

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Barbara Tomšič

Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2016

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Zahvala

»Največji problem vsakega humanista leži prav v izboru, v selekciji, in ne v retoriki etabliranih dejstev.« Luka Skansi

Za nastanek pričujoče naloge se zahvaljujem mentorju red.prof.dr. Franetu Adamu za priložnost, ažurno in konstruktivno usmerjanje, somentorju doc.dr. Anžetu Burgerju za sodelovanje in koristne komentarje, red.prof.dr. Matevžu Tomšiču za koristne pripombe, Neji za inspirativno okolje med vikendi in sestrsko podporo ter Roku, pa tudi vsem ostalim, ki ste bili kakorkoli vključeni v ta proces, zaradi katerega sem bila obremenjena bolj, kot sem si bila pripravljena priznati.

POVZETEK

Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti

V tej nalogi se ukvarjamo s poslovno kulturo (PK) v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti. Izhajajoč iz primerjalnih raziskav, poslovno kulturo oblikujejo vodstvene strukture podjetij. Če so ta podjetja v tuji lasti, PK določajo top menedžerji iz tujih matičnih podjetij (TMP), saj so podjetja v tuji lasti le njihove podružnice. PK oblikujejo vodilne skupine menedžerjev, kar potrjujejo tudi opravljene druge raziskave. Top menedžerske položaje imenujemo ekonomske elite. Z elitami se tukaj ukvarjamo le v njihovi funkciji vodenja družbenih podsistemov, pri čemer ekonomski podsistem operira na principu denarja (moči). PK ima več notranjih in zunanjih vidikov. Notranji vidiki so organizacijski, komunikacijski, upravljanje s človeškimi viri (HRM), hierarhija, organizacija dela, participacija, reševanje konfliktov, itd. Zunanji vidiki so odnosi med podjetji v tuji lasti in matičnimi tujimi podjetji, družbeno-kulturni in politično-ekonomski kontekst in drugi. Analizirali smo pet podjetij v tuji lasti v Sloveniji, katerih TMP prihajajo iz starih držav članic EU: Francije, Nemčije in Italije. Ciljna skupina te raziskave so bili domači in tuji menedžerji na vodilnih položajih v podjetjih v tuji lasti (podružnicah). Izbor domačih in tujih menedžerjev je pomemben zaradi primerjav, ki jih omogočajo pridobljeni kvalitativni podatki, med 'tujimi' in 'domačimi' PK. Za raziskavo smo uporabljali intervjuje polstrukturiranega tipa. Intervjuvali smo 58 menedžerjev v 5 podružnicah 5 multinacionalnih podjetij (MNC). PK smo analizirali skozi pet vidikov (treh notranjih in dveh zunanjih): organizacijska klima, menedžerski stil, komunikacija, stiki navzven, nacionalni in regionalni vzorci. Rezultati so pokazali, da je slovenska PK primerljiva s PK zahodno-evropskih držav, vendar lahko, predvsem na področju organizacijske klime, komunikacije in stikov navzven opazimo številne pomanjkljivosti, kjer so potrebne nadaljnje izboljšave.

Ključne besede: poslovna kultura, podjetja v tuji lasti, menedžerji, elite.

ABSTRACT

Managerial Culture in Foreign-Owned Companies

In this paper we are dealing with business culture in foreign-owned companies. From the basis of comparative research, business culture is defined by company's top positions. If such companies are foreign-owned, business culture is defined by top management positions from foreign multinational corporations (MNCs) as foreign-owned companies are just their affiliates. Business culture is formed by top managers which we also call economic elites. This has been confirmed also by other previous researches. We are dealing with elites at this point only in their function of leading the social subsystems, where economic subsystem operates on the principle of money (power). Business culture has many internal and external characteristics. Internal are organization, communication, human resource management (HRM), hierarchy, work organization, participation, problem solving, etc. External characteristics are relations between foreign-owned companies and MNCs, socio-cultural and political-economic context. We have analysed five foreign-owned companies in Slovenia, of which MNCs originate from the old EU memberstates: France, Germany and Italy. The sample of this research were domestic and foreign managers on top management positions in foreign-owned companies (affiliates). The selection of domestic and foreign managers is important for comparisons, which are possible on the basis of acquired qualitative research data between foreign and domestic business culture. We have conducted 58 semi-structured interviews with managers from 5 affiliates from 5 MNCs. We have analysed business culture through five aspects (three internal and two external): organisational climate, managerial style, communication, contacts outside of the firm and national and regional patterns. The results have shown that the Slovenian business culture is similar to the business culture of West-European countries, but there are several deficiencies where further improvement is needed, especially in the field of organizational climate, communication and contacts outside of the firm.

Keywords: business culture, foreign-owned companies, managers, elites.

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Seznam uporabljenih okrajšav in kratic¹

ACCESS	Po Priključitvi: Socio-ekonomska kultura razširjene Unije. Prednost ali Slabost. Mednarodna raziskava / After the Accession: Socio-Economic Culture in the Enlarged Union. An Asset or Liability. International Research Project
ADP	Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov
CEE	srednje-vzhodno evropske države (Central-East European Countries)
D	Družba
DIOSCURI	Vzhodna širitev – Zahodna širitev: Kulturna srečanja v evropski ekonomiji in družbi po priključitvi. Mednarodna raziskava / Eastern Enlargement – Western Enlargement: Cultural Encounters in the European Economy and Society after the Accession. International Research Project
DMIS	Razvojni model medkulturne senzibilnosti (Development Model of Interculture Sensibility)
EF	Ekonomska fakulteta
EFQM	Evropska fundacija za kakovostni menedžment / European Foundation for Quality Management
EU	Evropska unija
FDV	Fakulteta za družbene vede
GIZ	Gospodarska interesna združenja
HPWP	Visoko učinkovite delovne prakse (High Performance Work Practices)
HRM	Upravljanje s človeškimi viri / Human Resource Management
IHRM	Mednarodni sistem za upravljanje s človeškimi viri / International System for Human Resource Management
IKK	Interkulturalna kompetenca (tudi ICC / Intercultural Competence)
IKT	Informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije
IT	Informacijske tehnologije
JAPTI	Javna agencija RS za podjetništvo in tuje investicije
MNC	Multinacionalne korporacije / Multinational Companies
OCQ	Vprašalnik organizacijske pripadnosti, kot ga je razvil Mowday in drugi (1979) / Organization Commitment Questionnaire
P	Posameznik

¹ Zaradi kratic poleg prevodov dodajamo originalna angleška imena.

PK	Poslovna kultura
R&R	Raziskave in razvoj / R&D Research and Development
TCI	Inštitut za promocijo kompetitivnosti Irskih podjetij Irske Fakultete za ekonomijo iz Korke / The Competitiveness Institute of the School of Economics, Cork, Ireland
TMP	Tuja matična podjetja
TNI	Tuje neposredne investicije
U3	Univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje

UVOD

Kulturo, enega izmed najbolj abstraktnih konceptov v sociologiji, lahko opredelimo kot dinamično ali statično kateorijo, strinjamo pa se s trditvijo, da je kultura mnogovrsten in večplasten koncept: »Spreminja se tako med družbami kot znotraj njih, v različnih kontekstih, pod različnimi pogoji in v različnih časovnih razmikih« (Mishler in drugi v Tomšič in Adam 2009, 2). V povezavi z njenim razvojnim delovanjem obstajata dve interpretaciji njene vloge: (1) vrednotno-orientacijsko delovanje, izhajajoč iz Webra, pri katerem so temelj posameznikovega delovanja vrednotni cilji, ki delujejo kot kompas; (2) drugi pristop poudarja pomen simbolnega nabora pomenov in neformalnih kulturnih praks kot določil posameznikovega delovanja. Ta pristop zagovarja Ann Swindler (Swinder v Adam in Tomšič 2009, 1-2). Swindler kulturo poimenuje kot 'tool-kit', priročno orodje, s katerim si akterji pomagajo pri organiziranju svojega delovanja. Iz tega sledi, da kultura vpliva na strateške kapacitete akterjev in vpliva na strateške procese, saj jo akterji 'uporabljajo' smotno-racionalno glede na orientacijske cilje, ki jih želijo doseči.

Elite so tisti kulturni agenti, ki skbijo za modernizacijske procese (prav tam 11). V kontekstu EU imajo elite dvojno vlogo: na evropskem nivoju predstavljajo nacionalne interese, po drugi strani pa na nacionalnem nivoju delujejo kot generator evropeizacije družbe (prav tam). Zato je pomembna 'sestava' oz. ustroj elit, konfiguracija elitnih skupin s kulturnimi potezami, kot so razmerje med nacionalno in nadsacionalno identiteto, stopnja vrednotnega pluralizma, stopnja ideoloških orientacij, vpetost v mednarodne mreže, interes za povezovanje z EU) (prav tam). Tomšič dodaja, da je za uspešno integracijo v evropski sistem nujen pogoj prava kombinacija kozmopolitskih vrednot in lojalnosti nacionalni skupnosti (Tomšič 2009, 11).

V ospredju našega zanimanja so menedžerji, štejemo jih med poslovne elite, ki so aktivni na vodilnih položajih v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti v Sloveniji. Tem podjetjem je skupno, da so bila v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja nacionalna, po priključitvi Slovenije k EU (2004) pa so postala tarča prevzemov ali dokapitalizacije (NTI) tujih podjetij. Zato lahko govorimo o podjetjih s tujim kapitalom (PTK), kjer imajo tuji investitorji različne lastniške deleže (Burger in drugi 2011). To sodelovanje je prineslo več sprememb na različnih ravneh. Drugi val sprememb v managerski kulturi je, kot ugotavljata Janez Prašnikar in Andreja Cirman v raziskavi Globalno

gospodarstvo in kulturna različnost iz leta 2005, posledica globalizacije, saj globalizacija »spreminja poslovne modele podjetij« (Prašnikar in drugi 2005, 13; Prašnikar 2005a). Kot pravita avtorja, so podjetja v globalizaciji prisiljena v strateško razmišljanje v skladu z novim ekonomskim redom in paradigmo trajnostnega razvoja. Zaradi udeležencevih bližnjih in bolj povezanih interakcij znotraj globalnih oskrbovanih verig postajajo kulturne razlike tudi v poslovnem svetu zelo pomembna ovira. Posledično morajo podjetja oblikovati strateški in kulturni model, s katerim dosegajo kompetitivno prednost na globalnem trgu. Elementi globalizaciji prilagojenega strateškega kulturnega modela so: selitev proizvodnih obratov, razvoj novih trgov, kompleksni in strateško usmerjeni marketinški pristopi, zamenjava vodstvenih struktur, racionalizacija poslovanja, razvoj novih sektorjev in storitev, spremenjena organizacijska klima, poudarek na tehnološkem razvoju in inovacijah, medkulturni moment, trajnostni razvoj, projektni način dela, fleksibilnost dela, netrajne oblike zaposlitve in povezovanje z raziskovalnimi inštituti, podjetniškimi inkubatorji in tehnološkimi parki. Pomembno pa je tudi, kdo v podjetjih definira 'mindset', potreben za razumevanje kompleksnega globalnega okolja. Kot navaja več avtorjev, so to top menedžerji (Kanter; Govindarajan in Gupta v Taylor in drugi 2008, 506). S to definicijo se strinjamo in se v naši raziskavi osredotočamo na vodilne menedžerske funkcije v primerjavi njihove poslovne kulture, kakršno imajo slovenski in kakršno imajo tuji menedžerji, ki so zaposleni v Sloveniji kot predstavniki lastnikov – tujih matičnih podjetij.

V nalogi bomo preverjali dve predpostavki:

1. Poslovna kultura je specifična zaradi vzajemne povezanosti in prepletenosti domačih in tujih socio-ekonomskih dejavnikov.
2. Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti je šla skozi vpliv vplivu tranzicijskih sprememb.

Raziskovalno izhajamo iz dveh raziskav. Prva raziskava z naslovom *After the Accession: The Socio-Economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: An Asset or a Liability?* ki jo je na Centru za teoretsko sociologijo na FDV vodil dr. Frane Adam s skupino sodelavcev, v kateri sem bila tudi sama, se je ukvarjala z oblikovanjem vizije spremenjenega socio-kulturnega položaja Slovenije po priključitvi k EU. V tistem času se je oblikovala tudi zanimiva debata okrog 'mladih' in 'starih' ekonomistov v zvezi z nacionalnim interesom in odprtostjo slovenskega

gospodarstva za tuje investicije. Iz te raziskave smo vključili intervjuje z menedžerji v štirih podjetjih s tujim kapitalom, ki smo jih spraševali po distanci in kompatibilnosti na področju delovne produktivnosti, menedžerskega pristopa in organizacijske kulture. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da slovenska poslovna kultura ni nekompatibilna s poslovno kulturo držav članic EU (Adam in drugi 2003, 6), obstajajo pa med državami razlike glede na politični in socio-kulturni kontekst. Vendar ne moremo govoriti o nekompatibilnosti do te mere, da bi bilo sinergično povezovanje v nadnacionalno strukturo, kot je EU, ovirano. »Ekonomsko in poslovna kultura Slovenije je v veliki meri kompatibilna z obstoječimi vzorci ekonomske kulture v EU« (prav tam, 7).

Druga raziskava, ki predstavlja vsebinsko nadaljevanje prve in se z njo deloma prekriva, ki sta jo koordinirala Inštitut za humanistične vede z Dunaja in Srednja Evropska univerza iz Budimpešte, je potekala v okviru 6. okvirnega programa Evropske komisije. Ukvarjal se je s proučevanjem sobivanja dveh socio-ekonomskih kultur – 'Vzhodne' in 'Zahodne' (Tomšič in Adam 2009). V projekt so bile vključene štiri srednje-vzhodne države (Češka, Madžarska, Poljska in Slovenija) ter štiri jugo-vzhodne države Evrope (Bolgarija, Hrvaška, Romunija in Srbija). Kulturne interakcije smo preučevali na treh področjih: (1) podjetništvo, (2) uprava, (3) znanost. Raziskava vsebuje devet študij primerov, po 3 za vsako področje. 1. področje – podjetništvo – vključuje študije primerov treh podjetij s prevladujočim deležem tujega kapitala, vsakega iz drugega področja: finančnega (banka), industrijskega (avtomobilska industrija) in visoko-tehnološkega (računalniško programiranje in svetovanje); 2. področje zajema študijo slovenske administrativne kulture po vpeljavi programa SAPARD; 3. področje pa sestavlja študija konflikta med dvema skupinama slovenskih ekonomistov, 'mladih' in 'starih' na področju aplikativne ekonomije.

1 Konceptualna izhodišča

1.1 Družbena stratifikacija

Teoretsko se naloga nanaša sistemsko teorijo, na teorije elit, kamor prištevamo menedžerje, ki jih imenujemo tudi poslovne elite, in na teorijo družbenih razredov oz. na vprašanje družbenega reda. Ukvarjamo se s poslovno kulturo v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti v kulturološkem okvirju globalizacijskih procesov in v obdobju priključevanja Slovenije k EU. Vidik 'evropeizacije' Slovenije prikažemo v luči post-tranzicijskega obdobja, tj. socio-kulturnih in ekonomsko-političnih sprememb, značilnih za bivše socialistične države ob soočenju z modernizacijskim procesom, tj. vzpostavljanjem parlamentarne demokracije, ekonomskim razvojem (pogosto povezanim z odprtostjo do NTI) in kulturno pluralizacijo ali - v evropskem žargonu, multikulturalnostjo.

Poslovno kulturo (z vidika organizacije, menedžerskega stila, komunikacije in stikov navzven) bomo analizirali na vzorcu 58 intervjujev, ki smo jih opravili za potrebe projektov ACCESS in DIOSCURI s slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti na vodilnih funkcijah. Kvalitativna analiza je pokazala naslednje značilnosti (Tomšič in Adam 2009, 4-6):

-med poslovno kulturo in kulturnimi vzorci večinske kulture ni večjih razhajanj;

-razlike so v organizacijski klimi in menedžerskem stilu; govorimo o pojavu 'negativnega individualizma,' ki označuje držo, ko je posameznik zaščitniški do lastnih interesov, ko pa se sooči z vprašanjem odgovornosti, se sklicuje na kolektivno odločanje in na se ta način izogiba samoodgovornosti;

-odnosi med zaposlenimi in menedžmentom so formalni; to lahko povežemo s stopnjo zaupanja, ki je nižja v Sloveniji v primerjavi s tujino; obstaja močna ločnica med poslovnim in zasebnim življenjem, kar kaže na nizko stopnjo zaupanja in obstoj 'bonding' (povezovalnega) socialnega kapitala;

-običajno sta v uporabi timsko delo in projektni način organizacije; tuji menedžerji opažajo, da so slovenski sodelavci delavni in produktivni, vendar niso samoiniciativni;

-pri menedžerskem stilu so razlike med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji. Medtem kot so tuji menedžerji sistematični in imajo dolgoročno vizijo, so Slovenci bolj kratkoročno usmerjeni in radi improvizirajo. Ta dva vidika sta lahko kompatibilna in vodita do učinkov sinergije, saj je poslovno okolje izredno kompleksno in so zanj potrebne različne strategije za soočenje z internimi in eksternimi dejavniki; tuji menedžerji izražajo visoko stopnjo iniciativnosti na korporativnem nivoju, medtem ko so zelo pasivni in rezervirani na drugih področjih dela; stike s sindikati in reševanje konfliktov prepuščajo slovenskim kolegom; izogibajo se izpostavljenosti v družbenem okolju in so v odnosih izven podjetja zadržani; dominantno pozicijo znotraj in zunaj podjetja zavračajo, da bi se izognili konfliktom, še posebej v okoljih, ki so skeptični do tujcev, s poudarkom na tistih, ki so lastniki domačih podjetij.

V razvitih družbah govorimo o procesu kontekstualne regulacije, in sicer kot vmesni člen med (državno) regulacijo in (družbeno) samoregulacijo. Državna regulacija deluje po principu centralizirane hierarhije, družbena samoregulacija pa po zakonih spontanega trga. O kontekstualni regulaciji govorimo zato, ker morata biti način in intenzivnost regulacije prilagojena posamezni nacionalni državi, predvsem njeni kompleksnosti (Adam in drugi 2003, 226).

Drugo teoretsko izhodišče se ukvarja z vprašanjem, zakaj družbena delitev na razrede, zakaj v družbi sploh govorimo o elitah, zakaj na strateška družbeno-politična vprašanja vedno odgovarjajo elite (o tem tudi Stiglitz) in zakaj družbena razvitost ne omogoča enakega preživetvenega in kulturno-kreativnega okolja za vse svoje pripadnike. Z globalizacijskimi procesi se zdi, da so postale razlike med razvitimi državami (G7) in preostalim svetom še večje, vendar ostaja dejstvo, da strateška peščica odloča o večini, ne glede na njeno geografsko, socialno, kulturno, politično ali ekonomsko stanje.

Ta prispevek se nanaša na klasične družbene teorije, pri katerih govorimo o obstoju družbenih razredov, in pri katerih so elitne skupine na najvišjih položajih na družbeni lestvici (Merton 1910; Bottomore 1964; Weber 1968; Sartori 1987; Etzioni-Halevy 1997). Webrov pristop se nanaša na preučevanje položaja družbenih skupin na visokih družbenih položajih, bodisi po zaslugi opravljanja določenih funkcij, bodisi po zaslugi posebnih kompetenc (znanje, reference, karizma, inovativnost, kreativnost). Sartorijev pristop se nanaša na samo delovanje in rektutacijo poslovnih

elit. Govorimo o takoimenovani funkcionalni in substancialni opredelitvi elit (Sartori 1987, 142). V našem primeru bo šlo za funkcionalno opredelitev elit (Mills 1965; Lowell in drugi 1990)² v smislu zasedanja vodstvenih položajev v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti. Prevladoval bo torej element posedovanja ekonomske moči, vendar bomo upoštevali tudi vidik moči odločanja, zakonodajno moč, ipd., kar označujemo s pojmom politična elita. Politična elita (moč) in ekonomska elita (denar) skupaj tvorita elito moči (denar + moč) (Prijon 2015, 26).

Predstavili bomo klasične teorije elit, kot so jih utemeljili Pareto, Mosca in Mills (Pareto 1915; Mosca 1939; Mills 1965). Pareto, prvi utemeljitelj elit v 30. l. 20. stol. v Ameriki in Veliki Britaniji, je družbo razdelil med organizirano elito, sestavljeno iz skupin, ki med sabo cirkulirajo, in jih poimenoval 'levi in lisice' na eni strani ter med neorganizirano množico na drugi strani (Pareto 1915). Nadalje Gaetano Mosca poudarja odprti značaj sodobnih elit, ker v svojih odločitvah upoštevajo interese različnih skupin (Mosca 1939). Robert Michels in C. Wright Mills dajeta večji poudarek hierarhični družbeni organizaciji, zaradi česar ima lahko elita monopol; Michels govori celo o železnem zakonu oligarhije, kot sam poimenuje vladavino ozke elite. Wright Mills je izpostavil tri skupine elit, ki se rekrutirajo iz višjih družbenih slojev, in med seboj tudi krožijo, to so: ekonomska, vojaška in politična. Po njegovi teoriji se družbena hierarhija utrjuje in ohranja s pomočjo monopoliziranja družbene moči in ima tudi institucionalne razloge obstoja.

V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili najpomembnejše vidike delovanja in rekrutacije elit ter mehanizme, na podlagi katerih lahko govorimo o rentiških poslovnih elitah in cirkulacijskih oz. razvojnih poslovnih elitah (Tomšič 2002; Adam 2001; Prijon 2012).

V navezavi na položaj poslovnih elit v Sloveniji, s katerimi se s sodelavci raziskovalno ukvarja dr. Frane Adam omenimo ugotovitev, da je za Slovenijo značilna nizka stopnja cirkulacije elit, kar predstavlja monopol stare, t.im. retencijske elite (Adam 2009, 124-125), ki sloni na reprodukciji in kontinuiteti starih obrazcev in načinov dela. Prav za predstavnike teh elit je eden izmed intervjujvancev (predsednik uprave slovenskega podjetja v večinski tuji lasti) povedal, da so po vpeljavi tujega poslovnega modela nekateri člani vodstva rajši dali odpoved, kot pa se mu prilagodili, in da imajo sedaj na vodstvenih položajih novo, kompetentno delovno silo mlajše

² Mills (1965) trdi, da je izhodiščni položaj posameznika v družbeno-stratifikacijskem sistemu odvisen od njegovih ekonomskih / neekonomskih resursov.

generacije.³ O načinu vodenja ekonomije v socialističnem tipu družbene ureditve govori tudi Tomšič, in sicer pravi, da je ta način »uvedel nadzor države nad ključnimi ekonomskimi resursi, kar je pomenilo podrejenost ekonomske sfere politiki, saj so bili nosilci ključnih funkcij v gospodarstvu za svoje delovanje odgovorni političnim organom« (Tomšič 2002, 140). Tako je tržno regulacijo ekonomskega delovanja zamenjala politično dirigirana regulacija. Podobno ugotavlja tudi Prijon, ko pravi, da tip ekonomske in politične ureditve vpliva na formiranje (rekrutacija ali cirkulacija) in delovanje poslovne elite, kot razvojni ali kot rentniški tip (Prijon 2015, 99).

Državno/politično vodenje gospodarstva do leta 1990 je pomenilo odsotnost avtonomije podjetništva, zaviralo pa je tudi samoiniciativnost in inovativnost podjetnikov (Tomšič 2002, 141-142), kar sta nujni prvini dinamičnega ekonomskega razvoja razvitih družb. Demontaža socialističnega tipa ekonomije in njegova transformacija, ki ima za cilj vzpostaviti ekonomski sistem po Zahodnem vzoru, je povzročila številne spremembe na ekonomskem in družbenem področju (prav tam). Transformacija socialistično usmerjene ekonomije je privedla do oblikovanja nove socio-ekonomske ureditve, ki jo madžarski sociolog Ivan Szelenyi imenuje menedžerski kapitalizem (Szelenyi v Tomšič 2002, 143). Zaradi razpršene narave lastništva naj bi bil menedžerski sloj dominanten, eliten v družbi. Njegov interes naj ne bi bilo pridobivanje lastništva, ampak ohranjanje vzvodov za obvladovanje gospodarstva. S to tezo se strinjamo, zanemarja pa, kot izpostavlja tudi Tomšič, dva vidika: vlogo tujega kapitala in vlogo države, preko obojega pa vzdrževanje statusa quo in rentniških privilegijev.

Zelo pomemben socio-kulturni dejavnik razvoja je socialni kapital, ki kaže pozitivno povezavo z ekonomsko uspešnostjo in demokratično politično ureditvijo. Za razvite države je značilna demokratična ureditev in visoka stopnja socialnega kapitala, merjenega z dvema proxy spremenljivkama: generalizirano zaupanje ter prostočasno volontersko sodelovanje v nevladnih organizacijah in asociacijah (Adam in drugi 2001).

Sprememba ekonomske ureditve iz delavskega socializma v tržno regulirani kapitalizem je v Sloveniji privedla do več socio-kulturnih sprememb. Povečanje socialnih razlik, zmanjšanje števila zaposlenih, padec družbenega prozivoda in padec življenjske ravni prebivalstva (Tomšič

³ Dostopno prek: <http://izvozniki.finance.si/8811671/Intervju-Aquafil-in-Julon-%C5%BEE-dve-desetletji-predeta-uspe%C5%A1no-zgodbo?cookietime=1456492202> (26. februar 2016)

2002, 144). Če so države srednje Evrope (Slovenija, Poljska, Madžarska, Češka) kljub temu dosegle gospodarsko rast konec 80. let, je finančno-ekonomska kriza na Madžarskem in Poljskem nastopila v začetku 90. let, na Češkem v 2. pol. 90. let (prav tam), v Sloveniji pa ta kriza, splošno imenovana recesija, traja že od leta 2008, in zanjo ni jasnih rešitev (Adam 2013).

Sztompka je razvil koncept civilizacijska (in)kompetenca,⁴ s katerim je označil (ne)sinhronizirani 'trk' med novimi institucijami in starimi kulturnimi in vrednotnimi vzorci v tranzicijskih državah na prehodu iz socializma v demokracijo (Sztompka v Tomšič in Adam 2009, 2). Nas bodo zanimali kulturni vzorci, ki vplivajo na oblikovanje poslovne kulture, in ki so v širšem smislu povezani z družbeno-političnim in spremenjenim evropskim kontekstom (pri tem mislimo na vseevropske in preko EU globalne ekonomske povezave), in so posredno aktivni element civilizacijske kompetence, ki sistemom omogoča preboj iz perifernega položaja v razvojno jedro (tak primer sta denimo Finska in Irska) (Tomšič in Adam 2009, 10). Civilizacijska kompetenca je individualna in kolektivna kategorija. V primeru Slovenije in drugih post-komunističnih držav označuje kulturno zmožnost dohietati standarde najbolj razvitih Zahodnih družb v smislu ekonomske učinkovitosti, demokratične vladavine in intelektualnega dinamizma. V tem smislu je civilizacijska kompetenca odvisna od kompatibilnosti vrednot, drž in vedenjskih vzorcev. Pri tem kompatibilnost ne pomeni uniformnosti, temveč komplementarnost različnosti, ki ima lahko pozitiven razvojni vpliv na ekonomijo in družbo v smislu multikulturalnosti in ad hoc civilnih formacij.

Za namen preučitve odnosov med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji bomo predstavili tudi nekaj glavnih definicij elit v razmerju do politično-ekonomskega sistema, saj je le-ta ključna determinanta eksogenega okolja, v katerem poslovna elita deluje. Ureditev politično-ekonomskega okolja tako definirata načine in delovanje poslovne elite (Inglehart 1990; Putnam 1993; Etzioni-Halevy 1993; Etzioni-Halevy 1997; Walden 2000; Prijon 2015), predpostavljamo pa, da vpliva tudi na odnose med menedžerji glede na njihov izvor (domači/tuji). V razvitih družbah so elite izvoljene po demokratičnih principih, so inkluzivne, cirkulacijske in delujejo po kriterijih transparentnosti in meritokracije. Na ekonomskem področju so agilne, fleksibilne in inovativne ter vpete v mednarodno hitro razvijajoče se poslovno okolje.

⁴ Civilizacijska kompetenca je kompleksen sistem pravil, norm in vrednot, navad in refleksij, kodov in matric, načrt in oblik ter obvladovanje veščin, ki so predpogoj za sodelovanje v moderni civilizaciji (Sztompka v Adam in Tomšič 2009: 10).

Ko govorimo o družbi iz makroperspektive, mislimo na relacijo manjšine vs. večina. Manjšine, ki so višje na družbeni lestvici, ker posedujejo moč (politična elita) ali kapital (ekonomska elita), pa tudi posebne sposobnosti, znanje, reference (kulturna elita), so distancirane od večine. V prvem poglavju bomo predstavili teoretska izhodišča in dileme okrog vprašanja družbenega položaja, socialne neenakosti in funkcionalne diferenciacije. Slednjo je opredelil Niklas Luhmann (Adam in drugi 2004). Predstavili bomo klasične pristope v opredeljevanju družbene neenakosti, katerih predstavniki so Max Weber, Karl Marx, Robert K. Merton in Anthony Giddens. Nadaljevali bomo s Popperjevimi definicijami vodenja in zaključili z Luhmannovo in Willkejevo sistemsko teorijo razvitih družb.

Vprašanja, s katerimi se bomo ukvarjali v pričujoči nalogi, so naslednja:

- Zakaj govorimo o družbeni stratifikaciji?
- Ali lahko govorimo o elitah tudi v sistemskoteoretskem pristopu k družbi?
- Katere so sodobne opredelitve poslovnih elit in njihove vloge v družbi?
- Kateri so politično-ekonomski dejavniki za delovanje poslovnih elit?
- Kateri so socio-kulturni dejavniki za delovanje poslovnih elit?
- Kakšna je povezava med poslovno kulturo in ekonomijo znanja?
- Katere so značilnosti poslovne kulture v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti?

Temeljna ideja, preko katere bomo predstavili menedžersko kulturo v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti, ne bo izhajala iz hierarhičnega pogleda na družbo, ampak se bo naslanjala na Luhmannov sistemskoteoretski pristop, kot ga je nadalje razvil Helmut Willke v svojem delu *Sistemska teorija razvitih družb* (Willke 1993). Pri tem bomo na družbo gledali iz makroperspektive, pri kateri so njeni posamezni podsistemi diferencirani v samozadostne, samoreferenčne strukture, ki med seboj komunicirajo preko kodov: politika preko komunikacijskega koda moči, ekonomija preko komunikacijskega koda denar, znanost preko komunikacijskega koda znanje, itd. Podsistemi, ki jih omenjamo, v družbi (celoti) niso razporejeni piramidalno, temveč uravnoreženo drug poleg drugega oz. deloma celo drug prekrivajoč drugega – Willke omenja sinhrono oz. sinergično delovanje podsistemov.

V sociologiji uporabljamo izraz družbena stratifikacija za označevanje neenakosti med posamezniki. Neenakosti lahko označujejo razlike v lastnini, lahko pa tudi v spolu, starosti, religiozni pripadnosti, vojaškem nazivu (Giddens 2001, 282), nadalje pa tudi v moči, znanju, sposobnostih, nadarjenosti, torej družbenih idealih, zaradi katerih je oseba, ki jih poseduje, predstavnik visokega družbenega razreda in posledično obravnavan kot elita.

Ker je dostop posameznikov in skupin do dobrin neenak in pogojen z njihovim položajem v stratifikacijski shemi, lahko govorimo o strukturnih razlikah oz. strukturnih neenakostih. To pomeni, da ima družba hierarhično strukturo, kjer so privilegirani na vrhu, nepriviligirani pa na dnu. Skozi zgodovino so se oblikovali štirje sistemi stratifikacije, in sicer suženjstvo, kastni sistem, sistem posestva (fevdalizem, aristokracija, plemstvo, duhovščina, meščanstvo) ter razred. Družbeni razredi se razlikujejo po tem, kakšne so ekonomske razlike (lastništvo in nadzor nad materialnimi sredstvi) ter posledično življenjski stil njihovih pripadnikov. Pri družbeni neenakosti/stratifikaciji je potrebno omeniti dejstvo, da pripadnost družbenemu razredu ni podarjena,⁵ ampak je pridobljena. Iz tega izhaja ideja družbene mobilnosti znotraj razrednih struktur. Predpostavlja se ideja odprtih možnosti glede na posameznikove dosežke.

V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili dva glavna teoretska pristopa k obravnavanju družbene neenakosti: Karl Marx in Max Weber. Marx opredeli razred kot skupino ljudi, ki so v enakem odnosu do proizvodnih sredstev. V modernih industrijskih družbah sta dva razreda, ki posedujeta proizvodna sredstva, tj. kapitalisti oz. industrialci in delavski razred oz. proletariat (Marx v Giddens 2001, 283-5). Odnos med tema dvema razredoma (opredelitev družbe je bipolarna) je izkoriščevalski, vendar ni očitno zaznaven. Delavci proizvedejo na delovnem mestu veliko več, kot je potrebno za poplačilo njihovega dela, oz. ustvarjajo dodano/presežno vrednost, ki je izvor profita delodajalcev. Profit izkoriščevalskega razreda/kapitalistov dosega nepredstavljljive vsote, vendar imajo delavci zelo omejen dostop do bogastva, ki ga ustvarjajo s svojim delom. Tako je razkorak med kapitalisti in delavci vse večji, z mehanizacijo proizvodnih sredstev pa postaja delo vse bolj rutinsko in zatiralno.

Weber je poglobil in razširil idejo družbene neenakosti, kot jo je opredelil Marx. Vprašanje družbenega reda je ena od osrednjih tem, s katerimi se je ukvarjal. Po izraelskem sociologu S. N.

⁵ V primeru podarjenosti družbenega statusa govorimo o nepotizmu, kjer gre za prenos privilegiranega družbenega položaja zaradi sorodstvenih vezi.

Eisenstadtu je Webrovo pojmovanje relacije med karizmo in oblikovanjem institucij verjetno najbolj pomemben izziv,⁶ ki ga njegovo delo postavlja pred moderno sociologijo (Eisenstadt v Weber 1968, ix-xxxii). Webrov pristop k razumevanju družbene stratifikacije⁷ je multidimenzionalen. Posedovanje moči ima dve dimenziji: izvajanje moči (eksekucija) in posedovanje moči (ang. possession). Posameznikova moč se lahko kaže kot družbeni položaj (status), kot ekonomski položaj (razred) in skozi politični položaj kot pripadnost skupini, kjer se posamezniki povezujejo z namenom doseganja nekega smisla v nasprotju z drugimi skupinami.

Vprašanje posameznikove svobode in kreativnosti je Weber povezal v konceptu karizma. Definira jo takole: »[Charisma is] a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional qualities«⁸ (Eisenstadt v Weber 1968, xviii). Odziv na karizmatičnega posameznika je intenziven in oseben. Karizmatična avtoriteta je v nasprotju s tradicionalno ali racionalno avtoriteto, saj v sebi nosi inherentno protizakonite in antiinstitucijske predispozicije. Karizmatični posameznik ima lahko konstruktivno ali destruktivno vlogo v družbi. Svojo karizmo lahko usmerja k deviantnosti in zmešnjavi, lahko pa jo usmerja k družbenim inovacijam, kreativnosti, religioznim, političnim ali ekonomskim dosežkom.

Weber je družbeni red analiziral skozi njegove simbolne in organizacijske vidike. Njegov pristop je interdisciplinaren. Po Webru so družbene spremembe, inovacije, transformacije odvisne od objektivnih zakonov trga ali produkcije ter od karizmatične reformulacije pomena ekonomskih aktivnosti. Rečemo lahko, da se družbeni red in spremembe konstituirajo institucionalno, da pa se njihov pomen formulira simbolno in začasno. V simbolnem pomenu lahko vidimo Webrovo karizmatično dimenzijo.

Weber je v razumevanje družbene stratifikacije vpeljal pojem prestiža, poleg moči in bogastva, ki postanejo osrednji pojmi razlag te teme za njim (od konca 19. stol. dalje). Pojem prestiža se je

⁶ Poleg procesa oblikovanja oz. nastajanja institucij sta bili ključni področji njegovega zanimanja še družbena transformacija in kulturna kreativnost (Eisenstadt v Weber 1968, xvi).

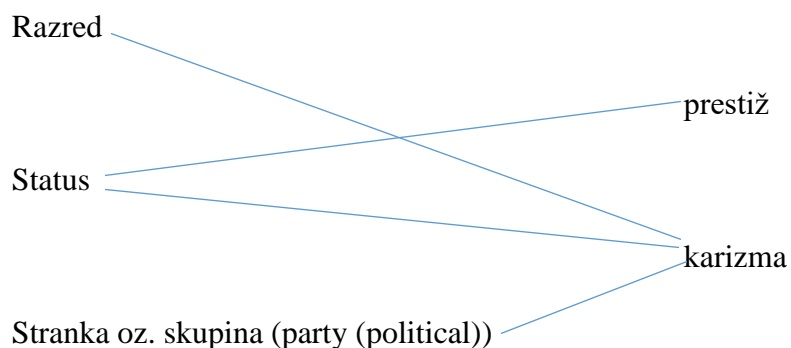
⁷ Posamezniki, skupine in organizacije so masivne organizacijske in strukturne sile, v katerih imajo posamezniki omejeno svobodo in možnosti kreativnih sprememb, na drugi strani pa imajo polne možnosti za razvijanje osebne odgovornosti in napredovanje. Po drugi strani pa prav ti medosebni odnosi, organizacije, institucije, vključno z družbeno makrostrukturo, emergirajo kot rezultat skupnega prizadevanja posameznikov v družbi, tudi če je končni rezultat njihovih prizadevanj povsem drugačen od njihovih prvotnih namenov (Eisenstadt v Weber 1968, xvi).

⁸ V prevodu: Karizma je določena kvaliteta posameznikove osebnosti, vrlina, zaradi katere se loči od drugih, in ga zaradi nje obravnavajo kot obdarjenega z nadnaravno, nadčloveško, ali pa vsaj specifično izjemnimi kvalitetami.

največkrat povezoval z življenjskim stilom. Prestiž razumemo v simbolnem (ideje) bolj kot ekonomskem smislu. Lahko pa ga razumemo tudi kot sredstvo za uveljavljanje moči ali zaslužka.

Ekonomija, politika in religija so za Webra institucionalizirana področja družbenega delovanja (prav tam xxxvi). S tem, da za izhodišče vedno postavlja subjektivni pomen delovanja – neko delovanje označimo kot ekonomsko takrat, ko ga sami opredelimo kot tako glede na cilje ali potrebe (prav tam). Ekonomija, politika, religija in druge stratifikacijske sfere pa niso samo institucionalni okvirji, preko katerih lahko posameznik dosega določene cilje. So tudi področja širših smislov, h katerim so orientirane dejavnosti njihovih udeležencev. Predstavljajo torej simbolne okvirje, preko katerih posamezniki oblikujejo smisel in pomen svojega delovanja.

Shema 1.1: Elementi družbene stratifikacije po Weberu



Prerejeno po Weber 1968.

Kot vidimo, je karizma kvaliteta ali zmožnost posameznika, značilna za katerikoli položaj v družbeni stratifikaciji, in je lahko lastnost posameznika ali skupine. Prestiž pa je kategorija, ki jo povezujemo izključno s statusom. Prestiž je simbolna 'aura', povezana s posameznikovim družbenim statusom, in z njim povezanim življenjskim stilom in življenjskimi izbirami. Karizma pa je »osebnost ali skupina, ki poseduje ne samo posebne, razveseljive (ang. exhilarating) kvalitete, temveč tudi zmožnost, da s temi kvalitetami predrugači in reorganizira simbolni in kognitivni red, ki je potencialno inherenten v teh [individualnih] orientacijah in ciljih in [tudi] v institucionalnem redu, v katerem so take orientacije utelešene« s tem, da sta karizmatični in simbolni red vsakega institucionalnega sistema neenakomerno razporejen. Prav zaradi te

neenakomernosti, pravi Weber, institucionalni sistemi niso nikoli popolnoma homogeni, temveč obstaja znotraj njih vedno možnost oblikovanja anti-sistemov (prav tam xx -xlv).

Weber se strinja z Marxovo ugotovitvijo, da družbo določajo konflikti nad močjo in sredstvi, vendar je razvil kompleksnejši, večdimenzionalen pogled na družbo. Weber govori o tripartitni družbeni stratifikaciji. Sestavljajo jo razred (ang. class) / bogastvo, status (ang. status) / prestiž in skupina (ang. party) / moč. Razredne razlike po Weberu ne izhajajo zgolj iz kontrole ali pomanjkanja kontrole nad sredstvi produkcije, ampak iz ekonomskih razlik, ki niso v direktni povezavi z lastnino. Ekonomske veščine pomenijo sposobnosti in priporočila ter kvalifikacije, ki določajo vrsto zaposlitve, dosegljivo posameznikom. Položaj posameznika na trgu v veliki meri določa njegove življenjske možnosti (Weber 1968, 285). Posameznik z boljšimi referencami ima na trgu večje možnosti za napredovanje in uspeh.

Weber poleg ekonomskih/razrednih razlik med ljudmi opredeli še en pojem, pomemben za razumevanje družbenih razlik, tj. status. Le-ta se nanaša na razlike v družbeni časti/spoštovanju (ang. honour) in prestižu. V modernih, kompleksnih družbah se status izraža preko življenjskega stila, tj. kraja bivanja, načina oblačenja in izražanja, poklica, se pravi kazatelj, ki določajo posameznikov položaj v očeh drugih. Ljudje z enakim statusom predstavljajo skupnost in delijo skupno identiteto.⁹

Skupina (ang. party) je po Weberu pomemben vidik moči in lahko vpliva na stratifikacijo neodvisno od razreda in statusa. Skupina je nabor posameznikov, ki delajo skupaj, ker izhajajo iz enakega okolja, imajo enake cilje ali interese. Skupina pogosto deluje na organiziran način, da bi dosegla cilj, ki je v interesu vseh njenih pripadnikov. Vendar niti razlik v statusu niti razlik v skupinski pripadnosti ne moremo razložiti z razrednimi razlikami, čeprav te vplivajo na oboje. Skupine se lahko oblikujejo na podlagi religiozne pripadnosti ali nacionalističnih idealih, in na ta način presegajo statusne razlike (Weber 1968, 286).

(Družbene) skupine ne pomenijo samo povezovalnih oblik med posamezniki, ampak jih Weber vidi v njihovi angažiranosti in usmerjenosti k doseganju cilja. Pričakuje se, da se bodo povezovali posamezniki s podobnim statusom, možno pa je tudi, da se bodo povezovali glede na cilj, ki ga želijo realizirati, ta je denimo religiozne ali politične narave. Za religiozne ideje, vemo da z

9 Čeprav je Marx trdil, da so razlike v statusu posledica razrednih razlik v družbi, je Weber zadevo obrnil in dejal, da se status spreminja neodvisno od razrednih razlik (prav tam).

univerzalnimi idejami povezujejo ljudi preko celega sveta, ne samo na nivoju neke skupnosti. Politične ideje pa lahko predstavljajo priložnost za angažiranje civilne družbe, predvsem v smislu delovanja intermediarnih struktur, kot jih vpelje Luckmann, in njihove povezovalne vloge na relaciji posameznik vs. družba.

Drugi zelo pomemben vidik Webrove teorije o družbeni neenakosti je utemeljen na etičnem vodilu posameznikovega življenjskega sveta (Luckmann), ki ga vodi prepričanje o poklicanosti za opravljanje nekega dela na Zemlji, ki bo poplačano v življenju po smrti. Racionalno, tudi preračunljivo in asketsko držo tuzemskega delovanja lahko vidimo, ne sprašuje pa se Weber po posameznikovi individualni konstrukciji smisla svojega življenjskega sveta, ker je ta 'podeljena' ali bolje rečeno 'podarjena' od zgoraj. O tem ni dileme, kot je to značilno za Luckmannovo nenehno preizpraševanje o smislu in celo sindromu odsotnosti (pomanjkanja) smisla v moderni družbi.

Na splošno je pri Webrovem pogledu na družbeno stratifikacijo zelo prisoten element ekonomske moči/lastnine. Ta določa, kateremu družbenemu razredu bo posameznik pripadal, kakšne so njegove možnosti, kakšne bodo njegove aspiracije, in kakšen bo delež prestižnosti, ki ga bo deležen. Po drugi strani pa v sistemskoteoretskem pristopu, kot ga predstavljata Luhmann in Willke, pa tudi Parsons, namesto družbene lestvice govorimo o soobstoju različnih podsistemov, ki imajo sposobnost samoobnavljanja in samorefleksije in obstajajo v ravnotežju z drugimi podsistemi, hkrati pa so sami zase zadostni kot posamezne funkcionirajoče strukture z lastno reprodukcijo. Kako lahko razumemo vidik družbene stratifikacije v povezavi s poslovno kulturo? Če bi odgovorili z Bourdieujevo formulacijo, poslovne kulture ne bomo razumeli kot strukuro, temveč kot pojav – antisubstancialistično torej.

Karizma je v povezavi z družbeno stratifikacijo eno od osrednjih zanimanj Webrove sociologije. Predstavili bomo še relacijo karizma – institucionalizacija v ekonomski sferi in v sferi družbene stratifikacije. Za namen naše naloge, ki se ukvarja s poslovno kulturo v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti, bomo najprej pogledali, kako se vloga karizme in institucionalizacije razlikujeta v predmodernem in modernem kapitalizmu.

Nadalje bomo do poslovne kulture pristopali induktivno – s kompleksnim pristopom na izhodišču posameznega primera. Ta primer bomo poskušali razumeti glede na različne vidike, glede na strukturo družbenega prostora, glede na distribucijo dispozicij v njem (položaji moči), glede na

konstrukcijo razmerij med ekonomijo in politiko, družbo in kulturo, akademsko in laično sfero ter posledično glede na razmerje kapitalov, ki jih ta področja pokrivajo: ekonomski, kulturni, človeški kapital.

Raziskati želimo tudi ozadje provokativne trditve 'družbeni razredi ne obstajajo' s pomočjo konceptov, ki rušijo obstoječo teoretsko tradicijo, tj. družbeni prostor, habitus, distinkcija, razlika, razločevanje, prisvajanje, pridobivanje. Naš pristop bo torej reflektivne narave in bo utemeljen na primerjavah z definicijami drugih avtorjev ter njihovih raziskav. Teoretska izhodišča pa bomo dopolnili s primeri domačih in tujih poslovnih elit, kjer bomo na podlagi intervjujev z njimi pogledali, kateri elementi poslovne kulture so pri njih prepoznavni in kakšna je njihova vloga.

Velike družbene spremembe v zadnjih desetletjih (postindustrijski razvoj v smeri storitev in povečane vloge znanja, pojav novih kategorij zaposlitev, vse večji delež žensk pri zaposlovanju in tudi pri zasedanju visokih in vodilnih položajev, visoka stopnja družbene mobilnosti in sprememb) kažejo na to, da fiksna struktura družbenih razredov ne zdrži več ali pa vsaj ne zmore zaobjeti dinamičnih sprememb na trgu dela in zaposlovanja. Ob tem ne moremo mimo naslednjih dejstev, o katerih govori Beck v svojem znanem delu Družba tveganja in jih imenuje s pojmom 'koncept dvigala': pričakovana življenjska doba se je podaljšala za več let, povprečna delovna doba se je skrajšala za več kot četrtno (poznejši vstop v zaposlitev in zgodnejši odhod v pokoj), povečanje realnih plač (Beck 2001, 114). Torej več življenja, manj delovne dobe in več finančnih sredstev so pomembni dejavniki, ki vplivajo na oblikovanje življenja ljudi od 80. let prejšnjega stoletja dalje.

Če so bile prej razlike v družbi utemeljene v razredni pripadnosti, sedaj potrošnja oblikuje skrajno individualizirane družbene prakse, ki presegajo razredne atribute (prav tam). To prikazuje Beck na dveh komponentah trga delovne sile:

1. Mobilnost / formiranje storitvenega sektorja v 60. in 70. letih prejšnjega stoletja je vplivalo na razvoj družbene mobilnosti. Pojavi se koncept 'država blaginje'. Pride do procesa individualizacije v odnosu do družinskih, skupnostnih, delovnih, ter tudi kulturnih vezi. Ženska emancipacija – porast zaposlitev, delitev družinskih vlog, ženska razpolaga z lastnim zaslužkom.

2. Izobrazba / v 60. in 70. letih prejšnjega stoletja je prišlo do pomembnega dviga izobrazbene ravni, ki je zmanjšal razkol med izobraženo manjšino in neizobraženo (po večini tudi nepismeno) večino, značilno za 19. stoletje.¹⁰ V dostopu do študija so se ženske skoraj izenačile z moškimi.¹¹ Je pa zaradi položaja na trgu dela neenakost med ženskimi in moškimi 'neizbrisno vidna'. Posledica: »*Neenakost je postala osebna, vsakdanja, brez legitimacije in s tem tudi: politična*« (Beck 2001, 114-119).

Še vedno pa ostaja aktualno vprašanje koncentracije bogastva in lastnine v rokah peščice (Giddens 2001, 290-293). Bogastvo se v sodobnem svetu ne meri zgolj s posedovanjem materialnih dobrin in nepremičnin, ampak ga v pomembnem delu dopolnjuje lastništvo simbolnih in ekonomskih resursov, pogosto povezanih z elementi vpliva in moči. Bogati niso homogena skupina, še manj statična kategorija. Obstajajo številni načini dostopa do bogastva, denimo družinska pripadnost, lastna uspešnost, slavne osebnosti, uspešni športniki, predstavniki nove elite, ki so napredovali po družbeni lestvici na področju razvoja internetnih tehnologij, programske opreme, novih medijev, računalništva in telekomunikacij.

Če poskušamo v grobem razporediti neenake družbene položaje v sodobni družbi, vidimo naslednjo sliko. Manjšina, ki poseduje bogastvo in moč, sestavlja višji družbeni razred. Njihovo bogastvo je prenosljivo, zato govorimo o konstantnosti teh skupin. Za tem razredom je storitveni razred, ki ga po Goldthorpeu sestavljajo profesionalci, menedžerji in visoki upravniki. Pod njim je t.im. intermediarni (intermediate) oz. srednji razred.¹² Sledita mu delavski razred in podrazred (brezposelni).¹³

Z globalizacijo in razvojem informacijskih tehnologij se je oblikovala nova vrsta ekonomije, ekonomija znanja. Avtorji zbornika Knowledge Region: Alps-Adriatic Challenges znanja ne

¹⁰ Leta 1952 je zaključilo srednjo šolsko izobrazbo 35% deklic in 42% dečkov, leta 1981 pa že 81% deklic in 78% dečkov.

¹¹ Leta 1960 je bilo na gimnazijo vpisanih 25% žensk, leta 1975 pa že 34%.

¹² Kategorija srednjega razreda se je pojavila v začetku 19. stol., ko je že zajemala njegovo ohlapno naravo. Njegovi člani ne delijo skupnega socialnega izvora niti življenjskih stilov ali kulturnega okusa, vzporedno s tem pa se poklicno udejstvujejo od storitvene industrije do medicine in šolstva (Giddens 2001, 293). Sem spadajo strokovni, finančni, tehnološki, informacijski, menedžerski, upravni poklici, ki veljajo tudi za najhitreje rastoče oz. razvijajoče se.

¹³ »Cepitev naše družbe v vedno manjšo večino imetnikov delovnih mest in naraščajočo manjšino brezposelnih, predčasnih upokojencev, priložnostnih delavcev in tistih, ki sploh ne zmorejo več dostopa do trga delovne sile, je v polnem teku« (Beck 2001, 132).

razumejo ozko v povezavi z ekonomijo znanja, kot jo omenja Lizbonska Agenda EU, temveč kot »ključno prednost človekovega življenja« (Langer in drugi 2009, 12).

Zaradi izjemno hitrega razvoja informacijsko-tehnološkega sektorja so se pojavile opredelitve novega družbenega razreda, ki ga sestavljajo omreženi delavci, to so delavci, ki se ukvarjajo s tehnologijami znanja in jih razvijajo (Castells 2000; Langer in drugi 2009, 12). Še več, pripisujejo jim tudi zasluge za oblikovanje nove politične kulture, ki izpostavlja vprašanja življenjskega stila s poudarkom na osebnih vrednotah in skrbi zase. Ali lahko govorimo o omreženih delavcih kot o samostojnem družbenem razredu? Glede na to, da so informacijske tehnologije in z njimi povezani poklici med najhitreje razvijajočimi, lahko sklepamo, da so med najpomembnejšimi. Povezava med na znanju temelječi ekonomiji in družbenim razvojem mesta/regije/nacije, je povod za idejo organizacijskega menedžmenta znanja kot relevantnega dejavnika ekonomskega in družbenega razvoja na makro ravni (Langer in drugi 2009, 12-14). Iz tega sklepamo, da razvoj postindustrijskih družbenih entitet opišemo kot družbeni fenomen s poudarkom na znanju kot njegovi gonilni sili.

Nekateri avtorji opozarjajo, da razredne pripadnosti ne moremo opredeljevati zgolj po kriterijih zaposlitve in ekonomije (položaja na trgu in odnosa do produkcijskih sredstev), ampak moramo upoštevati tudi kulturne dejavnike, kot so življenjski stil in potrošniške navade. V sodobni družbi se posameznikova identiteta vse bolj oblikuje na osnovi življenjskih izbir, te pa so opredeljene s potrošniškimi kriteriji, pri katerih igrajo simboli bistveno vlogo. Vsi nabori posameznikovih izbir določajo njegov življenjski stil, pri čemer prestižnost izbir sovпада z bogastvom in s tem z družbenim statusom. Vprašanje je, ali lahko, če sledimo tem kriterijem, še govorimo o družbenih razredih, ali je primerneje govoriti o *družbenih skupinah*, v katere so posamezniki všteti glede na podobne (p)referenčne okvirje.¹⁴

Na tem mestu je potrebno omeniti francoskega sociologa *Pierra Bourdieuja*, ki v *podobni smeri razvija misel ne o družbenih razredih, ampak o razrednih skupinah*, katerih ločevalni kriterij je stopnja/količina kulturnega in ekonomskega kapitala (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu opozarja, da je

14 Pri tem je potrebno upoštevati, da se pripadnost tem skupinam ne opredeljuje glede na poklic ali na socialni izvor, ampak glede na trenutne finančne zmožnosti, zaradi katerih si lahko posamezniki s podobno plačilno bilanco privoščijo podobne kulturne izbire in s tem podobne življenjske stile. Kar pa ne pomeni, da je njihov položaj trajne narave oz. da se je nanj moč zanašati. V svetu hitrih sprememb na vseh področjih življenja, v katerih živimo, je nestabilnost edina stabilnost, ki si jo lahko privoščimo.

moderna družba potrošniška družba, usmerjena h kopičenju materialnih dobrin. V tem smislu je postala množična družba, v kateri so razredne razlike do določene mere ovržene. Ljudje različnih razrednih izvorov lahko gojijo enake vzorce potrošnje in podoben življenjski stil, po drugi strani pa se razlike med njimi lahko tudi povečujejo zaradi enakih razlogov (Giddens 2001, 296).

Popper pravi, da je vodenje fenomen, ki obstaja v skoraj vsakem družbenem kontekstu (Popper 2005: 5-7). Pri tem fenomenu gre za odnos, ki temelji na instrumentalni dinamiki dati-vzeti, ki jo najdemo v poslovnih in podjetniških organizacijah.¹⁵ Za razvite države je v ekonomskih procesih utečen 'win-win' odnos (Adam 2001; Adam 2004).

