is unfavorable, there will undergo a process of stigmatization, Goffman defines stigma as, "*an annoying difference to what we expect*'' (Ogien, 2002:134). Institutions, organizations are instruments of total domination.

Power and Corporality

Prostitution, self and sex work

The female body has held an important function of symbol in history. Meanings associated with it have been an expression of sexual meanings and social relations. The concept of *prostitution* was one of the important elements in building relationship power-corporality. This concept has undergone a process of location not only one of historicization, as a reflection of political power, cultural transformation and of cultural identity, as Hershatter G. (1997) Etymology of the word prostitute means *public woman* (Day, 2007). The author highlights in the work On the Game the existence of an alienation process. The concept of *alienation* is specific to J. Gottlieb and F. German's philosophical theory. Hegel K.Marx extended this concept with the one of *externalization.The public [...] draws a line beyond which you can not go without you lose some attributes of the person'' (Day, 2007, p.2).* J. Hyppolite discusses about *disposal*. This vision involves denial and reconciliation of self, a *negative labor*, a phase of the *construction of rational reality* (Colas,2004,p.112).

Prostitution is talking about passing limits, the inside is placed outside and the private is exposed. (Day, 2007, p.1). Prostitution refers less to the sex industry as to invoke a moral that does not accept the link between sex and money. Therefore, the prostitute (public woman) has a stigma which is equivalent to a particular disorder, alienation and immorality. Ideology *public woman* is part of the ideology of gender and class hierarchy. It should be understood by locating in time, place and type of society. Transformations of these three elements coexist with displacement of meanings of concepts of public and private.

The concept of *sex work* is a redefinition of the meaning of sexuality, corporality and thus prostitution. Because of the background of feminist thinking, freedom of opinion and capitalism, after '80 there were actions to form a union representation of sex worker-s. An example is the international organization, *Network of Sex Work Project*. Organizational perspective is that sex work is a legitimate form of work that involves the sale of sexual services and not of the body. Sex work has to be understood in terms of social emancipation (Gall,2006). Feminist abolitionist movement uses the term prostitution, and not the sex work, that is a symbol of the perpetuation of domination and power relationship of men against women. For Pateman, *prostitution is a perpetuation of a contract, where the patriarchal rights of men against women is reaffirmed* (Della Giusta, M.etc, 2008, p.7) The difference between selling the self and selling sexual services is the problem of Carol Pateman and Julia O'Connell Davidson’s speech, they believe that sex work involves only the sale of sexual services and not of self (Della Giusta, 2008). The difference stems from the idea that the actions performed by the body do not affect the perception of self person selling sexual services.

Martha Nussbaum makes a comparative analysis between sex work and other types of professions, arguing that the differences are in order of social stigma, crime and, in particular, how different parts of the body are used. In this sense, prostitution is defined as, *invasion of internal space for those working with sex* (sex workers) (Della Giusta, M.etc, 2008, p.7).

Self is the center of Radin's theory (Della Giusta, 2008). The addition brought to the conceptualization on sex work is that this is a disputed case of commodification. Female sex workers are in a dilemma, called the *double bond* Radin (Della Giusta, 2008, p.9). *Behind the historical development of prostitution are repetitive patterns that produce nearly identical meanings of gender that shape social representations of gender identities* (L.Nencel,2001,p.31)

Docile body

A fundamental idea of Foucault's discourse (1997) is the interdependence relationship between power and knowledge. The subject becomes the object of knowledge through practices and discourses associated with it. This relationship generates a docile body. Docile body is “the body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved”. (Foucault, 1997:204). Discipline constructs subjected and practiced bodies. In XVII-XVIII centuries forms of discipline have become general forms of domination. It is therefore a policy of constraints as labor on the body, a calculated manipulation of the elements, its gestures and behavior. (Foucault, 1997:206). Discipline increases the body’s forces in economic terms of utility and decreases the same forces in political terms of subjugation as a political anatomy of detail (Foucault, 1997:207). Disciplinary power fulfills an important function of modeling; individuals become simultaneously objects and instruments of its exercise. Foucault's analysis draws attention to the transition from historical-ritual mechanisms for individuals to scientific-disciplinary mechanisms.

Castel highlights two types of social control in historical perspective: in the past, based on authority- coercion and the contemporary world, based on persuasion- manipulation (Ogien, 2002). From the perspective of classical theories of social influence, for Turner, power is based on norms and values and influence through coercion occurs when these fundamentals are not enough. (Curseu,2007). Turner emphasizes that power is not given, the effect of group ownership of valued resources, but an emerging phenomenon in groups.

Bentham's Panopticon represents from a point of view, a laboratory processing power to shape behavior or to shape the individual and is a metaphor of disciplinary society. Panopticon's effect is to induce a state of conscious and permanent visibility that warrants automatic power: "*surveillance is permanent in its effects even if that action is discontinuous, the perfection of power should tend to make its exercise unnecessary"* (Foucault, 1997:285). Power is visible but unverifiable. Panoptic procedures are, observed Foucault, concrete forms of exercise power, being simultaneously surveillance and observation, individualization, isolation and transparency.

Susan Bordo (1999) emphasizes the existence of the concept of docile bodies in feminist discourse of Mary Wollstonecraft, before Foucault. The author takes his concept of *resistance*, considering it ideal to describe the fragmented and unstable nature of contemporary power relations. A special interest attaches to the idea of *normalizing* when discussing policies on women's bodies.

Contemporary construction of the image of the female body is different from that of the 60 – 70s when it was socially constructed, now being a more individualized form of self-determination. Collins says: *If anatomy is destiny, women find new ways to reshape the body* (Bordo, 1999:250). Women are aware of the values and the reward system that responds to their market value and self-esteem. Bordo notes that currently, women represent the body as a political inscribed entity. Psychology and morphology are formed and marked by speeches and control practices. The old feminist model present in his speech is that of a powerless woman, dominated by men. The new analysis, reinterprets Foucault, is that of the modern power which is non-authoritative, non-conspiratorial, non-orchestrated. *''Inference ceased to be the main form of power, rather it is one element among others acting to incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize and organize forces: a power generating forces, causing them to increase ordering them, not a power to prevent, or subject them to destroy them."* (Foucault,1990,p.136). The forms of the self and subjectivity are maintained not by coercion, but through self-monitoring and self-connection to rules.

Foucault's model is applicable to analysis of male domination and subordination of women in modern Western society; this is self-normalizing voluntarily reproduced by specific everyday practices of masculinity and femininity These practices generate docility and obedience of the female body to cultural demands, being an experience described in terms of power and control.

Case Study: London Hostess Club

Field research was done in a period of two months in 2010 in Britain, a Hostess Club located in Central London. If the previous study was about the condition of sex-worker women discussed in terms of dominance relations that are built within the organization and, expanding the macro level, which are built by this institution, being entitled suggestively:

Power, stigma and sex work in a night club from Cluj, this study has opened new research directions. The research was qualitative and based on the previous data field in Romania, but continued during the comprehensive building and focusing this time on power-corporality relationship.

Does the actors' behavior reflect pursuing rational interests and the exercise of conscious choice or is it shaped primarily by the organization, controlling it and defining it? This represents the research question. The main hypothesis is that the institution builds a negative model of the sex worker female in its speech and practices and perpetuates it.

Our research work was not made public in order to capture the unmasked reality, acting as hostess inside the organization. Field notes were recorded in writing after completion of the working day. For this we made a journal where I recorded field observations and participants' answers. Data collection methods were participatory observation; unstructured interviews and participants' epiphanies (Ilut, 1997). Research subjects were members of the organization and customers.

Participatory observation followed the organizational culture. The hostesses were the subjects of the unstructured interviews and epiphanies in order to capture the relationship with the organization's management representatives and labor dimensions. A manager has been the subject of these latter methods to capture its relationship with hostesses and the dimensions of work in terms of representation of a former dancer / hostess. Male bar staff was subject interviews to capture the gender dimension of relations with hostesses.

Hostesses, bar staff and manager in charge of hostesses, are Romanian. Most hostesses have a contractual relationship with the organization, realized through an agency in Romania which has worked with the club for five years. Their age ranges between 19 to 31 years old. In terms of education, secondary education is 65% and uncompleted higher education is 35% of the total. Hostesses are from different parts of

Romania with a background of average financial situation. Their number remains at 11 because of the limited physical space and control considerations of their work. The two partners holding the club, the bodyguard and the hired drivers to recruit customers are English.

The research builds a relationship between the various bodies involved, so I have called the organization *space of the bodies*. This configures the relations between the body of the organization and the customers' body, between the hostesses' body and the customers' body, the clothed body, the uncovered body, the touched body. In the participatory observations I followed the rituals involving bodies to determine their level of instrumentation, the disciplinary and panoptic procedures they are subjected.

I dedicated the first month, August, to participatory observation and informal interviews. Being a *bad month* financially due to the small number of clients, it allowed me to observe daily rituals, the relations between the hostesses when they are not involved in the activity. An informer has given me important information and introduced me to the other members simply establishing contacts. The next month, September, allowed me to deepen relations with some hostesses by epiphanies and found me in a club activity in which the dimensions of labor were explored. The manager responsible with the hostesses gave me information on previous and present work, capturing in its discourse an ideology of business woman. Actual practices completed the speech. Discourses and practices have revealed roles of social actors involved in social interaction, social identity, real or virtual. The study discourses and practices of this organization have a specific character because it is considered as an instrument of domination, a delimiter institution.

The organization's policy is very important because it dominates the actors. Part of the ritual is different from the Romanian night-club, and social domination is stated in hostesses and customers' bodies. We are not claiming sex-worker being dominated and stigmatized, but that customers are also actors filmed in a scene from all angles, being in a position of dominated in relation to the body of the organization.

The recent card organization, one of a strategy of image, has been presented as: *London's Hottest Hostess Club Sophisticated Elegant and Discreet*. Although presented as a hostess club, it has the defining elements classified night-club (strip club). This speech has sexual persuasion strategy and is amplified by managers in cooperation with the entrance hostesses and even before the customers' entrance in the club by the taxi drivers working with the club. The social stigma is inscribed in this speech.

The system of rules in a delimiter institution

A system of rules that lead to modeling the behavior of individuals involves both a reward and a range of sanctions. The manager decides the best time for the erotic show on the stage, *the pole dancing,* and who it will be performed by and the hostesses who form teams placed at the tables in the clients' company. Also, when concluding an employment contract, the hostesses are informed about the subsidiary system achieved by consumption. This is a system of points for *lady's drinks.* The hostesses' function is to convince the costumers to buy these expensive drinks after they were already charged for the time spent in the club. Club management relies on consuming champagne whose prices are exorbitant reaching to 8795 pounds, the most expensive (Ambonnay). Financial sanctions manifest as retention bonus and a part of salary. One of the most important rule is to not accept tips at a customer's table before making a considerable consumption. The manager's explanation is that, by accepting these rewards, the hostesses will not be interested in making an important consumption at the table. This is the primary rule of the organization: the hostesses have the role to make the interests of the club and, after this process, to obtain rewards. It is also forbidden to provide or obtain personal contacts to or from customers. Although the official explanation is that this behavior would have legal implications, for the purposes of prostitution charge, it is more probably that this ban has another explanation. Hostesses undergo imprisonment imposed by the organization. This is the main element which offers a delimiter character to the organization. Although some of the hostesses live and work for a relatively large period of time here, some for two years, none was able to identify with something meaningful in the English cultural identity. They call the natives *"englezoi".* This fact is explained by the negative experiences of their profession and by the extremely low social contact with local inhabitants, resuming to minimum conversations while shopping. Social life is consumed between Romanian peer outside the club.

Unlike the night-club in Romania, it focuses here on a significant consumption of champagnes, on teamwork, involving a series of subterfuges, and also on a deeper process of docility over the body. This requires a much larger organization's control over sex worker women. Another important unwritten rule is to not publish complaints. *I was not as now. Now I droop and do not comment the orders for my own good.* (Casandra).

Hostesses declare that the amount of points depend on luck at the table. In my opinion it should be considered a *built luck*, the result of the intense control of the organization. The managers' control strategies in conjunction with permanent video monitor in the office are the panoptic pillars of this organization with delimiter character. Hostesses are aware that they are monitored by video cameras. In the office, the owner vigilantly monitors what is happening in the *tables' room* and *waiting room*. It seems there is a permanent eye focused on the hostesses, being configured as a supreme authority.

Work has a high level of stress not only by what it actually means, but by political factors involved, a balance of power in which women are dominated. The ego's aggression is very strong: *I was not so*. This is a universal response that reflects the uniformity of the subjects' behavior. There are different patterns of behavior in which subjects resist stressors. These patterns of behavior change their shapes in time. *Everything you see here is theater. Each pursues her personal interest.* (Elissa). Katia says: *I was popular only here because I had to be so.* Most of the hostesses resort to this behavior in time.The original behavior pattern is to verbalize complaints but in time they are witnessing a process of *normalization* (Bordeaux, 1999). Changes they suffer are the effects of self discipline and self-imposed requirements in the process of the docility of the bodies to achieve personal interests.

Subjects repeated the same pattern of surveyed behaviour. In the initial phase of the process, there is a strong impact because of the stress factor of work and because of harassment of personality. Economic sanctions do not have such an important impact in the submission of the actors as coercive actions manifested in speeches that cancel the subjects' personality. It follows a disciplinary process, the ultimate control. After 6 months the period of holidays comes. During this time they realize the difference between the obtaining of economic capital in the country and, respectively, in the West.

Rituals and meanings

Hostesses / dancers are accommodated in two houses, properties associated with one of the two employers in two cities in the county of Surrey less than an hour away from London. Except for Sunday, when the club is closed, they repeat the same route to and from work with the company van driven by the manager bartender. Traveling to London is also a state of trance, music is heard while pictures from a different and far away reality, that from home, are emerging. A special moment of this route is watching for a few seconds an euphoric celebration of a London sophisticated terrace. The savor scenario of the cups of champagne creates a bitter taste for these women who will recreate this scene that night but in a degraded form that hostesses are aware of.

One last cigarette is smoked in front of the club opposite a famous London club. A shrill makeup, sometimes absent, in combination with a casual or sport equipment and sometimes, over this, the dress of that night, creates an unaesthetic contrast and reveals the image of devaluation of women's sex-worker, a reconstruction of the stereotype scene of the street prostitutes, conducted by a group of Romanian women in the streets of Central London.

The first impact in the club is the smell mix between champagne, mold and room freshener which are imbibed in the carpet, creating a horrified olfactory cocktail. After consecutive nights, the smell is almost neutral for the members of the organization. The dressing process is performed until 22:00 when the club actually opens. Some of the hostesses are positioned in *waiting*, the first room, here topping those who were not sent to the customers' table. The ritual of greeting customers also takes place here. They are viewed by the camera positioned in front of the building and by the stairs, the registration being at the top of the entry .When there are no customers in the club, the hostesses' activity is limited to conversations but most are questions and answers on completing crosswords. This journalistic material is a practice that substitutes the establishment of social contacts. If it is not this activity then there is another one, spying the video cameras. In the next room, *tables room,* where the hostesses accompany the customers at the tables and is performed the poll dancing, in the absence of customers, there is a state of drowsiness. There are reduced social contacts, generally hostesses are spread on the sofas and some of them are strategically positioned to observe the entry. An obscure atmosphere is perpetuated throughout the night because of the candles on the tables and the dispersing light from the waiting room.

Upon arrival announcement of customers, each plays his or her role. In general, two hostesses are waiting in front of the bar. The manager or one of the owners has a speech of persuasion of the costumers to stay in the club. Hostesses have a *friendly* attitude imposed by the club and repeated in the introductory speech. A scenario is built on *false customer table* where two hostesses accompany the waiter, the *false costumer*, and enjoy the *false champagne.* The customer's profile, his economic value, is drawn here by observing the client's way of payment, by cash or by card, and the type of card he possesses. Hostesses are responsible for maximizing the profits of the club first, and personal, in the background. *You must get as much as you can. But whatever you do to be good, they [management] will never be satisfied* (Katia). A latent conflict is built between the interests of the club and its members.

Although in particular each hostess's responsibility is to persuade the customers to buy the first champagne, in each group there is an informal leader and will have the first say being positioned near the customer who is considered to be the most valuable. Customers who provide a considerable consumption of champagnes will be persuaded permanently to drink constantly in order to transform their actions from rational to almost irrational. While some hostesses capture customer's attention inviting them to dance or dancing in front of them, positioning themselves so as to reduce visibility, other hostesses take advantage of these moments to spill the champagne on the carpet in order to empty the bottle and order another one and another one. During this time, they must be careful not to be noticed by the customers at the other tables. Observing tricks would compromise not only the staff but also the organization.

The erotic show does not have a special significance, and this can be interpreted from a symbolic perspective looking at the setting of the physical space where these activities take place, the stage being in a corner. The important thing is the consumption of the champagnes. Customers affect a minor concern to this element of the night because the presence of hostesses is required to be *friendly*. To be refused at the table is a decline in the hostesses' prestige especially when it generates a critic speech from superiors. *That is why you are sent to the tables, in order to be pleasant.* (manager) Their attitude goes beyond what it is socially prescribed, the *friendly* concept becomes a metaphor for lascivious behavior that takes various forms: the lap-dance, dance to the customer with significant physical contact and, in rare cases, kissing practice but it is avoided because it is considered more intimate than others. Different body parts are exposed, the dress has a symbolic power in the seduction process to allow visual or physical exploration of intimate parts.

Physical space is fragmented according to its role as it can be seen by the different activities performed in the two rooms. Space also has an important function as symbol; inside it is configured organization policy. It is recreated Renaissance painting of the courtesans discussed earlier in the other research, only this time it is imposed primarily by the organization's leadership and in the background by personal economic needs. The club is, in my opinion, a *space of the bodies*, a concept which I shall analyze more in the chapter about self and corporality. Each night is a reinterpretation of the degraded status of sex-worker women. In fact no real show takes place on stage, but in the room, the tables and sofas.

The manner in which the costumers are determined to leave the club is in contrast with the input of the club. Customers no longer represent symbolic and economic capital and are treated in terms of object relation. Hostesses from the waiting room turn into some comedians who ridicule the customers. This situation becomes a symbolic element of ethnic solidarity manifested in the refusal of foreign language speech. But in here not only a latent ethnic conflict is set up, but also one of a social nature. The costumers suffer not only a process of decrease of economic capital but also of symbolic capital, and this state is realized just after leaving the club. They have entered into a stigmatized space being aware of this state from the beginning. Here they come with certain expectations of erotic order, particularly inoculated by the taxi drivers who had recruited them. But what was not planned was that this stigma will put its mark on them. And it is felt the more intense the more aware they become of being victims of tricks in economic, intellectual and moral aspect. The purpose of the club is merely economic and it has no elements of prestige. This view is shaped by the reasons that might express the character of metropolitan London, an economic center in which there is a steady stream of business people. A night-club will be represented as an oasis for a limited period for these social actors, but the reality is that is a Shutter Island. Unlike the night-club in Romania, for London, the management organization is not interested in building social contacts with elites.

Physicality and rationality
Typology of the costumers adventurers

In my previous research I configured a typology of the night-club's costumers and of the significant concepts that have set the three ideal types: *customers with principles, costumers adventurers*, and *the "good Samaritans" customers* being, in particular: *symbolic conflict* (Harrison, 1995), *discredited and discreditable individual person* (Ogien, 2002), *libido dominating* of P. Bourdieu (Colas, 2004). London adventurers' customers of the organization, which guide themselves by the principle ''*Carpe diem*!'', receive different treatments depending on their economic value. Customers undergo a more intense process of co modification because corporality has a different speech in this case.

In the organization studied in Romania physical distances were more pronounced. The booth allowed a reduction of these distances, which reflected the social distance. In the London club there is no booth. Each table becomes a booth where everybody is exposed. It is a reconstruction of transparent cells of Bentham's Panopticon. Cameras located at discrete angles see in detail the movement of the bodies. The club becomes a single booth. The private becomes public. It's an extended scene of an erotic foreplay. Analyzing from a symbolic perspective this is a *space of bodies*, we are witnessing a physical and moral contamination. Physical distances fade and social distances also. Female sex-worker stigma is transmitted to the client.

The typology of London adventurers' customers was made from the hostesses' point of view. By the criterion of their economic value, there are *good card* customers and *bad card customers*. A *good card customer* will be subject to a devouring treatment. By the criterion of their behavior and attitude on hostesses reflected in the physical distances, there are *good card "schebalosi"* (Japanese etymology- *lewd*) and *bad card schebalosi.*

Self and corporality

A smoothing process is performed here highlighting the organization's interests. But a reflective self coexists, although physically they are victims of radical changes, in the mental plan they conduct rational strategies being able to have a control over their personal lives. The body becomes an instrument in obtaining economic support and achieving social capital from men, therefore resorting to cosmetic and surgical interventions. Hostess woman's body remains negatively marked perpetuating the institution model, revealing the remark: *Oppression of women is in part generated by these systems of patriarchal* *morphological inscription, these are [...] mental representations of the inscribed body and partly as a result of various behaviors, values and norms resulting from these different psychologies and morphologies.* (Riley, 1999: 225).

A special report is built between *clothed body* and *uncovered body*. *Nudity offered, exposed is losing out to women in the movement, the play of light and shadows [...] Man are seeking even a simulacrum of seduction.* (Corbin,2008,p.212). Physical limits are set by hostesses in the level of instrumentation that get their bodies to achieve the goal. The next stage of the uncovered body is the *touched body*.

The ritual of bad nights surprised the inert body. With no game, there is no body, no goal and no actor. Sharing dance moves on the stage to the other dancers was a moment of contemplation of the bodies of other women and an assessment of their seduction. But it was also a reflection on her body and her power to build a destiny, refusing the same as Segal (1999) discourses about female passivity.

The condition of sex-worker women has been analyzed from a double perspective, one from inside and one from outside. The first one presented the social relationships between the institution insiders (hostesses/dancers, the others members of the organizations and the costumers), describing the sex-work dimensions and some political/symbolical elements, and the second one analyzed the outsiders women' representations about sex-worker women.

The institution of strip-club/night-club/hostess club is reproducing socially a report of domination, social and gender, in which the sex-worker women are dominated because of the stigma created. The sex-workers are self-conscientious of this element, specific to total institutions, and construct strategies of image to resist. The prestige is an important element in creating social and economic capital. This attribute is amplified in the relationships with the costumers because of their *erotic capital* and also in the relationships with peers. In this type of institutions there is a *system of sisters*, an expression of women's solidarity in front of the negative pattern transmitted by the institution and in front of men's power. There is a *libido dominandi* (P.Bourdieu) in every report between the institution's insiders and is very present also in the relationships between sex-workers. There is the application of cost-benefit Blau's theory (Lallement,1997). The sex-workers become some politicians in obtaining capital, creating stories about their lives to impress the costumers and to explain in the same time their disadvantaged condition (especially in the Romanian night-club where the interest was for maintaining the relationships) or to reveal the subjects' motivation to continue to have a control over their lives (in the English case where the costumers' prestige and maintaining the relationships was not a priority). The men become an economic resource and the body is the main instrument to obtain it. The relationships are instrumentalized because money is involved. The relationships between sex-workers and costumers can last, women becoming mistresses. There are rare cases in which sex-workers are supported by men and leave *the night life.*

The insiders of the institution stigmatize this type of sex-work and the sex-workers implied. The women outsiders interviewed condemn this type of sex-work because this involves the publication of intimacy. They do not condemn the sex-worker women because they consider that the motive of choosing this type of work is their disadvantaged condition (economical, educational etc). There is a women solidarity implied because their attitude is that of accusing the social system and gender relationships.

