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## A RETROSPECTIVE OF THE IMPACT OF THE PANDEMIC ON GLOBALIZATION

Gabriela Radetić  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4171-3691><sup>1</sup>

### Summary:

**Research question (RV):** What does the crisis (Covid-19) mean for globalization?

**Purpose:** Looking at the global crisis affected by Covid-19 and the Russia-Ukraine war.

**Method:** The author used general scientific methods in his work - hypothetical deductive method.

**Results:** It can be argued that the coronavirus has not only affected our lives, but, it seems, has fundamentally changed them. Although it affected numerous factors, primarily the economy, health, and many others, it seems that the society is slowly returning to normal, although it will take a long time. However, the bigger problem seems to be whether we have learned from it all.

**Limitations/further research:** How much will the current war between Russia and Ukraine disrupt the post-pandemic recovery?

**Keywords:** recession; global economy; travel industry; work from home; geopolitical tensions.

## RETROSPEKTIVNI PREGLED VPLIVA PANDEMIJE NA GLOBALIZACIJO

### Povzetek:

**Raziskovalno vprašanje (RV):** Kaj pomeni kriza (Covid-19) za globalizacijo?

**Namen:** Preučitev globalne krize, na katero sta vplivali Covid-19 in rusko-ukrajinska vojna.

**Metoda:** Avtor je pri svojem delu uporabil splošne znanstvene metode - hipotetično deduktivno metodo.

**Rezultati:** Lahko trdimo, da koronavirus ni le vplival na naša življenja, ampak jih je, kot kaže, tudi temeljito spremenil. Čeprav je vplival na številne dejavnike, predvsem na gospodarstvo, zdravje in številne druge, se zdi, da se družba počasi normalizira, čeprav bo za to potrebno še veliko časa. Vendar se zdi, da je večji problem, ali smo se iz vsega tega kaj naučili.

**Omejitve/nadaljnje raziskave:** Koliko bo sedanja vojna med Rusijo in Ukrajino ovirala okrevanje po pandemiji?

**Ključne besede:** recesija, svetovno gospodarstvo, potovalna industrija, geopolitične napetosti

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### Introduction

Globalization has been one of the predominant words in the last 25 years. It may seem like a rather unusual concept, since any economic historian will assert that people have traded over vast distances for centuries, if not millennia. To know this, one should only consider the medieval spice trade or the East India Company. But the essence of globalization bears a resemblance to the scale and speed of international business, which have exploded in the last few decades to inviolable heights. Easier travel, the Internet, the end of the Cold War, trade agreements and, most recently, rapid economic growth, together make up a system that depends much more on what is happening on the other side of the world than ever before.

The coronavirus pandemic has affected almost every country in the world. The whole world was shaken by the virus epidemic which broke out in Wuhan, China, since the supply of Chinese products stopped. Meanwhile, the virus has spread around the world. Although production is slowly restarting both in Europe and in other parts of the world, it is still creaking throughout the system. In many ports, only a part of the staff has been hired due to the corona virus, and new regulations make logistics more difficult. European shipping companies, for example, continue to reduce capacity by half, to match supply and demand.

### Research results

In modern European-style capitalism, the economic principle takes precedence over the political. The interests of firms and the labor market are determined by national policies. The COVID-19 epidemic has changed that hierarchy, because for almost a year now, politics has been controlling the economy worldwide. The whole world is facing problems at the moment. The developed countries are able to withstand these closures for a longer period of time, contrary to the underdeveloped countries. The difference being in the fact that developed countries can borrow on much more favorable terms. The spread of the virus has left national economies and businesses counting the costs, as governments struggle with new lockdown measures to tackle the spread of the virus. Despite the development of new vaccines, many are still wondering what recovery could look like.

The IMF states that the economic downturn is the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s. According to them, the pandemic took the world into a "crisis that did not exist". If the pandemic lasts long, it will test the ability of governments and central banks to control the crisis, they added. Although the IMF praised the "quick reaction" in countries such as Great Britain, Germany, Japan and the United States, it is stated that no country will be immune to economic decline. A partial recovery is projected for 2021, "Gopinath says. "But the level of gross domestic product will remain below the level it was before the virus outbreak, with uncertainty as to how much it will be able to recover." The IMF warns that growth in developed economies will not return to pre-virus levels until 2023.

The American economy recorded a decline of 5, 9 % in 2020, which is the largest annual decline since 1946. At the same time, unemployment is expected to jump to 10, 4 %.

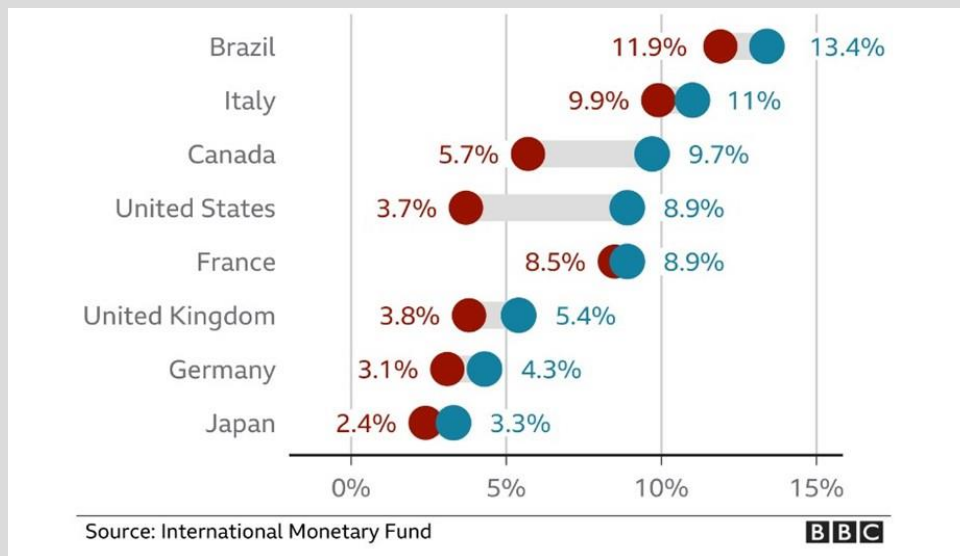
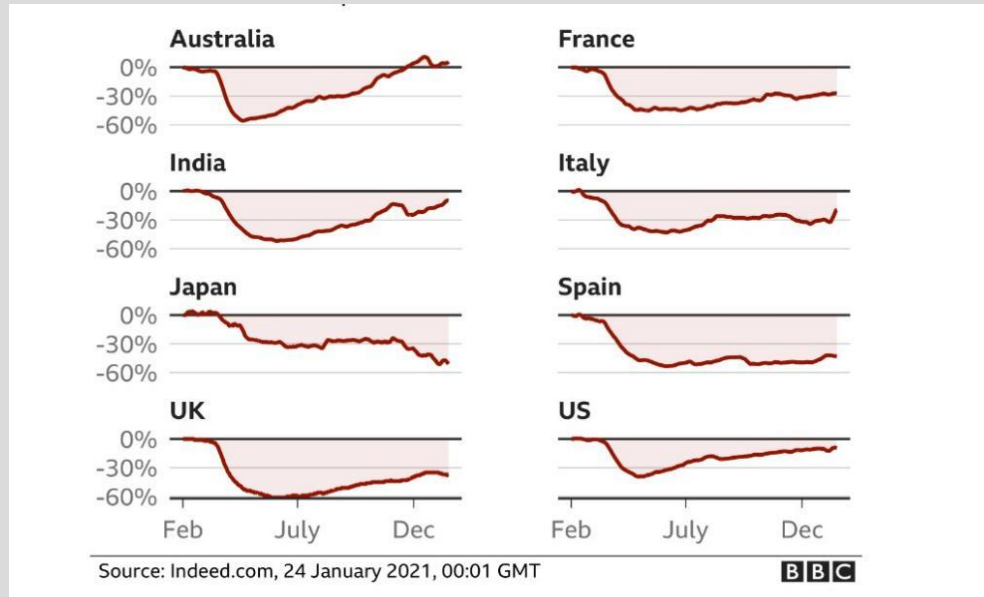


Figure 1: Yearly unemployment rate change, 2019 and 2020 compared

In the United States, the proportion of unemployed people reached a yearly total of 8.9%, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), signalling an end to a decade of jobs expansion.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-51706225>

Millions of workers have also been put on government-supported job retention schemes within the economy. Moreover, tourism and hospitality industries have come to a near standstill. New job opportunities are still very scarce in many countries. Job vacancies in Australia have dropped to the same level as they were in 2019, but they are lagging in France, Spain, the UK and several other countries. Some experts have warned it could be years before levels of employment return to those before the pandemic.