Vodje pa imenujemo tudi elite. Elite so jasen, vendar izmuzljiv pojem. Če pomislimo na elito, se hitro spomnimo na posameznike, skupine ali organizacije, ki so izjemne po določenih kriterijih in se po njih razlikujejo od širše množice. Kljub dejstvu, da so prisotne v vseh oblikah človeške družbe, imajo zelo različne pojavne vrednosti, pomene, simbole in definicije. Različnim oblikam družbene ureditve skozi zgodovino je skupen inherenten obstoj družbenih elit, hkrati pa se te elite rekrutirajo na različne načine in imajo v družbah različne pojavne vrednosti.

Walden v svoji knjigi *The New Elites* pravi, da je tri pojme, značilne za zahodni razviti svet, demokracija, elite in množice, nujno redefinirati. Razumevanje družbe je v Veliki Britaniji (najbrž ne samo tam) omejeno z dihotomijo 'levica-desnica' na politični osi, ter z vertikalno družbeno hierarhijo. Walden ločuje med resničnimi in ponarejenimi elitami, med plodnimi in sterilnimi elitami. Resnične elite se zanimajo za javni interes, odlikujejo jih odprtost, sposobnost in človečnost. Ponarejene (neprave) elite pa so elite zaradi denarja (ekonomske moči), ki ga posedujejo, ali zaradi članstva v elitni družbeni kasti, in so pogosto nasprotniki množic in

¹⁵ Poglejmo hitro genezo razvoja ideje vodje, kot jo v svojem delu *Leaders who transform society: What drives them and why we are attracted* predstavlja Micha Popper. Za Platona je vodja tisti posameznik, ki je vreden postati oz. biti vodja, to pa je tisti, kdor ve (prav tam, 14). Vedeti pri Platonu pomeni poznati idejo, in vodja, ki vodi državo, mora poznati idejo države. Nadalje Weber v proučevanje vodenja vpelje pojem karizma, ki se navezuje na subjektivno dimenzijo realnosti (Weber v Popper 2005, 21). Za preučevanje subjektivnih dimenzij družbene realnosti sta referenčna tudi sociologa Berger in Luckmann (1988; 2007). V 19. stol. prevladuje ideja vodje kot heroja, ki je na tej funkciji zaradi izjemne nadarjenosti, ki deluje v smeri ohranjanja idealne skupnosti (Popper 2015, 15). Machiavelli opredeli vladarja kot posameznika z ekskluzivnim vplivom na oblikovanje realnosti. Vladar po njegovem mnenju poseduje moč in osebnostni uspeh (prav tam). Pri Marxu in Engelsu se v 19. stoletju pojavi ideja o vodenju kot posledici (družbeno-ekonomskih) okoliščin. Pravita, da v družbi obstaja poteba po vodji, torej, da je vodja odgovor na določeno družbeno situacijo, ki vodjo zahteva (prav tam 19). Od 2. pol. 18. stol. naprej se je statusni ideal oblikoval sorazmerno z industrijskim razcvetom (materializmom, podjetništvom, meritokracijo) (Botton v Popper 2015, 26).

populizma. Slednje pa so po Waldnovem mnenju v Britaniji najmočnejše in vseprisotne (Walden 2000, 1-9).

Nasprotje elitizma je inkluzivnost. Walden ugotavlja, da se je v odnosu do elit in elitnosti v Britaniji v zadnjih dvesto letih spremenilo le malo. Elite se še vedno obravnava kot relativno zaprt krog družbenih skupin posebnih odličnosti, ki so same sebi namen, in o katerih se v javnosti pretirano ne govori, vsi pa se zavedajo njihovega obstoja, utemeljenega na obsojenosti vseh drugih na nezmožnost napredovanja. Pri tem izvzema vlogo elitnih skupin, kot so vojaki na posebnih mednarodnih odpravah, zdravniki in pop zvezde, ker je pri njihovem obstoju in delovanju zaznati množičnost in uresničevanje javnih interesov, po drugi strani pa neprave elite nimajo oboževalcev.

Podobno opredeli družbo brez razredov tudi Beck. »Družba, ki ne deluje več v družbeno zaznavnih razrednih kategorijah, je na poti iskanja druge družbene strukture in je ni več mogoče brez kazni v smislu nevarne izgube dejanskosti in relevantnosti vedno znova skrtačiti nazaj proti dlaki v kategorijo razreda« (Beck 2001, 128-131). Še več, razmerja družbene neenakosti in njihov razredni značaj se lahko spreminjajo neodvisno drug od drugega. S pojavom individualizacije v povojnem razvoju države blaginje so se družbeni razredi detradicionalizirali in razpustili, po drugi strani pa so se zaradi drugih spremenjenih pogojev, denimo množične brezposlenosti, zaostrole družbene neenakosti.

Zygmunt Bauman, znan po tezi o tekoči moderni, s katero označuje stanje duha po koncu moderne, pravi, da so na ravni družbe zanjo značilni privatizacija storitev, informacijska revolucija in medijsko/potrošniška preplavljenost, zaradi katere je na ravni posameznika prišlo do več sprememb: negotovost, privatizacija in ambivalentnost ter odpis tradicionalnih vlog, namesto njih pa neskončno možnost posameznikove izbire. Bauman razlaga družbeno neenakost kot neenakost v moči, ki je zanj tudi vzrok vseh neenakosti (Bauman 2013, 36; Bauman 2001).

Z izrazom kolateralna škoda označuje Bauman vse neplanirane stranske učinke, vse neželene družbene in okoljske pojave, zaradi katerih ima globalna organizacija sveta težave: ekološki problemi in ekološke katastrofe, problem brezposlenosti, problem kriminalitete med mladimi, problem zaposlovanja mladih (Bauman 2013, 7-12; Stiglitz 2002). Omenja tudi težave zaradi medijskih in oglaševalskih pritiskov, zaradi katerih ima posameznik občutek prisile. Počuti se dolžnega biti zraven, ne zaostajati.

Po Baumanu so posledice globalne ureditve nemerljive z vidika družbene neenakosti. Sodobne institucije svoje naloge ne opravljajo več kot funkcije, s katero bi lahko obvladale stopnjo družbene neenakosti (prav tam 39). Globalna neenakost se bo še povečevala. Takole pravi: »V pogojih globalne deregulacije kapitalskih tokov se gospodarska rast ne prevaja v naraščanje enakosti. Prav nasprotno: je glavni dejavnik bogatenja bogatih in nadaljnjega siromašenja revnih (Bauman 2013, 40-50).

Bauman gre še dlje, ko pravi, da globalni kapital išče še nerazvita področja, kjer so nizki stroški proizvodnje in slaba pravna ureditev, na katerih lahko profit še maksimirajo, kjer tudi moralna pravila ne veljajo več.

Osvobojen nadzora oziroma 'sistema zavor in ravnovesij' in z dostopom na nikogaršnjo zemljo globalne 'nepolitične' cone ima kapital, ki je nakopičen v 'razvitih' delih sveta, zdaj proste roke, da v oddaljenih predelih sveta poustvarja pogoje, ki so v kolonialnih državah vladali v časih 'primitivne akumulacije'; vendar z novo določbo, da šefi tokrat postanejo 'odsotni zemljiški gospodje', ki so tisoče kilometrov stran od najemniške delovne sile. (Bauman 2013, 40)

Ne samo, da je vprašanje družbene neenakosti ostalo zelo aktualno, ampak je dobilo tudi neomejene, kolateralne, kot bi rekel Bauman, razsežnosti, ki so po eni strani odraz moči kot gonilne sile oz. perpetuum mobile, po drugi strani pa dejstva, da je postala skrb za varnost osrednja človekova potreba. Kaj pomeni družbena neenakost za posameznika? Negotovost prihodnosti, krhkost družbenega statusa in eksistenčno nezaščitenost, pravi Bauman, ki so tudi značilnosti tekoče moderne.

Zanimiv pristop, ki smo ga vzeli za izhodišče pričujoče naloge, ponuja nemški sociolog Niklas Luhmann, ki v svojem prispevku Pojem družbe opozarja na razsrediščenost moderne družbe, kjer družbena ureditev ni več hierarhično urejena (Luhmann 2004, 249-259). Pojem družbe po Luhmannu definira pojem komunikacije. Družbene podsisteme opredeljujejo določeni tipi komunikacije – politiko moč, ekonomijo denar, znanost resnica. Po Luhmannu je družba tudi operativno zaprt avtopoetični sistem. Definira ga diferenca med sistemom (kot notranjo stranjo forme) in okoljem (kot zunanjo stranjo forme). Definicija družbe je po Luhmannu naslednja: »Družba je obsežen sistem vseh komunikacij, ki se reproducira avtopoetično s tem, da v rekurzivni mreži komunikacij proizvaja vedno nove (in vedno druge) komunikacije« (Luhmann

2004, 254-256). 'Vez' med komunikacijo in zavestjo oz. med družbo in posameznikom predstavlja jezik.

Strinjamo se lahko s prvim delom Luhmannove ugotovitve, da je moderna družba razsrediščena. Tukaj se spomnimo na posledice globalizacije: decentralizacijo in individualizacijo, katerih učinke opisujejo Held, Castells, Beck, Bauman in drugi. Kot primer lahko navedemo Beckovo ugotovitev glede družbene neenakosti, za katero poudarja njen nacionalni značaj: »...kljub še naprej obstoječim in novo nastajajočim neenakostim danes v Nemčiji že živimo v razmerah onstran razredne družbe, kjer se podoba razredne družbe ohranja pri življenju samo še zaradi pomanjkanja boljše alternative« (Beck 2001, 111).

Da bi uresničili namen pričujoče naloge, tj. prikazati vidike poslovne kulture v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti, bomo v nadaljevanju prikazali še nehierarhičen pogled na družbeno delovanje, kot ga je utemeljil s sistemsko teorijo Niklas Luhmann in njegovo misel nadaljeval in razvil Helmut Willke s sistemsko teorijo razvitih družb.

1.2 Sistemskoteoretski pristop k družbenemu redu

»Šele povezava refleksije, kontekstualne intervencije in diskurza omogoča postopek, v katerem se lahko razvije paradoksnost združljivosti divergentnih racionalnosti« (Willke 1993, 125).

Vsem oblikam človekove družbene ureditve je skupno, da ima svoje predstavnike razporejene na različnih položajih in za različne vloge, razporejeni pa so po različnih kriterijih, denimo bogastvo, orožje, znanje, ipd. V sodobni družbi so ti kriteriji vse kompleksnejši, v vsakem primeru pa imamo opraviti z dihotomijami, kot so višji/nizji, bogat/reven, izobražen/neizobražen, zaposlen/nezaposlen, itd. V sistemski teoriji razvitih družb izhajamo iz hipoteze, da »družbe obstajajo in jih na abstrakten način definiramo kot *socialne sisteme*, ki nastajajo in se reproducirajo na temelju smisla kot soodvisnost osnovnih operacij *socialnih komunikacij*« (Willke 1993, 15). Družbo definira kot »najširšo celoto potencialno medsebojno povezanih in vzajemno relevantnih komuniciranj« (Willke 1993, 25).

Ne moremo pa mimo funkcionalne analize z njenimi manifestnimi in latentnimi funkcijami, kot jo je utemeljil Robert K. Merton in opozoril, da imajo družbene in kulturne oblike lahko raznolike funkcije, tudi disfunkcionalne, za posameznika, podskupine in obsežnejšo družbeno

strukturo in kulturo (Merton 2004, 197-213). Univerzalni funkcionalizem namreč trdi, da imajo vse standardizirane družbene oblike pozitivne funkcije, kar Merton označi kot veličastno pretiravanje. Merton je prvi, ki opozori na manifestne in latentne funkcije socialnih sistemov. Manifestne so objektivne in so namerne ter prispevajo k prilagajanju ali preurejanju neke enote ali sistema, medtem ko so latentne nenamerne in tudi neprepoznavne posledice.

V tej nalogi izhajamo iz sistemskoteoretskega pristopa, kot ga je v uvodu v to teorijo opredelil nemški sociolog Helmut Willke. Kot ključno problematiko sistemskoteoretskega razmišljanja izpostavlja problem vzpostavljanja organizirane kompleksnosti¹⁶ (Willke 1993, 8-10). Moderne, razvite družbe nič drugega ne označuje bolj natančno kot prav »eksplozivnost in tveganost komaj še obvladljive družbene kompleksnosti«. Preko različnih dihotomij, s katerimi pojasnjuje dinamiko, ki je vgrajena v moderne družbe, pride do zaključne teze o samousmerjanju družbe, ki po »obilici problemov nakazuje tudi rešitve«.

Willke analizira pogoje možnosti obstoja družbe, pri tem pa izpostavlja neverjetnost in tveganost visoko kompleksnih družb. Njegova ključna hipoteza je, da družbe ni mogoče pojasniti zgolj z upoštevanjem delovanja njenih članov, temveč je družbeni red utemeljen v specifični obliki nadindividualne družbene realnosti ali, z drugimi besedami, družbeni sistem je izrazito *neodvisen* od svojih individuumov. Še več. Willke trdi, da pri vprašanju družbenega reda v ospredju ni zanimanje za red, temveč domneva o normalnosti kaosa. Družbeni red je izjemno krhka kategorija, lahko se poruši skoraj brez vnaprejšnjega opozorila. In dodaja: »Družbeni red je neverjeten v tem smislu, da je pogoj njegove stabilizacije hkrati tudi pogoj njegove ogroženosti; določena stopnja kompleksnosti, ki red omogoča, ga namreč hkrati tudi spodkupuje« (Luhmann in drugi 1993, 23; Adam 1996).

Naslednja vprašanje, ki ga podaja Willke, je vprašanje o smiselnosti nacionalne ali politične definicije družbe, namesto katere postavlja ustreznejše izraze, kot so informacijska družba, tehnološka družba, postindustrijska družba, družba znanja, družba tveganja. Družba funkcionira kot simbolni sistem preko medijev simbolno specializiranega komuniciranja.¹⁷ Za potrebe te

¹⁶ »Za žive in simbolne sisteme ne obstajajo »preprosti« in »dokončni« zakoni, na katere bi bilo mogoče zvesti kompleksne soodvisnosti« (prav tam). Poleg kompleksnosti sodobnih ali, kot jih imenuje Willke, modernih, razvitih družb, so zanje značilne še naslednje dihotomije: diferenciacija/integracija, kompleksnost/kontingenca, konflikt/kooperacija (prav tam 10).

¹⁷ Po Luhmannu (1984) je komuniciranje »transferenca razumljive informacije« (Willke 1993, 21).

naloge bomo prikazali primer denarja kot simbolnega medija ekonomsko specializiranega komuniciranja: najprej je imel uporabno vrednost (zlatniki), potem menjalno vrednost (bankovci), danes pa se z denarjem trguje v skoraj poljubnih stopnjah abstrakcije (vrednostni papirji, borze, ipd.) (prav tam 20-23). To je eden od primerov, kako je povečevanje socialne kompleksnosti povezano s porastom stopenj abstrakcije, z večanjem stopnje svobode in kontingence, in potemtakem z večanjem hipotetičnosti reda.

Willke navaja štiri ključne značilnosti razvitih družb: diferenciacijo, pozitivizacijo, samoreferenco in usmerjanje (prav tam 28-55). V nadaljevanju pogledjmo, kako razlaga te pojme.

Diferenciacija: za predmoderne družbe je načilna segmentarna ali rudimentarna slojevska diferenciacija (Luhmann v Willke 1993, 28). Temeljna enota skupnosti je gospodinjstvo, preko katerega se veže sorodstveni sistem v širšo normativno družbo. Ekonomija, znanost, religija ne obstajajo kot ločeni sistemi, kot jih poznamo danes, temveč so medsebojno prepleteni in vezani na tvorbo gospodinjstva, ki zadovoljuje raznovrstne socialne in psihične potrebe svojih članov. Za moderne družbe pa je značilna družbena delitev dela ali *funkcionalna diferenciacija*. Tako Weber v ciljni racionalnosti¹⁸, ki jo je spodbudila protestantsko-kalvinistična etika, vidi novo organizacijsko načelo celotne družbe ter »diagnosticira soodvisnost racionalne birokratske oblasti in racionalnega kapitalističnega gospodarstva kot tisto neizbežno moč, ki kuje železno kletko podrejenosti, ki ji ljudje ne morejo uiti«. Na podlagi racionalnega principa, ki utemeljuje moderne predstave o svetu, se lahko razvijejo znanost, umetnost, ekonomija, politika kot samostojna, funkcionalno izdiferencirana področja. Luhmannova opredelitev gre še dlje, ko pravi, da se racionalnost na ravni posameznega delovanja kvalitativno razlikuje od racionalnosti na ravni sistema (Luhmann v Willke 1993, 28-33).

Pozitivizacija: možnost predrugačenja sveta: tukaj Willke na primeru pozitivizacije prava pokaže, da ljudje o strukturi družbenega reda odločajo sami (Willke 1993, 35-38). Ta primer dokazuje, da lahko z zakonodajnim odločanjem vplivamo na sleherni vidik družbene realnosti. »Oblike družbenega reda so postale stvar izbire.« To pomeni, da niso več samoumevne in morajo same poskrbeti za svojo legitimacijo. Zahtevnost formiranja in legitimiranja vsakega reda pa se povečuje, saj so možne in uresničljive tudi mnoge druge oblike reda.

¹⁸ Webrova definicija ciljne racionalnosti je naslednja: ciljno racionalno ravna tisti, ki svoje delovanje usmerja glede na cilje, sredstva in stranske posledice in pri tem racionalno tehta tako sredstva glede na cilje, cilje glede na stranske posledice, naposled pa tudi različne možne cilje med seboj (Weber v Willke 1993, 33).

Samoreferenca: odčaranje hierarhije kot načela reda: samoreferenčnost socialnih sistemov izhaja iz prej omenjene ideje, da socialne sisteme tvori procesiranje komuniciranj (prav tam 40-41). Socialni sistemi so diferencirani, operativno zaprti in semantično specializirani ter samoreferenčni. V odnosu do svojega okolja so v strukturni zvezi (Maturana v Willke 1993: 41-42). Pri tem ne moremo govoriti o čisti samoreferenci, ampak o kombiniranju navezovanja na lastne operacije in pogoje zunanjega okolja (prav tam). Komuniciranje samoreferenčnega sistema z okoljem v specifičnih kontekstih omogočajo diferencirani semantični kodi, ki zožujejo in usmerjajo pomenski tok komunikacij. Ti kodi so v komuniciranju prisotni v obliki 'kodirnih ključev'. »Družbe lahko prenesejo avtonomijo in specifično dinamiko svojih sestavnih delov le, če njihovi podsistemi zanesljivo upoštevajo minimalne pogoje družbene integracije« (prav tam 48).

(Decentralno kontekstualno) usmerjanje: civiliziranje evolucije s tem pojmom Willke ponuja možnost »zavestnega poseganja v obstoječi red z odločanjem« (prav tam 51-54). Willke ponuja dva načina kontekstualnega usmerjanja:

1. Neposredno centralno (ali hierarhično) usmerjanje s pomočjo organizacije ali plana
2. Samousmerjanje z oblikami spontanega nastajanja reda, kot sta trg in konsenz.

Za prvi način pravi Willke, da je neučinkovit, ker sistemi osrednje pobude ne morejo zaobseči možnosti delov, drugi način pa je naključen in kratkoročen ter zaradi tega neučinkovit. Rešitev ponudi Willke v kontekstualnem usmerjanju, ki ga definira kot »refleksivno, decentralno usmerjanje kontekstualnih pogojev vseh podsistemov in samoreferenčno samousmerjanje vsakega podsistema«. Nek minimalni konsenz je med podsistemi nujen, ni pa (več) vnaprej določen od centra ali vrha. Posamezni podsistem se usklajuje (samousmerja) glede na kontekstualno usmerjanje sistema. Willke tu navaja načelo »nastajanja reda s samoomejevanjem«.

Racionalno usmerjanje podsistemov, kot so ekonomija, politika, umetnost, znanost, itd., pomeni posledično iracionalnost kompleksne celote. Decentralno samousmerjanje kompleksnih družb je pri Willkeju tisto temeljno sporočilo, s katerim pokaže, da družbeni red, utemeljen na hierarhiji, kot je bil značilen za družbene ureditve do industrializacije (do 19. stol.), ni več mogoč.

Problem nastane, ko se v procesu funkcionalne diferenciacije med specializiranimi podsistemi in znotraj njih oblikujejo protislovja, ki jih ni mogoče rešiti s konsenzom, ampak jih je mogoče uravnotežiti s primernimi oblikami procesiranja disenza (Willke 1993: 59-74). Kompleksni socialni sistemi ne delujejo po principu input-output, ampak zunanje signale predelajo na način, ki je odvisen od trenutnega (vsakokratnega) stanja sistema, kar pomeni, da je njihov odziv popolnoma nepredvidljiv. »Prav kontraintuitivno, nelinearno, netrivialno obnašanje kompleksnih, dinamičnih sistemov je tisto, kar tako otežuje njihovo usmerjanje in vplivanje nanje. Prevajanje zunanjih pogojev v notranje determinante sistema je mogoče z gramatiko transformacijskih pravil.

Nasprotno Luhmannovemu in Willkejevemu pogledu na družbo z vidika sociološko systemske teorije (oblikovane na Parsonsovi teoriji funkcionalne diferenciacije moderne družbe, kjer je družba tip socialnega sistema, ki v odnosu z okoljem uteleša najvišjo stopnjo samozadostnosti ter s tem implicira avtonomno funkcioniranje (Parsons 2004: 161).¹⁹

»Družbena stvarnost predpostavlja intencionalno delovanje« (prav tam 138) in se konstituira komunikacijsko. Zasnovo njegovega osnutka interpretativne sociologije sta nadaljevala Schutz in Luckmann. Družbeno delovanje je inherentno komunikativno. »Komunikativno delovanje je paradigmatični primer neposrednega in vzajemnega družbenega delovanja« (prav tam 228).

Po klasični družbeni delitvi so trije družbeni razredi, ki sestavljajo najvišji oz. že omenjeni elitni razred, srednji razred in spodnji oz. nižji razred. Po Luckmannu (Luckmann 2007, 259-263) razumemo družbo kot razmeroma dobro povezan sklop ustanov, ki bolj ali manj uspešno zagotavljajo reševanje bistvenih problemov skupnega življenja. V sodobni družbi vplivajo interesi posameznih družbenih področij, kot so pravo, gospodarstvo, politika, religija na 'trženje' smisla in pri tem vzpostavljajo vrsto med seboj povezanih oligopolov. Na splošno pa v ustanovah demokratičnega pluralizma verjamemo v nujnost razmeroma racionalnega delovanja družbenih funkcij.

Za moderni pluralizem je značilno, da ima za vrhovno družbeno vredoto pluralistični konsenz. Druga značilnost je, da država racionalno razsoja pri skritem ali očitnem boju za monopol. Pomembne pri relaciji sistem-posameznik so nove sekundarne institucije, Luckmann jih imenuje

¹⁹ Pri Parsonsu je ekonomija sistem mediacije, ki posreduje med socialnim sistemom in okoljem (Parsons 2004: 164).

tudi intermediarne institucije, preko katerih posameznik komunicira od spodaj navzgor, one pa z njim komunicirajo od zgoraj navzdol, in za katere uporablja tudi izraz socialni kapital (prav tam 264-266). Komunikacija v dihotomiji posameznik-struktura torej poteka dvosmerno in preko intermediarnih institucij, kamor prištevamo oblike prostočasnih klubov, civilne iniciative, gibanja.

1.3 Poslovne elite in globalizacija

V tem razdelku nas bodo zanimale poslovne elite kot specifična skupina družbenih elitnih skupin. Kot smo ugotovili zgoraj pri vprašanih družbene stratifikacije glede na različne kriterije (moč/vpliv/izobrazba) pri definiciji Webra in Bourdieuja, in opredelitvah komunikacijskih kodov, ki obvladajo posamezne socialne podsisteme, kot jih je definiral Willke, še prej pa Luhmann, se bomo osredotočili na ekonomsko elito in njen resurs (ekonomsko) moč. Ekonomsko elito imenujemo tudi poslovno elito ali menedžersko elito in je tista ciljna skupina, s katero smo se ukvarjali za potrebe analize poslovne kulture v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti. Poleg tega je potrebno izpostaviti, da nas poslovne elite zanimajo v sodobnem družbenem kontekstu, v razmerah globaliziranih ekonomskih procesov in globaliziranega sveta, ukvarjamo pa se seveda s poslovnimi elitami (Slovenskimi/tujimi) v Sloveniji. Tretji vidik, ki ga velja izpostaviti, pa je trajnostna usmerjenost sodobnih ekonomskih procesov, kjer omenjamo vidike inovativnosti, fleksibilnosti, izobraženosti, odgovornosti, samoiniciativnosti kot sestavnih elementov ekonomije znanja, usmerjene k trajnostnemu, vseživljenjskemu učenju in razvijanju človeških virov.

Za podjetja v večinski tuji lasti so kulturne razlike ne samo v Sloveniji, temveč tudi na ravni EU, ne samo dejstvo, temveč tudi vrednota, ki jo evropske strukture naslavljajo kot multikulturalnost.²⁰ In čeprav bi lahko (morda naivno) rekli, da podjetja v večinski tuji lasti nimajo težav v poslovni kulturi zaradi soočanja različnih kulturnih vzorcev, saj je obema stranema skupen isti cilj: doseganje poslovnih načrtov in s tem ekonomska uspešnost podjetja, stabilno, varno delovno okolje, dobri, proaktivni odnosi s sodelavci, konstruktiven pristop k reševanju poslovnih izzivov, in podobno, smo na primeru intervjujev s slovenskimi in tujimi poslovnimi elitami videli, da obstaja očiten 'trk' med nacionalno in 'tujo' kulturo, ne glede na to, iz katere EU države prihaja tuji kapital. Več o tem bomo predstavili v nadaljevanju.

²⁰ Multikulturalnosti ne gre enačiti z brezmejnostjo, saj se mejnost neločljivo povezuje z identiteto, in bi potem brezmejnost pomenila Evropo brez identitet (Langer in drugi. 2009: 15).

Globalizacija zadeva in sproža tudi spremembe poslovnih modelov podjetij (Prašnikar in Cirman, 2005: 13-25; Prašnikar 2005a). Zaradi novih, verjetno globaliziranih ekonomskih pravil in paradigme trajnostnega razvoja ter bližje in najbrž tudi simultane ter konstantne interakcije, so podjetja prisiljena k oblikovanju strateškega in kulturnega (preživetvenega) modela, s katerim dosegajo kompetitivno prednost na globalnem trgu. Kot pravi Kimura (2003), kot ga navajata Prašnikar in Cirman, pomeni globalizacija zmanjševanje pomena nacionalnih mej in vzpostavljanje globalnih standardov, ki posameznikom, skupinam, podjetjem, organizacijam omogočajo nov način delovanja. Gupta in Westney (2003), ki ju prav tam navajata Prašnikar in Cirman, pravita, da globalizacijski trendi zadevajo vsa podjetja in panoge, ne samo nekaterih, in so zato postali strateški imperativ.

V primerih mednarodnih prevzemnih procesov, povezanih s podjetji s tujim kapitalom, je zelo pomembna strateška in kulturna usklajenost podjetij. Zdi se, da v evropskem prostoru ni bistvenih razlik na področju nacionalnih kultur, še več, politika EU si prizadeva pri prebivalcih EU ustvariti neko 'evropsko idejo', ki bi delovala povezovalno na vseevropski ravni, predvsem pa bi delovala kot spodbujevalec občutka pripadnosti nadsacionalni EU z namenom ustvarjanja občutka evropske državljanosti. Tako bi državljani nacionalnih držav posredno promovirali tudi ideje EU. Pa se vendar ne moremo zadovoljiti s tako posplošeno oznako. Kulture med različnimi državami v EU obstajajo, in, čeprav se zdijo minorne, pomembno vplivajo na oblikovanje povezovalnih odnosov in na oblikovanje poslovne kulture podjetij, še posebej, če so v večinski tuji lasti.

Po perujskem ekonomistu Adolfo Figueroi predstavljamo tri načine selekcije ekonomskih elit (Figueroa v Prijon 2015, 28):

- 1.Elite, ki so nastale iz družinskih podjetij (tipično romansko-germanska oblika); prevladuje tradicionalni prenos ekonomskih in socialnih kapitalskih prednosti iz roda v rod;
- 2.Elite, ki so nastale iz kapitalskih podjetij (tipično anglosaška oblika; nastajajo in izginjajo s prodajo, nakupom, prevzemi, ipd.
- 3.Elite, ki so nastale iz ekonomskih skupin: skupine družin, ki so lastniki in upravljalci več podjetij in delujejo kot enotna ekonomska združba.

Lea Prijon tem trem načinom rekrutacije ekonomskih elit dodaja še četrtega, za katerega pravi, da je značilen za (post)komunistične družbe (Prijon 2015: 28), to so elite, nastale iz političnih interesov, za katere je značilno, da spodbujajo nastajanje gospodarskih subjektov sorodnih strateških ekonomskih interesov, kot denimo surovine, energija, komunikacija, ipd.

Podjetništvo se definira na dva načina, in sicer »za označevanje dejavnosti v okviru majhnih in srednjih podjetij« (Adam in drugi 2001: 122) in drugič, za »označevanje splošne poslovne karakteristike in akterjev poskus inovativnosti v ekonomski sferi oz. izrabe poslovne priložnosti, ki je povezana z določenim tveganjem« (prav tam). Prva definicija ne zajema celote ekonomskih dejavnosti v ekonomski sferi, pri čemer mislimo predvsem večje organizacije in druge oblike ekonomskega podjetništva, kot so samostojni podjetniki, samozaposleni, zadruga, neprofitne organizacije, prostovoljno delo, združenja, fundacije, ipd. Druga definicija se osredotoča na vidike kreiranja novih in izboljševanja obstoječih ekonomskih aktivnosti, pozablja pa na dejstvo, da je podjetništvo poleg ekonomskega tudi socialni proces, in se odvija v (so)odvisnosti od socialnega in kulturnega konteksta (prav tam 122-123). Pojavne oblike podjetništva, ki potekajo po načelu 'positive-sum-game', imajo pozitiven razvojni prispevek, ker »koristi in prispevki, ki jih to generira, kljub racionalni ekonomski kalkulaciji in iskanju profita presegajo omenjeni nivo...« (prav tam 123). Gre za delovanje, nasprotno delovanju po principu 'zero-sum-game', ki poteka tako, da so koristi omejene na posameznika oz. na ozek krog ljudi.

S pojmom podjetniškega duha poskušamo zaobjeti ta fenomen, in ta pojem torej podjetniško aktivnost zajame kot celoto skupaj s kontekstom, v katerem se odvija. Podjetniški duh je torej širši pojem: v sebi združuje tako podjetniški proces kot tudi tiste komponente socialnega in kulturnega okolja, ki najbolj vplivajo na omenjeni ekonomski in socialni proces (prav tam, 124).

V primerjavi z definicijo podjetniškega duha,²¹ ki vključuje podjetniški proces in komponente socialnega in kulturnega okolja, sestavljajo pa ga tri komponente, to so: (1) generiranje kompetenc in mobilizacija resursov, (2) kreiranje novih podjetij in (3) kvaliteta podjetniškega okolja, kot ga definira Adam s sodelavci (Adam in drugi 2001: 122-128). V tej nalogi bomo izpostavili le prvi vidik, generiranje kompetenc in mobilizacija resursov, ki ga vidimo kot

²¹ Po tej definiciji bi lahko postavili naslednjo formulo: PP (podjetniški duh) = PPR (podjetniški proces) + SO (socialno okolje) + KO (kulturno okolje).

sestavni element menedžerske kompetence, na katero pa vplivajo organizacijska kultura v povezavi z menedžerskim stilom, izobraževanje in komunikacija v podjetju. Menedžersko kompetenco torej vidimo kot nujni in morda tudi ključni element poslovne kulture. Zanimalo nas bo, kakšna je ta kultura v štirih preučevanih podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti v Sloveniji.

1.4 Zgodovinski pregled delovanja poslovnih elit

Pri sodobnih opredelitvah poslovnih elit in njihove vloge v družbi imamo v mislih sodobno družbo, ali kot jo imenuje Willke, razvito (post)moderno družbo, glede poslovnih elit pa predstavnike višjih, premožnejših družbenih razredov - visokokvalificirano, izobraženo delovno silo na odgovornih, odločevalskih in menedžerskih funkcijah, kot so vodje oddelkov, razvijalci poslovnih procesov, finančniki, ipd. Poslovne elite na vodilnih funkcijah smo obravnavali tudi v raziskovalnem delu naloge z uporabo kvalitativnih metod v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti. Vendar ne moremo ostati pri tej opredelitvi.

Za sodobne opredelitve poslovnih elit je značilen celostni pristop, saj njihovo delovanje zadeva multikulturno okolje, obvladovanje interkulture kompetence, nadnacionalno delovanje (prisotnost na tujih trgih), strateško usmerjanje na tuje trge, visoko razvit podjetniški duh, visoko stopnjo socialnega kapitala, usmerjenost k vseživljenjskemu učenju in razvijanju kompetenc, s katerim se razvijata človeški in kulturni kapital, projektni način dela, fleksibilnost, pripravljenost na konstantna službena potovanja, sposobnost sprejemanja strateško pomembnih odločitev, ipd.

Da bi bolje razumeli vlogo poslovnih elit v družbi, moramo najprej pogledati v preteklost, v obdobje začetka kapitalizma v Evropi.

Lucidno analizo ekonomske sfere podaja Weber v svojem delu *On Charisma and Institution Building* iz leta 1968. Weber analizira ekonomsko sfero v dveh obdobjih: predmoderni kapitalizem in moderni kapitalizem (Weber 1968: 128-165). V predmodernem kapitalizmu je značilna prevlada cehov, ki se oblikujejo za specializirane storitve in znotraj teh oblikujejo manjše proizvodne enote. Zaradi odvisnosti proizvodnje od surovin postanejo cehi kmalu odvisni od uvoznikov (dobavitelji svile, bombaža, jantarja, itd.) ter izvoznikov. Zaradi lastništva kapitala so lahko sami določali zakone trga in zato poslovali zelo uspešno. Tako se že kmalu v 16. stol. v Veliki Britaniji kapitalistični trgovski razred poveže s politiko in oblikuje parlament, v Nemčiji

pa cehe kontrolirajo mesta oz. teritorialni principali. Oblikujejo se tudi pravila ekonomske rasti oz. rasti domačinskega sistema,²² ki je do začetka industrijske revolucije utemeljen na domačinskem kapitalu.

Ključni faktor pri prehodu iz domačinskega sistema v tovarne (industrijo) je količina fiksnega kapitala. Pri domačinskem sistemu je fiksni kapital odsoten, v tovarnah pa je prisoten, ker se razvoj tovarn vzpostavi na podlagi fevdalne ali skupnostne proizvodne oblike z namenom proizvodnje dobrin za trg pod privatno lastnino.

Razvoj naprav in strojev (povod zanje je bilo sistematično preračunavanje količin) je pripeljal do razvoja modernih tovarn, z njimi pa se je začel uporabljati pojem *entrepreneur* oz. *podjetnik* (v nasprotju z današnjim svetom, ko se za podjetnika uporablja pojem manager oz. menedžer). Razred podjetnikov se je prvi postavil nasproti kraljevi monopolni politiki tako, da je oblikoval razredni monopol, po drugi strani pa je nacionalni merkantilizem oblikoval fiskalno politiko Velike Britanije. VB omenjamo zato, ker so se tam zametki obrtniško-trgovinske dejavnosti pojavili že v 14. stoletju s cehi, prav tam pa se je tudi prvič pojavil izraz *entrepreneur*.

V 17. stoletju je bil lastnik delavnice (proizvodnega obrata) gospodar delavcev (podjetnik), ki je produciral za trg, v prostorih, ločenih od delavčevih privatnih prostorov, in ločeno od končnih kupcev (konzumentov), kar je bil prvi zametek kasnejših velikih proizvodnih obratov, kot jih je prinesla industrializacija. Weber poudarja, da se pred industrializacijo delavniška industrija s svobodno delovno silo ni nikjer drugje razvila tako kot v zahodnem svetu na začetku moderne dobe.

Od konca 17. stol. naprej govori Weber o modernem kapitalizmu, za katerega je značilen racionalen pristop, kjer se preračunava kapital, ki determinira moč preračunavanja dobička in stroškov s knjigovodenjem in bilanco. Človekove potrebe so kapitalistično organizirane v taki meri, da če si predstavljamo, da to kapitalistično organiziranost umaknemo, pride do kolapsa ekonomskega sistema ((Weber 1968, 138-141). Vzporedno z oblikovanjem kapitalističnega

²² Te stopnje so naslednje: (1) Trgovec od obrtnika zahteva, da svoje izdelke prodaja izključno njemu – zapre oz. vzpostavi se krog kupovanja in prodaje, trgovec prevzame monopol nad trgovino. (2) Trgovec dobavlja surovine delavcem. (3) Vzpostavi se kontrola nad produkcijskim procesom. (4) Trgovec zagotovi oz. dobavlja delavcem orodja za delovni proces (V VB od 16. stol. dalje, drugod po Evropi počasneje). (5) Trgovec poveže različne stopnje proizvodnega procesa (povzeto po Weber 1968: 134-135).

ustroja za zadovoljevanje vsakodnevnih potreb se razvije tudi politični ustroj za zadovoljevanje človekovih političnih potreb, v smislu državljanskih pravic in dolžnosti.

Po Webru je racionalno kapitalsko preračunavanje najbolj splošna hipoteza za obstoj modernega kapitalizma, ki ima naslednjih šest značilnosti:

1. Apropiacija vseh fizičnih sredstev produkcije (zemlje, aparatov, strojev, orodij) kot lastnine avtonomnih privatnih industrijskih podjetij;
2. Svoboda trga;
3. Racionalna tehnologija, reducirana na kalkulacijo do najvišje možne mere, ki vključuje mehanizacijo;
4. Kalkulabilni zakon, s katerim označuje racionalizacijo poslovanja;
5. Svobodna delovna sila (ljudje prodajajo svoje delo na trgu dela);
6. Komercializacija ekonomskega življenja (uporaba ekonomskih inštrumentov, s katerimi prikazujejo lastniki svoje deleže v podjetju);

tem pa dodaja še sedmo značilnost, ki se razvije takrat, ko so prisotne vse naštet, to je spekulacija oz. človekova sposobnost za pogajanja.

Z razvojem komercializacije se oblikuje niz racionalnih ekonomskih ukrepov za kopičenje kapitala, kot so delnice, krediti, obveznice, ipd. Kot prvo obliko racionalne ekonomske politike navaja Weber merkantilizem, kot ga je poimenoval Adam Smith in se je pojavil v Veliki Britaniji v 14. stoletju.²³ Pri merkantilizmu gre za obravnavanje države kot kapitalističnega podjetja, kjer ekonomska politika temelji na izkoriščanju nasprotnika v smislu uvažanja po najnižji možni ceni in prodajanja na domačem trgu po najvišji možni ceni. Merkantilizem se je pojavil kot nekakšna zaveza med državnim (utrjevanje ugleda v mednarodnih odnosih) in kapitalističnim (znižati stroške, povečati dobiček) interesom.

Weber pravi, da je argument, da je kapitalistično in racionalistično obdobje zaznamovano z močnejšim ekonomskim interesom, smešen, in sprašuje: Če je ekonomski impulz univerzalen, se postavlja vprašanje, pod kakšnimi pogoji postane racionalen in racionalno usmerjen v taki smeri,

²³ V VB je merkantilizem nastal, ko je pod vladavino Riharda II. zmanjkovalo resursov in je ta l. 1381 imenoval posebno raziskovalno komisijo, ki je pregledala in analizirala koncept in bilanco trgovanja. Takrat so uvedli ukrep o omejevanju uvoza in spodbujanju izvoza. Ta dva ukrepa sta bila: (1) Tuji trgovci, ki so prinesli dobrine v VB, morajo pretvoriti ves zaslužek od njih v angleške dobrine, in (2) Angleški trgovci, ki trgujejo zunaj, moraj prinesiti vsaj del dobička svojih poslov nazaj v državo (prav tam 151-152).

da producira racionalne institucije z značilnostjo kapitalističnega podjetja. V nadaljevanju po preučitvi različnih oblik racionalne organizacije, kot je denimo značilna za samostane v srednjem veku, ter za luteransko vero, ugotavlja, da lahko o protestantski (asketski) etiki govorimo od reformacije naprej.

Kalvinizem je primer protestantskega gibanja, pri katerem je glavno prepričanje, da človek na Zemlji izpolnjuje božjo voljo in se samoizpolnjuje z delom v skupnosti, racionalno disciplino in opravlja religiozne naloge po principu 'poklicanosti'. V moderni ekonomski humanosti je religiozna utemeljitev racionalne poklicane človekove dejavnosti mrtva, oz. z Webrovimi besedami, je *caput mortuum* (prav tam 141-165).

Če je bila še do sredine 20. stoletja prisotna ideja, da delo osvobaja, oz. da sledi delavski izkoriščenosti ideja večne odrešitve, pa danes ta ideja ne zdrži več. Zdi se, da prevladuje prepričanje, da človek dela za golo preživetje, in da se, zaradi vse večjega povečevanja družbenih razlik, s poklicanostjo oz. v višjimi cilji lahko ukvarjajo le še najbolj premožni razredi. Zaradi izginjanja srednjega razreda v 21. stoletju lahko govorimo le še o dveh družbenih ekstremih: bogatih in revnih. To pa sta dobesedno ekstrema, ker v eno in/ali drugo smer vodita do nepredstavljenih življenjskih stilov.

Da bi bolje razumeli vlogo poslovnih elit v sodobni družbi, moramo pogledati še nekaj sodobnejših idej in pristopov, ki obravnavajo njihove različne vidike in značilnosti.

Chomsky v svojem delu *Somrak demokracije* navaja Humboldta in napoveduje družbeno ureditev, ki bo nasledila industrijsko družbo. To ureditev vidi v skupnosti svobodne asociacije, kjer ni prisile države in v kateri lahko svobodni ljudje ustvarjajo in raziskujejo svoje potenciale (Chomsky 2003, 63-64). V nekem smislu kliče po večji angažiranosti, morda misli s tem na mobilizacijo civilne družbe, kar pa daje idejo o neoliberalnih težnjah, za katere vemo, da so do sedaj obrodile le malo sadov.

Berger pravi, da je kapitalizem ekonomski sistem, ki je najuspešnejši v izboljševanju materialnih pogojev življenja čim širšega kroga ljudi: s tem ustvarja družbo, v kateri ugled in privilegiji v osnovi temeljijo na ekonomskih dosežkih, v zahodnem kontekstu pa je povezana s parlamentarno demokracijo in avtonomijo posameznika. Po drugi strani pa ugotavlja, da je za moderno družbo značilno dvoje: (1) velika diferenciacija dejanj v lastna področja institucij, pri čemer vsako od teh

področij stremi k normirani avtonomiji, ter (2) moderni pluralizem,²⁴ zaradi katerega ni več mogoče dosledno ohranjati pregrad, ki varujejo zalogo smisla življenjskih skupnosti. Posledica tega je pojav subjektivnih in intersubjektivnih kriz smisla (Berger 2004, 267-270).

Po drugi strani pa strukturna diferenciacija funkcij in moderni pluralizem prinašata celo vrsto prednosti, ki jih imajo moderne družbe za svoje pripadnike: gospodarska blaginja, materialna, psihična varnost, pravna država, država blaginje, parlamentarna demokracija, katere strukturni temelj predpostavlja obstoj elite in protielite oz. diferenciacijo znotraj elit (Berger 2004, 271; Adam in Tomšič 2000, 233; Adam 2002; Adam 1994).

Na področju izobraževanja in ekonomije se ne govori o intermediarnih strukturah, temveč o privatno-javnih partnerstvih (podjetja-univerze) in projektnih in mrežnih organizacijah, kjer je velik poudarek na inovacijskem menedžmentu, kooperaciji, skupinskem delu, transdisciplinarnosti, strateškem menedžmentu (Adam in drugi 2001, 45-46). V podjetništvu pa je govora o konzorcijih in grozdih na osnovi strateške kooperacije. Podjetniško grozdenje je oblika medpodjetniškega povezovanja, ki temelji na skupnih interesih deležnikov, raziskave pa kažejo tudi, da obstaja pozitivna povezava med podjetniškimi grozdi in poslovno uspešnostjo. V Sloveniji je po podatkih TCI (The Competitiveness Institute) iz leta 2010 prisotnih 12 grozdov. Podjetniški grozdi se v Sloveniji imenujejo gospodarska interesna združenja (GIZ). Njihov namen je povečati konkurenčnost deležnikov na globalnem trgu (Zakrajšek 2010, 575).

²⁴ Navaja dve skrajni reakciji na moderni pluralizem: fundamentalizem in relativizem, pri čemer opozarja na nevarne posledice tako enega kot drugega (prav tam 270).

2 Politično-ekonomski dejavniki za delovanje poslovnih elit

Na splošno velja, da sta industrializacija in modernizacija ključna procesa, ki omogočata formiranje, etabliranje in delovanje elit (Prijon 2015, 61). V Sloveniji se pojavita v 80. letih 20. stoletja, ko se na podlagi družbenih gibanj razvijejo ideje o političnem in ekonomskem liberalizmu (prav tam 64). Na Zahodno Evropo smo začeli gledati kot na vzor, ki ga zaznamujejo tržna ekonomija, parlamentarna demokracija, vladavina prava, itd. (Hafner-Fink v Prijon 2015, 64; Siedentop 2003, 75²⁵; Stiglitz 2002; Adam in drugi 2008). V 57. številki Nove revije so bili prvič objavljene ideje o osamosvojitvi Slovenije. Majniška deklaracija, predstavljena na ljudskem zborovanju na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani (leta 1990) pa je prvič jasno predstavila formulacijo narodnega interesa v treh točkah (Prijon 2015, 64-65).

Po osamosvojitvi Slovenije se je začel proces gospodarske tranzicije. Sestavljala sta ga procesa privatizacije in prestrukturiranja. Za slovensko privatizacijo je značilno netransparentno lastninjenje (tudi divje lastninjenje zaradi nenatančne zakonodaje, kot jo je določal Zakon o prevzemih (1997)), ki »deluje kontraproduktivno v smislu prilagajanja principom tržne ekonomije«. Prestrukturiranje pomeni prehod v sodobno tržno gospodarstvo. Ker pa ti procesi v Sloveniji niso uspeli, Slovenija ni dosegla razvojne stopnje Zahodnih držav (Pezdir v Prijon 2015, 67). Namesto tega se Slovenija sooča z nedokočano privatizacijo, netransparentnim lastninjenjem premoženja, monopolizacijo trgov, kartelizacijo, neučinkovito pravno državo,

²⁵ Siedentop kot alternativno ureditev moderni demokraciji predlaga federalizem kot podaljšano obliko decentralizirane vloge nacionalne države, saj omogoča prilagoditev zahtev državljanstva, civilne družbe, javnega in zasebnega prostora (Siedentop 2003: 95). Federalizem kot politična ureditev omogoča aktivno udeležbo civilne družbe pri vprašanjih, ki jo zadevajo.

skoraj največjo stopnjo davčne obremenitve gospodarstva na svetu, težnjami po nacionalistični, intervencionistični in protekcionistični ekonomski politiki. V takih pogojih so stare poslovne elite preživele, oz. so se reproducirale (Prijon 2015, 67-68).

V tem poglavju preverjamo drugo hipotezo, ki pravi:

Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti je šla skozi vpliv vplivu tranzicijskih sprememb.

Zver s skupino sodelavcev (po Hoehmannu) navaja štiri hipoteze, katere je potrebno upoštevati pri ekonomsko-kulturnem raziskovanju tranzicije (Zver in drugi 2005).

1. Uspeh ekonomske tranzicije v smislu stabilne in ekonomsko uspešne (za)menjave sistema je odvisen od podpirajočih ekonomsko-kulturnih dejavnikov.
2. Podporni ekonomsko-kulturni dejavniki se pojavljajo v različnih tranzicijskih državah oziroma skupinah držav v različnem obsegu. V nekaterih državah deluje prevladujoče ekonomsko-kulturno okolje na tranzicijo prej zaviralno kot pospeševalno.
3. Nadaljnje napredovanje tranzicije v doslej manj uspešnih državah je odvisno od tega, v kolikšni meri je bilo mogoče preseči očitna nasprotja med prevladujočimi elementi tradicionalne ekonomske kulture ter demokratičnimi in tržnogospodarskimi mehanizmi, ki podpirajo tranzicijo.
4. Ekonomska kultura je koncept, ki bi ga morali upoštevati tako pri analizi globalnih družb kot tudi pri raziskovanju posameznih skupin akterjev.

Ekonomska ureditev vpliva na spremembe družbene ureditve in obratno, spremembe v kulturi pomenijo tudi spremembe v družbi, navaja Zver s skupino sodelavcev, in pravi, da je kultura s svojimi elementi temelj za oblikovanje in delovanje neke družbene ureditve in s tem tudi gospodarske ureditve.

Upoštevanje socio-kulturnih dejavnikov pri delovanju ekonomskega sistema je prisotno šele zadnjih nekaj desetletij. Zver s sodelavci kot vezni člen med kulturo in ekonomijo navaja državo kot institucijo in instanco. Vse večjo veljavo ima dejstvo, da so gospodarske odločitve kulturno

pogojene, s tem pa številni raziskovalci kot dejavnike ekonomske uspešnosti navajajo politično stabilnost, pravni sistem, geografsko lego, stabilne institucije. Tako bi lahko sklepali po analogiji, da so države z urejenim pravnim in stabilnim političnim sistemom ter dobro gospodarsko lego bolj ekonomsko uspešne²⁶ od držav s skromnejšimi in slabšimi resursi, za katere so značilne davčne goljufije, klientelizem, avtokracija, zavračanje demokracije. Zver s sodelavci te maligne pojave imenuje *ekonomska kontrakultura*. Ta ovira oblikovanje višje, razvite, racionalistične ekonomske kulture.²⁷ Sindromi oz. pojavne oblike ekonomske kontrakture so naslednji (Zver in drugi 2005, 101-105).

1. Paternalistični sindrom: v družbi prevladuje prepričanje, da je država odgovorna za blaginjo svojih državljanov vs. zahodne protestantske države in ZDA, kjer prevladuje etika individualne odgovornosti, kar kaže na večjo razvitost ekonomske kulture;
2. Sindrom nekompetitivnosti: v družbi prevladuje prepričanje, da je tekmovanje škodljivo. Tovrstno prepričanje ovira konkurenčnost.
3. Etatistični sindrom: označuje prepričanje, da je dobro, če država penetrira družbo, kar se kaže kot pretirana državna regulacija in nadzor nad zasebnimi podjetji. Države, kjer ima država nadzor nad zasebnimi podjetji, ki so gonilo razvoja, imajo nižje razvito ekonomsko kulturo.
4. Nedemokratični sindrom: prevladuje prepričanje, da demokracija negativno vpliva na ekonomijo. Za uspešno delovanje ekonomije pa je potreben demokratičen sistem odločanja, značilen za razvite zahodno-evropske države.
5. Privilegijski sindrom: ovira razvoj demokratičnih principov družbene enakopravnosti s tem, ko sugerira, da so ljudje upravičeni do privilegijev, ki jim ne pripadajo (značilno za totalitarno družbeno ureditev in predindustrijske družbe).

²⁶ Kazalniki ekonomske uspešnosti so: BDP/C (brutodružbeni proizvod na prebivalca), stopnja inflacije, indeks človekovega razvoja (HDI) in BDP na prebivalca (kupna moč) (prav tam 107-108).

²⁷ Značilnosti visoko razvite ekonomske kulture, značilne za zahodne kapitalistične družbe, so še: individualizem, etika samoodgovornosti, zasebna iniciativa in kompetitivnost, relativna avtonomija gospodarstva, demokracija, enakost pravic in socialna odgovornost (plačevanje davkov) (prav tam 106).

6. Sindrom sive ekonomije: pomeni izogibanje plačevanju davkov. Države z nizko razvito ekonomsko kulturo opravičujejo utajo davkov.

Za Slovenijo velja, da je skoraj pol stoletja vzdrževala netržni ekonomski sistem, ki je pustil določene posledice, ki jih v njegovem delovanju prepoznamo še danes. Po omenjenih mehkih (vrednotne in vedenjske orientacije) in trdih kriterijih (BDP/C, stopnja inflacije, BDP/C po kupni moči) pa se glede na rezultate omenjene raziskave Slovenija uvršča v skupino zahodnoevropskih držav katoliškega tipa skupaj s Francijo, Belgijo, Španijo, Portugalsko, Italijo in Grčijo (Zver in drugi 2005, 112).²⁸

Tudi Adam ugotavlja, da je za politično stabilnost in vladno učinkovitost, pa tudi za ekonomski napredek vloga socialnega kapitala bolj pomembna kot vloga fizičnega ali človeškega kapitala (Adam 1998, 52). Dve bistveni komponenti socialnega kapitala sta zaupanje in kooperacija. Zaupanje je v moderni družbi specifično in ni difuzno. Povezano je z racionalnim kalkuliranjem in ima na ta način pogojno naravo. Beck bi rekel, da je relativizirano. Ko ljudje, organizacije ali institucije pridobijo zaupanje, pomeni to začasno odsotnost družbene kontrole. Tako družbeno polje pa je lahko priložnost za inovacije in svobodnejše delovanje (Sztompka v Adam 1998, 52).

Socialni kapital ima v povezavi z intermediarnimi strukturami (nekateri jih imenujejo preprosto civilna družba, lahko pa govorimo tudi o profesionalnih korporacijah²⁹) naslednje učinke v povezavi z družbeno dinamiko (Adam 1998, 56).

1. Razvejana mreža intermediarnih asociacij prispeva k družbeni kohezivnosti in večji integriranosti družbe s spodbujanjem solidarnosti, samopomoči in osmišljanjem.
2. Zaupanje in kooperativno vedenje na podlagi socialnega kapitala povečujeta učinkovitost klasičnih institucij.
3. Oblikovanje demokratičnih politik in civilnih vrednot je uspešnejše, če imajo državljani priložnost sodelovati v različnih asociacijah.
4. Razvitost intermediarnih pogajalskih sistemov omogoča implementacijo mezo-politik in koncertirano regulacijo.

²⁸ Predstavljeni rezultati so del projekta Konkurenčnost Slovenije 2001-2006.

²⁹ Npr. demokratični korporativizem, socialno partnerstvo in neokorporativizem (Adam 1998, 55).

5. Gosta horizontalna omrežja civilnega angažmaja (Putnam v Adam 1998, 56) zavirajo oblikovanje klientelističnih in tajnih vertikalnih skupin, ki delujejo po principu rentništva.
6. Razvoj intermediarnih struktur v postsocialističnih državah pomeni večjo primerljivost z razvitimi državami in odločevalskimi strukturami EU.

Če se vrnemo k političnim dejavnikom delovanja poslovnih elit ima, kot navaja Tomšič ob izhodišču sistemske teorije, politični sistem v družbi centralni položaj, kar pomeni, da so politični akterji glavni generator družbene tranzicije (Tomšič 1999, 2-4). Politična elita je elita moči.³⁰ Politične elite so tisti posamezniki in skupine, ki kreirajo in obvladujejo družbene institucije. Na teh izhodiščih Tomšič ugotavlja, da je za Slovenijo značilen miren demokratični prehod iz komunistične enopartijske vladavine³¹ k oblikovanju političnih protielit. O postsocialistični tranziciji in prehodu v parlamentarno demokracijo govori Tomšič v okviru sistemske modernizacije v smislu vzpostavitve institucionalne strukture na različnih družbenih področjih po zgledu Zahodnih družb. Vendar dodaja, da so modernizacijski procesi, kot so industrializacija, urbanizacija, sekularizacija, razvoj civilnih in demokratičnih institucij ter vrednotnih usmeritev dežele nekdanjega socialističnega tabora zajeli pozno ali pa v njih sploh niso bili pomembneje prisotni (prav tam 40). Posledično so se družbe srednje in vzhodne Evrope znašle z deformirano modernizacijo (prav tam 29).