Final Conclusions

Analysis hostess's condition, in particular, and sex-worker woman in general, has a double perspective, by refusing to represent it as a passive victim but recognizing at the same time, forms of domination of the night-club organization/institution.

Smoothing process of the actors' bodies serves the interests of the organization. The concept *space of bodies* was created to describe the relations between different bodies: the body of the organization and the customers' body, between the hostesses' body and the customers' body, the clothed body and the uncovered body, and finally the touched body. Analyzing the rituals involving bodies, we determined discourses and practices

of disciplinary and panoptic procedures that the *docile bodies* are subjected to. In this sense, it was created the concept *transparent booth* to describe the power relations and the process of exposing the private. Crossing the limits of corporality is, from a symbolic point of view, crossing the social borders and transferring the women'stigma to their costumers. The managers' control strategies in conjunction with permanent video monitor in the office are the panoptic pillars of this organization with delimiter character. The concept *built luck* is also a metaphor of control.

Analyzing the dimensions of work, we observed patterns of behavior in which subjects resist stressors. These patterns of behavior change their shapes in time because of a disciplinary process and after of self discipline. The space was analyzed from a symbolic perspective, the *tables' room* and the *waiting* surprising the sex-workers' concrete activity, their roles. Another dimension of sex-workers work was the prestige and that was in a direct relation with the *friendly attitude* which described the body's level of instrumentalisation.

But this instrumentalization coexists with a reflective and active self, although the hostesses are suffering physical changes, their mental plan is rational, able to pursue their goal. Discourse about real and virtual identity doesn't find its application in this case so much to explain stigma as to reveal the subjects' motivation to continue to have a control over their lives. The typology of the adventurers' customers, one of the types of the typology of the night-club's costumers, emphasized the features of the English organization because of the specificity of the London with its flow of businessmen.

Although sex worker woman remains dominated in the discourses and social practices of the institution, secretly a defined future is designed; the control is no longer running from the institution, but from herself.

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Identifying with the European Union and the problem of responsibility

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Abstract

Modern authorities are normally considered to be primarily responsible to their demos. The existence of European demos, however, is questionable, and a way to measure it would be to explore the identifications of the EU member states citizens. The authors explore identifications within the borders of the EU, ensuing from the important role of everyday practices and activities on supranational instance. Noting that identifications with European space cannot be delimited only to supranational political entity, they stress the significance of particular cultural and political discourses on those processes. Identifications with the EU on individual level certainly hold on deeper conceptualisations of the meaning of Europe, while individuals' geographical, cultural and political contexts, more firmly rooted in their national backgrounds, play a crucial role. The lack of firm and consistent European identification, which only seems to exist on the level of thin culture, may pose problems for the development of clear and consistent European responsibility.

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Keywords: *identification patterns, European Union, regression analysis, responsibility*

Povzetek

Za moderne oblasti navadno velja, da so prvenstveno odgovorne svojemu demosu. Obstoj evropskega demosa pa je vprašljiv, način njegovega merjanja pa bi lahko bil v raziskovanju identifikacij državljanov držav članic EU. Avtorja raziskujeta indetifikacije v okviru EU in poudarjata pomembno vlogo vsakodnevnih praks in aktivnosti na nadnacionalni ravni. Ko ugotavljata, da identifikacij z evropskim prostorom ni mogoče omejiti le na nadnacionalno politično entiteto, avtorja poudarjata pomen posameznih kulturnih in političnih diskurzov za te procese. Identifikacije z Evropsko unijo na individualni ravni gotovo slonijo na globljih konceptualizacijah pomena Evrope, pri čemer pa geografski, kulturni in politični konteksti posameznikov igrajo odločilno vlogo. Pomanjkanje trdne in konsistentne evropske identifikacije, za katero se zdi, da obstaja le na ravni plitve kulture, lahko predstavlja probleme za razvoj jasne evropske odgovornosti.

Ključne besede: *vzorci identifikacije, Evropska unija, regresijska analiza, odgovornost*

The authorities of the modern nation states are normally considered to be primarily responsible to their constituencies: modern nation state typically implies the existence of *demos* to which the authority is responsible and in relation to which its legitimacy is established. Since the EU is supposed to be considerably more than just a coordination of countries it should imply a responsibility that goes beyond the national governments. Intensified by the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, the European unification has gained a power structure of supranational authority (Kaina 2006). Supranational political entity follows the long tradition of democratic thinking, which has to be based also on the citizens' consent. The existence of European *demos*, however, is questionable. Do people in the EU member states only hold its EU leaders and bureaucrats responsible as the European citizens – as members of the European *demos* - or only in an indirect way as the citizens of particular member states? The former case is only possible if the people are truly able to identify with Europe and European Union as its political organisation. This leads one to the identify issues.

A typical way to approach the European identity would be to explore the European identifications of the EU member states citizens. In this paper we thus intend to consider the existence of European identifications as a complex and ambiguous issue, substantiated by various political, cultural, and economic contexts.

Europe has never been just a geographical entity, but more a symbolic imaginary changing its meaning due to different political interests. The concept of Europe contains many non-geographical meanings involving various political, cultural, and economic aspects (Ifversen 2002). Often it is used synonymously with the European Union, which is undoubtedly a political manifestation of the idea of united Europe, ensuing from clear economic interests. Similarly, the idea of European identity has been evolving on account to those interests, and has thus become ambiguous, variable, and not clearly formulated concept. Accordingly, we do not attempt to embrace the issue as collective social category insinuating on supranational *imagined community* (Anderson 1983) based on national conceptual roots. Instead, we attempt to elucidate particular factors enabling identifications with European Union as such, while revealing the importance of particular cultural and political discourses on that process. Our underlying task is therefore (1) to explore processes of identification within the borders of European Union, and thus (2) represent not everyone is able to feel European in that respect, and (3) that there is no single European identity.

The task is nevertheless a complex one, demanding a clear conceptual framework and empirical endeavours. **Firstly,** we attempt to present which factors actually influence the social processes enabling identifications with European Union, ensuing from the important role of everyday practices and activities on supranational instance. 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). Our attempt is therefore to approach identifications as contemporary processes influenced by the growth of global communications, media, consumerism and popular culture. While recognising actual social processes as important elements of identifications with European Union, we argue that the intensity of identifications on that level depends to a significant extend on the participation in European (transnational) social fields. However, seeing 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 (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994), the participation in them is conditioned with the participation in other fields that disposes them to a 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.

Therefore, **as secondly,** not everyone is able to feel European in that respect. Social spaces that exceed national borders are framed by particular national economic, cultural and social horizons, from which individuals derive. Individuals who participate in transnational social fields are also present in the national ones, while nation state is still a primary container of people's lives. We assume that nation states offer unequal abilities for individuals to enter transnational fields. As it was written elsewhere, socio-structural elements certainly hold an impact on the identification processes with Europe (or European Union) (Petithomme 2008; Pichler 2008a; Fligstein 2009). Particular social fields could provide individuals with resources enabling them to implement social practices that help them to attach to the European space. Connections of European citizens on transnational scale comprise different cultural, social and political horizons relating to nation states, while the increasing complexity of contemporary society simultaneously combines and fragments those horizons on units not limited with the national frames. Flows 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).

Thirdly, we argue that there is no single European identity. Identifications with European Union on individual level certainly hold on deeper conceptualisations of the meaning of Europe, and the role of European Union in that respect. Beside that, individuals' geographical, cultural and political contexts, which are more firmly rooted in their national backgrounds, seem to be important. While comparing key aspects related to the formation of identifications among all national members of the European Union, we intend to identify the diverse patterns in the ways of the *European* identification. In that regard, although ensuing from the conceptualisation that European Union is a supranational political entity, which legitimacy is to large extend possible by the existence of its *demos* and that feelings of citizenship are important in that context, we do not attempt to delimit the concept of Europe and European identity to such a narrow formulation. Thus we intend to undermine the essentialist ideas of the role of common European history, heritage and culture as crucial ingredients of European identity. Those ideas have existed along with the projects of more successful integration, and are political tasks of the elites operating at European and national levels (Katzel and Checkel 2009). Beside that, while claiming there is no collective, common European identity, we encourage new perspectives on formation of identifications in contemporary social realities, which are tightly knitted with various transformations resonating both on global and local levels.

Therefore, **as fourthly,** by theoretically and empirically deploying a concept of *European* identifications, we intend to offer some further consideration in examining contemporary formation of individual and collective identifications. In that context, dialectic relation between *thick* and *thin culture* (cf. Mishler and Pollack 2003) influencing individual perception of social reality on different levels (e.g. national and transnational) may have been of great importance. Global processes caused by technological development and mass media have significantly changed certain aspects of people's everyday life. Social life is increasingly seen as constituted by the material world, which reflects new distinguishing connections enabling and providing new mobilities (Urry 2003: 122). 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). 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). Taking into account a dialectic relation between *thick culture* (Geertz 1973) based on common values, tradition and culture often associated with national environments and *thin culture* (Mishler and Pollack 2003) more associated with contemporary social practices exceeding national boundaries, reflexivity and agency in individuals lives, is coinciding with the contemporary approaches to identity construction. The latter have considered the meaning of the social location in identification processes, but in emphasizing the dispositional nature of identity, more explicitly reflexive and self-consciously mobilized aspects have also been acknowledged (Bottero, 2010). Therefore, while the power of the nation-state has been challenged in some circumstances by supranational and transnational institutions, the organs of the nation-state still play a crucial role (Kelly 2002; Willis et. al. 2004). Even though the term transnational points to the limited role of the nation-state in current cross-border relations, "the very word 'transnational' nevertheless tends to draw attention to what it negates – that is, to the continued significance of the national" (Hannerz 1996, cited in Fog Olwig 2003: 802). In terms of the present discussion, it seems to be necessary to take into account both contexts, national and transnational, since activities across national borders do not necessary erode the importance of national identities. Although individuals maintain contacts across national borders, this does not necessarily mean that their national affiliations and identities are similarly fluid and malleable. Predominantly, there is a continuous identification with nation states also in transnational social spaces or fields.

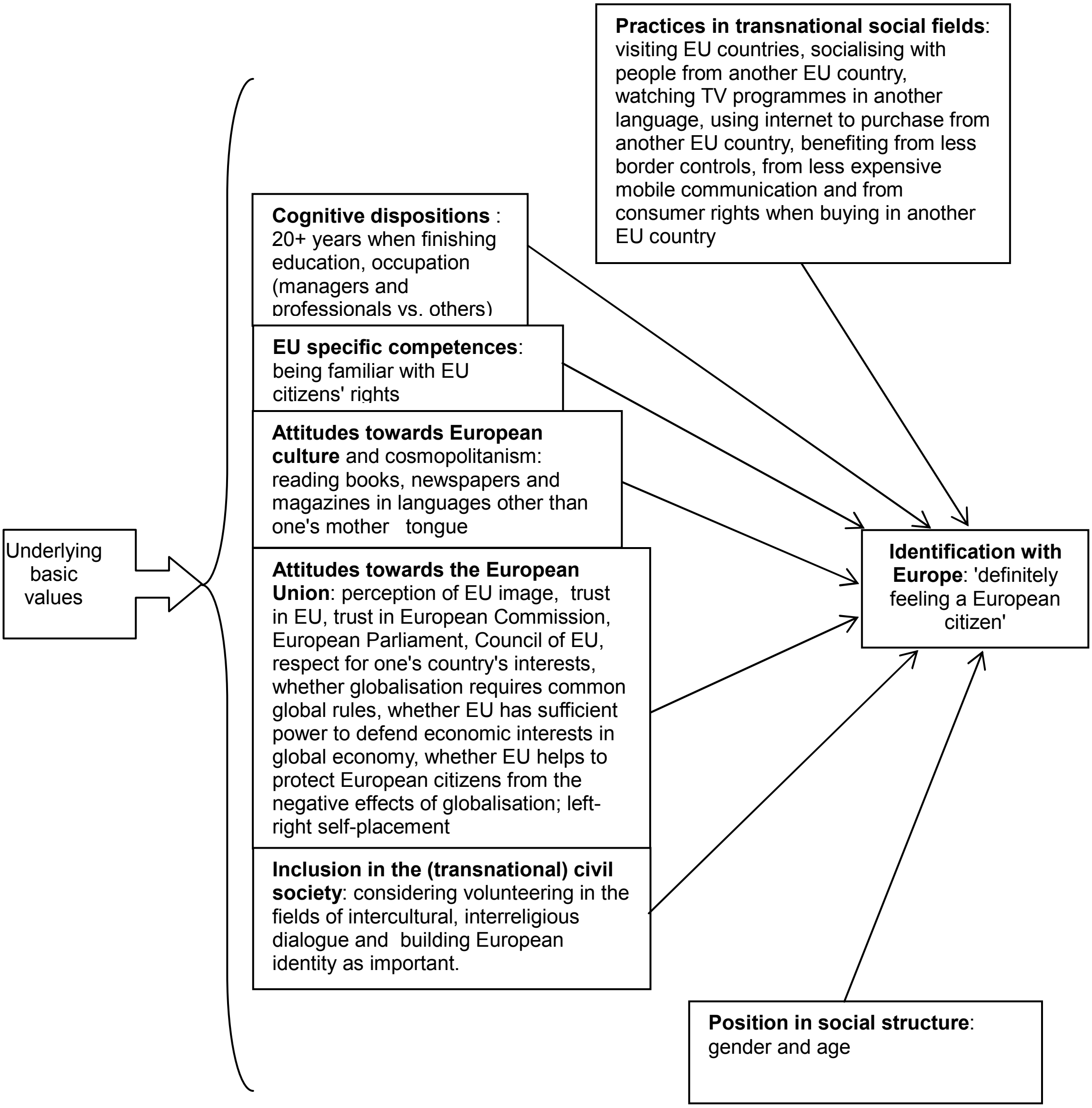
We argue that those who predominantly identify with Europe are individuals that possess certain economic and symbolic capital which exceeds national borders. They participate in transnational social fields which insinuates on a certain form of transnational habitus, which could present a basis for the European habitus. The scale at which the habitus is to be found refers more to the scale of potential face-to-face encounters, where bodily disposition is important, and not so to the original formulation of the concept which is applied more to geographical places (Bourdieu 1977; Kelly and Lusis 2005). Therefore, it is crucial to take into account not only the dispositional and positional but also the interactive dimension of social games. It then becomes obvious that reflexive accounting, conscious strategising, and rational calculation are not exceptional but routine, constitutive elements of human action (Kelly and Lusis 2005: 845-846). The conceptualisation of transnational social fields suggested by Lewitt and Glick-Schiller (2003) 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 individual engages 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 a specific context (Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2003: 10-11). Individuals are able to choose wheatear to be European or not, but certain conditions have to be fulfilled. Transnational social fields should be thus considered as multi-dimensional, encompassing structured interactions of differing forms (Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004), involving individuals' active production of social space exceeding national borders (Low and Zúñiga, 2003). Nevertheless, we assume there is set of prepositions of particular national fields, which significantly influence contemporary identifications, playing important role not just in European identifications, but in general consideration of contemporary social realities.

As Immerfall et al. argue (2009), national histories are crucial in shaping patterns of discourse about European integration, while national history conditions the consequences of European Union membership. Social representations of the European Union's policies and actions are embedded and linked to nation-specific discourses about sovereignty, society and nation state (cf. Menéndez – Alarcón 2004). Although we cannot speak about collective European identity, there are processes of identification with European space, which appear in dialectical relation with stronger, more firmly rooted identity constructions. Therefore, popular postmodern postulation about multiple, multilayered identifications referring to the idea that European identity can non-competitively exists next to the national seems to be too narrow. Immerfall et al. emphasise (2009) that adding a new layers to particular identifications requires elective affinity, a certain Wahleverwandtschaft as Max Weber articulates, between mythology, narratives, and historical realities. While no such common things exist (so far) on a European level, is the perception of the letter specific and influenced by national environments.

The major factors of the European identification

Our first step in the empirical part of the research has been to test the significance of the practices within transnational social fields, together with some other potentially relevant factors, in contributing to the feeling of European citizenship. We assume that the relevant categories influencing the individual's European identity may thus include concrete practices in the transnational social fields, general cognitive predispositions, more specific European Union related competences, attitudes towards the European Union, the attitudes towards Europe as a cultural concept and cosmopolitanism, and the inclusion in the (transnational) civil society. From the background there may also be a relevant impact of some basic underlying values that may also influence most of the categories relevant for the European identification. In addition, we have also taken into account the individual's age and gender that may influence to some extend her or his position within the social structure. A simplified model – since we are fully aware that the actual causal relationships may be much more complex and running in different directions – in this regard is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A hypothetical selection of categories influencing the European identification



We consider it necessary to combine a wide variety of aspects influencing the European identification, which has mostly not been the case up to now. Compared to the previous research by Fligstein (2009) and Pichler (2008a), we have combined more categories within a single model to observe their relative relevance in relation to the European identity. Although all categories are not included to a sufficient extent to any single survey, we have found the Eurobarometer 73.4 survey from 2010 (European Commission 2010) to be the best available collection of relevant data for our purposes. The variables from this survey used as the indicators are also presented in Figure 1. Using these data we have applied binary logistic regression based on the Statistical Package Social Sciences (SPSS) software backward conditional method. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Binary logistic regression for European identification based on the Eurobarometer survey, 2010

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	df	Sig.
image-positive	0.461	0.045	1	0.000
Trusting EU(yes)	0.202	0.078	1	0.010
Trusting Council of the EU			2	0.006
Trusting Council of the EU (yes)	0.001	0.086	1	0.989
Trusting Council of the EU (no)	-0.268	0.103	1	0.009
Country's interest respected			2	0.000
Country's interest respected(yes)	0.419	0.134	1	0.002
Country's interest respected (no)	-0.044	0.139	1	0.753
Globalisation requires global rules – worldwide governance	0.199	0.042	1	0.000
EU sufficient power in globalisation	0.165	0.041	1	0.000
Knowing European citizen's rights	0.826	0.041	1	0.000

Reading in other language			2	0.000
Reading in other language (several times)	0.516	0.085	1	0.000
Reading in other language (once, twice)	0.057	0.090	1	0.523
Socialising with people from another EU country			2	0.028
Socialising with people from another EU country (several times)	0.206	0.080	1	0.010
Socialising with people from another EU country (once twice)	0.060	0.086	1	0.485
Internet purchase abroad			2	0.069
Internet purchase from another EU country (several times)	-0.228	0.101	1	0.024
Internet purchase from another EU country (once, twice)	0.002	0.089	1	0.985
Benefit from less border controls	0.154	0.069	1	0.025
Benefit from lower mobile phone costs	0.144	0.066	1	0.030
Volunteering – intercultural	0.239	0.099	1	0.016
Gender (female)	-0.271	0.061	1	0.000
Finished education at age 20+	0.151	0.065	1	0.020
Constant	-6.439	0.276	1	0.000

Source: European Commission 2010; own calculations.

With Nagelkerke R Square of 31.2 per cent, we can claim that the regression model has certain predictive capabilities, though this has not been our main purpose. The key insight from the regression model is identifying the aspects significantly related to the European identification.

Both education and gender have turned out to be significantly related to the European identification in a way consistent with the previous studies: men (see: Pichler 2008a: 384) and more educated (see: Fligstein 2009: 133) tend to identify with Europe to a higher extend. The effects of age and occupational status, however, turned out to be insignificant in statistical terms 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.

On the other hand, several concrete attitudes towards the EU and the proxy measure of the EU related competences turn out to be significantly related to European identification.

Distrust in the Council of the EU is negatively related to the European identification, which does not seem surprising, while this is not the case for the trust in the European Parliament and the European Commission. It may be argued that trust into certain political institutions in not necessarily related to the identification with a given community.

Regular reading of books, newspapers and magazines in non-native languages has also turned out to be significantly positively related 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' though it would be premature to draw the same conclusion for the transnational European level.

Being able to benefit from less border control and lower mobile phone costs and – as a key aspect of practices in transnational social fields – regular socialising with the people from another EU country also have a significant positive impact on the European identification. Growing body of research on social capital clearly shows the relevance of direct social interaction (more on this see Adam and Roncevic, 2003).

However, this is not the case for the practices that do not generate sufficient social interactions. Travelling to another country and watching TV in non-native languages thus indicated no significant relation with the European identification. Regular internet purchasing from another EU country is even negatively related to European identification. As noted by Wellman et al. (2001) there is a clear difference between using the internet for social activities, which promote interaction and using it for asocial activities, such as Web surfing (and, of course, on-line 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).

Although not included directly in the model, the underlying basic values are supposed to have mostly indirect impact on the European identification – exerting their influence mostly through the more concrete attitudes and practices. However, a clear shortcoming of the model is still related to the limits of our dataset: several indicators are far from optimal and not all the key aspects that may be related to the European identification are included.

The patterns of European identification

In order to understand the patterns of European identification, a wider variety of indicators should be considered. Moreover, we also need to recognise the varieties of the national contexts while entering the transnational social fields and identifying with Europe. To make this step, we have shifted the units of our analysis from individuals to the EU member states. While European identification seems to belong mostly to the level of the *thin culture* (cf. Mishler and Pollack 2003) – being related to the current practices in the European transnational social fields and attitudes on some very concrete issues – the patterns that contribute to its reproduction may still reside deeper in some of the more stable structural and cultural aspects of the national social contexts. If this hypothesis is true, the (national) patterns of the European identification should clearly correspond to some historical, structural and cultural divisions of the European continent.

Taking the EU member states as the units of analysis does not mean reverting back to methodological nationalism (cf. e.g. Beck 2005) in the sense of equating society with nation state. It is neither based only on the pragmatic reason that most of the data are collected within the national frames. Instead, it is based on the recognition that the political segmentation of social life in nation states implies a variety of (national) institutional and cultural features that may significantly affect the participation in the transnational social fields and the ways of identifying with Europe. Here, we can to some extend also continue the research began by Pichler (2008b) who also noted the national differences in the cultural and political aspects of European identification.

Using the countries' aggregates we have, beside the indicators used in our regression model, also included some additional material – not used in our logistic binary regression model, namely:

1) The practices in the transnational fields are also inferred from foreign direct investment intensity (European Commission 2010b), the shares of Erasmus exchange students (European Commission 2009) and international air transport passengers (European Commission 2010b).
2) Cognitive mobilisation as the macro level equivalent of individual's education is represented by the shares of those having tertiary education and those participating in life-long learning (European Commission 2010a).
3) As indicators of more specific EU related competences we used the percentages of those familiar and informed with EU citizenship and the related rights (European Commission 2010; European Commission 2007b).