**Figure 2: Daily percentage change in the number of job postings 2020 and 2019** (<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-51706225>)

### *The pandemic prevents cross border workers from South East Europe to EU countries*

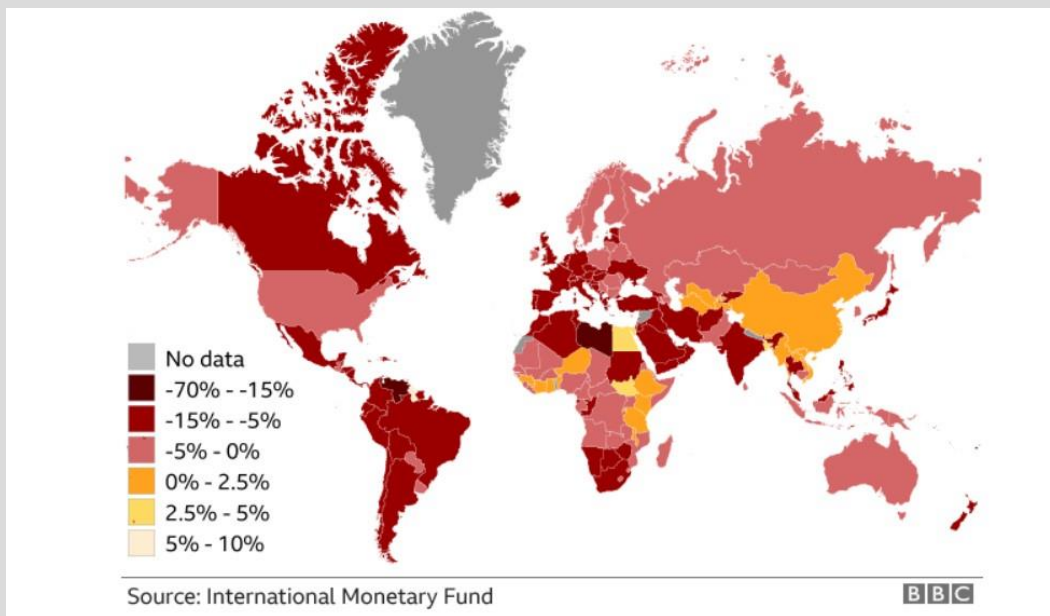
A major disruption to the usual flow of labor was felt throughout Southeastern Europe - the source of millions of foreign workers moving from East to West year by year. The loss of employment opportunities threatens the already poor standard of living in Ukraine and the Western Balkans - Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Northern Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia - which have been regular exporters of labor to Western Europe for decades. However, this problem also creates issues and concerns among EU member states in Central and Southeast Europe - Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland and Romania.

Some of these countries are both importers and exporters of workers. They rely on cheaper labor from Ukraine or the Balkans to fill lower-skilled jobs, often to replace their own citizens, who were looking for more lucrative jobs in the Western Europe - mainly Germany, the UK or the Netherlands. The pandemic hit foreign workers in the EU the hardest, as they were among the first to lose their jobs or have their salaries reduced. This, in turn, affects living standards throughout Southeast Europe. So far, the coronavirus pandemic has had the least impact on more developed countries which are less dependent on the labor force, such as the Czech Republic and Hungary. However, that could change if the pandemic continues to spread uncontrollably during 2022. Despite this, analysts expect the number of migrant workers, including those from the Western Balkans, to decline if the COVID-19 crisis continues. The risk of economic slowdown and unemployment is obvious, even if conditions remain stable in the meantime. The infection will repel migrant workers travelling to the country, further harming the tourism industry and delaying economic recovery. Jobs in the hospitality industry are especially exposed, as well as tourism, which is still on its knees.

The situation with the coronavirus is causing big problems in the automotive industry, which is forced to stop or limit work in factories. All spheres of logistics are largely affected by the pandemic, but to a different extent. The automotive industry has lost almost 100 % of its turnover. Also, in the fields of electronics, machine and textile industries, the demand has almost completely dropped. In contrast to the mentioned branches, the demand in the pharmacological and food industry has clearly increased, though partly disproportionately. Professor Beata Javorcik, chief economist at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, states that the change in the global economy over the past 17 years has left a deep mark. "Looking back on 2003 and the Sars epidemic, China then accounted for 4 % of global production," she states. "China now makes four times as much, 16 %. That means that whatever happens in China today has an impact on the whole world to a much greater extent."

The notion of globalization can easily clarify why almost every major car factory in the UK has stopped its production - they depend on sales and components from all parts of the world. When they both dried up, they just stopped making cars.

China's wealth and health, therefore, are much more important to us than they once were, but it is not just a question of scale - globalization implies a much deeper problem.



**Figure 3: Majority of countries in recession, Real GDP growth**

The only major growing economy in 2020 was China. It registered a growth of 2,3%.

The IMF is, however, predicting global growth of 5,2% in 2021. That will be driven primarily by countries such as India and China, forecast to growth by 8,8% and 8,2% respectively. Recovery in big, services-reliant, economies that have been hit hard by the outbreak, such as the UK or Italy, is expected to be slow.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-51706225>

Ian Goldin, a professor and expert of globalization and development at Oxford University as well as author of *The Butterfly Effect: How Globalization Creates Systemic Risks and What to Do About It*, says that "risks are allowed to fester, they have become a chronic state of globalization." That, he states, can be seen not only now, but also in the credit crunch and banking crisis of 2008 and the vulnerability of the Internet to cyber-attacks. The new global economic system brings enormous benefits, but also enormous risks. Although it has helped to increase earnings, to rapidly develop the economies of countries and lift millions of people out of poverty, it has also brought upon extremely high risk of deterioration, both financial or health.

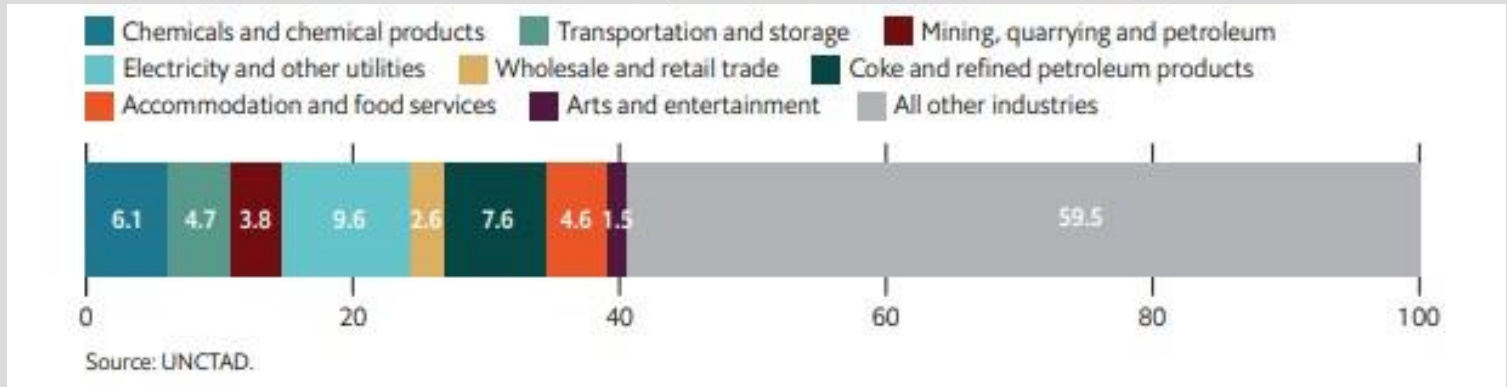
What does this latest crisis mean for globalization? For example, in the store - when supply chains were interrupted due to the corona virus, people started looking for alternative suppliers at home, even if they were more expensive. When people find domestic suppliers, they will continue to collaborate with them... because of these identified risks.

Professor Javorcik believes that the combination of these factors will suggest that the Western factory industry will start returning work home or doing "reshoring", as it is professionally called. "I think the trade war (mostly between the United States and China), combined with the corona virus epidemic, will lead companies to take reshoring seriously," she said. "They will reschedule activities that can be automated, because resorption brings certainty. You don't have to worry about your national trade policy, and it gives you the opportunity to diversify your supply base." However, this is not just beneficiary for Western economies, which will now probably think they have become too dependent on globalization. Instead, it works in both directions.

The fundamental nature of globalization is not transporting manufactured goods around the world, but also in transporting people, ideas and information; which is something the UK and other Western economies are very good at. As David Henning, director of British trade policy at the European Center for International Political Economy, points out: "The service sector must have suffered a major blow, just look at tourism and universities in particular." "There must be great concern about the number of new enrollments at Western universities. It's a huge export industry, many universities depend on Chinese students, for example." Many Western universities will lack foreign students who often have to pay more for their studies and make up a key revenue stream.



The notion that the fundamental nature of globalization is in moving production or supply chains to cheaper Asian countries is too simplistic. It has also led to a massive increase in the number of foreign students willing to pay to study at our colleges and universities and a huge influx of wealthy tourists who want to spend money here, to name just two businesses in the service sector. Slowing down or reversing globalization will really hit these branches hard. As David Henning, director of British trade policy at the European Center for International Political Economy, points out: "The service sector must have suffered a major blow, just look at tourism and universities in particular." Although some of these factors are already being felt, such as 3D printing, automation, the demand for adaptation to specific needs and fast delivery, just like protectionism, it seems that Covid-19 can only speed up the process. The essence of much of globalization is not in transporting manufactured goods around the world, but also in transporting people, ideas and information.



**Figure 4: Industries damaged by Covid-19 are key investment vehicles (share of global cross border M&A and greenfield FDI projects, 2019, % by value)**

Overall, the UN's trade and development body (UNCTAD) expects the pandemic to reduce global FDI flows by about 40% in 2020-21, a slightly deeper contraction than the 35% recorded during the global financial crisis in 2008-09. However, the actual impact could be more dramatic given the greater breadth, depth and complexity of the current situation. \*

The real question, however, is not whether these changes will happen, but how far-reaching they will be and how they will be resolved? Will the result resemble the period after the First or the Second World War? We could, as after 1918, witness wearing of international organizations, a rise in nationalism, protectionism and economic crisis. Or, as after 1945, more cooperation and internationalization, such as Bretton Woods, the Marshall Plan, the UN and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

"We can be optimistic, but we certainly don't see leadership coming from the White House," David Henig pointed out. "China can't take the reins, and Britain can't lead Europe." Professor Jonathan Portes shares this concern, emphasizing: "The London G20 summit in 2009 agreed on a package of international cooperation worth one trillion dollars, and even Germany joined it." But now there is no leadership in the G20, and the United States is absent from the international scene. "

Where will we be in six months, in a year or ten years from now? I lie awake at night and wonder what kind of future awaits the people I love. My fragile friends and relatives. There are several possible futures, depending on how governments and society will deal with the coronavirus and its consequences for the economy.

We hope to use the crisis to rebuild society, create something better and more humane. But we could also sink into something worse. I think we can assess at our situation - as well as what lies ahead - by looking at other crises. My research focuses on the fundamentals of the modern economy: the global supply chain, earnings, and productivity.