V tej nalogi se političnih elit v povezavi s poslovno kulturo dotaknemo le posredno, v vidiku stikov menedžerjev v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti navzven in njihove ocene kompetentnosti ljudi, s katerimi imajo stike. Ker pa je vloga menedžerskih elit vpeta v širši politični kontekst, se lahko strinjamo s Tomšičevo trditvijo, da so elite v sodobnih družbah tisti posamezniki, ki so na podlagi svojih strateških pozicij v različnih pomembnih organizacijah zmožni stalno in bistveno vplivati na nacionalno politiko (Higley in drugi v Tomšič 1999, 8). Tako zaradi razpršenosti moči

³⁰ Ta definicija sledi znani Sartorijevi definiciji elit, kjer elito moči označuje altimeični princip – posameznik je na vrhu družbene moči zaradi moči -, po drugi strani pa meritokratski princip – posameznik je na vrhu družbene moči zaradi določenih kvalitativnih lastnosti (Sartori v Tomšič 1999, 6-7). Pareto pravi, da je sovpadanje teh dveh vrst elit pogoj za stabilnost družbene ureditve (Pareto v Tomšič 1999, 8).

³¹ To sovpada z ideološko poenotenim tipom konfiguracije politične elite, kjer dominantna stranka diktira komunikacije in je politični konsenz utemeljen na ideološkem monizmu (Field in drugi v Tomšič 1999, 23).

v sodobnih demokratičnih družbah rečemo, da poslovna elita posredno sooblikuje tudi politično elito.

Vendar naj bi bila relativna avtonomija elit znamenje demokratične družbene ureditve (Etzioni v Tomšič 1999, 12), kar pomeni, da gre za skupek relativno avtonomnih skupin, ki je omejen z mehanizmom nadzora neelit (civilne družbe oz. razvejane intermediarne sfere). Pri vprašanju demokracije in elit se pojavi vprašanje njihove cirkulacije in reprodukcije. Demokratični sistem je združljiv le s konfiguracijo elit, ki omogoča njihovo cirkulacijo (Tomšič 1999, 12; Adam in Tomšič 2000, 233, kjer govorita o poliarhični demokraciji; Adam in drugi 2002).

Tomšič navaja tri načine rekrutacije na elitne položaje: (1) dedno nasledstvo; (2) imenovanje 'od zgoraj' in (3) izvolitev 'od spodaj' (prav tam 17). Slednji način je kompatibilen s cirkulacijo elit, značilno za parlamentarno demokracijo, kjer gre selektivno poliarhijo oz. za selektivni sistem tekmovalnih manjšin (Sartori v Tomšič 1999, 17), na drugi strani pa je reproduktivni, rečemo tudi retencijski klientelizem, kjer gre za rutinizacijo pri rekrutaciji na podlagi formaliziranih mehanizmov. Pomembno pri tem je formiranje protielite, ki bo omogočala dinamično ravnovesje med enim ali dvema stebroma politične elite (Tomšič 1999, 17; Adam in Tomšič 2000; Adam in drugi 2002).

Keller pravi, da v kompleksni družbeni organizaciji vrha ne predstavlja več ena skupina, temveč številne različne strateške elite (Keller v Tomšič 1999, 14; Tomšič 2001), tako da namesto o piramidalni družbeni ureditvi govorimo o *stratarhiji* oz. soobstoju večih hierarhičnih družbenih ureditev. Keller elite definira kot učinkovite in odgovorne manjšine s podporno vlogo v organizirani družbi (Keller 1991, 4-5). Nadalje pravi, da je brezčasna, funkcionalna vloga elit najbolj očitna v obdobjih družbene tranzicije ali kriz.

Podobno kot politično elito definira moč (odločanja, oblikovanja, vplivanja), ekonomsko elito definira moč (kapitala) (Tomšič 1999, 22). Ekonomska elita ni izvoljena in zanjo ni značilna cirkulacija, kot jo poznamo iz volilne pravice, zato negira samo bistvo demokracije (prav tam). Po drugi strani pa avtonomija ekonomske elite in drugih avtonomnih družbenih podsistemov omejuje dominacijo moči politične elite in s tem onemogoča njen primat, kar prispeva k demokratičnosti družbe (Etzioni v Tomšič 1999, 22).

Za razvoj postsocialističnih družb sta prevladujoči dve razlagi glede njihove transformacije v razvite družbe: teorije reprodukcije elit s prepričanjem, da družbeno-politične spremembe v vzhodni in srednji Evropi niso imele pomembnejšega vpliva na položaj elitnih skupin, saj je stara nomenklatura ohranila vodilne položaje in postala nova 'velika buržoazija'. Druga razlaga je teorija cirkulacije, po kateri so transformacije privedle številne strukturne spremembe na vrhu družbene hierarhije, kar pomeni, da so vodilne položaje zasedli novi ljudje na podlagi novih rekrutacijskih kriterijev skladno s principom parlamentarne demokracije (Adam in Tomšič 2000, 224-225).

Za Slovenijo je bila ugotovljena relativno visoka stopnja reprodukcije elit.³² Stopnja reprodukcije je v povprečju 77%, pri čemer je najvišja v gospodarstvu in najnižja v politiki (Kramberger in drugi v Tomšič 2006, 79; Adam in Tomšič 2000, 227; Tomšič 2001). Glede na te rezultate in glede na rezultate raziskave Kulturne značilnosti slovenskih elit v kontekstu vključevanja v Evropsko Unijo Tomšič ugotavlja, da se slovenske elite nahajajo šele v fazi konsolidacije. Njihove prednosti so znanje in samozavest, pomanjkljivosti pa pomanjkanje kompetenc, konformizem, ideološka uniformnost in odsotnost nazorskega pluralizma. Te ugotovitve sovpadajo s pridobljenimi podatki iz intervjujev, ki jih analiziramo v tej nalogi. Tomšič navaja naslednje ugotovitve za tako stanje (Tomšič 2006, 84-87. (1) strukturiranost političnega in družbenega prostora v tranzicijskem obdobju, za katerega je bilo značilno nesorazmerje moči med političnimi tabori in prepletenost elit, (2) velika premoč politične elite v primerjavi z drugimi elitami, (3) šibka elitna tradicija, (4) ambivalenten odnos do elit.

V Sloveniji je bil prevladujoč gradualistični način systemske transformacije, kar je pomenilo počasen proces privatizacije, ohranjanje vloge države v gospodarstvu in nizek delež tujih vlaganj. Povezan je bil z visoko stopnjo retencije 'stare' ekonomsko-menedžerske elite, ki ni bila naklonjena preveliki odprtosti tujim investicijam, ker bi te lahko ogrozile njen privilegiran položaj (Tomšič 2006, 87). Zaradi gradualističnega in togega pristopa k družbeni transformaciji iz socializma v demokracijo se je zmanjšala konkurenčnost Slovenije, prav tako pa je bila otežkočena večja fleksibilizacija sistema.

O političnem in ekonomskem razvoju globaliziranega sveta govori tudi Stiglitz, ki pravi, da prešibke vlade in preveč vsiljive vlade ovirajo politično stabilnost in gospodarsko rast. To je en

³² Raziskava Elite na Slovenskem, vodja A. Kramberger, 1995. V Tomšič 2006: 79.

vidik globalizacije, za katero pravi, da ni problem v tem, da je prišla, temveč v tem, kako jo upravljamo. Njegov glavni argument je, da odločitve s posledicami na globalni ravni sprejemajo institucije najbolj razvitih držav, pri tem pa ne upoštevajo interesov manj razvitih držav, pogosto pa tudi ne socio-kulturnega konteksta implementacije takih ukrepov. Opozarja na prepletenost vloge politike in ekonomije pri vzpostavljanju ekonomske stabilnosti v pogojih, kjer so učinki globalni, in je zato nujno vzpostaviti sisteme globalne vlade (Stiglitz 2002).

Keller pravi, da z večjo poklicno in ekonomsko diferenciacijo družb postanejo elite bolj pomembne kot varuhi in stvarniki kolektivnih vrednot in kot menedžerji kolektivnih prizadevanj in ambicij (Keller 1991). Tukaj Keller povzema Saint-Simonovo misel iz 19. stoletja, po kateri morajo biti industrijske in znanstvene aktivnosti izvajane v javno dobro in pod nadzorom javnosti (prav tam 9). S tem elitam podeli odgovorno in inkluzivno funkcijo.

Industrializacija je privedla do več sprememb pri rekrutaciji na elitne položaje:

1. Množične migracije iz vasi v mesta;
2. Povečana stopnja izobraženosti prebivalstva;
3. Povečanje blaginje za večino prebivalstva;
4. Demokratizacija;
5. Povečana participacija državljanov v procesih odločanja (Vianello in Moore 2000).

Vse te spremembe so povzročile radikalen obrat k odprtim možnostim pridobivanja moči v nasprotju s prej izbranimi in izoliranimi skupinami. Tradicionalne elite, ki so imele prej osrednjo vlogo, imajo sedaj postransko (prav tam). Sedaj je od kakovosti delovanja elit v veliki meri odvisna učinkovitost delovanja in stabilizacija demokracije (Welzel, Welzel in drugi v Tomšič 2006, 75-76).

Profil elit je odvisen od družbeno-kulturnih in političnih dejavnikov (Tomšič 2006, 77). V Sloveniji so bile za bivši družbeni sistem značilni pomanjkanje avtonomije, ideološko motivirani antielitizem, kar je zaviralo oblikovanje elit kot avtonomnih družbenih skupin (Adam in drugi 2008). Inkluzivnost je pogoj, da se oblikuje kompetentna (in intelektualna) elita, kar tudi pomeni, da imajo posamezniki iz različnih ozadij dostop do javnih resursov (Tomšič 2006, 77). Pri sistemski transformaciji iz socialistične v demokratično družbeno ureditev se pojavi model

reprodukcije in cirkulacije elit na vodilnih položajih (Adam in drugi 2008, 55-56), vendar v nobenem primeru ne moremo govoriti o čistih oblikah ene ali druge smeri.

'Mehka tranzicija', značilna za Slovenijo, je prinesla bipolarno konstelacijo države (politični sistem je razdeljen na 'levi' (levo-liberalni) in 'desni' (pomladni, prej krščansko-konservativni) blok, pri čemer gre za izrazito ideološko-vrednotno orientacijo – več o tem Tomšič 2000; Adam in Tomšič 2000 in prevlado enega političnega bloka, v kateri je imela glavno vlogo 'stara elita'. Vendar je cilj *gradualistične tranzicije ohranitev družbene stabilnosti*, istočasno pa je prišlo do *visoke stopnje reprodukcije elit*, kar pomeni, da je večina 'starih elit' iz prejšnjega sistema ohranila vodstvene položaje tudi v novih družbeno-političnih razmerah (Adam in drugi 2008, 60-67). Posledica takega gradualističnega modela je razvoj *menedžerskega kapitalizma*, za katerega je značilna močna prepletenost države in gospodarstva (kar je, kot smo videli zgoraj, ovira za NTI), ovira pa tudi fleksibilnost trga dela in davčnega sistema, kar ima za posledico oviranost meritokratskih načel in gospodarske kompetitivnosti. Podobno kot na ravni države velja tudi za pokrajine. Pokrajine so lahko »birokratske in neučinkovite tvorbe, ali pa se oblikujejo kot katalizator inovativnih idej in razvojnih pobud«. Kot primer inovativnih in razvojnih jeder Adam navaja podjetnike, inštitute, inkubatorje, tehnološke parke, razvojne agencije, lokalne in regionalne upravno-politične strukture in civilnodružbene iniciative. V Sloveniji so razvite podporne institucije (tehnološki parki, inkubatorji, razvojne agencije), niso pa rešena vprašanja razvojnih prioritet in konkurenčnih tržnih niš, tudi ni koordinacije in sinergije med posameznimi elementi inovacijskega sistema (Adam 2010a, 471-474).

V Sloveniji je prevladujoč model (neo)korporativistični elitizem. Ta vključuje prepletenost političnih in nepolitičnih elit, posledično pa daje možnost privilegiranega položaja tistim elitam, ki so z vladajočo elito kompatibilne (Adam in drugi 2008, 62). Posledica je šibka, homogena intermediarna sfera, ki nima vloge konstruktivnega partnerja politični eliti. Šibka civilna družba je sicer velik problem postsocialistične Slovenije. Država (institucije) so pod nadzorom politične elite, in te imajo izrazito pobudo pri oblikovanju in sprejemanju ključnih družbenih odločitev. Tako stanje je posledica vstopa različnih avtonomnih skupin in gibanj, ki so v 80. letih prejšnjega stoletja pripomogli k demontaži bivšega sistema, prestopil v polje politike. Maligni pojav takega političnega nastavljanja na ključne strateške položaje v družbi – v gospodarstvu, finančah, medijih, je klientelizem. Prav tako problematičen pa je tudi pojav medijske neuravnoteženosti

(predvsem tiskanih medijev), saj večina bolj ali manj odkrito favorizira 'levi' politični blok, zaradi tega pa je onemogočen razvoj demokracije v Sloveniji, saj so prav avtonomni in kvalitetni mediji eden najpomembnejših mehanizmov nadzora nad vladajočo elito (Tomšič 2000, 275-276).

Matyas Kovacs in Violeta Zentai v zborniku *Capitalism from outside?* pravita, da post-tranzicijske države srednje-vzhodne Evrope čaka post-kolonialni propad – ta naj bi bil posledica globalne ekspanzije kapitalistične kulture (Kovacs in drugi 2012, 3). Kapitalistična kultura (ki jo propagira ZDA) same po sebi ne označujeta za problematično. Kar je problematično, je kontekst, s katerim se ta kultura sooča v post-tranzicijskih državah, v katerih je bivša kolonizatorica, Sovjetska Zveza, pustila posledice tudi na kulturnem področju nekoč okupiranih držav. Težava je tudi v tem, da politično-ekonomski in družbeno-kulturni kontekst post-tranzicijskih držav še nista 'zrela', niti še ne prilagojena za soočanje z novimi, naprednimi izzivi razvitih držav,³³ zato so se razvili naslednji anomalni družbeni pojavi: nezaupanje, odsotnost solidarnosti, neupoštevanje pravil, ilegalni posli; to so pojavi, ki ovirajo uspešnost tranzicijskega procesa, namesto tega pa »ustvarjajo brezobzirno rivalstvo in družbeno polarizacijo« pod vplivom globalnega (ameriškega) kapitalizma. V teh post-komunističnih družbah izbire državljanov temeljijo na instinktih in kapricah, s tem pa utelešajo fundamentalno instrumentalistično in sekularno držo do življenja. V kulturi prevladujeta relativizem in družbena anomija. Avtorja pravita, da bo posledica takih kulturnih vzorcev pojav 'globalnega kulturnega vakuuma', kjer kultura ni več niti vrednotno-orientacijski sistem, kot ga definira Weber, niti strateška oprema, kot jo definira Hannerz, niti simbolna zaloga smisla in neformalnih kulturnih praks, kot jo definira Swindler, ampak nabor ekonomsko-materialnih praks, fokusiranih na hladno, neizprosno racionalnost.

Glede na navedene tranzicijske spremembe, ki so jim bile podvržene vse bivše socialistične države srednje, jugo-vzhodne in vzhodne Evrope, lahko drugo hipotezo v celoti potrdimo. Pokazali smo, kako so različni politično-ekonomski dejavniki, od načinov rekrutacije elit, formacije elit moči v politiki, odprtosti poslovnega okolja, vplivali na formiranje poslovne kulture.

³³ Manj napredne tranzicijske države (z izjemo Češkoslovaške) s predkomunistično preteklostjo, so skozi štiri desetletja, ki so jih preživele pod komunizmom, nazadovale (Kovacs in drugi 2012, 2). Namesto, da bi se po razpadu socializma pojavili sistemi s parlamentarno demokracijo in fleksibilnim, odprtim ekonomskim sistemom, doveznim za tuji kapital, je prišlo do pojavov psevdo-liberalizacije, demokracije in različnih oblik nacionalizmov (prav tam).

3 Socio-kulturni dejavniki za delovanje poslovnih elit

Ko govorimo o socio-kulturnih dejavnikih za delovanje poslovnih elit, imamo v mislih mehke indikatorje, s katerimi merimo socio-kulturno okolje, v katerem take elite delujejo. To so dejavniki, ki se nanašajo na družbeni in kulturni kontekst. Eden izmed najbolj popularnih pojmov, s katerim različni avtorji označujejo družbene relacije, je pojem socialnega kapitala, za katerega, kot ugotavljata Adam in Rončević, obstaja preobilje definicij (Adam in drugi 2004, 220; Adam in Westlund 2010). Vendar je eden ključnih tudi pri preučevanju značilnosti poslovnih elit v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti.

Poleg družbenih odnosov in kulturnega konteksta je potrebno definirati tudi kulturo. Kot vemo, tudi za kulturo obstaja preobilje definicij (preko dvesto). Daft in Weick razumeta kulturo kot interpretativni sistem, ki strukturira menedžersko pozornost, znanje in delovanje (Daft in Weick v Taylor in drugi 2008, 506), in z njuno razlago se popolnoma strinjamo, saj zaobjame vidike, ki so pomembni pri preučevanju poslovne kulture. Kot je pokazala longitudinalna analiza Murthe in sodelavcev, globalna strategija določa globalni 'mindset' (Murtha in drugi v Taylor in drugi 2008, 506). Močan kulturni poudarek k prilagodljivosti bo tudi prispeval h globalni orientaciji top managementa (Taylor in drugi 2008, 506).

Naslednji ključni pojem je podjetniški duh, s katerim se ukvarja Adam s skupino sodelavcev (Adam in drugi 2001, 122-154), in ki je eden socio-kulturnih dejavnikov razvojne uspešnosti. V povezavi s poslovnimi elitami pa ne moremo mimo drugih oblik kapitalov, kot so ekonomski, kulturni, človeški, politični. V zvezi s tem predstavimo definicije Bourdieuja, omenimo pa tudi

njegove koncepte habitus, praktični čut in pojmovanje različnih oblik kapitala glede na družbeni red, katerega delitev na družbene razrede skuša preseči.

Prisotnost oz. razvitost intermediarnih institucij prepoznamo po načinu delovanja, ne po tem, kako se imenujejo, in sicer so to tiste strukture, ki posredujejo med velikimi institucijami, različnimi skupnostmi in posameznikom. Primeri intermediarnih institucij so: združenja, krajevno organizirane skupnosti, ekološke skupine, krajevne strankarske organizacije (Berger 274- 275). Imajo Janusov obraz: po eni strani zrejo navzgor k velikim institucijam, po drugi gledajo navzdol k posamezniku, in enako posredujejo tudi zaloge smisla v obeh smereh. Če je to posredovanje uspešno, potem moderne družbe zmorejo brzdati nenehno latentno krizo smisla.

Prav v teh vmesnih strukturah oz. družbenih omrežjih obstajajo večje zaloge socialnega kapitala, saj se po Putnamovi definiciji iz leta 1993 »socialni kapital nanaša na tiste aspekte socialne organizacije, kot so zaupanje, norme in omrežja, ki lahko izboljšajo učinkovitost družbe s spodbujanjem koordiniranega delovanja« (Putnam v Adam in drugi 2001, 38). Socialni kapital tudi spodbuja spontano kooperacijo (Putnam 1993, 167).³⁴ Vprašanje je, ali socialni kapital prinaša koristi posamezniku ali skupini oz. družbi kot celoti (Adam in drugi 2001, 39). Putnam podaja glede zaupanja pomembno ugotovitev. Zaradi družbenih omrežij je zaupanje tranzitivna in razširjajoča (krožna) kategorija: Zaupam ti, ker zaupam njej in mi ona zagotavlja, da zaupa tebi (Putnam 1993, 169).

Putnam med oblikami socialnega kapitala navaja: zaupanje, družbene norme in omrežja, katerim je vsem skupno, da se povečujejo, ko so v uporabi, in izginjajo, ko jih ne uporabljamo.³⁵ Za razliko od običajnega kapitala (denarja), ki je privatna dobrina, je socialni kapital javna (skupna) dobrina, še več, nastaja kot stranski produkt drugih družbenih dejavnosti (ang. social activities). Zaupanje, pravi, je bistvena sestavina socialnega kapitala (prav tam). In nadaljuje, zaupanje

³⁴ Tukaj Putnam navaja primer spontane kooperacije: skupnost kmetov – en kmet pomaga drugemu balirati seno, in mu drugi v zameno posodi orodje, omogoča socialni kapital, da je delo opravljeno z manj fizičnega kapitala (denarja) v obliki orodij in opreme. V nadaljevanju kot primer navaja še rotirajoče kreditne asociacije, katerih pogoj za preživetje je, da se vsi člani (povezani akterji) držijo svojih dolžnosti (prav tam 168). Tako kot je običajni kapital na voljo odjemalcem, je socialni kapital kot kolateralni kapital na voljo vsem, tudi tistim, ki niso kreditno sposobni (prav tam 169).

³⁵ Proxy oz. približni indikatorji, s katerimi merimo socialni kapital, to mehko (intangible) kategorijo, so: stopnja difuznega zaupanja, aktivno članstvo v prostovoljnih prostočasnih organizacijah, razvitost intermediarnih struktur na drugih področjih (Adam in drugi. 2001, 48-51).

podmazuje (ang. lubricates) kooperacijo (prav tam 169-171). Večje kot je zaupanje v skupnosti, večja je verjetnost kooperacije, kooperacija pa nadalje goji (ang. breeds) zaupanje.³⁶

O kakšni vrsti zaupanja govorimo v večjih, kompleksnejših družbenih okoljih, oz. kot sprašuje Putnam: Kako postane osebno zaupanje socialno zaupanje? Putnam pravi, da se družbeno (socialno) zaupanje v kompleksnih modernih okoljih razvije iz dveh medsebojno povezanih virov: recipročnih norm in omrežij civilnega angažmaja (Putnam 1993, 171). Obstajata dve vrsti recipročnosti: balansirana (ali specifična) in generalizirana (ali difuzna). Balansirana recipročnost se nanaša na simultano izmenjavo predmetov z enako vrednostjo, generalizirana recipročnost pa označuje vse menjave, ki so neuravnotežene in nezahtevane, vendar vključujejo vzajemno obojestransko pričakovanja o tem, da mora biti darovano v prihodnosti enkrat poplačano. Generalizirana recipročnost je visoko produktivna komponenta socialnega kapitala, saj se člani skupnosti namesto po oportunističnih kriterijih ravnajo po kriteriju kolektivnega delovanja, delovanja, ki prispeva k dobremu vseh članov skupnosti in ni usmerjeno glede na koristi, ki jih prinaša zadovoljitev trenutnih potreb, z implicitno prisotno idejo, da se mora usluga enkrat v prihodnosti poplačati.

Generalizirano recipročnost Putnam povezuje z gostimi omrežji družbenih menjav. To je takrat, ko se dogovori sklepajo znotraj večje strukture medosebnih odnosov in socialnih omrežij, ki tvorno vplivajo na generiranje zaupanja.

Za vse družbe, moderne ali tradicionalne, so značilna omrežja medosebne komunikacije in menjav, tako formalnih kot neformalnih. Ta omrežja so lahko horizontalna, kar pomeni, da povezujejo akterje z enakovrednim statusom in močjo, lahko pa so tudi vertikalna, ko povezujejo neenakovredne akterje v asimetrične povezave hierarhije in odvisnosti. V dejanskosti so čisti primeri takih omrežij redki. Horizontalna omrežja civilnega angažmaja, kot so združenja sosesk, pevski krožki, kooperative, športni klubi, in podobno, so primeri socialnih omrežij, kjer njihovi člani sodelujejo za skupno dobro, zato lahko rečemo, da so primeri visokega ali gostega socialnega kapitala.

³⁶ V manjših skupnostih, denimo vaških, opazamo visoko stopnjo kooperacije, v mestih pa je kooperacija razpršena na »življenjske svetove«, kot jih imenuje Luckmann, oz. na manjše družbene entitete, v katerih se je posameznik vnaprej prepričal, da jim je vredno zaupati. Nikakor pa ne moremo govoriti o kooperaciji na ravni družbe kot celote, niti tega ne moremo trditi za zaupanje. Oboje je v večjih skupnostih razpršeno na manjša omrežja, katerih izhodišče je vedno posameznik – tisti, ki sprejema odločitve (Berger govori o individualizaciji). Putnam pa v kompleksnejših okoljih omenja neosebno oz. posredno obliko zaupanja.

Po drugi strani pa vertikalna omrežja ne vzdržujejo družbenega zaupanja in kooperacije. Sem spadajo vse vrste odnosov, ki so neenakovredni, in posledično niso recipročni ter ne generirajo zaupanja. Tak primer je denimo odnos med patronom in stranko, kjer je izmenjava vertikalna in dolžnosti asimetrične. Putnam govori o klientelizmu, kot primer zanj pa navaja še enosmerno prijateljstvo. Odnose v vertikalnih omrežjih definira odvisnost namesto vzajemnosti (ki je značilna za horizontalna omrežja). Putnam zaključuje, da zgoščena horizontalna omrežja z močno razvitimi skupnostnimi vrednotami in vzajemnim delovanjem njihovih članov nakazujejo prisotnost visokega socialnega kapitala in dobro razvite ekonomske in državne strukture (Putnam 1993, 171-176). Tako okolje pa je, kot ugotavlja Adam s sodelavci, ugodno za razvoj intermediarnih struktur, sestavljenih iz asociacijskega (neformalno, spontano, demokratično) in projektnega (mrežnega) tipa asociacij (fleksibilno in nehierarhično povezovanje) (Adam in drugi 2001, 44-45). Visoka stopnja socialnega kapitala torej ugodno vpliva na oblikovanje intermediarnih struktur kot povezovalnega člena med državo (institucijami) in posameznikom.

Bourdieu med oblikami kapitala navaja: ekonomski kapital, s katerim označuje lastništvo denarja in lastninskih pravic, kulturni kapital, ki označuje izobrazbo, in socialni kapital, s katerim označuje socialne obligacije oz. povezave (Bourdieu 2004, 312). Kulturni kapital, tj. posameznikova legitimna kompetenca, prepoznan kot simbolni kapital, razdeli še na tri oblike: institucionaliziran (npr. akademske kvalifikacije), utelešen (v povezavi s samouresničitvijo in delom na sebi) in objektiviziran (materialni objekti in mediji).

Socialni kapital je po Bourdieuju »agregat dejanskih ali potencialnih sredstev, ki so povezana s posedovanjem trajnega omrežja bolj ali manj institucionaliziranih odnosov vzajemnega poznanstva in prepoznavanja, ali članstvom v skupini, ki zagotavlja vsakemu od svojih članov podporo skupnostnega lastništva kapitala, 'priporočila', ki upravičuje ugled v različnih pomenih besede«. Obseg socialnega kapitala je odvisen od velikosti omrežja povezav, ki jih lahko učinkovito mobilizira, te povezave pa se oblikujejo na osnovi prepoznavanja neposredne bližine.

Bourdieu skuša preseči dihotomijo med subjektivizmom in objektivizmom oz. med posameznikom in strukturo, in v ta namen vpelje pojem habitus, »pridobljeni sistem generativnih shem« (Bourdieu 2002, 94). »Habus je skupek individualnih dispozicij, ki jih posameznik ponotranji v določenem razredno-stanovskem kontekstu, te dispozicije pa strukturirajo njegovo praktično vedenje in delovanje« (Bourdieu 2004, 312-320).

Namesto o družbenih razredih govori Bourdieu o razredih akterjev oz. *razredih pogojev* *eksistence*. Habitus se manifestira kot življenjski stil, okus, praktični čut, kar lahko s formulo predstavimo kot: (habitus) (kapital) + polje = praksa, kar pomeni, da družbeni prostor sestavljajo funkcionalno in socialno izdiferencirana družbena polja. Kapitali delujejo po zakonih reprodukcije in konverzije enega tipa v drugega. »Habitus, določen s funkcijo verjetne prihodnosti, je načelo selektivnega zaznavanja indicev, ki ga skušajo bolj potrditi in okrepiti kakor pa spremeniti, je matrica, ki poraja odgovore, že vnaprej prilagojene vsem objektivnim okoliščinam« (Bourdieu 2002, 110).

Družbeni svet je torej objektiviziran svet, v katerem so dispozicije – bodisi, da so to ekonomske, kulturne, izobrazbene, politične – vnaprej definirane skozi habitus, inherentno strukturo, ki povezuje v skupnem kulturnem kodu, če se izrazimo z deSaussurjevimi besedami, ki vnaprej določa njihove izkušnje. Podoben družbeni razred pomeni podoben set izkušenj, in bolj verjetno za člane nekega razreda je, da se bodo soočali s podobnimi izkušnjami, kot člani drugih razredov. »Homogenost habitusa, ki jo vidimo znotraj meja razreda eksistencialnih okoliščin in družbenih pogojevanj, je tisto, kar naredi prakse in jih dela nemudoma razumljive in predvidljive, torej zaznane kot očitne in samoumevne: habitus omogoča ekonomijo namer ne samo pri proizvodjanju, ampak tudi pri razumevanju praks in del« (Bourdieu 2002, 99-110).

Distribucije manifestirajo odnose moči in na ta način delajo družbeni red vnaprej definiran in samoumeven. Kodificirana, institucionalna oblika statusnih razlik so statusne skupine; te delujejo po principu združevanja in ločevanja, na podlagi česar se oblikuje simbolna vrednost skupine. Na podlagi simbolnih razmerij darovanja, ekonomskih in/ali moralnih obvez ter čustvenih navez se ustvarijo odnosi dominacije. Dominacija pa v družbi ne sme biti priznana kot taka, ampak mora, če želi ohranjati svoje vzvode simbolne in ekonomske samozadostnosti, skrita. Prav zaradi tega pa ima, pod noto ekskluzivističnosti, izpolnjene samoohranitvene pogoje (Bourdieu 2002).

»Objektivistični pogled ne more osvojiti 'objektivne' resnice odnosov med razredi kot odnosi moči, če ne uniči vsega, kar daje dominaciji videz legitimnosti ... Drugače povedano, objektivizem pozablja, da je neprepoznavanje resnice razrednih odnosov sestavni del resnice teh odnosov« (Bourdieu 2002, 237-8). Tako utemeljuje Bourdieu kritiko objektivizma. In čeprav so v tem objektivno danem sistemu oblasti in struktur izhodiščni pogoji vnaprej določeni s habitusom, »matrico, ki poraja odgovore, že vnaprej prilagojene vsem objektivnim okoliščinam«, je

ekonomsko delovanje tisto, na podlagi katerega se formira status, določen s kompetencami (ekonomskimi, jezikovnimi, političnimi, kulturnimi), s statusnimi skupinami pa pride tudi do pojava dominacije (Bourdieu 2002, 109-110). V ekonomskem poudarku umeščenosti posameznika v družbenem redu je že blizu Webru.

Praktični čut je tista kategorija, s katero zaobjamemo vse vidike družbene realnosti: objektivizirano strukturo, pojavne oblike dominacije, družbene razrede in habitus. Inherentna lastnost sveta pa je njegova sposobnost samoreprodukcije imanentnih struktur in ohranjanje simbolnih kodov, ter nadaljevanje ekonomskih, političnih in izobraževalnih struktur moči, predstavljenih kot vnaprej danih in samoumevnih.³⁷ Dominacija oz. oblast implicira odvisnost. In kot je trdil že Durkheim, družbeni red se vzdržuje s tem, da se nenehno obnavlja.

Interkulturni menedžment človeških virov je kompleksno menedžersko področje, kadar govorimo o organizacijah/podjetjih z več kulturami. O njem, kot navaja Bajec, govorimo, »kadar organizacija deluje v okolju organizacij z različnimi kulturami, kadar je sama kulturno heterogena ali njena dejavnost sega na področje različnih kultur« (Bajec 2006). V našem primeru gre za dejavnost podjetja, ki je samo kulturno heterogeno in sega na področje različnih kultur. Vprašanje je, kaj se zgodi, ko pride do soočenja različnih organizacijskih kultur. Bajec navaja dve tezi, ki govorita v prid konvergenca (hipoteza, da je gospodarsko nauspešnejša sila tista, po kateri se zgledujejo ostale države) (Bajec 2006, 42).

V prid tej tezi podaja stališče o zblíževanju organizacijskih oblik zaradi univerzalnosti po »logiki tehnologije in trga, ki zahteva vpeljavo specifičnih in s tem univerzalno uporabnih politik, pristopov in menedžerskih tehnik« (Gooderham v Bajec 2006, 42). Drugi vidik pa je zunanja, institucionalno vodena konvergenca, kot denimo EU, kjer nadinstitucionalne institucije segajo preko kontekstov nacionalnih kultur (prav tam). Po drugi strani pa »zagovorniki divergenčnega pristopa pravijo, da je vsak razvoj 'path-dependent' (ang.) in se lahko razume le v okviru specifičnih socialnih kontekstov« (Bajec 2006, 43).

Za našo nalogo je relevanten tudi koncept interkulturnega organizacijskega komuniciranja, o katerem govorimo v organizacijah, ki imajo eno ali več značilnosti:

³⁷ V svojem delu Praktični čut se Pierre Bourdieu ukvarja tudi z razlago reprodukcije in (simbolne) utemeljitve predpismenih družb (Bourdieu 2002, 216).

1. redna komunikacija preko nacionalnih meja,
2. osebje vsebuje več kot eno nacionalno kulturo,
3. geografsko je locirana v eni kulturi, vendar je delno ali popolnoma kontrolirana od partnerske organizacije v drugi nacionalni kulturi (Shuter v Bajec 2006, 45-6).

Pomemben vidik komunikacije v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti je interkulturalna kompetenca (ICC). Interkulturalna kompetenca je »posameznikova sposobnost, da se udeleži družbenih interakcij na načine, ki so primerne situaciji in zadovoljive za sodelujoče v interakciji, čeprav ne delijo skupnega kulturnega ozadja za interpretacijo družbene situacije ali delovanje v njej« (Jacobson in drugi v Bajec 2006, 24).

Glede na naloge, ki ga čakajo, in skupino, ki ji pripada, naj bi komunikator posedoval različne veščine, ki se označujejo kot kompetenca (Jandt v Bajec 2006: 30). Po Jandtu izpostavimo poslovni pristop (prav tam). Izhaja iz potrebe po kompetenci, ki vodi do uspeha v poslovnih odnosih v tujini (v našem primeru tuji menedžerji v Sloveniji), in zajema tri področja veščin: (1) veščine ohranjanja sebe (mentalno zdravje, psihološko blagostanje, redukcija stresa, občutki samozaupanja); (2) veščine v zvezi s povezovanjem odnosa z lokalnim prebivalstvom; (3) kognitivne veščine, ki pripomorejo k pravilni zaznavi tujega okolja in njegovih socialnih sistemov (Bajec 2006, 30).

Vprašati pa se je potrebno tudi, kako se interkulturalna kompetenca razvija. Ob predpostavki, da govorimo o prilagajanju tujemu okolju, lahko uporabimo naslednjo definicijo: »[Adaptacija] pomeni dinamični proces, s katerim posameznik ob predstavitvi v nepoznano kulturno okolje vzpostavi ali ponovno vzpostavi in ohranja relativno stabilne, recipročne in funkcionalne odnose z okoljem« (Kim v Bajec 2006, 38).

Bajec po Hammerju in Greenholzu navaja (Hammer in Greenholz v Bajec 2006, 39-40) šest korakov, skozi katere se premikajo posamezniki pri pridobivanju interkulturalne kompetence. Gre za t.im. model DMIS – razvojni model interkulturalne senzibilnosti, ki posamezniku omogoča kompleksnejše dojetje medkulturalnih razlik v smeri etnorelativizma, ne pa spodbujanja etnocentrističnih aspiracij. Teh šest orientacij je:

1. zanikanje (stvarnost drugih kultur ni prepoznana ali je zanikana);

2. obramba (obstoj kulturnih razlik je prepoznan, vendar na račun podrejenosti; lahko pa je drugi kulturi prepoznana tudi večja vrednost);
3. minimalizacija (lastne kulturne vrednote so upoštevane kot univerzalne, razlike se obravnavajo kot površinske različice istega);
4. sprejemanje (druge kulture so sprejete kot veljavne, kompleksne in alternativne reprezentacije realnosti; enakopravno sprejemanje drugih kultur, vprašanje pa je etična drža v soočenju z relativnostjo kulturnih vrednot, ki se jih obravnava kot enakopravne);
5. adaptacija (kulturne razlike dosežejo sproščenost, da lahko posameznik menjava med njimi, pojavita se empatija in vedenje, ki sta temelj multikulturalnosti in bikulturalnosti);
6. integracija (posameznikovo izkustvo sebe je razširjeno in vključuje svetovni nazor drugih kultur; vprašanje je marginalizacija lastne kulture in identitete, ko se prehaja iz enega kulturnega vzorca v drugega).

Če model DMIS apliciramo na raziskovalne rezultate intervjujev lahko rečemo, da se respondenti gibljejo med orientacijami obrambe, minimizacije in sprejemanja. Pri prvi (obramba) gre za nakazano dožemanje menedžerjev kot grožnje za ohranitev delovnega mesta, pa tudi mnenje, da njihove rešitve niso pravilne ter da oblikujejo prevelike time, ki delovni proces ovirajo, namesto da bi ga spodbujali. Menedžerji pa poudarjajo tudi razlike pri dožemanju delovnega in poslovnega časa (osem-urni *mindset* vs. fleksibilnost in stalnost neformalnih vezi) ter vrednotnih orientacij (vrtičkarstvo/negativni individualizem vs. socialne mreže oz. bonding vs. bridging socialni kapital (Adam in drugi 2001)). Nekateri omenjajo tudi etnocentrizem Slovenije in to razlagajo kot samozavest pri priključitvi k EU. Pri drugi (minimizacija) gre za mnenje nekaterih menedžerjev, da ni bistvenih razlik kar se tiče specifik ene ali druge kulture, zato je prisotna visoka mera zaupanja ter ni težav v komunikaciji. Navežemo se lahko na prostor EU kot skupni ekonomski prostor. Pri tretji (sprejemanje) gre za mnenje nekaterih, predvsem tujih menedžerjev, ki slovensko kulturo sprejemajo kot veljavno in enakopravno kulturo njihovi. Izhodišče za to bi lahko bil skupni referenčni okvir (ekonomski prostor EU), pa tudi sodelovanje, ki ga ocenjujejo kot pozitivno, produktivno in efektivno.

V našem primeru gre za prisotnost vseh treh vidikov. Podjetja v večinski tuji lasti imajo redno komunikacijo, ki poteka preko nacionalnih meja, osebje vsebuje več kot eno nacionalno kulturo,

saj so v slovenskih podružnicah vodilni menedžerji predstavniki tujih lastnikov in gospodarsko so locirani v eni kulturi, medtem kot so popolnoma kontrolirani od lastniškega podjetja s sedežem v drugi nacionalni kulturi (v našem primeru so bile to Belgija, Francija, Nemčija in Italija).

Družbeno-kulturno okolje mora imeti primerno strukturno organiziranost, da je privlačno za tuje investicije (Adam 1998, 50; Adam in drugi 2000, 236-238). Za Slovenijo je bil pred priključitvijo k EU značilen konsenzualni model odločanja in intenca menedžerjev in delavcev, da bi ohranili status quo (Bajec 2006, 51). To so značilnosti menedžerskega kapitalizma (v primerjavi s tržnim kapitalizmom, značilnim za EU), kjer je prisotna razpršena oblika lastništva in kjer imajo odločevalsko moč menedžerji (Szeleny v Adam 1998, 57).

Za srednjo in vzhodno Evropo je značilna nizka stopnja socialnega kapitala v obliki zaupanja, kooperacije in strateškega konsenza, elementov, ki so bistveni za razvoj intermediarnih struktur in celotnega institucionalnega okvirja. Adam izhaja iz normativne definicije socialnega kapitala, ki je sorodna tudi Putnamovi (govori o državljanosti/civicness), kjer je socialni kapital povezan s socialnim zaupanjem, normami generalizirane recipročnosti in omrežji civilnega angažmaja. Socialni kapital ima pozitivno razvojno vlogo in pozitivno vpliva na razvoj intermediarnih struktur, katerih sestavni del je. V povezavi s tem lahko pride do uspešne kompetitivnosti, ki se razvije ob naslednjih pogojih: deregulacija (ločenost države in gospodarstva), fleksibilni trg dela, nižji stroški dela, znižanje javne porabe, nizka stopnja inflacije, nizke davčne obremenitve, odprtost za NTI (Adam 1998).

V državah z zreliimi tržnimi ekonomijami in primernimi institucionalnimi infrastrukturami imajo posamezniki in korporacije nizko stopnjo kazenskih prestopkov, socialni kapital pa je v njih razvit do te mere, da deluje kot »lepilo«, ki drži (povezuje) družbo skupaj. Izjema so maligni družbeni pojavi, kot so mafijski kapitalizem in naključno nasilje, v nekaterih državah, denimo Rusiji, pa je sam opazil direktne manifestacije erozije socialnega kapitala, skoraj že kot anarhično stanje v obliki kraje vsega vsem (Stiglitz 2002, 161).

Če gledamo na socialni kapital kot na neformalno normo, ki spodbuja kooperacijo med dvema ali več posamezniki (Fukuyama v Adam in drugi 2004, 221; Adam 2009), to nakazuje vpliv socialnega kapitala na oblikovanje kooperativnih organizacijskih oblik, ki temeljijo na timskem delu in projektnem menedžmentu. Pri kooperaciji pa je poleg socialnega kapitala 'na delu' tudi

človeški in intelektualni kapital. Adam in Rončević na podlagi rezultatov fuzzy-set analize za primer Slovenije ugotavljata, da je

... za večjo razvojno prodornost in institucionalno učinkovitost Slovenije še vedno nezadostna raven socialnega kapitala v obliki generaliziranega zaupanja, kooperacije ter spontane samoorganizacije, kar ima negativen vpliv na sposobnost ustanavljanja projektnih in asociacijskih tipov organizacij kot tudi na oblikovanje intermediarnih struktur (prav tam 233).

Prehod vloge socialnega kapitala od kooperacije do nastanka organizacijskih oblik, pri katerih lahko govorimo kot o interesnih, projektnih, asociacijskih tipih organizacij, zahteva poudarjanje naslednjih aspektov (prav tam 222-223).

- Socialni kapital kot katalizator diseminacije človeškega in intelektualnega kapitala. Pomeni, da posedovanje znanja in kompetenc, kljub morebitnemu ekonomskemu kapitalu, ni zadostno za optimalno realizacijo določenih razvojnih ciljev. *Ta vidik sovпада z ugotovitvami naše sekundarne analize, kjer ugotovljamo, da gre odsotnost sinergije med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji predvsem na račun slovenskih menedžerjev.*
- Socialni kapital kot osnova za višje nivoje sinergije in koordinacije (Evans v Adam in drugi 2004, 222). *Ta vidik drži glede na ugotovitve naše sekundarne analize. To dokazujejo slabe vezi menedžerjev tujih podjetij navzven, tj. slabe povezave z lokalnim okoljem, državnimi institucijami in politično elito; večina pa izraža dobre povezave z menedžersko elito podjetij s sorodnih področij, ne glede na prisotnost NTI.*
- Konkretno v podjetniškem okolju govorimo o transakcijskih stroških, to pomeni stroških nadzora in uveljavljanja dogovorov. *Tudi ta vidik socialnega kapitala sovпада z našimi ugotovitvami. Koordinacija poslovnih procesov v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti je dobra ali srednje dobra.*
- Višja raven razvoja pomeni organizacije, ki temeljijo na projektih, so manj hierarhične, bolj fleksibilne in predpostavljajo bolj zahtevno obliko vodenja in komunikacije. Če je malo socialnega kapitala, kot je v primeru tranzicijskih držav, se take oblike organizacij razvijajo z velikimi težavami. *Ta vidik socialnega kapitala ne drži glede na ugotovitve naše analize kvalitativnih podatkov, saj je za poslovno kulturo podjetij v večinski tuji lasti značilna močna hierarhična ureditev.*

Socialni kapital delimo na kulturnega in strukturnega. Kulturni se nanaša na norme, vrednote in zaupanje, strukturni pa na omrežja formalnih in neformalnih odnosov. Večina soglaša s Colemanovo formulacijo, pri kateri se pri socialnem kapitalu ukvarjamo z določenimi vidiki družbene strukture, ki omogoča družbeno delovanje (Adam in drugi 2004, 220; Tomšič in Adam 2009, 143; Adam in Westlund 2010). Za preučitev poslovne kulture v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti se zdi vloga strukturnega socialnega kapitala pomembnejša od kulturnega socialnega kapitala, ker poslovno kulturo razumemo kot vibrantno dimenzijo, s katero so konstitutivno prežeti odnosi med menedžerji v poslovnem okolju, v našem primeru večjezičnem (multikulturnem). Zato se strinjamo s trditvijo, da je kooperacija ključna določilnica socialnega kapitala.

Države razvojnega jedra so tiste, v katerih podjetja tekmujejo na trgu z inovativnimi izdelki, kjer so dobro organizirani proizvodni procesi, ki prispevajo k produktivnosti dela in k visokim plačam. Take države imajo običajno visok BDP. Podjetja iz polperifernih držav pa proizvajajo relativno sofisticirane izdelke, kar pomeni, da tehnologija prihaja v veliki meri iz tujine v obliki licenc, skupnih vlaganj in NTI. Ključno pri tem pa je investiranje v ekonomsko učinkovitost, ki je možna ob dobro razviti in učinkoviti infrastrukturi (Adam in drugi 2004, 221-234).

Med socio-kulturnimi dejavniki razvojne uspešnosti so za namen te naloge pomembni naslednji: *podjetniški duh in njegova posredna povezava s kvaliteto politike ter socialni kapital* – predvsem njegova sinergična vloga v odnosu do ostalih dejavnikov razvojne uspešnosti (kognitivna mobilizacija, družbena kohezivnost in odprtost družbe) (prav tam 228-229; Adam 2013, 35). Adam in Westlund ugotavljata pozitivno korelacijo med socialnim kapitalom in ekonomsko performanco, bodisi da gre za odnose znotraj podjetja bodisi da gre za odnose podjetja z okoljem navzven (Adam in Westlund 2010, 904-905). Vendar generalizirano zaupanje in članstvo v prostočasnih organizacijah nista zadostna pokazatelja dveh glavnih komponent socialnega kapitala: družbenih mrež ter vrednot in norm, ki jih te vsebujejo.

Podjetniški duh ima naslednje komponente: (1) ustvarjanje novih podjetij, (2) generiranje kompetenc in mobilizacija resursov, (3) kvaliteta podjetniškega okolja. *Drugi vidik sovпада z našo sekundarno analizo z vidikom izobraževanja v podjetju (ocena menedžerskih kompetenc). Tretji vidik sovпада z elementi koordinacije, participacije, zaupanja, stila in komunikacije kot elementi poslovne kulture. Kvaliteta politike, za katero smo rekli, da je za nas pomembna kot*

posredna povezava s podjetniškim duhom, ima naslednje elemente: (1) demokratičnost, (2) stabilnost, (3) učinkovitost, (4) transparentnost.

Adam s skupino sodelavcev pravi, da je socialni kapital predpogoj za razvoj podjetniškega duha (Adam in drugi 2001, 153). Kadar je socialni kapital prisoten, so njegove ekonomske posledice vidne kot koordinacija, sinergija in kooperacija. Sklepna ugotovitev te primerjalne študije je, da »Slovenija v vseh treh komponentah podjetniškega duha zaostaja za najbolj razvitimi državami Evropske Unije« (prav tam 148-149).

V tem poglavju smo videli, da je področje socio-kulturnih dejavnikov v povezavi s poslovno kulturo in globalizacijo izredno kompleksno, obenem pa se zdi, da nima jasnih kriterijev, na katere bi se lahko fiksno oprli. Predstavili smo ugotovitve o tem, kaj je (družba tveganja, obstoj različnih oblik kapitalov in njihova medsebojna prepletenost, dejavniki razvojne uspešnosti, interkulturalna kompetenca), in smernice o tem, kaj naj bi bilo, da bi Slovenija ujela razvojno jedro EU. Razvitost socialnega kapitala je v analizi prisotna skozi vprašanja zaupanja, komunikacije in kooperacije med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji, delno tudi skozi vprašanja organizacijske klime. Razvitost podjetniškega duha, in sicer njegov vidik kvaliteto podjetniškega okolja ter delno generiranje kompetenc in mobilizacija resursov – te teme smo se dotaknili preko povezanosti s socialnim kapitalom.

4 Poslovna kultura in neposredne tuje investicije (NTI)

Pri sodobnih opredelitvah ekonomije znanja je potrebno upoštevati celostni pristop, ki poleg ekonomskega kapitala, merljivega s trdimi kazalniki, upošteva tudi mehke kazalnike, kot so človeški, intelektualni in socialni kapital. Adam in sodelavci definirajo človeški kapital v povezavi z izobrazbo, znanjem in kompetencami posameznika ali kolektivitete. V primeru kompetenc kolektivitete nekateri avtorji govorijo o intelektualnem kapitalu. Socialni kapital pa označuje vključenost posameznika ali kolektivnih akterjev v družbene vezi in omrežja (Adam in drugi 2001, 1). Človeški in intelektualni kapital se torej nanašata na meritokratske kvalitete, zaradi katerih je posameznik (ali skupina) lahko uspešnejši, vplivnejši, premožnejši, učinkovitejši.

Analiza Centra za mednarodne odnose na FDV, ki so jo opravili Andreja Jaklič, Anže Burger in Matija Rojec, se je ukvarjala z analizo poslovnega okolja in dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na delovanje podjetij s tujim kapitalom. Raziskava je pokazala, da *dejavniki slovenskega poslovnega okolja ne vplivajo na rast in širitev obstoječih podjetij s tujim kapitalom* (Jaklič in drugi 2010, 5), je pa na podlagi strukturiranega anketnega vprašalnika na vzorcu 181 podjetij s tujim kapitalom analizirala motivacijo tujih investitorjev v Sloveniji, dejavnike investicijske klime (ovire za investiranje v Sloveniji), ukrepe ekonomske politike, dejavnike politike NTI, dejavnike rasti zaposlenosti, prodaje in produktivnosti ter širitve podjetij s tujim kapitalom. Za našo nalogo so najbolj zanimive ugotovitve s področja dejavnikov investicijske klime, v katerih avtorji predstavijo, poleg majhnosti slovenskega trga kot tiste objektivne danosti, zaradi katere bo priliv NTI v Slovenijo vedno majhen, glavne slabosti slovenskega poslovnega okolja (prav tam 10-11).

- a) Zakonodaja in administracija: prepočasni in zapleteni birokratski postopki, preveč administracije v podjetjih, preveč zapleten davčni sistem in upravni postopki, vmešavanje

- države v gospodarske zadeve. *To so vidiki, na katere opozarjajo tudi tuji menedžerji v intervjujih v naši analizi: omenjajo počasne in dolgotrajne postopke pri pridobivanju raznih dovoljenj in licenciranju, ter pri prevajanju tujih licenc in postopkov v lokalni proizvodni proces;*
- b) Delovna sila in trg dela: draga delovna sila, velika in hitra rast stroškov delovne sile, neprilagodljiva delovna sila, pomanjkanje visokokvalificiranih kadrov, neprožna delovna zakonodaja. *Tudi na te vidike opozarjajo slovenski in tuji menedžerji v intervjujih, ki smo jih opravili: omenjajo pridno in motivirano, vendar premalo inovativno in ambiciozno delovno silo.*
 - c) Davki: slaba davčna zakonodaja, visoke obdavčitve, neučinkovite in obvezne dajatve, previsoki davki pri plačah;
 - d) Sodni sistem: počasnost in neučinkovitost sodnega sistema;
 - e) Nespoštovanje pogodb: finančna in plačilna nedisciplina, nespoštovanje pogodb in dogovorov, poslovanje po »balkansko« - vidiki, na katere opozarjajo tuji menedžerji v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti v našem vzorcu. *Opozarjajo na primere, ko se poslovne dogovore rešuje po domače (po 'balkansko') in s tem na nizko profesionalnost, pa tudi na vnaprejšnje dogovore med proizvajaci in dobavitelji, zaradi katerih je ovirana prožnost menedžerskih poslov.*
 - f) Pomanjkanje poslovnega znanja, razmišljanja in obnašanja; premajhna ambicioznost, premajhna učinkovitost in prevelika samozadovoljnost ljudi – *tudi to so vidiki, na katere opozarjajo tuji menedžerji v tej analizi: premajhna samokritičnost sodelavcev, premajhna ambicioznost, premajhna fleksibilnost.*
 - g) Trg in konkurenca: majhen trg, majhnost in odvisnost trga, neprožnost trga, izredno močna konkurenca, pomanjkanje konkurence v industriji, lažna, neurejena konkurenca, slaba odzivnost na dogajanje na trgu, slab odnos dobavitelj-kupec – *tudi te vidike izpostavljajo slovenski in tuji menedžerji v intervjujih. Poslovni procesi se odvijajo izredno počasi, veliko je primerov, ko so dogovori fiksirani vnaprej, poslovni procesi pa so slabo fleksibilni glede na dogajanje (potrebe) na slovenskem trgu in so v primeru podjetij v večinski tuji lasti usmerjeni navzen, na večje evropske trge (nemški, francoski, tudi države bivše Jugoslavije).*

- h) Odnos do NTI: dajanje prednosti domačim investitorjem (šikaniranje tujcev), nespodbudno okolje za tuje investicije; *nekateri intervjuvanci omenjajo tudi te vidike, tako da jih ne moremo spregledati;*
- i) Drugo: pomanjkanje koncepta dolgoročnega razvoja, slaba povezava med razvojnimi institucijami in podjetji, visoki prevozni stroški.³⁸ – *Tudi ta vidik sovpada z ugotovitvami naše sekundarne analize, kjer kažejo menedžerji nizko stopnjo sodelovanja navzven.*

Menedžerji internacionaliziranih slovenskih podjetij pravijo, da so jih v ta ukrep prisilile razmere na trgu (primer Krke, Kolektorja, NLB, Trimco, Gorenje, Hewlett Packard, Mercator) (Udovič 2006, 146-153).

Burger poleg proizvodnega momenta kot ključne motive za NTI v Sloveniji omenja dostop do znanja, kvalificiranega dela in tehnologije v Sloveniji (Burger 2012, 50). Ključni motivi tujih investitorjev so še naslednji: bližina Italije, konkretna poslovna priložnost, dobiček, inovativna tehnologija, nadzor nad poslovanjem, povečanje prodaje lastnih izdelkov, prodaja licence tehnološkega postopka, strateška investicija, tehnična opremljenost tovarne, tradicija, vpeljana tehnologija, pridobitev novih izdelkov v proizvodnji, zahteva kupca (Burger in drugi 2011, 32). V manjši meri je v PTK³⁹ po vstopu tujega investitorja prišlo do uvajanja novih poslovnih funkcij, večinoma je šlo za prenos novih proizvodov (Burger 2012, 58).

Kot ovire za NTI so anketirani iz podjetij s tujim kapitalom navajali: visoke davke, plačilno nedisciplino, visoke stroške delovne sile, neučinkovit sodni sistem, težave pri odpuščanju zaposlenih, majhnost slovenskega trga in nerazpoložljivost ustrezno usposobljene delovne sile. Prav z delovno silo povezane težave so eden največjih problemov slovenskega poslovnega okolja. Take težave ima 89 % velikih podjetij. Podjetja s tujim kapitalom v povezavi z delovno silo najbolj pogrešajo: boljše poznavanje stroke (59 %), nadalje pa še: boljše usposobljenost v komuniciranju, boljše poznavanje prodajnih tehnik, boljše znanje tujih jezikov, več znanja iz vodenja; med kompetencami pa še: samostojnost, samoiniciativnost in odgovornost, voljo do dela, hitrejšo odzivnost, vztrajnost, delovne navade (Burger in drugi 2011, 33-59).