4) We have added a range of other indicators related to the attitudes towards cosmopolitanism and European culture, namely believing that Europeans have more in common than others in cultural sense, believing in shared European history, identifying with the European flag, believing in cultural enrichment by people from different cultural backgrounds, in important role of cultural exchanges, understanding EU in terms of cultural diversity, refusing immigrants, Muslims and people of different races as neighbours, being concerned with the life of Europeans and with the entire humankind, as well as fear of losing national identity and culture because of the EU (European Commission 2007a; 2007c; EVS 2010).
5) For the issues related to the attitudes towards the EU and its political aspects we have added the EU related fears of losing social security, increased costs for one's country, its loss of power and the loss of jobs (EVS 2010).
6) For the category of the (transnational) civil society, we have included the numbers of INVO members and INVO headquarters per million inhabitants (Rek 2008) and the percentages of people doing unpaid for the Third World and human rights organisations, peace movements and the share of people belonging to no civil society organisation at all (EVS 2010).
7) The structural properties at country level have been represented by its Human Development Index (Human Development Report 2010), its GDP (European Commission 2010c) and the percentage of households with yearly income higher than 30,000 EUR (EVS 2010).
8) To illustrate the underlying values we have selected a set of choices from the European Value Study concerning some basic concepts for the upbringing of children (EVS 2010). We assume that the stress on learning obedience represents traditional

values, learning hard work and responsibility classical modern values, while learning tolerance and independence correspond to late modern, post-materialist and individualist values (cf. Inglehart 1997; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

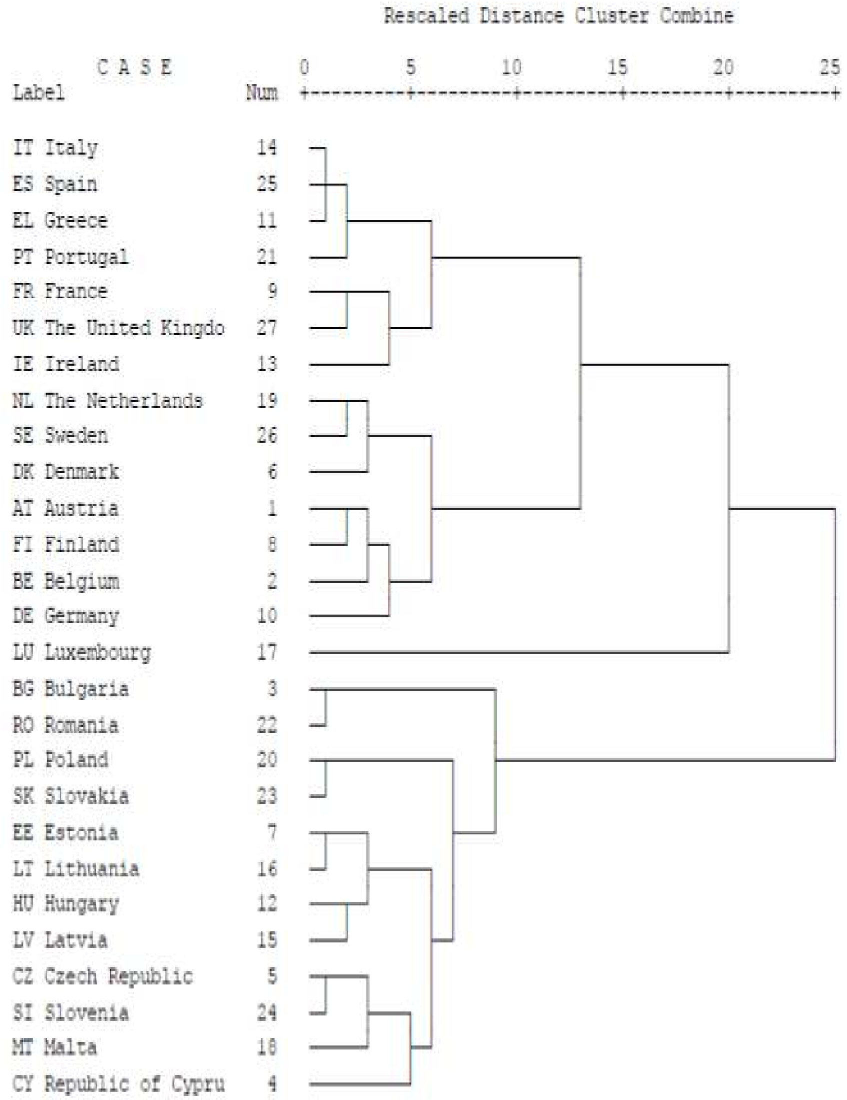
9) And finally, the indicators implying European identification have been feeling more European in the future, feeling EU citizen, belonging to Europe as the first geographic identification, belonging to Europe as the next one and identifying with the European flag (European Commission 2010; EVS 2010; European Commission 2007d).

All variables mentioned above have been used to generate the hierarchical cluster model based on Ward method. The corresponding dendrogram created by SPSS software is presented in Figure 2. First, one can clearly distinguish between the Eastern and the Western cluster of countries.

Figure 2: Patterns of European identification: hierarchical cluster analysis for EU member states

* * * * * * H I E R A R C H I C A L   C L U S T E R   A N A L Y S I S * * * * * *

Dendrogram using Ward Method



The Western cluster consists of all countries that have been the EU members already before 2004. It can be subdivided into four sub-categories, namely the Mediterranean consisting of Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain, the Nordic including the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark, the Western European consisting of France, the United Kingdom and Ireland, and West-Central European consisting of Germany, Austria, Belgium and Finland. Finally, Luxemburg clearly remains a special case within the Western cluster.

The Eastern cluster includes all new EU members, i.e. the countries that entered the Union in 2004 and 2007. It is further divided into four sub-categories, namely the Baltic-Hungarian, including the non-Slavic East-Central European countries, the South-Eastern consisting of the Orthodox post-communist countries of Bulgaria and Romania, the East-Central European with Poland and Slovakia and the Mediterranean-Central European group consisting of Slovenia and the Czech Republic (as the closest to each other in this group), with the addition of Cyprus and Malta.

Identification and responsibility

Following the distinction between thick and thin culture as formulated by Mishler and Pollack (2003), identity is traditionally supposed to belong to the most stable, essential, unconscious, emotional, and given aspect of culture – it is supposed to be its thicker aspect, preceding and shaping human practices and even institutions. However, this cannot be argued about the European identification, which is – as we have claimed in this paper in line with several other authors – a significantly more fluid and contingent concept, depending on a variety of attitudes, competences and concrete practices within the transnational social fields. Unlike national identities, which may be based on the long established traditions, myths and memories (cf. Anderson 1983; Smith 1995), reproduced through long periods of time, European identification resides more at the level of the thin culture. It is more chosen by the individual human actors than given in any kind of determinist way. As we presented in the first step of the empirical research, the actual social practices, which individuals choose to perform, and expect some sort of benefits from them, have a significant impact on European identification. Regular movement in European physical and cognitive space contributes to individuals' attachments to the European Union. However, 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. Those fields evoke the idea of European habitus, which is more a result of dialectical relationship between individuals' actions and intersubjective consideration of their actions (Bottero 2010), as just structural predisposition. Therefore, in terms of understanding contemporary European identification, it seems to be important to consider what people actually do in an integrating Europe. The 'ways of being' (Lewitt and Glick Schiller 2004) European in transnational social fields, referring to actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in, thus play a crucial role.

However, such actions may well be culturally as well as socially structured. Therefore, our findings do not mean that the thick culture and some long established social structural aspects play no role in identifying with Europe. This role may be particularly visible when one considers the variety of national contexts: the values, attitudes, competences and practices are far from randomly distributed across the European continent. As demonstrated by our hierarchical cluster analysis, the patterns of aspects related to the European identification clearly correspond to some well-known and well established (historical, cultural, political, economic) divisions in Europe.

A consistent distinction between 'the old' and 'the new' Europe produced by the cluster analysis is clearly not coincidental. But what does it tell us? It is tempting to adopt one of the two relatively straightforward and opposing explanations: based either on (too) shallow or (too) deep causal links (cf. Kitschelt 2003).

What one can call a shallow explanation is based on the fact that most of the distances between the countries may be explained by the time of their entering the EU. The ten countries that entered the EU in 2004 can be presented as a special group, while Bulgaria and Romania that joined the Union three years latter represent another one. More years in the EU seem to provide more opportunities for the actors and institutions in a given country to develop the relevant competences and to enter the European transnational social fields in increasingly elaborated ways. The patterns of identification with Europe thus become a matter of (a few) years or decades. The problem with shallow causal explanation is that it does not answer the question *why* these particular twelve countries have only joined the EU in 2004 or 2007 and not before.

The answer to this question may imply a deep causal explanation. The differences in national contexts reside not in the timing of joining the EU but in the underlying historical and geopolitical causes that had determined this timing. Ten of the twelve newcomers have experienced the communist rule. Even before, most of them (except the Czech lands) belonged to the underdeveloped European (semi)periphery characterised by late industrialisation and deficiencies in 'civilisational competence' (Adam et al. 2005; Berend 2001; Sztompka 1993). The specifics of Bulgaria and Romania might be related to the combination of communism and Orthodox religious traditions. In a similar manner, the position of the Nordic sub-category may be explained in terms of their distinct Protestant religious and cultural traditions. Moreover, the Mediterranean countries may also be claimed to belong to particular cultural circles, historically far older than any attempts of the European integration. The patterns of European identification may thus also correspond to some old historical, cultural, economical and geo-political divisions in the European continent (cf. Davies 1996).

Neither the shallow nor the deep causal explanation is necessarily incorrect – they are just both insufficient and should be used in combination. The national predispositions for the practices in transnational fields and identifying with Europe may be related to both deep and shallow causal factors in a similar manner as European identification, as an aspect of thin culture, may be generated as a product of both thick and thin elements of culture. The factors influencing the European identification may thus range from the deep and long established values to the concrete daily practices and circumstances.

Moreover, comparing our regression analysis results with the member states aggregate data demonstrates that the relations that can be observed at the individual (micro) level cannot be directly transferred to the (emergent macro) national level. While individuals more engaged in transnational social fields also tend to develop European identification to a greater extend, the European identification of the general populations in most of the old member states is generally no higher than in the new member states – in some cases the situation is even just the opposite. This may be mostly caused by the fact that it is not only the individual experience but also the exposure to the prevailing *discourses* on European issues in a given national environment that influences European identification (cf. Jessop and Oosterlinck 2008) where the national elites may play a significant role as well (cf. Adam, Kristan and Tomšič 2009).

It remains questionable whether the European *identification* as an aspect of thin culture can in time become European *identity* and thus a part of the thick culture. Available evidence does not speak in favour of such theses. The same question can be asked in the opposite way when concerning the national identity: is it becoming thinner while coexisting with the variety of identifications? Answering such questions is another challenge for the further research.

Although the European Union exists almost for a half of a century, it still remains manly an elite affair. The supranational political entity is still far from its citizens, and we can hardly speak about European identity. As we have shown in our research, certain conditions have to be fulfilled to bring the European Union closer to individuals. However, not everyone is able to participate in transnational European social fields, which seem to play a crucial part in that respect. Seeing that national patterns of identifications with European Union differ much among themselves, and there is a variety of perceptions of the Unity within nations, the responsibility for further existence of European Union seems to be more in the domain of national governments than the EU leaders and bureaucrats. The European Union draws legitimacy from the sovereign states which form it, and its bonding force in times of conflicting preferences and perceptions is limited (Immerfall et al. 2009). If the responsibility for unification, integration and action of the European Union would be in hands of its leaders and bureaucrats, another question should to be answered. The history of nation-building suggests that such a project goes hand in hand with excluding the 'Other', and having Euro-nationalism instead of well-know nationalisms sounds like an unsatisfactory option. It all points to the essence and goals of the European Union as such. Is it to remain a project of national elites or a common social space would arise and bond citizens together? Would the responsibility of the EU leaders and bureaucrats be needed afterwards, or is it a missing puzzle in the path of European integration?

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Merjenje odzivov porošnikov na oglaševanje: testiranje lestvice CASC

Andrej Kovačič [4]

Povzetek

Tradicionalne teorije raziskovanja učinkov oglaševanja, ki so temeljile na merjenju izključno racionalne (razumske) komponente, v mnogih pogledih nadomeščajo sodobne teorije, ki povezujejo učinkovitost tudi s čustveno komponento. Posledično se pojavljajo nove verbalne samoevalvacijske lestvice, ki naj bi bolj natančno merile odzive potrošnikov na oglaševalska sporočila. Pri tem je ključnega pomena, da pred uporabo nove lestvice testiramo na primerno velikih vzorcih v večih neodvisnih raziskavah. V tem članku je med teoretičnimi modeli predstavljen Heathov procesno-hierarhični model, v okviru tega koncepta pa CASC lestvica (Communication Analytic and Syncretic Cognitions). V obširni raziskavi, v katero smo zajeli 988 respondentov, smo testirali ali je lestvica učinkovita za merjenje posamezne komponente odziva (individualistične, primarne, družbene in racionalne) znotraj predvidenih motivov oglasov in ali lahko lestvica identificira priporočene tematike na ravni posameznih oglasov. Ugotovitve potrjujejo zastavljene hipoteze in s tem dokazujejo uporabnost lestvice za merjenje konkretnih komponent

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odzivov potrošnikov na oglaševanje.

Ključne besede: *oglaševanje, lestvica CASC, testiranje, razumsko, emocije.*

Abstract

Traditional theories based exclusively on rational component of advertising are increasingly being replaced by modern theories that put emotions to the forefront. As a consequence, new self-report scales which are used to measure the responses to advertising need to be tested. Among the theoretical models Heath's "hierarchy-of-processing" model is selected and in this theoretical framework CASC (Communication Analytic and Syncretic Cognitions) scale was selected for testing. In an extended research based on 988 respondents we have tested whether CASC scale can be an effective measurement for different groups of ad motives. In addition we have tested individual ads and their complience with the suggested motives based on the theory. The findings confirm that CASC scale is able to detect differences between different components and is thus an effective tool to measure advertising effects.

Key words: *advertising, CASC scale, copy-testing, rational, emotional*

Uvod

Preučevanje oglaševanja je s pojavom novih tehnologij čedalje bolj zapleteno, raziskovalno delo pa čedalje bolj interdisciplinarno, saj "produkti in blagovne znamke ne služijo samo funkcionalnemu namenu, za katerega so izdelani … ampak zadovoljujejo različne temeljne potrebe potrošnikov" (Ziems, 2004: 211). Tako merjenje učinkov oglaševanja že v osnovi zadeva več znanstvenih disciplin sociologije, biologije ekonomije in psihologije, kot tudi razumevanje tehnologije izdelave. Prav zaradi tovrstne interdisciplinarnosti se v akademskih krogih pojavlja množica različnih teorij in posledično izjemno število različnih raziskav oglaševanja, kar je razvidno iz številne[5] literature. Kljub veliki količini opravljenih raziskav na področju oglaševanja pa je relativno malo soglasja glede najbolj primerne metodologije. Soglasja je še manj v primeru, ko oglaševanje vključuje tudi elemente emotivnega prepričevanja, zato Hall (2004: 2) predlaga "ponovno analizo novih in kritični razmislek glede tradicionalnih orodij za merjenje oglaševalskih učinkov".

Pomen analize racionalne in emocionalne komponente oglasnih sporočil

Mnogi sodobni akademski raziskovalci in tudi praktiki se strinjajo, da emocije igrajo čedalje pomembnejšo vlogo v oglaševanju. Pieters in Klerk-Warmerdam (1996: 105–112) sta tako na podlagi analize prikazala

[5] Ključne besede "Measure advertising effects" (Meriti učinke oglaševanja) pokažejo več kot milijon zadetkov na Google (2011).

strukturo doživetih primerjav emocij, ki zajema oceno prijetnosti, moči in njeno smer. V raziskavi sta ugotovila, da neprijetne emocije in manj intenzivne prijetne emocije statistično vplivajo na odnos do oglasa. Na drugi strani močno pozitivne emocije statistično vplivajo na priklic oglasa. Chandy, Tellis, Macinnis in Thaivanich (2001: 410–411) trdijo, da takrat, ko se potrošniški trgi "starajo" in so potrošniki že poučeni o racionalni vrednosti proizvodov in storitev, racionalna komponenta oglasnih sporočil postaja manj učinkovita. Na teh trgih postajajo bolj učinkovita emocionalna oglasna sporočila. Na vprašanje ali so emocije v oglaševanju učinkovite tudi za oglaševanje storitev odgovarja Mattila. Avtor je dokazal precejšnjo statistično razliko pri odzivu na oglas brez in z emocionalno komponento (Mattila, 1999: 300–301). Hkrati dokazuje z visoko stopnjo notranje konsistence raziskovalnega modela tudi, da oglasi, ki vsebujejo bolj poudarjeno racionalno komponento, ne vplivajo na spremembo razpoloženja, medtem ko tisti s poudarjeno emocionalno komponento izboljšujejo pozitivna čustva kot so veselje, prijetnost in zanimanje in s tem povečujejo oglaševalsko učinkovitost pri oglaševanju storitev (1999: 301–302).

Izbira teoretičnega modela in preučevane lestvice

Po obširnem pregledu literarure (glej tudi Kovačič, 2011) smo za teoretični raziskovalni okvir izbrali Heathov (2007a: 38) procesno-hierarhični model. Heath je model testiral v večih raziskavah (2006, 2007b, 2009), kjer ponuja prikaz, kako lahko oglaševanje vpliva na odzive potrošnikov tudi v pogojih majhne pozornosti in pri oglasih, ki ne vsebujejo racionalnih informacij. Oglasna sporočila v preučevanem kontekstu zunanjega oglaševanja večinoma procesirajo po levi veji (stanje manjše pozornosti). Večino oglasnih sporočil tako preko avtomatskega in pasivnega učenja ustvarja nove nevronske povezave, ki tvorijo povezave med oglasnim sporočilom in emocijami. S tem vplivajo na emocionalno (nezavedno) odločitev za nakupe določenih izdelkov (Heath, 2007a: 28–31; Heath in Hyder, 2005: 474–475).

Za ocenjevanje oglasov je bila uporabljena CASC lestvica (angl. Communication Analytic and Syncretic Cognitions), ki so jo predstavili Buck, Anderson, Chaudhuri in Ray (2004: 650). Lestvica temelji na MacLeanovi teoriji delovanja možganov, ki vključuje štiri komponente potrošniškega odziva in sicer:

- razumski (angl.: cognitive) – temelji na argumentih (predlagan oglas naj bi posredoval informacijsko vrednost)
- primarni (angl.: reptilian) – temelji na primarnih čustvih kot so spolnost, erotika, agresija in moč (predlagan oglas naj bi vseboval erotično vsebino)
- družben (angl.: pro-social) – temelji na ohranitvi vrste in druženju in vključuje ljubezen, skrb, krivdo in zadrego (predlagan oglas naj bi vseboval družinsko tematiko)
- individualističen (angl.: individualistic) – ki vključuje samouresničitvene emocije kot so navdušenje, radovednost, presenečenje, zanimanje, dolgočasje, zaupanje, varnost in zadovoljstvo (predlagan oglas naj bi vseboval tematiko uspeha in samouresničevanja)

Možgani vsako izmed naštetih komponent procesirajo v drugem delu možganov. Skupaj pa naj bi po Chaudhuriju (2006: 17) štiri komponente omogočile celovit vpogled na odziv potrošnika. Lestvica omogoča zajemanje vseh omenjenih komponent odziva potrošnika. Testirana je bila za oglasna sporočila različnih medijev (tv, radio, tiskani mediji). Sestavljena je iz 16 vprašanj. Razdelitev na posamezne komponente s po štirimi vprašanji pri vsakem izmed sklopov (racionalni sklop, primarno emocionalni sklop, pozitivni sklop in negativni sklop) je razvidna v prilogi

1. Lestvica je bila prevedena iz angleškega jezika in kontrolno prevedena nazaj v angleški jezik[6].

Raziskovalno vprašanje in hipoteze

V želji po verifikaciji lestvice CASC smo izvedli testiranje sposobnosti lestvice CASC, da v okviru teoretičnega modela identificira posamezne komponente. Cilj članka je tako dokazati sposobnost CASC lestvice, da učinkovito identificira štiri komponente (individualistične, primarne, družbene in racionalne) odziva potrošnika na oglaševalsko sporočilo.

V skladu z navedenim postavljamo naslednje hipoteze:
H1 a,b,c,d: preverjanje lestvice CASC kot lestvice, s katero lahko določimo posamezne komponente (a)individualistične, (b)primarne, (c)družbene in (d)racionalne; skladno z navedeno MacLeanovo teorijo glede na priporočene skupine motivov oglasnih sporočil.
H2 a,b,c,d: preverjanje lestvice CASC na analizi posameznih oglasov glede na posamezne komponente (a)individualistične, (b)primarne, (c)družbene in (d)racionalne; ali le ti pripadajo priporočene skupine motivov oglasnih sporočil.

Potek raziskave

Pred izvedbo raziskave je oblikovalec izdelal 15 fiktivnih oglasov za isto izdelčno skupino (mleko), ki so se razlikovali glede na motive in vsebino. Vsi oglasi so bili tiskani v klasični tehniki 2D enake velikosti: višina=72 cm, širina=56 cm. Slogan je bil enak pri vseh ustvarjenih oglasih. Natančno

[6]Prevode sta opravili dve neodvisni prevajalki (profesorici angleškega jezika).

smo upoštevali tudi enotnost v oblikovnem pomenu in s tem izločili morebitno tendenco po večji všečnosti. Slednjo zahtevo za verodostojnost primerjalnih raziskav so izpostavili Ketelaar, Gisbergen, Bosman in Beentjes (2008: 22). Omenjeni avtorji so namreč opazovali prisotnost in lokacijo naslovov oglasov in ugotovili, da statistično dokazljivo vplivajo na reakcije potrošnikov, zato sta bila velikost in preglednost naslovov ter napisov za vse oglase podobna.

V sistem ocenjevanja je bilo sprejetih 15 oglasov, ki naj bi glede na predvidene motive najbolj zastopali posamezne predvidene kategorije. Oglasi so bili označeni naključno s številkami od 1 do 15 z namenom, da zaporedna številka ne bi povzročila raziskovalne pristranskosti.

Predvidene skupine glede na priporočene motive (Chaudhuri, 2006: 17) so bile:

- racionalen – oglasi s številkami: 9, 10, 11
- primaren – oglasi s številkami: 2, 3, 5, 7
- družben – oglasi s številkami: 1, 4, 6
- individualističen – oglasi s številkami: 8, 12, 13, 14, 15

Vzorec za posamezni oglas se je gibal med 50 in 75 ocen. Skupno število ocenjenih oglasov v vzorcu ocenjenih s CASC lestvico ob kontroli demografskih dejavnikov (spol in starost) je bilo 988.

Načrtno smo se izognili tudi uporabi blagovne znamke kot to za primerjalne raziskave predlagajo Baird, Wahlers in Cooper (2007: 49–52). Avtorji trdijo, da je vpliv blagovne znamke tako pomemben, da ga je praktično nemogoče kontrolirati. Povezava blagovne znamke z določenimi občutki pa bi lahko povzročila velika odstopanja pri ocenah emocionalnih komponent. Končno smo upoštevali izsledke raziskave

Poncin, Pieters, Ambaye (2006), ki so preučevali vpliv predhodnega oglaševanja na merjenje odzivov potrošnikov na določeno oglasno sporočilo. Ker so avtorji ugotovili, da bi tudi zaporedje lahko vplivalo na ocenjevanje, smo v raziskavi uporabljali popolnoma naključno ocenjevalno zaporedje, ki se je skozi celotno izvedbo raziskave spreminjalo.

Anketiranje je potekalo v trgovskih centrih oz. njihovi neposredni bližini. Na vseh lokacijah je bil precejšen pretok potencialnih potrošnikov. Nadzorovane so bile demografske spremenljivke z namenom zajemanja statistično zadostnih vzorcev za posamezne razrede neodvisnih spremenljivk (glede na spol in starostni razred). Z anketarji smo nadzorovali tudi število opravljenih anket glede na lokacijo ocenjevanja.