\* <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/down-but-not-out-globalisation-and-the-threat-of-covid-19/>

I analyze at how economic developments affect challenges such as climate change and the poor mental and physical health of workers. Isolation puts pressure on the global economy. We are facing a great recession. This pressure has led some world leaders to suggest easing isolation measures. The economy of collapse is quite simple. Entrepreneurs strive to make a profit. If they don't produce anything, they have nothing to sell. This means that they will not make a profit, which means that they will be less and less able to hire staff. Entrepreneurs can (for a short period of time) keep workers they do not need directly - and they do: they want to be able to meet market demands when the economy recovers. But if things get really bad, they won't do it. As a result, more and more people are losing their jobs or fearing dismissal. And then they buy less and less. Thus, the whole cycle starts from the beginning and takes us through the whirlpool of economic depression.

In the usual crisis, the recipe for solving this process is simple - the government spends money, until people start consuming and working again. Currently, the basic goal of the global economy is to ensure the exchange of money. Economists call it "exchange value". The prevailing idea of the system in which we currently live is that "exchange value" is the same as "use value". Basically, people will spend money on what they want or need, and that act of spending money reveals a lot about how much they value its "usability". Therefore, the market is considered the best way to manage a company. It allows you to adapt and is flexible enough to match production capacity with use value. What Covid-19 clearly shows is the extent to which we misunderstood the market. Around the world, governments fear that the essential systems will collapse or overload: supply chains, social assistance, but mostly health care. There are many factors that contribute to this. First of all, it is quite difficult to make money in many of the most important social activities. This is partly because the most profitable asset is labor productivity growth: to produce more with fewer people. Staff is a big expense, especially those that rely on personal interactions, such as health care. Consequently, productivity growth in the health care sector is usually lower than in other economic activities, so its cost growth is faster than average. Which is more important - people or the economy?

Secondly, jobs in many key industries are not among the most valued in society. Many of the highest paid jobs exist only to provide an exchange: to make a profit. However, since they make a lot of money, we have a lot of advisors, a huge advertising industry and an even bigger financial sector. At the same time, we are facing a crisis of health care and social assistance, so many are often forced to leave the useful jobs they like to do because they do not bring them enough income to live on.

### *Pointless jobs*

Partly precisely because such a large number of people do meaningless work, our response to Covid-19 was not adequate. The pandemic indicates that many jobs are not crucial, while, on the other hand, we lack the necessary workers to react when things go wrong. People are forced to do meaningless jobs because in a society where exchange value is the main principle of the economy, basic necessities of life are mostly available through the market. This means that you have to buy them, and in order to buy them, you need income, which you earn through work.

The other side of this coin is that the most drastic (and most successful) responses to the expansion of Covid-19 that we see call into question market dominance and exchange value. Governments around the world are taking measures that seemed unthinkable three months ago. In Spain, private hospitals have been nationalized. In the United Kingdom, the chances that various forms of transport will be nationalized have become quite high. And France has announced that it is ready to nationalize large companies.

We are also witnessing the collapse of the labor market. Countries such as Denmark and the United Kingdom provide income to people to prevent them from going to work. This is key to implementing successful isolation. These measures are far from perfect. Still, they represent a departure from the principle that people have to work to make money and move towards the idea that people deserve to live even if they are unable to work. This reverses the dominant trends of the last 40 years. In that period, the market and exchange values were seen as the best way to manage the economy. As a result, public systems are under increasing pressure to become part of the market, to be managed as if they were companies that have to make a profit.

In the same way, workers are increasingly exposed to the market – zero-hour employment contracts and part-time economies have removed the layer of protection that once provided stable long-term employment from market fluctuations. Covid-19 seems to be reversing that trend by separating the health care system and labor products from the market and leaving them at the disposal of the state. States produce for many reasons. Some are good, some are bad. But unlike markets, they do not have to produce solely because of exchange value. For forty years, there was a broad economic consensus. This limited the ability of politicians and their advisers to notice shortcomings in the system or imagine alternatives. Such thinking is based on two related beliefs:

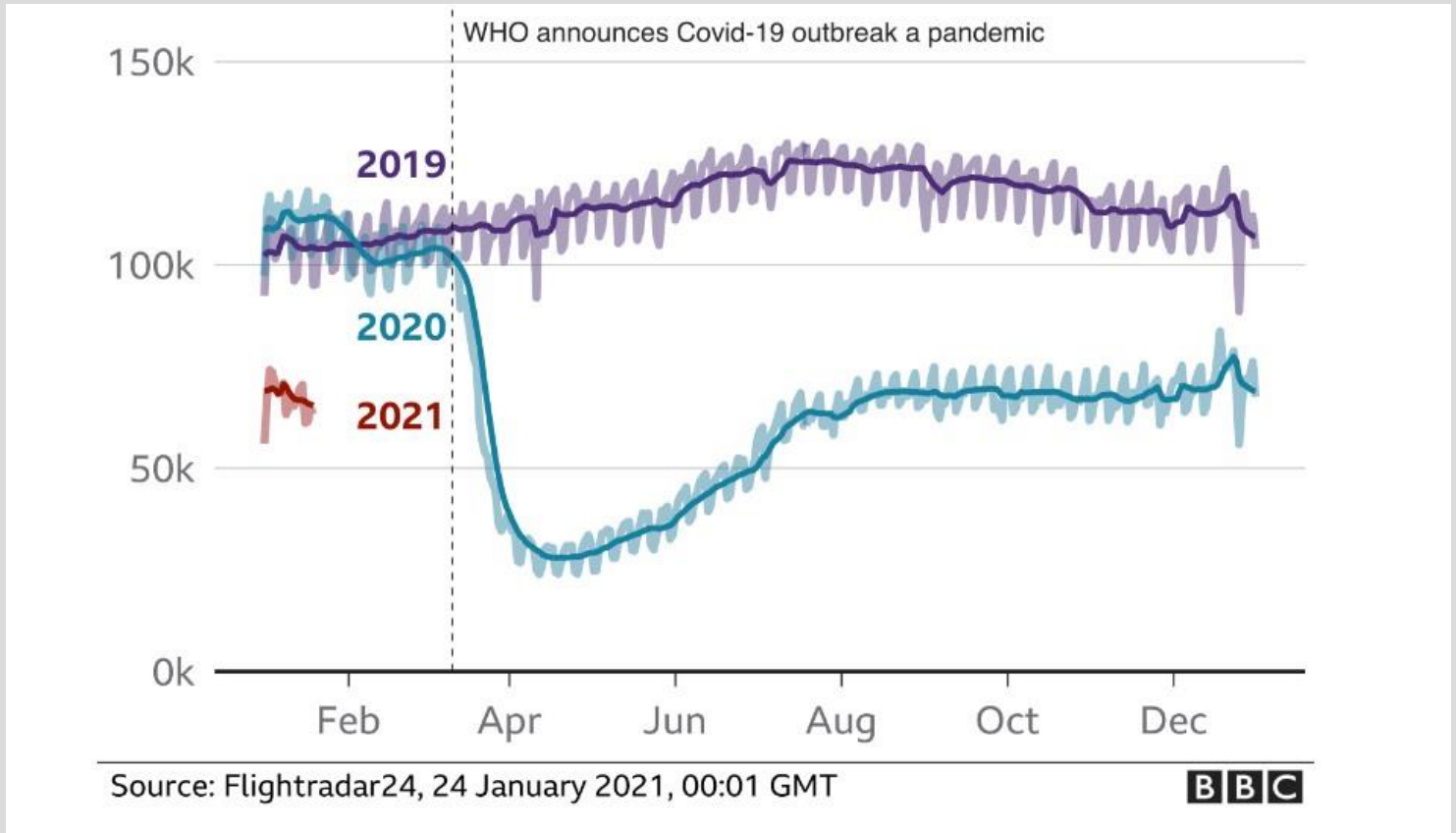
- The market provides a quality life, and must be protected
- The market will always return to normal after short periods of crisis

These views are common in many Western countries. But they are strongest in the United Kingdom and the United States, and both countries have proved ill-prepared to fight Covid-19. In the United Kingdom, participants in a private-sector event reportedly summed up Covid-19's approach to the prime minister's senior adviser as follows: "developing herd immunity, protecting the economy, and if some retirees die, then so be it?" The government has denied this, but we would not be surprised if it is true.

### *The Global tourism industry is crumbling*

The travel industry has been badly affected, with airlines cutting flights and customers cancelling business trips and holidays. Due to numerous border closures and visa restrictions, the number of flights is rapidly declining. Globally, between 80 and 90 % of flights are canceled, and most passenger planes are grounded. This is beneficiary for the environment, because aviation alone is responsible for about 2% of global greenhouse gas emissions. As a result of the suspension of air flights (but also other economic activities, especially industrial ones), NASA noticed an impressive reduction in the level of air pollution in the Chinese city of Wuhan, in the midst of the crisis.

Data from the flight tracking service Flight Radar 24 shows that the number of flights globally took a huge hit in 2020 and it is still a long way from recovery.



**Figure 5: Total daily commercial flights with seven-day average (<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/its-just-humanscovid-19-puts-global-economy-ventilator-teli>)**

Tourism is overrun. They are the first to be run over and the last to rise. A difficult situation awaits countries that rely heavily on tourism and are unable to make short-term alternatives and quickly turn to other areas of the economy. Income will certainly be lower, and there is also the problem of financially preserving the health of travel agencies, hotels, the banking system, or everything related to tourism, as well as the employment of seasonal workers. The question is, is this the end of mass tourism?

The health crisis related to the COVID-19 virus already has very visible consequences on the tourism industry. Photos from around the world have shown us how popular places, which have usually been victims of mass tourism - Venice, Rome, Madrid, look completely devastated, empty. "These photos are disturbing, like frozen images from disaster movies or the apocalypse," writes the Travel Review. And although everyone knows that at some point people will return to the streets, and return to travel, Covid-19 already looks like a "death penalty" for mass tourism.