³⁸ Na slabe povezave med razvojnimi institucijami in podjetji opozarja tudi Adam s skupino sodelavcev v raziskavi vpliv organizacijske kulture in socialnih omrežij na prenos znanja v visokotehnoloških podjetjih v Sloveniji (IRSA 2014)

³⁹ Podjetja s tujim kapitalom.

V drugi analizi Burger s skupino sodelavcev ugotavlja, da je širitev proizvodnje s pomočjo tujega kapitala in s tem tudi znanja eden najbolj razširjenih modelov rasti v zadnjem času (Burger in drugi 2011, 9). V Sloveniji je delež vhodnih NTI v BDP konec leta 2009 znašal 31,4 %, kar je med najnižjimi stopnjami v EU, kjer je povprečje 45,5 %. Delež NTI v posamezni državi je odvisen od lokacijsko specifičnih dejavnikov, ki so dveh vrst:

1. Strukturni/tržni dejavniki: so osnovni vzroki in motivi investitorja za investiranje v določeni državi (trg konkretne države, razpoložljivost in cena proizvodnih dejavnikov, možnost učinkovitejše proizvodnje). Tržni dejavniki so: (1) NTI, motivirane s trgov, (2) NTI, motivirane z viri oz. proizvodnimi dejavniki, (3) NTI, motivirane z možnostmi učinkovitejše proizvodnje);

2. Dejavniki investicijske klime: sem spadajo (1) regulatorni in ekonomskopolitični okvir in (2) podpora podjetništvu (prav tam 13).

Najpomembnejši partnerji za podjetja s tujim kapitalom so v Sloveniji kupci, sledijo jim dobavitelji in partnerji v razvojnih projektih. Manj pomembno pa jim je sodelovanje z univerzami in raziskovalnimi institucijami ter podjetji v grozdih (Burger in drugi 2011, 40).

Nadaljujemo z vpetostjo dejavnikov NTI v širši socio-kulturni kontekst. V zvezi s tem so aktualni pojmi družba znanja, vseživljenjsko učenje, U3, projektno učenje, neformalno učenje, študijski krožki, izkustveno učenje, e-opismenjevanje, e-kompetence, ipd. Lizbonska strategija, v kateri so predstavljene človekove veščine prihodnosti, pravi, da sta *človeški kapital in izobraževanje dva stebra razvoja v ekonomiji znanja* (Udovič in drugi 2008, 118).

Lizbonska strategija (2000) ima za cilj vzpostavitev dinamične družbe znanja in razvoja, temelječe na gospodarski rasti in polni zaposlenosti. Glede tega pa so med državami članicami EU velike razlike, zato bi bilo potrebno doseči konvergenco najprej znotraj skupin, nato pa še med skupinami, da bi se izognili dvo- ali celo tro-tirnemu razvoju EU (Udovič in drugi 2008, 105).

Za razvoj družbe znanja so ključna štiri področja:

- vzpostaviti povezave med teorijo in politiko in jih implementirati v praksi. Tukaj so pomembne naložbe v R&R ter IKT v javnem in zasebnem sektorju;

- poslovni sektor mora podpirati politiko EU glede R&R in inovacij ter sodelovati pri reformi izobraževalnega sistema;
- pospešiti je potrebno vseživljenjsko učenje in ustvarjanje človeških virov, ki bodo sposobni ustvarjati družbo znanja;
- izboljšati fleksibilnost in odprtost izobraževalnega sistema, s poudarkom na prenosu znanja v prakso.

Udovič in Bučar postavita tezo, da so nove države članice EU (med njimi je Slovenija)⁴⁰ 'podhranjene' pri usmerjanju lastnih družb v družbo znanja, ker so v času tranzicije in pristopanju k EU morale napeti vse sile, če so želele izpolniti zahteve članstva, zato jih prehod v družbo znanja še čaka (Udovič in drugi 2008, 106).

Gospodarstvo, ki temelji na znanju, ima tri komponente (prav tam 113. (1) IKT (informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije), (2) R&R (raziskave in razvoj), (3) inovativnost v povezavi z izobraževanjem kot temeljem družbe znanja. Zanimiva je kritična ugotovitev Švarčeve in Lažnjakove, da povpraševanje v evropskem prostoru temelji na zahtevi po stalnosti in nespremenljivosti; ta pojav imenujeta evropski semimodernizem in provincializem, ki zavirata inovativnost podjetij v EU (Švarč in drugi v Udovič in drugi 2008, 118).

Raziskava (ne)učinkovitosti vladnih ukrepov v podporo delovanju podjetij v pogojih gospodarske recesije iz leta 2013 je poleg kvantitativnega vidika (bilance/zaključni računi) analizirala tudi kvalitativne vidike delovanja PTK, ki so potrebna za analizo uspešnosti poslovanja (Burger in drugi 2013, 45). Ta merila so naslednja:

1. položaj tujega investitorja na trgu
2. delež tujega investitorja v slovenskem podjetju
3. delež domačih dobaviteljev v nabavah in vpliv nove investicije na produktivnost ostalih domačih podjetij v panogi
4. trajnostna naravnost nove investicije
5. raziskovalno-razvojni učinki nove investicije
6. vpliv nove investicije na človeški kapital

⁴⁰ Stare članice so v EU vstopile do l. 1995, nove pa 2004 in pozneje (Udovič in Bučar 2008, 106).

7. (a) vpliv na okolje za investicijske projekte za proizvodno dejavnost / (b) stopnja mednarodnega trženja storitev za investicijske projekte v storitveno dejavnost in število trgov, na katerih se storitev trži
8. Razvojni učinki projekta v gospodarsko manj razvitih regijah
9. Vrednost investicije (prav tam).

Anketna raziskava, opravljena na vzorcu 24 podjetij, ki so v obdobju med 2000 in 2010 dobila sredstva JAPTII-ja (v okviru programa spodbujanja začetnih tujih NTI v Sloveniji), je pokazala, da so tuja matična podjetja, ki se odločajo za investiranje v Sloveniji, praviloma večja oziroma velika tuja matična podjetja z relativno razvejano mednarodno mrežo enot v tujini. Med motivi tujih investitorjev za investiranje v Sloveniji sta najbolj pomembna dva: (1) možnost učinkovite proizvodnje v Sloveniji; izkoriščanje prednosti v stroških dela, kapitala, inputov, itd., in (2) dostop do znanja, kvalificiranega dela, tehnologije v Sloveniji. »Tuji investitorji, ki so prejeli nepovratna sredstva JAPTII-ja, [so] v Slovenijo prišli z namenom vzpostaviti izvozno usmerjeno dejavnost, ki temelji na učinkoviti proizvodnji, ne pa iskati možnosti na slovenskem trgu«.

Anketirana podjetja kažejo visoko izvozno usmerjenost, pri čemer so najpomembnejši kupec njihova matična podjetja v tujini in njihove podružnice. Zaradi tega je njihov prispevek k povečanju konkurence v njihovi panogi v Sloveniji skromen. Izvozna usmerjenost je pri PTK bistveno višja kot pri domačih podjetjih (prav tam 46-52).

Zanimiv je tudi vidik prenosa tehnologije slovenskim dobaviteljem in kupcem. To merilo se testira z obsegom transfera tehnologije in/ali znanja od PTK na domače dobavitelje in kupce (prav tam 55). Vendar dejanski prenos tehnologije in/ali znanja⁴¹ potrjuje manj kot polovica anketiranih (11/23).

Pomembna je vloga podružnice v okviru mreže matičnih multinacionalnih podjetij. »Podružnica krepi oziroma razvija svojo vlogo v okviru sistema tujega matičnega podjetja ne le s povečevanjem obsega svojega delovanja, temveč tudi s funkcionalno širitvijo in krepitvijo« (Majcen in drugi v Burger in drugi 2013, 55).

⁴¹ Oblike prenosa tehnologije in/ali znanja: stroji in oprema, know-how, proizvodna dokumentacija, izobraževanje, izmenjava kadrov (prav tam 55).

Odgovornost PTK za posamezne poslovne funkcije v podjetju lahko primerjamo s profesionalno strukturo intervjuvancev iz naše raziskave. Rezultati so podobni našim iz raziskav ACCESS in DIOSCURI, saj je največ managerjev, zaposlenih v operativnih in managerskih funkcijah, tujcev (tudi na področju financ), v raziskovalnih, aplikativnih, tržnih oddelkih pa so zaposleni pretežno slovenski menedžerji:

- PTK imajo največjo vlogo v operativnih funkcijah, kot so proizvodni in operativni management ter procesni inženiring
- Manjšo vlogo imajo na področju strateškega managementa in investicijskih projektov in financ
- Še manjšo vlogo imajo v razvoju ter bazičnih in aplikativnih raziskavah
- Najmanjšo vlogo imajo pri tržnih raziskavah in trženju.

Zgornja »gradacija odgovornosti PTK za opravljanje posameznih poslovnih funkcij lepo kaže, kaj je tujemu matičnemu podjetju najpomembnejše, oziroma na katerih področjih želi zadržati kontrolo.« Področja, pomembna za tuje matično podjetje, so: trženje in tržne raziskave, raziskave in razvoj, strateški management, investiranje in finance.

Anketirana PTK so svoj pomen za tuje matično podjetje ocenila kot zelo pomemben ali ključen za naslednja področja delovanja: pospeševanje prodaje in marketing; nabava inputov; proizvodnja končnih proizvodov in storitev; razvojno/inovacijska aktivnost; proizvodnja vmesnih proizvodov in storitev (Burger in drugi 2013, 56-59).

Vidik razvojno-raziskovalne dejavnosti je zelo povezan z ravno človeškega kapitala (prav tam 66-73). Človeški kapital so merili z naslednjimi kazalniki: (1) struktura zaposlenih, (2) delež prihodkov, namenjenih izobraževanju zaposlenih, (3) analiza strukture izdatkov za izobraževanje po stopnjah kvalifikacije, (4) vrste znanj in veščin. Struktura zaposlenih v anketiranih PTK je naslednja: 17,3% diplomantov, 32% tehničnih poklicev in 48,9% priučenih delavcev (4. stopnja). Anketirana PTK izobraževanju svojih zaposlenih ne namenjajo velike pozornosti in sredstev. Anketirana PTK največji del sredstev za izobraževanje (51,7%) namenjajo pridobivanju strokovnega znanja. Učenje tujih jezikov, po katerem smo spraševali managerje v raziskavah ACCESS in DIOSCURI, je v anketiranih PTK slabo prisotno, saj sredstva zanj namenja le 17,7 % PTK. Še bolj zgovoren je podatek o višini sredstev, namenjenih za prodajne treninge zaposlenih. Ta so zadnja na lestvici z 1,7 %, kar odstopa od slovenskega povprečja, kjer so

prodajni treningi v strukturi dodatnih izobraževanj med najpomembnejšimi. To kaže na dejstvo, da je funkcija prodaje v anketiranih PTK slabo razvita, ker zanjo skrbijo tuja matična podjetja.

Pri preučevanju poslovne kulture je pomemben tudi vidik zmanjševanja negativnih vplivov na okolje, ki se meri z deležem sredstev, namenjenih okoljsko prijaznim ukrepom.

Prestavljena raziskava potrjuje koristnost programa subvencioniranja začetnih TNI v podjetjih s tujim kapitalom.

Podjetja so izpostavila nekaj predlogov za izboljšanje obstoječega programa spodbujanja začetnih tujih investicij: (1) izboljšanje komunikacije s podjetji, povečana odzivnost do investitorjev, nudenje pomoči zainteresiranim podjetjem; (2) učinkovita raba IKT, elektronski postopki prijav in poročanja; (3) ažurnost baz podatkov in razpoložljivih informacij; (4) JAPTI naj vodi koordinacijo med Ministrstvi in vpletenimi institucijami (Burger in drugi 2013, 75).

Posredno lahko te podatke povežemo z rezultati naše raziskave. Menedžerji omenjajo počasnost komunikacij ter slabo organiziranost pri stikih z lokalnimi oblastmi in državnimi ministrstvi (pri sodelovanju z enim ministrstvom je izjema avtomobilska industrija). Navajajo tudi dolgotrajne in neučinkovite birokratske postopke, zaradi katerih je poslovanje ovirano.

5 Hipoteze in empirična preverba

Namen pričujoče naloge je ob izhodiščih sistemske teorije razvitih družb, družbene stratifikacije in teorije elit osredotočiti se na poslovne elite. Poslovna kultura menedžerskih elit nas bo zanimala v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti v Sloveniji. V zvezi s spreminjanjem lastništva podjetij bomo izpostavili dva vidika. Prvi je kontekst priključevanja Slovenije v EU v 'paketu' novih držav članic. S tem vidikom smo se ukvarjali v raziskavi ACCESS, kjer smo imeli za izhodiščno hipotezo določeno mero šoka na sistemski ravni zaradi 'trka' kulturnih vzorcev pri nadnacionalni integraciji. Analiza kvalitativnih intervjujev je pokazala, da ne moremo govoriti niti o šoku niti o trku kultur, ker je kulturni zemljevid Slovenije kompatibilen s tistim, ki ga predstavlja EU, so se pa pokazali obrisi področij, na katerih so potrebne izboljšave. To so hierarhija in distanca med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji, zaupanje med njimi, stiki z zunanjim okoljem ter ocena kompetentnosti (Adam in drugi 2003).

Drugi vidik je kontekst tranzicije iz socializma v kapitalizem in z njim vzpostavitev demokratičnih struktur, pri tem pa vprašanje kompatibilnosti med srednje-vzhodno, jugo-vzhodno, pri čemer so bile iz vsakega od teh vključene po 4 države, takrat še kandidatke ali nove članice, s kulturo držav članic EU. Tudi tukaj smo izhajali iz podobne hipoteze, da so države članice bolj razvite na ekonomskem področju kot države kandidatke, ki se še ukvarjajo z pridružitvenimi zahtevami in so še 'ujete' v tranzicijski proces. Rezultati so pokazali, da število multinacionalnih podjetij narašča v vseh državah članicah. Na področju NTI je najhitreje rastoči bančni trg. Drugič, da ima lastniška struktura podjetja odločilno vlogo pri spodbujanju specifičnih kulturnih srečanj. Tretjič, da kulturna srečanja vodijo najvišji vodstveni položaji, kar pomeni, da so odvisna od ekonomske moči. Četrto, da je ekonomska moč v pozitivni korelaciji s kulturno kompetenco in uspešnostjo. Petič, da lahko v srednje- in juho-vzhodno evropskem prostoru govorimo o različnih oblikah adaptacije na kapitalizem zahodnega tipa, pri čemer se v preučevanih državah kaže oblika tripartitnega kulturnega sistema, sestavljenega iz tujih akterjev

in dveh glavnih skupin domačih akterjev (tistih, ki so bolj, in tistih, ki so manj povezani z mednarodnim okoljem) (Kovacs in drugi 2007, 27-39).

Poslovno kulturo menedžerjev bomo prikazali iz petih socio-kulturnih vidikov: (1) organizacijske klime, (2) menedžerskega stila, (3) komunikacije med njimi (4) stikov navzven z oceno kompetenc lokalne oblasti, političnih in menedžerskih elit in (5) nacionalnih in regionalnih vzorcev.

Analizirali smo kvalitativne podatke, pridobljene s polstrukturiranimi intervjuji z menedžerji na vodilnih mestih v petih podjetjih s tujim kapitalom: banke, avtomobilske industrije, proizvodnje avtoopreme, proizvodnje sintetičnih polimerov in podjetja s področja IT (informacijske tehnologije). Analizirali smo 58 polstrukturiranih intervjujev. Povzetke dodajamo v prilogi.⁴² Podatki so bili pridobljeni med leti 2001 in 2007, in so, skoraj desetletje zatem, še vedno aktualni, ker izpostavljajo socio-kulturne vidike poslovne/organizacijske kulture, za katere je na voljo razmeroma malo raziskav. V zadnjih letih je več raziskav, ki se ukvarjajo z ekonomskimi kazalci poslovno-organizacijske kulture (indikatorji: delež prodaje, delež sredstev za investicije, delež sredstev za R&R, delež sredstev za izobraževanje zaposlenih, letna bilanca, itd.), in jih izvaja Center za mednarodne odnose pri FDV. Drugi sklop sorodnih raziskav je s področja menedžmenta človeških virov in upravljanja znanja v organizacijsko-poslovnih okoljih. S temi raziskavami se ukvarja raziskovalna skupina red.prof.dr. Ivana Svetlika.

V tej nalogi smo analizirali intervjuje, ki so del mednarodnih raziskav ACCESS (2002-2003), ki se je ukvarjala z možnimi scenariji socio-kulturnega razvoja po priključitvi Slovenije k EU, in DIOSCURI (2003-2007), ki se je ukvarjala z dinamiko srečevanj socio-ekonomskih kultur Vzhoda in Zahoda, v katero so bile poleg Slovenije vključene še Češka, Madžarska, Poljska, Bolgarija, Hrvaška, Romunija in Srbija. Intervjuvali smo tako domače kot tuje menedžerje na vodilnih funkcijah v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti. Intervjuji polstrukturiranega tipa so bili sestavljeni iz sedmih tematskih sklopov, za potrebe naše naloge smo analizirali 4, ki so najbližje poslovni kulturi, kot jo v okviru podjetniškega duha in socio-kulturnih dejavnikov razvojne uspešnosti definira Adam s sodelavci. Analizirani vidiki so: organizacijska klima, menedžerski

⁴² Ker so intervjuji del mednarodnih raziskav, so povzetki napisani v angleščini, transkripcije pa so v originalnih jezikih menedžerjev.

stil, komunikacija in stiki z menedžerji, uradniki in politično elito. V vprašalniku pa sta še sklopa: uvodna vprašanja (v zvezi s presenečenjem in učenjem⁴³) in opis karijerne poti.

Ciljna skupina, sestavljena iz domačih in tujih menedžerjev, je pomembna iz več vidikov. (1) omogoča primerjalno analizo med 'domačimi' in 'tujimi' kulturnimi vzorci; (2) daje možnost vpogleda v zornik kot tujih matičnih podjetij in domačih podjetij z NTI; (3) v našem primeru, kjer tuji menedžerji prihajajo iz držav članic EU, domači menedžerji pa iz takrat kandidatki ali svežih članic EU, omogoča primerjavo med vidikom EU in situacijo držav kandidatki; (4) tuji menedžerji v naši analizi prihajajo iz držav z razvitimi tržnimi ekonomijami (Francija, Italija, Nemčija, VB), medtem ko so domači menedžerji iz držav srednje- in jugo-vzhodne Evrope, ki sistem tržne ekonomije iz prejšnjega državno-reguliranega gospodarstva šele vzpostavljajo; (5) omogočajo primerjavo med MNC (tujimi) in nacionalnimi (lokalnimi) kulturnimi vzorci.

Za dosego zgoraj naštetih ciljev smo postavili naslednji dve hipotezi:

1. Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti je specifična zaradi vzajemne povezanosti in prepletenosti domačih in tujih socio-kulturnih dejavnikov.

1a. Poslovni kulturi nacionalnih in MNC podjetij sta različni.

2. Poslovna kultura podjetij v večinski tuji lasti je šla skozi vpliv tranzicijskih sprememb.

Omenili smo tudi ugotovitev raziskave z EF avtorjev Janeza Prašnikarja in sodelavcev, da so podjetja v večinski tuji lasti dober primer oblikovanja medkulturnega delovnega okolja, ki nastaja v vsakodnevnih odnosih in komunikaciji med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji (Prašnikar in drugi 2005). Tako sta za uspešno doseganje tega cilja uvedeni dve prioriteti za zaposlene: znanje tujih jezikov in z njim kulturna odprtost, ki je povezana s stopnjo zaupanja do tujcev – vidikom, na katerega smo se tudi eksplicitno sklicevali v intervjujih. Na področju izobrazbe so se v globalni družbi spremenile zahteve in potrebe glede konkurenčnih in kompetentnih delavcev. Pomen izobraževanja je vse bolj pomemben tudi v kontekstu vseživljenjskega učenja ter trajnostnega razvoja.⁴⁴ Izobrazbo kot eno izmed kategorij kulturnega kapitala, poleg izjemnih dosežkov, prizadevanja za trajnostni razvoj in splošnega doprinosa k razvoju, kar so 'mehki' socio-kulturni dejavniki, prirejani po raziskavi World Economic Forum (2011-2012), definira

⁴³ Samo v raziskavi DIOSCURI.

⁴⁴ Gl. Prašnikar, Cirman 2005.

tudi Lea Prijon kot enega izmed treh sestavnih kapitalov razvojne poslovne elite (izobraževalni kapital, kulturni kapital, socialni kapital) (Prijon 2015, 91).

Avtorica Prijon ugotavlja, da so pogoji, na katerih se formira specifičen tip poslovne elite, odvisni od ekonomskega, socialnega in kulturnega kapitala tako na makro kot na mikroravni. Ti dejavniki morajo obstajati v dovoljšnjih količinah in v medsebojni uravnoteženosti, da se razvojna poslovna elita lahko razvije in uspešno deluje. Razvitost in količina teh dejavnikov tudi določata, ali se razvije inkluzivno gospodarstvo (z inkluzivnimi institucijami) in razvojno poslovno elito, ali ekspropriativno gospodarstvo (z ekstraktivnimi institucijami) in rentniško poslovno elito (Prijon, 2015, 109).

Ekonomsko kultura je ključnega pomena za zagotavljanje zadovoljivega življenja za ljudi, s tem pa, ko ljudje iščejo nove načine za zadovoljevanje svojih potreb, postaja tudi objektivna potreba demokratične družbe. Rečemo lahko, da se ekonomska kultura spreminja z družbeno-kulturnim razvojem. Posameznik mora v globalizaciji izražati naslednje socio-kulturne veščine: ekonomsko znanje, sposobnost učinkovito uporabljati resurse, opozarjati na kakovost in količino proizvodnje, spodobnost sprejemanja odločitev ter skrb za investicijo v čas in resurse. Med glavnimi komponentami ekonomske kulture pa Zver s sodelavci izpostavlja ekonomsko znanje, prepričanje, izkušnje in talent (Zver in drugi 2005, 98-99).

Kot referenčno raziskavo s področja vodenja na kratko predstavimo še raziskavo GLOBE.⁴⁵ Osnovna definicija vodenja, iz katere raziskava izhaja, je naslednja: »sposobnost posameznika, da vpliva, motivira in omogoča drugim, da prispevajo k učinkovitosti in uspehu organizacij, katerih člani so.«⁴⁶ Ta raziskava je bila opravljena med 17300 menedžerji v 951 organizacijah po svetu z uporabo kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih metod. Preučevala je 9 kulturnih dimenzij organizacijskih kultur, in način, kako vplivajo na vodenje v 62 kulturah.⁴⁷

9 kulturnih dimenzij⁴⁸ je naslednjih:

⁴⁵ House in drugi. (2004. Culture, Leadership and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies. London: Sage Publications.

⁴⁶ Grove, Cornelius N., Grovewell LLC. Članek dostopen preko: www.grovewell.com/pub-GLOBE-intro.html (marec 2016)

⁴⁷ 62 kultur je bilo združenih v 10 gruč: Anglo, S Evropa, V Evropa, Podsaharska Afrika, J Azija, Latinska Evropa, Germanska Evropa, Latinska Amerika, Srednji Vzhod, Konfucijska Azija.

⁴⁸ Vsako od teh dimenzij so preučevali z ocenjevalno lestvico od 1 do 7. V drugem koraku so vsako od teh dimenzij preučevali na dva načina: kot prakse (kar je) in kot vrednote (kar naj bi bilo).

- performanca,
- institucionalni kolektivizem,
- enakopravnost spolov,
- izogibanje negotovosti,
- kolektivizem v skupini,
- usmerjenost v prihodnost,
- usmerjenost k človeku,
- asertivnost,
- distanca moči.⁴⁹ (povzeto po Grove 2016)

Raziskovalci so se ukvarjali z vprašanjem, do kakšne mere so prakse in vrednote, povezane z vodenjem, univerzalne, in do kakšne so specifične samo za določene kulture. Na podlagi odgovorov menedžerjev z vsega sveta so oblikovali lestvico 21 dimenzij vodenja, ki v vseh družbah prispevajo k učinkovitosti vodenja.

Vodja je: administrativno kompetenten, avtokratski, avtonomen, karizmatičen/vizionar, karizmatičen/inspirativen, karizmatičen/požrtvovalen, povzročitelj konfliktov, odločevalen, diplomatski, rentniški, usmerjen k človeku, integrativen, škodljiv, iskren, nekooperativen, usmerjen k rezultatom,⁵⁰ proceduralen, usmerjen k sebi,⁵¹ zavedajoč se statusa, skupinsko kolaborativen⁵² in skupinsko integrativen.

Na podlagi devetih kulturnih dimenzij in enaindvajsetih značilnosti vodij, so raziskovalci oblikovali šest univerzalnih konceptov vodenja, znanih tudi kot globalne dimenzije vodenja. Te so: (1) karizmatičen, (2) timsko orientiran, (3) samozaščitniški, (4) participativen, (5) usmerjen k človeku in (6) avtonomen.⁵³

⁴⁹ Zaradi okornih prevodov dodajam še originalne fraze v angleščini (tudi v nadaljevanju): performance orientation, institutional collectivism, gender egalitarianism, uncertainty avoidance, in-group collectivism, future orientation, humane orientation, assertiveness, power distance.

⁵⁰ Performance oriented

⁵¹ Self-centered

⁵² Team collaborative

⁵³ Na tem mestu je potrebno omeniti še nekaj pripomb k tej raziskavi, kot jih navaja Cornelius Grove. 1. klimatski determinizem, za katerega so številni raziskovalci ugotovili, da determinira način formacije kulture. 2. pomen »univerzalnega«; raziskovalci so se ukvarjali z vprašanjem, ali obstajajo elementi vodenja, ki so prisotni v vseh svetovnih kulturah; vendar ne moremo govoriti o univerzalnem kot pozitivno ali negativno razvitem oz. prisotnem (ocenjevalna lestvica); 3. v raziskavo so vključena samo podjetja s področja finančništva, prehrane in

V naši raziskavi se sicer nismo direktno ukvarjali z dimenzijami vodenja, bi bile pa te ugotovitve vsekakor dobrodošle, če bi podatke denimo raziskava GLOBE zbrala tudi v Sloveniji. Posredno smo se dotaknili vidika timske orientacije, v smislu pripravljenosti menedžerjev in njihovih sodelavcev za timsko delo. Pri tem vprašanju je večina odgovorov pozitivna. S tem lahko posredno povežemo tudi vidik participacije in kooperacije, ob predpostavki, da če nekdo ni pripravljen za timsko delo, tudi kooperativen ni, in obratno. Če nekdo ni kooperativen, bo manjša verjetnost, da bo sodeloval pri timskem delu.

Slovenski in tuji menedžerji imajo različne vloge v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti. Te vloge smo preverjali s tematskimi sklopi: organizacijska klima, menedžerski stil, komunikacija in stiki v podjetju, stiki navzven in nacionalni in regionalni vzorci. Organizacijska pripadnost v MNC je tema, ki zadnja leta pridobiva na pomenu (Taylor 2008, 501). V Sloveniji so tovrstne raziskave redke, je pa tudi raziskava Taylorjeve prva, ki je povezala HRM in timske organizacije top menedžerjev s formiranjem pripadnosti zaposlenih v MNC-jih.

Raziskava, ki jo je opravila Sully Taylor s sodelavci na primeru 1664 vodilnih, imenovanih 'ključni viri znanja' z višješolsko izobrazbo ali več⁵⁴ (Lepak in Snell v Taylor in drugi 2008, 508), zaposlenih v 39 podružnicah 10 MNC-jev je pokazala,⁵⁵ da ima organizacijska kultura neposredni

telekomunikacij, ostale panoge pa ne (aktualna bi bila denimo podjetja, ki se ukvarjajo z IKT ali ekološkimi rešitvami – opomba B.T.); 4. za vsako družbo so obravnavali najmanj 2 industriji (ta vzorec se zdi majhen, opomba B.T.); 5. skoraj 75 odstotkov respondentov je bilo moških (74,8%). (kaj pa ženske, opomba B.T.); 6. v povprečju so bili na delovnem mestu menedžerjev 10 in pol let (vključiti bi bilo potrebno tudi mlade menedžerje, ki so v nekaterih primerih pomembno sooblikovali stil vodenja v poslovni kulturi – tak primer je denimo tudi Slovenija, opomba B.T.); 7. raziskava ni upoštevala multinacionalnih korporacij, temveč samo matična podjetja korporacij (na ta način so namerno izpustili vidike poslovne kulture vodenja, kot se razvijajo v podjetjih s tujim kapitalom oz. v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti, opomba B.T.); 8. v analizi so upoštevani le odgovori ene ali druge skrajnosti na lestvici odgovorov od 1-7, zaradi česar je izgubi družbeno-kulturna dimenzija respondentov; 9. Raziskava navaja, da je bila opravljena v 62 družbah, vendar izvemo, da je bila dejansko izvedena v 61 družbah, ker je bila Češka namerno izpuščena zaradi prevladujoče osnove respondentov (pervasive response bias); 10. zelo malo je govora o spefičnih družbeno-kulturnih dejavnikih.

⁵⁴ Formalna izobrazba je dober 'proxy' pokazatelj posameznikovega človeškega kapitala. Posamezniki v višjo izobrazbo imajo običajno več formalnega znanja in profesionalnih izkušenj kakor tudi potencial za razvoj nadpovprečnih sposobnosti in veščin (Taylor in drugi 2008, 508).

⁵⁵ Od 1664 respondentov jih je bilo 636 (38,2% zaposlenih v matičnih podjetjih in 1028 zaposlenih (61,8%) v 39 podružnicah v 12 državah. Med respondenti je bilo 1143 moških (68,7% in 521 žensk (31,3%). Ciljna podjetja so bila tista, kjer imajo 'delavci znanja' pomembnejšo vlogo kot v drugih podjetjih. To so bila finančna in druga storitvena podjetja, telekomunikacije, visokotehnološka podjetja, farmacevtska in kemična industrija. Velikost podjetij glede na zaposlene je bila od najmanjšega z 2000 zaposlenimi do največjega z 188000 zaposlenimi. Podatke so zbirali z vprašalnikom, ki so ga poslali tako matičnim podjetjem kot podružnicam. Pripadnost podjetjem (MNC-jem) so merili z vprašalnikom organizacijske pripadnosti (OCQ), ki ga je razvil Mowday leta 1979 (Taylor in drugi 2008, 509). Neodvisne spremenljivke so bile spol, koliko tujih jezikov govorite in tretja, nacionalna pripadnost. Odvisne

učinek na pripadnost zaposlenih podjetju. Organizacijsko kulturo so merili z oceno prilagodljivosti in sistemom HRM, utemeljenim na meritokratskih kriterijih, sistem HRM pa z orientiranostjo zaposlenih k visoko učinkovitim delovnim praksam. Raziskava je preverjala, ali morajo MNC-ji, ki se soočajo z enkratnimi izzivi (globalizacije), oblikovati posebne timske orientacije top menedžmenta za oblikovanje pripadnosti zaposlenih poleg tradicionalnih mehanizmov organizacijske kulture in HRM. Empirični podatki to potrjujejo. Rezultati raziskave utemeljujejo pomen organizacijske kulture in sistema HRM za oblikovanje pripadnosti podjetju v MNC-jih. Potrjujejo tudi pozitivno vlogo HPWP-jev na pripadnost v MNC-jih in domačih podjetjih. Nadalje kažejo, da je globalna orientacija top menedžerjev v MNC-jih pozitivno povezana z oblikovanjem odnosa zaposlenih do organizacije. Vpliv geocentrične orientacije na pripadnost MNC-jem pa je šibek. Raziskava je pokazala, da na oblikovanje pripadnosti top menedžerjev podjetju vplivata HRM strategija podjetja in orientacije top managerjev⁵⁶ (Taylor in drugi 2008, 517-520).

Organizacijsko pripadnost Taylorjeva s sodelavci preučuje v povezavi z organizacijsko kulturo in HRM ter z držami in politikami vodilnega menedžmenta, ki povečujejo pripadnost zaposlenih, in jih imenuje 'skupinske orientacije vodilnega menedžmenta k enostavnosti' (Taylor 2008, 501-502). Ukvarjajo se s pripadnostjo ključnih zaposlenih, ki so bolj pomembni pri ustvarjanju in deljenju znanja, in katerih večina so bolj pomembne, da se ohranijo (Lepak in Snell v Taylor 2008, 502). Raziskava je pokazala, da organizacijska kultura in HRM vplivata na pripadnost zaposlenih direktno in indirektno preko skupinskih (timskih) orientacij vodilnega menedžmenta (to pa sta globalna orientacija vodilnih menedžerjev in njihova geocentrična orientacija).

Taylorjeva navaja štiri vidike organizacije človeških virov v MNC-jih, ki vplivajo na pripadnost zaposlenih tako direktno kot indirektno (Taylor in drugi 2008, 504-506).

1. Organizacijska kultura: O'Reilly in Chatman definirata organizacijsko kulturo kot »sistem skupnih vrednot in norm,

spremenljivke so merili s 5- ali 7-stopenjskimi lestvicami strinjanja s trditvami. Naj omenimo še, da je bila večina raziskav organizacijske pripadnosti narejena v S Ameriki, kar potrjuje vprašljivost generalizacij v primeru medkulture raziskave. Kljub temu so številni raziskovalci, ki so se ukvarjali s preučevanjem organizacijske pripadnosti v medkulturnih okoliščinah med leti 1985 in 2003, Mowdayev vprašalnik prilagodili tako, da so v njem vzpostavili vidik medkulturne generalizacije (Luthans, McCaul in Dodd, Harrison in Hubbard, Yousef, Peterson, Puia in Suess) (Taylor in drugi 2008, 510-512).

⁵⁶ To je prva raziskava, ki je preučevala relacije med organizacijsko kulturo, HPWP-ji in pripadnost v kontekstu MNC-jev (Taylor in drugi 2008, 520).

ki definirajo primerno vedenje za člane organizacije« (O'Reilly in Chatman v Taylor in drugi 2008, 504). Organizacijska kultura deluje na dveh ravneh hkrati: kot adaptacija navzven in integracija navznoter in določa, na kakšen način naj bodo stvari narejene v organizaciji (Schein v Taylor in drugi 2008, 504).

2. Poslanstvo: Močan občutek poslanstva je 'lepilo', ki drži podjetje skupaj in daje članom organizacije smisel njihovega početja (O'Reilly in Chatman v Taylor in drugi 2008, 504). Poslanstvo predstavlja referenčno točko zaposlenih (Denison in Mishra v Taylor in drugi 2008, 504).
3. Prilagodljivost označuje sposobnost organizacije, da se odziva na turbulentno globalno okolje, in se glede na to (fleksibilno) reorientira. Sem spadajo naslednji vidiki organizacijske kulture: usmerjenost k strankam, prevzemanje tveganja, učenje iz napak, sposobnost ustvariti razliko (Fey in Denison v Taylor in drugi 2008, 505).
4. HRM sistem obsega arhitekturo in prakse, s katerimi organizacija upravlja s človeškimi viri (Pfeffer v Taylor in drugi 2008, 505). Taylorjeva za analizo HRM sistema multinacionalk razvije model HPWP-ja (visoko učinkovitih delovnih praks), ki zajemajo stroge procese izbiranja in rekrutacije novih kadrov, sisteme nagrajevanja glede na delovno učinkovitost, usposabljanje menedžerjev, poudarek na vključevanje zaposlenih (Becker in Huselid v Taylor in drugi 2008, 505).

Pripadnost MNC-jem pa posredujejo tudi orientacije skupin top menedžmenta, preko katerih vodje sporočajo zaposlenim, da jim organizacija nudi podporo za uspešno delovanje na globalni ravni (Taylor in drugi 2008, 506). Kar je pomembno, je geocentrična orientiranost top menedžerjev, kar pomeni njihovo iskanje na podlagi meritokratskih kriterijev, ne po nacionalnih kriterijih – ta selekcijski mehanizem Taylorjeva imenuje IHRM sistem, ki je ena od ključnih

manifestacij globalne orientacije tima top menedžerjev. Nadalje, top menedžerji z globalno orientacijo so sposobni sprejemati odločitve, neodvisno od predpostavk katerekoli od vpletenih kultur (Maznewski in Lane v Taylor in drugi 507).

Čeprav predstavljena raziskava Taylorjeve in sodelavcev ni neposredno povezana z našo raziskavo, je za naš prikaz poslovne kulture v podjetjih v tuji lasti pomembna, ker se ukvarja z organizacijsko kulturo MNC-jev. Enako kot pričujoča raziskava se ukvarja s pozicijami top menedžmenta. Zanima jo, na kakšen način MNC-ji oblikujejo pripadnost menedžerjev, glede na to, da so 'razpršeni' po vsem svetu. Sprašuje se, ali utečeni sistemi HRM-ja zadoščajo izzivom, katerim so izpostavljeni menedžerji na delu? Taylorjeva razvije koncept visoko utečenih delovnih praks kot tiste prilagoditve HRM strategije multinacionalnk, s katero se odzivajo na zahteve turbulentnega in kompleksnega globalnega okolja. Drugi vidik, s katerim se v pričujoči raziskavi ne ukvarjamo, je poslanstvo, ki v podjetjih deluje kot lepilo. To pomeni, da povezuje menedžerje k njihovem lastnemu ali skupnemu cilju (če jih je več) s podjetjem. Kot lepilo pa deluje tudi socialni kapital pri formiranju *ad hoc* in interesnih skupin ali civilnih iniciativ, ki delujejo po principu 'mreže', kot smo videli v raziskavi Adama in drugih.

5.1 Vprašalnik za polstrukturirane intervjuje iz raziskav ACCESS in DIOSCURI – primer petih podjetij v večinski tuji lasti v Sloveniji⁵⁷

V pričujoči nalogi se ukvarjamo s področjem ekonomske kulture, pri čemer nas zanima način, kako različni kulturni dejavniki vplivajo na ekonomsko uspešnost. Ekonomsko uspešne države so države, ki predstavljajo razvojno jedro EU. Ekonomska uspešnost je povezana s setom razvojnih dejavnikov na drugih področjih, kot so družbeno, politično in kulturno, ki so med seboj povezana in soodvisna (Tomšič in Adam 2009, 1). V ospredju našega zanimanja je posttranzicijsko kulturno okolje, v katerem se nahaja Slovenija, za katerega je značilen zahteven proces političnih, ekonomskih in družbenih sprememb ter kulturne modernizacije, ki so podvrženi spremembam v načinu delovanja ter kulturni modernizaciji, s čimer mislimo predvsem porast individualizma ter

⁵⁷ Polstrukturirani intervjuji s slovenskimi managerji. V ADP dostopno prek: <http://www.adp.fdv.uni-lj.si/podatki/dioscu07/dioscu07-vp1.pdf> (marec 2016)

povečano možnost posameznikovih izbir (prav tam 8). Drugi val sprememb je na omenjena področja prinesel proces priključevanja k EU, ki je sicer državam kandidatkam dal enake pogoje in institucionalne postopke, naletel pa na zelo različne razvojne performance (prav tam 2). Zdi se, da je odzivanje na ekonomske potrebe globalnega trga dinamično, po drugi strani pa smo priča inertnemu in pogosto tudi samozadostnemu stanju na političnem in kulturnem področju. Vibratne, propulzivne družbe, »ki ceni kreativnost, odprtost duha ter socialno in tehnološko inovativnost« (Adam in Rončević 2004, 233), v Sloveniji ni. Nekateri avtorji tovrstno zaostajanje imenujejo 'cultural lag' (ang.), in z njim označujejo nekompatibilnost starih kulturnih vzorcev z novimi institucionalnimi politično-ekonomskimi razmerami (Ogburn v Adam in Tomšič 2009, 2).

Vprašalnik je sledeč:

Organizacijska klima

1. Kako zaznavate in ocenjujete vedenje managerjev in drugih zaposlenih glede
 - a) Komunikacije in odnosov: ali prevladuje formalno vedenje ali prevladujeta neformalnost in spontanost; ali so komunikativni?
 - b) Identifikacije s podjetjem (je visoka ali nizka?)
 - c) Pripravljenosti za sodelovanje
 - d) Individualizma in kolektivnosti (ali so sociabilni?)
 - e) Zaupanja ali nezaupanja (ali vam zaupajo?)

Managerski stil

1. Ali ste v Sloveniji – v primerjavi s tujimi (zahodnimi) firmami – opazili večjo ali manjšo hierarhijo in distanco v odnosih med managerji (lastniki) in drugimi skupinami zaposlenih?
2. Ali imate probleme (ali sploh ne) s skupinskim (timskim) delom in projektno organizacijo?
3. Kakšna je vaša vloga – pa tudi vloga tujih managerjev – pri reševanju napetosti in konfliktov v podjetju?
4. Ali ste zadovoljni s stopnjo participacije in kooperacije članov vodstva (managementa) in drugih zaposlenih?
5. Ali se na svoje sodelavce v vseh pogledih lahko zanesete (jim zaupate)?

Ali mislite, da obstaja zaupanje do tujih managerjev?

Komunikacija in stiki v podjetju

1. Kateri jezik uporabljate v vsakdanji komunikaciji na delovnem mestu?
2. Ali se učite tuje jezike?
3. Ali se morajo določene skupine zaposlenih učiti jezik tujih managerjev ali lastnikov?
4. Ali ste se odločili za uporabo tretjega jezika (denimo angleščine)?
5. Ali se glede komunikacije pojavljajo problemi?

Stiki s slovenskimi managerji, lokalno oblastjo in politično elito

1. Ali imate vi sami in tuji managerji stike z managerji ali lastniki drugih slovenskih podjetij (so ti pogosti, redki)?
2. Kakšne so vaše in njihove izkušnje s stiki z lokalno oblastjo?
3. Ali imate vi sami in tuji managerji stike z visokimi državnimi uradniki in politiki (so ti osebni ali striktno formalni)?
4. Kakšen vtis imate o kompetentnosti teh ljudi?
Kakšen vtis imajo o tem tuji managerji?

Nacionalni in regionalni vzorci

1. Ali je Slovenija bolj podobna – glede na delovno organizacijo in managersko kompetenco – a) balkanskim državam, b) srednji Evropi, c) zahodnim državam? Ali ste opazili kakšno enkratno (specifično) značilnost Slovencev (glede delovnih navad in organizacijskega stila)?
2. Kako bi ocenili razlike v splošni produktivnosti in delovni motivaciji med slovenskimi in zahodnimi podjetji?

Našteti pet tematskih sklopov lahko razdelimo na notranje in zunanje dejavnike PK. Med notranje spadajo: organizacijska klima, menedžerski stil, komunikacija. Med zunanje dejavnike

spadajo: stiki z drugimi menedžerji, lokalno oblastjo in politično elito ter nacionalni in regionalni vzorci. Iz vprašalnika lahko glede na vrsto dejavnikov izluščimo naslednje odvisne spremenljivke, ki jih prikazujemo v spodnji tabeli.

Tabela 5.1: Odvisne spremenljivke vidikov PK glede na vrsto dejavnikov

Vidiki PK				
Notranji dejavniki PK			Zunanji dejavniki PK	
Organizacijska klima	Menedžerski stil	Komunikacija v podjetju	Stiki z menedžerji, lokalno oblastjo in politično elito	Nacionalni in regionalni vzorci
Odnosi med zaposlenimi / formalno vs. neformalno	Hierarhija in distanca med lastniki in zaposlenimi	Jezik sporazumevanja v podjetju	Stiki z menedžerji drugih podjetij	Podobnost Slovenije glede delovne organizacije
Identifikacija s podjetjem	Projektna organizacija in timsko delo	Učenje slovenskega jezika	Stiki z lokalno oblastjo	Podobnost Slovenije glede menedžerske kompetence
Zaupanje / zanesljivost	Reševanje konfliktov	Učenje jezika lastnikov ali uporaba 3. jezika	Stiki z visokimi državnimi uradniki	Specifične značilnosti Slovencev
Orientiranost zaposlenih / kolektivistična vs. individualistična	Participacija in kooperacija	Komunikacijski problemi	Stiki s politiki	Razlike v produktivnosti in motivaciji med Slovenskimi in Zahodnimi podjetji
Pripravljenost za inovacije	Izpostavljenost poslovnim izzivom	/	Kompetence teh ljudi	/
Sociabilnost in	Nagrajevanje	/	Ali preživljate	/

komunikacija			prosti čas s sodelavci	
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Prirejeno po vprašalnikih raziskav ACCESS in DIOSCURI. Razdelitev na vrsto (notranji, zunanji) vidiki PK B.T. S sivo so označene spremenljivke, ki so del vprašalnika samo v DIOSCURI-ju.

5.2 Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti - primerjalna analiza

Ugotovitve raziskave DIOSCURI lahko predstavimo v nekaj točkah (Kovacs in Zentai 2007, 27-39).

- (1) MNC so se pojavila v vseh osmih preučevanih državah in predstavljajo posebno okolje za srečevanje lokalnih in tujih kulturnih vzorcev;
- (2) Post-socialistična genealogija, še posebej lastniška struktura podjetja, ima odločilno vlogo pri spodbujanju/zaviranju specifičnih kulturnih srečanj;
- (3) Globalna MNC imajo 'ready-made' (ang.) vzorce za institucionalno oblikovanje v gostujočih državah in temu prilagojeno poslovno politiko. Nasproti so regionalna MNC, ki imajo manj standardizirane vzorce obnašanja;
- (4) Ključni položaji v podjetjih (top menedžerji) imajo tudi ključno vlogo v kulturnih pogajanjih (v stikih navzven). Ekonomska moč je tesno povezana s kulturno kompetenco in uspešnostjo;
- (5) Metodološko je raziskava dopuščala avtonomijo sodelujočih držav pri oblikovanju strukture, sekvenc in analize kulturnih srečanj; vendar so imele vse države za skupno izhodišče hipotezo o konfliktih in kulturnih razlikah;
- (6) Rezultati kvalitativne raziskave kažejo različne oblike kulturne adaptacije na kapitalizem zahodnega tipa; večina študij primerov kaže na obstoj tripartitnega kulturnega prostora, v katerem so na eni strani tuji akterji, na drugi pa dve skupini domačih (lokalnih) akterjev, pri čemer lahko o konvergenci teh treh strani govorimo le pogojno;
- (7) V kontekstu globalizacijskih izzivov se je kot pomembna izkazala hibridizacija v smislu izkoriščanja kompetitivnih prednosti in akcijskih strategij;
- (8) Preučevana MNC večinoma opravljajo vlogo 'vesternalizacije', to pomeni prilagajanja kulturnim in podjetniškim vzorcem Zahodnega tipa;

(9) Po drugi strani pa je jasno izražena hierarhija med lokalnimi in Zahodnimi vrednotami in zmožnostmi.

Da bi analizirali socio-kulturne dejavnike poslovne kulture slovenskih in tujih menedžerjev v procesu integracije Slovenije v EU, smo analizirali skupaj 58 intervjujev iz dveh metodološko enakih in vsebinsko nadaljevalnih mednarodnih raziskav s skrajšanima naslovoma ACCESS in DIOSCURI, z menedžerji na vodilnih funkcijah iz petih različnih podjetij v večinski tuji lasti (banka, avtomobilska industrija, proizvodnja avtoopreme, proizvodnja sintetičnih polimerov, IT programersko podjetje) v Sloveniji, od tega je bilo 25 tujih menedžerjev in 33 domačih menedžerjev.⁵⁸ Časovno sta raziskavi potekali med leti 2001 in 2007, natančneje ACCESS 2001-2003 in DIOSCURI 2004-2007. Glede na profesionalni položaj je bila zastopanost menedžerjev v raziskavi naslednja:

8 intervjuvancev na delovnih mestih, povezanih z upravo, financami in strateškim upravljanjem podjetij; 37 menedžerjev ali vodij oddelkov; 3 tehnologi ali delovnimi mesti, povezanimi z R&R, 6 vodij oddelka za odnose z javnostmi (PR), in 4 asistenti direktorjem ali menedžerjem (več v tabelah na str. 103-105).

Za potrebe naše naloge, ki se osredotoča na poslovno kulturo podjetij v večinski tuji lasti, se bomo osredotočili na analizo naslednjih sklopov: organizacijska klima, managerski stil, komunikacija znotraj podjetja in stiki navzven (s politično elito, lokalnimi uradniki, drugimi menedžerskimi elitam in z oceno njihovih kompetenc) ter nacionalni in regionalni vzorci. Z organizacijsko kulturo smo preverjali odnose med vodstvenimi delavci in ostalimi zaposlenimi, vrste in načine komunikacije, ki jo uporabljajo pri vsakdanjem delu, oblike kooperacije in stopnjo zaupanja. Z managerskim stilom smo merili hierarhijo in distanco med managerji in drugimi skupinami zaposlenih, s komunikacijskimi stili in kontakti pa medkulturne probleme v komunikaciji, možnosti vzajemnega učenja, uporabo tretjega jezika, ipd. V vseh naštetih sklopih je poudarek na primerjalni perspektivi.

⁵⁸ Glej tudi nacionalno poročilo za Slovenijo z naslovom *After the Accession: The Socio-economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the enlarged Union. An Asset or Liability?* Adam, Frane in drugi, 2003 ter zaključno poročilo raziskave DIOSCURI iz leta 2007 (ur. Kovacs, Matyas in Violeta Zentai), dostopno prek http://www.dioscuriproject.net/files/dioscuri_finalprojectreport_july2007_public.pdf (maj 2016).

Za lažji pregled preučevanih petih vidikov, ki sovpadajo z definicijo podjetniškega duha, kot ga je predstavil Adam s skupino sodelavcev (2001) in skladno z definicijo interkulture kompetence (IKK) (Bajec 2006), smo oblikovali naslednjo tabelo:

Tabela 5.2: Elementi poslovne kulture glede na raven IKK

Individualna raven IKK	Organizacijska raven IKK	Okoljska raven IKK
Menedžerska kompetenca	Organizacija v podjetju / projektno, timsko delo, hierarhija, distanca, kooperacija, participacija	Stiki menedžerjev z zunanjim okoljem (menedžerji, lokalna oblast, politična elita)
Menedžerski stil kot ga določajo socio-kulturni in ekonomski dejavniki P	Menedžerski stil kot ga določa TMP	Socialni kapital (mreže, zaupanje, pripadnost)
Komunikacijski stil / raven P	Komunikacija v podjetju / raven kolektiva	Sinergija z drugimi podsistemi, transparentnost, cirkulacija, komunikacijski kod
Kulturni kapital / habitus	Izobraževanje zaposlenih	Človeški kapital / raven podjetja
Človeški kapital / meritokracija	R&R, IKT	Investiranje v okoljsko prijazne projekte
Vrednotna orientacija (postmaterializem?)	Strateško planiranje in odločanje	Odnosi z javnostmi
Identifikacija s podjetjem	Motivacija matičnih podjetij za NTI v Sloveniji	Marketing in prodajno-tržne aktivnosti
Delovna motivacija	produktivnost	/
/	<i>Pripadnost, prilagodljivost, sistem HRM, poslanstvo</i>	/

Idejna shema B.T.

Kot smo videli pri predstavitvi vloge interkulture kompetence kot enega izmed socio-kulturnih dejavnikov, ki sooblikujejo poslovno kulturo, je IKK prepletana z različnimi ravnmi

posameznikovega delovanja, saj se navezuje na sistem vrednot in vedénj, ki jih posameznik uporabi v situacijah, ko sta prisotni dve različni kulturi ali več, z namenom doseči soglasje za vse vpletene strani. V zgornji tabeli smo predstavili različne vidike poslovne kulture, kot so povezani z različnimi ravnmi IKK. Tabela je hipotetična. Ležeče smo označili elemente poslovne kulture iz raziskave Taylorjeve in drugih iz leta 2008.

5.2.1 Organizacijska klima

Organizacijska klima je v vprašalniku druga tema pogovora, takoj za opisom karijerne poti. Z njo smo preverjali vedénje slovenskih in tujih menedžerjev z različnih vidikov. Ali prevladujeta v organizaciji dela formalno vzdušje ali neformalna in spontana klima in predajanje zadev, ali so komunikativni v vsakodnevnih odnosih, o stopnji indentifikacije s podjetjem (je ta visoka ali nizka), pripravljenosti za sodelovanje, individualizmu ali kolektivnosti, ali in v kolikšni meri so družabni, ter stopnja zaupanja na splošno, ali menijo, da jim sodelavci in delavci v podjetju zaupajo.

Za tematski sklop organizacijska klima bi lahko postavili naslednje odvisne spremenljivke, za katere podajamo ključne ugotovitve:

- formalno/neformalno vedenje

Stiki med tujimi in domačimi menedžerji so formalni, stiki med tujimi menedžerji pa neformalni, enako velja za stike s slovenskimi menedžerji. Iz tega lahko sklepamo na neko mero distance v odnosih, vendar so po odgovorih intervjuvancev odnosi dobri in utečeni. Navzven so odnosi zadržani in rezervirani, kar bi lahko povezali z nizko stopnjo zaupanja predvsem v okoljih, ki so skeptična do podjetij v večinski tuji lasti.

- identifikacija s podjetjem

Identifikacija s podjetjem je visoka med tujimi menedžerji, ki izpostavljajo globalni vidik identifikacije kot pomembnejši v primerjavi z nacionalno identifikacijo z državo, v kateri so prisotni. V večji meri kot domači menedžerji imajo tudi razdelano dolgoročno vizijo ter strateško načrtovanje razvoja podjetja. Prav kompleksnost pri podjetništvu je po njihovem mnenju tisto,

kar manjka slovenskim menedžerjem. Med slovenskimi menedžerji je sicer identifikacija s podjetjem visoka, vendar je stopnja zaupanja nizka.

- Zaupanje / zanesljivost

Intervjuvani menedžerji ocenjujejo, da jim zaposleni zaupajo. Med menedžerji pa prevladujejo formalni odnosi, kar lahko povežemo z nizko stopnjo zaupanja. Nekateri intervjuvanci izpostavljajo, da so njihove odločitve do neke mere vsiljene. Pojavlja se tudi vtis, da so tuji menedžerji rezervirani do zunanjega okolja, da se v njem nočejo pretirano izpostavljati, kar lahko kaže na nizko stopnjo zaupanja do okolja.

- Individualistična/kolektivistična orientacija

Večina zaposlenih je kolektivno usmerjenih in so družabni. Med seboj komunicirajo v slovenščini. Tuji menedžerji pa med seboj komunicirajo v jeziku države, iz katere prihajajo. Domači menedžerji se učijo jezik tujih lastnikov. Na splošno je znanje tujih jezikov velika prednost.

- Pripravljenost za inovacije

Tuji menedžerji ocenjujejo, da imajo domači menedžerji dobro teoretsko znanje in da so kompetentni, vendar jim manjka praktična ekspertiza. Nadalje kot moteč element navajajo 8-urni 'mindset' in nefleksibilnost sodelavcev. Enega od tujih menedžerjev je tudi zmotila navada slovenskih kolegov, da ob petkih zaključujejo prej, kakor da petek ni običajen delovni dan.

- Sociabilnost in komunikacija

Če povzamemo odgovore tujih in domačih menedžerjev glede sociabilnosti in komunikacije lahko povzamemo dvoje. Prvič, da slovenski menedžerji niso sociabilni in komunikativni izven delovnega časa, kar je običajno v poslovnih kulturah matičnih podjetij. Drugič, da so vidiki sociabilnosti in komunikativnosti rezervirani za skupine tujih menedžerjev med njimi in skupine slovenskih menedžerjev med njimi samimi. Interakcije med tema dvema skupinama pa so bolj formalne kot ne. Nekateri slovenski vodilni menedžerji so kot pogoj pri zasedbi delovnega mesta imeli znanje jezika lastnikov, in njihova komunikacija z lastniki poteka v jeziku MNC. Drugi vodilni menedžerji se jezika lastnikov šele učijo, pri komuniciranju z lastniki pa uporabljajo

angleščino. Na splošno se zdi, da je znanje tujih jezikov med menedžerji zelo preferirano in prinaša točke pri rekrutaciji na vodilna delovna mesta, kar kaže na razvitost človeškega kapitala.