Vzorčenje, neodvisne in odvisne spremenljivke, predpostavke in metode analize

Enota analize je ocena oglasnega sporočila. Neodvisna spremenljivka je bila predvidena kategorija oglasa[7] glede na predlagane motive oglasnih sporočil (štiri skupine). V vzorcu je bilo 39,5% moških in 60,5% žensk (priloga 3). Povprečna starost anketiranca (priloga 2) je bila 42,73 let ± 10,32 let (srednja vrednost ± standardna deviacija).
Odvisne spremenljivke[8] so bile:

- racionalna komponenta CASC
- primarne emocije – komponenta CASC
- družbene emocije – posamezno vprašanje CASC

[7] Uporabljena le za testiranje lestvice na podlagi predlaganih motivov
[8] Prevod lestvice in razdelitev na posamezna vprašanja, ki sestavljajo posamezne komponente, sta razvidna v prilogi 1.3.

- individualistične emocije – posamezno vprašanje CASC
- celotna lestvica CASC
- kontrolna spremenljivka – korekcija vida

Metoda analize je bila kvantitativna statistična analiza in sicer za kontrolno spremenljivko korekcija vida Studentov t-test, za primarno analizo pa enofaktorska analiza variance (angl. one-way ANOVA) s post-hoc primerjavo (preizkusi mnogoterih primerjav s Scheffejevim preizkusom). Predpostavke za analizo so bile normalnost porazdelitve populacije in homoscedastičnost (homogenost variance). Opazovanja so bila med seboj neodvisna.

Kontrolna analiza vpliva korekcije vida na ocenjevanje po lestvici CASC

Na vprašanje ali nosite (v času ocenjevanja) korekcijska očala ali leče je pritrdilno odgovorilo 38,6% vprašanih[9]. Ker je sposobnost vida ključna za ocenjevanje, smo izvedli kontrolno analizo razlik med povprečnimi ocenami oseb, ki imajo korekcijo vida in tistih, ki je nimajo za vsako izmed preučevanih komponent s petimi t-testi. Iz navedenih testov lahko sklepamo za skupino (ocen po lestvici CASC):

- komponente INDIVIDUALISTIČNIH emocij je analiza pokazala, da so lahko enakosti variance predpostavljene, saj je $F=3,803$ pri $p>0,05$ in t-test statistika: $t(df=986)= 1,227$ pri $p>0,05$. Rezultati analize kažejo, da ne obstaja statistično značilna razlika v povprečju med ocenami oseb, ki nimajo korekcije vida

[9] Za ZDA je National Eye Institut (2008: 3) ugotovil, da 66% odraslih nad 18 let uporablja kakršnokoli obliko korekcije vida. V tej številki so zajeta tudi očala za branje.

(povprečna ocena 3,86) in tistimi, ki so v času anketiranja nosili očala ali leče (povprečna ocena 3,70).

- komponente PRIMARNIH emocij po CASC obstajajo statistično značilne razlike t-test statistika: t(df=986)= 2,130 pri $p<0,05$. (povprečje brez korekcije NE=2,48 ; DA= 2,31).
- komponente DRUŽBENIH emocij po CASC ne obstajajo statistično značilne razlike t-test statistika: t(df=986)= -0,093 pri $p>0,05$. (povprečje brez korekcije NE=3,44 ; DA= 3,46).
- komponente RACIONALNI emocij po CASC ne obstajajo statistično značilne razlike t-test statistika: t(df=986)= 0,046 pri $p>0,05$. (povprečje brez korekcije NE=3,27 ; DA= 3,26).
- CELOTNI LESTVICI CASC ne obstajajo statistično značilne razlike t-test statistika: t(df=845,7)= 0,583 pri $p>0,05$. (povprečje brez korekcije NE=3,97 ; DA= 3,94).

Iz navedene analize lahko sklepamo, da razen za komponento primarnih emocij ne moremo dokazati značilnih razlik med osebami, ki so v času anketiranja uporabljale pripomoček za korekcijo vida (očala ali kontaktne leče). Kljub navedenemu je razlika v primeru primarnih emocij manjša od dveh desetink stopnje in zato smatramo, da ni imela večjega vpliva na izbor oglasov, saj je v enaki meri vplivala na vse ocenjevane oglase. Primerjava povprečij pri ostalih komponentah, zlasti pa na celotni lestvici CASC, nam dokazuje, da korekcija vida ni vplivala na ocenjevanje oglasov.

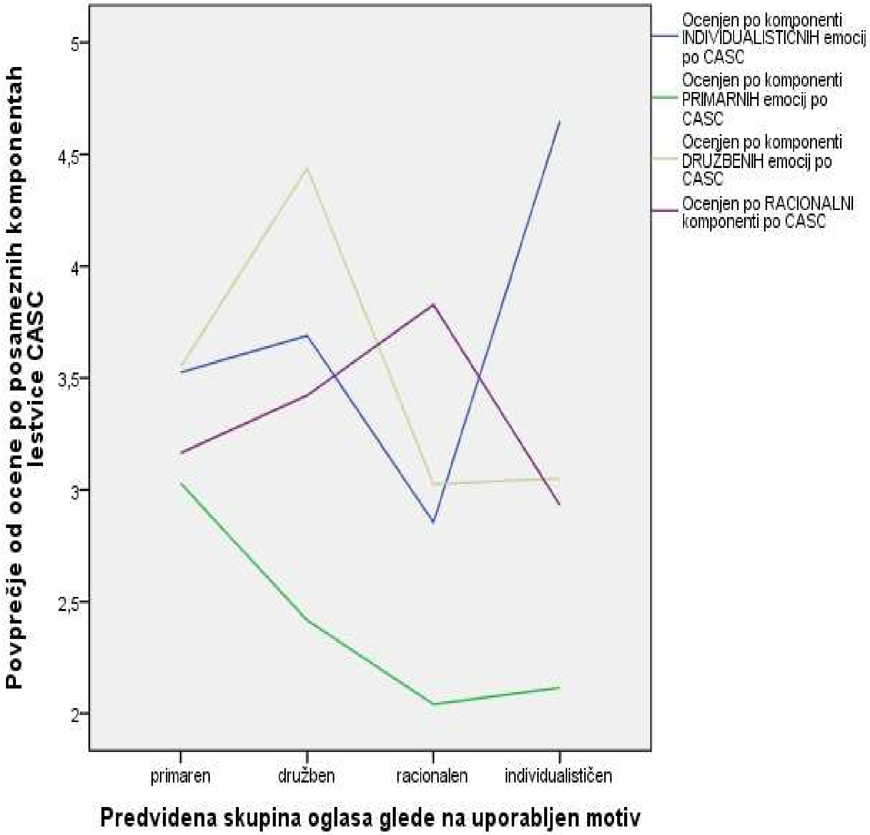
Ali posamezne komponente CASC lestvice dejansko identificirajo skupine s tematiko, ki naj bi ustrezala določeni komponenti (testiranje hipotez H1)

V okviru analize raziskave smo preučevali ali posamezni predlagani motivi oglasov dejansko vzbujajo določene komponente kot predlaga

Chaudhuri (2006). Zato smo med seboj primerjali skupine oglasov, katerih motivi naj bi povzročili višje povprečne vrednosti v posameznih komponentah. Komponenti primarnih emocij in racionalne komponente sta opredeljeni s povprečjem štirih vprašanj, komponenti individualističnih in družbenih emocij pa s po enim vprašanjem na lestvici CASC.

Rezultati enostopenjske analize variance (ANOVE) nam kažejo, da je ocena racionalne komponente lestvice CASC odvisna od izbora predvidene skupine oglasa glede na uporabljen motiv $F(3, 984) = 24,17$ pri $p< 0,00$. Pri tem je imela predvidena skupina oglasov z racionalno tematiko največje povprečje in sicer 3,84. Razlike med povprečji so bile minimalne in so znašale med 0,40 in 0,89 stopnje na 9-stopenjski lestvici. Slednje pomeni, da so v očeh potrošnikov očitno tudi ostale skupine oglasov dosegle relativno visoko racionalno vrednost. Kljub temu je statistično značilne razlike med povprečji bilo mogoče dokazati do vseh ostalih treh skupin pri $p< 0,00$ (priloga 5) zato lahko sprejmemo hipotezo H1(a).

Graf 1: Povprečne ocene posameznih skupin oglasov



Vir: raziskava št. 1

Podobno smo uspeli dokazati tudi za ostale tri skupine, kar je lepo vidno tudi na grafu 1:

- ocena primarnih emocij merjenih kot komponenta lestvice CASC (priloga 6) je odvisna od izbora predvidene skupine oglasa glede na uporabljen motiv $F(3, 984) = 41,21$ pri $p< 0,00$. Pri tem je imela predvidena skupina oglasov s primarno tematiko največje povprečje in sicer 3,03. Statistično značilne razlike med povprečji je bilo mogoče dokazati do vseh ostalih treh skupin pri p< 0,00. Razlike med povprečji do ostalih skupin niso bile zelo velike in so znašale med 0,62 (za primerjavo z družbenim) do največ 0,98 (za primerjavo z racionalnim oglasom) na 9-stopenjski lestvici. Sprejemamo hipotezo H1(b).

- ocena družbenih emocij merjenih kot vprašanje lestvice CASC (priloga 7) je odvisna od izbora predvidene skupine oglasa glede na uporabljen motiv F(3, 984) = 25,72 pri p< 0,00. Pri tem je imela predvidena skupina oglasov z družbeno tematiko največje povprečje in sicer 4,44. Statistično značilne razlike med povprečji je bilo mogoče dokazati do vseh ostalih treh skupin pri p< 0,00. Razlike med povprečji so znašale med 0,88 (za primerjavo z primarnim oglasom) in 1,41 (za primerjavo z racionalnim oglasom) stopnje na 9-stopenjski lestvici. Sprejemamo hipotezo H1(c).
- ocena individualističnih emocij merjenih kot vprašanje iz lestvice CASC (priloga 8) je odvisna od izbora predvidene skupine oglasa glede na uporabljen motiv F(3, 984) = 37,01 pri p< 0,00. Pri tem je imela predvidena skupina individualističnih oglasov največje povprečje in sicer 4,65, kar je razvidno tudi iz grafa 1. Statistično značilne razlike med povprečji je bilo mogoče dokazati do vseh ostalih treh skupin pri p< 0,00. Razlike med povprečji so bile precejšnje in sicer med 0,95 in 1,79 stopnje na 9-stopenjski lestvici. Sprejemamo hipotezo H1(d).

Rezultati analize dokazujejo primernost izbranih motivov glede na izbrani učinek, ki naj bi ga povzročile. S tem smo hkrati ugotovili, da je metodologija izbire najprimernejšega oglasa v vsaki kategoriji s komponentami CACS primerna.

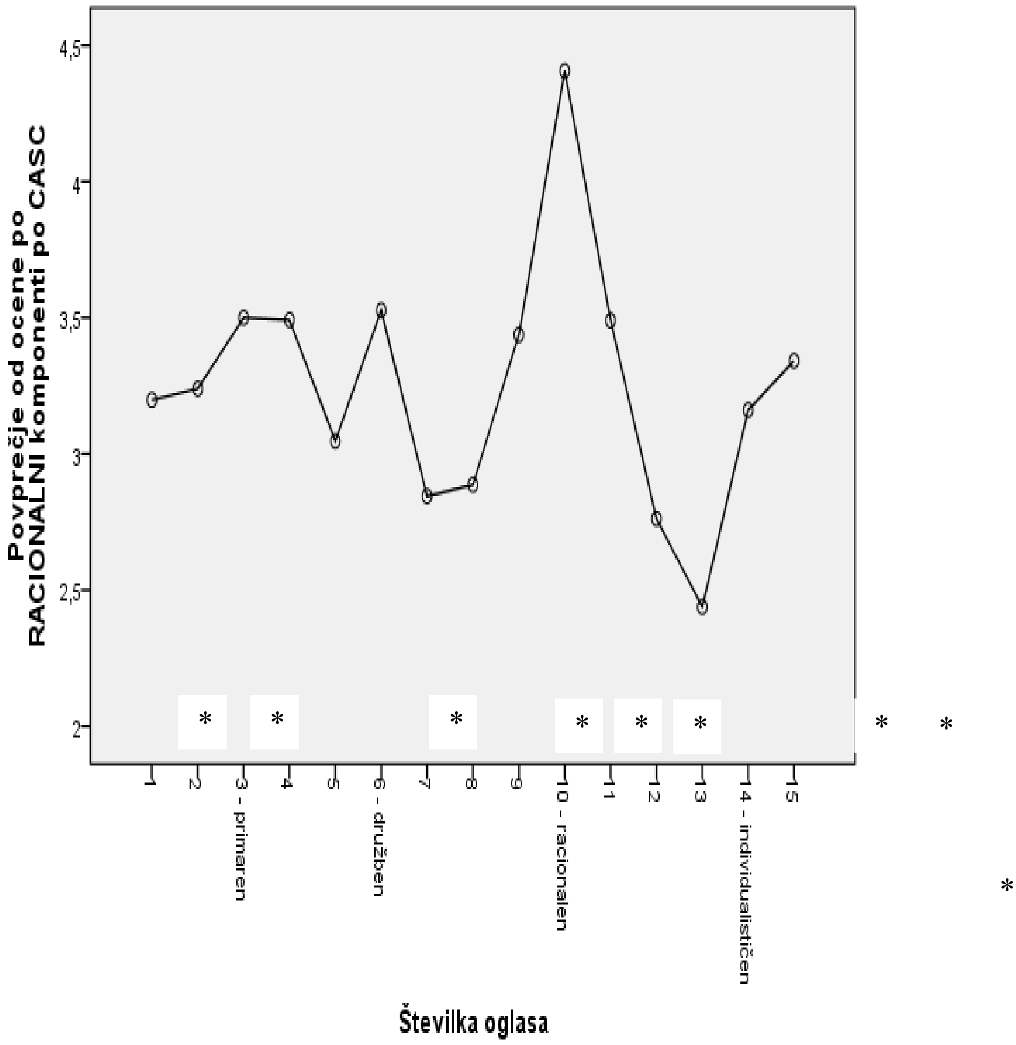
Primerjava posameznih oglasov (testiranje hipotez H2)

V nadaljevanju smo se posvetili posameznim analiziranim oglasom, kjer so rezultati predstavljeni v obliki utemeljitve izbora posameznega oglasa za vsako izmed štirih kategorij. S tem lahko zagotovimo, da je izbrani oglas najbolj primeren oglas tako s stališča kategorije, kot tudi v primerjavi med posameznimi oglasi. Za vse izbore smo v analizo vzeli vseh 15 oglasov. Oglas, ki se je najbolje odrezal v posamezni kategoriji, smo zaradi lažjega sledenja na grafu in v tabelah v prilogi naknadno označili kot "racionalen", "primaren", "družben" in "individualističen".

Analiza oglasov po spremenljivki: racionalen

CASC lestvica vsebuje racionalno komponento (priloga 10 – razdelitev CASC po komponentah), ki je bila osnova za izbor oglasa. Rezultati enostopenjske analize variance nam kažejo, da je racionalna komponenta merjena kot komponenta CASC odvisne od izbora oglasa $F(14, 973) = 10{,}10$ pri $p< 0{,}00$. Pri tem je imel izbrani oglas največje povprečje in sicer 4,41, kar je razvidno tudi iz grafa 2. Iz navedenega sprejemamo hipotezo H2(a) s pridržkom (obstajajo razlike, vendar vseh nismo uspeli statistično dokazati), saj je bilo statistično značilne razlike med povprečji mogoče dokazati za 10 izmed 14-ih primerjav označenih na grafu z zvezdico.

Graf 2: Povprečne ocene oglasov glede na racionalno komponento

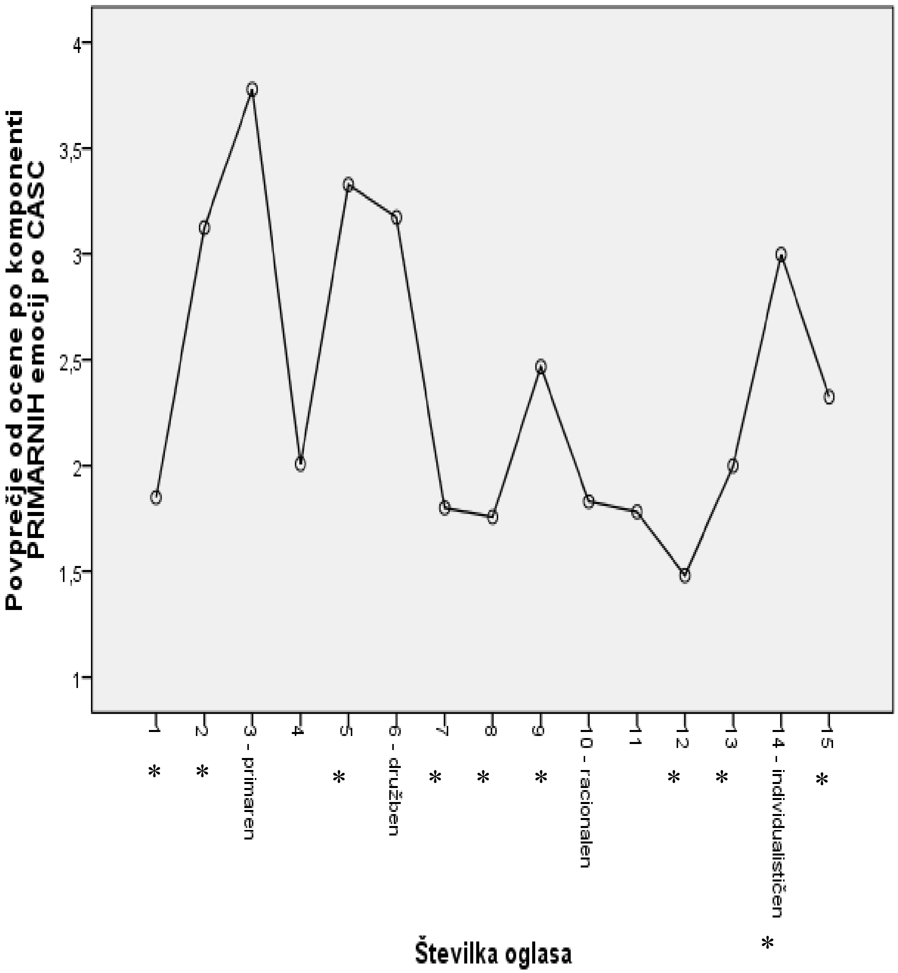


Vir: lastna raziskava (z zvezdico so označeni oglasi, ki se statistično razlikujejo od izbranega racionalnega oglasa glede povprečja komponente)

Analiza oglasov po spremenljivki: primaren

CASC lestvica vsebuje komponento primarnih emocij (priloga 11 – razdelitev CASC po komponentah) in slednja je bila osnova za izbor oglasa, ki naj bi vzbudil najbolj primarne emocije. Rezultati enostopenjske analize variance nam kažejo, da so primarne emocije merjene kot komponenta CASC odvisne od izbora oglasa F(14, 973) = 35,88 pri p<0,00. Pri tem je imel izbrani oglas največje povprečje in sicer 4,41, kar je razvidno tudi iz grafa 3. Statistično značilne razlike med povprečji je bilo mogoče dokazati za 10 izmed 14-ih primerjav, zato sprejemamo hipotezo H2(b) s pridržkom (obstajajo razlike, vendar vseh nismo uspeli statistično dokazati).

Graf 3: Povprečne ocene oglasov glede na primarne emocije

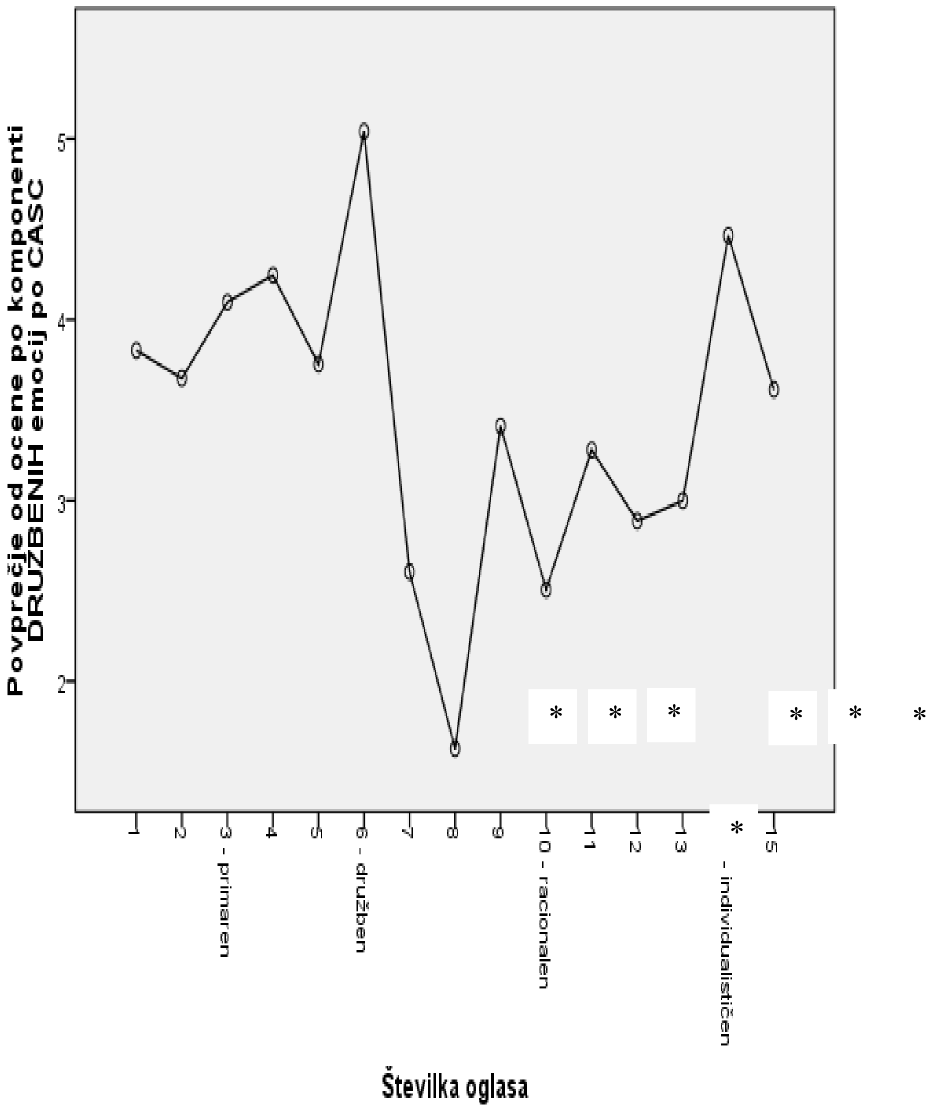


Vir: raziskava št.1 (z zvezdico so označeni oglasi, ki se statistično razlikujejo od izbranega primarnega oglasa glede povprečja komponente)

Analiza oglasov po spremenljivki: družben

CASC lestvica ne vsebuje komponente, ki bi neposredno merila družbene emocije, zato smo za izbor oglasa preučevali le vprašanje iz CASC lestvice: "Ali ste ob oglasu dobili občutek pripadnosti/identifikacije skupini?" Na podlagi odgovora na to vprašanje, ki sicer spada v CASC skupino pozitivnih emocij, smo izvedli enostopenjsko analizo variance (priloga 12). Pri tem so družbene emocije merjene kot zgoraj navedeno vprašanje CASC lestvice odvisne od izbora oglasa $F(14, 973) = 18,23$ pri $p< 0,00$.