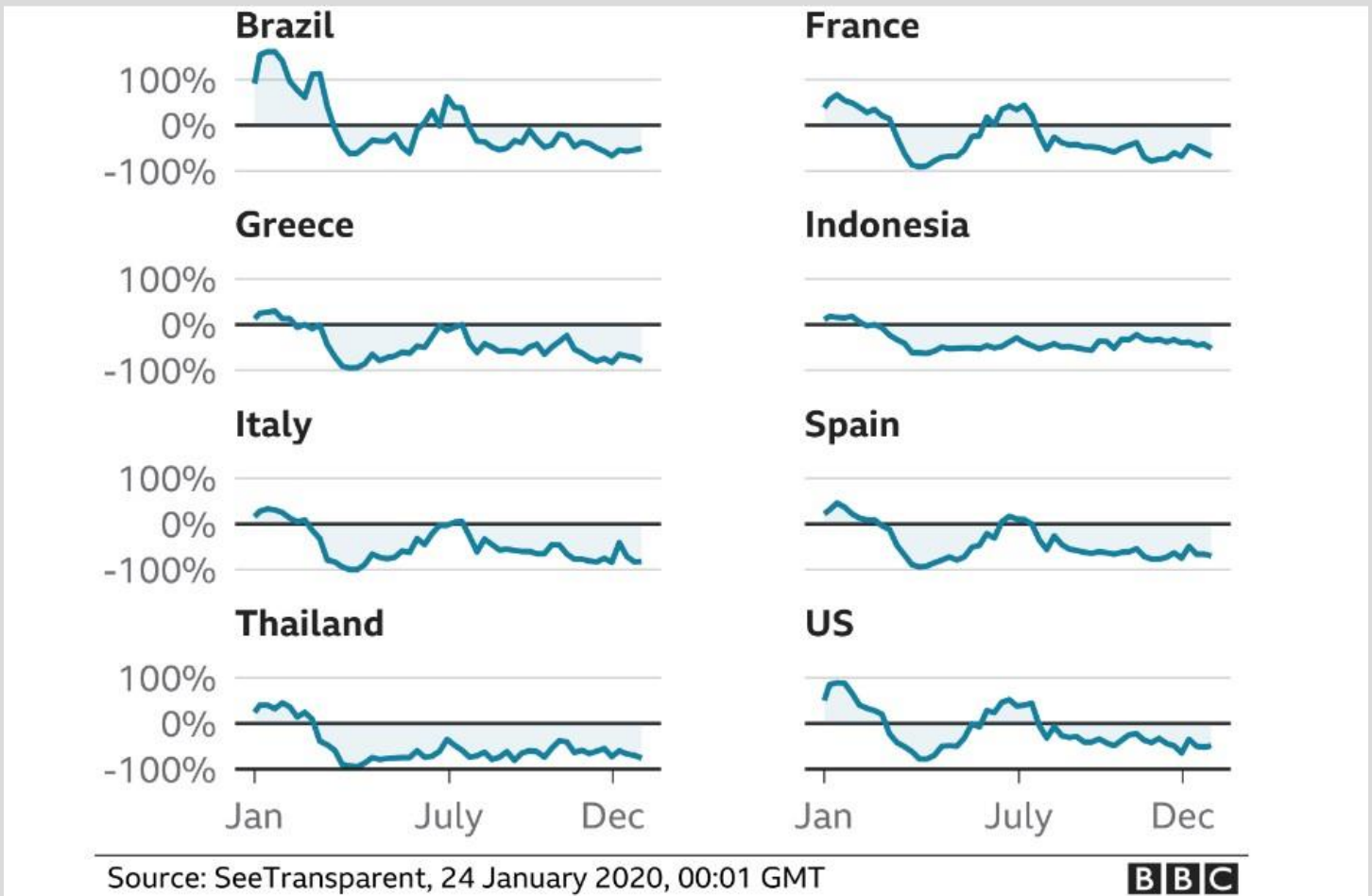
Thierry Breton, the European Commissioner for the Single Market and Digital Agenda, admitted even before the complete quarantine was declared in most countries, that the tourism industry would suffer "a financial loss of around one billion euros a month" in Europe. The Oxford Institute of Economics estimates that tourism could have an impact "six times greater than that caused by 9/11", with "4.6 million fewer jobs" due to travel cancellations.

Assuming economic activities return to normal in the next few months, how long will it take for tourists to return to their precious habits? Can everything really go back to the way it was before, as if nothing had happened? And as if the virus is gone?

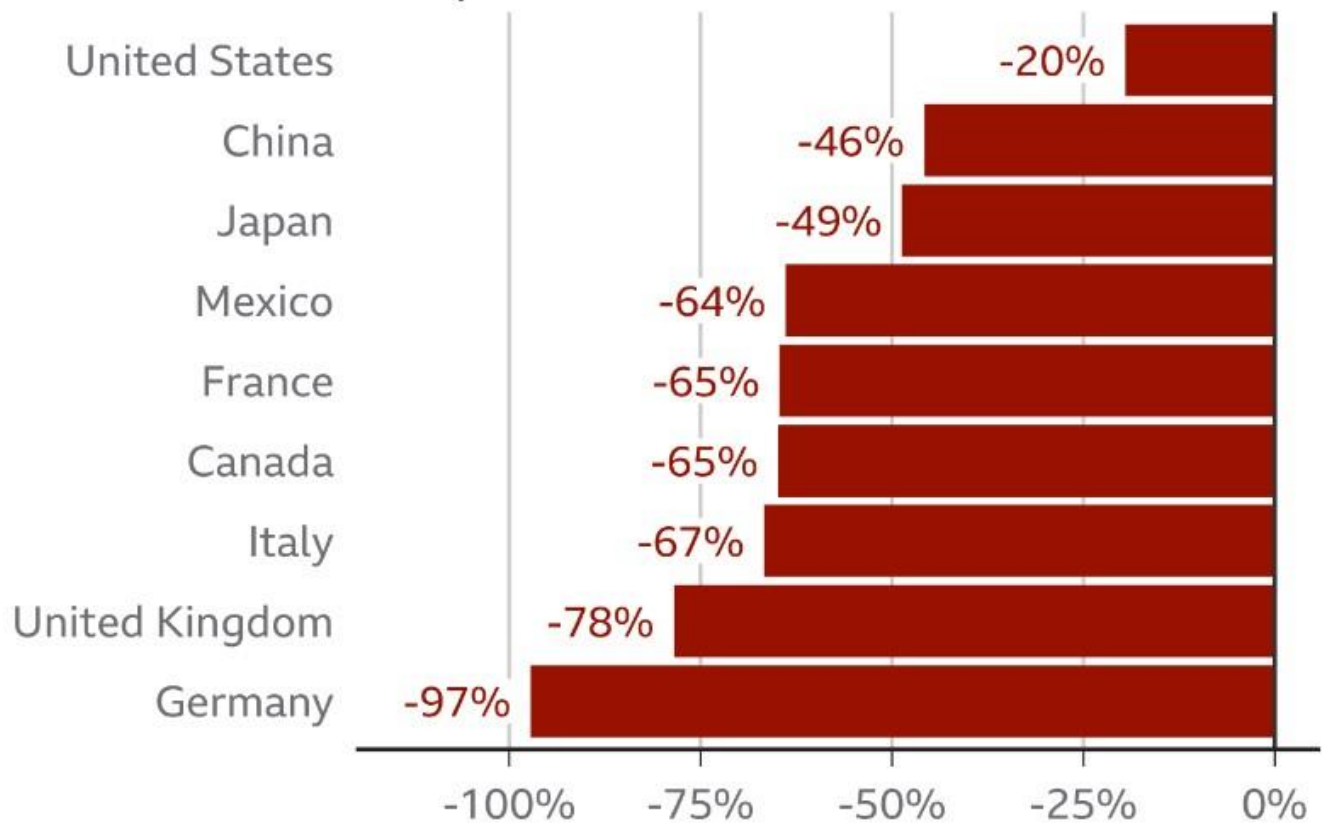
After the start of the pandemic, a large number of people were delight to hear that many museums are moving into the digital age and offering virtual tours. Fifteen of the world's largest museums, for example, have decided to stay (at least partially) "open" online, including the Louvre in Paris, the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam and the Matt in New York. Not to mention the Google Arts and Culture Platform, which since 2011 has offered virtual visits to specific museums or places, as well as the ability to view thousands of works in high resolution.

Is this enough to distract people from traveling? And especially from mass tourism? What defines tourism is mobility, freedom of movement and confidence in security. And for now, it is impossible to say when all countries will lift the travel ban, open the borders and allow foreign citizens to enter. However, the desire to travel is huge and one can expect mass tourism to easily recover from the current crisis. At least in those most popular tourist destination.

Billions of dollars have been lost in 2020 and although the forecast for 2021 was better, there was very little movements. Many analysts believe that international travel and tourism won't return to the normal pre-pandemic levels until around 2025.



Source: SeeTransparent, 24 January 2020, 00:01 GMT <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-51706225>



Source: ShopperTrak, 24 January 2021, 00:01 GMT



Figure 7: Huge drop in shoppers Annual percentage change of footfall 12-28 Jan 2021 compared to same dates 2020

Separate research suggests that consumers are still feeling anxious about their return to stores. Accountancy giant EY says 67% customers are now not willing to travel more than 5 kilometers for shopping. This change in shopping behavior has significantly boosted online retail, with a global revenue of \$3.9 trillion in 2020. The pandemic has transformed the entire shopping experience of a customer at each stage of the purchase journey – pre purchase, during purchase and post purchase.

The pre-purchase consideration stages have elongated as the consumer now factors in much more thought before the actual purchase. While groceries and non-prescriptive medicine category will have strong growth with customers already shopping for such products and increasing spends from pre-pandemic levels, apparels, accessories and furniture stores will experience a longer-term recovery with customers delaying purchases till after the pandemic. Customers are also wary of travelling long distances to shop at their preferred locations, with 67% customers not willing to travel more than 5kms for shopping. Retailers will need to optimize their store layout and adopt practices that reduce crowding and enable customers to shop quickly. Going shopping is no less than going on a mission during the pandemic with 68% customers preferring to wear protective gear and 60% customers making shopping lists to reduce time spent in store.