V nadaljevanju navajamo nekaj direktnih citiranih izjav iz intervjujev za področje organizacijske klime, ki sovpadajo z zgornjimi ugotovitvami. Originalnim angleškim transkripcijam so dodani slovenski prevodi.

MAN-R2/B: »Torej jaz bi rekla, da v podjetju prevladuje formalno vedenje, vendar je to formalno vedenje pravzaprav na izjemno visokem nivoju medosebnem, v smislu odnosov, če hočete, vljudnosti, komunikacije, upoštevanja posameznika.«

MAN-R3/B: »People here are definitely more formal in their conduct, in their behaviour, they use the »vi« form ... *And I think that probably leads to, the more formal conduct leads to less communication.*«

Prevod MAN-R3/B: »Ljudje so tukaj definitivno bolj formalni v obnašanju, uporabljajo 'vi' izraze ... in mislim, da to verjetno vodi k, formalni odnosi vodijo k redkejši komunikaciji.«

MAN-R4/C: »*The profound meaning of the people is individual. ... They work their house, their gardens, their ... I don't know in what kind of order – its house, their job, their house, their wife and family.*«

Prevod MAN-R4/C: »Temeljna orientacija ljudi je individualna ... ukvarjajo se s svojo hišo, svojimi vrtovi ... ne vem v kakšnem vrstnem redu – hiša, služba, žena in družina.«

MAN-R10/C: »Normalno je, da če gledamo na svoje principale, tam so ti odnosi hierarhije izredno poudarjeni. *To je nemški način razmišljanja in vodenja podjetja, kjer je hierarhija izredno poudarjena, ane, jaz mislim, da tudi pri nas se hierarhija čuti, mislim, da obstaja en ustrezen odnos v hierarhičnih nivojih, s to razliko, da če gremo iz prvega nivoja v drugi nivo, se pa jasno kaže, da hierarhija, da moč, ki jo pridobiš s hierarhijo, ni zadostna, ampak je treba to potrdit tudi s strokovnostjo.* Samo hierarhična avtoriteta na drugem nivoju odpove, če ni povezana s strokovno avtoriteto.«

MAN-R12/C: »ne bom reku, da je zadeva prijateljska, bom reku visoko poslovna, ocenjujem pozitivno, jasno pa zahtevajo pač rezultate, take kot so zastavljeni v poslovnih načrtih ... ne bom

reku, da so vse odločitve od njih 100% pravilne, ... kjerkrat so tudi vsiljene bom reku, ampak tako pač je, ampak kljub temu ima naš lastnik korekten odnos do nas ... kjerkrat pride do kakšnih bom reku ne konfliktov, ampak dobiš občutek, da si pač manjvreden ...»

MAN-R13/SFP: »... *identifikacija s podjetjem glede nas managerjev, ki smo tukaj, mislim, da je visoka, razlog, zakaj tako mislim, ker med nami ni neke fluktuacije ...*«

5.2.2 Menedžerski stil

Drugi tematski sklop se ukvaja z menedžerskim stilom slovenskih in tujih menedžerjev. Intervjuvanci so nam razlagali o stopnji hierarhije in distance med menedžerji in drugimi skupinami zaposlenih, o problemih s timskim delom in projektno organizacijo, o njihovi vlogi pri reševanju napetosti in konfliktov v podjetju. Intervjuvance smo vprašali tudi glede zadovoljstva s stopnjo participacije in kooperacije slovenskih članov menedžmenta in drugih zaposlenih ter zanesljivosti njihovih slovenskih sodelavcev (če jim zaupajo).

Tematski sklop menedžerski stil lahko razdelimo na naslednje odvisne spremenljivke, za katere podajamo skupne ugotovitve:

- hierarhija/distanca med menedžerji (lastniki) in drugimi skupinami zaposlenih

Določena mera hierarhije in distance je prisotna glede na delovno funkcijo (višje-nižje), pa tudi med domačimi zaposlenimi in menedžerji ter tujimi lastniki. Vendar nista prisotni v taki meri, da bi prevladovala negativna delovna klima.

- timsko delo in projektna organizacija

Timsko delo in projektna organizacija sta obliki dela, ki se ga poslužujejo v vseh petih preučevanih podjetjih, in z njim nimajo težav.

- reševanje napetosti in konfliktov

Menedžerji na višjih funkcijah imajo vlogo moderatorjev in posrednikov, večina jih poudarja, da so odprti in dostopni, ter da težave rešujejo sproti. Menedžerjev na nižjih funkcijah se napetosti in konflikti ne dotaknejo, imajo pa, kot pravijo nekateri, vedno priložnost, da se pogovorijo.

- participacija in kooperacija

Pripravljenost za sodelovanje je visoka in pozitivna. Menedžerji ocenjujejo, da so sodelavci motivirani, izobraženi in pripravljeni za delo in doseganje dobrih delovnih rezultatov, v industrijski proizvodnji pa tuji menedžerji opažajo, da slovenskim kolegom manjka samoiniciativen pristop. V bančništvu je sodelovanje zadovoljivo, eden od intervjuvancev izpostavlja slabost slovenskih menedžerjev, da se vidijo kot center sveta, kar lahko ponovno povežemo z nizko stopnjo zaupanja. V manjši meri je prisoten občutek tekmovalnosti med menedžerji ter strah za položaje, predvsem v odnosih s tujimi vodilnimi kadri, v smislu vrtičkarstva in navidezne kolegialnosti ter izmikanja prevzemanju odgovornosti. Tomšič in Adam ta pojav imenujeta negativni individualizem (Tomšič, Adam 2009: 5).

- izpostavljenost poslovnim izzivom

Večina slovenskih menedžerjev pravi, da lastnikom ne morejo zaupati, ker je stalno prisoten strah za socialno varnost, pa tudi strah, da bodo izgubili svojo menedžersko funkcijo v podjetju. Tuji menedžerji pa imajo o zaupanju dober vtis in pravijo, da svojim sodelavcem zaupajo ter da se nanje lahko zanesejo. Nekateri izpostavljajo, da ne dobijo od domačih sodelavcev vedno odgovorov na vprašanja, ki jih želijo, ali pa da ti niso ažurni, kar ovira delovni proces.

- Nagrajevanje

Nagrajevanje v podjetjih je domena tujcev. Oni so tisti, ki so nagrajeni za delovno uspešnost.

V nadaljevanju dodajamo nekaj izsekov iz intervjujev s področja menedžerski stil.

MAN-R1/B: »We Belgians accept that if we are heard and there are different opinions that someone has responsibility to decide and then we go behind. I don't know if this is here really so: ... I think if you don't invest time in resolving the conflicts that you get in problems afterwards ... there is a great separation between private life and business life: I'm sure that in the first week in Belgium, in Czech or in Poland, there would be some dinner with the management board

and with the wives of people of the management board to learn to know each other and so on: This does not happen here. Not happen.»

Prevod MAN-R1/B: *»Mi Belgijci sprejemamo, da če se poslušamo in imamo različna mnenja, prevzame nekdo odgovornost, in potem pozabimo na to. Tukaj pa se mi ne zdi, da je temu tako: ... mislim, da če si ne vzameš časa, da bi rešil konflikt, pridejo še večji problemi za tabo ... tukaj je prisotno ostro ločevanje med zasebnim in poslovnim življenjem: prepričan sem, da bi v prvem tednu v Belgiji, na Češkem ali na Poljskem, imel večerjo s člani uprave in njihovimi ženami, kjer bi se spoznali, in tako naprej: Ampak tukaj tega ni. Tega ni.«*

MAN-R2/B: *»kar se tiče naslavljanja po imenih, je pri nas nekoliko večja hierarhija ... s skupinskim, timskim delom in projektno organizacijo nimam nobenih problemov .. za področje, ki ga jaz pokrivam, je vloga pravzaprav sodelovanja in iskanja skupne rešitve, ane ... kolikor jaz lahko pravzaprav vidim, je okolje izjemno naravnano na znanje in na delovanje v dogovorih ...«*

MAN-R4/C: *»Hierarchy and distance between Slovenian and foreign managers is exactly the same .. there are no problems with team work and project organization ... Slovenian people they are clearly turning their meaning and their way of life to the West and ... they are proud about that because I think they are able to be in the best position.«*

Prevod MAN-R4/C: *»Hierarhija in distanca med slovenskimi in tujimi menedžerji je popolnoma enaka ... nimamo težav s timskim delom in projektno organizacijo ... Slovenci se očitno obračajo z načinom življenja proti Zahodu in ... ponosni so na to, ker mislim, da so lahko na najboljši poziciji.«*

MAN-R5/C: *»...jasno je pa, da se čuti v sodelovanju z matično firmo nekoliko, določen interes, ki je tukaj izpostavljen in ta tovarna je interesantna zaradi rezultatov dela, zaradi nizkih stroškov ...«*

MAN-R6/C: *»Hierarhija deluje na osnovi dejstva, da je hierarhija, ne, se pravi moč hierarhije je formalna in dejanska. V Sloveniji pa ne, ane, ... večinoma ne ... torej približevanje hierarhije ljudstvu se pri nas jemlje kot slabost ... skupinsko delo se uporablja preširoko, v smislu da so skupine preširoke ... to negativno vpliva na ekifasnost, drugače pa se to redno, redno uporablja*

... participativnost je, mislim, da sodelujejo ali pa so udeleženi, ne, *kooperativnost je pa bolj problem, ne, torej tudi, ker vsakdo brani svoj vrtiček, ne...*«

MAN-R7/C: *»... I have to say that language is a problem for me with – I say all the employees, because we are not able to speak and to express ourselves directly between them and me ...«*

Prevod MAN-R7/C: *»... Priznati moram, da je zame jezik problem – mislim, da to velja za vse zaposlene, ker se ne moremo pogovarjati in izražati direktno ...«*

MAN-R9/C: *»Cooperation is very open, very positive. There is no difficulty between stranger people and the Slovenian people. ... No, we come here with all experience and we try to make the experiences concrete to them ... That's typical for Slovenian people the work collective that's group results and not individually produced ... And no, Slovenia is more open and the work better in group relation. Very good. That's very positive for to have the best solution over problem ... we have first a discussion all together, but before, after the decision I take, there is more decision ... It's important that we make a control. Permanent control for to see it the people make the job in the time that you have decided ... Slovenians are very cold ... they have good know-how, but very cold ...«*

Prevod MAN-R9/C: *»Kooperacija je odprta, zelo pozitivna. Med [nami] tujci in Slovenci ni težav ... prišli smo sem izkušeni, želimo jim posredovati konkretne izkušnje ... tipično za Slovence je je skupinsko delo v službi, s skupinskimi rezultati tako da, Slovenija je bolj odprta in delo je bolj opravljeno v skupini. Zelo dobro. Zelo dobro je tudi, da imamo pri iskanju rešitve za problem ... najprej vsi skupaj diskusijo, potem pa, preden sprejmem odločitev, še enkrat odločamo ... Pomembno je, da imamo nadzor. Permanentni nadzor, da vidimo, če so ljudje opravili delo v predvidenem času Slovenci so zelo hladni imajo dobro znanje, vendar so zelo hladni ...«*

MAN-R10/CE: *»ja, absolutno je v tujini hierarhija neprimerno bolj poudarjena kot pri nas, absolutno ... to je način našega dela, vse delamo projektno ... vloga pri reševanju napetosti in konfliktov v podjetju je sigurnoda vloga moderatorja, in pa iskalca kompromisov ... [stopnja participacije in kooperacije članov vodstva in drugih zaposlenih] ... to je šibka točka Slovencev sigurno, da proces komuniciranja od vrha navzdol ne poteka jasno, ker so komunikacijske luknje«*

MAN-R13/SFP: »jaz bom rekel konkretno za sebe, *jaz imam sigurno zelo majhno distanco, osebno, med mano, držim majhno distanco med mano in drugimi zaposlenimi ...* [konflikti na delovnem mestu] ne bom reku, da jih ni – so, ampak so taki, ki mislim da so čisto normalni, dnevni problemi, ki tudi dnevno izginejo potem ... «

5.2.3 Komunikacija in stiki v podjetju

Tretji tematski sklop se ukvarja z naravo odnosov in komunikacijo med tujimi in slovenskimi menedžerji. Intervjuvanci so nam govorili o jeziku, ki ga uporabljajo pri vsakodnevni komunikaciji na delovnem mestu; tuje menedžerje smo vprašali, če znajo Slovensko; vprašali smo jih tudi, ali morajo določene skupine zaposlenih znati jezik tujih lastnikov, ali so se odločili za uporabo tretjega jezika. Intervjuvance smo vprašali tudi o morebitnih problemih pri komunikaciji s slovenskimi sodelavci.

Tematski sklop komunikacija in stiki v podjetju bi lahko razvrstili na naslednje odvisne spremenljivke, za katere podajamo ključne ugotovitve v nadaljevanju.

- jezik vsakdanje komunikacije

Splošno oceno glede jezika vsakdanje komunikacije na delovnem mestu lahko razdelimo na slovenske menedžerje, ki se sporazumevajo v maternem jeziku, tisti na višjih funkcijah, pa v jeziku lastnikov, kjer je znanje jezika lastnikov pogoj za delovno mesto, in tuje menedžerje, ki se sporazumevajo v svojem maternem jeziku.

- učenje slovenskega jezika

Slovenski menedžerji v veliki meri znajo angleščino, deloma tudi nemščino, francoščino in italijanščino. (Jezikov bivših držav Jugoslavije, V Evrope, Azije, Rusije niso omenjali, kljub temu, da gre v veliki meri za podjetja, ki so prisotna tudi na teh trgih.) Menedžerji na višjih funkcijah že znajo ali pa se učijo tekočega znanja jezika tujih lastnikov in z njimi komunicirajo v njihovem jeziku. Tuji menedžerji se v določeni meri, ne v vseh primerih, učijo slovenščino, vendar je v službi ne uporabljajo, in tudi med samo komunicirajo v tujem jeziku države, iz katere prihajajo.

- Učenje jezika lastnikov in/ali uporaba 3. jezika?

Tretjega jezika ni oz. je to jezik tujih lastnikov, ob predpostavki, da je drugi jezik angleščina (tako za tujce kot za Slovence).

- komunikacijski problemi

Problemov s komunikacijo ne omenjajo niti slovenski niti tuji menedžerji.

Interna interkulturalna organizacijska komunikacija je tisti vidik, na katerega je potrebno biti pozoren v interni organizacijski strukturi. V mednarodnem upravljanju s človeškimi viri ta komponenta vključuje: medosebno komunikacijo med kadrom v organizaciji (horizontalna-vertikalna), uporabo različnih komunikacijskih medijev, verbalne in neverbalne spremenljivke (način pristopa, obravnavanje konfliktov, vljudnostne fraze). Za usvojitev omenjenih vidikov se mednarodna podjetja poslužujejo interkulturalnih treningov pred in po odhodu za uslužbence in njihove družine.

Drugi vidik interkulturalne organizacijske komunikacije pa je eksterni. V tem primeru govorimo o komunikaciji med organizacijami (ob predpostavki različnih kultur). Komunikacija poteka glede na vloge in strukture odločanja »kdo sporoči kateremu oddelku kakšno sporočilo ter v kakšnem mediju« (Bajec 2006, 46-47).

Na tem mestu predstavljamo nekaj izsekov iz intervjujev za tematski sklop komunikacija in stiki v podjetju.

MAN-R1/B: »... I need English. *It is always English ... we just started to learn Slovene – but I must say it's very difficult.* ... No, I have one guy here, a very good guy, ... and he is like my assistant, he works for me ... whatever is important or what I have to know very precise, he translates ... *And in the management board we speak English, and I must say that it's strange because, you know, Slovenians are mostly – as I said a little bit conservative, are not so easy to let foreign investments ...*«

MAN-R1/B: »... Potrebujem angleščino. Vedno uporabljam angleščino. Pred kratkim sem pričel z učenjem slovenščine, vendar moram reči, da je zelo težka. Tukaj imam sodelavca, zelo dobrega sodelavca, on je kot moj asistent, dela zame. Karkoli je pomembnega ali kar moram vedeti zelo

natačno, mi prevede. In v upravnem odboru govorimo angleško, in moram reči, da mi je to čudno, ker, saj veste, Slovenci so večinoma, kakor sem rekel, konservativni, in niso kar enostavno pripravljene dopustiti tuje investicije...«

MAN-R3/B: »... I use Slovene and English, but mostly Slovene ... if it's business related or communication related issue I will always, especially externally, I would take the opportunity to speak English ... only for the reason I don't want to be misunderstood ...«

MAN-R3/B: »... Uporabljam slovenščino in angleščino, vendar večinoma slovenščino ... če je v povezavi poslom ali s komunikacijo, bom vedno, še posebej eksterno, izkoristil možnost za komunikacijo v angleščini, vendar samo zato, ker nočem, da bi me napačno razumeli ...«

MAN-R4/C: »... Generally in French, in French for me, but between them they speak Slovene ...«

Prevod MAN-R4/C: »... običajno v francoščini, v francoščini govorim sam, oni pa med sabo govorijo slovensko ...«

MAN-R5/C: »praviloma, lahko rečem, v večini primerov slovenščino, vendar komuniciranje z lahko rečem menedžerji, ki so Francozi, v francoščini, *veliko sestankov se odvija direktno v francoščini*«

MAN-R6/C: »No, zdej odvisno s kom se pogovarjam. Torej, s Slovenci normalno v slovenščini, s tujimi pa v francoščini.«

MAN-R7/C: » ... *Special groups of employees are obliged to use French ...* «

Prevod MAN-R7/C: »... Določene skupine zaposlenih morajo uporabljati francoščino ...«

MAN-R8/C: » ... recimo 70% francosko, 30% slovensko ... za ljudi, ki so tehniki pri nas, inženirji pri nas ali vodje, morajo dobro razumeti pa govoriti francosko ...«

MAN-R9/C: »... *with outsiders we speak English, but internal we speak two languages with more as 80% in French and 20% in Slovenian ...there are no problems regarding communication.*«

Prevod MAN-R9/C: »... z zunanjimi govorimo angleško, znotraj podjetja pa govorimo dva jezika, recimo 80 % francosko in 20 % slovensko ... pri komunikaciji nimamo težav.«

MAN-R10/CE: *»...poudarek je na angleščini in nemščini, ki sta enakovredno zastopana ... jezikovna komunikacija, mislim, da problemi niso večji problemi – manjši problemi se pojavljajo, zaradi tega ker je povprečno znanje angleščine, ker je angleščina naš komunikacijski jezik, naših principalov boljši od povprečnega znanja pri nas ...«*

MAN-R13/SFP: *»... nekateri novodošli imajo probleme, ker italijanščina v Sloveniji ni razširjen jezik, v Italiji pa je veliko tudi visoko strokovno izobraženih ljudi, ki ne znajo drugega kot italijanščino ...«*

5.2.4 Stiki navzven ter ocena kompetenc

Četrti tematski sklop se ukvarja s stiki med tujimi in slovenskimi menedžerji in drugimi slovenskimi menedžerji, lokalnimi avtoritetami in politično elito. Intervjuvance smo spraševali o njihovih stikih z menedžerji ali lastniki drugih slovenskih podjetij in o naravi teh stikov (če so, in ali so pogosti ali redki); o izkušnjah s stiki z lokalnimi avtoritetami; o stikih z visokimi državnimi uradniki in politiki ter ali so ti stiki formalni ali neformalni; tuje in slovenske menedžerje smo spraševali tudi o njihovih vtisih glede kompetentnosti teh ljudi (top menedžerjev, lokalnih voditeljev, politične elite).

Za lažji pregled bi lahko za oceno stikov navzven postavili naslednje odvisne spremenljivke:

- stiki z menedžerji iz drugih podjetij

Zdi se, da so stiki navzven definirani glede na funkcijo, ki jo intervjuvanec ima znotraj podjetja. Čim višja je po funkciji moči/odgovornosti/odločanja, večja je verjetnost, da bodo prisotni stiki z menedžerji drugih podjetij, ter večja je verjetnost, da bodo pogostejši;

- stiki z lokalno oblastjo

Stiki z lokalno oblastjo so prisotni, vendar prevladujejo negativni vtisi in negativne izkušnje. Očitki, ki jih intervjuvanci omenjajo, zadevajo počasne, birokratske postopke, odsotnost zanimanja, zadržan odnos, do neke mere celo sumničav, ker gre za tuja podjetja, nezainteresiranost, neodzivnost.

- stiki z visokimi državnimi uradniki in politiki

Za stike z državnimi uradniki in politiki se zdi, enako kot za stike z drugimi menedžerji iz zunanjih podjetij, da so odvisni od višine položaja, ki ga intervjuvanec zastopa v podjetju. Pri intervjuvancih, ki so predsedniki uprave ali nadzornih odborov, so taki stiki prisotni in do neke mere frekventni, niso pa vedno ocenjeni kot pozitivni, predvsem zato, ker je prisotna prevelika samozavest in prepričanje, da je »Slovenija center sveta«, ter premalo distancirane, reflektirane drže do ekonomskega položaja Slovenije v Evropi (in svetu).

- ocena kompetentnosti

Glede kompetentnosti prevladuje mnenje, da je pozitivna, vendar posamezni intervjuvanci poudarjajo, da je vezana preveč na teoretično znanje in premalo na praktične, uporabne izkušnje.

- preživljanje prostega časa s sodelavci

MAN-R1/B: »In everyday business I don't have so much ... My impression is that its bureaucratic ... *but it may be this tension about the EU and the isolation that is moving rather fast at the moment ... they don't feel so secure ...*«

Prevod MAN-R1/B: »Pri vsakdanjih zadevah nimam veliko [stikov]. Občutek imam, da je birokratski ... ampak mogoče ta tenzija okrog EU in izolacija se nam kmalu približuje ... ne počutijo se preveč varne...«

MAN-R4/C: »... *I think they are competent, but generally they have ... theoretical competence ... theoretical knowledge at a very very good level but less, less experience ...*«

Prevod MAN-R4/C: »... Mislim, da so kompetentni, vendar imajo običajno ... teoretično kompetenco ... teoretično znanje na zelo visokem nivoju, vendar manj izkušenj ...«

MAN-R5/C: »...včasih so ... *nekoliko slabši glede na podjetje, ker je tuj kapital ... tako da vedno ta odnos ni bil korekten ... čutilo se je nek, kajjazvem ... zadržanost, pa da določene stvari želimo nardit predvsem zaradi tega, ker je tu tuj lastnik prisoten, pa so imeli samo nekaj negativnih odzivov na to ...* (stike z visokimi državnimi uradniki in politiki, opomba B.T.) ... imel sem v preteklosti, če lahko rečem, --- nekaj kontaktov z MDDSZ,⁵⁹ ocenjujem, da so bli ti stiki korektni, - da so te osebe, ki so z nami sodelovale bile ustrezno kompetentne ... smo pa v preteklosti

⁵⁹ Ministrstvo za delo, družino in socialne zadeve.

mogoče pričakovali več stikov z drugim ministrstvom ... zadeve, ki sem jih takrat urejeval trdim, da so bili ljudje kompetentni ... nimam pa enakega občutka za nivo občin.«

MAN-R6/C: »No, zdej ti stiki so, ne, in ti stiki so dvojne narave, eno so poslovni stiki ... v Gospodarski zbornici ... z nekaterimi podjetji so pa kakšni drugi razlogi, imamo razne izmenjave mnenj, obiske in podobno ... torej lokalne oblasti ne naredijo nobenega napora, da bi kakšen problem rešile, da bi bili ... no se pravi ... niso najboljše. Ne bi rekel, da so slabi, nikakor pa ne dobri ... tudi, tudi ... če vzamemo kompetentnost pripravljenost in možnost nekej naredit, - torej ne čisto po nekem uradnem postopku, ta ni glih huda, ne ... kdor je pa računal, da bo s kakšnim od visokih funkcionarjev kakšen konkreten problem ali pa kvalitetnejše razrešu, je bil pa ponavad razočaran...«

MAN-R7/C: »... I think that local authorities, government, they want to be the first of the rule I would say. I mean, they want to be the first of the first which is too much. In some cases they are making mistakes....economically we are loosing opportunities and some productivity which could help companies...«

Prevod MAN-R7/C: »... mislim, da lokalne avtoritete, vlada, ta želijo biti na prvem mestu. Hočejo biti prvi in to je preveč. V nekaterih primerih delajo napake ... ekonomsko izgubljamo priložnosti in produktivnost, ki bi lahko pomagala podjetjem...«

MAN-R15/SFP: »jaz mam na svojem nivoju, ne, v povezavi z delom, ki ga delam, mam neke stikov največ takih srečanj na nekih seminarjih, predavanjih ... da se lahko srečamo in izmenjamo kakšne izkušnje, karkoli ... jih imamo, mal so preveč birokratski, --- mislim, da so preveč zavrti v svoje pravilnike, v svoj prav, prepočasi gre, pretrdo je vse skupaj ... zadeva je zelo zelo kritična na tem področju ... dočim pa jaz osebno pa s politiki nimam nobenih stikov, z državnimi uradniki pa tako kot sem že pri prejšnjem vprašanju, z nekimi prav visokimi spet ne ... zelo radi bi velik oblasti mel pa zelo nč, zelo malo odgovornosti. To iz tega potem sledi, da se ti postopki vlečejo, pa ni odgovorov pa tko naprej, kar je v bistvu zelo slabo, slaba reklama, in to je tud eden od razlogov, da lastnik naš že išče močnosti ne za proizvodnjo, ampak da se firma več ne širi toliko kot bi se lahko širila, ampak gre seveda naprej v države jugovzhodne Evrope in na vzhod.«

- preživljanje prostega časa s sodelavci

Večina intervjuvancev izraža ostro ločevanje med delovnim in privatnim časom. Le nekateri se izven delovnega časa družijo tako s sodelavci kot z drugimi (denimo znanci iz sorodnih podjetij). Dva menedžerja sta se po zaposlitvi tukaj tudi poročila in imata bogato razvejano neformalno mrežo zvez in poznanstev.

Nekaj izjav intervjuvancev v zvezi s stiki s sodelavci po koncu delovnega časa:

MAN-R6/M: »After we finish our working hours, we go home to the family.«

MAN-R6/M: »Ko zaključimo z delom, gremo domov k družinam.«

R9: »I am not sure that Slovenians are willing to socialize outside these walls. (...)People are having their own personal life (...) people don't invite very easily the people to their houses.«

R9: »Nisem prepričan, da se Slovenci želijo družiti izven tega prostora ... Ljudje imajo svoja privatna življenja ... in ne povabijo zlahka drugih k sebi domov.«

F1-C3/R4: He notices that people born outside Ljubljana »are easier to form strong social bonds«.

F1-C3/R4: Opaža, da ljudje, rojeni izven Ljubljane, »lažje oblikujejo močne socialne vezi.«

5.2.5 Nacionalni in regionalni vzorci

V tem tematskem sklopu smo intervjuvance spraševali, katerim državam je Slovenija najbolj podobna glede delovne organizacije in menedžerske kompetence. Pogovarjali smo se tudi o specifičnih značilnostih Slovencev. Ter naštevali razlike in podobnosti v produktivnosti in delovni motivaciji med slovenskimi in Zahodnimi podjetji.

Iz vprašanj smo izluščili naslednje tri spremenljivke:

- Katerim državam je Slovenija najbolj podobna glede delovne organizacije in menedžerske kompetence

Odgovori kažejo, da je Slovenija bolj podobna srednje-evropskim državam, kot sta Nemčija in Avstrija. Kot prednosti menedžerji navajajo: usmerjenost k standardom in približevanje Zahodni ekonomiji.

- Katere so specifične značilnosti Slovencev

Slovinci so bolj fleksibilni, prilagodljivi – lastnosti, ki ju potrebujejo, ker ekonomski sistem Zahodnega tipa še ni vzpostavljen. Radi potujejo in vseč so jim novosti, vendar se nočejo preseliti v tujino. Menedžerji jih ocenjujejo kot motivirane, vendar s slabšo delovno produktivnostjo zaradi slovenskega slabega sistema nagrajevanja. Namesto Slovencev so prejemniki nagrad tuji menedžerji.

- Katere so razlike v produktivnosti in delovni motivaciji med slovenskimi in Zahodnimi podjetji.

Glede odnosov z dobavitelji so slovenski menedžerji bolj podobni 'balkanu'. Nadalje, zelo se opazi 8-urni 'mindset' (ang.) slovenskih menedžerjev, kar nakazuje tudi strogo ločevanje med delovnim in privatnim časom. Tuji menedžerji delajo obsežneje in dlje. Slovenski menedžerji kljub temu veljajo za visoko produktivne, vendar imajo zaradi plačne politike nizko motivacijo. Med naštetimi lastnostmi so še: družabnost, občutek manjvrednosti, negotovost, improvizacija, disciplina, trdo delo, pedantnost, hierarhija, okornost.

F1/C3-R4: »They are willing to visit anywhere, but never want to move«.

F1/C3-R4: »Pripravljeni so iti v tujino, vendar se nočejo tja preseliti.«

F1/C3-R12 : »It's too much self-confidence« foreign managers find capitalism as »new (false, of course) religion«. »More money, more money and more money«.

F1/C3-R12: »Tuji menedžerji so preveč samozavestni. Kapitalizem razumejo kot (seveda napačno) novo religijo, kjer je poudarek na denarju, več denarju, in še več denarju.«

F1/C3-R13: »Some managers have a problem that they don't have knowledge, they don't know how to motivate their subordinates they don't know how to have a nice working environment«.

F1/C3-R13: »Nekateri menedžerji imajo problem, da nimajo znanja, ne znajo motivirati podrejenih in ne vejo kako si oblikovati prijetno delovno okolje.«

F1/C3-R13: »Problem with public administration is that you ask 3 different people and they give you 3 different answers and definite things here are not Optimized and they like a lot of papyrology, they like a lot of documents even if they sometimes don't check what's written there but they like to produce documents«.

F1/C3-R13: »Problem z javno administracijo je, da če vprašaš tri različne osebe, boš dobil tri različne odgovore in ključne stvari tukaj niso optimizirane in vseč jim je papirologija, radi imajo veliko dokumentov, četudi včasih sploh ne preverijo, kaj je napisano, radi producirajo dokumente.«

Sklep

Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti nas zanima zaradi vpliva pogosto nevidnih socio-kulturnih dejavnikov, za katere menimo, da imajo različen učinek v podjetjih v domači lasti in v podjetjih v tuji lasti. S to primerjavo se tukaj nismo ukvarjali, bi bila pa vsekakor dobrodošla, saj so raziskave, ki se ukvarjajo s poslovno/organizacijsko kulturo v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti in MNC-jih, redke. V intervjujih smo videli, da so za slovenski poslovni 'mindset' (ang.) kljub desetletni integriranosti v ekonomsko in politično okolje EU in preko tega v globalni trg še vedno značilne, če se izrazimo nekoliko šablonsko, provincialistične poteze, kjer menedžerji strogo ločujejo delovni čas od prostega časa, so kolektivistično usmerjeni, dovzetnost za inovacije prepuščajo tujim lastnikom, niso motivirani in kjer se, kot ugotavljata Tomšič in Adam (2009), pojavlja negativni individualizem. Kljub številnim oviram za razmah NTI, kot so jih pokazali rezultati analize raziskovalne skupine Burgerja in sodelavcev (Burger, Jaklič, Rojec 2012), bi lahko govorili o pestrem poslovnem okolju, v katerem interkulturalna kompetenca in socialni kapital ne igrata pomembnejše vloge, imata pa sicer oba sinergični učinek na nastajanje razvojno naprednih in močnih okolij.

Izhajali smo iz teorij družbene stratifikacije in se ukvarjali z najvišjo družbeno skupino, elitami. Natančneje, šli smo v področje ekonomske kulture in se osredotočili na poslovne elite ter na pogoje in dejavnike, ki sooblikujejo njihovo delovanje. Njihov obstoj in vlogo smo namesto v hierarhično piramido vpletli v mrežo soodvisnih in medsebojno prepletenih družbenih podsistemov (Willke, Luhmann), katerih delovanje je utemeljeno na komunikacijskem redu (ekonomska moč).

Za predstavnike poslovne elite smo izbrali menedžerje v petih podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti v Sloveniji, ki smo jih kot ciljne skupine obravnavali v dveh vsebinsko povezanih raziskavah. Pri prvi, ACCESS, smo se spraševali o kompatibilnosti slovenske poslovne kulture s poslovno kulturo drugih držav članic EU, ter o možnih sinergičnih učinkih, pri drugi, DIOSCURI, pa smo se ukvarjali s kulturnimi srečanji na področju ekonomije in družbe med Vzhodom in Zahodom po priključitvi Slovenije k EU.

Tranzicijski proces, značilen za vse bivše socialistične države, je prinesel serijo ukrepov za doseg sprememb, s katerimi bi bile te države boljše opremljene za soočanje z izzivi globalnega sveta. Tako je EU sprejela Lizbonsko agendo, s katero je v ospredje ekonomskega razvoja prihodnosti postavila znanje v povezavi z razvojem človeških virov. Ekonomija znanja je zadnje desetletje postal utečen, mnogokrat pa napačno razumljen pojem. Drugi vidik so različni odzivi držav, v času prve raziskave še kandidatki, v času druge pa že držav članic, na sicer enotni set zahtev in pogojev za članstvo v EU. Tranzicijske države, med njimi Slovenija, so se na te zahteve odzivale zelo različno. In čeprav je Slovenija veljala za najbolj razvito in ekonomsko najbolj uspešno državo med takratnimi kandidatki, je na več področjih pokazala pomanjkljivosti. Tako je zanjo značilna nizka stopnja socialnega kapitala, slaba razvitost intermediarnih struktur, pojav menedžerske kulture, za katero je značilna tesna prepletenost države in gospodarstva, pojav retencijskih elit ter nizka stopnja njihove cirkulacije, slabo delujoč pravni sistem, neutečene demokratične institucije, enolična medijska reprezentacija, ideološko obarvani načini rekrutacije na elitne položaje in s tem vplivanje na proces strateškega odločanja in podobno.

Tukaj naj omenimo še ovire, zaradi katerih je vstop NTI v nacionalno strukturo oviran: majhnost trga, davčno močno obremenjena zaposlitvena shema, zastarela delovna zakonodaja, pomanjkanje vizije in dolgoročnih usmeritev, nefleksibilna delovna sila, slabo delujoč pravni sistem, slabo poslovno znanje, nerazvitost slovenskega trga, itd.

Drugi vidik, ki nas je zanimal, je menedžerski stil. Kakšni sta hierarhija in distanca med domačimi in tujimi menedžerji. Ali se poslužujejo timskega dela in projektne organizacije. Kako ravnajo, ko se pojavijo konflikti. Kakšna je stopnja participacije in kooperacije. Ali so menedžerji zanesljivi. Analiza intervjujev je pokazala, da sta hierarhija in distanca prisotni, po mnenju nekaterih celo bolj kot v tujini. Menedžerji kot način dela uporabljajo timski in projektni pristop. H konfliktom pristopajo konstruktivno. Participacija in kooperacija sodelavcev in zaposlenih sta dobri. Edina ovira, ki se tu pojavlja, je pojav negativnega individualizma, pri katerem gre za izogibanje odgovornosti v korist uresničevanja lastnih interesov ter za navidezno kooperativnost.

Interna interkulturalna organizacijska komunikacija je dobro razvita kljub različnim kulturnim ozadjem, hierarhičnim položajem in oblikam komunikacije (vertikalno-horizontalno). Z zornega kota menedžerjev so zaposleni zanesljivi. Po drugi strani je zaupanje do tujih menedžerjev s strani domačih le delno (skeptično).

Tretji analizirani vidik poslovne kulture je komunikacija. Glede na to, da gre za podjetja s tujimi lastniki, nas je zanimalo, kateri jezik uporabljajo na delovnem mestu. Ali morda uporabljajo tretji jezik. Ali se morajo učiti jezik lastnikov. Ali se glede komunikacije pojavljajo kakšne težave. Analiza intervjujev je pokazala, da tuji menedžerji med seboj komunicirajo v jeziku lastnikov, domači pa v svojem. Kljub temu s komunikacijo nimajo težav, ker so odnosi med zaposlenimi natančno definirani in pravila jasna. Posledično tudi niso omenjali večjih komunikacijskih težav.

Četrty analizirani vidik poslovne kulture je vpetost menedžerjev v širše ekonomsko-politično okolje, saj smo spraševali po stikih z drugimi menedžerji, lokalno oblastjo in politično elito ter njihovimi ocenami kompetenc. Tukaj so rezultati pokazali, da so stiki tujih menedžerjev z lokalnim okoljem in politično elito redki, pojavil se je celo vtis njihove zadržanosti in rezerviranosti, po čemer lahko sklepamo na nizko stopnjo (strukturnega) socialnega kapitala.

Peti in zadnji analizirani vidik PK so nacionalni in regionalni vzorci. Večina intervjuvancev se strinja, da je glede delovne organizacije in menedžerske kompetence Slovenija najbolj podobna srednje-Evropskim oz. zahodno-Evropskim državam. Opažajo, da so domači menedžerji bolj fleksibilni in prilagodljivi, ker ekonomski sistem še ni dokončno formiran. Poleg tega se počutijo tudi inferiorne in negotove.

Eksterno interkulturno organizacijsko komunikacijo razumemo kot komunikacijo, ki jo imajo menedžerji navzven bodisi z lokalnim bodisi z državnim in političnim nivojem. Za tuje menedžerje velja, da morajo biti opremljeni z veščinami za komuniciranje z interkulturnimi izzivi. Gre za to, da so tuji menedžerji v drugi kulturi opremljeni s setom vedenj in ravnanj, s katerimi delujejo znotraj podjetja homogeno in učinkovito, medtem ko so obenem učinkoviti tudi v kompleksnem in heterogenem zunanjem okolju.

Če sklenemo še s preverbo hipotez. V prvi hipotezi smo rekli, da

je poslovna kultura specifična zaradi vzajemne povezanosti in prepletenosti domačih in tujih socio-kulturnih dejavnikov.

To hipotezo deloma potrdimo. Poslovna kultura je specifična tudi zaradi vpliva drugih dejavnikov, kot so politično-ekonomski kontekst – kakšno politično ureditev ima država, v kateri preučujemo poslovno kulturo, je to demokratična ureditev ali ne, kakšna je ekonomska kultura, v kateri predstavlja poslovna kultura le en del; je ta odprta za NTI ali ekskluzivistična, kako je z delovanjem pravnega sistema, kako razvita je civilna družba, kako učinkoviti in transparentni so pogajalski sistemi, itd. Avbelj (2009) govori o demokratičnem deficitu in izhaja iz dejstva, da sta pravna država in demokratična ureditev inherentno povezani.

In podhipotezo: *Poslovna kultura v nacionalnih in multinacionalnih podjetjih sta različni.*

To podhipotezo lahko delno potrdimo, ker nimamo niti teoretskih niti raziskovalnih podatkov, na katere bi se sklicevali. Imamo izjave slovenskega in tujega top menedžmenta glede organizacijske kulture, menedžerskih stilov, komunikacije, stikov navzven in nacionalnih in regionalnih vzorcev. V naštetih tematskih sklopih menedžerji omenjajo razlike med 'tujjo' in 'slovensko' PK, med 'prej' in 'potem' (ko so bila podjetja še državna in sedaj, ko so v tuji lasti). Raziskava Taylorjeve in drugih, ki je vzela nacionalno pripadnost kot kontrolno spremenljivko, ni pokazala signifikantne povezave med nacionalno pripadnostjo in pripadnostjo podjetju. Tudi iz rezultatov njene raziskave ni mogoče zagotovo trditi, ali pripadnost podjetju določa poslovna kultura (s HRM sistemom), ali globalne orientacije top menedžerjev ustvarjajo močan občutek poslanstva in prilagodljivosti (Taylor in drugi 2008, 517 in 521), ali kombinacija obojega?

Potrebna pa bi bila še raziskava PK v nacionalnih podjetjih in primerjava s PK MNC-jev.

Druga hipoteza pravi:

Poslovna kultura v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti je šla skozi vpliv tranzicijskih sprememb.

To hipotezo tudi potrdimo le delno. Države srednje-vzhodne Evrope so bile tarča tranzicijskih sprememb in po priključitvi k EU o njih govorimo kot post-tranzicijskih družbah. Vprašanje pa je, kako uspešno so se soočile s tranzicijskimi zahtevami: parlamentarno demokracijo, pravno državo in razvitim ekonomskim sistemom. Več raziskav razvojne uspešnosti Slovenije je pokazalo številne pomanjkljivosti v delovanju demokratične vlade, pravne države in razvitosti ekonomskega sistema. Namesto tega se je oblikoval izraz birokratsko-državni kapitalizem (Adam), za katerega so značilne ekstraktivne institucije, ki jih vodijo neodgovorne, plenilske elite (Tomšič).

Navedli bomo še skupne poglede in elemente, kje se PK razlikuje in kje ne med domačimi in tujimi menedžerji, glede na odvisne spremenljivke. Pri *organizacijski kulturi* je slika sledeča: Komunikacija poteka večinoma znotraj skupine tujih menedžerjev in domačih menedžerjev. Komunikacija med tema dvema skupinama je praviloma formalna. Identifikacija s podjetjem je pri obeh skupinah visoka, le da je pri tujih bolj dolgoročno usmerjena kot pri domačih. Zaupanje je sicer na deklarativni ravni visoko, na izkustveni pa bi bile potrebne izboljšave. Vzrok za to je tudi formalna, skorajda birokratska organizacija. Slovenski menedžerji so usmerjeni bolj kolektivistično, tuji pa bolj individualistično. Ta oreintacija pri slovenskih menedžerjih je negativna, ker jo intervjuvanci opisujejo v smislu površinske kolektivnosti in izmikanja odgovornosti. Pripravljenost in razvoj inovacij sta domeni tujcev. Za obe skupini menedžerjev velja, da sta sociabilni in komunikativni z omejitvami, ki smo jih omenili pri organizacijski kulturi. Družabni so na službenih zabavah, predvsem menedžerji iz IT podjetja se dobivajo tudi izven delovnega časa na pijači.

Za *Menedžerski stil* je značilno naslednje: Hierarhija in distanca sta prisotni, tuji menedžerji opažajo, da bolj kot v tujini. Menedžerske pozicije so definirane in z njimi so seznanjeni celotni kolektivi. Projektna organizacija in timsko delo sta običajni praksi v podružnicah. Konflikti se pojavljajo in se rešujejo sproti, kar vidimo kot izredno pozitiven pristop. Participacija in kooperacija slovenskih menedžerjev sta visoki. Izpostavljenost poslovnim izzivom pa je vidik PK, ki se mu slovenski menedžerji raje izogibajo. Tuji menedžerji pogrešajo večjo fleksibilnost na področju službenih potovanj v tujino, manjka tudi inovativen pristop slovenske strani. Nagrajevanje je – tudi v povezavi s pripravljenostjo za inovacije – domena tujcev. Večina

domačih menedžerjev je izrazila, da strateške zadeve upravljajo tuji lastniki, njim pa prepuščajo manjše (manj odgovorne) zadeve. Višje delovne odgovornosti pa pomenijo tudi višje (finančno) nagrajevanje.

Tretji element PK je *komunikacija*. Pri vsakdanjem sporazumevanju je praviloma tako, da domači menedžerji komunicirajo v slovenščini, tuji pa v jeziku TMP. Glede uporabe jezika TMP se situacija spreminja glede na pomembnost menedžerske funkcije. Višja kot je, bolj je pomembno tekoče obvladanje jezika TMP. So pa tuji menedžerji zainteresirani tudi za slovenščino. Enako se nižji menedžerji učijo jezika TMP v podjetju, v obliki jezikovnih tečajev. Za višje pozicije menedžerjev je znanje tujega jezika pogoj uspešne selekcije za delovno mesto. Angleščina se uporablja predvsem za komuniciranje podjetij navzven, s tujino.

Pri *stikih* je situacija pomanjkljiva. Niti slovenski niti tuji menedžerji ne izražajo niti intence niti izkušenj pri stikih s tujimi menedžerji, lokalno oblastjo in politično elito. Se pa tudi tukaj zazna obrise pogostosti stikov s top menedžerskimi položaji – višje kot so menedžerji, več stikov imajo, na primer z menedžerji drugih sorodnih podjetij. Tuji menedžerji ocenjujejo kompetentnost teh ljudi kot dobro, če smo bolj natančni, boljše pri višjih funkcijah na državni ravni in nižjo na ravni lokalne oblasti. O tem smo slišali kar nekaj negativnih izkušenj. Prosti čas preživljajo domači in tuji menedžerji v okviru 'svojih krogov', in top menedžerji ocenjujejo ta pojav kot negativen oz. kot zaostanek za ekonomsko razvitejšimi evropskimi državami. Predvsem za slovenske menedžerje je značilno sledenje 8-urnemu 'mindsetu' (ang.), kar pomeni strogo ločevanje profesionalnega in privatnega življenja, pomeni pa tudi nizko stopnjo zaupanja. Vemo pa, da sodobna kompleksna delovna mesta zahtevajo fleksibilen pristop poleg vrste proaktivnih lastnosti in veščin, preko katerih se razvije najprej posameznikova pripadnost podjetju, pozneje pa delovna učinkovitost, ki privede do uspešnosti in nagrajevanja.

Zadnji tematski sklop so *nacionalni in regionalni vzorci*. Večina intervjuvancev je mnenja, da je Slovenija po delovni organizaciji in menedžerski kompetenci najbolj podobna srednje-evropskim državam in zahodu. Ker pa proces razvoja ekonomske kulture še ni končan, so slovenski menedžerji bolj fleksibilni in prilagodljivi spremembam, po drugi strani pa se razvijejo negativni osebni pojavi, kot so občutek inferiornosti, občutek negotovosti, visoka produktivnost, vendar ob tem slabša motivacija. Slovenski menedžerji imajo po opažanju tujih menedžerjev dobre delovne navade, so disciplinirani, pedantni in spoštujejo hierarhijo. Po drugi strani so

družabni in iznajdljivi. Po produktivnosti so slovenske podružnice zelo uspešne v primerjavi s tujino.

Dejstvo je, da je sodobni svet vedno bolj prepleten. Pričakujemo lahko, da bo podjetij v tuji lasti vedno več, zato menimo, da bodo podobne raziskave, ki bodo preučevale organizacijsko oz. ekonomsko kulturo, še naprej aktualne. Vprašanje pa ostaja, kako poslovno kulturo najbolje meriti. S katerimi kazalniki? Mi smo izhajali iz definicije podjetniškega duha, ki je eden od sestavnih socio-kulturnih dejavnikov razvojne uspešnosti, kot ga je definiral Adam s sodelavci. Manjka ponovljena raziskava organizacijske kulture v podjetjih v večinski tuji lasti pri nas in primerjalna analiza podatkov. Manjka tudi primerjalna raziskava med poslovno kulturo podjetij v večinski tuji lasti in podjetji v domači lasti.

Raziskav, ki se ukvarjajo s poslovno/organizacijsko kulturo pri nas, je malo. Omenimo Prašnikarjevo raziskavo, ki se je ukvarjala z vplivi globalizacije na poslovne modele podjetij (2005) in raziskave s področja upravljanja človeških virov v organizacijah in poslovnih okoljih (Svetlik 2003; Černigoj-Sadar, Nevenka in drugi 2005; Kohont 2011), raziskave ekonomske rasti v dobi recesije (Rojec, Burger, Damjan, Kostevc 2014) in vpliva NTI v povezavi z gospodarsko rastjo na jugo-vzhodne evropske države (Damjan in drugi 2014; Rojec 2014). Omenimo pa še raziskavo Geografski pogledi na družbo znanja iz leta 2012, ki je se je ukvarjala z analizo povezanosti med tehnološkim razvojem, faktorji konkurenčnosti in gospodarskimi učinki, katere avtorja sta Marjan Ravbar in Jani Kozina. Nenavadno je, da je raziskav, ki bi se ukvarjale s socio-kulturnimi dejavniki poslovne kulture, pri nas malo. Potrebno bi bilo pridobiti nove podatke na podlagi študij primera (ang. case-study) in primerjalne analize, kot smo jo videli tukaj. Izogibati pa se je potrebno fragmentarnim analizam, in se v bodoče osredotočiti na primerjalne vidike organizacijske kulture med domačimi ter med domačimi in tujimi podjetji v Sloveniji.

Aktualnost pričujoče raziskave je v kombinaciji različnih elementov poslovne kulture ob izhodišču, da je PK različna v podjetjih v domači ali v večinski tuji lasti. Poleg preučevanih vidikov organizacijske kulture, menedžerskega stila, komunikacijskega stila, stikov in prepleta nacionalnih in regionalnih (tudi globalnih) vzorcev, bi bilo potrebno upoštevati še vidik pripadnosti podjetju in fleksibilne timske orientacije vodilnih menedžerjev v globaliziranem svetu, kot jih je raziskovala Taylorjeva s sodelavci (2008) na primeru 1600 menedžerjev na vodilnih funkcijah v 10 MNC-jih. Nadaljnje raziskovanje PK, še posebej v povezavi z MNC-ji, se

zdi še posebej zanimivo in aktualno ne samo iz ekonomskega, temveč tudi zaradi simbolno-interpretativnega (kulturološkega) okvira, s katero jo preučujemo.

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Priloga A: Povzetki intervjujev iz raziskav ACCESS in DIOSCURI⁶⁰

Tabela A.1: Opravljeni intervjuji po vrstah podjetij v večinski tuji lasti

Ciljne skupine	PROJEKT ACCESS	Ciljne skupine	PROJEKT DIOSCURI
Banka	3	Banka	15
Avtomobilska industrija	6	Avtomobilska industrija	15
Proizvodnja avtoopreme	3	IT (računalniški inženiring)	13
Industrija sintetičnih polimerov	3	/	/
SKUPAJ	15	/	43
Skupaj vseh intervjujev	58		

Tabela A.2: Intervjuvanci glede na profesionalno funkcijo in nacionalno pripadnost:

PROJEKT ACCESS		
Oznaka povzetka	Funkcija intervjuvanca	Oznaka domači (D)/ tuji (T)
MAN-R1/B	Član uprave banke	T
MAN-R2/B	Vodja kadrovske službe	D

⁶⁰ Transkripcije intervjujev dodajamo v originalni obliki, v angleškem jeziku.

MAN-R3/B	Menedžer	T
MAN-R4/C	Generalni direktor	T
MAN-R5/C	Vodja oddelka vzdrževanja	D
MAN-R6/C	Vodja HR oddelka	D
MAN-R7/C	Finančni direktor	T
MAN-R8/C	Vodja oddelka za nadzor kakovosti	D
MAN-R9/C	Vodja logistike	D
MAN-R10/CE	Generalni direktor	D
MAN-R11/CE	Vodja kadrovske službe	D
MAN-R12/CE	Vodja kontrolinga	D
MAN-R13/SFP	Produktni menedžer	D
MAN-R14/SFP	Produktni menedžer	D
MAN-R15/SFP	Produktni menedžer	D
Skupaj intervjujev: 15		4T/11D
PROJEKT DIOSCURI	Case 1: banka	
MAN-R1/M	Član uprave	D
MAN-R2/B	Član uprave	T
MAN-R3/B	Član uprave	T
MAN-R4/M	Direktor poslovne mreže	D
MAN-R5/M	Direktor marketinga in razvoja	D
MAN-R6/M	Direktor strateškega planiranja in sistemskega menedžmenta	D
MAN-R7/M	Direktor marketinga	D
MAN-R8/B	Vodja kadrovske službe	D
MAN-R9/M	Svetovalec za IT sistemske migracije in IT konsolidacije	T
MAN-R10/M	Svetovalec za projektni menedžment	T
MAN-R11/M	Svetovalec za IT strategije in podatkovne centre	T
MAN-R12/B	Menedžer za računovodstvo in investicijska razmerja	T
MAN-R13/M	Menedžer za PR	D
MAN-R14/M	Predstavniki za PR	D
MAN-R15/M	Projektni koordinator	D
	Case 2: avtomobilska industrija	
R1	Generalni direktor	T
R2	Vodja vzdrževanja	D
R3	Vodja HR	D
R4	Finančni direktor	T
R5	Vodja nadzora kvalitete	T
R6	Vodja logistike	T
R7	Vodja proizvodnje	D
R8	Vodja splošnih zadev	T
R9	Marketing direktor	T
R10	Vodja finančne službe	T

R11	Asistent glavnemu menedžerju	D
R12	HR menedžer	D
R13	Finančni menedžer	T
R14	Produkcijski menedžer	T
R15	Vodja oddelkov	D
	Case 3: IT company	
R1	Projektni menedžer	T
R2	Projektni menedžer	T
R3	Projektni menedžer	T
R4	VP sales	T
R5	programer	D
R6	Tehnološki vodja	D
R7	Marketing menedžer	T
R8	Timski in projektni menedžer	D
R9	Asistent vodji prodaje	D
R10	Marketing direktor	D
R11	Vodja programiranja	D
R12	R&R tehnološki vodja	D
R13	Programski inženir	T
Skupaj intervjujev: 43		21 T/ 22 D
Skupaj vseh intervjujev: 58	Intervjuvanec glede na profesionalni položaj: Uprava, finance, strateški menedžerji / 8 Menedžer, vodja / 37 Tehnolog / oddelek R&R / 3 PR / 6 Asistent / 4	Skupaj vseh intervjuvancev: 25 T / 33 D

Tabela A.3: Podjetja v večinski tuji lasti glede na izvor tujih matičnih podjetij

Vključena podjetja	Izvor TMP
Banka	Belgija
Avtomobilska industrija	Francija
Proizvodnja avtoopreme	Nemčija
Proizvodnja polimerov	Italija
IT programski inženiring	Irska

**Priloga B: POVZETKI INTERVJUJEV IZ RAZISKAVE ACCESS (Po
priključitvi: Socio-ekonomska kultura v razširjeni Uniji: Prednost ali slabost?)**

Summary of the interview with member of the board in one of the bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN-R1/B)

Date and time: 10th April 2003, 10 am

Interview was conducted in English by Borut Rončević, in the presence of Barbara Tomšič at the seat of the bank.

Note on the bank: In September 2002, Bank Group (Bancassurance Holding Company) from Belgium realised a corporate take-over of 34 per cent share of the Ljubljana-based bank. At that time, members of the board changed (board of the bank has 5 members, among them one is foreigner) and the bank became a strategic partner of KBC. The interviewee is a foreign member of the board, a representative of the foreign investor.

1) CV

Obtained a degree in psychology of management. Career started in 1971 in a Belgian Bank Group in the field of personnel, education and marketing. From 1991 to 1998 he was head of another Group in Antwerpen. In 1998 he became head of department of business network and insurance in KBC. From 2002, he is member of the board in one of the bigger Slovenian banks and lives in Slovenia.

2) Surprise and learning

In take-over process, Slovenian negotiators were very prudent and slow. »...This was the most difficult and slow process of all: they are very prudent, they think twice, and in the decision process, they are good negotiators.«

There is a strong gap between work time and spare time. There are no contacts between collaborators after the end of the working time.

From the local environment he could learn more about new fields, like treasury and investment banking. Impression of him and his colleagues is, that »people here are very well educated«, and there is “interest in trading and in education”.

3) Organisational climate

In relations with collaborators, important things are informally prepared. »Meetings are prepared informally, so the outcome of the meeting they already know a little bit in advance«. Often, before putting proposals for decision-making on the agenda, people try to assure them of the support of the real “heavy-weights” (decision-makers).