Graf 4: Povprečne ocene oglasov glede na družbene emocije


Povprečje od ocene po komponenti DRUŽBENIH emocij po CASC
5
4
3
2
1
2
3 - primaren
4
5
6 - družben
7
8
9
10 - racionalen
11
12
13
- individualističen
15
Številka oglasa

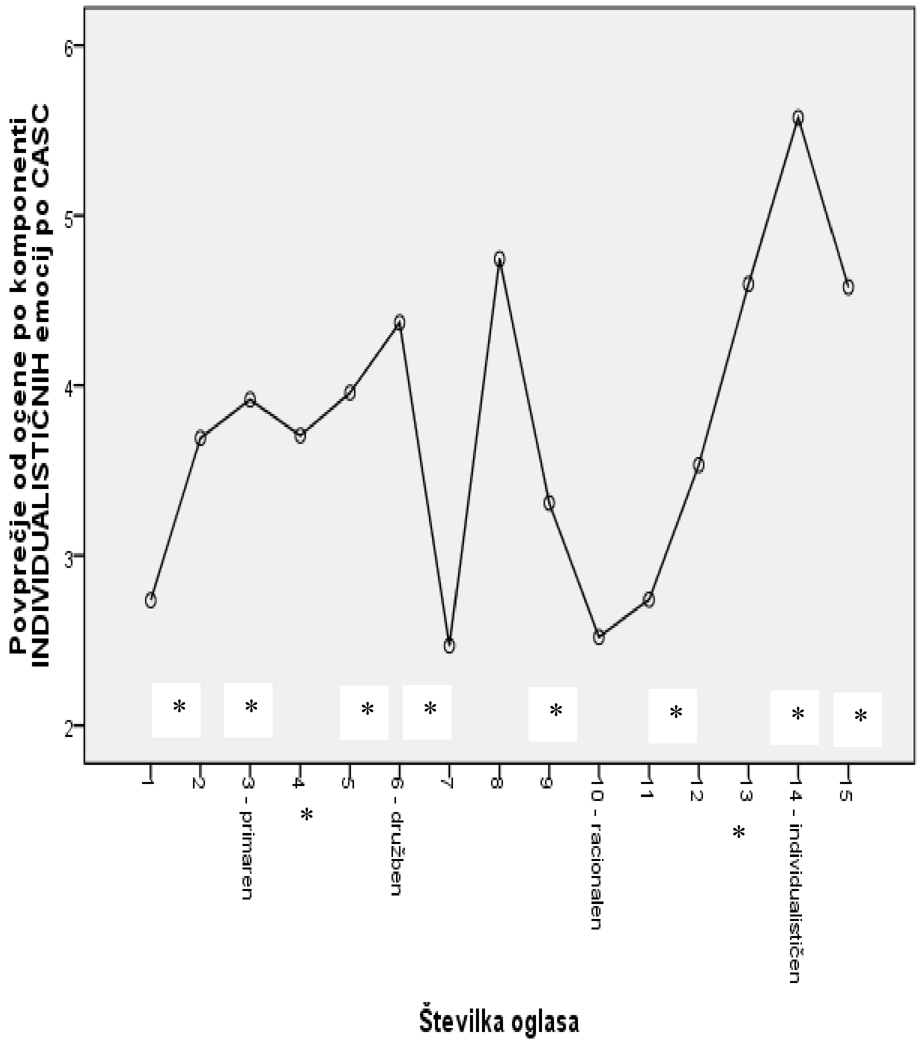
Vir: raziskava št.1 (z zvezdico so označeni oglasi, ki se statistično razlikujejo od izbranega družbenega oglasa glede povprečja)

Pri tem je imel izbrani oglas največje povprečje na vprašanju in sicer 5,04, kar je razvidno tudi iz grafa 4. Statistično značilne razlike med povprečji je bilo podobno mogoče dokazati za 7 izmed 14-ih primerjav označenih na grafu s zvezdico, zato sprejemamo hipotezo H2(c) s pridržkom (obstajajo razlike, vendar vseh nismo uspeli statistično dokazati).

Analiza oglasov po spremenljivki: individualističen

CASC lestvica ne vsebuje komponente, ki bi neposredno merila individualistične emocije. Zato smo v lestvici merili individualistične emocije kot odgovor na vprašanje "Ali ste se ob oglasu počutili ponosni?" Na podlagi odgovora na to vprašanje, ki sicer spada v CASC skupino pozitivnih emocij, smo izvedli enostopenjsko analizo variance (priloga 13). Pri tem so individualistične emocije merjene kot zgoraj navedeno vprašanje CASC lestvice od izbora oglasa $F(14, 973) = 15{,}496$ pri $p < 0{,}00$. Izbrani oglas št. 14 je imel največje povprečje glede na individualistično vprašanje iz CASC in sicer 5,58, kar je razvidno tudi iz grafa 5.

Graf 5: Povprečne ocene oglasov glede na individualistične emocije


Povprečje od ocene po komponenti INDIVIDUALISTIČNIH emocij po CASC
6
5
4
3
2
1
2
3 - primaren
4
5
6 - družben
7
8
9
10 - racionalen
11
12
13
14 - individualističen
15
Številka oglasa

Vir: raziskava št.1 (z zvezdico so označeni oglasi, ki se statistično razlikujejo od izbranega individualističnega oglasa glede povprečja komponente)

Statistično značilne razlike med povprečji je bilo podobno mogoče dokazati za 10 izmed 14-ih primerjav označenih na grafu s zvezdico, zato sprejemamo hipotezo H2(d) s pridržkom (obstajajo razlike, vendar vseh nismo uspeli statistično dokazati).

Povzetek in zaključek

Kot je razvidno iz grafov, so se pri ocenjevanju pojavljale precejšnje razlike v povprečni vrednosti, ki so odražale napotke izbire tematik oglasov iz literature. S tem smo uspeli dokazati vse H1. V nasprotju smo H2 lahko dokazali le s pridržkom, saj nam kljub velikim razlikam za vsak izbrani oglas ni uspelo statistično dokazati razlik do vseh ostalih oglasov glede na ocenjevano komponento. Razlog je v tem, da so si bili v posamezni skupini, ki naj bi zastopala določeno komponento odziva, nekateri oglasi zelo podobni in so temu primerno bili zelo podobno ocenjeni.

V prid uporabljeni lestvici CASC je, da je uspela zaznati statistične razlike med posameznimi predvidenimi tematikami oglasov glede na štiri komponente. To je razvidno iz analize oglasov po predvidenih komponentah glede uporabljenih motivov. Vsi najbolje ocenjeni oglasi glede na komponente odziva so prikazani v prilogi 15. S tem je bil izpolnjen tudi zadani cilj raziskave – dokazali smo učinkovitost merjenja.

Pri izvedbi raziskave smo bili pozitivno presenečeni nad učinkovitostjo lestvice CASC, da tako natančno identificira oglase, ki vsebujejo poudarjene posamezne komponente. Uporabo lestvice priporočamo za vse vrste testiranj oglasnih sporočil, saj je logična, stroškovno ugodno s stališča izvedbe in se dobro dopolnjuje z lestvico nakupne namere.

1. TABELA: PREVOD LESTVICE CASC IN RAZDELITEV PO KOMPONENTAH

Št.	Originalna lestvica	Slovenski prevod (uporabljena lestvica)	Komponenta po CASC
1	Did the ad make you feel happy?	Ali vas je oglas spravil v dobro voljo?	D
2	Did the ad make you think of real differences between the brand and its competitors?	Ali ste morda razmišljati o razlikah med blagovno znamko iz oglasa in konkurenčnimi izdelki/storitvami?	B
3	Did the ad make you feel sexy?	Ste se po oglasu počutili bolj seksi?	A
4	Did the ad make you feel afraid?	Ste ob oglasu občutili kakršnokoli prestrašenost?	C
5	Did the ad make you think of the pros or cons of the brand?	Ste ob oglasu razmišljali o prednostih in slabostih blagovne znamke?	B
6	Did the ad make you feel hopeful?	Vam je oglas vzbudil občutek optimizma?	D
7	Did the ad make you feel angry?	Vam je oglas povzročil občutek jeze?	C
8	Did the ad make you think of arguments for using or not using the brand?	Ste ob oglasu razmišljali o argumentih za uporabo ali proti uporabi te blagovne znamke?	B
9	Did the ad make you feel disgusted?	Se vam je oglas gnusil?	C
10	Did the ad make you feel a sense of power?	Vas je oglas navdušil?	A

11	Did the ad make you think of facts about the brand?	Ste ob oglasu razmišljali o lastnostih blagovne znamke?	B
12	Did the ad make you feel envious?	Ste občutili zavidljivost?	A
13	Did the ad make you feel a sense of affiliation?	Ste ob oglasu občutili, da bi lahko pripadali skupini, ki uporablja to blagovno znamko?	D, E
14	Did the ad make you feel aggressive?	Ste se po oglasu počutili agresivno?	A
15	Did the ad make you feel irritated?	Ste se ob oglasu počutili razdraženo?	C
16	Did the ad make you feel proud?	Ste se ob oglasu počutili ponosni nase?	D, F

A – primarne emocije
B – racionalna komponenta
C – negativne emocije
D – pozitivne emocije
E – družbene emocije
F – individualistične emocije

2. TABELA: DEMOGRAFSKE ZNAČILNOSTI GLEDE NA STAROST

N	Veljavni primeri	988
	Manjka	0
Aritmetična sredina		42,7368
Mediana		41,0000
Standardna deviacija		10,32303
Variance		106,565
Variacijski razmik		58,00
Minimum		16,00
Maksimum		74,00

3. TABELA: DEMOGRAFSKE ZNAČILNOSTI GLEDE NA SPOL ANKETIRANEGA

		Frekvenca	Odstotek	Odstotek veljavnih primerov	Kumulativni odstotek
Veljavni primeri	moški	390	39,5	39,5	39,5
	ženski	598	60,5	60,5	100,0
	Skupaj	988	100,0	100,0	

4. TABELA: POVPREČJA POSAMEZNIH ANALIZIRANIH SKUPIN IN OPISNA STATISTIKA

Korekcija vida	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka aritmetične sredine

Ocenjen po komponenti INDIVIDUALISTIČNIH emocij po CASC dimension1	Ne Da	607 381	3,86 3,70	2,044 2,135	,083 ,109
Ocenjen po komponenti PRIMARNIH emocij po CASC dimension1	Ne Da	607 381	2,48 2,31	1,229 1,174	,050 ,060
Ocenjen po komponenti DRUŽBENIH emocij po CASC dimension1	Ne Da	607 381	3,44 3,46	1,949 1,951	,079 ,100
Ocenjen po RACIONALNI komponenti po CASC dimension1	Ne Da	607 381	3,27 3,26	1,263 1,219	,051 ,062
Ocenjen po CELOTNI LESTVICI CASC dimension1	Ne Da	607 381	3,97 3,94	,724 ,679	,029 ,035

5. TABELA: POVPREČJA POSAMEZNIH SKUPIN MOTIVOV GLEDE NA MERJENJE Z RACIONALNO KOMPONENTO PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka	95% interval zaupanja aritmetične sredine	
					Spodnja meja	Zgornja meja
Primaren	278	3,17	1,070	,064	3,04	3,29
Družben	187	3,42	1,445	,106	3,21	3,63
Racionalen	193	3,83	1,359	,098	3,63	4,02
Individualističen	330	2,93	1,056	,058	2,82	3,05
Skupaj	988	3,27	1,246	,040	3,19	3,34

6. TABELA: POVPREČJA POSAMEZNIH SKUPIN MOTIVOV MERJENO PO KOMPONENTI PRIMARNIH EMOCIJ KOMPONENTO PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka	95% interval zaupanja aritmetične sredine	
					Spodnja meja	Zgornja meja
primaren	278	3,03	1,316	,079	2,87	3,18
družben	187	2,42	1,119	,082	2,26	2,58
racionalen	193	2,04	1,032	,074	1,89	2,19
individualističen	330	2,12	1,056	,058	2,00	2,23
Skupaj	988	2,41	1,210	,038	2,34	2,49

7. TABELA: POVPREČJA POSAMEZNIH SKUPIN MOTIVOV MERJENO PO KOMPONENTI DRUŽBENIH EMOCIJ KOMPONENTO PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka	95% interval zaupanja aritmetične sredine	
					Spodnja meja	Zgornja meja
primaren	278	3,55	1,785	,107	3,34	3,76
družben	187	4,44	1,875	,137	4,17	4,71
racionalen	193	3,03	1,927	,139	2,75	3,30
individualističen	330	3,05	1,930	,106	2,84	3,26
Skupaj	988	3,45	1,949	,062	3,33	3,57

8. TABELA: POVPREČJA POSAMEZNIH SKUPIN MOTIVOV MERJENO PO KOMPONENTI INDIVIDUALISTIČNIH EMOCIJ KOMPONENTO PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka	95% interval zaupanja aritmetične sredine	
					Spodnja meja	Zgornja meja
primaren	278	3,53	1,974	,118	3,29	3,76
družben	187	3,69	2,140	,157	3,38	4,00
racionalen	193	2,85	1,982	,143	2,57	3,14
individualističen	330	4,65	1,872	,103	4,45	4,85
Skupaj	988	3,80	2,080	,066	3,67	3,93

9. TABELA: POVPREČJA POSAMEZNIH SKUPIN MOTIVOV MERJENO PO CELOTNI LESTVICI CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka	95% interval zaupanja aritmetične sredine	
					Spodnja meja	Zgornja meja
primaren	278	4,05	,670	,040	3,97	4,12
družben	187	4,13	,716	,052	4,03	4,24
racionalen	193	3,87	,774	,056	3,76	3,98
individualističen	330	3,84	,663	,036	3,77	3,91
Skupaj	988	3,96	,707	,022	3,92	4,00

10. TABELA: STATISTIČNI KAZALCI GLEDE NA MERITEV PO RACIONALNI KOMPONENTI PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka
1	53	3,20	1,475	,203
2	71	3,24	1,210	,144
3 - primaren	72	3,50	,732	,086
4	61	3,49	1,792	,229
5	69	3,05	1,193	,144
6 - družben	73	3,53	1,045	,122
7	66	2,84	,989	,122
8	86	2,89	1,337	,144
9	68	3,44	1,352	,164
10 - racionalen	75	4,41	,886	,102
11	50	3,49	1,646	,233
12	62	2,76	,944	,120
13	52	2,44	,575	,080
14 - individualističen	73	3,16	,600	,070
15	57	3,34	1,267	,168
Skupaj	988	3,27	1,246	,040

11. TABELA: STATISTIČNI KAZALCI GLEDE NA MERITEV PO KOMPONENTI PRIMARNIH EMOCIJ PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka
1	53	1,85	,579	,079
2	71	3,12	1,542	,183
3 - primaren	72	3,78	,907	,107

4	61	2,01	,834	,107
5	69	3,33	,924	,111
6 - družben	73	3,17	1,208	,141
7	66	1,80	,876	,108
8	86	1,76	,905	,098
9	68	2,47	1,181	,143
10 - racionalen	75	1,83	,877	,101
11	50	1,78	,843	,119
12	62	1,48	,416	,053
13	52	2,00	,592	,082
14 - individualističen	73	3,00	1,184	,139
15	57	2,32	1,133	,150
Skupaj	988	2,41	1,210	,038

12. TABELA: STATISTIČNI KAZALCI GLEDE NA MERITEV PO KOMPONENTI DRUŽBENIH EMOCIJ PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka
1	53	3,83	1,919	,264
2	71	3,68	1,896	,225
3 - primaren	72	4,10	1,445	,170
4	61	4,25	2,314	,296
5	69	3,75	1,613	,194
6 - družben	73	5,04	1,136	,133
7	66	2,61	1,847	,227
8	86	1,63	1,237	,133
9	68	3,41	1,755	,213
10 - racionalen	75	2,51	1,750	,202
11	50	3,28	2,241	,317
12	62	2,89	1,784	,227
13	52	3,00	1,749	,243
14 - individualističen	73	4,47	1,930	,226
15	57	3,61	1,567	,208
Skupaj	988	3,45	1,949	,062

13. TABELA: STATISTIČNI KAZALCI GLEDE NA MERITEV PO KOMPONENTI INDIVIDUALISTIČNIH EMOCIJ PO CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka
1	53	2,74	2,001	,275
2	71	3,69	2,214	,263
3 - primaren	72	3,92	1,004	,118
4	61	3,70	2,431	,311

5	69	3,96	2,138	,257
6 - družben	73	4,37	1,696	,198
7	66	2,47	1,978	,244
8	86	4,74	1,855	,200
9	68	3,31	1,887	,229
10 - racionalen	75	2,52	1,941	,224
11	50	2,74	2,088	,295
12	62	3,53	1,808	,230
13	52	4,60	1,933	,268
14 - individualističen	73	5,58	1,154	,135
15	57	4,58	2,044	,271
Skupaj	988	3,80	2,080	,066

14. TABELA: STATISTIČNI KAZALCI GLEDE NA MERITEV PO CELOTNI CASC

	N	Aritmetična sredina	Standardna deviacija	Standardna napaka
1	53	3,90	,726	,100
2	71	4,11	,615	,073
3 - primaren	72	4,19	,401	,047
4	61	4,10	,896	,115
5	69	4,24	,741	,089
6 - družben	73	4,33	,436	,051
7	66	3,61	,703	,086
8	86	3,62	,673	,073
9	68	4,06	,833	,101
10 - racionalen	75	3,72	,502	,058
11	50	3,84	,965	,136
12	62	3,55	,636	,081
13	52	3,72	,485	,067

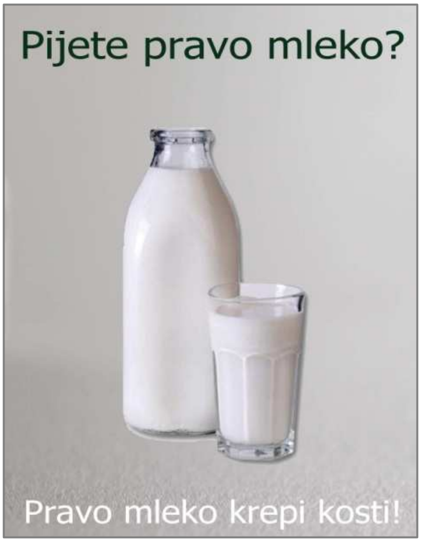
14 - individualističen	73	4,19	,355	,042
15	57	4,16	,797	,106
Skupaj	988	3,96	,707	,022

15. IZBRANI OGLASI POSAMEZNIH KOMPONENT ODZIVA

Velikost vseh oglasov je bila: višina=72 cm, širina je 56 cm
Oglasi so bili izdelanih v dveh tehnikah tiska.

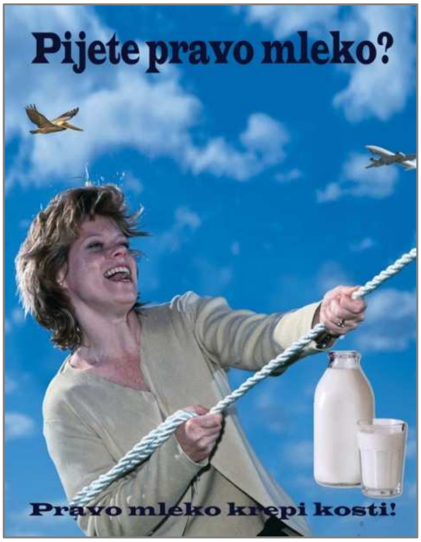
primaren oglas

racionalen oglas



družben oglas

individualističen oglas



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Organizacijska klima in zadovoljstvo zaposlenih na Fakulteti za uporabne družbene študije v Novi Gorici

Nevenka Podgornik[10]

Povzetek

Naloga managementa človeških virov je optimalno usklajevanje med organizacijo in posamezniki, ki omogoča zadovoljevanje ciljev organizacije ter zadovoljevanje potreb posameznika. Potrebe zaposlenega niso zgolj materialne in eksistencialne narave, temveč tudi psihične. V kolikor posameznik v organizaciji in v odnosih z drugimi zaposlenimi, ne uspe učinkovito tešiti svojih potreb, prihaja do nezadovoljstva, ki se odraža v organizacijski klimi in manifestira na različne, za posameznika in organizacijo, destruktivne načine. Članek obravnava pomen upoštevanja intrinzične motivacije posameznika pri doseganju poslovne kakovosti in prikazuje analizo organizacijske klime in zadovoljstva zaposlenih na Fakulteti za uporabne družbene študije v Novi Gorici.

Ključne besede: *človeški viri, zadovoljstvo zaposlenih, organizacijska klima, intrinzična motivacija, psihične potrebe*

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Abstract

The duty of human resources management is an optimal adjustment between the organization and individuals, which enables to reach the organization's goals and to satisfy the individual's needs. The employee's needs are not just of a material and existential nature, but also psychic. If an individual cannot satisfy her/his own needs effectively in an organization or in relations with other employees, there is a lot of dissatisfaction that reflects in the organization climate and it manifests in other destructive ways for the organization and the individual. This article treats the importance of the consideration of the individual's intrinsic motivation to attain a business quality and it shows the analyze of the organization climate and the satisfaction of the employees in the School of Advanced Social Studies in Nova Gorica.

***Key words**: human resources, employees satisfaction, organization climate, intrinsic motivation, psychical needs*

Uvod

Organizacijska klima predstavlja pomembno psihološko strukturo sistema, ki »označuje začasne lastnosti organizacije in se izraža preko percepcije sistema s strani njegovih članov ter vključuje »mehke« dimenzije osebnosti sistema in posameznikov kot so delovno vzdušje, zadovoljstvo pri delu, počutje, lojalnost, avtonomnost, sodelovanje, zavzetost, solidarnost, motiviranost, zavest, interakcije in podobno« (Mihalič, 2004: 384).

Neal, West in Petterson (2000: 5) v svoji študiji organizacijsko klimo definirajo kot »zaznavo, kako zaposleni definirajo lastno združbo in kako dojemajo svoje možnosti in pogoje dela. Posamezniki zaznavajo lastnosti združbe v okviru svojih lastnih vrednot, ki so pomembne za lastno blagostanje. Ko so zaznave skupne večjemu številu ljudi v združbi, govorimo o organizacijski klimi«.

Organizacije delujejo v družbenem kontekstu, ki ga določajo skupno mišljenje in skupne vrednote. Kljub nekaterim podobnostim se med različnimi kulturami v družbi pojavljajo razlike, in sicer predvsem v povezavi z ravnanjem z ljudmi pri delu. Ravnanje z ljudmi določa organizacijsko klimo, ki se nanaša na to, kako zaposleni v organizaciji interpretirajo svoje delovno okolje. Interpretacija je do neke mere odvisna od posameznika, vendar skupni delovni pogoji vplivajo na podobnost oblikovanih zaznav zaposlenih. Dejavniki ravnanja z ljudmi pri delu, kot so zaposlovanje, nagrajevanje, kadrovanje in upokojitev, vplivajo na način, kako zaposleni interpretirajo delovno okolje, kar vpliva na njihovo zadovoljstvo (Schneider, 1990: 282-307).

Zadovoljstvo zaposlenih vključuje različne vidike dela, in sicer varnost zaposlitve, višino plač in drugih denarnih nagrad, odnose med sodelavci, razmerja med delavci in njihovimi nadrejenimi ipd. To je skladno z dimenzijami klime v organizaciji. Lahko bi sicer rekli, da so razlogi za zadovoljstvo zaposlenih povezani z dimenzijami vzdušja, vendar pa vse dimenzije vzdušja niso vedno povezane z zadovoljstvom. Organizacija, ki je ciljno usmerjena, lahko po eni strani zmanjšuje nejasnosti, vendar pa s tem lahko zmanjšuje samostojnost zaposlenih. To pa lahko privede do nezadovoljstva zaposlenih (ibid: 303-304).