The traditional brick and mortar channel of retail has been under siege by online/omni channel platforms ever since mobile technology evolved. With the onset of Covid-19, there is an increasing thrust on retailers to readjust their business operations to account for increasing preference for online and contactless purchases and decreasing preference for visiting stores physically. Given that majority of the customers are neither willing to enter the store nor willing to spend more than 30 minutes inside the store, the entire in-store shopping experience that might have therapeutic for some people is instead causing anxiety.

*Work from home, good or bad?*

Is this the road to lasting change?

Covid-19 could permanently change the way people work, as companies forced to allow remote work due to the pandemic may confront employees who will not want to return to offices when the restrictions are lifted, writes The Guardian. The sudden increase in work from home brings problems as well as opportunities, estimates the British paper. On the one hand, some technology companies

are now offering their software tools for free in the hope that people who use them in times of crisis will continue to use them when it is over. On the other hand, some systems are already on the verge of bursting. For example, corporate networks that are not designed for most connections to go over virtual private networks (VPNs) show unusual interference.

However, it seems that the situation will not return to the old way, the Guardian points out that many workers who were sent by companies to work from home are already wondering why they had to go to offices at all. Large technology companies, such as Amazon, LinkedIn, Microsoft, Google and Twitter, were the first to turn to telecommuting, relying on existing infrastructure but also relying on the fact that most business knowledge-based can be done remotely, as the paper points on. WordPress director Matt Mullenweg says millions will have the opportunity to experience days without long public transport rides or rigid rules that they can't stay home when a family member is ill. "This could be a chance for a big reset in terms of how we work," he stated. Regardless of technology, there comes a time when even introverts want to see another human being.

### *Video conferencing, a new way of communication*

Millions of employees and students who are required to work and learn from home are discovering one of the craziest aspects of modern technology - video conferencing software. In the comfort of their homes - from couches, armchairs, beds and kitchen tables - people around the world, because of the corona virus, use video chats and conferences instead of meetings and classes, social distancing measures that should protect health from contact with other people, create the need for virtual connectivity.

The reality of video conferencing, however, according to the Washington Post, is a mixture of confusing software, bad hardware and the discomfort of social norms that are still in their infancy. For people pushed into the life of working from home for the first time, learning video conference behavior can be as tedious as learning how to engage in such a virtual meeting.

The growing use of video conferencing is evidenced by the fact that the company Zoom, which makes the video conferencing program, had the third most popular application in the Apple Store in 2020, and its actions, as the Washington Post points out, reached record values. With millions of people working and learning from home due to the spread of the corona virus, the Internet will be tested due to one of the biggest changes in human behavior, according to The New York Times.

That mass change will strain the internet infrastructure in two ways, the paper points out. First home networks that people have set up in their homes, but also the services of internet providers. The general infrastructure is adapted to have a maximum load in certain parts of the day - when people return from work and connect to the Internet at home.

Large data transmission for work and distance learning will set new maximum Internet traffic values, while many will use the same Internet connections throughout the day with programs that require large amounts of data, which, according to the New York Times, was mostly reserved for offices and schools. ISPs for companies and schools have special packages with the possibility of higher data flow, and on the other hand home networks can be less reliable. Many people have much less capacity than in the workplace and when more people connect to one Wi-Fi network for video conferencing and streaming movies, it can cause downtime and slowdowns.

The use of programs with large amounts of transferred data and online games has already jumped in places where the corona virus has spread, underlines the New York Times, stating that in Italy, young people who were playing computer games increased Internet traffic over one of the networks by more than 90%. Also in Europe, traffic through Cisco's video conferencing programs jumped 80 %.

In a recent Startit Twitter poll, approximately two-thirds of people said they wanted flexibility in the workplace, meaning they had the option of replacing the office with a home armchair as needed. Now, among online surveyed readers, 55,7% are those who would like to choose where to work from. The average grade of general experience with working outside the office is quite high 4,05 which is another confirmation that people want flexibility from their employers. It is interesting that only every ninth respondent (11,7%) does not want to continue working outside the office after the pandemic.

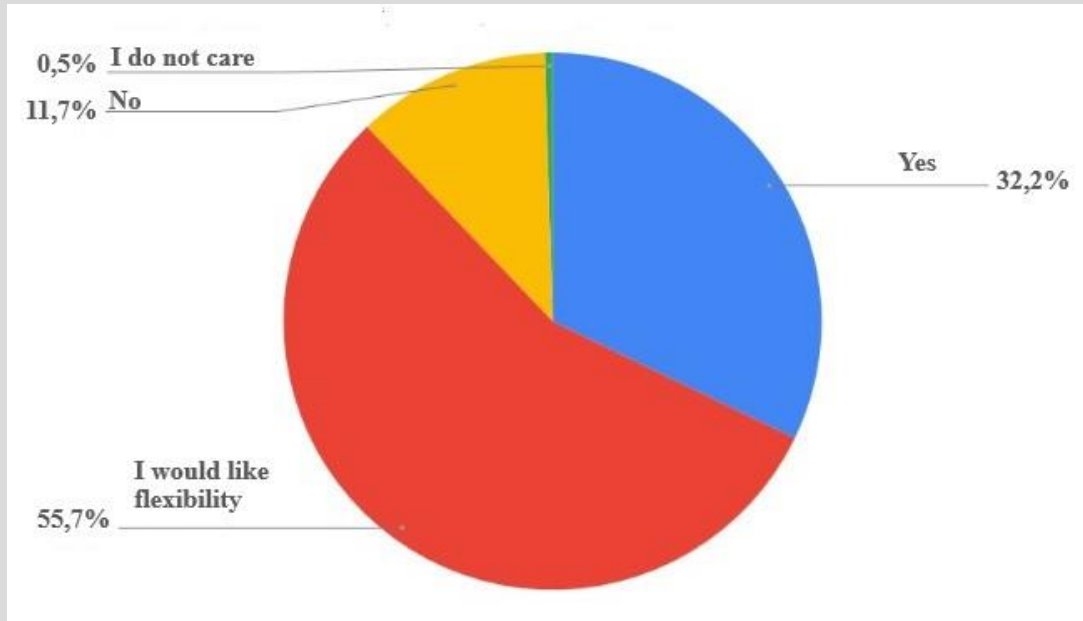


Figure 8: Startit Twitter poll

Since millions of people now work from home, it may be difficult to return to a normal office life.

### The rise of pharmaceutical companies

Governments around the world have pledged billions of dollars for a Covid-19 vaccine and treatment options.

Shares in some pharmaceutical companies involved in vaccine development have shot up.

Moderna, Novavax and AstraZeneca have seen significant rises. But Pfizer has seen its share price fall. The partnership with BioNTech, the high cost of production and management of the vaccine, and the growing number of same-size competitors have reduced the investors' trust in the company to have bigger revenue in 2021.

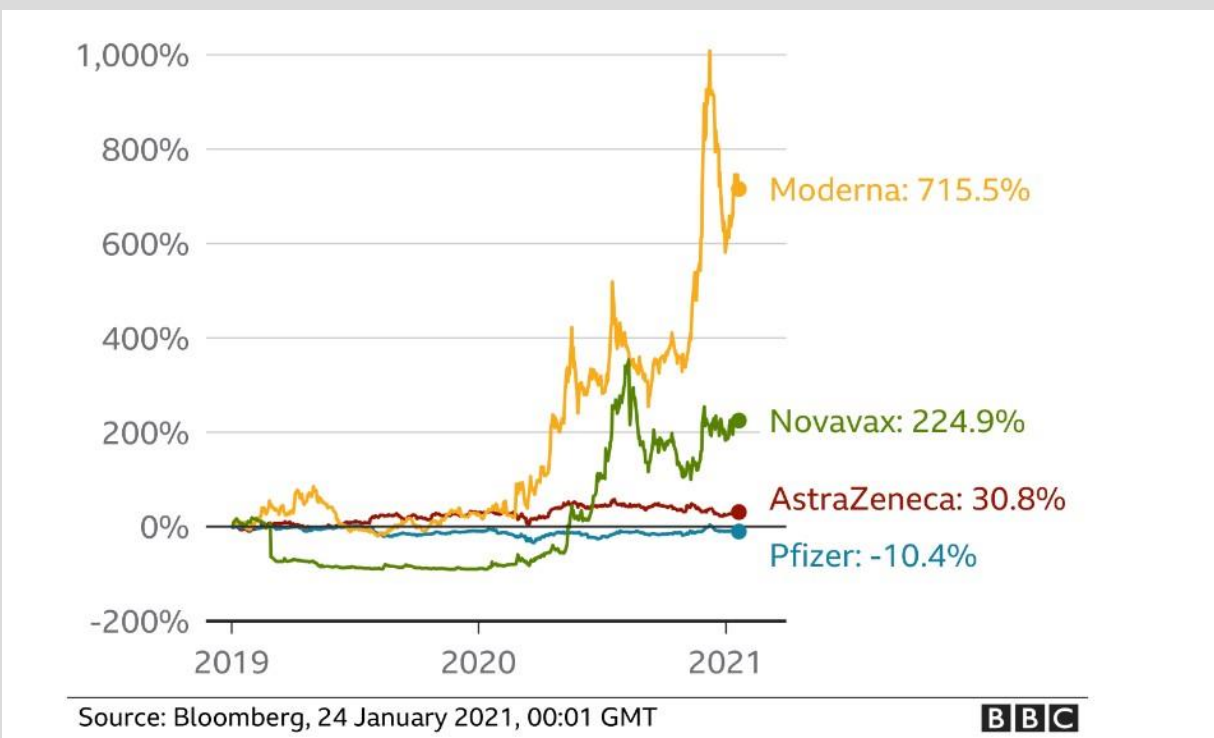


Figure 9: Percentage change in share value

A number of pharmaceutical companies have started distributing the first doses of the vaccine and many countries have started their vaccination programs. Many more - such as Johnson & Johnson and Sanofi/GSK – have joined the vaccine distribution during 2021. The global output will return to pre-pandemic levels by the end of 2022 after experiencing a sharp decline of 4,2% in 2020, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) said in its economic outlook. The 37-member OECD projects global GDP to rise by around 4.2% in 2021 and by a further 3,7% in 2022, helped by COVID-19 vaccine rollouts and accommodative fiscal and monetary policies.