Collaborators and workers are communicative. Many problems are solved in teams. Identification with the firm is high. Willingness to co-operate is »very good«. He has most contacts with board members, with general managers in retail and with area branch managers all over the country. With board members, relations are open and frank (with the exception that they never meet outside the bank). Regarding the contacts with area branch managers, hierarchical distance is larger than in Belgium.

4) Managerial Style

The same is true for relations to employees from other departments of the bank (large distance). In case of tensions, in Belgium it's more common to talk with »bosses«, but »I don't know if this is here really so«. In the first place, his role in the bank is to be »a member of the team«, to give members of the board possible solutions and time to think them over. His observation is, that people in the bank are co-operative, very eager to learn and proud of their work.

5) National and regional patterns

»This is the best developed bank KBC was entering.« Although in the West, underlying controlling system, mutual funds, stocks, Eurobonds and other kinds of investments are more developed.

Specific features are: people are conservative, prudent towards external investments and privatisation, in politics it's not easy for young people to make promotion. Attitude toward work is »not as different« as in Belgium. Friday afternoons are »strange here«. Level of general productivity is lower, because technical tools are not well developed.

6) Communication and contacts within firm

He speaks English in everyday communication. He learns Slovenian (twice a week per 1,5 hour), but finds it very difficult. Materials for the meetings of the management board and reports from

meetings are prepared in Slovenian, therefore he has an assistant, who translates »things that are really important« and they go together through the rest.

Communication in the management board is not a problem. Problems occur on meetings with area branch managers, which are held in English, because managers are reserved and not very talkative.

7) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has some contacts with management people of industry, but »not in everyday business«. He avoids contacts with local authorities and politicians, because he does not speak Slovenian and has a lack of knowledge in history. Regarding the competence he is of opinion, that people from larger companies are more competent than leading personnel from government organisations, because they »have some international experience«.

Summary of the interview with head of personnel department in (the same) Slovenian bank

(MAN-R2/B)

Date and time: 20th May 2003, 9 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in her office. She is Slovenian.

Note on the bank: In September 2002, Bank Group (Bancassurance Holding Company) from Belgium realised a corporate take-over of 34 per cent share of the bank. At that time, members of the board changed (board of the bank has 5 members, among them one is foreigner) and the bank became its strategic partner..

1. Career path

Obtained a degree in psychology and M.Sc. Started in this bank on probation and continued in personnel department. In 1989, first became head of personnel department. From 1996 to 1998 a counsellor for personnel, then moved to another Slovenian bank as a head of personnel. In 2000, she returned to this bank as advisor of head for development of personnel. Since 2003, she is head of personnel department.

2) Surprise

Since the entrance of foreign capital, representative of the foreign owner communicates to her directly and openly.

There are two spheres of learning between management sphere and its local environment. First, what we should learn from Belgians is the “follow up” process, in which there is testing of employees to ensure promotion to upper positions. What Belgians should learn from us is contacts with managers and the business environment of the former Yugoslavia.

2. Organisational climate

Behaviour with collaborators is formal, but includes “politeness, communication, and consideration of individual”. In many hierarchical levels, informality in relations prevails. The identification with the firm is high. The willingness to cooperate is “very high”, although she had some experience with “looking after one’s interests”. The nature of work demands collective activity of co-workers. They trust her.

3. Managerial Style

In comparison to foreign countries there is more hierarchy and distance among managers and other groups of employees. Example: in Slovenia, employees address each other with surnames, as foreigners use first names. Project work and team organisation are not a problem. In conflicts, she tries to be constructive, to cooperate and search for a common solution. Cooperation of co-workers is better in upper positions in comparison to lower ones. Relating to her position, she can rely on her co-workers and trusts them. In her opinion, they trust foreign managers in the bank.

4. National and regional patterns

Regarding work organisation and managerial competence, Slovenia is more similar to Western countries. Specific features: hardworking, more flexible in comparison to over-organised foreigners. Level of general productivity is lower in Slovenia than in Western countries. Motivation for work is similar.

5. Communication and contacts within firm

At everyday job, she speaks Slovenian. She is learning English which is used in the firm as a third language for some meetings of supervisory board. There are no problems with communication.

6. Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has contacts with managers from Slovenian firms in similar field and with the representative of the foreign owner. She has no contacts with local authorities, high civil servants or politicians.

Summary of the interview with general manager in the same Slovenian bank

(MAN-R3/B)

Date and time: 20th May 2003, 3 pm

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in English in his office.

Note on the bank: In September 2002, Bank Group (Bancassurance Holding Company) from Belgium realised a corporate take-over of 34 per cent share of the bank. At that time, members of the board changed (board of the bank has 5 members, among them one is foreigner) and the bank became its strategic partner.

The interviewee is Irish, lives permanently in Slovenia since 1993. He is not representative of the foreign investor. His role in the bank is in management accounting and investor relations.

1) Career

He is professional accountant with over twenty years experience in the financial services sector. Gained experience in areas including strategic and financial planning, management information systems, financial control, investor relations, etc. Has several years' management experience in areas of Management and Financial Accounting and experience in working in central Europe, i.e. Ireland and Poland. He participated also in NLB Privatisation program in 1999. From 1999 to 2000 worked as a Chief Financial Officer in IT Company. Since 2003 he is general manager of accounting department.

2) Surprise and learning

In the last ten years, he noticed no significant change in Slovenia. It's a very "gradualist" environment. When he came here, people were very similar to Ireland in terms of "ability, education and turning to the real life of business".

The only surprise in relation to employees was quite high "level of proficiency of languages". Relations among business actors were definitely "more socialist than in the West" – there was strong connection between personal and business relationships. In relations with co-owners, he experienced a "confusion of the role between owner and manager" in IT Company (soft-ware company).

According to his experience the civil servants are "typically bureaucratic", "they were not willing to have an open mind".

3) Organisational climate

Regarding relation to collaborators and co-workers, their conduct is definitely more formal in comparison to his country. Even in close relations, they address each other with surnames. He is of opinion that "the more formal conduct leads to less communication – it doesn't encourage open and free communication". For this reason, he addresses employees in his department with first name and demands the same from them.

Identification with the firm is “very high”. The willingness to cooperate is “very good”, if employees are encouraged. They are individualistic – this goes also for nation as a whole. He assesses trust as “a very much common thing” only on the individual (informal) level.

4) Managerial Style

Among different hierarchical positions, cross-communication is present. Disagreements always come to a common point, which is “very professional and very positive”. No problems with team work and project organisation. He is “absolutely” satisfied with the level of participation and cooperation of Slovenian members of management and other employees and can rely on them.

5) National and regional patterns

In terms of organization, management and competence, Slovenia is “far superior” to Eastern Europe and “extremely similar” to Western Europe. Features: sociable once they are encouraged, insecure towards foreigners. Too respectful to the foreign environment: “they have inferiority complex to the Western world”. “They are extremely good, well educated, civilized people.” “Technically very strong, business and practical work could be better.” In the West, people are more pragmatic.

6) Communication and contacts within firm

Speaks Slovenian and uses it in everyday communication. Outside work and in business relations outside the bank, he takes opportunities to speak English, “only for the reason I don’t want to be misunderstood”. Learning English among employees is looked upon very favourably. No problems with communication.

7) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has rare contacts with managers and owners of other Slovenian firms. Experiences with local authorities are extremely bad – in relation to nostrification process of his educational degree. Has no contacts with high civil servants and politicians and therefore cannot estimate their competence.

Summary of the interview with general director of a major car plant

(MAN-R4/C)

Date and time: 20th May 2003, 6 pm

Interview was carried out in Brnik Airport by Matevž Tomšič in the presence of Barbara Tomšič, in English.

Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

1. Professional career

He has been working in car industry from fifteen years of age, when he was on probation. He studied engineering parallel with work. He worked in different plants (agriculture vehicles plant,

personal vehicles plant) in different locations in France (Paris, Cleon). In 1985, the finished studies in post-graduate school for management in Paris (similar to MBA). Current position: general director. Works and lives In Slovenia since 2000.

2. Surprise and learning

His experience is mostly position. The biggest surprise was about the “quality of people”, who work in plant. They are highly skilled and motivated. Working here is relatively easy because people respect the contracts and perform their tasks correctly. Slovenians want the best (“syndrome of the first class, they want to be all the time in the best position”), so they implement everything from EU (law, regulations) and sometimes they are too eager in this conduct.

Slovenians do not need to learn much about working skills which are on European level. Business attitudes could be somehow changed – they are often too short-term oriented.

3. Organisational culture

In the behaviour of Slovenian collaborators and workers regarding relationship, the formal type of communication prevails. It is difficult to make close relations. They are loyal to the firm but the identification is not very high – they would prefer to work for Slovenian owner. Nevertheless, there are no problems with co-operation: « they are very loyal”. They also trust foreign managers – to the same level as to Slovenian ones. The behaviour of Slovenian employees is individualistic: “the profound meaning of the people is individual” – they are focused on their work, on themselves, their families and their property.

4. Managerial style

There is no difference between Slovenia and France regarding hierarchy (situation is quite the same – because of the same type of organisation). No problems with team work and project organization. Participation and co-operation are better than in France. He can rely on Slovenian co-workers and trust them.

5. National and regional patterns

Slovenia is most similar to Western countries “they are clearly turning their way of life to the West”. Productivity is very high “best productivity plant” in Renault. Productivity is closest to that in Japanese branch firm.

6. Communication and contacts within firm

At his work place, he communicates mostly in French (rarely in English). He learns Slovenian. It is expected for employees who have contacts with foreign (French) management to speak French. In general there are no problems with communication.

7. Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with Slovenian managers and owners on weekly basis (ca. 8 meetings per month). It’s easy to communicate because everybody speaks English. Experience with local authorities could be better – it is an impression that they are not very confident with foreign

owners. Some contacts with top-level politicians like minister (minister Dimovski mentioned). Contacts are both formal and informal. They are accessible people – easy to work and speak with them. Concerning their competence: they are quite competent – young, well educated and have a lot to theoretical knowledge but less experience. They are very self-confident.

Summary of the interview with head of maintenance department in the same car plant (MAN-R5/C)

Date and time: 15th May 2003, 9.35am.

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian and (according to internal classification) a member of collegium of directions in the plant (following board the top position in the plant).

Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

1) Career path

He obtained a degree in mechanical engineering. Started work in metallurgical firm in technical, development and maintenance department. He continued in car plant in quality department, preceded in personnel department. Since 2000, he is a member of collegium of directions and head of maintenance department.

2) Surprise and learning

After the entrance of foreign capital to the firm, three changes are significant: 1. Level of competence of managers has raised 2. More importance of internal mobility 3. Different work organization: greater orientation to results and to the reduction of costs.

Common point, in which the foreign businessman and their local environment could learn from each other, is organisation. Local managers are more concrete in solving problems. Foreign managers have greater knowledge of management methods.

3) Organisational climate

He assesses that the relationships with the foreign leadership are formal. Relations among Slovenian managers are more informal. On the other hand, the relationships between Slovenian managers and employees are formal (internal information service) and informal. The identification with the firm is high.

Readiness to cooperate is high; co-workers are positive oriented towards teamwork (“they’ve become used to it and like working in teams”). Top positions are more individualistic and demand respect for decisions in some fields. In others, decisions are made collectively.

In relation to employees, “normal relation of two, who cooperate and have the same goals” is more important than “level of trust” in general. In relation to co-workers, there is “appropriate” level of trust.

4) Managerial Style

Foreign managers act according to their specific interest, i.e. “results of work” and “low costs”, which ensures self-promotion. Slovenian managers’ interest is more holistic: more investments, more progress and more jobs.

Teamwork is assessed “positive”. Slovenian managers are more effective in solving conflicts with employees, because French managers “complicate too much”. In relations among co-workers, there are different “points of view”, which he wouldn’t declare as “conflicts”.

The level of participation and cooperation of Slovenian members of management and other employees is “satisfactory”. He can rely on Slovenian co-workers. But foreign managers value foreign expert arguments higher than those of locals.

5) National and regional patterns

Regarding work organisation and managerial competence Slovenia is more similar to Western countries, especially German speaking ones. For instance, Slovenians are more punctual in realising tasks on the other hand, they count on “verbal agreements” and avoid written ones. Work motivation and results are better than in car industry in France (many of workers here are illiterate immigrants).

6) Communication and contacts within firm

He speaks Slovenian with locals and French with foreign managers (those from the plant and from headquarter office). Top Slovenian managers learn French. In some positions, English is demanded. Problems in communication occur in lower positions in the plant, with employees who do not understand French.

7) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has “organized meetings” with managers from other Slovenian firms, where they “exchange experience”. Local authorities show negative attitude and restraint. He had some contacts with politicians and high civil servants in the past. They are competent (in opposition to local ones).

Summary of the interview with head of department of human resources in the same car plant

(MAN-R6/C)

Date and time: 15th May 2003, 10.30 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian, and (according to internal classification) member of the board and of collegium of directions.

Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers.

1) Career path

He started in public administration. Then he moved to industry of motor vehicles, where he worked on different top positions. Since 1991, he has been working in car plant as head of department of human resources. First starts with legal aspects of establishing this plant.

2) Surprise and learning

He participated in takeover negotiation process and (from his position) sees no special difference since the emergence of foreign capital. In general, foreign managers are better skilled in organisation and technical field. Skill of employees is better in Slovenia than in France, innovations are implemented quickly. Also, for foreign managers hierarchy functions differently.

3) Organisational climate

Communication with foreign managers is always formal first and informal second. This kind of communication does not cause conflict situations.

Surveys made in the firm show less belonging of workers, which is not caused by entrance of foreign capital, but the consequence of the way of leadership and the structure of employees (education level and origin). Willingness to cooperate is high, although foreign managers describe it as “low”. Foreign managers are more individualistic than Slovenians. In general, the level of trust is “high”.

4) Managerial Style

For foreign owners, hierarchy has “formal and actual power”. For this reason, the distance is larger and they developed “special methods of approaching the people”. For Slovenian managers, hierarchy is based on competence and respect. The distance is larger.

Team work is not a problem, but less efficient – foreign managers make too big groups that consist of representatives, who are irrelevant for specific problem. When conflicts occur, he participates in negotiation process with social partners and trade unions.

Level of participation is satisfactory while level of cooperation is less satisfactory – there are cases of “defending one’s own interest”. The starting point in relations with subordinates is confidence in advance, and control over them is of same importance.

5) National and regional patterns

In relation to work organization and managerial competence, Slovenia surely isn’t similar to Balkan countries. It is more West-oriented.

Specific feature: willing to make good work and expecting acknowledgment for it.

General productivity between Slovenian and Western companies is similar in comparable field. There is no difference in work organisation. Work motivation is neither brilliant nor negative- “it is somewhere in between”.

6) Communication and contacts within firm

At work place, he speaks Slovenian with local managers and French with foreign managers. Fluency in French is a precondition for his position. Special groups of employees (top positions) learn French. English is used, too. No problems regarding communication.

7) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has formal contacts with managers of Slovenian firms with similar market orientation and expanse. Has contact with the Chamber of Economy, where he’s also member of the board. Relations with local authorities are “not the best” – they do not show “any effort to solve the problem”. He has contacts with high civil servants and politicians, too. In general, they are competent, but not participative in solving concrete problems and dilemmas.

Summary of the interview with financial director in the same car plant

(MAN-R7/C)

Date and Time: 15th May 2003, 11.10 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in English in his office. He is French, representative of the foreigner owner. According to internal classification of the plant, he is also a member of the board.

Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French.

1) Career path

He obtained a degree in engineering. His first work was in engine manufacturing of gearboxes in Cleon. He became manager of workshop and then information manager in that factory. He continued in Cleon factory and became project manager for timing plan in 1990. From 1993-1996 he worked and lived in Taiwan, he was a technical industrial adviser in a company, which imported french cars. Then he returned to France and was in charge of transforming all accounting systems in the car company. In 1999, he became financial director of a car plant in Slovenia. His field of work besides financing includes also accounting, import and export matters and informatics.

2) Surprise and learning

Slovenia is very similar to France:”in Slovenia, the country is different, the language is different, but we are very close as the average of the European civilisation. So there is not really a huge

difference between the way of living, the way of behaving, the way of thinking, the family structure, the society structure, the way of, generally, even in business matters...” Foreign experience “in Algeria, in England and in Taiwan were a lot more disturbing”.

3) Organisational climate

Regarding the behaviour of Slovenian collaborators and workers there are four major differences: 1) the basic level of knowledge of workers is very high; 2) education is of high quality, people’s behaviour is very much educated; 3) workers are highly willing to cooperate, 4) the quality of work, the quality of products is “very high”.

Relationships with collaborators were formal at the beginning, but are “very friendly” now. Identification with the firm is “rather high”. There is no problem in willingness to cooperate by collaborators and workers. They are more collective than French, who are more individual.

The level of trust is based on the fact that he as a foreigner represents »the other side«. He is uncomfortable about that, because he is identified with this car plant and not with French headquarter company– “I’m here to fight for this plant’s goods”.

4) Managerial Style

Distance is more present in relations to production department, “because we are not able to speak and to express ourselves directly” (he does not speak Slovenian and they do not speak French). There is less distance with collaborators, because they speak French. He didn’t describe his role in solving conflicts. Level of participation and cooperation of Slovenian members of management and other employees is satisfactory. No problems with team work. He can rely on his co-workers, and trusts them

5) National and regional patterns

From managerial point of view, there is no big difference (in work organisation and managerial competence) between Slovenia and France.

Features: rurality, family sphere is of great importance, education, civil society – “keep it as long as possible”. Willingness for work and general level of productivity are “high”, and productivity progress of this company is “very good”.

6) Communication and contacts within firm

At his work place, he speaks French. He learned Slovenian in 1999 but gave up. Special groups of employees learn French. English is used occasionally. No problems in communication.

7) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Relations with accountants, counsellors and members of government are strictly professional. Meetings are “at least” once or twice a week. Experience with local authorities and politicians are not the best, because “they would like to be the first of the class every time”. With such attitude,

they skip the target, which is “to help as much as possible your economy.” Their competence is not a problem, “they are wise people, very well educated”.

Summary of the interview with head of quality department in the same car plant (MAN-R8/C)

Date and time: 15.5. 2003, 11.45 am

Interview was carried out by Matevž Tomšič in English and Slovenian in his office. Respondent is French, coming from the French headquarter company.

Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French.

1. Career path

Nationality: French. Education: degree in engineering. He has worked in French car company for more than 10 years (since 1992). Works and lives in Slovenia since 1999. His position in current firm: head of quality supervision.

2. Surprise and learning

He is positively surprised: there is respect for manual work, Workers easy understand their tasks, are hard-working and willing to do good work. They are prone to work on their own (in their free time) for the benefit of them and their families. They are more adaptable than French people. Their deficiency is a lack of strategic thinking (they are focused on the present and neglect the future).

Foreign and local firms/businessmen can learn many things form each other. Western people can learn form Slovenian their respect for manual work. Slovenian can learn about long-time orientations – “look at the way you can improve things on long-time base”.

3. Organisational climate

Slovenian workers are not very spontaneous or communicative. They avoid conflicts. Slovenians are not very different to French. Their identification with the firm is not very high – lower than in France, but increasing noticeably. This does not affect their commitment to work which is very high. Cooperation is excellent. Individualism of Slovenian co-workers is a consequence of European reorganization, where individualism is highly assessed. They are sociable. They trust foreign managers because they know that they work for the benefit of the company. Him they trust also because he also speaks Slovenian.

4. Managerial style

In Slovenia there is much less hierarchy than in France. There is mutual respect between managers and workers, because it is a smaller community. No problems with team work. No experience with serious conflicts. He is satisfied with participation and cooperation of co-workers. Trust in co-workers is 100%. Slovenian workers are more reliable than French workers.

5. National and regional patterns

Slovenia is more similar to Western countries (the same organization as headquarter in France). Specific for life in Slovenia is that everybody knows everybody. Some distrust towards

foreigners – not in the company, but in the local community. Productivity is very high – higher than in France.

6. Communication and contacts within firm

Everyday communication in the firm: 70% French, 30% Slovenian. He has been learning Slovenian (and speaks quite well, note by M.T.). It is expected for people who have contacts with French managers on daily basis to learn French. They do not use third language like English. No major problems with communication.

7. Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has very rare contacts with managers from other Slovenian firms. His experience with local authorities is not very pleasant – too much bureaucracy. This is connected to distrust toward foreigners. No contacts with politicians and higher civil servants. No opinion about their competence.

Summary of the interview with logistics manager in the same car plant

(MAN-R9/C)

Date and time: 15.5. 2003, 11am

Interview was carried out by Matevž Tomšič in English in his office. He is French, comes from the French headquarter company.

Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

1. Professional career

Education: degree in engineering. He has worked in the same company for 30 years (since 1973). Works and lives in Slovenia for last three years. Before worked and lived in Belgium and in Brazil. His position in current firm: logistics manager.

2. Surprise and learning

His mostly experience is with employees. On general, positive impressions prevail (“people with rigour, with discipline, with intelligence, good school”). Employees are very hard working (prepared to work overtime) and they easy understand their working tasks. Their main deficiency is the lack of initiative (“here there is discipline, but no decision”).

Foreign and local firms/businessmen can learn form each other in mutually beneficial way. French and Slovenian working attitudes are complementary (former with more initiative, later with more working discipline).

3. Organisational climate

There are both formality and informality in the relations between employees but informality prevails. Nevertheless, workers are not very communicative. It is an impression that they avoid expressing their opinion fearing that they will be compromised or ridiculed. Identification with

the firm is high. There are no problems with their willingness for cooperation – they are very cooperative. Employees in Slovenia are collectively oriented. They don't work as much as individuals but as collective (“very, very positive”). The workers trust foreign management that it does the right things.

4. Managerial style

There is less hierarchy between management and workers in Slovenia than in other (Western) European countries. Here an important factor is the size of firms which are smaller than Western ones. They are more like a large family. No problems with team work – high level of engagement of Slovenian co-workers. Level of their participation and cooperation is satisfactory. There are no tensions to be solved. He trusts his Slovenian co-workers.

5. National and regional patterns

Slovenia is regarding the work organisation and managerial style and competence similar to Central European countries – countries like Germany and Austria. General productivity is very high – higher than, for instance, in France what is due to hard-working character of Slovenian people.

6. Communication and contacts within firm

For the purpose of everyday communication at work place, he mostly uses French. He has learned Slovenian and he can understand it to a certain extent but he cannot speak Slovenian. The employees, especially the ones on higher positions in corporate ladder, have to communicate in French. English is used only for contacts with outsiders (not within the firm). There are no serious problems in communication within firm.

7. Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with managers from certain Slovenian companies (Gorenje, Adria, etc.) on regular basis. Situation is different regarding contacts with political authorities both on local and national level because in the company they have people specialised for such contacts (PR). So he doesn't have personal experience with Slovenian politicians. However, his impression is that they are to »local-minded«, i.e. concentrated only on Slovenia and neglecting embeddedness of their country in wider context. “This people must learn what are complexity of the world and not the complexity of Slovenia. It's not the centre of the world, Slovenia. It's good, but it's not centre.” This is also somehow characteristic of wider Slovenian population.

Summary of the interview with general director of car Equipment Company in Ljubljana

(MAN-R10/CE)

Date and time: 10th July 2003, 10 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian at the seat of the company in Ljubljana.

Note on the company: General Director is Slovenian. He is general director since the foreign takeover in 1997, when a German company brought 51 per cent of share stock of Slovenian company. According to development plan of a German company, the rest share stock will be bought till the end of 2003 and the company (in full foreign ownership) will be renamed.

1. Career path

University degree in economy; has foreign experience: worked in Bosnia and USA. He has been working in the company since 1989. The company was divided into three firms in 1991. One of the three is car equivalent production, which found its strategic partner in a German company that bought a major share in 1997. Headquarter office is in Liebstadt, named him for a general director and now he's in second mandate.

2. Surprise and learning

There were two surprises after the introduction of foreign capital to the firm: first, German company is a family-based company and is less engaged in subsidiary firm in Slovenia ("control is loose"). Second: employees did not lose the feeling of belonging to the firm and motivation to work for foreigner owner.

Local people could learn from the foreigners to respect the organisation of regulations and to keep one's word ("Germans are more precise"). Foreigners could learn from us to be susceptible for improvisation.

3. Organizational climate

In German company stress is on hierarchy. He has hierarchical authority, he is a decision-maker. His colleagues have practical authority (based on expert knowledge).

Identification with the firm is high. Readiness to cooperate is good. Individualism is a national problem – in Slovenia it's difficult to create good team work. Managers and employees trust him.

4. Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance are greater in German company. There is more distance to foreign managers than to Slovenian. Relation towards foreigners is "pragmatic" and "reserved". Regarding his work in the company, he has no problems with project organization. His role in solving problems is looking for compromise. Communication holes that appear in relations from top to bottom positions hinder participation and cooperation of employees. Nonetheless, he trusts his co-workers and can rely on them completely.

5. National and regional patterns and traditions

In working habits, Slovenians are similar to Western Europe or to America, but in the style of leadership, social component is more stressed here. In comparison to Western world here are no differences in level of “physical productivity” or motivation of employees, but we lag behind in level of productivity, that comes from the “mode of organization” (i.e. implementation of organizational regulation, attitude towards work, and respect for deadlines).

6. Communication and contacts within firm

He uses Slovenian and English language (official language in the firm) in everyday communication. Employees learn English and German (constant language education is organized in the firm), which are of equal importance. Communication problems occur in the level of knowledge of English, i.e. in specific topics in negotiations, because “Germans speak better English than Slovenians”.

7. Contacts of foreign managers with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has frequent contacts with managers of automobile industry in Slovenia, and periodic with directors of other firms. Relations with local authorities (i.e. municipality) are strictly bureaucratic. Contacts with high civil servants and politicians are periodic and informal. Their competence would be better if they act like directors of company: to increase productivity and lower costs.

Summary of the interview with head of personnel department in the same car equipment company

(MAN-R11/CE)

Date and time: 2nd July 2003, 1.50pm

Interview was carried out by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office.

Note on the company: In 1997, a German company brought 51 per cent of share stock of Slovenian company. According to development plan of a German company, the rest share stock will be bought till the end of 2003 and the company (in full foreign ownership) will be renamed.

Note on the interview: The interviewee did not allow tape recording, therefore the interview is written in note form. No explanation of recording restriction, but the impression is that he wanted a hundred per cent anonymity. He was not co-operative and obviously disinterested in the topic. His answers were simple and short. He is Slovenian, head of personnel department.

1. Career path

Works in this company since 1989. His previous posts were: leader of personnel department, secretary for general administration, leader of juridical department. He has little foreign experience.

2. Surprise and learning

Nothing unexpected or surprising happened since the change of the owner structure of the firm. Local firm could learn from foreign owners in organisation of research and development.

3. Organisational climate

He estimates that relations among co-workers in the firm are less formal in comparison to relations with foreign owners, which are formal. In relations to foreign managers, hierarchy is more stressed, too. Identification with the firm is neither high nor low, it's »proper«, »adequate«. The same holds for readiness of co-workers and other employees to co-operate. His co-workers are more individualistic. His opinion is, that they trust him.

4. Managerial Style

Hierarchy and distance in relations among managers and other groups of employees are greater and more stressed in German company. He has no problems with team work and project organisation. When conflicts occur, he plays the role of a mediator, he looks for consensus. He is satisfied with the level of participation and co-operation of co-workers and can rely on them in 95% of cases. He trusts his co-workers. The level of trust to foreign managers is increasing.

5. National and regional patterns

Regarding work organisation and managerial competence Slovenia is most similar to Central Europe. Specific features: improvisation in work tasks and organisation style. In Slovenia, level of general productivity and work motivation is lower in comparison to foreign firms.

6. Communication and contacts within firm

At his work place, he speaks Slovenian. He learns English. Employees in technical department are obliged to speak German. Otherwise, other groups of employees should be able to speak English. There are no communication problems.

7. Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with managers on the same or similar positions in other Slovenian firms, to share working experiences. Contacts with local authorities are relatively good (especially in applying for construction permissions). He has no contacts with high civil servants or politicians and cannot estimate their competence.

Summary of the interview with head of controlling department in the same car equipment company

(MAN-R12/CE)

Date and time: 2nd July 2003, 1pm

Interview was carried out by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian.

Note on the company: In 1997, a German company brought 51 per cent of share stock of Slovenian company. According to development plan of a German company, the rest share stock will be bought till the end of 2003 and the company (in full foreign ownership) will be renamed.

1. Career path

Works in this firm since university degree (got a scholarship), he started in production planning. Continued as operation manager of production. In 1999, he was selected from general director for additional four-month training in headquarter office in the field of controlling. Since 1999, he works in controlling department in Slovenian company. He has regular contacts with German headquarter company and a lot of working experience in Germany.

2. Surprise and learning

Since the change in owner structure, there were no significant cases or situations. The take-over was positive, i.e. the owner promised that the number of employees will remain unchanged and kept his word. Moreover, the number of employees has even increased.

The two parties could learn from each other in the concept of international teamwork. Foreign owners never induce their decisions or will to Slovenian managers but obtain strict control over costs – their interest is profit. Otherwise, they are open for opinions, proposals and solutions of local environment.

3. Organisational climate

Communication in the firm is on very high business level – strong orientation to realisation of planned results. Managers are goal-oriented, communication among them is formal. »Motivation« of co-workers and managers to co-operate is high. They are more collectively oriented, as work is organised in teams. What is more, individualism is regarded as “contra productive”. There are 10-15 persons in a team, which is co-ordinated by a team-leader. Co-workers trust him.

4. Managerial Style

There is certain hierarchy in the firm and relations are restricted to business communication. Positions are clearly defined and it is obvious, »what is who« and with »whom one is able to communicate or not«. His responsibility is in controlling of business process. He sees no conflicts.

He is satisfied with the level of participation and co-operation of his co-workers and he trusts them. Trust to foreign owners is partial, as there is »no 100 per cent social safety«.

5. National and regional patterns

Regarding work motivation and managerial competence, Slovenia is more similar to Central Europe. Specific feature: we are more adaptable to various situations, »which is positive«. Motivation is »on high level«. Level of general production is »higher in the West«, due to better organisation of work (middle management).

6. Communication and contacts within firm

Uses Slovenian at work. He speaks German in communications to headquarter office and foreign managers. On conference and meetings, both sides use English (official language). Employees must be able to speak English. There are no communication problems.

7. Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Has no contacts with managers or owners of other Slovenian firms or with local authorities nor with high civil servants or politicians and cannot estimate their competence.

Summary of the interview with production manager in synthetic fibres and polymers company

(MAN-R13/SFP)

Date and time: 10th July 2003, 10.45am

Interview was carried out by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian.

Note on the firm: Company in Ljubljana is one of the branch offices of Italian headquarter company, which exists since 1956 and produces natural and synthetic fibres and polymers. Branch office in Slovenia is under full Italian ownership since 1995. It belongs to synthetic fibres and polymers division and produces BCF, Technopolymers and Textile yarns. It is commercially responsible for the Eastern European, North Africa, Middle East and UK markets. There are two more branch offices of Italian headquarter company in Slovenia.

1) Career path

He started in a chemical firm near Ljubljana. In 1985, he came to this company, but returned to Donit due to insecurity of the company. There he worked as a technical director. After the change

of ownership structure in 1995, he agreed with foreign owner to come back as assistant and after five months he was nominated for production manager, responsible for three production plants.

2) Surprise and learning

He came to the firm after entrance of new (Italian) owner. In negotiation for managerial position, he was surprised by flexibility and openness of communication with representative of Italian owners. Local managers could learn from foreigners in the field of commerce selling strategy.

3) Organizational climate

His experience in formal and informal behaviour with foreign managers show, that spontaneous relations are more productive. Therefore, formal relations are less productive. Identification with the firm is high by Slovenian managers and low by workers in production line. Readiness to cooperate of his co-workers is high. They are sociable and trust him.

4) Managerial style

He has a smaller personal distance in relations among managers and other groups of employees. Regardless of that, they do their work properly. Relations are based on trust. Problems with team work are daily present and solved simultaneously, so he sees no problem in that. His role is “reassuring” – he is open to communication with all. He is satisfied with the level of participation and cooperation of his co-workers, can rely on them and trusts them. They trust foreign managers.

5) National and regional patterns and traditions

Since the change of ownership structure, company has become more similar to Western countries in terms of development and transformation. He observes no special features of Slovenian people. Level of general productivity in this company is similar to Western companies.

6) Communication and contacts within firm

At his workplace, he speaks Slovenian, Italian and English. Basic knowledge of English is obliged for employees. New-comers to higher positions in the company have some communication problems because foreign owners speak only Italian.

7) Contacts of foreign managers with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has private contacts with managers and owners of other Slovenian firms. No contacts with local authorities, high civil servants or politicians. He cannot estimate their competence.

Summary of the interview with production manager of another production line in the same synthetic fibres and polymers company

(MAN-R14/SFP)

Date and time: 10th July 2003, 11.30am

Interview was carried out by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian.

Note on the firm: Company in Ljubljana is one of the branch offices of Italian headquarter company, which exists since 1956 and produces natural and synthetic fibres and polymers. Branch office in Slovenia is under full Italian ownership since 1995. It belongs to synthetic fibres and polymers division and produces BCF, Technopolymers and Textile yarns. It is commercially responsible for the Eastern European, North Africa, Middle East and UK markets. There are two more branch offices of Italian headquarter company in Slovenia.

Note on the interviewee: The interviewee refused tape recording. Therefore the summary of the interview is written upon hand-writing notes. He was unwilling to answer the questions properly and non-cooperative. He said that the topic is non-sense and sees no important point in it. It was obvious, that he was ordered to respond.

1. Career path

He obtained a degree in chemical engineering in 1996. Since then, he works in this company and had been in various positions, like technologist in chemistry, head of chemical department, and head of quality control. Last one and a half year he is production manager in production line for textile yarns and carpets.

2. Surprise and learning

He came to this company after the introduction of foreign capital, therefore he did not experience any surprises. Slovenian managers could learn from foreign managers to become more flexible in relations to others. Foreign managers could learn from locals in prudence and to develop a more open view of the world, which is characteristic for young employees.

3. Organizational climate

Relations with managers and co-workers are both formal and informal. Important issues are dealt with in a formal way and everyday topics in a more informal way. Identification with the firm is “improving”. Readiness to cooperate is good. Each person is individualistically oriented – but productive and intelligent way of work is “team work”, so one has to surpass individualism towards collectivism. His co-workers are willing to cooperate and trust him.

4. Managerial style

In comparison to foreign companies there is less hierarchy in their company. He has no problems with team work and project organization. As production manager, he is responsible for solving conflicts among employees, too. He trusts his coworkers. Employees do not trust foreign managers, “because they do not know them”. They trust Slovenian managers.

5. National and regional patterns and traditions

Regarding work organization and managerial competence, Slovenia is similar to central European countries. The difference between Slovenian and foreign managers in general productivity is that Slovenian managers have to work more and better than foreign managers to achieve the same results. In Western Europe, motivational mechanisms for employees are more developed. General productivity and quality of work are better in privatized Slovenian firms in comparison to unprivatized firms and in comparison to average level in Europe.

6. Communication and contacts within firm

He uses four languages at work: English, Italian, Croatian and Slovenian. It is not obliged, but recommended for employees to speak foreign languages. There are no communication problems.

7. Contacts of foreign managers with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has frequent contacts with managers and owners of other Slovenian firms, which are informal, based on old acquaintances. No experience with local government. He has contacts with foreign managers (owners). No contacts with high civil servants or politicians. He cannot estimate their competence.

Summary of the interview with project manager in the same synthetic fibres and polymers company

(MAN-R15/SFP)

Date and time: 10th July 2003, 12am

Interview was carried out by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian.

Note on the firm: Company in Ljubljana is one of the branch offices of Italian headquarter company, which exists since 1956 and produces natural and synthetic fibres and polymers. Branch office in Slovenia is under full Italian ownership since 1995. It belongs to synthetic fibres and polymers division and produces BCF, Technopolymers and Textile yarns. It is commercially responsible for the Eastern European, North Africa, Middle East and UK markets. There are two more branch offices of Italian headquarter company in Slovenia.

1) Career path

He achieved University degree in 1996. He continued as researcher in the Josef Stefan Institute and became Master of Science in nuclear technique. He came to this company in 1999 as project manager for the field of energetic and investments.

2) Surprise and learning

There were no surprising cases, as he came to the company after the takeover. We learned from foreign owner different attitude to work: they reward efficiency, hardworking, results – we devote more attention to this. Slovenians improvise a lot in comparison to foreign managers and have a more open view of the problem.

3) Organizational climate

Relations with foreign managers are open and less formal. The same is with co-workers, who are all young – it's easy to establish a spontaneous level of communication. In general, identification with the firm is “relatively high” – one can recognise it in belonging to work. Readiness to

cooperate is good, but demands expert arguments. His co-workers are “open for cooperation”. They trust him, after he proved to be worth of – the level of trust is even increasing.

4) Managerial style

Hierarchy is not rigid, top managers are very open to communicate with. There is little distance. Problems with team work and project organization are present and always solved simultaneously (“all problems can be solved”). He is satisfied with the level of participation and cooperation of his co-workers in different projects. He trusts them and can rely on them. Relations of trust to foreign managers are “skeptical”. A certain amount of fear is always present. His impression is that foreign managers sometimes undervalue work of some individuals in the company.

5) National and regional patterns and traditions

In work organization and managerial competence, Slovenia is most similar to Central European countries. Specific feature: Slovenians are good at improvising, which is an advantage in project work. Readiness to cooperate is high, and employees have a strong sense of responsibility. Level of general productivity is “very high”.

6) Communication and contacts within firm

At work he speaks Slovenian. He speaks also English, German, and Italian. Knowledge of Italian language is “highly recommended”, because it enables you to speak with foreign managers, who speak only Italian. English is useful, too (official language of the company). Some communication problems occur, but aren’t deconstructive for understanding.

7) Contacts of foreign managers with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with managers from other Slovenian firms in similar field. They meet on seminars, conferences and lectures and exchange experience. He has some contacts with civil servants (i.e. applying for administrative permissions). “They are too bureaucratic, too complicated, and too slow.” They want all the power but are unwilling to take responsibility for slow procedures. Foreign managers are disappointed about that.

Priloga C: POVZETKI INTERVJUJEV IZ RAZISKAVE DIOSCURI (Širitev na Vzhod – širitev na Zahod: Kulturna srečanja v evropski ekonomiji in družbi po priklučitvi)⁶¹

⁶¹ Z ležečo pisavo so označeni zanimivi poudarki za PK.

Case-study 1: bank

Summary of the interview with (Slovenian) Member of the governing board of one of the bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN - R1/M)

The interview was conducted at his office on 20. 4. 2005 (8.10 – 8.45) by Mateja Rek in the presence of Jaša Jarec.

1.) Professional Career

He graduated from law, and after started his career working on several functions in international business department in the bank. In 1998 he became a head of the banks representation in London. Since 2001 he is also a member of governing board of LBS Bank in New York. He works as a head of the Centre for added value of the Bank and is a member of the governing board.

2.) Surprise

After so many years in international business nothing really surprises him. But he does agree, that there are cultural, religious and historical differences, that influence the way of doing business and that any international manager should realise and imply them. He doesn't think we could say that there are fields of knowledge, where it could be argued, that either Slovenian or foreign managers are being dominant. It could be argued, that some of the know-how depends on the environment that the manager was brought up in. The usefulness of particular knowledge is also highly dependent on the context and the environment. He thinks it is dangerous to generalize on this issue, as the topic really depends on the environment and on the personality of the manager. Slovenian managers, when they come to foreign environments, can be as or even more successful as the foreign ones. But it really depends on the person.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: the relationships between foreign managers follow certain formal rules (there are a number of regulations that are being enforced as to prevent for instance sexual harassment, racial, age, sexual etc. discrimination and they tend to take these regulations very seriously, which is not the case at all in Slovenia). The level of the identification with the firm: it could be argued that the level of identification is lower with the foreign managers in general, as in Western Europe the labour market is more flexible and they tend to change their position and jobs more regularly.

Trust: there is a big difference between Slovenian and foreign managers. Slovenians are inclined towards criticising and a person is considered as trustworthy only when they prove themselves through some deeds. In case of the foreigners the situation is opposite. They tend to trust upfront. Meaning, when they meet you, they trust you, and unless you don't give them any reason to lose that trust, they will keep on trusting you. It is much easier to work in these conditions.

Individualism/Collectivism Western managers are more individualistically orientated (can be seen as regards their career path orientation, motivation, responsibility) than Slovenian, although also in Slovenia the trend goes in the Western European direction. Orientation towards innovation: similar (whether a person is Slovenian or other nationality doesn't have much to do with how innovative they are). Sociability and communication: some of the foreign managers, consultants and business people fly home every weekend. They tend not to socialise so much in Slovenia. The ones that are actually living here are much more active in that respect.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: similar than in Slovenia. When it comes to the distance between foreign and Slovenian employees the language could be a barrier, as some don't speak English as well or there might be some differences regarding value judgements deriving from addressing different meanings to same words.

Teamwork: no difference. Every team has problems it is important how to approach them. They tend to deal with prevention of problems by stressing the importance of communication and organizing retreats for the team members.

Conflict Resolution: who is engaged in conflict resolution in highly depend on the situation. Foreign managers are no different in that respect from Slovenes and are not excluded from resolving conflicts. How the conflict is resolved is also situational. If possible, by consultation and conversation, but it doesn't always work this way.

Participation: there is no difference in the ability to participate; Slovenian managers are often even more able, as they do have an advantage of knowing our environment and the context, which something is, that foreign managers are often not familiar with.

Risk taking: in general it could be said that foreigners stationed in Slovenia are less prepared to take risks for the reason that they don't know the environment so well.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: the rewards are much higher (financially) for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

Slovenian managers are compatible with both central European and Western styles of management (they are in-between). National differences in managerial styles are more pronounced than the regional ones. But if we speak of "regional" is maybe better to talk about cultural history than geographical regions – Mediterranean, Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian ways of doing business are for instance different. As for the productivity he wouldn't say that Slovenians are less productive. We work in an environment that is more changing and unsecured than the Western European one. So it happens that sometime you need to work more to achieve smaller results. This trend is changing in a positive way.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

The everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. The language of communication with foreigners is English. The employees, especially those who are in contact with the foreigners, do learn foreign language. But the barrier is still there as you can't express yourself so freely in a foreign language, there might also be different value judgements connected to the use of language.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with above mentioned groups of the external environment. These contacts are mainly formal. In case of local authorities and political elite, he thinks they are mainly competent. But the environment they work in is not as stimulating as the one of the competitive business world. Social life: it depends on the duration of the foreigners stay in Slovenia and also what kind of arrangements they are in – if they fly home for the weekend, they don't socialise that much. Nevertheless, they tend to socialise more among each other. Social events: Slovenians tend to keep their personal life for themselves and foreigners are being quite excluded from their personal social life.

Summary of the interview with (Belgian) Member of the board in one of the bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN-R2/B)

Date and time: 10th April 2003, 10 am

Interview was conducted in English by Borut Rončević, in the presence of Barbara Tomšič at the seat of the bank.

Note on the bank: In September 2002, Bank Group (Bank-Assurance Holding Company) from Belgium realised a corporate take-over of 34 per cent share of the Ljubljana-based bank. At that time, members of the board changed (board of the bank has 5 members, among them one is foreigner) and the bank became a strategic partner of KBC. The interviewee is a foreign member of the board, a representative of the foreign investor.

1.) CV

Obtained a degree in psychology of management. Career started in 1971 in a Belgian Bank Group in the field of personnel, education and marketing. From 1991 to 1998 he was head of another Group in Antwerpen. In 1998 he became head of department of business network and insurance in KBC. From 2002, he is member of the board in one of the bigger Slovenian banks and lives in Slovenia.

2.) Surprise and learning

In take-over process, Slovenian negotiators were very prudent and slow. »...This was the most difficult and slow process of all: they are very prudent, they think twice, and in the decision process, they are good negotiators.« There is a strong gap between work time and spare time. There are no contacts between collaborators after the end of the working time. From the local environment he could learn more about new fields, like treasury and investment banking.

Impression of him and his colleagues is, that »people here are very well educated«, and there is “interest in trading and in education”.

3.) Organisational climate

In relations with collaborators, important things are informally prepared. »Meetings are prepared informally, so the outcome of the meeting they already know a little bit in advance«. Often, before putting proposals for decision-making on the agenda, people try to assure them of the support of the real “heavy-weights” (decision-makers). Collaborators and workers are communicative. Many problems are solved in teams.

Identification with the firm is high. Willingness to co-operate is »very good«. He has most contacts with board members, with general managers in retail and with area branch managers all over the country. With board members, relations are open and frank (with the exception that they never meet outside the bank). Regarding the contacts with area branch managers, hierarchical distance is larger than in Belgium.

4.) Managerial Style

The same is true for relations to employees from other departments of the bank (large distance). In case of tensions, in Belgium it's more common to talk with »bosses«, but »I don't know if this is here really so«. In the first place, his role in the bank is to be »a member of the team«, to give members of the board possible solutions and time to think them over. His observation is, that people in the bank are co-operative, very eager to learn and proud of their work.

5.) National and regional patterns

»This is the best developed bank KBC was entering« Although in the West, underlying controlling system, mutual funds, stocks, Eurobonds and other kinds of investments are more developed. Specific features are: people are conservative, prudent towards external investments and privatisation, in politics it's not easy for young people to make promotion. Attitude toward work is »not as different« as in Belgium. Friday afternoons are »strange here«. Level of general productivity is lower, because technical tools are not well developed.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

He speaks English in everyday communication. He learns Slovenian (twice a week per 1.5 hours), but finds it very difficult. Materials for the meetings of the management board and reports from meetings are prepared in Slovenian, therefore he has an assistant, who translates »things that are really important« and they go together through the rest. Communication in the management board is not a problem. Problems occur on meetings with area branch managers, which are held in English, because managers are reserved and not very talkative.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite He has some contacts with management people of industry, but »not in everyday business«. He avoids contacts with local authorities and politicians, because he does not speak Slovenian and has a lack of knowledge in history. Regarding the competence he is of opinion, that people from larger companies are more competent than leading personnel from government organisations, because they »have some international experience«

Summary of the interview with the (Belgian) Member of the board (MAN – R3/M)

The interview was conducted at board members office on 25. 4. 2005 (11. 45 – 12. 30) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

He started as a legal adviser in ABB that was part of KBC insurance, after couple of years he crossed over to the international department. He became in charge of products development for private clients in the department of insurance company. He switched to the field of marketing. Since the end of 2002 he is working in the board of the Slovenian bank.

2.) Surprise

Some people are thinking more through hierarchy than what is usual in Belgium. Slovenian managers could learn from the foreigners: Westerners are more consumer oriented than in general the manager working in Slovenian companies, which are quite often far more quarters thinking. That is point where Slovenian management can make locus. Foreign managers could learn from Slovenian managers: Slovene managers are very good in networking.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: it is not formal; it's quite spontaneous so I don't really see a difference from home. He thinks this is also a generation question; with older persons the relationships are more formal. The level of the identification with the firm: in Slovenia the identification with the firm is higher.

Trust: similar. Depending on people, there are also exceptions, but in general they are more working according to rules.

Individualism/Collectivism: similar more individualistic orientation. Collective argument is on the surface, if you go deeper you find individualism.

Orientation towards innovation: similar. Especially younger generations are really oriented towards innovations.

Sociability and communication: they organise social events in their subsidiarity, there birthday parties during the working hours (they don't have similar events in Belgium), they go for drinks in the afternoon.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: it is different from firm to firm; it is hard to generalize. If he would have to he would say that Slovenians have a more a heroic style of management (implying greater distance) in comparison with Western countries, who are applying more engaging Management (the concepts are taken from Mintzberg's work).

Teamwork: no major problems but in general in Slovenia there are a lot of people who are very good in writing conceptual documents but are not really capable of execution or implementation. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: depends on the problem. He is involved in conflict resolution; but if there would be more personal problems then people would easily go to Slovenian colleges, as they speak the same language and are culturally more similar. The conflicts are, if possible, solved by consultation. Participation: there is no difference between foreign and Slovenian managers.

Risk taking: he doesn't see a lot of differences between Slovenian and Belgium management. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: the rewards (financial) are much higher for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

He would place Slovenian managers into Central European Region. He thinks it is difficult to talk about regional patterns as for instance, what we call Western regional pattern, doesn't really exist (managerial styles are quite different in Anglo-Saxon countries than in Scandinavia, or Spain or in Belgium). There is uniqueness to Slovenian managerial styles – he couldn't specify just one thing; he thinks that this is reflected in the above mentioned answers. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: Slovenians are more sticking to the regular working hours. In general people working in direct contact with clients are less commercial oriented which is not really productive.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

His everyday language of communication at the work place is English (he learns Slovenian language, can understand some). The people in the bank speak actively English. The language of communication with foreigners in English and Slovenian. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. The language is a communication barrier, not just here, everywhere. There are some communication problems because of language differences, but there are no major difficulties.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He doesn't have many with other Slovenian managers or political elite. He does have contacts with local authorities and civil servants. Everything related to living and working in Slovenia, there is quite some paperwork to do but that's in the most of the countries. In general there is quite bureaucratic attitude but it's never really a huge problem. Social events and social life: he spends most of the private time with his family who lives in Slovenia. His children go to a French school in Ljubljana; they are friends with couple of families whose children go to the same school. They also have Slovenian friends.

Summary of the interview with the (Slovenian) Director of business network of one of the bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN – R4/M)

The interview was conducted at director's office on 15. 4. 2005 (8.30 – 9.05) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

She joined the NLB a year ago, before she was employed for 12 years in other Slovenian major bank, also under foreign ownership. She started to work there on probation in 1992 And worked her way up through being an assistant of the head of one of Ljubljana's' subsidiary and gradually became a head of subsidiary herself. Later she took over the whole area of Ljubljana, directing the business network. In June 2004 she crossed over to NLB and took over the field of private banking. She was just recently upgraded to the director of the overall business network of the bank, which is her current position.

2.) Surprise

She was surprised at the difference in management and leadership styles of French managers, under which she worked in other Slovenian bank and Belgian styles of management in the bank that she is currently employed. In case of French leaders and managers she calls their styles as "colonizing", not open and defensive. In case of Belgians the situation is quite different. Communication is more open, the way of acting is similar to the one in Slovenian environment.

While looking for the reasons for this differences, she listed: a.) differences in the foreign share of ownership (where the foreign ownership is higher, like in the case of French ownership of the bank, she believes that the owners engage a higher impact on the managerial practices) b.) The culture and history of the country of the owners origin (she stressed the colonial history of French).

One of the surprises that she thinks were visible on the side of the foreigners is that in Slovenia there is a high number of woman being employed as middle or senior managers, which is not the case in the banks in the Western European countries, where these foreigners come from. She couldn't find any specific fields where Slovenian and foreign managers could learn from each other. She was actually disappointed in knowledge transfers, arguing that, in case of French ownership this limited their spectrum of knowledge transfers just to their owner's practices, which she thinks were not always the most suitable for our environment.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: some rules of conduct exists, but the relationships and communication are quite informal nevertheless (including also life spheres outside the work environment).

The level of the identification with the firm: can't be generalized. It depends on the time spent in an organization (in case of French presence, where the top management is changed every three years the identification is much lower the in case of Belgian top management, as they actually live here in Slovenia).

Trust: it is also hard to generalize the question of the trust, although she could argue that the foreigners generally trust more each other. In general they are more ready to trust in advance, but it really depends on a person they are collaborating with.

Individualism/Collectivism: the individualistic orientation is highly present in the behaviour of foreign managers. Orientation towards innovation: there are no differences.

Sociability and communication: in case of foreigners, that doesn't exercise the separating of personal and business life, when it comes to social life, which is not a case in Slovenia.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the distance among foreign managers is low up to the certain level (among peers). But when considering the distance between top management and lower levels of employed, this distance is significant.

Teamwork: foreign managers are very much inclined towards the teamwork, although they did experience some blockages in cooperation among foreign and especially domestic members that hinder the teamwork. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: when conflicts appear, they are solved by consultation. Whether the foreign managers are involved in the conflict resolutions it depends on the context.

Participation: Slovenian managers are equal to the foreigner in terms of their ability to participate and cooperate at work.

Risk taking: Slovenian managers are more inclined towards taking risks, when compared to foreigners.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: When considering the means of stimulation of productivity, these are much higher (financially) for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

Especially younger generations of managers are absolutely compatible with Western styles of management. National differences in managerial styles exist also in Western European countries (for instance there is quite a difference among French and Belgian styles). She couldn't identify regional patterns. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: she believes that the working hours are longer for the foreigners, so is their work-load and the productivity is higher.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

The everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. The language of communication with foreigners in English and Slovenian (the meetings of the board are conducted in Slovenian language; the Belgian members of the board have translators). The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. This was not the case in SKB, where some groups of management were required to learn the language of the owners. Problems in communication do appear because of the linguistic differences – it is easier to express yourself in Slovenian language, also sometime the meaning applied to some words can be differently presumed.

6.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has contacts with above mentioned groups of the external environment. These contacts are mainly formal. In case of local authorities and political elite, she is disappointed in their competence. Social events: foreigners tend to mix personal and business life, which is something very untypical for Slovenians.

Summary of the interview with the (Slovenian) Director of marketing and development (MAN – R5/M)

The interview was conducted at director's office on 19. 4. 2005 (8.15 – 8.50) by Mateja Rek in the presence of Jaša Jarec.

1.) Professional Career

She started to work in a bank as an assistant on the field of retail, mainly working with the customers. In last 18 years she had several positions in the bank, from being an assistant of the head of one of Ljubljana's subsidiary, being a head of subsidiary herself to being a director of the business network including 14 branch offices and around 2000 employees. Her current position is directing marketing and development sector.

2.) Surprise

In her first acquaintances years ago, she was very surprised about how logical their operations were, they were highly task oriented and all the issues were perceived through the economical calculation (profits and costs). She is still being positively surprised at how productive the foreigners are, about their long working hours and a huge amount of workload they can carry. With some exception, this is quite different from Slovenian managers. Slovenians could learn from the Western managers how to engage in more logical operations (implying economical calculations and not just performing actions because some rule says it should be done) and especially realistic planning. An advantage of Slovenians is a better quality of life (as we actually have a personal life). Another advantage is our small size, which enables us to reach some goals faster.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: among themselves they are more informal; with Slovenians it is more formal (she thinks that is also our fault as Slovenians are not to open to accepting foreigners into their circles, especially when it comes to more informal ones). The level of the identification with the firm: is similar as in Slovenia, generally high.

Trust: She thinks they tend not to trust Slovenians that much as they trust other foreigners (might be because of the linguistic barriers or because they don't spend so much informal time together). They tend trust upfront, but it is important, to show them, that their trust is being justified.

Individualism/Collectivism: the individualistic orientation and at the same time team oriented approach.

Orientation towards innovation: there are no real differences. Foreigners tend to bring their practices, which are new to us, but not necessary innovative the Western world. They are also open for suggestions of Slovenians, but you really need to present hard arguments if you want to have their support.

Sociability and communication: Slovenians tend to keep their personal life for themselves and foreigners are being quite excluded from their personal social life.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the distance to Slovenian managers seems bigger than among foreigner ones (could be because of language barrier). Among them the distance is not that great. It seems that hierarchy is of secondary importance for foreign managers, what is more important is the content of the task and to get the job done.

Teamwork: there is no problem to work in teams with foreigners, but there are problems with Slovenians. She thinks we are not mature enough for the team work and a matrix Organization, as we do not know how to share responsibility and benefits in a mature way.

Participation: there is no difference in the ability to participate; Slovenian managers are often even more able, as they do have an advantage of knowing our environment and the context, which something is, that foreign managers are often not familiar with.

Risk taking: Slovenian managers are more inclined towards taking risks, when compared to foreigners (the reason might be that Slovenians know the environment better).