Za razumevanje zadovoljstva zaposlenih in njegovega vpliva na uspešnost organizacije, je pomembno razjasniti tri pomembna pričakovanja Prvo, zaposleni primerjajo, kaj naj bi jim organizacija nudila (želene potrebe) in kaj jim dejansko nudi (uresničene potrebe). S tega stališča je zadovoljstvo rezultat primerjave pomembnih vidikov dela, njegove zaznane resničnosti, z referenčnimi okviri želja zaposlenih. Takšno razumevanje zadovoljstva pri delu predpostavlja, da zaposleni nenehno razumsko primerjajo tisto, kaj imajo, s tistim, kar bi želeli imeti. Drugo, človek je zadovoljen z delom, če čuti, da lahko pri delu uresničuje tisto, kar si želi in ceni. Ta predpostavka se nanaša na subjektivni vidik doživljanja življenja in dela v organizaciji. V ospredju niso le potrebe, ampak tudi vrednote in druga pomembna osebna načela, ki so izrazito subjektivne narave. Zadovoljstvo pa ni povezano le s posameznimi dejavniki na delovnem mestu, ampak je odvisno tudi od pomena posameznega dejavnika za zaposlenega. In tretje, človek je zadovoljen z delom, ker je nasploh zadovoljen z življenjem in del svojega zadovoljstva pripisuje delu. Splošno psihološko stanje zaposlenih je pomemben vir zadovoljstva, ker se »projicira« v delovno okolje (Musek Lešnik, 2005).

Temeljni vpliv zaposlenega na delovno uspešnost organizacije predstavlja motivacija. Dimenzija motivacije je pomembna tako za opravljanje rednega dela zaposlenih in uresničevanja zastavljenih ciljev ter strategije in vizije organizacije kot glede pripravljenosti posameznika na zavzetost za opravljanje dodatnega napora, nalog, kadar je to pri delu potrebno. Nanjo se vežeta tudi druga dva elementa, znanje in sposobnosti, saj je vsako naše vedenje motivirano. To pomeni, da se ne pojavlja samodejno, temveč ima svoje potrebe, želje, motive, cilje, interese, vzroke.

Motivacijski konstrukt predstavljajo vedenja s katerimi si posameznik prizadeva, da bi dosegel zastavljeni cilj in obenem predstavlja tudi uspešno tešenje psihičnih potreb (moč, veljava, sprejetje, svoboda idr.). Vedenje je vedno namensko in proaktivno, usmerjeno je k doseganju cilja, k tešenju psihičnih potreb. Zato je nujno usmerjanje (vodje) k notranji motiviranosti (zaposlenih), k mehanizmom motivacije, ki omogočajo dolgoročno in učinkovito tešenje psihičnih potreb. Osebnostna komponenta posameznika v širšem delovnem okolju ne sme biti spregledana, biti mora upoštevana. Notranji motivatorji, lahko bi jih v jeziku teorije izbire poimenovali tešilci psihičnih potreb, predstavljajo posameznikovo ključno gonilo k samoaktualiziranju, od katerega je

odvisna tudi uspešnost organizacije.
Po mnenju univerzalne, behavioralne psihologije so vrojeni motivi, ki vodijo človekovo osebnost, le tisti, ki tešijo eksistencialne potrebe (t.i. primarni oz. biološki motivi), po teoriji izbire, pa so gensko zasnovane tudi psihične potrebe (Glasser, 2007: 9-18). Teorija izbire tudi t.i. sekundarne motive, motive, kot so moč, uveljavitev, pripadnost, varnost in status uvršča med dedno določene in je zato njihova tešitev nujna.

Udeleženi v delovnem procesu so usmerjeni na mesto nadzora - posamezniki, ki bolj kot v notranji nadzor verjamejo v zunanji, so manj zadovoljni z delom in so odtujeni od delovnega okolja ter ne dosegajo visoke učinkovitosti in samoaktualizacije. Raziskave kažejo, da ljudje pogosteje zamenjajo delovno mesto zaradi nezadovoljujočih odnosov in dela kot takega, kot pa zaradi zunanjih spodbud, kot so: materialne - dobra plača, denarne nagrade ipd. ali nematerialne – delovne razmere, varnost pri delu ipd.
Poudarek na notranji motivaciji se je okrepil v zadnjih desetletjih kot reakcija na preveč poenostavljen pogled behaviorizma, da je moč človekovo ravnanje oblikovati in uravnavati predvsem od zunaj, s sistemi pozitivnih in negativnih podkrepitev. Tudi psihoanalitični pogled s poudarjanjem podzavestnih silnic razlaga motivacijo z dejavniki, ki so večinoma zunaj človekove kontrole. Kognitivni pogled na motivacijo pa usmerja pozornost na pomen zavestnega izbiranja in odločanja posameznika za neko dejavnost, na podlagi njemu lastnih ciljev, pričakovanj in presoje. Motivacija je v skladu s tem stanje spoznavnega in čustvenega vzburjenja, ki vodi do zavestne odločitve za ravnanje in sproži obdobje vztrajnega intelektualnega ali fizičnega napora, da bi dosegli zastavljene cilje (Marentič Požarnik, 2000: 185-187).

Vzpodbujanje in negovanje notranjih motivatorjev vpliva na nivo aspiracij pri delu. Bolj kot smo uspešni, višje so naše aspiracije pri delu. Nivo aspiracije predstavlja dolgoročne cilje in samopodobo zaposlenega. Lewin definira raven aspiracije kot raven bodočih dosežkov, ki jih poskuša posameznik doseči na podlagi svojih preteklih rezultatov. Avtor navaja dva dejavnika, ki vplivata na posameznikov nivo aspiracije: indidividualno stabilnosti in standarde skupine, ki ji posameznik pripada. Uspeh in neuspeh vplivata na zvišanje oz. znižanje nivoja aspiracije (Lewin v Tušak, 1999: 47).

Frustracije nastopijo, ko zaposleni temeljnih, vrojenih poteb (povdarek je na psihičnih in ne eksistencialnih) ne zadovoljujejo učinkovito ali pa, ker te potrebe zadovoljujejo tako, da onemogočajo drugim, da bi zadovoljevali svoje temeljne potrebe (problem vodij). Frustranost in nezadovoljene psihične potrebe posameznika, ki izhajajo iz posameznikovega notranjega konflikta, predstavljajo za organizacijo strošek (neučinkovitost, obolevanje, izgorevanje absentizem, fluktuacija ipd.) in neizogibno vrtinčenje in spust po spirali smrti.

Analiza in interpretacija rezultatov anketnega vprašalnika merjenja organizacijske klime in zadovoljstva na Fakulteti za uporabne družbene študije v Novi Gorici

V letu 2012 je Fakulteta za uporabne družbene študije, z namenom spremljanja kakovosti na FUDŠ z vidika uresničevanja strateških ciljev, izvedla anketo o ugotavljanju zadovoljstva zaposlenih in drugih sodelujočih na fakulteti.
Anketni vprašalnik[11] je zajemal različne dimenzije organizacijske klime -

[11] Vprašalnik je bil narejen s pomočjo metodološke in vsebinske prilagoditve standardiziranega vprašalnika o organizacijski klimi SIOK, pripravljenega v okviru Gospodarske zbornice Slovenije.

osebni (motiviranost, pripadnost, medsebojni odnosi, usposobljenost zaposlenih, idr.) in organizacijski vidik (poslanstvo, vizija in cilji, organiziranost dela, informiranje, vodenje, nagrajevanje, idr.).

S petstopenjsko ocenjevalno lestvico, z ocenami od 1 do 5 (1- sploh se ne strinjam, 2 - delno se strinjam, 3 - se niti strinjam niti ne strinjam, 4 - večinoma se strinjam, 5 - popolnoma se strinjam), so anketirani ocenili, kako se z določenimi trditvami (sestavljenimi indikatorji) strinjajo. Ob koncu vprašalnika so imeli možnost podati opisni odgovor na vprašanje o tem, kaj jim je pri delu na FUDŠ še posebno všeč in kaj jih pri delu na FUDŠ najbolj moti.

Anketa je bila anonimna in ni vsebovala nobenih demografskih in drugih vprašanj, na podlagi katerih bi bilo mogoče kogarkoli od zaposlenih prepoznati. Anketirani so bili seznanjeni z namenom izvajanja ankete in z uporabo dobljenih rezultatov.

Na vprašalnik je odgovorilo 36 anketiranih, od tega 24 (85,71%) redno zaposlenih na FUDŠ in 12 (25,00%) tistih, ki s FUDŠ sodelujejo prek avtorske ali podjemne pogodbe, podjetja, ipd. Skupaj je bilo torej oddanih (elektronsko) 36 anketnih vprašalnikov. Način anketiranja je bil zastavljen tako, da je bilo potrebno odgovoriti na vsako vprašanje[12].

[12] Izpis rezultatov ankete je opravilo podjetje Talpas, ki pa ni prikazalo večdimenzionalne analize. Zlasti bi bila uporabna analiza rezultatov vprašalnika v odnosu do kategorije položaj na FUDŠ in kategorije oblika sodelovanja s FUDŠ.

- Kakovost dela[13]

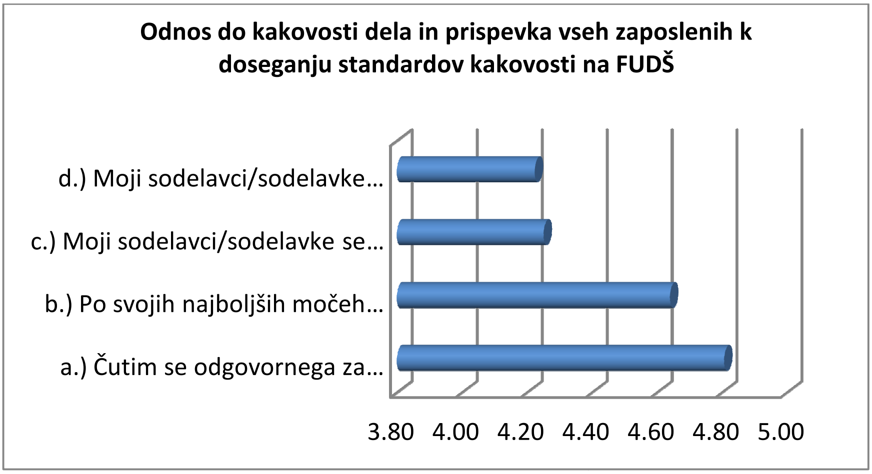

Tabela 1: Odnos do kakovosti dela in prispevka vseh zaposlenih k doseganju standardov kakovosti na FUDŠ

Na vprašanje o odnosu do kakovosti dela, so anketirani kar v 91,67% (povprečna ocena 4,81) odgovorili, da se čutijo odgovorne za kakovost svojega dela.

Nekoliko manj je tistih (75,00%), ki po svojih najboljših močeh prispevajo k doseganju standardov kakovosti.

Slaba polovica zaposlenih (47,22%) ocenjuje, da se njihovi sodelavci čutijo odgovorne za kakovost svojega dela.

44,44% zaposlenih se popolnoma strinja s trditivijo, da njihovi sodelavci

[13] V članku so s tabelo prikazane zgolj aritmetične sredine in standardni odkloni za posamezno dimenzijo, ne pa tudi grafični prikaz frekvenčne distribucija posameznega vprašanja.

močno prispevajo k doseganju standardov kakovosti.
Odnos zaposlenih do kakovosti dela je po oceni zaposlenih izredno dober, povprečna ocena indikatorjev v tem sklopu skupaj znaša 4,48.

- Inovativnost in iniciativnost

Tabela 2: Odnos do inovativnosti in iniciativnosti na FUDŠ

S trditvijo, da se storitve na FUDŠ stalno izboljšuje in posodablja se povsem strinja 16 anketiranih oz. 44.44%, večinoma se s to trditvijo strinja 36,11% anketiranih.
61,11% je tistih, ki menijo, da se na fakulteti pričakuje, da predloge za izboljšave dajejo vsi – ne le vodstvo.
Glede sprejemljivosti napak pri preskušanju novih načinov dela na fakulteti je stopnja tistih, ki se popolnoma strinjajo s to trditvijo nekoliko

nižja 27,78%, največ (47,22%) je tistih, ki se večinoma strinjajo s trditvijo, da so napake pri preskušanju novih načinov dela na fakulteti sprejemljive.

Da FUDŠ spremlja potrebe v okolju in se nanje ustrezno odziva, meni večina anketiranih (popolnoma in delno se strinja 86,11%), preostalih 11,11% ostaja neopredeljenih.

Povprečna vrednost odnosa anketiranih do inovativnosti in iniciativnosti na FUDŠ znaša 4,19.

- Motiviranost in zavzetost za delo

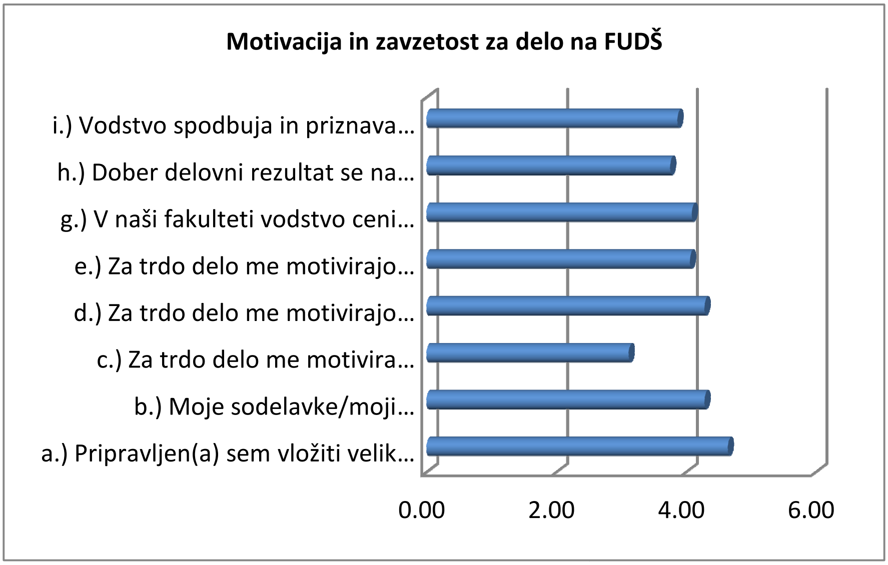

Tabela 3: Motivacija in zavzetost za delo na FUDŠ

75,00% anketiranih je pripravljenih vložiti dodaten napor, kadar je to pri delu potrebno.

Večina (86,11%) jih meni, da so njihovi sodelavci pripravljeni vložiti velik dodaten napor, kadar je to pri delu potrebno.

Glede motivatorjev se jih le 6 oz. 16,67% popolnoma strinja, da jih za trdo delo motivira predvsem dobro plačilo, 10 oz. 27,78% se jih s to trditvijo delno strinja, 5. oz. 13,89% se jih s to trditvijo sploh ne strinja.

Skoraj večina (88,88%) meni, da jih za trdo delo motivirajo predvsem njihovi osebni dosežki, na katere so lahko ponosni.

Nekoliko manj (77,78%) se jih popolnoma ali večinoma strinja s trditvijo, da jih za trdo delo motivirajo predvsem dobri odnosi s sodelavci in povezanost s fakulteto.

S trditvijo, da vodstvo fakultete ceni dobro opravljeno delo, se popolnoma strinja 47,22% anketiranih, večinoma se strinja 27,78%, pri tem vprašanju ostaja 16,67% tistih, ki se s to trditvijo niti strinjajo niti se ne strinjajo.

33,33% anketiranih meni, da se dober delovni rezultat na FUDŠ hitro opazi in je pohvaljen, 25,00% je tistih, ki tako menijo večinoma, kar 30,56% jih ostaja pri tem vprašanju neopredeljenih, 5,56% pa se jih z zgornjo trditvijo le delno oz. sploh ne strinja.Ta indikator ima tudi najnižjo povprečno vrednost v tem sklopu, tj. 3,75.

Trditvi, da vodstvo spodbuja in priznava delovne prispevke zaposlenih, je popolnoma pritrdilo 27,78% anketiranih, 47,22% se jih s to trditvijo večinoma strinja, 13,89% je neopredeljenih, 5,56% se strinja le delno oz. se sploh ne strinja.

Motivacija in zavzetost za delo na FUDŠ, je na podlagi mnenja zaposlenih in drugih sodelujočih s FUDŠ, dokaj visoka, povprečna ocena znaša 4.

- Pripadnost fakulteti

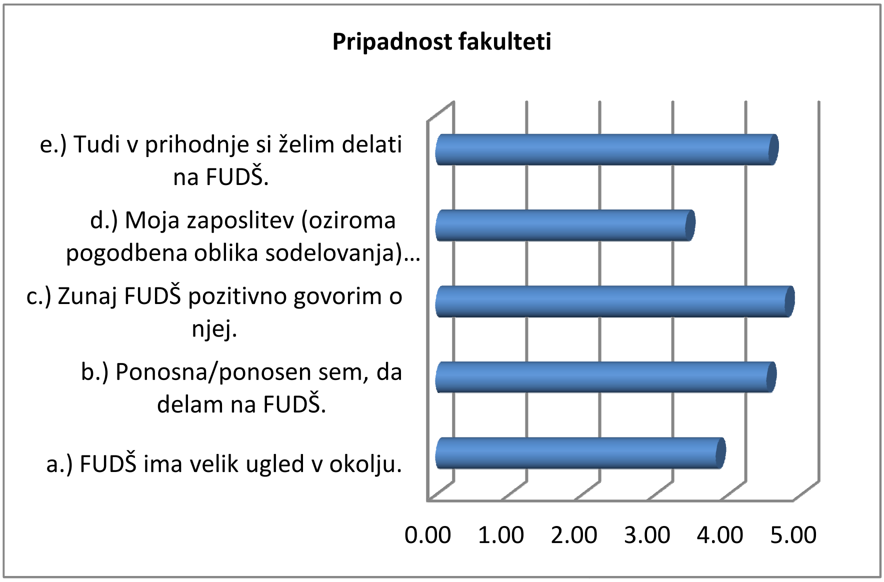

Tabela 4: Pripadnost fakulteti

Največ anketiranih, tj. 55,56% večinoma meni, da ima FUDŠ velik ugled v okolju. 25,00% je glede ugleda fakultete neopredeljena, 16,67% pa se jih popolnoma strinja s tem, da FUDŠ uživa ugled v okolju.
Skoraj vsi anketirani (91,67%) so se popolnomam ali večinoma strinjali, da jim je delo na FUDŠ v ponos.
Še več (94,45%) je tistih, ki zunaj FUDŠ pozitivno govorijo o njej.
Prav toliko kot je tistih, ki ocenjujejo, da je njihova zaposlitev na FUDŠ varna in zagotovljena je tudi tistih, ki menijo, da temu sploh ni tako (16,67%). Slaba polovica (41,67%) se večinoma strinja, da je njihova zaposlitev varna.
Velika večina anketiranih (91,66%) si tudi v prihodnje želi delati na FUDŠ,

v 5,56% se glede tega vprašanja anketirani niso izrekli. Povprečna ocena pripadnosti zaposlenih in zunanjih sodelavcev FUDŠ znaša 4,22.

- Strokovna usposobljenost in pridobivanje znanja

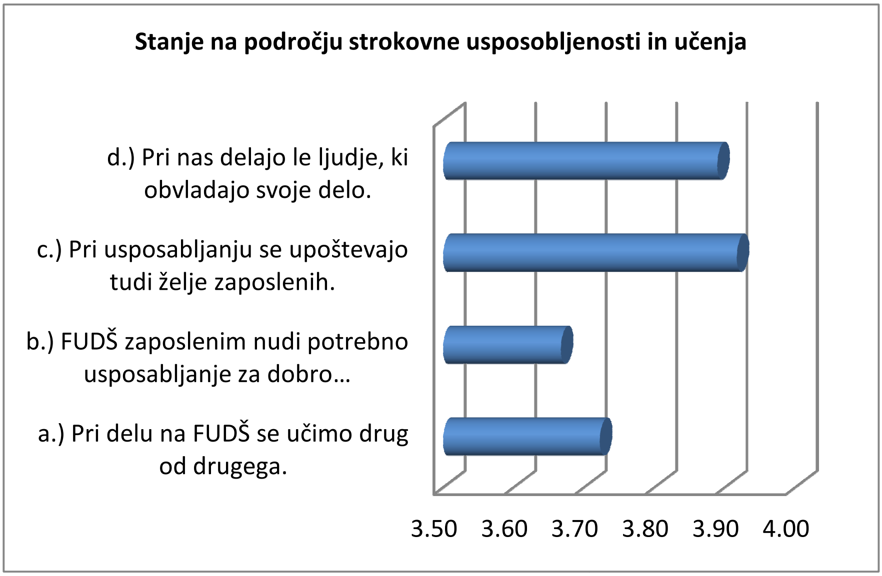

Tabela 5: Stanje na področju strokovne usposobljenosti in učenja

S trditvijo, da se pri delu učijo drug od drugega se popolnoma strinja 22,22% anketiranih, več - 44,44% jih tako meni večinoma, četrtina anketiranih pa mnenja ni izrazila.

Da FUDŠ zaposlenim nudi potrebno usposabljanje za dobro opravljanje dela, se popolnoma in večinoma strinja dobra polovica anketiranih -

55,56%, tretjina, natančneje 36,11% je neopredeljenih.

Popolnoma ali v večini se s trditvijo, da se pri usposabljanju upoštevajo tudi njihove želje, strinja 26 anketiranih, 7 se jih s to trditvijo niti ne strinja niti se strinja.

Da na FUDŠ delajo le ljudje, ki obvladajo svoje delo, se popolnoma strinja 27,78%, 44,44% se večinoma strinja, 19,44% so neopredeljeni, 5,56% se delno strinja.

Stanje na področju strokovne usposobljenosti in učenja anketirani v povprečju ocenjujejo s 3,8.

- Odnosi med zaposlenimi

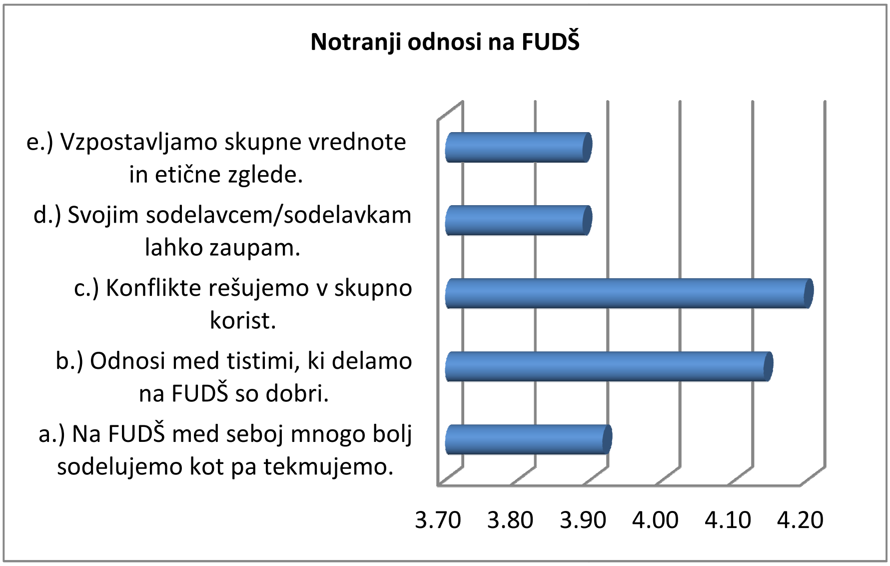

Tabela 6: Notranji odnosi na FUDŠ

Največji delež anketiranih - 47,22% se večinoma strinja s trditvijo, da na FUDŠ med seboj mnogo bolj sodelujejo kot pa tekmujejo, popolnoma se jih strinja 30,56%, 11,11 je neopredeljenih.