In the new year, when it comes to the economy, despite the pandemic, the most reasons for optimization are in China. Thanks to the quick reaction and stopping the spread of the epidemic within the country, the People's Republic of China will achieve significantly higher economic growth in the post-corona period than other highly industrialized countries, which will serve as a new impetus and enable it to overtake the United States. The Chinese government has suffered widespread criticism from the West for its nonchalant treatment of the first cases of coronavirus in Wuhan and the warnings of local medical workers, and then for taking too strict measures that did not take basic human freedoms and rights into account when it started the epidemic, such as the right to freedom of movement.

However, the "locking" of Wuhan proved to be very effective, so that several thousand victims and tens of thousands of infected people succeeded, and China was the first to normalize the lives of citizens and economic activities. And not only that - thanks to the early containment of the epidemic in their own country, the Chinese were able to provide assistance in medical equipment and the importance of many countries around the world and thus expand their "soft" influence in the world.

On the other hand, Western industrialized countries, starting with Italy, through Great Britain, especially the United States, due to inefficient response to the infection, have reached the brink of health system collapse and have been forced repeatedly or in the long run and in a wider area of suspension. many economic activities.

In times of economic fear, Europeans could recognize that nationalism is not economically viable. Sweden has chosen its path in the pandemic, but is now facing the same economic difficulties as the rest of Europe. Sweden is really a classic example of the fact that whatever decisions are made by one government, what will happen to its economy also depends on the decisions of the governments of other countries. Sweden has decided not to stop the economy, hoping to limit the economic costs of the crisis so significantly. They do not close, but they close others. As a result, trucks, which are produced in Volvo's factories in Sweden, could not be produced because parts imported from other parts of Europe or the world could not arrive. In the end, they found themselves in a situation where the economic decline in Sweden in 2020 was greater than in some countries like Poland or Austria, which have completely suspended their economies.

In 2020 the world economy was on track to plunge into its worst recession since the Second World War as the coronavirus forced half the world's population to remain indoors, virtually shutting global businesses, trade and travel. Any hopes of a quick recovery were dashed by subsequent waves of the virus, which has killed about 1,5 million people.





Figure 10: GDP growth in percent

At the end of 2020, the British Center for Economic and Business Research (CEBR) went public with the assessment that thanks to good intervention against Covid-19, China will achieve significantly higher economic growth in the coming years than the most developed western countries. (GDP) expressed in dollars as early as 2028, five years earlier than previously predicted.

“China has been very successful in containing the pandemic and that has played a very important role in bringing back activity much more quickly,” says Gita Gopinath, IMF Economic Counselor and Director, Research Department. “There’s been effective policy support provided both in terms of fiscal policy and monetary policy, and China’s exports have also gone up in this environment. And indeed, it is one of those economies that’s returning to the prepandemic projected level in the fourth quarter of 2020, well ahead of other major economies.” On the other hand, the United States, currently the world’s largest economy, experienced a real national catastrophe, about 21 million infected and about 360,000 victims. Although, thanks to huge fiscal stimuli, the American economy has kept its head afloat, British economists believe that in the United States, as a result of the epidemic, over 14 million citizens lost their jobs. According to them, in the period from 2022 to 2024, the American economy should grow at a rate of 1.9%, after which there would be a slight slowdown and an average growth of about 1.6% in the second half of this decade.

On the other hand, they believe that the Chinese economy will achieve an average growth of about 5.7% in the three years after the epidemic has been contained and then continue to grow at a rate of about 4.5% until the end of the decade, already mentioned, it surpasses the United States in the size of its economy already in this decade.

Also, according to CEBR estimates, by the end of this decade, India should, thanks to economic growth that will be higher than China’s, overtake Great Britain, Germany and Japan and become the third largest economy in the world, behind China and the United States. The IMF warns that there are “serious risks of even worse outcomes.” If it takes more time for the pandemic to curb and if there is another wave in 2022-2023, the world’s gross domestic product will fall by another eight percent. The IMF states that this scenario could be a big problem for economies with large debt, because investors will not want to borrow money, which will increase the cost of borrowing. Although quarantine reduces economic activity, the IMF states that it and social distancing are vital measures.

If the world is really moving in the direction of protectionism, if globalization is accompanied by regionalization and a certain amount of deglobalization: most European countries, even the largest ones such as France and Germany, are too small to be economically protectionist. Similarly to Europe and the rest of the world, a recession has been felt in the Western Balkans, the extent of which will depend on the duration of the Covid-19 pandemic. This crisis represents an unprecedented shock that has surprised the world and its economy. People have moved to stay at home to slow and stop the spread of the virus and governments and societies face high human, social and economic costs.

"For the first time since the pandemic began, there is now hope for a brighter future. Progress with vaccines and treatment have lifted expectations and uncertainty has receded," OECD Chief Economist Laurence Boone said. Boone said - monetary and fiscal support must be funneled into stronger and better economic growth with investments in education, health, physical and digital infrastructure being a priority.

### *Discussion*

Will globalization be reversed? Probably not, it is too important economic development for something like that to happen, but it could be slowed down. Do you, however, question whether you have learned lessons from this crisis? Will we learn to recognize, control, and regulate the risks that act as components of globalization? Because it seems that there is a great lack of cooperation and leadership that is necessary for that to happen.

The virus could have penetrated so deeply into the core of the world economy because it is a strongly connected system. And that, and not just a poor supply of masks and protective suits, proved to be a drawback in this pandemic. That is why the question is already hanging in the air, whether there will be some kind of "deglobalization" and stronger regionalization of production.

The corona reveals the dark sides of globalization. Interdependence, especially economic interdependence, will no longer be seen only as a source of security, but also as a source of insecurity. Thus, for example, we have come to the conclusion that we are completely dependent on medical products, which come from the other side of the globe, and that in times of crisis we cannot rely on them being able to reach us. At the same time, we discover that the virus, which appeared on the other side of the world, can change the life of each of us. These are the dark sides of globalization.

However, at the same time, we are experiencing the globalization of the spirit of each individual. Suddenly we started living in the same world. Imagine someone who does not speak any foreign language and who lives in a small town or village. This man can turn channels and listen to all languages, of which he does not understand a single word, but he knows exactly what the central news is about in each language. Because, the world only talks about one thing - Corona virus.

### *Conclusion*

Overall, the economy appears to have recovered in 2022. Total economic output has more than recovered since 2020, when it hit its lowest level. The unemployment rate is again below 4%, as it was at the beginning of 2020, while the total employment is at the same level as it was before the start of the pandemic. However, seen from another angle, it seems that the economy will never be the same again, or will be in a post-Covid state for a long time. Just when it was thought that the crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic was behind us, the world was stunned by the news of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The war in Ukraine additionally affected the global economic situation. According to the report Global Economic Perspectives, it is estimated that global growth will slow down from 5.7% in 2021 to 2.9% this year. Growth in emerging markets and developing economies is also expected to slow down from 6.6% in 2021 to 3.4% in 2022, which is significantly higher than the annual average of 4,8 in the period from 2011-2019. And in addition to the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, this is also due to the negative consequences of the war in Ukraine and the deterioration of the global environment. Growth forecasts in 2022 have been revised up by 70% in emerging markets and developing economies, including the vast majority of commodity-importing countries, as well as 4/5 of low-income countries. So, aside from the recession caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, this is the weakest year of growth for emerging markets and developing economies since 2009.

In addition to sharply declining global growth, there are other numerous risks that overlap and reinforce each other, primarily intensifying geopolitical tensions, growing financial instability and ongoing supply tensions. Continued geopolitical conflicts could further disrupt economic activity, create political uncertainty, and if they continue to intensify, could lead to the fragmentation of global trade, investment and financial systems. Inflation is higher than experts predicted, and has spread beyond food and energy drinks. The interruption of supply due to the Covid-19 crisis and war conflicts in the territory of Ukraine led to a jump in the price of energy and food. Record food prices have led to a global crisis that will push millions into extreme poverty, increasing hunger and malnutrition and thus threatening to wipe out hard-earned gains. The war in Ukraine, disruptions in the supply of goods and the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic are halting years of development and raising food prices to unprecedented levels. Rising food prices have a much greater impact on people in middle- and low-income countries, as they spend a larger proportion of their income on food than people in higher-income countries. This is supported by statistical data, so the agricultural price index as of July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2022 is 19% higher compared to January 2021. Corn and wheat prices are 15% and 24% higher compared to January 2021, while rice prices are lower by 11% (World Bank Commodities Price Data).

When it comes to domestic products, the situation is also alarming. The prices of domestic products are high in almost all countries. Data from February to June 2022 show a high inflation rate in almost all low- and middle-income countries: 94.1% of low-income countries, 88.9% of lower-middle-income countries and 87% of upper-middle-income countries had a level inflation above 5%, with many of them recording double-digit inflation. The share of countries with high income and high inflation also increased, with around 67.9% inflation when it comes to food prices (World Bank Commodities Price Data). According to the World Economic Bank's April 2022 Commodity Markets Forecast, the war in Ukraine has affected global patterns of commodity trade, production and consumption to the extent that it will maintain commodity prices at unprecedented levels until 2024 (World Bank Group, 2022 Commodity Markets Outlook, April 2022).