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: when considering the means of stimulation of productivity, these are much higher (financially) for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

Slovenian managers are compatible with Western styles of management (especially the younger ones). She thinks there are quite some national differences in managerial styles. For instance, Slovenians tend to be inclined towards micromanagement, which is not the case in Western Europe. There are also national differences when looking at Western European styles of management and doing business (for example a difference between French and Belgians). As for productivity, she thinks Western managers are much more hard working, they tend to work longer and are also more productive. But this trend is also getting more pronounced in Slovenia too. Ten years ago, Slovenians are becoming more similar to the Western working habits and are adopting Western long working hours.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

The everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. The language of communication with foreigners is English. The employees, especially those who are in contact with the foreigners, do learn foreign language. But the barrier is still there as you can't express yourself so freely in a foreign language, there might also be different value judgements connected to the use of language.

6.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has contacts with above mentioned groups of the external environment. These contacts are mainly formal. In case of local authorities and political elite, she thinks they are mainly competent. There are no major difficulties in communication. Social events: Slovenians tend to keep their personal life for themselves and foreigners are being quite excluded from their personal social life.

Summary of the interview with the (Slovene) Director of strategic planning and system management of ICT

(MAN – R6/M)

The interview was conducted at director's office on 18. 4. 2005 (10.30 – 11.05) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

After he graduated from economy he started to work in the sector for financial law in the bank. In 1997, when the bank started the project of ICT development and consolidation he became a head of the project office. During the project he got upgraded to the head of the department and today he is the director of the ICT system planning and management sector of the Bank. In past years he was involved in several project management trainings and is currently in an MA candidate in project management.

2.) Surprise

Nothing much really surprises him anymore. One thing that might have surprised him when he started to work with foreigners more frequently is how extremely goal oriented they are. Another thing is timing of decision making – because of the way the system works in the bank, which is large and conservative institution, it sometimes takes more time to come to the decisions; foreign managers are quite impatient about it. He wouldn't say that there are specific fields, where domestic managers are lacking knowledge. But he is talking in terms of differences of development. In Western Europe many systems or procedures have already been in place for a long time, but in Slovenia we are going through different phases of development in a fairly short time. The need for knowledge transfers varies from one phase to another. But we are definitely faster (what took KBC 7 years of development; we had to do in 1 year).

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: are similar – formal up to certain point in terms of some rules of conduct, but they also communicate informally. He thinks that is also reflected in the way they are being integrated in the Slovenian bank – there are no major problems in communication.

The level of the identification with the firm: foreign managers identify themselves more with the goals they need to achieve and less with the firm (if compared with domestic managers).

Trust: in general he would say that foreigners tend to trust foreigners more and the domestic managers tend to trust domestic ones more. But he also stresses that it is dangerous to generalize, as he thinks the issue of trust is different from person to person.

Individualism/Collectivism: foreigners are more individualistic. He also stressed that they are more goal oriented and less people oriented.

Orientation towards innovation: it is more a question of being young or old or being new in organization or being in the bank for a long time. Newcomers tend to be more innovative than the ones who are in the bank already for a longer time, and young tend to be more innovative than older. But this is not a rule.

Sociability and communication: foreigners tend to socialise more with their co-workers outside of working hours. They try to facilitate a working climate in teams in sectors by socialising also in private life. Slovenians are not used to that (“after we finish our working hours, we go home to the family”).

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: he thinks the distance is smaller in case of foreign managers. Although there is also a number of Slovenian managers who act similarly, but the system is still more hierarchical in Slovenia.

Teamwork: foreigners are used to team working and in general also Slovenian managers don't have many problems. They do experience problems when they try to involve persons from different departments into the team (you need to get approvals from various hierarchically higher persons and it is time consuming).

The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: foreigners tend to leave conflict resolutions to domestic managers. If possible conflicts are solved with consultation. Nevertheless, sometimes the directives are also needed.

Participation: there is no difference in the ability to participate. Risk taking: similar. Although there is a difference in foreigners who come for shorter periods of time or the ones who stay longer. The first ones are more inclined to take risks.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: the rewards (financial) are much higher for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

Slovenian managers are compatible with Western styles of management. National differences are not that great; in the circle of foreigners he cooperates with - he can see some differences between managers coming from Anglo-Saxon or Continental European countries but thinks that this also depends on a person. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: there are no big differences in motivation (although the financial motivation is much bigger for foreign managers). The foreigners are in general more productive, they work longer, but Slovenians are catching up in productivity.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

The everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. The language of communication with foreigners is in English. The employees, especially those who are in contact with the foreigners, do learn foreign language. Also a lot of foreigners, especially those, who stay longer in Slovenia, learn Slovenian language. The employees don't need to learn the language of the owners. There are some communication problems because of language differences, but there are no major difficulties.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Personally he doesn't have many contacts with above mentioned groups of the external environment, but other in the sector do. As far as he knows there are no major problems in these contacts. Social events and social life: foreigners tend to spend more with each other, less with Slovenian colleagues, who usually spend their private life with their family and friends. But they do spend some time together (in his case the foreign managers have asked if they can join basketball recreation organized by the bank and they are active members of the team now).

Summary of the interview with the (Slovenian) Director of marketing

(MAN – R7/M)

The interview was conducted at the directors' office on 22. 4. 2005 (14.20 – 15.00) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

She has been employed in the bank for 15 years mainly working on the field of the business network. In the nineties she was responsible for introduction of the system of loans, she was head of the mortgage banking project. For the past 6 months she is the director of banks marketing.

2.) Surprise

Foreigners are sometimes quite rigid in their behaviour or decisions. She thinks that is because they work in a stable market, but in Slovenia many of the systems are not in place yet or are being developed. Slovenian managers need to be more flexible because of that. Slovenian managers could learn from foreigners: decision making process and taking responsibility for own decisions. Foreign managers could learn from Slovenian managers: relationship building among employees (even those from different hierarchical levels).

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: more formal (but she stressed that her estimation is based on her experience with German banks, where she worked for a period of time). Belgians are similar to Slovenian style (some rules of communication exist, but the relationships can be quite informal).

The level of the identification with the firm: in Slovenia the identification with the firm is higher (foreigners change jobs more often so she thinks their identification is not so strong). But she also

observes generational differences in Slovenia: younger generations identify themselves less with the organisation, are working on short-period contracts and tend to change jobs much more often than the older generation.

Trust: in general she could say that foreigners tend to trust foreigners; Slovenians tend to trust Slovenians more. But this also depending on a person. Foreign managers are more ready to trust upfront in comparison to Slovenian managers.

Individualism/Collectivism: they are more individualistic than Slovenian managers (she thinks that relationship building for them doesn't seem to be so important)

Orientation towards innovation: similar. Especially younger generations are really oriented towards innovations.

Sociability and communication: she wouldn't know about any special events organised at the level of the bank, but they do go out together with co-workers, also foreign ones, on some occasions.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the distance among foreign managers is low up to the certain level (among peers). But when considering the distance between top management and lower levels of employed, this distance is significant.

Teamwork: there are some problems, especially when deciding, who is responsible for specific tasks. Typical is also the lack of information sharing, especially in bigger teams the role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: When conflicts appear, they are also being solved by foreign managers. If these conflicts are really problematic they are solved by the use of rules and hierarchy, otherwise by conversation. There are no big differences among foreign and Slovenian managers in that respect.

Participation: Slovenian managers are equal to the foreigner in terms of their ability to participate and cooperate at work. Risk taking: similar but the context is different. In the west they have more accurate data systems and more information. In Slovenia similar systems are being developed. Because of lack of data and information Slovenian managers are sometimes forced to take more risky decisions.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: the system is similar, but when considering the means of stimulation of productivity, these are much higher (financially) for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

She would place Slovenian managers into Western European Region, more specifically into continental European model. There is some uniqueness to Slovenian managerial styles that is bound to the phase of the development that we are in. As not all the systems are in place yet, Slovenian managers need to be more flexible, adaptable to change. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: there is a general stereotype that Foreigners work longer and are more productive than Slovenia's. She doesn't think that is true. She thinks Slovenians are

similar productive and work faster, many times they need to do more than foreigners as they are faced with constant change.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

Her everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. Majority of people in the bank speak actively English. The language of communication with foreigners is English and Slovenian. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It

Is not required to speak the language of the owners.

The language is a communication barrier, not just here, everywhere. There are some communication problems because of language differences, but there are no major difficulties.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has regular contacts with other Slovenian managers and business people. These contacts are mainly of a formal nature. She doesn't have contacts with political elite. She does have contacts with local authorities and civil servants. She thinks they are quite competent. Social events and social life: she spends most of the private time with his family and friends. She doesn't spend her private time with colleges from work or foreign managers.

Summary of the interview with (Slovenian) Head of personnel department in on of bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN-R8/B)

Date and time: 20th May 2003, 9 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in her office. She is Slovenian.

1) Career path

Obtained a degree in psychology and M.Sc. Started in this bank on probation and continued in personnel department. In 1989, first became head of personnel department. From 1996 to 1998 a counsellor for personnel, then moved to another Slovenian bank as a head of personnel. In 2000, she returned to this bank as advisor of head for development of personnel. Since 2003, she is head of personnel department.

2.) Surprise

Since the entrance of foreign capital, representative of the foreign owner communicates to her directly and openly. There are two spheres of learning between management sphere and its local environment. First, what we should learn from Belgians is the "follow up" process, in which there is testing of employees to ensure promotion to upper positions. What Belgians should learn from us is contacts with managers and the business environment of the former Yugoslavia.

3.) Organisational climate

Behaviour with collaborators is formal, but includes "politeness, communication, and consideration of individual". In many hierarchical levels, informality in relations prevails. The identification with the firm is high. The willingness to cooperate is "very high", although she had

some experience with “looking after one’s interests”. The nature of work demands collective activity of co-workers. They trust her.

4.) Managerial Style

In comparison to foreign countries there is more hierarchy and distance among managers and other groups of employees. Example: in Slovenia, employees address each other with surnames, as foreigners use first names. Project work and team organisation are not a problem. In conflicts, she tries to be constructive, to cooperate and search for a common solution. Cooperation of co-workers is better in upper positions in comparison to lower ones. Relating to her position, she can rely on her co-workers and trusts them. In her opinion, they trust foreign managers in the bank.

5.) National and regional patterns

Regarding work organisation and managerial competence, Slovenia is more similar to Western countries.

Specific features: hardworking, more flexible in comparison to over organised foreigners. Level of general productivity is lower in Slovenia than in Western countries. Motivation for work is similar.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

At everyday job, she speaks Slovenian. She is learning English which is used in the firm as a third language for some meetings of supervisory board. There are no problems with communication.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has contacts with managers from Slovenian firms in similar field and with the representative of the foreign owner. She has no contacts with local authorities, high civil servants or politicians.

Summary of the interview with the foreign (Irish) IT System Migration and IT Consolidation Consultant, permanently stationed at one of the bigger Slovenian banks (MAN – R9/M)

The interview was conducted at consultant’s office on 18. 4. 2005 (12.30 – 13.10) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

He has over 30 years of experience in Banking and Technology. His skill repertoire include: project management, IT strategy, IT system migration and IT consolidation, business process re-engineering and credit procedures and credit management systems. He obtained a BA in Management and a Diploma in System Analysis at Hones. In past 20 years he has been working as a consultant in various banks in Central and Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Poland and Slovenia) and in Africa (Ghana, Nigeria). He forked in Slovenia for shorter periods of time throughout the nineties. He got married to a Slovenian and is now living in Slovenia and working at the bank as a consultant on IT Migration and Consolidation.

2.) Surprise

He was surprised at the relationship of the bank to the Central bank in Slovenia. He thinks there is a lack of more interaction and influence with the Central bank rather than waiting for that Central bank to give regulations. He is surprised that the bank of his employment, although it is a major player at the Slovenian market, doesn't take a more proactive role in influencing the Central banks decisions. This is also a major field of experience that he thinks Slovenian manager and business people could learn from Westerners – taking a stand and being a proactive player. Another field where Slovenians could improve is in estimating and planning skills and the actual implementation timing. In Slovenia, late delivery, project running late are common. Making sure that the project planning is realistic is missing.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: are more formal than in Ireland or Britain. But there is a difference between official and unofficial. For the conduct or plans to be official they need to follow certain systemic rules, but there is also an unofficial opinion about it communicated at an informal level and the two are being separated.

The level of the identification with the firm: similar.

Trust: Slovenian managers are ready to trust upfront, although there is a small distrust of foreigner here.

Individualism/Collectivism: Western managers are more individualistic (they feel more empowering in decision-making and taking the responsibility). The situation in Slovenia has improved greatly in past ten years in terms of taking individual decision and responsibility, but in those area Slovenian managers still have some more to learn.

Orientation towards innovation: there are no differences in orientation towards innovation as regards of being a Slovenian or Westerner businessman. It depends more on the situation on the market – competition, need to adopt, to find new approaches and in that respect Slovenian managers are equally capable of adopting.

Sociability and communication: very similar. Not knowing Slovenian language can be a barrier (“You need to be able to speak Slovene to really enjoy that”).

4.) Managerial Style

Hierarchy and distance: the hierarchy is more rigid. Compared to managers in Ireland or Great Britain, managers tend to follow their job description more and are less prepared to “step outside the box to get the job done”. The distance among top management and lower level of management is not that great.

Teamwork: there is a difference – in Ireland or Britain managers tend to be more tasks oriented and identify themselves with the team and less with the organisation. Here a broader organisational identification prevails. There is also a big difference in communication of problems – in Slovenia even though a problem is identified in an early stage of the project It is not communicated to the project leader until much later (“90% stick ability factor”). The good

news about giving a bad news early is that you can actually tackle it more effectively. This is somewhat harder here. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: it depends on the role of the foreigner. If the foreigner is a consultant for a shorter period of time, that he usually leaves it to domestic managers. In there is a longer period and a foreigner gets more involved in the relationships, he also deals with conflict resolution. It also depends on context. Sometime it is better to leave it to the Slovenian managers, as they speak the same language and are culturally more similar. When possible conflicts are solved by consultations.

Participation: similar, although Slovenian managers could feel more empowered.

Risk taking: not different.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: additional project-related bonuses that are being practiced in the bank are something unknown of in Ireland. He thinks they are not functional, as they don't give the result in actual project implementation and timing and people tend to receive them, even if the results are not that great.

5.) National and regional patterns

Slovenians are more similar to Central Europe regarding the work organisation and managerial competence. Unique (specific) feature of Slovenian people: "They would think they don't need an advice or assistance". The differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: lower is Slovenia. This is bound to the "8 hours mentality".

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

The language of his communication is English. Slovenians master the English language surprisingly well, so there are no real problems there. He also learns Slovenian language (by now he can understand some, but can't speak it). Knowing some Slovenian is helpful, as people are more open and he is also more perceptive to the nonverbal communication of Slovenes.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

No contacts. He leaves it to the Slovenian managers and the administration staff. Social events and social life: the firm does organize some social events; he joins them. He also has Slovenian friends, he got married in Slovenia, spends most of the spare time with his wife and friends, some of them job related others not related to the firm.

Summary of the interview with the (Irish) Consultant on project management (MAN – R10/M)

The interview was conducted at consultant office on 26. 4. 2005 (16.00 – 16.45) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

He has been working in the banking and technology industry for some 16 years. He has worked in banks in Ireland and then in the course after 8 years he moved into technology, and travelled around Europe, worked in banks in Holland, France, Germany and now Slovenia (last 4 years). His main profile is project manager. He came to Slovenia to assist project teams to get focused on projects they are handling, on technology and structure, working towards new models of management, primarily new concepts and so forth.

2.) Surprise

He has been here for 4 years and has seen quite a fundamental change in the philosophy and mind-sets of the Slovenian managers. 4 years ago it was a very negative approach to change, a lot of people wanted it to stay the way things are, to remain the structures that have been in place. His biggest surprise when coming here was, from the management level, the lack of proactively. It's more of reacting management style that proactive management style. This hasn't changed much in past 4 years.

Slovenian managers could learn from the foreigners: to better handle the whole scheme of the decision making. Slovenians are in similar position that Ireland 20 years ago: they are decision driven, no one wants to take the ownership of the decisions. The decisions are driven from above while it should be more reversed, from bottom up. This should be changed. Foreign managers could learn from Slovenian managers: in banking not much; perhaps in other fields like pharmaceutical (the way they organize themselves at the management level is very good).

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: extremely formal in Slovenia. The level of the identification with the firm: similar; there might be that Slovenians identify themselves more with the organisation as a whole, whereas foreigners might be more project or task oriented.

Trust: hard to identify differences. In general he could say that foreign managers are more ready to trust upfront, while with Slovenian managers you need to prove yourself so that they trust you. In the relations of foreign and domestic managers, he thinks that foreigners tend to trust foreigners more and the domestic managers tend to trust domestic ones more.

Individualism/Collectivism: similar to foreigners, more individualistic Orientation towards innovation: both are innovative, but there is difference in communicating their ideas. Slovenians are very resistant towards challenging or slightly changing their ideas.

Sociability and communication: there are some events in the bank, not so many in the frame of the organisation as a whole, but more with people he works closer with. Locals have more events and foreigners many times don't get invited. Outside of the office he has quite a lot of friends, Slovenian and foreign.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the hierarchy in Slovene companies is immense. There is too much Politics brought into the hierarchy. Teamwork: teamwork can be good, to a certain level, if there is not too many managers at the Same position, who compete amongst each other. These competitions within a team creates conflicts and makes communication flows impossible, what is quite common. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: he is actively involved in the

problem resolution. He tries to solve conflicts by clear direct communication. Very in disciplinary Participation: there is no difference in the ability to participate.

Risk taking: Slovenian managers are less willing to take risks. With the byrocratic nature of Management style here, they will not take a risk if it is on their sole responsibility. They would Look to senior managing for major decisions. Because every major decision is documented, Signed and has a procedure. Unless they are 100% sure, they will not sign it. And if you are 100% sure, there is no risk. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: the rewards (financial) are much higher for foreign managers.

5.) National and regional patterns

He would place Slovenian managers into Central European moving towards Western management styles. There is uniqueness to Slovenian managerial styles – he couldn't specify just one thing; he thinks that this is reflected in the above mentioned answers. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: foreigners are more productive and also more motivated (which must have something to do with higher level of rewards). He mentioned the problem of postponing the work (in Western countries, "if I would have to do something today, it gets done today. While here it can wait till tomorrow").

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

His everyday language of communication at the work place is English (he learns Slovenian language, can understand some). The people in the bank speak actively English. The language of communication with foreigners in English and Slovenian. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. The language is a communication barrier, not just here, everywhere. There are some communication problems because of language differences, but there are no major difficulties.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has regular contacts with other Slovenian managers, some formal some informal. Generally they start of an informal basis and a friendly introduction, but then sometimes during the basic conversation in something that we are more interested in we can agree on some more formal cooperation. He also has quite regular contacts (mainly informal) with the Political elite, he is involved with some of the activities of the Irish embassy. He does have contacts with local authorities and civil servants (his biggest birocratic challenge was to get married in Slovenia) and doesn't face many problems. He thinks they are as competent as anywhere else. Social events and social life: he has a lot of friends here, his wife is here, so he does socialise a lot. He also goes out also with some friend from work, but fairly rarely.

Summary of the interview with (British) Consultant on IT Strategies and Data Centres (MAN – R11/M)

The interview was conducted in Union Cafe on 21. 4. 2005 (19.30 – 20.30) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

He worked in IT in financial institutions for over 30 years. He worked for major banks in UK, America, France and Belgium. For 20 years he worked for an American investment bank as a team manager there and as a consultant. He also worked in France on introducing EURO and now he works on introducing EURO here in Slovenia. So, predominantly he works in computer area, on IT strategies and data centres, projects, programmes, project management. He has lived in America, France, Belgium and UK and now for past two years he has been living in Slovenia.

2.) Surprise

There are different examples; the differences are quite profound in certain cases. When trying to introduce meeting in late afternoon (after 8 hours of work schedule) he almost face a strike. He couldn't understand what the problem was. He was explained that they work mainly 8 hours a day and that is it. He thinks that is something unheard of in Western companies, especially for senior or top management. He was also surprised when top managers used events from private life to interfere with their business life (for example: not attending the meeting at 4.30, because they need to pick their children from the nursery). In west business life comes first. How you deal with your private life is your problem and it is your problem outside of the firm.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: less formal in comparison to Slovenian managers. The level of the identification with the firm: in Slovenia the identification is lower; "I think they just think it is something which gives them money. I don't see people to do great things just for the sake of the firm because they love the firm or they want it to be successful. There is no linkage between people's activity and the way they do this activities and productivity of the firm."

Trust: it is different; He calls it »cronyism«. It means people trust their friends and people they've known for a long time. It does not mean that they are the most expert people in the bank. I think this is not so much present in Western countries. Whether they trust in advance really depends on a person and the relationship.

Individualism/Collectivism: collectively in terms of decision making. Individualistic in terms of taking care for their personal assets. There is not a lot of bravery, not a lot of risk taking. There is a lot of avoidance of decisions, especially if there is a one individual who would have to make a decision.

Orientation towards innovation: Slovenian managers are less innovative (there is a reluctance to get involved in innovation, especially as people get older, and they are usually the ones in positions; the only people you can persuade that innovation is good are very young).

Sociability and communication: the bank does organise social events, like basketball or dinners or sports day. Outside of work he mainly socialises with other expatriates.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: bigger distance at similar levels of hierarchy, vertically speaking, lower distance.

Teamwork: it is problematic; because of the hierarchical structure and at the same time metrics organisation you get too many managers at the same level in the teams – there is competition among them, there is very little knowledge sharing and transfer, The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: mainly leave it to domestic managers (people seem to be a bit less willing to tell foreign managers what their real problem is, especially if it is personal).

Participation: Slovenian managers are equal to the foreigner in terms of their ability to participate and cooperate at work.

Risk taking: Slovenian managers are less inclined towards taking risks, when compared to foreigners (“if the decision is collectively supported, than risks can be much higher. But when a person is individually responsible for the decision, there I don’t see big risks. Sometimes you don’t even get a decision at all”).

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: the rewards in Western world are much higher; they are also more achievement oriented.

5.) National and regional patterns

He would place Slovenia very on the top of the Central-European countries. Special features of Slovenian managers: very adaptable, once you take them out of the environment. They are not very adaptable in Slovenia, there is a kind of a peer pressure or social pressure. They are very good natured. Productivity is quite low here, so is the motivation. He connects these facts with the systems of rewarding – *“The salaries in Slovenia are poor. I am horrified and embarrassed by how low are the salaries here.”*

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

His everyday language of communication at the work place is English (he learns Slovenian language, can understand some, but don’t think that will be ever able to really speak it) The People in the bank speak actively English. The language of communication with foreigners in English and Slovenian. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. There are no particular problems in communication because of the linguistic differences.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with above mentioned groups of the external environment. These contacts are mainly informal of social nature. They meet quite regularly. He thinks their competence is pretty much similar like in Britain. He doesn’t think highly of the politicians. The competence of local authorities and civil servants is similar, although some rules for foreigners (getting a Work permit) are stricter and the process takes too long. Social events: He mainly socializes with other foreigners outside of work. Slovenians have tight circles of friends and are much more family oriented, so it's harder to socialise with them. “It's not so easy to get invited to people's houses here. It seems that they have to know you for much longer before they let you cross “the line”. He socialises with Slovenians mainly in events the bank organises (when they do go out together there are no problems and it is fun).

Summary of the interview with (Irish) General Manager in one of the bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN-R12/B)

Date and time: 20th May 2003, 3 pm

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in English in his office. The interviewee is Irish, lives permanently in Slovenia since 1993. He is not representative of the foreign investor. His role in the bank is in management accounting and investor relations.

1.) Career

He is professional accountant with over twenty years' experience in the financial services sector. Gained experience in areas including strategic and financial planning, management information systems, financial control, investor relations, etc. Has several years' management experience in areas of Management and Financial Accounting and experience in working in central Europe, i.e. Ireland and Poland. He participated also in NLB Privatisation program in 1999. From 1999 to 2000 worked as a Chief Financial Officer in IT Company. Since 2003 he is general manager of accounting department.

2.) Surprise and learning

In the last ten years, he noticed no significant change in Slovenia. It's a very "gradualist" environment. When he came here, people were very similar to Ireland in terms of "ability, education and turning to the real life of business". The only surprise in relation to employees was quite high "level of proficiency of languages". Relations among business actors were definitely "more socialist than in the West" - there was strong connection between personal and business relationships. In relations with co-owners, He experienced a "confusion of the role between owner and manager" in IT Company. According to his experience the civil servants are "typically bureaucratic", "they were not willing to have an open mind".

3.) Organisational climate

Regarding relation to collaborators and co-workers, their conduct is definitely more formal in comparison to his country. Even in close relations, they address each other with surnames. He is of opinion that "the more formal conduct leads to less communication - it doesn't encourage open and free communication". For this reason, he addresses employees in his department with first name and demands the same from them. Identification with the firm is "very high". The willingness to cooperate is "very good", if employees are encouraged. They are individualistic – this goes also for nation as a whole.

He assesses trust as "a very much common thing" only on the individual (informal) level.

4.) Managerial Style

Among different hierarchical positions, cross-communication is present. Disagreements always come to a common point, which is "very professional and very positive". No problems with team

work and project organisation. He is “absolutely” satisfied with the level of participation and cooperation of Slovenian members of management and other employees and can rely on them.

5.) National and regional patterns

In terms of organization, management and competence, Slovenia is “far superior” to Eastern Europe and “extremely similar” to Western Europe. Features: sociable once they are encouraged, insecure towards foreigners. Too respectful to the foreign environment: “they have inferiority complex to the Western world”. “They are extremely good, well educated, civilized people.” *“Technically very strong, business and practical work could be better.”* In the West, people are more pragmatic.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

Speaks Slovenian and uses it in everyday communication Outside work and in business relations outside the bank, he takes opportunities to speak English, “only for the reason I don’t want to be misunderstood”. Learning English among employees is looked upon very favourably. No problems with communication.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has rare contacts with managers and owners of other Slovenian firms. Experiences with local authorities are extremely bad - in relation to nostrification process of his educational degree. Has no contacts with high civil servants and politicians and therefore cannot estimate their competence.

Summary of the interview with (Slovenian) Public relations manager

(MAN – R13/M)

The interview was conducted at coordinators office on 13. 5. 2005 (9.00 – 10.00) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

She graduated from journalism 18 years ago. She works at another bank, before becoming a PR Manager at the bank of our interest, where she is responsible for communication both with internal as well as external publics.

2.) Surprise

She was positively surprised about the efficiency and concreteness of the way foreign managers think and act. Their thinking is very structural, which couldn’t be said for Slovene managers. This is one field of experience, where Slovene managers could learn from foreigners. They could also learn how to be more open, and how to cultivate dialogue with less distance and more appreciation to the other involved in the dialogue. Foreign managers could learn from Slovenian managers about informal networking, being more personal in relations with others and sharing also job or task unrelated thoughts.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: the communication among foreign managers seems to be more informal in comparison to Slovenian (although she points out that it is hard to generalize).

The level of the identification with the firm: the identification is very high – she thinks this comes from the corporate culture (the top managers that she is referring to are in closer contacts with the owners of the firm, the board should also work as a whole to accomplish the goals set, so their identification is very high).

Trust: it is hard to establish whether foreigners trust each other more than Slovenian managers – it might be that, if they are in a more frequent communication (as they speak their language and have familiar background or a cultural context) that they trust each other more. Otherwise, they tend to trust Slovenian managers, but this trust is based on rational choices (it is not blind).

Individualism/Collectivism: both – they are very collectivistic when it comes to cooperation or teamwork, but they are individuals with their own careers as well.

Orientation towards innovation: similar.

Sociability and communication: there are numerous occasions organised by the bank or specific sectors intended for sociability; foreigners tend to join them and actively participate. There are also some events open for external publics.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the relationships of foreign managers are less hierarchical, the Distance is lower in comparison to Slovenian circumstances.

Teamwork: no major problems, except logistically because of the language differences (translations needs to be organised so this is sometimes time consuming). The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: foreigners are actively involved in conflict resolutions; the primary approach is conflict resolution by consultation.

Participation: Slovenian managers are equal to the foreigner in terms of their ability to participate and cooperate at work.

Risk taking: the differences are hard to establish; she could argue that foreign managers are more open to changes and they approach the more rationally and proactively and by that they try to reduce risk.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: by giving feedback, positive appraisal when this is justified or guidance, when things go wrong, foreigners tend to motivate employees much better than Slovenian managers (who often don't give you credit for a job well done, and criticise instead of guide you when things go wrong).

5.) National and regional patterns

She would place Slovenian managers into Western European region. There is some uniqueness to Slovenian managerial styles because it tends to besides the leaning towards Western European styles, embrace also some Mediterranean temperament and spontaneous communicative features. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: Foreigners tend to work long hours, they seem highly motivated.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

Her everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. Majority of people in the bank speak actively English. The language of communication with foreigners is English and Slovenian. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. The language is a communication barrier, not just here, everywhere. There are some communication problems because of language differences, but there are no major difficulties.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has regular contacts with other Slovenian managers and business people. These contacts are mainly of informal nature. She does have contacts with local authorities and civil servants. As for the competences, she thinks the procedures should be shortened and made more rational, but in general she didn't face many problems in cooperating with them. She doesn't have contacts with political elite. Social events and social life: she doesn't socialise much with work colleagues in her spare time, although she occasionally goes to social events organised by the firm or the sector or self-initiated by team colleagues.

Summary of the interview with the (Slovene) Public Relations Officer of one of the bigger Slovenian banks

(MAN – R14/M)

The interview was conducted at PRs' office on 26. 5. 2005 (9.15 – 10.00) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

Currently she works as a PR Officer. She graduated from economy and has been employed at the bank for 5 years. In that time she has been involved in several projects that included also foreign managers.

2.) Surprise

She was positively surprised at how non-hierarchically foreign managers approach co-workers and at their high levels of cooperation with different layers of employees. Although some Slovenian managers, especially younger ones, have similar non-hierarchical and cooperative approaches, this is one fields of experience that Slovenian managers could learn from foreigners. The foreigners are very task oriented and it is sometimes hard to establish who is responsible for individual pieces of the task and what an individual person's role is – she thinks Slovenians have a higher degree of role determinations and foreign managers could, up to a point, learn from this experience and adapt it to their practices.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: relationships and communication are more informal, foreign managers tend to be more operative but seem to be very relaxed in communication at the same time.

The level of the identification with the firm: foreign managers identify themselves less with the firm, more with the project or a task.

Trust: she could argue that the foreigners generally (at least when they first come to the country and if they only stay here for shorter periods) trust more each other. In general they are ready to trust in advance, but the trust needs to be justified through the concrete relationship.

Individualism/Collectivism: in general more individualistic, but when it comes to teamwork they tend to cooperate better (are in that sense more collectivistic than Slovenian managers).

Orientation towards innovation: it seems that foreigners tend to implement more new ideas; but usually these are new ideas only for Slovenian context and are actually just bringing foreign practices, that are not really new, to Slovenia.

Sociability and communication: foreigners tend to socialise more with co-workers or members of the team also outside the office (afternoon drinks if there has been a work well done etc.). She thinks this is also a form of acknowledging good work, it motivates the team for further Achievements and builds up a “team spirit”. She thinks this is not really typical for Slovenian managers.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the distance among foreign managers is lower, the relationship is less hierarchical. Teamwork: foreign managers are very much inclined towards the teamwork, although they did experience some blockages in cooperation among foreign and especially domestic members that hinder the teamwork. Slovenian team members are sometimes to role oriented and are not ready to “step out of their role “even if they could, by cooperating with others, positively contribute not only to their task, but to the general goal of the team. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: when conflicts appear, they are solved by consultation. Foreign managers are involved in the conflict resolutions. They approach them very rationally – the goal is to solve the problem as effectively as possible and not to make a big fuss about it. Participation: Slovenian managers are equal to the foreigner in terms of their ability to participate and cooperate at work. Risk taking: Slovenian managers are more inclined towards taking risks, when compared to foreigners. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: when considering the means of stimulation of productivity, these are much higher (financially) for foreign managers. They are also more bound to actual achievements of the person.

5.) National and regional patterns

She would place Slovenian managers into Central European. She couldn't think of any explicitly national specifics of Slovenian or foreign managers. As for the productivity and motivation she believes that the working hours are longer for the foreigners, so is their work-load and the

productivity is higher. But she also has a feeling that in some cases foreigners produce for the sake of producing and not because there is an actual need.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

The everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. The language of communication with foreigners in English. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. Problems in communication do appear because of the linguistic differences – it is easier to express yourself in Slovenian language, also sometime the meaning applied to some words can be differently presumed.

6.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has contacts with some of the above mention groups of the external environment mainly with other managers and media. Accessional she communicates with PR persons from the offices or the local authorities or political entities (ministries), but these contacts are rare and formal. When asked what the competences of these people are, she stressed that, because of their status they have a lot of power. It is possible to reach agreements even though their starting position in negotiations is very powerful. Social events: foreigners tend to socialize with foreigners more, but they also have Slovenian friends. This does depend on the character of the person, on how long he/she is staying in Slovenia.

Summary of the interview with (Slovenian) Project coordinator (MAN – R15/M)

The interview was conducted at coordinators office on 18. 5. 2005 (15.30 – 16.15) by Mateja Rek.

1.) Professional Career

Since last year she has been employed in the bank as a project coordinator, before she was working at the bank as a student for 5 years. She has a graduation degree from pedagogical studies. The projects that she coordinates consist of teams with foreigner and Slovene managers.

2.) Surprise

She was surprised at the foreign manager's openness and readiness to cooperate and their non-hierarchical approach, which is not typical for Slovenian managers. Foreigners are also more focused on the contents of the project, the core ideas; they are expressed in a direct, plain language so there is no room for confusions. They are very strategic and clear. These are some items where Slovenian managers could learn from foreigners. Slovenian managers tend to have broader knowledge; they speak more languages, which is also an advantage in some cases.

3.) Organizational Climate

Communication and relationships of foreign managers: Foreign managers are less formal in comparison to Slovenian managers.

The level of the identification with the firm: Foreigner's identification with the firm is lower.

Trust: They tend to trust in advance, are positive and motivational – you don't always have a feeling that you need to always justify their trust. There are however differences of "mentality" – foreigners like to have "hands on" the project as a whole – from the beginning to the end, cross-cutting different roles. So it seems sometimes that they don't trust people as much as they are constantly communicating with several individuals, to see what the progress of the work is. As for Slovenians it is customary that everyone has its role, does its part and doesn't really know what others are performing.

Individualism/Collectivism: in the sense of teamwork and cooperation and communication they are more collectivistic.

Orientation towards innovation: foreigners are more active in implementing new ideas; they are very proactive in that sense.

Sociability and communication: They have afternoon drinks with the team, or some other Sociable events in the sector. If foreigners join them it really depends on their personality – some do constantly, some very rarely.

4.) Managerial styles

Hierarchy and distance: the distance is lower, hierarchy is not as present in the behaviour of foreign managers when compared to Slovenian managers.

Teamwork: they don't have any problems with team work, where she works. She thinks it is important that the teams where she works are very small so it is easy to coordinate work and to organise communication. She also stressed that it is very important that the distance among individuals is very low and the relationships aren't hierarchical. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolutions: in general foreign managers are involved in conflict resolutions, but in concrete situations it depends on the context. The conflicts are mainly solved by consultation if this is possible.

Participation: Slovenian managers are equal to the foreigner in terms of their ability to participate and cooperate at work.

Risk taking: she couldn't assess whether foreigners are more/less inclined toward risk taking.

But she said foreigners are definitely more proactive – they won't wait for a situation to emerge where a risky decision will need to be taken, but if it is in their powers they will proactively try to influence the process that leads to decisions. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: doesn't know what the difference in formal rewarding systems is. Their financial rewards are however higher. On an informal level, she thinks foreigners are more active, they try to motivate their employees by giving positive feedback to their work (which is not the case in Slovenia) or offer help if they are not satisfied instead of only criticising.

5.) National and regional patterns

She would place Slovenian managers into Central European region. There is some uniqueness to Slovenian managerial styles – being precise, punctual is very important, and sometimes it is more

important how products look, that what it says in them. Slovenians are also quite closed, they are inclined towards untrusting. Differences in productivity (generally) and work motivation: Foreigners tend to work long hours, they seem highly motivated.

6.) Communication and contacts within firm

Her everyday language of communication at the work place is Slovenian. Majority of people in the bank speak actively English. The language of communication with foreigners is English and Slovenian. The employees have a possibility to learn foreign language, if they wish to. It is not required to speak the language of the owners. The language is a communication barrier, not just here, everywhere. There are some communication problems because of language differences, but there are no major difficulties.

7.) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

She has regular contacts with other Slovenian managers and business people. These contacts are mainly of informal nature. She does have contacts with local authorities and civil servants. She says she can't judge their competences, but in general she didn't face many problems in cooperating with them. She doesn't have contacts with political elite. Social events and social life: she doesn't socialise much with work colleagues in her spare time, although she occasionally goes to social events organised by the firm or the sector, or self-initiated by team colleagues.

Case 2: car industry

Summary of the Interview with General Director of a Major Car Plant

R1

Date and time: 20th May 2003, 6 pm

Interview was carried out in Brnik Airport by Matevž Tomšič in the presence of Barbara Tomšič, in English. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

Professional career

He has been working in car industry from fifteen years of age, when he was on probation. He studied engineering parallel with work. He worked in different plants (agriculture vehicles plant, personal vehicles plant) in different locations in France (Paris, Cleon). In 1985 he finished studies in post-graduate school for management in Paris (similar to MBA). Current position: general director.

Surprise and learning

His experience is mostly position. The biggest surprise was about the "quality of people", who work in plant. They are highly skilled and motivated. Working here is relatively easy because people respect the contracts and perform their tasks correctly. Slovenians want the best

(“syndrome of the first class, they want to be all the time in the best position”), so they implement everything from EU (law, regulations) and sometimes they are too eager in this conduct. Slovenians do not need to learn much about working skills which are on European level. Business attitudes could be somehow changed – they are often too short-term oriented.

Organizational culture

In the behaviour of Slovenian collaborators and workers regarding relationship the formal type of communication prevails. It is difficult to make close relations. They are loyal to the firm but the identification is not very high – they would prefer to work for Slovenian owner. Nevertheless, there are no problems with co-operation: « they are very loyal”.

They also trust foreign managers – to the same level as to Slovenian ones. The behaviour of Slovenian employees is individualistic: “the profound meaning of the people is individual” - they are focused on their work, on themselves, their families and their property.

Managerial style

There is no difference between Slovenia and France regarding hierarchy (situation is quite the same – because of the same type of organization). No problems with team work and project organization. Participation and co-operation are better than in France. He can rely on Slovenian co-workers and trust them.

National and regional patterns

Slovenia is most similar to Western countries “they are clearly turning their way of life to the West”. Productivity is very high “best productivity plant” in Renault. Productivity is closest to that in Japanese branch firm.

Communication and contacts within firm

At his work place, he communicates mostly in French (rarely in English). He learns Slovenian. It is expected for employees who have contacts with foreign (French) management to speak French. In general there are no problems with communication.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with Slovenian managers and owners on weekly basis (ca. 8 meetings per month). It’s easy to communicate because everybody speaks English. Experience with local authorities could be better – it is an impression that they are not very confident with foreign owners. Some contacts with top-level politicians like minister (minister Dimovski mentioned). Contacts are both formal and informal. They are accessible people – easy to work and speak with them. Concerning their competence: they are quite competent – young, well educated and have a lot to theoretical knowledge but less experience. They are very self-confident.

Summary of the Interview with Head of Maintenance Department

R2

Date and time: 15th May 2003, 9.35am.

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian and (according to internal classification) a member of collegiums of directions in the plant (following board the top position in the plant). Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

Career path

He obtained a degree in mechanical engineering. Started work in metallurgical firm in technical, development and maintenance department. He continued in car plant in quality department, preceded in personnel department. Since 2000, he is a member of collegiums of directions and head of maintenance department.

Surprise and learning

After the entrance of foreign capital to the firm, three changes are significant: 1. Level of competence of managers has raised 2. More importance of internal mobility 3. Different work organization: greater orientation to results and to the reduction of costs. Common point, in which the foreign businessman and their local environment could learn from each other, is organization. Local managers are more concrete in solving problems.

Foreign managers have greater knowledge of management methods.

Organizational climate

He assesses that the relationships with the foreign leadership are formal. Relations among Slovenian managers are more informal. On the other hand, the relationships between Slovenian managers and employees are formal (internal information service) and informal. The identification with the firm is high. Readiness to cooperate is high; co-workers are positive oriented towards teamwork (“they’ve become used to it and like working in teams”). Top positions are more individualistic and demand respect for decisions in some fields. In others, decisions are made collectively. In relation to employees, “normal relation of two, who cooperate and have the same goals” is more important than “level of trust” in general. In relation to co-workers, there is “appropriate” level of trust.

Managerial Style

Foreign managers act according to their specific interest, i.e. “results of work” and “low costs”, which ensures self-promotion. Slovenian managers’ interest is more holistic: more investments, more progress and more jobs. Teamwork is assessed “positive”. Slovenian managers are more effective in solving conflicts with employees, because French managers “complicate too much”. In relations among co-workers, there are different “points of view”, which he wouldn’t declare as “conflicts”. The level of participation and cooperation of Slovenian members of management and other employees is “satisfactory”. He can rely on Slovenian co-workers. But foreign managers value foreign expert arguments higher than those of locals.

National and regional patterns

Regarding work organization and managerial competence Slovenia is more similar to Western countries, especially German speaking ones. For instance, Slovenians are more punctual in

realizing tasks. On the other hand; they count on “verbal agreements” and avoid written ones. Work motivation and results are better than in car industry in France (many of workers there are illiterate immigrants).

Communication and contacts within firm

He speaks Slovenian with locals and French with foreign managers (those from the plant and from headquarter office). Top Slovenian managers learn French. In some positions, English is demanded. Problems in communication occur in lower positions in the plant, with employees who do not understand French.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has “organized meetings” with managers from other Slovenian firms, where they “exchange experience”. Local authorities show negative attitude and restraint. He had some contacts with politicians and high civil servants in the past. They are competent (in opposition to local ones).

Summary of the Interview with Head of Department of Human Resources

R3

Date and time: 15th May 2003, 10.30 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in Slovenian in his office. He is Slovenian, and (according to internal classification) member of the board and of collegiums of directions. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers.

Career path

He started in public administration. Then he moved to industry of motor vehicles, where he worked on different top positions. Since 1991, he has been working in car plant as head of department of human resources. First starts with legal aspects of establishing this plant.

Surprise and learning

He participated in takeover negotiation process and (from his position) sees no special difference since the emergence of foreign capital. In general, foreign managers are better skilled in organization and technical field. Skill of employees is better in Slovenia than in France, innovations are implemented quickly. Also, for foreign managers hierarchy functions differently.

Organizational climate

Communication with foreign managers is always formal first and informal second. This kind of communication does not cause conflict situations. Surveys made in the firm show less belonging of workers, which is not caused by entrance of foreign capital, but the consequence of the way of leadership and the structure of employees (education level and origin). Willingness to cooperate is high, although foreign managers describe it as “low”. Foreign managers are more individualistic than Slovenians. In general, the level of trust is “high”.

Managerial Style

For foreign owners, hierarchy has “formal and actual power”. For this reason, the distance is larger and they developed “special methods of approaching the people”. For Slovenian managers, hierarchy is based on competence and respect. The distance is larger. Team work is not a problem, but less efficient – foreign managers make too big groups that consist of representatives, who are irrelevant for specific problem. When conflicts occur, he participates in negotiation process with social partners and trade unions. Level of participation is satisfactory while level of cooperation is less satisfactory – there are cases of “defending one’s own interest”. The starting point in relations with subordinates is confidence in advance, and control over them is of same importance.

National and regional patterns

In relation to work organization and managerial competence, Slovenia surely isn’t similar to Balkan countries. It is more West-oriented. Specific feature: willing to make good work and expecting acknowledgment for it. General productivity between Slovenian and Western companies is similar in comparable field. There is no difference in work organization. Work motivation is neither brilliant nor negative- “it is somewhere in between”.

Communication and contacts within firm

At work place, he speaks Slovenian with local managers and French with foreign managers. Fluency in French is a precondition for his position. Special groups of employees (top positions) learn French. English is used, too. No problems regarding communication.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has formal contacts with managers of Slovenian firms with similar market orientation and expanse. Has contact with the Chamber of Economy, where he’s also member of the board. Relations with local authorities are “not the best” – they do not show “any effort to solve the problem”. He has contacts with high civil servants and politicians, too. In general, they are competent, but not participative in solving concrete problems and dilemmas.

Summary of the interview with Financial Director

R4

Date and Time: 15th May 2003, 11.10 am

Interview was conducted by Barbara Tomšič in English in his office. He is French, representative of the foreigner owner. According to internal classification of the plant, he is also a member of the board. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French.

Career path

He obtained a degree in engineering. His first work was in engine manufacturing of gearboxes in Cleon. He became manager of workshop and then information manager in that factory. He continued in Cleon factory and became project manager for timing plan in 1990. From 1993-1996 he worked and lived in Taiwan, he was a technical industrial adviser in a Company which imported french cars. Then he returned to France and was in charge of transforming all accounting systems in the car company. In 1999, he became financial director of a car plant in Slovenia. His field of work besides financing includes also accounting, import and export matters and informatics.

Surprise and learning

Slovenia is very similar to France: *« in Slovenia, the country is different, the language is different, but we are very close as the average of the European civilization. So there is not really a huge difference between the way of living, the way of behaving, the way of thinking, the family structure, the society structure, the way of, generally, even in business matters... »*

Foreign experience “in Algeria, in England and in Taiwan were a lot more disturbing”.

Organizational climate

Regarding the behaviour of Slovenian collaborators and workers there are four major differences: 1) the basic level of knowledge of workers is very high; 2) education is of high Quality, people’s behaviour is very much educated; 3) workers are highly willing to cooperate, 4) the quality of work, the quality of products is “very high”. Relationships with collaborators were formal at the beginning, but are “very friendly” now. Identification with the firm is “rather high”. There is no problem in willingness to cooperate by collaborators and workers. They are more collective than French, who are more individual. The level of trust is based on the fact that he as a foreigner represents »the other side«. He is uncomfortable about that; because he is identified with this car plant and not with French headquarters company– “I’m here to fight for this plant’s goods”.

Managerial Style

Distance is more present in relations to production department, “because we are not able to speak and to express ourselves directly” (he does not speak Slovenian and they do not speak French). There is less distance with collaborators, because they speak French. He didn’t describe his role in solving conflicts. Level of participation and cooperation of Slovenian members of management and other employees is satisfactory. No problems with team work. He can rely on his co-workers, and trusts them

National and regional patterns

From managerial point of view, there is no big difference (in work organization and managerial competence) between Slovenia and France. Features: rurality, family sphere is of great importance, education, civil society – “keep it as long as possible”. Willingness for work and general level of productivity are “high”, and productivity progress of this company is “very good”.

Communication and contacts within firm

At his work place, he speaks French. He learned Slovenian in 1999 but gave up. Special groups of employees learn French. English is used occasionally. No problems in communication.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Relations with accountants, counsellors and members of government are strictly professional. Meetings are “at least” once or twice a week. Experience with local authorities and politicians are not the best, because “they would like to be the first of the class every time”. With such attitude, they skip the target, which is “to help as much as possible your economy.” Their competence is not a problem, “they are wise people, very well educated”.

Summary of the Interview with Head of Quality Department

R5

Date and time: 15.5. 2003, 11.45 am

Interview was carried out by Matevž Tomšič in English and Slovenian in his office. Respondent is French, coming from the French headquarter company. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French.

Career path

Nationality: French. Education: degree in engineering. He has worked in French Car Company for more than 10 years (since 1992). Works and lives in Slovenia since 1999. His Position in current firm: head of quality supervision.

Surprise and learning

He is positively surprised: there is respect for manual work, Workers easy understand their tasks, are hard-working and willing to do good work. They are prone to work on their own (in their free time) for the benefit of them and their families. They are more adaptable than French people. Their deficiency is a lack of strategic thinking (they are focused on the present and neglect the future). Foreign and local firms/businessmen can learn many things form each other Western people can learn from Slovenian their respect for manual work. Slovenian can learn about long-time

Orientations - “look at the way you can improve things on long-time base”.

Organizational climate

Slovenian workers are not very spontaneous or communicative. They avoid conflicts. Slovenians are not very different to French. Their identification with the firm is not very high – lower than in France, but increasing noticeably. This does not affect their commitment to work which is very high. Cooperation is excellent. Individualism of Slovenian co-workers is a consequence of European reorganization, where individualism is highly assessed. They are sociable. They trust foreign managers because they know that they work for the benefit of the company. Him they trust also because he also speaks Slovenian.

Managerial style

In Slovenia there is much less hierarchy than in France. There is mutual respect between managers and workers, because it is a smaller community. No problems with team work. No experience with serious conflicts. He is satisfied with participation and cooperation of co-workers. Trust in co-workers is 100%. Slovenian workers are more reliable than French workers.

National and regional patterns

Slovenia is more similar to Western countries (the same organization as headquarter in France). Specific for life in Slovenia is that everybody knows everybody. Some distrust towards foreigners – not in the company, but in the local community. Productivity is very high – higher than in France.

Communication and contacts within firm

Everyday communication in the firm: 70% French, 30% Slovenian. He has been learning Slovenian (and speaks quite well, note by M.T.). It is expected for people who have contacts with French managers on daily basis to learn French. They do not use third language like English. No major problems with communication.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has very rare contacts with managers from other Slovenian firms. His experience with local authorities is not very pleasant – too much bureaucracy. This is connected to distrust toward foreigners. No contacts with politicians and higher civil servants. No opinion about their competence.

Summary of the Interview with Logistics Manager

R6

Date and time: 15.5. 2003, 11am

Interview was carried out by Matevž Tomšič in English in his office. He is French, comes from the French headquarter company. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

Professional career

Education: degree in engineering. He has worked in the same company for 30 years (since 1973). Works and lives in Slovenia for last three years. Before worked and lived in Belgium and in Brazil. His position in current firm: logistics manager.

Surprise and learning

His mostly experience is with employees. On general, positive impressions prevail (“people with rigor, with discipline, with intelligence, good school”). Employees are very hard working (prepared to work overtime) and they easy understand their working tasks. Their main deficiency is the lack of initiative (“here there is discipline, but no decision”). Foreign and local

firms/businessmen can learn from each other in mutually beneficial way. French and Slovenian working attitudes are complementary (former with more initiative, later with more working discipline).

Organizational climate

There are both formality and informality in the relations between employees but informality prevails. Nevertheless, workers are not very communicative. It is an impression that they avoid expressing their opinion fearing that they will be compromised or ridiculed. Identification with the firm is high. There are no problems with their willingness for cooperation – they are very cooperative. Employees in Slovenia are collectively oriented. They don't work as much as individuals but as collective (“very, very positive”). The workers trust foreign management that it does the right things.

Managerial style

There is less hierarchy between management and workers in Slovenia than in other (Western) European countries. Here an important factor is the size of firms which are smaller than Western ones. They are more like a large family. No problems with team work – high level of engagement of Slovenian co-workers. Level of their participation and cooperation is satisfactory. There are no tensions to be solved. He trusts his Slovenian co-workers.

National and regional patterns

Slovenia is regarding the work organization and managerial style and competence similar to Central European countries – countries like Germany and Austria. General productivity is very high – higher than, for instance, in France what is due to hard-working character of Slovenian people.

Communication and contacts within firm

For the purpose of everyday communication at work place, he mostly uses French. He has learned Slovenian and he can understand it to a certain extent but he cannot speak Slovenian. The employees, especially the ones on higher positions in corporate ladder, have to communicate in French. English is used only for contacts with outsiders (not within the firm). There are no serious problems in communication within firm.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts with managers from certain Slovenian companies (Gorenje, Adria, etc.) on regular basis. Situation is different regarding contacts with political authorities both on local and national level because in the company they have people specialized for such contacts (PR). So he doesn't have personal experience with Slovenian politicians. However, his impression is that they are to »local-minded«, i.e. concentrated only on Slovenia and neglecting embeddedness of their country in wider context. “This people must learn what are complexity of the world and not the complexity of Slovenia. It's not the centre of the world, Slovenia. It's good, but it's not centre.” This is also somehow characteristic of wider Slovenian population.

Summary of the Interview with Head of Production Department

R7

Date and time: 5th May 2005, 5 pm

Interview was carried out in car plant in Novo mesto in Slovenian language Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is Slovene.

Surprise and learning

His main observation is the approach of the foreigners to problem solvating, which is much more analytical than in the Slovenian environment. There is more research on causes of problems, more analysis, and exploration of possibilities. More time is spent on discussing a problem or an issue. Slovenians are more inclined to find fast solutions. However, this is something what foreigners could learn, in terms of better improvisation and adaptability.

Organizational culture

In the past the relationships were more formal. However, they became more informal more recently. Their identification with the company is very high at all hierarchical levels, whereas in the case of Slovenians the identification is lower at the lower hierarchical levels. In the beginning both foreigners and Slovenians were more inclined to trust their nationals, but in the past few years trust increased on both sides and there are no differences based on nationality. Slovenians managers are better in terms of innovativeness. They have little social contacts with foreigners outside of work environment.

Managerial style

Hierarchy is higher in foreign environment (on the basis of experience in French factory of the same car group). Hierarchical distance is lower in Slovenian environment. There are no significant problems with teamwork and project management. However, it is easier to implement it in hierarchical manner than in case of transversal linkages. Slovenian managers could benefit from improving these skills. Foreign managers leave conflict management to Slovenian managers. They are also less prone to risky decisions – risks are calculated.

National and regional patterns

He believes that Slovenians are more similar to central Europe in terms of managerial competencies and organization of work. We are more prone to improvisation than Westerners. Productivity in this factory is very high, on West-European levels.

Communication and contacts within firm

Communication is conducted in Slovenian and French and more recently also in English due to a merger with the Japanese car manufacturer. There are no significant problems related with this.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has no significant contacts. This is not part of his responsibilities.

Professional career

He has a B.Sc. in engineering. He spent his entire career in this firm (since 1989). He was circulating a lot through the factory. Firstly he dealt with logistics and production, and then continued as the head of technical division. During this time he finished MBA. He then shifted to department of organization of work (productivity), later to ethnological department. He then went to France for 6 months and recently returned as the head of production department. Personal observation of the interviewee: As he started, the company was still 100% owned by the Slovenians. As the French overtook the company and the integration started, the company started to change significantly and today, as it is completely integrated, there are relatively few differences between Slovenian and the foreign managers.

Summary of the Interview with Head of General Affairs Department R8

Date and time: 16th May 2005, 8.30 am Interview was carried out in car plant in Novo mesto in Slovenian language Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

Surprise and learning

The first surprise was the attention devoted to interpersonal contacts and new organizational approach. Slovenians have learned a lot in the field of teamwork. They were also very responsive in the field of environment and working condition. Another surprise is also the Approach in terms of respecting the Slovenian legislation instead of attempting to avoid it. Unfavourable surprise was disrespect towards local habits in terms of working hours (expecting overtime work when needed).

Organizational culture

In the past formality and directive approach prevailed in interpersonal relations, but later, after the arrival of former CEO Bouton, the system of communication changed towards more spontaneity. Identification with the company is very high among the foreigners, also when compared with the locals. Foreign managers are more inclined to trust their nationals than the locals. They have rather directive approach in decision-making. They are rather innovative and also active in promoting innovativeness. This contributed to improvements on the Slovenian side.

Managerial style

Foreigners are less hierarchical than Slovenians. However, Slovenians also shifted towards less hierarchical approach. There are no significant problems with teamwork and project management. They are more inclined to consultation and negotiations in conflict management, but they get involved only in cases of larger conflicts. They leave smaller conflicts to the locals.

They take certain business risks, but they are usually well calculated and not risks in the usual meaning.