Odnosi med zaposlenimi na FUDŠ so dobri, povprečna ocena je 4,14. 83,33% se jih popolnoma in v večini strinja s to trditvijo. Podobna ocena (povprečna 4,19 oz. 77,78%) je tudi glede reševanja konfliktov v skupno korist.

Stopnja zaupanja med sodelavci je nekoliko nižja, v povprečju znaša 3,89, prav toliko tudi glede vzpostavljanja vrednot in etičnih zgledov. Pri obeh vprašanjih je tudi dokaj visok delež tistih, ki se glede odgovora niso opredelili (27,78% in 19,44%).

Splošna ocena notranjih odnosov na FUDŠ je 4.

- Poznavanje poslanstva in vizije ter ciljev fakultete

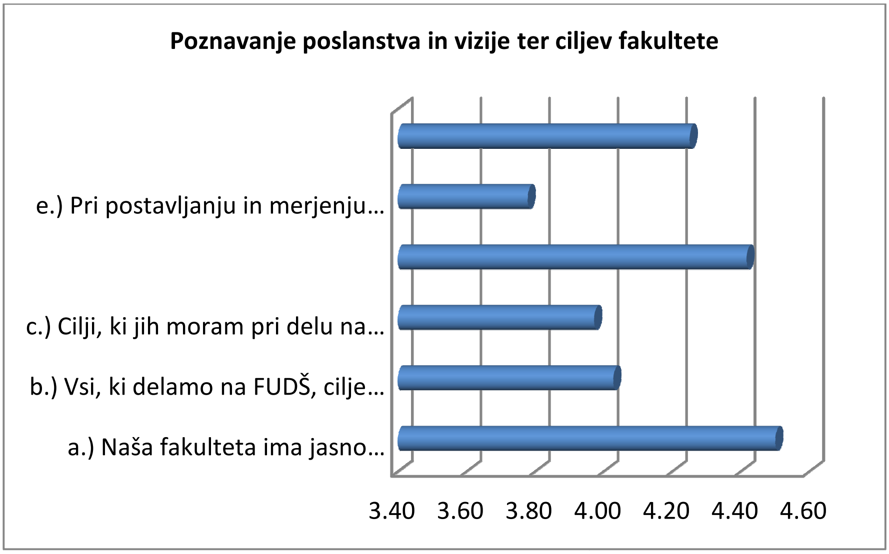

Tabela 7: Poznavanje poslanstva in vizije ter ciljev fakultete

91,67% anketiranih meni, da ima FUDŠ jasno oblikovano poslanstvo – dolgoročni razlog obstoja in delovanja.

44,44% anketiranih se večinoma strinja s trditvijo, da vsi, ki delajo na FUDŠ, cilje fakultete sprejemajo za svoje. 75% se popolnoma ali večinoma strinja, da so cilji, ki jih mora pri delu na FUDŠ doseči, realno postavljeni.

58,33% anketiranih je povsem prepričanih, da so jim politika in cilji fakultete jasni.

38,89% anketiranih se večinoma strinja, da pri postavljanju in merjenju ciljev sodelujejo vsi zaposleni, tretjina anketiranih je v to popolnoma prepričana.

29 oz. 80,56% anketiranih pa se popolnoma ali večinoma strinja, da so aktivnosti FUDŠ usklajene s poslanstvom in vizijo fakultete.

Anketirani ocenjujejo svoje poznavanje poslanstva in vizije ter ciljev fakultete s 4,16.

- Organiziranost dela

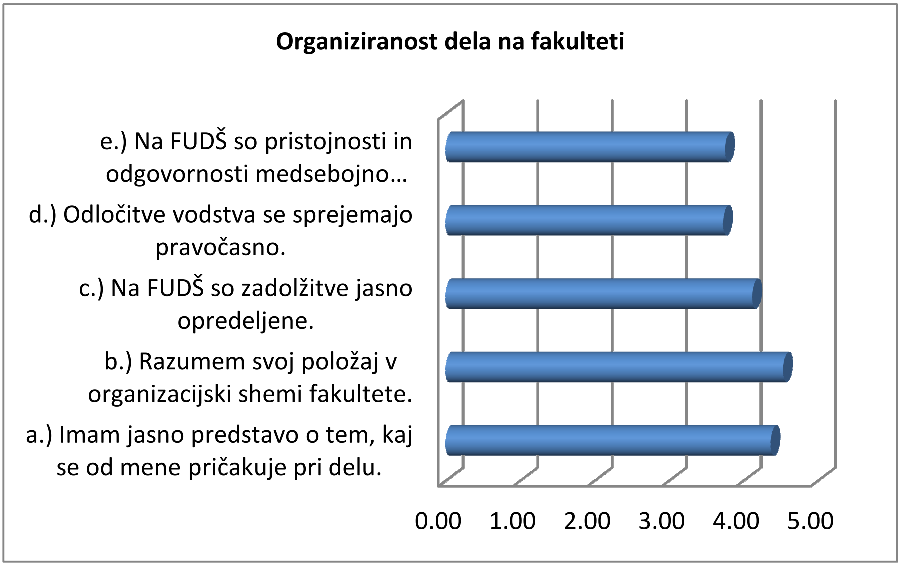

Tabela 8: Organiziranost dela na fakulteti

83,33% zaposlenih ima jasno predstavo o tem, kaj se od njih pričakuje pri delu.

88,89% jih razumem svoj položaj v organizacijski shemi fakultete.

Glede jasnosti opredeljenih zadolžitev se velika večina (83,34%) popolnoma ali večinoma strinja. Pri tem indikatorju je nekoliko večji delež tistih (8,33%), ki se le delno strinjajo.

S trditvijo, da se odločitve vodstva sprejemajo pravočasno, se popolnoma in večinoma strinja 66,66%, popolnoma 25,93%, neopredeljenih je 13,89%, 11,11 se strinja deloma.

41,67% se jih večinoma strinja, da so na FUDŠ pristojnosti in odgovornosti medsebojno uravnotežene na vseh nivojih, popolnoma se jih strinja slaba tretjina (22,22%), o zadevi se niso niti strinjali niti nestrinjali v 27,78%.

Organiziranost dela na fakulteti anketirani v povprečju ocenjujejo s 4,1.

- Vodenje

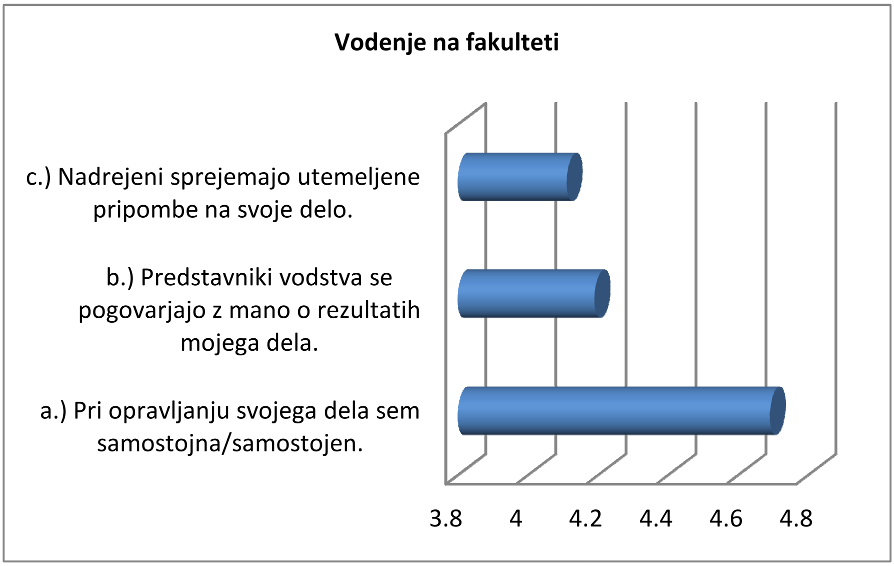

Tabela 9: Vodenje na fakulteti

Skoraj vsi anketirani - 97,22% se pri opravljanju svojega dela počutijo samostojne.

77,78% anketiranih meni, da se predstavniki vodstva z njimi pogovarjajo o rezultatih njihovega dela.

75% se popolnoma ali večinoma strinja s trditvijo, da nadrejeni sprejemajo utemeljene pripombe na svoje delo. Slaba tretjina (22,22%) je glede te trditve neopredeljena.

Vodenje na fakulteti zaposleni in zunanji sodelujoči ocenjujejo s povprečno oceno 4,3.

- Komuniciranje in informiranje znotraj organizacije

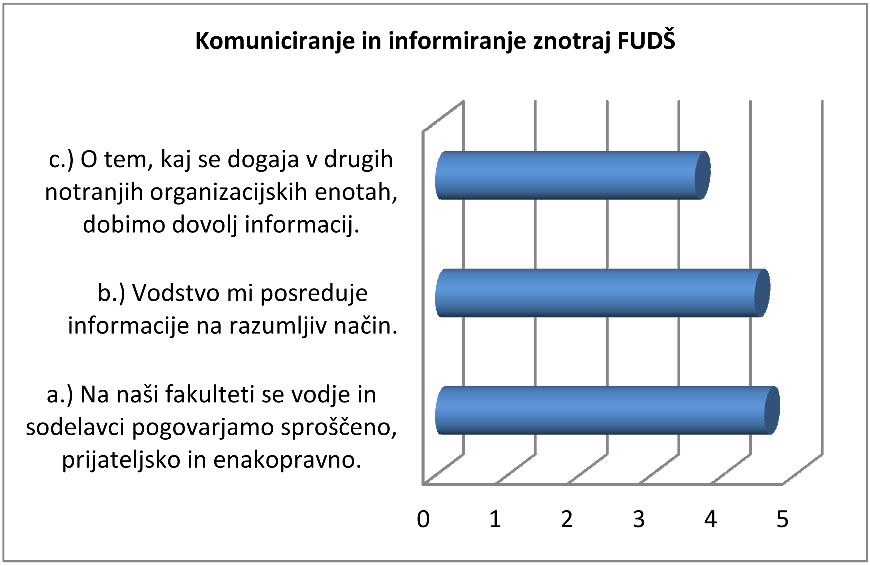

Tabela 10: Komuniciranje in informiranje znotraj FUDŠ

91,66% anketiranih meni, da se na FUDŠ vodje in sodelavci pogovarjajo sproščeno, prijateljsko in enakopravno.

Visok delež (94,45%) je tudi tistih, ki menijo, da jim vodstvo posreduje informacije na razumljiv način.

Glede informiranja o dogajanju v drugih notranjih organizacijskih enotah, jih sicer več kot polovica (61,12%) meni, da dobijo dovolj informacij, vendar pa je tudi 13,89% tistih, ki menijo, da je temu le delno tako, 8,33% pa, da temu sploh ni tako.

Komuniciranje in informiranje znotraj FUDŠ anketirani ocenjujejo s povprečno oceno 4,2.

- Razvoj kariere

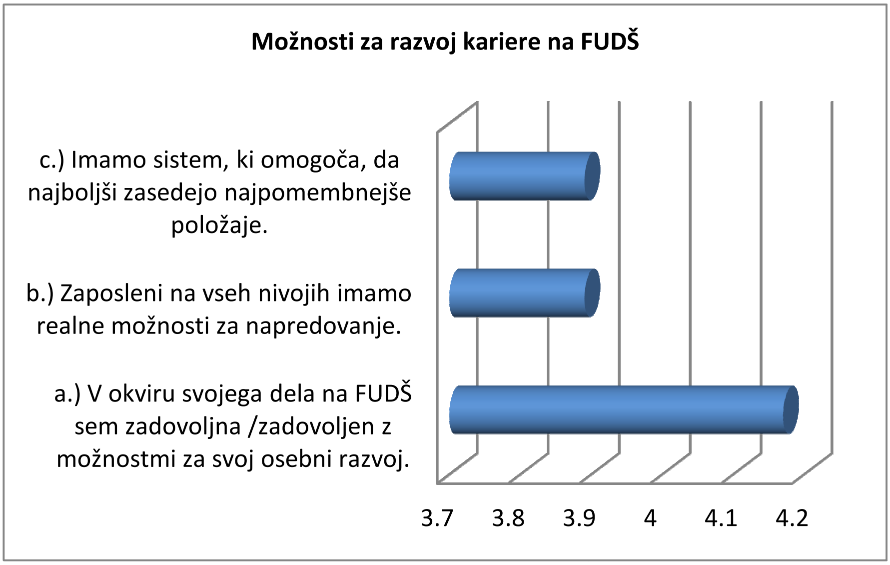

Tabela 11: Možnosti za razvoj kariere na FUDŠ

V okviru svojega dela na FUDŠ je z možnostmi za svoj osebni razvoj zadovoljnih 75% anketiranih.

Več kot polovica anketiranih (66,67%) meni, da imajo zaposleni na vseh nivojih realne možnosti za napredovanje. Tretjina anketiranih se o tem vprašanju ni izrekla.

69,44% anketiranih verjame, da ima FUDŠ sistem, ki omogoča, da najboljši zasedejo najpomembnejše položaje. Slaba tretjina (22,22%) se s tem niti ne strinja niti se strinja.

Možnosti za razvoj kariere na FUDŠ anketirani ocenjujejo s povprečno oceno 3,9.

- Nagrajevanje

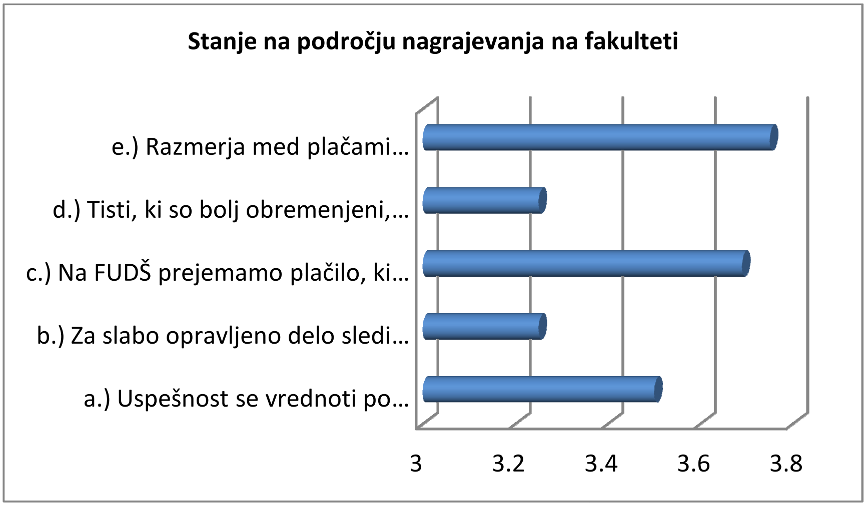

Tabela 12: Stanje na področju nagrajevanja na fakulteti

Glede trditve, da se uspešnost vrednoti po dogovorjenih ciljih in standardih, je mnenje anketiranih nekoliko bolj raznoliko. Večina (38,89%) se jih z navedeno trditvijo večinoma strinja, 19,44% se jih popolnoma strinja in prav toliko se jih niti ne strinja niti se strinja, 16,67% se jih strinja zgolj delno.

Skoraj polovica anketiranih (44,45%) meni, da za slabo opravljeno delo sledi ustrezna graja oz. kazen. Tretjina je tistih, ki so se mnenja o tem vzdržali, 11,11% pa se jih le delno oz. sploh se ne strinja, da za slabo opravljeno delo sledi ustrezna graja oz. kazen.

Da na FUDŠ prejemamo plačilo, ki je vsaj enakovredno ravni plač na tržišču, se strinja več kot polovica (58,33%) anketiranih, slaba tretjina (30,56%) je neopredeljena.

S trditvijo, da so tisti, ki so bolj obremenjeni, tudi ustrezno stimulirani se popolnoma strinja 13,89%, večinoma se strinja tretjina, 13,89% se jih delno strinja, 11,11% se jih sploh ne strinja.

Razmerja med plačami zaposlenih na FUDŠ so ustrezna, meni več kot polovica (61,11%), slaba tretjina (30,56%) ostaja tudi glede te trditve neopredeljena.

Stanje na področju nagrajevanja na fakulteti je bilo s strani zaposlenih in sodelujočih s FUDŠ ocenjeno najslabše, s povprečno oceno 3,5.

- Zadovoljstvo pri delu

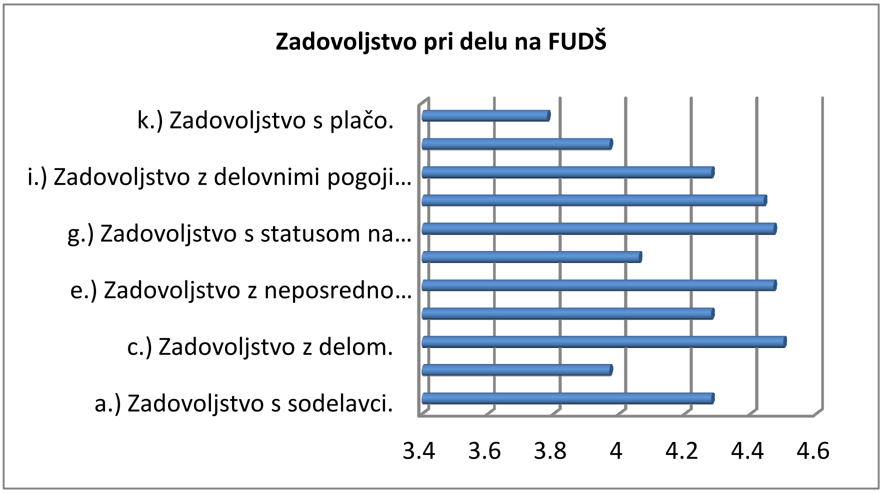

Tabela 13: Zadovoljstvo pri delu na FUDŠ

Anketirani so izrazili visoko zadovoljstvo s s statusom na FUDŠ, z vodstvom FUDŠ (88,89%), z delom (88,88%) in delovnim pogoji (86,11%), s sodelavci (83,34%), z neposredno nadrejenim (83.33%) in z delovnim

časom (77,78%). Nekoliko manj so zadovoljni s stalnostjo zaposlitve (69,45%), z možnostjo za izobraževanje (69,44%) in napredovanje (66,67%). Najmanj so zadovoljni s plačo (63,89%).
Povprečna ocena anketiranih glede zadovoljstva pri delu je 4,23.

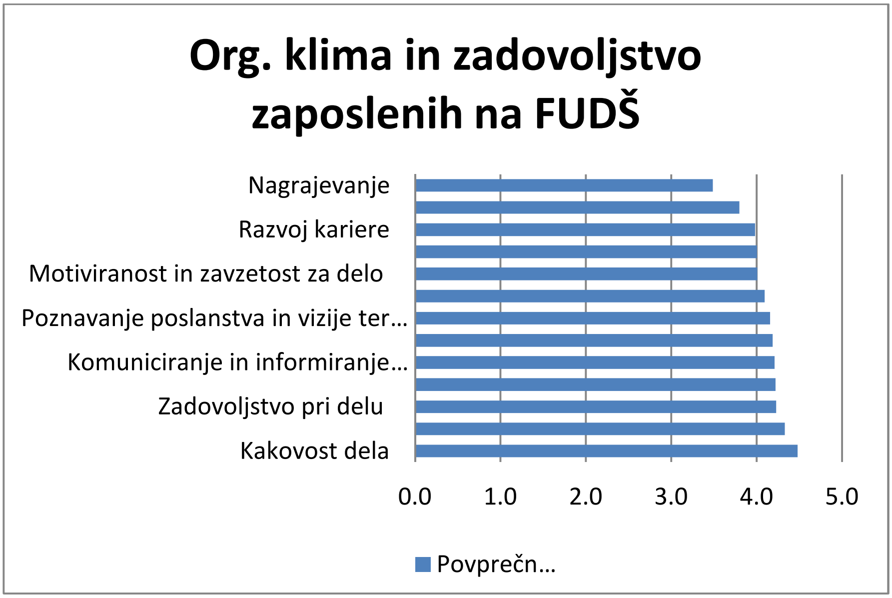

Tabela 14: Organizacijska klima in zadovoljstvo zaposlenih na FUDŠ

Najvišjo povprečno oceno (4,5) je prejel sklop vprašanj o odnosu zaposlenih do kakovosti dela, ki ga opravljajo. Povprečno oceno 4,3 je prejelo zadovoljstvo z vodenjem na fakulteti. Največ sklopov (5) je bilo ocenjenih s povprečno oceno 4,2. Stanje na področju nagrajevanja na fakulteti je bilo ocenjeno najslabše – 3,5.

Sklepi in predlogi

Na podlagi analize rezultatov anketnega vprašalnika, je moč skleniti, da je organizacijska klima ter zadovoljstvo zaposlenih na fakulteti in tistih, ki s fakulteto sodelujejo kot zunanji sodelavci, na dokaj visoki ravni. Skupna povprečna ocena vseh opredeljenih indikatorjev je 4,1[14].

Zaposleni se čutijo izredno odgovorni za kakovost svojega dela. Povprečna vrednost te postavke je najvišja – 4,8. Tudi sicer so višje povprečne ocene pri tistih kategorijah, ki so odvisne od vložka zaposlenih (odnos do kakovosti dela, motiviranost in zavzetost za delo, odnos do inovativnosti, iniciativnosti, zadovoljujoči medsebojni odnosi, pripadnost, idr.), nižje so glede zadovoljstva s tem, za kar je odgovoren delodajalec - FUDŠ (pravočasne odločitve vodstva, uravnoteženost pristojnosti in odgovornosti, informiranost, stimuliranje, nagrajevanje, kaznovanje, razmerja med plačami zaposlenih, idr.).

Zadovoljstvo z organiziranostjo dela so anketirani ocenili s 4,1 točko. Osrednje vprašanje organiziranosti dela je, kako v delo vnesti motivacijske elemente – značilnosti dela, ki je za zaposlene privlačno jim nudi trajno osebno zadovoljstvo. Raziskovalca Torrington in Hall (v Možina 1994: 148-172) sta na podlagi študije različnih virov izločila naslednje elemente:

- raznolikost delovnih nalog, orodij, strojev in naprav, mest, kjer posameznik dela in ljudi, s katerimi sodeluje. To je pomembno zlasti na

[14] Kar zadeva opisnih odgovorov, so ti izražali pohvale in predloge za izboljšanje dela in manj kritičnih misli.

delovnih mestih, kjer se delovne naloge ponavljajo. Kroženje med delovnimi nalogami oziroma delovnimi mesti povečuje raznolikost dela;

- samostojnost pri izbiri načinov dela in orodij za delo, samostojno razporejanje delovnega časa. Z dodeljevanjem nalog, pri katerih se zaposleni učijo in izpopolnjujejo;

- odgovornost za odločanje o tem, kako rešiti določen problem pri delu. Povečanje odgovornosti za opravljanje dela lahko dosežemo z večjo samostojnostjo pri delu. Odgovorni zaposleni so tisti, ki želijo povratne informacije o svojem delu, priložnost za inovacije, samozastavljanje ciljev, ki jih je možno doseči. Ob uspešno zaključenem delu občutijo zadovoljstvo;

- izziv, zaradi česar je naloga vodij, da posameznikom dodeljujejo naloge, ki jim pomenijo izziv in so zanje toliko zahtevne, da morajo vsakokrat vložiti nekaj dodatnih naporov za njihovo uspešno izvedbo;

- interakcije med zaposlenimi, oziroma dobri medsebojni odnosi nastajajo ob primernem oblikovanju delovnih skupin, ob spremljanju dogajanja med sodelavci in ob reševanju morebitnih nesoglasij;

- pomen dela: delavec naj bo seznanjen s pomenom in pomembnostjo dela, ki ga opravlja, komu koristi ipd.;

- cilji in povratna informacija; jasno opredeljen in čim bližji cilj dela ter redna povratna informacija o tem, kako dobro opravljajo svoje delo in kje bi lahko še kaj izboljšali, delavce spodbudi k še boljšemu delu.