Even before the war, the price of food in Ukraine was high, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, and geopolitical tensions additionally affect its growth. The goods most affected by the price jump are wheat, corn, edible oils and fertilizers. Global markets face potential risks through the following channels: dwindling grain supplies, higher energy prices, higher fertilizer prices and trade route disruptions due to major port closures. During the coming months, a major challenge will be access to fertilizers that can affect food production on many crops in different regions. As Russia and Belarus are the biggest exporters of fertilizers, this makes the situation even more complicated. Food shortages were warned by the heads of the World Bank Group, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Food Program and the World Trade Organization, who published a joint statement calling on the international community to take urgent action to address food insecurity, to keep trade open and thus, assistance was provided to vulnerable countries, including financing to ensure the most necessary needs (Joint Statement: The Heads of the World Bank Group, IMF, WFP and WTO call for urgent Coordinated Action on Food Security).

After the war in Ukraine, imposed policy trade increased. The global food crisis is growing in part due to the increasing number of food trade restrictions imposed by certain countries with the aim of increasing domestic supply and reducing prices. Thus, as of July 15<sup>th</sup>, 18 countries introduced 27 food import bans, while 7 countries applied 11 measures to limit exports (The World Bank, Food Security Update).

The data on the level of hunger in the world are alarming at the global level, so according to the report of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) from 2022, the number of people affected by hunger increased in 2021 to 828 million, which is an increase of about 46 million compared to 2020, and 150 million more compared to 2019 (FAO: The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2022).

Thus, a large increase in the hungry due to the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic is evident, however, after the war in Ukraine, the number of hungry has doubled compared to the situation after Covid-19. In addition, the World Food Program warns that the current food situation could worsen in 20 countries in the period from June to September 2022 (WFP: A Global Food Crisis). A rapid telephone survey conducted by the World Bank in 83 countries found that many people have gone without food or reduced their consumption during the Covid-19 pandemic. It is already known that reduced caloric intake and irregular eating can have numerous negative consequences for health and can leave lasting consequences on children's cognitive development.

The pandemic caused by the Covid-19 virus has also affected many other aspects, including tourism. Although experts predicted recovery by 2023, according to current forecasts, this is not yet possible. The delayed recovery was primarily influenced by the war situation in Ukraine. First of all, sanctions, high inflation and the loss of Russian and Ukrainian visitors are key factors in the further recovery of tourism. As stated in the report of the Economist Intelligence Unit, all of the above influenced their forecasts regarding the recovery of tourism in Europe to be pessimistic. According to the report, tourism in Europe was expected to return to the pre-pandemic level by 2023, however, the situation in Ukraine had a negative impact on tourism. As they point out, the war will affect the European tourism industry on four levels: the loss of Russian and Ukrainian tourists, airline and airspace restrictions, higher food and fuel costs, a major impact on passenger confidence and available funds (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2022: Tourism in 2022, Forecast).

The countries that will suffer the biggest blow in terms of tourism are Turkey and Poland, where, according to the predictions of the Economist Intelligence Unit, they will suffer the biggest drop in visitors in absolute terms, but Cyprus and Latvia will also feel the negative consequences, as they mainly relied on Russian tourists.

The war in Ukraine, although primarily a humanitarian disaster, delayed the recovery of tourism. This is supported by the fact that Russian tourists will be unwelcome in many destinations, as the report points out, but even so, they are limited in terms of travel, bearing in mind the bans of many airlines and restrictions on the use of air space. Meanwhile, millions of Ukrainians have been driven abroad by the war, but as refugees, not tourists. Across Europe, the war had the effect of raising commodity prices, which were already on the rise due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The prices of food and fuel are especially alarming, but the price increases of airline companies, which are already burdened with debt, are also significant. In addition, the prices of restaurants and hotels will significantly affect tourists, because the rise in prices of all goods will affect their disposable income, and in this sense, even if consumer confidence is restored, vacations are significantly more inaccessible to them.

The impact of war conflicts between Russia and Ukraine will not only affect the mentioned areas, but also on a global level. Before the pandemic disrupted global tourism flows, Russia was the world's 11<sup>th</sup> largest source of tourists, and Ukraine 13<sup>th</sup>. This is shown by data from the World Tourism Organization, which states that these two countries received 75 million tourists in 2019, which makes 5% of the total world number. Tourist spending was especially important, with Russians and Ukrainians contributing a total of US\$50 billion, which represents 8% of the world total, and Russia alone was the world's seventh largest spender. Now, however, the share of Russian and Ukrainian tourists will decrease, as the war and sanctions affect the travel routes and economies of these two countries. In absolute terms, Turkey was the most visited destination by tourists from Russia and Ukraine in 2018, attracting 6 million Russian and 1.4 million Ukrainian tourists, accounting for 16% of total arrivals to Turkey that year.

Several million Russians also go to Asian countries, such as Thailand and China, and neighboring countries such as Kazakhstan, which could be opened to them this year. However, two other popular destinations, Italy and Poland, will now be closed to them. On the other hand, some smaller destinations, with closer ties to Russia and Ukraine, will be hit even harder. Thus, in 2019, Russian tourists accounted for 20, 29 and 36% of tourists who visited Cyprus, Montenegro and Latvia (UNWTO, 2022: Impact of the Russian Offensive in Ukraine on International Tourism). Also, the loss of tourists will be felt in the destinations that attract the richest Russian and Ukrainian tourists, who usually spent a lot of money on restaurants, hotels and luxury stores. This applies to cities such as Milan, London and Paris, as well as popular cities such as Karlovy Vary in the Czech Republic and Baden in Germany.

The Covid-19 pandemic has also affected the education system around the world, leading to the partial or complete closure of schools, universities and other educational institutions. As of mid-April 2020, approximately 1.723 billion students were affected by school closures due to the Covid-19 pandemic. According to UNESCO research, over 160 countries have closed schools worldwide, representing 87% of the student population (UNESCO: COVID 19 Educational Disruption and Response, COVID 19: Educational Disruption and Response).

School closures have not only affected students and teachers and their families, but have far greater economic and social consequences. School closures due to the Covid-19 pandemic have highlighted many issues, such as: digital learning, poverty, food insecurity, homelessness, childcare, access to health insurance, digital tools and the internet, and so on. Families with a poor financial situation were particularly affected, leading to learning disabilities, irregular meals, childcare problems and constant exposure to economic costs due to parental unemployment. Namely, the inability to access technology and the Internet had the greatest impact on children from rural areas and vulnerable families. In addition to the lack of digital resources, students from large families were particularly exposed to problems, because they did not have a space to study at home. In response to the closure of schools, UNESCO recommended the use of distance learning programs and open educational applications, however, due to the aforementioned problems, many students were unable to follow the lessons in this way. A particularly sensitive issue is that some parents, who could not provide their children with the means to attend classes, exposed their children to work or forced them into early marriage in order to cope with the financial stress caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.

The consequences of the COVID-19 virus have affected millions of children to be exposed to hard labor. Factors that influenced it were poverty caused by the pandemic, due to the loss of jobs of parents or other family members, the death or illness of a guardian, and the like. The pandemic also affected many children taking care of the household and looking after their brothers and sisters, due to the closure of educational institutions.

According to a World Bank report, the number of people living in extreme poverty rose from 88 to 93 million in 2020. When a family faces financial losses, it usually puts pressure on the children as well, who are then exposed to hard work. According to studies by the International World Labor Organization and UNICEF, an increase of just 1% in poverty causes a 0.7% increase in child labor (ILO and UNICEF, Covid 19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act: Covid 19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act).

During the mass closure of schools, about a third of students did not have access to digital learning, due to the lack of access to the Internet, computers, phones and other means. During January 2021, around half of students still had a problem with a lack of access to digital learning. Denied access to schooling has led to child labor, as many families see it as a logical alternative. However, even when schools reopen, many children do not return to them. According to a report by the United Nations, about 24 million students have dropped out of school, and girls are particularly affected by this compared to boys, given that they are mainly responsible for household chores (ILO and UNICEF, Covid 19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act: Covid 19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act).

One of the key factors affecting children being exposed to work is the death, illness or disability of a parent. Many families were affected by death due to the consequences of the COVID-19 virus, and in that case, children had to worry about the finances of themselves or other family members. For example, in the United States of America, by February 2021, 43,000 children have lost at least one parent due to the COVID-19 virus. However, due to a number of factors, such as mortality and morbidity rates, family structure, and data

access, it is impossible to provide a global estimate based on US samples. However, these data indicate that the number of children who have lost a parent due to the COVID-19 virus could be in the hundreds of thousands. One of the problems that arose due to the COVID-19 virus is that child labor inspections have been reduced or even eliminated, due to precautionary measures, and without effective implementation of inspections, it is likely that the true number of children exposed to labor will remain undetected. In addition, there is also the problem that employers are likely to employ children who then pay less than adults, or delay and even withhold the payment of wages (ILO and UNICEF, Covid 19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act: Covid 19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act).

One of the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic is nutrition, as many families rely on free or reduced-price school meals for their children. In the US, school meal programs are one way to fight hunger, so each school year more than 30 million children rely on schools that provide free or reduced meals, including breakfast, lunch, snacks and even dinner (The Counter: 30 million children rely on school lunch. Where do they eat when school's out? <https://thecounter.org/summer-hunger-new-york-city/>).

Although now the situation with the coronavirus has calmed down, and we are somewhat returning to normal, the fact is that it affected the education system and changed it. Although face-to-face and distant learning have their advantages and disadvantages, what is inevitable is that both teachers and students will have to get used to a new way of learning, since we can return to the online teaching model. Teachers, students and schools must follow new trends to prepare for future learning. While teachers will need to refine their methods to create the most engaging online environment for their students, students will need to take advantage of available technologies and learning resources. One of the positive things that happened after the Covid-19 pandemic is that we realized that learning can happen anywhere. And even before the pandemic, many places where learning was possible, such as museums, libraries, local events and lecture venues, began to digitize their processes and bring the learning experience to the online realm. Although it cannot be said that learning can happen anywhere these days, today we have many more online places where it can happen.