National and regional patterns

Slovenia is more similar to central European patterns in terms of organization of work and managerial competencies. *There are certain national specifics of the foreign managers, but they do not influence the organization or management.* Motivation and productivity of Slovenian workers is very high, when compared with other factories from the same group.

Communication and contacts within firm

He uses Slovenian and French languages, but mostly Slovenian. There are sometimes communication problems, when dealing with very specific technical issues.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has contacts as a representative of company in various chambers and also with the local political elite. His experience is positive; they have been reliable so far.

Professional career

He spent most of his career in this firm. He started as a mechanic, but moved to controlling, production, quality etc. During this time he also finished faculty of engineering. He was a director of production department from 1989 to 1999. From 1999 to 2002 he was director for contacts with the public administration and recently he is also managing part dealing with food, catering, mailing, traveling etc.

Summary of the Interview with Marketing Director R9

Date and time: 28th July 2005 Interview was carried out in by Jaša Jarec in English in respondent's firm in Ljubljana.

Surprise and learning

Surprise: On the one hand he experienced no special surprises as his firm is centrally managed so there are no big differences in the methods and ways of learning between the central in France and its branches across Europe. On the other way he was surprised by the fact that people in Slovenia leave their company at 4 o'clock unlike France where people stay longer in their companies. He is also surprised by employees' big respect towards bosses and hierarchy, lack of the initiative and lack of profit-mindedness and pragmatism. Mutual learning: He could learn from Slovenian managers to do things with less stress and to be more passionate in making

business and business decisions. Slovene managers could learn not to always comply with bosses in France because the latter are not sufficiently familiar with Slovenian context.

Organizational culture

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Although he is trying to encourage more informal managerial approach in order to “satisfy the efficiency of the company”, many employees act formal. “(...) sometimes there is an inappropriate respect towards hierarchy that can block people to do something.”

The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with the Slovenian branch is high but he is also trying to increase the identification with the corporation at large. Generally, he considers identification in the car business as high, also due to the Formula 1 championship.

Trust: The level of trust in the firm is high. Individualism/Collectivism: He thinks his Slovenian colleagues are more collective Oriented which is sometimes manifested in making collective decisions.

Orientation towards innovation: He assesses orientation towards as not high enough. Slovenian managers and employees sometimes happen to come up with good ideas which are not applicable. “They must learn that good ideas are okay but they must be profitable. Not ideas for ideas.”

Sociability and communication: There are some social meetings in the framework of the firm and there are no barriers in communication between foreigners and Slovenians there.

Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: He finds in Slovenia a hierarchy and the distance between managers and employees. He is trying to be more direct with his employees as he does not regard a managerial position in terms of a title but in terms more responsibilities and decision-making.

Teamwork: Except from some individuals who are not capable of team-work he has no problem with team work and project organization.

The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: When a conflict or a problem arises within his area of responsibility then he is the one he has to solve it, “(...) of course when it is more personal, when it is something in relations with law in Slovenia, of course we will give it to Someone from Slovenia who is more skilful to know what to do.” He perceives himself as more demanding in terms of deadlines than Slovenian managers.

Participation: The problem with participation and cooperation at work is linked to the linguistic barriers because the firm mostly uses French as a main language.

Risk taking: In his opinion, Slovenian managers are not enough prepared to take risky decisions “and sometimes they wait for the decision of the top management.” System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: The whole firm is using the same system of rewarding so there are no differences between French and Slovene managers in this sense.

National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He would place Slovenia among Western countries. National features: He regards Slovenians as friendly and nice and also ready to make services- “maybe because we are directors, I’m not so sure.” Slovenians also take care of their quality of life (they are not aggressive and individualistic and they cannot understand why French managers in the firm work for so long every day). Differences in productivity and work motivation: He thinks Slovenian companies are getting more and closer to Western companies in this terms.

Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his working place he uses French and English. He used to learn Slovene and the beginning but then he ceased it. Obligation of learning languages: No one in the company is obliged to learn French but the company has hired a French lecturer in order to teach employees. Problems in communication: There are some problems with communication because “when you speak a different language it can sometimes lead to completely different understanding.”

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: Except from someone from the advertising agency he has no contacts with other Slovenian managers, he decided not to become member of any managerial association or circle. His contacts with Local authorities (which are almost entirely personal) are good; it is even easier for the EU Citizens after Slovenia’s accession to the EU. He had only one contact with Slovenian politicians when they were doing a joint project with a few ministries. Unlike many Slovenians, he thinks that Slovenia is well-managed country “which is developing step by step very smoothly without any excess like for instance some other countries.” Therefore, he perceives Slovenian politicians as competent. Spare time spending: He socializes mostly with the people outside the firm. “I am not sure that Slovenians are willing to socialize outside these walls. (...)People are having their own personal life (...) people don’t invite very easily the people to their houses”. He also does not socialize with French managers from the firm.

Professional career

His entire 15-years long career is associated with this (wider) company. His experiences are mostly commercial; he worked on the international project in Belgium, Croatia and Slovenia. Now, he works as a marketing director for 3 years.

Summary of the Interview with Head of Finance Department in a major car plant R10

Date and time: 23th May 2005, 3.00 pm Interview was carried out by Borut Rončević in English. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

Surprise and learning

Slovenian managers obey the hierarchy and stand behind their statements. Slovenian managers discuss a lot before they set a goal, but after that they prefer to stick to it and work systematically towards it. French, on the other hand, tend to change goals, are more creative in this sense. These two approaches fit together. This is also what they could learn from each other.

Organizational culture

There is both formality and informality in relationships. He mostly contacts with high management where there is high sense of loyalty and identification with the firm. He notices that trust is not based on nationality, but individually determined. However, Slovenians are more inclined to regulations and control. They are individualistically oriented and sometimes have difficulties with teamwork. They are oriented to innovations. They are sociable. However, they usually do not involve family members to company's social events.

Managerial style

There is a great respect for hierarchy, but the relationship is not tense and is relatively relaxed. They sometimes have difficulty with teamwork and cooperation. He gets involved in conflict management. Slovenian managers are more inclined to directives in these situations. They are less inclined to risk-taking.

National and regional patterns

He cannot make a comparison as he does not have substantial experience. But in his opinion they are close to the Japanese. He describes lack of politeness as a specific, which is evidenced in risky car driving. There are no substantial differences in productivity as people are highly motivated for the survival of the company.

Communication and contacts within firm

He does not learn Slovenian, he mostly uses French. He never noticed specific problems with communication.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He does not have any contacts with the managers or elites outside the firm.

Professional career

He spent his entire career in Renault. He started with only secondary school, but worked his way up. He was mostly dealing with economics of business or with quality control.

Summary of the Interview with Slovene General Manager Assistant R11

Interview was conducted on 5th August 2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in respondent's firm.

Introduction

Surprise: She is surprised about the recently arrived foreign managers who are more hierarchical than the earlier ones. Mutual learning: Slovenians could learn from the foreigners to have a wider overview on the whole global economy, about "how economy functions in today's world". Foreign managers should learn the local particularities about Slovenia and not to follow the standardized pattern of functioning coming from the headquarters.

Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Foreign managers act both, in a formal and informal way. Especially at the beginning they would like to give an impression of formality but later on they can be also informal, "(...) a lot of informality, meetings, telephone communication, e-mails etc. (...)".

The level of the identification with the firm: Foreign managers are highly identified with the firm and they expect the same also on the others' part. Trust: They trust more their fellow-citizens (all of the important functions in the company are held by the foreigners) and there is a lot of supervision and no *a priori* trust.

Individualism/Collectivism: Foreign managers are more collective oriented, they want to create the team spirit and Slovenians in the firm are still learning about that. Orientation towards innovation: Foreign managers are more inclined towards innovations than Slovenians, "yes, they see solution much earlier and they see it also differently, they are innovative"

Sociability and communication: There are some summer picnics and meetings at the end of the year within the firm and she finds no barriers between foreign managers and Slovenians there.

Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: There is a distance between French managers and Slovenians. French managers are close to each other's, they communicate a lot and they hold positions which make them very cohesive. French managers act also more hierarchically than Slovenians.

Teamwork: As far as she knows there are no problems regarding teamwork. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: Foreign managers resolve conflicts in cooperation with Slovenian managers.

Participation: She thinks Slovenian managers and other employees are competent to cooperate and participate at work.

Risk taking: As they are used to act wider and due to their better insight, the foreign managers are more prepared to take certain business risks comparing them with domestic ones. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: The system of rewarding is prescribed from

the headquarters in the Paris so there are no differences between foreign and domestic managers there.

National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: She finds Slovenia similar to Central Europe. National features: Unlike Germans, French managers are not inclined to the order and the discipline that much. They spend a lot of time at their working place, have a lot of ideas but are less effective than Slovenians. Differences in productivity and work motivation: She thinks Slovene companies (especially her) are very effective and productive, maybe even more than French.

Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At her working place she uses mainly Slovene and French. With French managers she always speaks in French. As she studied it she also teaches French in her company. Obligation of learning languages: Although there is no obligation it is highly recommended to speak French especially if one wants to pursue a career in the firm. English suffices only at the early stages. Problems in communication: Some problems in communication may occur because one has to express him/her- self very precisely and certain deviations are possible here.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: She has no contacts with other Slovene managers, local authorities or political elite. She cannot estimate the competence of this entire people. Spare time spending: She spends her spare time with people outside the company.

Career/CV

She works in her present firm from the very beginning of her career. She started as assistant in the personnel activity service. Then she worked as a leader of education of foreign languages for 6 years and momentarily she is replacing the general manager's assistant.

Summary of the Interview with Slovene Leading Human-Resource Manager R12

Interview was conducted on 5th August 2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in respondent's firm

Introduction

Surprise: She is surprised about French managers' mutual differences in the way of managing when everyone has his own interpretation of the firm's values. Mutual learning: Slovene managers could learn from the foreigners in her company about not to stick only to Slovenia but to go to work abroad. "In short, (to learn) about this width, about globalization, that doors are open and that we can go out as well". Foreigners could learn about organization, about fulfilment of promises and about efficiency- "we speak less and do more."

Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Foreign managers are more formal. The level of the identification with the firm: Foreign managers are highly identified with the firm, more than Slovene.

Trust: They trust more their compatriots than Slovenians. At the beginning, they are more inclined to supervision than to *a priori* trust but later on they trust *a priori*.

Individualism/Collectivism: Foreign manager are more individualistically oriented than Slovene.

Orientation towards innovation: They are more innovative than Slovene managers. Sociability and communication: There are some social meetings in the context of the firm (picnics, New Year gatherings) and there are no problems there, "(...) it seems that they feel very good and that they also believe that this is a right thing to do".

Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: There is no big distance between foreign managers and other groups of employees- "the doors are open all the time". Foreign managers differ from Slovene in this sense. But the hierarchy is very clear.

Teamwork: Problems connected with team work refer to linguistic barriers. She thinks her Slovene colleagues could produce more in the teams if they would talk in Slovene.

The role of foreign managers in conflict resolution: She thinks foreign managers leave the conflict resolution to their Slovene counter-parts, above all due to the linguistic barriers. They make directives but they also consult with others.

Participation: In her opinion, Slovene members of management and other employees are not enough competent to participate and cooperate at work, "but this is very hard to generalize."

Risk taking: Foreign managers are more willing to take certain business risks than domestic ones.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: Slovene managers use very similar means of rewarding as the foreign ones as her firm follows the foreign trends in these terms.

National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: In terms of organization of work and managerial competences she regards Slovenia similar to Western countries, in particular Germany (even though she works in a French company).

National features: Unlike Slovenians, Frenchmen like big events, just as some glamorous evening meetings.

Differences in productivity and work motivation: She finds no difference in productivity and work motivation between Slovenian and Western companies.

Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At her working place she uses mainly French. She learns French and upgrades English. Obligation of learning languages: There is a pressure of speaking French in her company. The company also offers education in these terms.

Problems in communication: The problems in communication do not stem from the differences in language but Slovenians comply too much with French managers' decisions. Although even the latter sometimes expect more intensive reactions on the part of Slovenians.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: She has some occasional contacts with other Slovenian managers which are both, of formal and informal nature. She has no contacts neither with local authorities nor with high civil servants and politicians. She thinks that they (especially people from The Chamber of Commerce) should learn a lot more and directly from the economy. Spare time spending: She spends her spare time with people outside the firm.

Career/CV

She started her career as human-resource manager in a big Slovenian company working on the fields of employment and education. After 10 years she moved in her present firm where she works for 5 years now. She works as a leading human-resource manager.

Summary of the Interview with Finance Manager R13

Date and time: 23th May 2005, 2.00 pm Interview was carried out by Borut Rončević in English. Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers. The interviewee is French, representative of the foreign owner.

Surprise and learning

Biggest surprise for him was the observation that hierarchy is very important for the Slovenians. It is stronger than in France. They therefore have difficulty to work in a team, unless they are told to cooperate. This is what the Slovenians could learn from the French: the ability to work together.

Organizational culture

Organizational climate is more formal in Slovenia than in France. The identification of Slovenian workers in the company has less loyalty to and identification with the firm than the French. There is no significant difference with respect to the level of trust regardless of the nationality. However, Slovenians are more inclined to supervision and control than of trust. Slovenians are individualistically oriented. During social events they are very friendly and open to French people.

Managerial style

There is a lot of hierarchy in Slovenia, especially in the production department. There is a gap between the workers and managers. Team work and cooperation is not spontaneous, it has to be directed. But they are willing to cooperate and participate at work. He leaves conflict management to the Slovenians. Risks are taken at higher levels, so he cannot judge on differences in risk-taking behaviour.

National and regional patterns

Slovenia is not so different from the Western countries. He notices that Slovenian people are generally very friendly. There are no specific differences in productivity and work motivation.

Communication and contacts within firm

His Slovenian is poor and he uses French in communication within the firm. He sometimes notices that it is difficult to create the communication, but not due to language barrier.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has no contacts with managers or elites outside the company whatsoever. In his free time he mostly socializes with people outside of company.

Professional career

He started to work for car industry in 1998. He spent two years in Austria and now he came to Slovenia.

Summary of the Interview with Production Manager (French) R14 Date and time: 23rd May 2005, 2.00 pm Interview was carried out in car plant in Novo mesto in Slovenian language by Borut Rončević Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers.

Surprise and learning

He was surprised at how quick the Slovenian workers are quick to take into account the knowledge that was previously not known in this setting, only in some 2-3 months. The ability to quickly integrate and assimilate new technology and models is the best quality of Slovenian workers. The respect of the people is less linked to the level of hierarchy and more to the knowledge of the people.

Organizational culture

Relationships in the firm are more informal. Not much time is lost to deal with the form. The company is important for the people in terms of identification... Regarding the trust, there are no substantial differences with respect to the nationality; it mostly depends on the quality of work of the people. Creativity of the Slovenians is very high, but in some cases it is not enough. For a

proportion of problems in-depth analysis is required. Slovenian managers are more collective oriented. Each worker asks the network inside the company because they change from team to team inside the company. When they have a technical problem at one specific point they are directed to ask the question to the right person. When dealing with a concrete problem, Slovenians will be very reactive in terms of finding new solutions. If you have more abstract problem they will have more difficulties to find a solution. He has no experience with social events. People seem very passive in this respect. They are friendlier in small teams in the department.

Managerial style

In his opinion there is not much hierarchy in the company and the relationships are relatively friendly. They do not have any specific problems with teamwork and project organization. In conflict management they sometimes get involved and sometimes prefer to leave that to the Slovenian members of management. He perceives Slovenian members of management more inclined to directives in such situations. He perceives Slovenian members of management and other employees willing and competent for participation and cooperation at work. It is, however, difficult to estimate their inclination towards risky decisions as the main risks are taken by French people inside the company.

National and regional patterns

He perceives Slovenia as the most similar to Western countries, especially Austria. A specific trait of Slovenian people is that they are hard workers because they work both inside and outside the company. He finds this most impressive. Workers' productivity and motivation is very high and they get involved in their job, which contributes to the quality of the product.

Communication and contacts within firm

He mainly uses French and for two workers English. His Slovenian is poor, as he started to use it only 5 months ago, and also does not devote enough time to learn it. B: Are there some problems regarding communication? Let's say due to language problems or maybe some other obstacles? There are no specific insurmountable problems with the communication inside the firm.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

He has no specific contacts with either the local managers, or political elites. He also has no contacts with the people outside of the firm. He mostly socializes with French people from the company.

Professional career

He spent first five years of his career outside of Renault, but past 10 years he works for Renault. In the beginning he was at the research institute for mechanical research, dealing with car safety and crashness. In Renault he started in research department, dealing with safety. After 4 years he switched to the packaging department. One year ago he came to Novo mesto, where he is dealing

with improvement of the position with new titan tools and with improving of the job of the operators.

Summary of the Interview with Slovenian Head of Department R15

Date and time: 12th July 2005 on 15.30 Interview was carried out in car plant in Novo mesto in Slovenian language Note on the firm: Car plant is situated 70km Southeast from Ljubljana and is in full ownership of one of the French car producers.

Surprise and learning

The main surprise is the approach towards respecting the agreements. In dealing with Slovenian subcontractors he has more problems than usually the case within That Company. The Slovenians could learn more in the field of management, where French have more knowledge and experience. They are good in long-term approach. Slovenians are better in short-term crisis management, which require more improvisation.

Organizational culture

Foreign managers are relatively spontaneous in communication and inter-personal relationships and are communicative. Their level of identification is very high, higher than with the Slovenians. The French have lower levels of trust and they tend to verify. However, their trust is not related to the nationality of the co-worker. The French seem to be somewhat more individualistic, but it mostly depends on the individual person. They are very active in enhancing innovations, and also inclined to follow initiatives from the Slovenians. However, Slovenians are also very innovative, there are no significant differences. French are very sociable and show tendency to socialize with the locals. Slovenians use to have reservations and avoided this, but not anymore.

Managerial style

He believes that the French are more hierarchical than Slovenians. There are no significant problems with respect to teamwork and project organization. Deadlines and agreements are respected. However, Slovenians are more in favour of fact and efficient meetings, while French come less prepared to these meetings and are less efficient. However, they are more experienced in project management. Nevertheless, Slovenians are also qualified to get involved. The French do not get directly involved in conflict management. They are following developments, but only help with advice, etc. The most active role is left to the locals. French are more inclined to consultation and communication, less to directive approach. Foreign managers are inclined to make risky decisions. However, there are no substantial differences between the Slovenians and French. In the past, Slovenians usually stayed on the safe side. Rewarding system is unified in all

MNC group. This system differs from that in other Slovenian companies, it is more transparent and based on indicators.

National and regional patterns

Slovenian companies are still relatively close to the Balkans, judging from his experience with subcontractors. French have a common trait of being less efficient at meetings, they involve too much in preparation, discussions, problem solving, analysis... There is an important difference in productivity – Western companies are more productive. However, this car plant itself is very productive. There are no substantial differences in work motivation.

Communication and contacts within firm

He mostly uses Slovenian language and French when he meets in working groups. All workers are encouraged to learn French and managers are required to do so. English is increasingly important due to merger of Car Plant and Another Car plant. There are no specific problems with communication.

Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with the Slovenian managers and political elites are not very frequent. Respondent has both formal and informal contacts with managers in Slovenia and Croatia, who are in similar business. He has good opinion on Slovenian high-level politicians. They do not socialize a lot with co-workers in free time; He usually spends time with family and close friends. Sometimes they also meet spontaneously.

Professional career

He started his career in this company 33 years ago. During this time he was working in different fields. He has been the head of department for lakirnice for the past 7 years. He has secondary education, but received additional education in France, required to hold the position in management.

Case 3: IT Company⁶²

Summary of the interview with Zimbabwean project manager F1/C3-R1 Interview was conducted on 10.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in English in pizzeria near respondent's company.

1) Introduction Surprise

What surprised him recently is that when some guest lecturers come into his firm, employees seem very unresponsive, reserved and they show no interest.

⁶² Podjetje se je leta 2002 združilo z irskim IT podjetjem ter se preimenovalo v novo podjetje. To podjetje je prejemnik številnih nagrad, med drugim nagrade Evropske fundacije za kakovostni menedžment (EFQM).

Mutual learning: He regards his company as almost completely adjusted to Western standards so he thinks that neither foreign nor domestic managers could learn anything from each other.

2) Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: He assesses the behaviour of Slovenian employees as informal.

The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with a firm on the part of Slovenian employees is high.

Trust: Employees trust others more on the basis of personal friendship than on the professional ability. Employees generally trust him, but they do not trust a priori- »you have to prove yourself many times«.

Individualism/Collectivism: They are collective oriented, they confer with others before making decisions they want to convey the image of the company to themselves.

Orientation towards innovation: They could be more innovative.

Sociability and communication: In the framework of the firm they practice certain social meetings (»team-buildings«) and Slovenian employees are okay, particularly after they had a few drinks.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: According to his experience, the hierarchy and the distance are not present in the firm which he thinks is positive.

Teamwork: He has no problems with team work and project organization.

The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: In general he solves the conflicts in the firm (if they occur within his area) himself. He thinks there is no general rule concerning Slovenian managers' inclination towards directives vs. negotiations; »there are many cases in the West where there are more directives«.

Participation: He finds Slovenian managers and employees as competent and motivated for work.

Risk taking: Slovenian managers and employees are not prepared to take enough business risks- he takes more risks.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: In his firm they use both formal (monthly evaluations and eventual higher pay) and informal system of rewarding (verbal praises).

4) National and regional patterns

National features: As the main Slovenian feature he finds communication problems in terms of mannerism. The same problem is also strongly present in his firm. Differences in productivity and work motivation: He thinks that in terms of productivity his company stands on the European level (unlike many other Slovenian companies, according to the statistics).

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: In his firm they use both, Slovenian and English language combined.

Obligation of learning languages: He learns Slovene. It is recommended but not obligatory to learn also German and French. The latter (French) in particular due to the co-owner of the firm.

Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication in the firm.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has rare contacts with other Slovenian firms' managers or owners. Local authorities are not efficient enough and they are not good in problem-solving. Sometimes he has some formal meetings with Slovenian high civil servants and politicians. They are knowledgeable, but they speak a lot. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time mostly with the people outside the company.

7) Career/CV

He came to Slovenia 20 years ago. He finished his study in Slovenia. 10 year ago he started working in some other Slovenian company as a translator and translation manager. After 2 years he moved to his present company. He started at »technique of communicators«. Then he became the leading engineer at the same department. Now he is team manager of Technique of communicators and project manager for some other projects.

Summary of the interview with Croatian project manager F1/C3-R2

Interview was conducted on 16.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in a cafe near respondents Company

1) Introduction Surprise

There is no situation which caused him a great surprise recently. Mutual learning: As the firm has more or less fully adopted the Western standards there is nothing really, where the foreign and domestic managers could learn from each other.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Though there is a hierarchy, the relationship among employees is rather informal. People help each other and the communication is good. The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with the firm is (again) high, even though there was a period of certain crisis when it decreased a bit.

Trust: There are no differences in trust on the national basis. Generally, he trusts his employees depending on personality. The »old guys« trust him unconditionally, whereas the newcomers trust him a little bit less.

Individualism/Collectivism: *Slovenians are generally individualistic in terms of being reserved. »When one has a problem (s)he doesn't ask instantly, (s)he doesn't ask for advice but waits a day or two and as late as then (s)he decides to tell me that (s)he is not doing it right«.*

Orientation towards innovation: Generally, his employees are very innovative. Sociability and communication: A couple of times a year they have some social events, the so called »team building« and Slovenians are rather reserved there.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: Comparing to German companies which he knows well there is less hierarchy and distance in Slovenia. »The Germans are even more reserved«.

Teamwork: He has no problems with team work and the project management. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: In the case of conflicts and tensions in a firm he is solving them if they occur within his domain.

Participation: His employees are very cooperative and participative, they are »team workers«.

Risk taking: Slovenian managers are ready to take some business risks, more than Westerners but less than himself.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: They practise a formal Rewarding, having a variable system of salaries according to the working success. In the case of some special success one may also get and lump-sum additional payment.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: Company resembles Western-style companies. National features: Slovenians are working people, just as Germans and that is their national specific. Differences in productivity and work motivation: The employees could have been more motivated, if they would have better salaries. According to his experiences with their German partner his company is more productive.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his workplace he speaks Slovenian which he does not learn formally. Obligation of learning languages: As a third language they use English. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has no contacts with other managers in Slovenia, with high civil servants or politicians. His experience with local authorities is not good as he is not able to get Slovenian citizenship. »As a foreigner from the Eastern state I have a lot of problems«. He cannot assess their competences. Spare time spending: Except one friend from the firm and going for a beer once a week with his colleagues he spends his spare time mostly with people outside the firm.

7) Career/CV

He graduated in Croatia at the Faculty of Technics. After graduating he worked in the project bureau in the local shipyard. Then he worked as assistant professor at the Faculty of Technics and after that he moved to his present company starting working as a project manager.

Summary of the interview with Serbian project manager F1/C3 – R3

Interview was conducted on 18.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in her office.

1) Introduction Surprise

There was no situation which caused her a surprise recently. Mutual learning: As he works mostly with individuals from ex-Yugoslavia she thinks that Slovene managers could learn from them about enthusiasm for work and willingness to work Extra-time if necessary.

2) Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Communication and relations are both formal and informal depending on individual person and regardless of the nationality. The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with the firm is generally good.

Trust: She thinks that her employees trust her and she trust her employees. But they do not trust *a priori*, one has to earn the authority and trust.

Individualism/Collectivism: There is no rule in the firm concerning individualism vs. collectivism in terms of nationality but people are mostly »team players«.

Orientation towards innovation: Employees are mostly innovative as this is one of the basic conditions to get the job there.

Sociability and communication: There are certain social events in the firm and everyone speaks with everyone there.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: The hierarchy in the firm is very clear. The distance is rather normal; she does only not know how to go up to the director and the person below him.

Teamwork: Although it may also depend on individual, he finds Slovenian employees as “team players” The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: She resolves the conflicts and tensions in the firm if she know how to do it- it is the matter of hierarchy and not nationality. The inclination towards negotiating vs. directives depends on individual and not on nationality.

Participation: Slovenian employees are willing to participate and cooperate at the working process; »In the firm they are absolutely professionals«.

Risk taking: Slovenes are more prone to risky decisions than foreigners from the »East«.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: The firm practises its own Formal rewarding system, whereas she also rewards people informally trying to motivate them.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: Her firm is similar to Western companies: »even our customers on the West could learn something from us«. National features: Slovenian specific is that people are crazy about sport. Differences in productivity and work motivation: Employees are less motivated than their partners from the West but they are more productive.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At her working place she speaks either Slovene (with Slovenians) or Serbian (with Serbs). Obligation of learning languages: She does not learn Slovene any more. English is use as a third language. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: She does not have any contacts with other managers or owners of Slovenian firms except with her personal friends from Serbia. Her experience with local authorities is good and she finds those people competent. She has no contacts with politicians or high civil servants. Spare time spending: Even though she would like to, she has no private contacts with the people from the firm.

7) Career/CV

After her study she worked 10 years in Serbia in the developmental department in certain institute. Then she worked in Malta in some German-owned firm in the developmental department. Now she works in Slovenia as a project manager and in developmental department.

Summary of the interview with American VP sales F1/C3 – R4 Interview was conducted on 9.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in English.

1) Introduction Surprise

His colleague caused surprise to him saying that capitalism is a zero-trust Environment. He namely regards that capitalism works only with the highest level of trust. Mutual learning: Slovenian business peoples' advantages are high education, competence and naturalness, but »they sometimes lack practical experience: financial contractual Creativity—using more complex tools (M&A, options, derivatives, etc.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: He thinks that all Europeans are more formal than Anglo/Americans.

The level of the identification with the firm: There are no differences in terms of identification with a firm.

Trust: If company is not domestic and already understood there is no initial trust.

Individualism/Collectivism: People are collective oriented only within the company, whereas between companies they are individualistic.

Orientation towards innovation: Regarding innovations and new solutions he finds Slovenians as open-minded.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: He finds distance between mid-level- and top-management.

Teamwork: He doesn't see any problems with team work and project organisation. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: As regards conflicts and tensions in firm, He never tries »to be the blocker/obstruction and usually get a sponsor to take this role«.

Participation: He finds Slovenian managers and other employees willing and competent for participation and cooperation at work.

Risk taking: He doesn't asses Slovenian managers as enough prepared to take certain risks. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: He doesn't use any system of rewarding.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He would place Slovenia in Western Europe; he compares it with Germany.

National features: As a specific feature of Slovenians he thinks that »They are willing to visit anywhere, but never want to move«.

Differences in productivity and work motivation: He perceives productivity of Slovenian companies as high, in spite of short working hours and generous holiday/benefits.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his workplace he communicates in English. Obligation of learning languages: He learns Slovenian but finds it extremely difficult. Common internal language is English, but there is more and more Slovenian as his company relies »less and less on external management and oversight«. Problems in communication: There are no problems with communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He often has contacts with managers or owners of other Slovenian firms. Contacts with local elite are generally good, but very »complex and confusing«. High civil servants and politicians in Slovenia are easier to access than elsewhere and they are more important. »Politics are too influential in business deals. However, there is a desire to deliver quality, progressive government services«. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time with colleagues and former colleagues and he notices that people born outside Ljubljana »are easier to form strong social bonds«.

7) Career/CV

His carrier goes like: Engineer, Engineering Manager, Relationship trouble-shooter at foreign customer sites, director of Marketing, Large Division Manager, (recruited by Slovene Company to move here) VP Marketing, VP Sales.

Summary of the interview with Slovenian leading programmer F1/C3 – R5

Interview was conducted on 10.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene.

1) Introduction Surprise

He did not experience any surprises recently. Mutual learning: Slovenian managers could learn from the foreign ones that relationship visa- Vis subordinates should be based on mutual respect and trust; authority doesn't appear automatically by being a manager. Foreign managers could learn from Slovenian ones that the work should be adequately prioritized. Foreign experts in his firm are also more aware about the work of the management whom they rely on.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: He thinks that, even though it is hard to generalize, foreign managers behave more informal and released towards their subordinates than Slovenian managers.

The level of the identification with the firm: Identification with the firm is low, irrespective of the fact that a lot of people work by contract and are not regular employed. Belonging to the firm is clearer to Slovenian managers.

Trust: Foreign managers trust him completely as long as the work is done correctly and within terms. Foreign managers trust him more than the domestic ones. The regulations and Supervision are looser than by Slovenian managers.

Individualism/Collectivism: They are collective oriented as they help and advice to each other. Orientation towards innovation: Though they are restricted by company's rules, they are mostly innovative.

Sociability and communication: He finds foreign managers very communicative and sociable; Social events happen regularly.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: Hierarchy exists. It is present already within individual department, but even more among departments. Hierarchy is strictly determined in terms of duties and responsibilities but the freedom of one's own opinion is nevertheless encouraged.

Teamwork: There are no problems with team work and project organisation. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: Every manager has to solve problems within his working domain, regardless of his/her nationality. In some cases they use directives.

Participation: Experts are having no problems with cooperation at work, but managers are facing some problems as they have to adjust themselves to the new social environment.

Risk taking: Foreign managers are not inclined to take business risks if they are not forced to which is »typical for every company, having relatively steady and safe business«. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: They use different system of rewarding from Slovenian managers; they publicly praise a team or an individual making a good job. In Slovenia the hard effort is expected and credits for (UN) successfulness go only to the management.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He finds Slovenia similar to German or Austrian model concerning work Organisation and managerial competences; »Pedantry, hierarchy, stiffness«.

National features: He finds Irish managers very friendly and pleasant. Differences in productivity and work motivation: He regards Slovenians as nation which is inclined to high work productivity which results in high productivity of the companies. Work Motivation is quite the same as in the West, but the reasons for motivation are different.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his work place he speaks English, as he works in English working Environment. Obligation of learning languages: He does not learn any foreign language. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He doesn't have any contacts with other Slovenian managers or owners. He has very positive experience with local authorities which make a lot of effort realizing that he is a foreigner. No contacts with high civil servants and politicians. Spare time spending: He spends the majority of his spare time with the people outside the company.

7) Career/CV

After leaving the Faculty of Machine Construction in Ljubljana he found a job in a small company where he worked with the customers on-site. Then he started to work with computer programming, he specialized for UNIX operational systems in a bigger Slovenian company.

Summary of the interview with Slovenian tech lead F1/C3 - R6

Interview was conducted on 24.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene.

1) Introduction Surprise

He did not experience any surprises recently. Mutual learning: He thinks that Slovenian employees are technically on a higher level than foreigners.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: He finds foreign managers more formal. The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with the firm on the part of foreign managers is low.

Trust: Foreign managers trust both the foreign and the domestic employees the same.

Individualism/Collectivism: As regards individualism/collectivism and orientation towards Innovations it depends on individual.

3) Managerial style

Teamwork: There are no problems with project management and team work.

Participation: He finds Slovenian members of management and other employees ready for cooperation and participation at work.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: Regarding work organization and managerial competences his company resembles Western societies.

National features: He finds no special features concerning foreign managers. Differences in productivity and work motivation: Unlike his company's Western partner which is »chaotic environment and therefore unproductive« he assesses his company as more productive.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his working place he communicates both in Slovene and in English. Obligation of learning languages: He does not learn any foreign language. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has no contacts neither with managers and owners of the other Slovenian companies, nor with the political elite, high civil servants and local authorities. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time mostly with his collaborators.

7) Career/CV

Since 2001 he has been employed in his present company where he works as developer and on the field of technical lead.

Summary of the interview with Mexican marketing manager F1/C3 – R7

Interview was conducted on 31.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in his company.

1) Introduction Surprise

He was very surprised when they had to postpone an important phone conference when one of his colleagues had to leave to pick his child. Mutual learning: Slovenian managers and employees could learn more about the »soft skills« (Communication) and to be more business-oriented (not only technologically). Foreign managers could learn from Slovene about technological skills and about organisation (following the process and the rules).

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: His collaborators »in Slovenia at the beginning they were very formal and they were not very open« but later the relationships developed in a more spontaneous and friendly way: »so if you are a part of a group they make you a part of the group of the company«. The level of the identification with the firm: After a certain economic/market crisis people are getting ever more motivated again.

Trust: He thinks that people do not trust foreigners at the beginning but then »they work very well with the foreigners«. He can rely on Slovenian managers and employees because »they are very professional«. They do not trust a priori and they are inclined to regulations: »They don't tend to break the process or the rules«.

Individualism/Collectivism: He cannot generalise about collectivistic or individualistic orientation. Orientation towards innovation: Slovenian managers and employees are innovative in terms of technology but not in terms of business: »And our people still here we are thinking more about technology so it is not so much innovations on the business side.«

Sociability and communication: Slovenian managers and employees are lacking social skills and communication when they meet with their business partners. They have some social meeting within the company and his collaborators and employees are good in communication as far as they are in the same group which is for him not easy to join as a Manager; but this is less true for management which is more flexible and friendly.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: The hierarchy is now more flat as it was at the beginning. The Distance is not that high (except towards managing and supervising board).

Teamwork: He has no problems with team work. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: He is solving the problems and tensions in accordance with the company's rules. He

finds Slovenian members of management more inclined to directives than to consulting or negotiation.

Participation: Slovenian members of management and employees are willing to participate at work and they are very competent.

Risk taking: He considers Slovenian managers as prepared to take certain business risks. They are less inclined to business risks as he is but it is because of the field of his work (marketing); technicians in the company are more conservative in this sense.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: Company has its own system of rewarding but he also uses some informal incentives: *»if you perform well you can have a trip to somewhere or you can go to this conference, you can go for a dinner here«.*

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: Even though he is not familiar with Balkans and many Western countries he regards Slovenia more similar to Western Europe, especially to Germany (*»more sharp in terms of quality«*). National features: He finds Slovenian people very professional and capable but they often think they are the best at their work, *»it's too much self-confidence«*. Differences in productivity and work motivation: Slovenian companies are very productive but not so motivated: *»I would say they work, they do in the normal hour time is the same than American would do in this working time, but maybe he would spend 3 hours more in the office than people here«*. Slovenians are motivated in terms of tracking career but not in terms of changing a job or a city.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his working place he speaks English. Obligation of learning languages: He used to learn Slovenian for 3 months in the framework of the company but he finds it difficult and he does not learn it anymore. No one is obliged to learn any other language of the foreigners as the English is always used as a third language. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has informal (friendly) and formal contacts with other Slovenian managers. He was facing troubles with local authorities while he was settling his VISA. He doesn't have any contacts with high civil servants or politicians except the people from students' organisation. He regards Slovenian managers very competent whereas the same doesn't hold true for politicians which are not competent in terms of stimulating business in Slovenia and promoting it in the other countries: *»they should be more action-oriented«*. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time also with people from within the company but mostly with other people.

7) Career/ CV

While studying in Mexico he worked as a software engineer developing software and base solutions for manufacturing companies. Then he worked for 2 years in the system integration company as a consultant and responsible for business process organisation. Then he came In Maribor as a trainee through IAESTE for 2 months but actually he stayed for 1 year and 3 months helping developing Oracle technology for teaching programmes. Then he moved to his present company where he works as a marketing manager responsible for telecom and IT service management solutions.

Summary of the interview with Slovenian Team and project manager F1/C3 – R8

Interview was conducted on 26.5.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene.

1) Introduction Surprise

He did not experience any special surprises recently concerning the behaviour of foreign managers. He has »experiences that they have always listened to their remarks and proposals«. Mutual learning: Foreign managers can offer the domestic ones much on the field of organization, whereas the domestic ones can prove that also the improvisation may turn out as a smart choice and can contribute to the faster adjustment to the changes. He favours good organization which includes also an improvisation.

2) Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Foreign managers are more formal than domestic ones. The level of the identification with the firm: Their identification with the firm is high because “it is about the consciousness that their position of managers depends on results.”

Trust: They trust beforehand concerning some little things after they think they know you but they normally demand respect of the rules.

Individualism/Collectivism: Both, domestic and foreign managers are collective oriented due to the type of work.

Orientation towards innovation: They are innovation-oriented but »they reconsider them before telling their opinion«.

Sociability and communication: Domestic managers behave more informal than the foreign ones.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: Because on the field of computing the team-working is very important, managers act less hierarchically; there is no difference between domestic and foreign managers in this respect.

Teamwork: No problems with team work and project organization occur, »because otherwise we would not be able to cooperate at all«. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: As regards conflicts and tensions within the firm, the foreign managers are more adequate for solving »painful decisions« which appear actually as directives.

Participation: Cadre which is able of creating of the added value is capable of cooperation and participation at work; but there is not enough of such a cadre in Slovenia.

Risk taking: He thinks that foreign managers are more prepared to take risks.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He thinks that Slovenia- even though it is very heterogeneous in terms of organization of work and managerial competences- resembles to Central-European states. Differences in productivity and work motivation: Regarding his experiences there is no big difference in productivity between Slovenian and Western companies.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his working place he uses Slovene. Obligation of learning languages: He learns English which is also used as a third language in the firm. Problems in communication: According to his estimates there are no problems concerning the communication in the firm.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has not much contacts with managers of other Slovenian firms and has no business contacts neither with local authorities, nor with high civil servants or political elite. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time also with his collaborators but it does not appear as a rule.

7) Career/CV

In 1998 he obtained the diploma on the Faculty of Electrotechnics, Computing and Information in Maribor. From 1998-2000 he cooperated at the informatization of the company »Megatti«. In 2000 he started working in his present company. From 2000-2003 he worked as a developer for the client Hewlett Packard and from 2003-2005 as a team-manager and project-manager at projects for the client Hewlett Packard.

Summary of the interview with Slovenian Sales assistant F1/C3 – R9 Interview was conducted on 7.6.2005 by Jasa Jarec in Slovene in her company.

1) Introduction Surprise

She was surprised recently when the foreign manager demanded from her to go to the partner company to sign an important contract and to wait there in the lobby until the contract will be signed. »He said: 'don't go there without the paper signed in your hands'«. Mutual learning: *Slovenian managers could learn from the foreign ones not to interfere with other's business (»once they feel they have the wings they start to interfere with the matters outside their domain«)* and to be more professional. Foreign managers could learn from Slovenes that business is not everything although she finds foreign managers also attentive for the family and for the moral values.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Foreign managers are much more open in communication, »they are not trying to hide anything«. The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with the firm depends on personal orientation and ambitions someone has within the firm (»...if they know...their mission, they do their job and identify with the firm as much as it is necessary...«).

Trust: There are no differences concerning trust towards Slovenian managers and employees as they both trust the same.

Individualism/Collectivism: Individualistic or collectivistic orientation depends on individual, her/his position and the mission in the firm, but nevertheless she finds foreign managers More collectivistic oriented.

Orientation towards innovation: Innovativeness depends on individual, be it Slovene or foreign manager.

Sociability and communication: In the case of informal social meetings the foreigners behave with ease, »they plug off the business« and are very sociable.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: Foreign managers maintain the hierarchy in the firm but the distance between them and other managers or employees is not high unlike some Slovene managers which sometimes keep the distance being afraid that someone will offer better solution and earn the merits; »although it is not excluded also on the part of the foreigners«.

Teamwork: If people don't hold the information which sometimes happens there are no problems with team work. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: When foreign managers see a long-term mission in the firm then they are trying to solve the problems »but it again depends on position, personal orientation etc«. They use directives, especially when they have some Clear objectives and if they come across the unapproved on the part of the »supporting links«.

Participation: Preparedness on participation and cooperation depends on individual.

Risk taking: Willingness to take certain business risks depends on one's position, function and mission.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: As regards system of rewarding they use certain steady and non-subjective mechanisms thus determine whether one is Successful or not.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: Although in some respects Slovenia still resembles Balkan countries she considers her firm »going towards Western states if this is our optimum«.

National features: Foreign managers, in general, are more open and not afraid to tell something about themselves. Differences in productivity and work motivation: She cannot estimate the differences in productivity between Slovenian and foreign companies but her company is trying to imitate Westerners in equating working time and working presence with productivity.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At her working place she uses English which she also learns in terms of upgrading. Obligation of learning languages: As a third language English is always in use and no one is demanded to learn any other language. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding communication but sometimes Anglo-Saxon foreign managers keep using high expert language and do not try to adjust their level of English to the one of the Slovenes; she thinks they do it intentionally.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: She has some formal and informal contacts with other Slovenian managers but these are not very often. Her Private experience with the local authorities is very bad, whereas business relations with them are a little bit better. She regards them, as well as politicians as very incompetent of doing their job, but she has no contacts with high civil servants or politicians. Social events and Spare time spending: She spends her spare time mostly with people outside the firm with some exceptions and in this terms she has a better experience with foreigners in the company.

7) Career/CV

She worked as a secretary-assistant in the Slovene Crafts' association and then as an import referee in the same organisation. Then she worked in several smaller private companies, majorly on the area of import. And then she moved to her present firm working as a sales-assistant.

Summary of the interview with Slovenian Marketing director F1/C3 – R10 Interview was conducted on 10.8.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in respondent's firm

1) Introduction Surprise

Concerning surprises related to the behaviour of foreign managers there were, on the one hand, surprises connected with unfamiliarity with Slovenian environment but on the other hand some of them are very open-minded, open to several scenarios and welcomed in terms of bringing new experiences. But he was very negatively surprised with the ex-foreign members of executive board who came in the midst of the crisis and there was »absolute non-understanding of the firm's culture, history, they posited themselves as big experts and deliverers of everything and this was bringing an unrest«. Mutual learning: Domestic managers could learn from the foreigners about the openness, marketing approach and the understanding of the costumers whereas the foreign ones could learn from Slovenes about the way they buy and use things.

2) Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: French managers were very formalistic, whereas Americans and Mexicans are more informal; but this does not depend on nationality but on the goals someone has within the company; if one wants »to financially consolidate the firm and then to sell it, they looked at it more from the accountant's point of view and they were intentionally more formal, more closed, everything had to be under control«. The level of the identification with the firm: Identification with the firm is lower on the part of the foreign managers because they change their jobs more frequently than Slovenians (»they look at the change of the job more as on one bullet in their CV).

Trust: Foreign managers trust more their fellow-citizens, »that's why they sometimes bring their people with them«. Individualism/Collectivism: Foreign managers are more individualistically oriented. Sociability and communication: There are some social meetings in the framework of the firm and they are very sociable there; sometimes they even organize something by themselves at home.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: Foreign owners have a »big distance to everything which is not related to return of money«. Foreign managers, especially French were very hierarchically oriented, they closed the firm that was traditionally more flat.

Teamwork: He has no problems regarding team work and project organization.

The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: When conflicts or tensions occur foreign Managers give some basic orders but the domestic ones have to resolve them at the end. They are more inclined to directives than to negotiations.

Participation: Slovenian employees are very creative and participative as long as there are Proper reactions on the part of the management; otherwise »people simply lose their will, because they do not see that something happens with it«.

Risk taking: Foreign managers are more inclined to risky decisions than Slovenians, »we are learning by them a little«.

System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: They have formalized and systematized the rewarding, because before the rewards were more subjective. There are also some more informal systems just as excursions, team-buildings and off-side meetings.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He regards his firm as well as the other Slovenian firms, as similar to Central Europe, even though some firms still resemble to Balkan firms. National features: There are no special national features about the foreign managers. Differences in productivity and work motivation: Unlike the smaller ones, the big Western companies are getting less productive and the same holds true for Slovenia, »We have different business models for different clients and partners and some of them have a drive to be optimized, productive«. He considers Westerners as more motivated because they change their job often for the sake of their CV and they want to finish their job in a certain time.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: With foreign managers he communicates in English. Obligation of learning languages: No one has to learn the language of foreign managers. Problems in communication: There are some problems regarding the communication with English native speakers because one is deprived in this case, »in a foreign language With the native speaker one can never analyse the things so good and the native speaker can tell it in a more aesthetic way and this is sometimes the problem when a stupid idea wins for that reason«.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has frequent formal and informal contacts with other Slovenian managers. He thinks that local authorities could be more active, they listen and react to something as late as something appears in the media. He has some formal relations with high civil servants and politicians. He does not find these people very competent. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time mostly with the people outside the firm but he has also some contacts with the people related to his job.

7) Career/CV

After the diploma at Faculty of Computing in Ljubljana he worked as a part-timer in various IT-firms. 10 years ago he joined his present firm where he began as an engineer, continued as project manager, programme manager, leader of business development and now he works as marketing director.

Summary of the interview with Slovenian programme manager F1/C3 - R11

Interview was conducted on 14.6.2005 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene in respondent's firm.

1) Introduction Surprise

He is frequently surprised by foreign managers when they look sublimely Sometimes at Slovenia as though it is a Balkan country but then they sometimes behave in a Way that one would attribute to the Balkan. Mutual learning: Slovene managers could learn from the foreign ones about the Innovativeness in looking for businesses on international markets and about business ideas in general. Foreign managers in his firm could learn from the domestic ones about conceiving of multiculturalism (working with collaborators from different countries) as of an opportunity and not as a risk.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Foreign managers are more formal than Slovene, though many decisions are made on the informal level (on the background) and are Finally only formally confirmed.

The level of the identification with the firm: Foreign managers as well as owners are highly identified with the firm.

Trust: At the beginning, foreign managers do not trust Slovenian managers and employees (they underestimate them) but later on they trust them. They are more inclined to supervision as long as the trust is not established.

Individualism/Collectivism: In terms of decision-making they are individualistically oriented but otherwise they also work collectively.

Orientation towards innovation: They are very innovative (more than Slovenes) but sometimes their ideas are not realizable.

Sociability and communication: If there are social meetings foreign managers behave somehow distant and polite: »the fact is that they all see her job here only for a few years and therefore I would say that they do not look for connections«; but they try to enter the Social life professionally within some associations supported by individual embassies.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: Foreign managers are more hierarchical than Slovenian ones, »I think it is the matter of ego that someone wants to show that he is in charge, I think here this is not so much exposed, in this sense we are more conservative«.

Teamwork: There are no problems with team work and project organization. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: Foreign managers are not retained in solving the conflicts and tension within the firm. They are inclined to negotiating on the informal level invisibly on the background but when they have to decide formally it looks like directive and »therefore there are

no positive reactions on the part of employees as they do not see the negotiating part, they only see a directive coming out of nowhere«.

Participation: He thinks Slovenian managers and employees are willing to participate and cooperate at work. Risk taking: Foreign managers are more prepared to take risky decisions than Slovenians who have come out mainly from the engineering. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: There are no differences in system of rewarding between foreign and Slovene managers.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: In his opinion Slovenia is similar to Central Europe- in terms of business making it is similar to England but in terms of style of management it is more similar to Germany. National features: *Frenchmen in the firm were rather arrogant and sublime.*

Differences in productivity and work motivation: Slovenian firms are as productive as Western firms but it is a question if they always know how to trade themselves well and there is also a question of doing the right things at certain time. Working motivation varies from individual to individual.

5) Communication and contacts within firm Common language

At his working place he uses Slovene and English. Obligation of learning languages: He used to learn English and German through the firm, the latter due to the needs of the market- as a third language English is always used within the firm. Problems in communication: There are no problems regarding formal communication but Slovenians do not master the informal English communication.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has no contacts with other Slovenian managers, local authorities or the political elite. He has heard from the other people that making business with Slovene public administration could be »fun« as *there are a lot of background deals, unwritten rules etc., but he has no prejudices because of that.* Spare time spending: In his spare time he socializes less and less with his collaborators and there are many more other people.

7) Career/CV

He started to work in his company already as a student after getting a scholarship. After his study he got a full-time job, he started to work as an engineer and now he works as a Programme manager.

Summary of the interview with the Slovenian R&D tech lead F1/C3 – R12

Interview was conducted on 7.6.2004 by Jaša Jarec in Slovene

1) Introduction Surprise

He did not experience any particular surprise recently. Mutual learning: Foreign managers are sometimes too strict so they could learn from Slovenes to be more relaxed whereas Slovenes could learn to be more precise.

2) Organisational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: Formality or informality of behaviour depend on the project and on the manager himself; »One cannot generalise here« The level of the identification with the firm: The identification with the firm on the part of foreign managers is low as they are normally staying in the company for more than 3 years.

Trust: The trust rests on working capabilities and not on personal characteristics. Individualism/Collectivism: Foreign managers are collective oriented because »there is no project without the working group«.

Orientation towards innovation: He cannot generalise as far as the orientation towards innovations is concerned.

Sociability and communication: When there are some social meetings foreign managers behave in the same way as Slovenian; »beer is beer and there are no differences«.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: He finds foreign managers distant and hierarchical, »probably one could find someone thinking that ancient pharaoh could have been his servant or a driver«.

Teamwork: There are no problems with team working and project organisation. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: He finds foreign managers more inclined to consulting, except in some critical moments when certain necessary decision has to be made.

Participation: He finds Slovenian experts as not lacking the needed knowledge but maybe lacking experiences.

Risk taking: He cannot generalize about the differences in risk taking.

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He thinks Slovenia still cannot be compared with Western countries. National features: *He finds that foreign managers find capitalism as »new (false, of course) religion«.* »More money, more money and more money«. Differences in productivity and work motivation: He thinks foreign companies as more productive, »the reason is the great burdening of the workers«.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his work place he uses English, everyone uses English. Problems in communication: Sometimes some problems related to communication occur but they are always solved.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has no contacts with other Slovenian managers, owners or with high civil servants or politicians. His experiences with the local authorities are good. He cannot assess the competence of these people. Spare time spending: He almost never spends his spare time with his colleagues from the firm.

7) Career/CV

He has been in his present firm since 1997. He has worked on several projects, including HP Open View, Vodafone projects, informational technologies just as NET (ASP, C#, ...), clustering solutions, Oracle, MS SQL etc. He now works as R&D Tech Lead.

Summary of the interview with Spanish leading software engineer F1/C3 – R13

Interview was conducted on 14.6. 2005 by Jaša Jarec in English in respondent's firm.

1) Introduction Surprise

He was well surprised when he came for an interview in his firm for the first time and Slovenian managers were dressed and acting in a very informal way. Recently he was surprised when one of Slovenian managers said that he doesn't care with whom he works and that he only cares about how many people he has under him. Mutual learning: He thinks that Slovenian managers could learn from the foreign ones much about communication and foreign managers could learn from Slovene about »having a nice working environment, taking care of people, taking care that people have time for their families«.

2) Organizational climate

Communication and relationships in Slovenia: He thinks that Slovenian managers are very informal, especially in comparison with the Spanish ones; but he sees them as introverted as they do not communicate enough.

The level of the identification with the firm: He thinks Slovenian managers do not identify with the firm: »I don't see high commitment to the company, they are more committed to themselves«. Trust: Slovenian employees trust foreigners on the professional level but otherwise they are

superficial when one has to talk about family and friends. He can trust his employees. He regards Slovenian managers as more inclined to regulations.

Individualism/Collectivism: According to him Slovenian managers and employees are more individualistically oriented. Orientation towards innovation: Slovenian managers are open for some new solutions and proposals but they are not productive enough in providing some new solutions by themselves.

Sociability and communication: They have some social meetings within the firm and Slovenians sometimes start to talk in Slovene if there is only one foreigner present; otherwise »they are party-makers and you can talk to managers«.

3) Managerial style

Hierarchy and distance: As for the hierarchy in the firm he has noticed that managerial positions are much more valued than technical ones on the symbolical level, but there is not a big distance between managers and the other employees (also compared to Spain: »in Spain I was in a small company, 20 employees and I think I spoke once with the director«).

Teamwork: There are some problems with team work because Slovenians do not communicate enough and do not ask enough questions. The role of foreign manager in conflict resolution: If the conflict or tension occurs within his area of competence then he is solving it. He finds Slovenian managers as more inclined to directives (»I think they don't like to talk about their decisions«) even though it also depends on the individual.

Participation: Slovenian managers and employees are willing to cooperate at work as far as it is within their area of work: »Usually managers' talk to managers and it's a clear distinction what managers do and what engineers do«.

Risk taking: He regards Slovenian managers as prepared to take business risks. System of rewarding as means of stimulation of productivity: He thinks that Slovenian managers in comparison to Western ones do not make enough difference between good and bad work: »somebody who performs very well is not rewarded, somebody who performs very bad is not punished (...)I would say that here they try to reward everybody in the same manner.«

4) National and regional patterns

Slovenian position: He considers Slovenes as trying to be European-oriented. In terms of managerial competences and work organization Slovenia resembles to Germany. National features: Slovenian national specific in his opinion is that Slovenes are very proud of being Slovenes and they do not like to go to work abroad. Differences in productivity and work motivation: Slovenian companies are less productive than Western in absolute (on average they work less) and relative terms (they do not make a difference between good and bad work). As for work motivation it depends on the manager but »Some managers have a problem that they don't have knowledge, they don't know how to motivate their subordinates they don't know how to have a nice working environment«.

5) Communication and contacts within firm

Common language: At his working place he speaks English and Slovenian which he used to learn. Obligation of learning languages: Nobody is obliged to learn any other language than English and Slovene but there is bigger and bigger need for German language due to the German Customers who are getting more and more reluctant to speak English. Problems in communication: He had some problems with communication at the beginning on the informal level (cultural club, internal forums ...) when Slovenians spoke in Slovene and he could not understand them; and there is also a problem that they do not communicate enough.

6) Contacts with Slovenian managers, local authorities and political elite

Contacts with Slovenian managers (owners), local authorities and politicians: He has only private contacts with other Slovenian managers. He does not have a good experience with local authorities: »problem with public administration is that you ask 3 different people and they give you 3 different answers and definite things here are not Optimized and they like a lot of papyrology, they like a lot of documents even if they sometimes don't check what's written there but they like to produce documents«. He knows a few politicians privately. He thinks that Slovenian and all the other politicians do not concentrate on important things for political purposes. Spare time spending: He spends his spare time mostly with the people outside the firm (also Slovenians) but he goes for a beer or for some sport sometimes with his collaborators.

7) Career/CV

After finishing his master degree he worked for certain company in IT sector for 7 months than he worked for Galician government for 1 year and then he moved to Slovenia in his present firm where he works as a leading software engineer.