Komuniciranje in informiranje znotraj FUDŠ anketirani ocenjujejo s povprečno oceno 4,2.

Komunikacija je proces medsebojnega izmenjavanja (pošiljanja, sprejemanja, vplivanja, vračanja) besednih, nebesednih, vsebinskih in odnosnih, zavednih in nezavednih sporočil v vsakokratni situaciji, ki večstransko vplivajo na zaznavanje, občutenje, doživljanje, obnašanje in delovanje oseb, ki so vanj vključene (Mayer, 1994: 138).
Ko dobre komunikacije ni, lahko pride do številnih težav, kot so: nasprotujoči si cilji med zaposlenimi in organizacijo, nejasno vrednotenje, nesporazumi, pomanjkanje koordinacije, zmedenost, delavci opravljajo zgolj zahtevani minimum (Cleveland, 2007). In nasprotno, boljša, hitrejša, kakovostno in jasno oblikovana, ter ustrezno prilagojena sporočila zvišujejo motiviranost zaposlenih, da dobro, učinkovito in kreativno opravljajo svoje delo, se identificirajo z organizacijo v kateri so zaposleni in se trudijo doseči skupne cilje. V pozitivno naravnanem in odprtem dialogu sodelavci podajajo inovativne ideje za razvoj organizacije. Sproščeno in zadovoljno delovno okolje omogoča sproščeno in vzajemno komunikacijo ter predstavlja odličen pogoj za tešenje posameznikovih psihičnih potreb (po pripadnosti, sprejetju, moči, veljavi, svobodi idr.) ter omogoča kreativnost posameznika, nenehno pridobivanje na osebni in profesionalni rasti.

Pripadnost fakulteti so zaposleni in zunanji sodelavci izrazili s 4,22 točkami. Pripadnost in lojalnost organizaciji prestavlja varovalni dejavnik. Organizacije, ki imajo za seboj močno skupino pripadnih ljudi, bodo strategije in poslovne načrte, tudi organizacijske spremembe, ki so za zaposlene frustrirajoče, bolje izpeljale. Pripadnost je odvisna od posameznikovega učinkovitega tešenja psihičnih potreb, ki je povezano z zadovoljstvom z delovnim mestom in z delom, ki ga opravljajo, s kakovostjo medosebnih odnosov na delovnem mestu, z možnostjo participiranja, soustvarjanja delovnega procesa, z možnostjo soodločanja. Pravzaprav gre za vrednote, najvišje ideale, h katerim posameznik z izbiro svojih aktivnosti strmi in jih uresničuje. »Kadar hoče biti posameznik uspešen v združbi, mora biti njegov sistem vrednot združljiv s sistemom vrednot te združbe. Oba si morata biti dovolj blizu, da omogočata sožitje med posameznikom in njegovo združbo« (Drucker, 2001: 170). Visoka stopnja pripadnosti in lojalnosti zaposlenih je največkrat prisotna v tistih združbah, ki temeljijo na pooblaščanju, nehierarhičnem komuniciranju, izraziti participaciji in demokratičnem vodenju. Stopnja pripadnosti in lojalnosti zaposlenih je v veliki meri odvisna od sposobnosti vodij in njihovega odnosa do posamezne združbe (Mihalič, 2006: 270).

Več kot polovica anketiranih (66,67%) meni, da imajo zaposleni na vseh nivojih realne možnosti za napredovanje. Sistem napredovanja in razvoja posameznika lahko v precejšnji meri vpliva na motivacijo zaposlenih . Posebej je to vidno v delovnem okolju, ki zaposluje mlajši, višje izobražen kader, ki ima jasno izražene želje po osebnem razvoju in napredovanju. V takšnem okolju zaposleni zelo cenijo možnost napredovanja, ki je podana tistim, ki izkazujejo pozitivne poslovne rezultate ter so delovno uspešni (Vukasović Žontar, 2004: 78).

Prav tako je možnost osebnega razvoja in razvoj kariere pomemben dejavnik zadovoljstva in motivacije zaposlenih. Kadrovska funkcija lahko sistemsko načrtuje identifikacijo razvojnih potencialov zaposlenih ter pripravi posebne razvojne programe za posamezne skupine zaposlenih (Thorpe in Homan, 2000: 91). Pri sistemu napredovanja in razvoja posameznika je najbolj pomembno, da je zasnovano na jasnih kriterijih, ki so v največji možni meri transparentni in uporabni, ker le tako pozitivno vplivajo na motivacijo zaposlenih (ibid).

Razvoj kariere je proces posameznikovega napredovanja skozi serijo stopenj, ki jih označuje relativno edinstven niz problemov, tem in nalog (Greenhaus, Callanan, 2002: 13). Razvoj kariere kot dejavnik posameznikovega napredovanja predstavlja posebno nagrajevalno in tudi motivacijsko sredstvo, ki človeka žene v ustrezne aktivnosti.

Namen razvijanja kariere je zagotoviti čim popolnejšo skladnost med interesi posameznika, njegovimi sposobnostmi, vrednotami in potrebami, ter potrebami in zahtevami na delovnem mestu, v delovni enoti in organizaciji (Cvetko, 2002: 49). Na razvoj kariere lahko gledamo kot na odgovornost posameznika za načrtovanje njegove poklicne poti in podjetnika kot usmerjevalca in usklajevalca posameznikovih želja in organizacijskih potreb. Razvoj kariere je namreč proces, ki mora biti v interesu tako enega kot drugega subjekta vključenega v proces (Schermerhorn, 2001: 133).

Glede možnosti izobraževanja in usposabljanja, anketirani menijo, da jim fakulteta nudi dovolj možnosti za uresničitev ambicij in doseganje kariernih uspehov. Dimenzija strokovna usposobljenost in učenje proučuje mnenja zaposlenih o sistemu usposabljanja v njihovi združbi. V to dimenzijo vključujemo trditve, da se zaposleni, ne glede na njihovo starost, delovno dobo in položaj, učijo od drugih, da so zaposleni le ljudje, ki so usposobljeni za svoje delo ter da združba nudi potrebno usposabljanje za dobro opravljeno delo in pri tem upošteva tudi želje zaposlenih.

V tesni povezavi z izobraževanjem je tudi usposabljanje, pridobivanje specifičnih veščin in znanj za opravljanje določenega dela. Oboje je nujno z vidika kakovosti izvajanja storitev in z vidika prilaganjanja stanju v okolju. Strokovna usposobljenost je pomembno varovalo, da zaposleni ravna v nasprotju z navodili, ki jih je v okviru izobraževanja osvojil.

V sklopu motiviranost in zavzetost za delo ima najnižjo povprečno vrednost - 3,75, indikator, da se dober delovni rezultat na fakulteti opazi in je pohvaljen.

Pohvala je lahko velika spodbuda, ki zaposlene navda z večjim zadovoljstvom, omogoča večjo usklajenost med njimi in jih spodbudi k večji ustvarjalnosti. Posebej učinkovita je, če jo poleg pohvaljenega slišijo tudi drugi, kar okrepi njen pomen in sporoča, da se v organizaciji uspešnost ceni in tudi nagrajuje (Thorpe, Homan, 2000: 32).
Pohvale, nagrade in priznanja so notranji motivatorji, ki zaposlenemu dajo občutek pomembnosti ter potrditve, da svoje delo opravlja dobro.

Zaposleni na FUDŠ so v 86,11% zadovoljni z delovnimi pogoji. Ugodne delovne razmere so manj otipljivo posredno plačilo. Za organizacijo so naložba, ki se povrne v obliki večje uspešnosti zaposlenih in posledično organizacije. Prav tako ugodne delovne razmere prispevajo h kakovosti življenja delavcev. So izvor notranje motivacije zaposlenih, zato včasih celo bolj vplivajo na njihovo prizadevnost kot zgolj nagrade in druge ugodnosti (Zupan, 2001: 45-46).

Visoka je tudi stopnja zadovoljstva z delovnim časom – 77,78 %. Kljub temu, da je delovni čas praviloma naravnan na potrebe dela in je odvisen od narave dejavnosti posamezne organizacije, pa lahko predstavlja tudi delovni čas enega od dejavnikov motivacije za delo. Pozitivno se lahko vpliva na motivacijo zaposlenih z upoštevanjem posebnih pogojev, pod katerimi opravljajo svoje delo – možnost kompenzacije z različnimi drugimi spodbudami ali možnostmi (na primer možen odhod z dela, ko je to potrebno, samo na podlagi ustnega dogovora z nadrejenim) (Vukasović Žontar, 2004: 82-83). S takšnimi pozitivnimi ukrepi zaposleni lažje, bolj učinkovito teši zlasti potrebi po spoštovanju in upoštevanju ter priznavanju njegovih osebnih potreb.

Da na FUDŠ prejemamo plačilo, ki je vsaj enakovredno ravni plač na tržišču, se strinja več kot polovica (58,33%) anketiranih. Plače sodijo med psihološke stimulatorje dela in so odvisne od zahtevnosti dela, uspešnosti posameznika, uspešnosti organizacije, uspešnosti organizacijske enote itd. Plačilo je povsem zunanji motivator, ki je po nekaterih teorijah (ki sodijo v okvir psihologije zunanjega nadzora) najpomembnejši motivacijski dejavnik. Morda nekoliko bolj za ljudi, ki so nižje na družbeni lestvici in so pripravljeni zanemarit psihične potrebe na račun izboljšanja finančnega standarda. Vendar pa dolgoročno opravljenje dela, brez tešenja psihičnih potreb, privede do težav z zdravjem (telesnim in duševnim), kar lahko predstavlja motiv, da posameznik spremeni način življenja, tudi delovne navade.

Popolno zadovoljstvo glede stalne in varne zaposlitve na FUDŠ je izrazilo le 16,67% zaposlenih. Stalna in varna zaposlitev ima pozitivne učinke na zaposlene: pripravljeni so z večjim interesom pridobivati nova znanja; prispevajo več predlogov za izboljšave, saj vedo, da s tem ne ogrožajo svojih delovnih mest; večjo pozornost posvečajo izbiri čim boljših novih sodelavcev; bolj si prizadevajo za dolgoročno uspešnost (Zupan, 2001: 45-46).

Izpostaviti velja visok delež (44,45%) tistih, ki menijo, da za slabo opravljeno delo sledi ustrezna graja oz. kazen. Zaposleni, ki delajo pod pritiskom sankcioniranja, pri delu ne morejo biti kreativni in inovativni, in ne morajo prispevati k učinkovitosti in razvoju organizacije.

Poleg tega to vpliva tudi na njihovo splošno počutje in zdravje, zato velja razmisliti o drugih, bolj učinkovitih načinih podajanja povratne informacije o kakovosti njihovega dela in o načinih, kako izboljšati delovno učinkovitost zaposlenih.

Analiza anketnega vprašalnika je pokazala, da so zaposleni na FUDŠ notranje motivirani (izpostavili so lastno zadovoljstvo, osebne dosežke, ponos, uspeh, kakovost, ipd.), kar je za uspešnost organizacije nujno in predstavlja stabilnost in dolgoročno učinkovitost. Na delovnem mestu tudi zadovoljujoče tešijo psihične potrebe. Menijo, da so aktivno vključeni v načrtovanje in izvajanje delovno organizacijskih procesov na fakulteti, uspešno tešijo potrebo po upoštevanju in veljavi, po svobodi pri načinu izvajanja dela, in tudi po pripadnosti – s strani sodelavcev in vodje.

Ne glede na visoko notranjo motiviranost, pa anketirani zaposleni izkazujejo tudi željo po nagrajevanju in stimuliranju, zato bi bilo potrebno razmisliti o ustreznih mehanizmih, ki bi bili za zaposlene bolj zadovoljujoči. Ob tem je potrebno upoštevati tudi podatek, ki nakazuje na to, da je med zaposlenimi prisoten občutek, da njihova zaposlitev ni varna.

Pri nekaterih indikatorjih (pohvala, grajanje oz. kaznovanje, zadovoljstvo s plačo, ugled FUDŠ v okolju, z možnostjo izobraževanja, usposabljanja, napredovanja, zaupanje med sodelavci, sodelovanje pri merjenju in postavljanju ciljev, uravnoteženost pristojnosti in odgovornosti na vseh nivojih na FUDŠ) je ostal delež neopredeljenih dokaj visok (□ 25%). Velja razmisliti o tem, ali mnenja niso izrazili zaradi nepripravljenosti, da bi prevzeli odgovornost za izrečeno mnenje, in kaj je v ozadju izmikanja odgovornosti posameznika (nezainteresiranost, strah, idr.).

Anketo je izpolnilo le 25% zunanjih sodelavcev. Preveriti bi bilo potrebno razloge za nizko stopnjo odziva in načine, kako se lahko zunanje sodelavce še povabi k aktivnostim fakultete, kako povečati možnost njihovega vpliva, soodločanja in sodelovanja.

Glede na to, da smo izvzeli demografske podatke, ni moč ugotoviti prisotnost vpliva le-teh (npr. delovna doba, starost zaposlenega ipd.) na dimenzije organizacijske klime.

Pri ugotavljanju organizacijske klime in zadovoljstva zaposlenih bi bilo v bodoče smotrno meriti tudi stopnjo izostajanja z dela in stopnjo fluktuacije (za strokovni in pedagoški kader), ki sta pokazatelja nezadovoljstva in slabega počutja zaposlenega na delovnem mestu.

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"Attitudes to Risk and Roulette": Comment*

Arritokieta Chamorro and José M. Usategui[15]

In this note we correct and complete some of the theoretical results for binary games presented in Schnytzer and Westreich (2010a) (hereafter [SWa]) in their work "Attitudes to Risk and Roulette", published in *Research and Discussion*, Volume 3, no. 3, pages 3-20.

The measurement of riskiness has interested researchers for its theoretical appeal and its relevance to real-world decision-making. In recent papers Schnytzer and Westreich (2010a) (hereafter [SWa]) and Schnytzer and Westreich (2010b) (hereafter [SWb]) generalize the Aumann-Serrano index of riskiness (Aumann and Serrano (2007)), to allow for the consideration of risk lovers, proposing an innovative index of inherent risk. In [SWa] they also discuss the specific properties of that index of inherent risk for binary games and apply their results to the casino game of roulette. Our results correct and complete the analysis of those properties and, therefore, they will help in applications of the index of inherent risk to binary games.

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1 Model

In this section we present some definitions and results included in [SWa] and [SWb]. A *utility function* is a strictly monotonic twice continuously differentiable function *u* defined over the entire line. Let us normalize *u* so that:

$u(0)=0$ and $u'(0)=1$.

An agent is said to have Constant Absolute Risk (*CAR*) utility function if his normalized utility function $u(x)$ is given by:

$$u_\alpha(x)=\begin{cases}\alpha^{-1}\left(1-e^{-\alpha x}\right), & \alpha\neq 0\\ x, & \alpha=0\end{cases}$$

If $\alpha>0$ then the agent is risk-averse with a CARA utility function, while if $\alpha<0$ then the agent is risk-loving with a CARL - Constant Absolute Risk-Loving - utility function. If $\alpha=0$ then the agent is risk neutral. The coefficient of absolute risk, defined in Arrow (1965 and 1971) and Pratt (1964), of an agent with *CAR* utility function u_α is constant and equal to *α* for any wealth level. For any two wealth levels and for any gamble *g*, an agent with *CAR* utility function either accepts *g* at both wealth levels, or rejects *g* at both wealth levels.

A game is gameable if it results in possible losses and possible gains. If *g* has a continuous distribution function, then it is gameable if it is bounded from above and below, that is, its distribution function is truncated. Let *g* be a gameable gamble and let *α* be the unique nonzero root of the equation:

$$Ee^{-\alpha g}=1.$$

Then, for any wealth, a person with utility function u_α is indifferent between taking and not taking g, that is:

$Eu_\alpha(g+w)=u_\alpha(w)$.

Moreover, *α* is positive (negative) if and only if Eg is positive (resp. negative). Denote that *α* by the upper limit of taking *g*.

If α is the upper limit of taking a gamble g we have:

i) If $Eg > 0$ then all CARL accept *g* and a CARA person with a utility function u_β accepts *g* if and only if $0 < \beta < \alpha$,

ii) If $Eg < 0$ then all CARA reject *g* and a CARL person with a utility function u_β accepts *g* if and only if $\beta < \alpha < 0$, and

iii) If $Eg = 0$ then all CARA reject *g* and a CARL accept *g*.

Given a gamble *g* and its upper limit *α* define the index of inherent risk $Q(g)$ as:

$$Q(g) = e^{-\alpha}$$

As *Q* is a monotonic decreasing function of *α*, we have that a gamble with higher riskiness level will be accepted by a narrower set of *CAR* agents. In [SWa] it is pointed out that if $Eg > 0$ then $0 < Q(g) < 1$, if $Eg < 0$ then $Q(g) > 1$ and if $Eg = 0$ then $Q(g) = 1$.

2 Results

In this section we present our results, that correct and complete Proposition 2.1, Proposition 2.2 and Corollary 2.3 of [SWa]. Before to proceed note that we may obtain the same variation in *Q* with many different combinations of changes in *M*, *p* and *L*. Let, for instance, g_1 be the gamble resulting in a gain of 6 with probability (1/2) and a loss of 5 otherwise. We have $Q(g_1) = 0.9673$. If we increase the gain of that gamble to 20 we obtain a new gamble g_2 with $Q(g_2) = 0.877$. If we, instead, increase the probability of gain in g_1 to 0.6299 we obtain a new gamble g_3 with $Q(g_3)=0.877$.

We have:

Proposition 1 Let u_α be a *CAR* utility function and let *g* be a gamble that results in a gain *M* with probability *p* and a loss *L* otherwise. Then, for any *α*, we have:

i) $\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial M}>0$, $\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial L}<0$ and $\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial p}>0$,

ii) $\frac{\partial Q(g)}{\partial M}<0$, $\frac{\partial Q(g)}{\partial L}>0$ and $\frac{\partial Q(g)}{\partial p}<0$ and

iii) $\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial Q}<0$, independently of how the change in *Q* is obtained through modifications in *M*, *p* and *L*.

Proof In a binary gamble that results in a gain of *M* with probability *p* and a loss of *L* otherwise, with *M* and *L* positives, we have that $E(g)=p(M+L)-L$.

i) If $\alpha \neq 0$ it is:

$$Eu_\alpha(g)=p\frac{1}{\alpha}\left(1-e^{-\alpha M}\right)+(1-p)\frac{1}{\alpha}\left(1-e^{-\alpha L}\right)$$

and

$$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial M}=p\frac{1}{\alpha}\left(\alpha e^{-\alpha M}\right)=pe^{-\alpha M}>0,$$

$$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial L}=-(1-p)\frac{1}{\alpha}\left(\alpha e^{\alpha L}\right)=-(1-p)e^{\alpha L}<0 \text{ and}$$

$$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial p}=\frac{1}{\alpha}\left(e^{-\alpha M}+e^{\alpha L}\right)=\frac{1}{\alpha}\left(e^{\alpha(M+L)}+1\right)>0.$$

When $\alpha=0$ we have: $Eu_\alpha(g)=p(M+L)-L=Eg$ and, hence,

$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial M} = p > 0$, $\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial L} = p - 1 < 0$, and $\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha(g)}{\partial p} = M + L > 0.$

ii) Assume that $M_1 < M_2$. Let g_1 be the gamble resulting in M_1 with probability *p* (and a loss *L* otherwise) and g_2 be the gamble resulting in M_2 with probability *p* (and a loss *L* otherwise). Hence, $Eg_2 > Eg_1$. Let α_1 satisfy $Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_1) = 0$. If $Eg_1 > 0$ then $\alpha_1 > 0$ and, by i), $Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_2) > Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_1) = 0$. Hence, α_1 accepts g_2 and thus $\alpha_2 > \alpha_1$, where α_2 satisfies $Eu_{\alpha_2}(g_2) = 0$. As a consequence, $Q(g_2) < Q(g_1)$.

Let now g_3 be the gamble resulting in M_1 with probability *p* and a loss L_3 otherwise, with $L_3 > L$. Hence, $Eg_3 < Eg_1$. If $Eg_1 > 0$ then $\alpha_1 > 0$ and, by i), $Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_3) < Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_1) = 0$. Hence, α_1 rejects g_3 and thus $\alpha_3 < \alpha_1$, where α_3 satisfies $Eu_{\alpha_3}(g_3) = 0$. As a consequence, $Q(g_3) > Q(g_1)$.

Let, finally, g_4 be the gamble resulting in M_1 with probability p_4, with $p_4 > p$, (and a loss *L* otherwise). Hence, $Eg_4 > Eg_1$. If $Eg_1 > 0$ then $\alpha_1 > 0$ and, by i), $Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_4) > Eu_{\alpha_1}(g_1) = 0$. Hence, α_1 accepts g_4 and thus $\alpha_4 > \alpha_1$, where α_4 satisfies $Eu_{\alpha_4}(g_4) = 0$. As a consequence, $Q(g_4) < Q(g_1)$.

If $Eg_1 = 0$ we can reason in the same way as in the previous paragraphs to obtain, respectively, $\alpha_2 > \alpha_1 = 0$ and

$Q(g_2) < Q(g_1) = 1$, $\alpha_3 < \alpha_1 = 0$ and $Q(g_3) > Q(g_1) = 1$, and $\alpha_4 > \alpha_1 = 0$ and $Q(g_4) < Q(g_1) = 1$. If $Eg_1 < 0$ we can also proceed in the same way, although in this case $\alpha_1 < 0$.

iii) Taking into account the results obtained in i) and ii) we have that Eu_α changes in the opposite direction to *Q*, independently of how the change in *Q* is obtained through modifications in *M*, *p* and *L*, as:

- if there is a change in *M* we have:

$$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial Q} = \frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial M}\frac{\partial M}{\partial Q} = \frac{\dfrac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial M}}{\dfrac{\partial Q}{\partial M}} < 0,$$

- if there is a change in *L* we have:

$$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial Q} = \frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial L}\frac{\partial L}{\partial Q} = \frac{\dfrac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial L}}{\dfrac{\partial Q}{\partial L}} < 0, \text{ and}$$

- if there is a change in *p* we have:

$$\frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial Q} = \frac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial p}\frac{\partial p}{\partial Q} = \frac{\dfrac{\partial Eu_\alpha}{\partial p}}{\dfrac{\partial Q}{\partial p}} < 0. \blacksquare$$

3 Concluding Remarks

This paper shows that, for any binary game *g*, $Q(g)$ decreases with *M* and that $Eu_\alpha(g)$ increases with *M* and decreases with $Q(g)$. The derivatives of $Eu_\alpha(g)$ and of $Q(g)$ with respect to *L* and with respect to p, for any binary game g, are also obtained. Moreover, we have noticed that the same variation in Q may result from many different combinations of changes in M, p and L.

In the application to roulette in section 3 of [SWa] the possible bets differ in the values of both M and p. The variations in the values of Q among bets, obtained in that section of [SWa], result from simultaneous modifications of M and p in opposite directions. Our results in Proposition 1 may help in the application of the analysis on the inherent index of risk to the game of roulette or to other binary games.

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