As many museums, libraries and the like have digitized their environments, all these possibilities should be used. Today, it is possible to virtually visit all those places with the help of the Internet. Although digital learning was a problem not only for students, but also for teachers, especially those of older generations, many states, supporting the Ministry of Education, offered free courses and workshops for this purpose. Although most states have returned to face-to-face learning, many schools are combining online learning with classroom learning. Thus, online teaching aids have become an indispensable tool for learning today, and their advantages are numerous.

Based on abovementioned, it can be said that the coronavirus has not only affected our lives, but, it seems, has fundamentally changed them. Although it affected numerous factors, primarily the economy, health, and many others, it seems that the society is slowly returning to normal, although it will take a long time. However, the bigger problem seems to be whether we have learned from it all.

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## VPLIV ELEKTRIČNIH AVTOMOBILOV NA OKOLJE

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**Povzetek:** Prispevek prikazuje raziskavo o električnih avtomobilih s poudarkom vpliva le-teh na okolje. Cilj prispevka je spoznati, kako električna vozila vplivajo na okolje, ali so res glede toplogrednih plinov 100% čista in kako se spodbuja uporaba električnih vozil. Pomembno je, da se zavedamo, da so električna vozila prihodnost, več vemo o njih lažje nam bo v prihodnje. Čeprav potrebujejo še veliko nadgradnje pri polnjenju, polnilnih postajah, hitrosti polnjenja in tako naprej, se bo to iz leta v leto izboljševalo in bodo prišla električna vozila na nivo, ki ga pričakujemo. Praktično ni več proizvajalca vozil, ki ne bi razvijal in vlagal ogromnih vsot v razvoj električnih avtomobilov. V tem prispevku je ugotovljeno, da se uporaba električnih avtomobilov spodbuja z subvencijami. Za 100% električni avtomobil se lahko z vlogo dobi 4.500€ subvencije, za rabljenega, testenega ali službenega pa 3.500 €. Pri preučevanju raziskave Evropske agencije za okolje je bilo ugotovljeno, da električna vozila skozi vso življenjsko dobo ustvarijo med 17 do 30% manj onesnaževanja v primerjavi z klasičnimi avtomobili. V prihodnosti se naj bi delež do leta 2050 z izboljšanjem tehnologije povečal na 73%.

**Ključne besede:** električni avtomobili, onesnaževanje okolja, emisije CO2 povezane z električnimi avtomobili, recikliranje električnih avtomobilov.

## THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF ELECTRIC CARS

**Extended abstract:** This paper presents a research study on electric cars, with a focus on their environmental impact. The paper aims to find out how electric vehicles affect the environment, whether they are 100% clean in terms of greenhouse emissions, and how the use of electric vehicles is being promoted. It is important to realise that electric vehicles are the future, the more we know about them the better off we will be. Although they still need a lot of upgrading in terms of charging, charging stations, charging speed and so on, this will improve year after year and electric vehicles will come to the expected performance level. There is virtually no car manufacturer left that is not developing and investing large sums in the development of electric cars. This article notes that the use of electric cars is being encouraged using subsidies. A 100% electric car can get a subsidy of €4 500 with an application, and a second-hand, test or company car can get €3 500. With regard to a study by the European Environment Agency, it was looked into the fact that has shown that electric cars generate between 17% and 30% less pollution over their entire lifetime compared with conventional cars. In the future, the share is expected to increase to 73% by 2050 as technology improves.

**Keywords:** electric cars, pollution, electric cars related CO2 emissions, electric cars recycling

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### Uvod

Dandanes je vse bolj pomembno zavedanje ohranjanja našega okolja. Eden ključnih problemov pri klasičnih avtomobilih so izpusti CO<sub>2</sub>, ki so povezani z globalnim segrevanjem. Avtomobili so med glavnimi onesnaževalci. Zato bodo v članku predstavljeni električni avtomobili, ki so naša prihodnost in prihodnost za boljše okolje. Opisali bomo vse na temo problematike klasičnih avtomobilov in kakšna je razlika med njimi in električnimi avtomobili. Prav tako bodo prikazane tudi v slabosti e-vozil in kako reciklirati električna vozila.

Večina podatkov je sekundarnih, pridobljenih s pomočjo Google brskalnika, 10 virov je bilo slovenskih in eden angleški, ključne besede: električno vozilo, vpliv električnih vozil na okolje, recikliranje električnih avtomobilov, prihodnost električnih avtomobilov.

Namen tega prispevka je raziskati 7 vprašanj:

- Kako električni avtomobili zmanjšujejo onesnaževanje okolja?
- Kako reciklirati električna vozila?
- Ali se splača kupiti električno vozilo?

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- Je prihodnost res v električnih vozilih?
- Ali so električna vozila glede toplogrednih plinov res 100% čista?
- Kako se spodbuja uporaba električnih avtomobilov?
- Kakšen je okoljski vidik proizvodnje električnega vozila?

## Pregled literature

### Pomen električnih avtomobilov in primerjava med klasičnimi

Baterijsko električni avtomobili bodo nedvomno del naše vsakdanje mobilnosti v naslednjih letih. Kup omejitev in porodnih težav so že premagali, nekaj izzivov pa je še vedno pred proizvajalci. Tudi izzivov v povezavi s polnilno infrastrukturo. Ne glede na okoljske zahteve komisije EU pa je tudi brez tega jasno, da bodo (baterijsko) električno gnani avtomobili relativno hitro dosegli uporabniško primerljivost z modeli s klasičnim pogonom, torej z motorjem z notranjim izgorevanjem, vključno z dosegom z enim 'polnjenjem'. Že zdaj pa tovrstni pogon ponuja (ob ekološkem) tudi mnogo drugih prednosti, predvsem gre za učinkovitost pretvorbe energije (iz električne v mehansko), mehansko enostavnost, enostavno in tudi cenovno ugodno vzdrževanje, nizko porabo energije, možnost polnjenja doma, ugodno razporeditev teže med osema,... (<https://avto-magazin.metropolitan.si/plugin/tehnika-elektrici-avtomobili-pohod-je-neustavljiv/>)

**Tabela 1: Tabela primerjava med električnim in klasičnim avtomobilom (RENAULT ZOE intens EV 40 IN RENAULT CLIO limited TCE90)**

|                                       | KLASIČNI    | ELEKTRIČNI              |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Čas polnjenja                         | 3 minute    | 1 ura 38 minut do 20 ur |
| Doseg z polno posodo za gorivo        | 957 km      | 403 km                  |
| Cena polnjenja                        | 5,76/100 km | 10€/100 km              |
| Cena avtomobila                       | 12.190      | 25.990                  |
| Subvencije                            | /           | 4.500€ (novo vozilo)    |
| Strošek vozila in goriva po 5ih letih | 16.442 €    | 25.180 €                |

Opis tabele: Tabela prikazuje primerjavo med klasičnim (RENAULT CLIO limited TCE90) in električnim avtomobilom (RENAULT ZOE intens EV 40). Klasični avtomobil se polni 3 minute in pri tem ima doseg cca 957 km. Električni avtomobil pa se polni 1 uro in 38 minut na pol hitri polnilnici in ima doseg za več kot pol manj, torej 403 km. Tudi cena polnjenja je pri klasičnih pol manjša, enako je pri ceni nakupa. Razlika je, da za nakup klasičnega avtomobila pri nas nimamo subvencij, za novo električno vozilo pa lahko z vlogo dobite 4.500€ subvencije. Iz tabele lahko razberemo, da je klasični avtomobil dosti bolj ugoden od električnega.

### Recikliranje električnih avtomobilov

Prve serije baterij iz električnih in hibridnih vozil dosegajo upokojitveno starost, zato se je potrebno vprašati, kaj storiti z vsemi temi baterijami. So električni avtomobili res "čisti" ali zaradi težav pri recikliranju predstavljajo bolj skrit in umazan problem. V primeru starejših tehnologij svinčeno-kislinskih akumulatorjev je 96 odstotkov materialov v bateriji – vključno z nevarnim svincem – mogoče ponovno uporabiti. Za primerjavo, le 38 odstotkov materiala v navadni steklenici se v postopku recikliranja vrne med surove materiale. Baterije pa je mogoče pred recikliranjem ponovno napolniti in tako ponovno uporabiti. Hibridni avtomobili, ki so trenutno na cesti, na primer Toyota Prius, uporabljajo nikelj-metal-hidridne baterije, ki jih je mogoče na enak način razstaviti in reciklirati. (<https://www.mojprihranek.si/mobilnost/kako-reciklirati-e-avtomobile/?cn-reloaded=1>)

Ko se akumulatorji v vozilu z litij-ionskim pogonom štejejo za preveč obrabljene za uporabo v vozilu, imajo lahko še vedno do 80 odstotkov napajalne kapacitete. Torej, preden pridejo v center za recikliranje, se te baterije uporabljajo za podporo električnih omrežij, zlasti pri manj stabilnih virih energije, kot sta veter ali sončna energija. Baterije lahko shranjujejo energijo v vmesnem času, ko je proizvodnja električne energije manjša. (<https://www.mojprihranek.si/mobilnost/kako-reciklirati-e-avtomobile/?cn-reloaded=1>)

Ker šele zdaj litij-ionski avtomobili prihajajo na množični trg, so centri za recikliranje še vedno v povojih. Kadar litij-ionske baterije dosežejo čas za recikliranje, jih je mogoče reciklirati na dva načina. Če so popolnoma brez naboja, se jih preprosto razreže, kovinske dele kot sta baker in jeklo pa loči in ponovno uporabi. Če pa ima baterija morda še vedno nekaj naboja, se zamrzne v tekočem dušiku in razbije na zamrznjene koščke. Tekoči dušik je tako hladen, da baterije ne morejo eksplodirati, zato je razstavljanje varno. In verjetno zabavno. Tudi tukaj se nato kovine ločijo za ponovno uporabo. (<https://www.mojprihranek.si/mobilnost/kako-reciklirati-e-avtomobile/?cn-reloaded=1>)

### Prihodnost električnih avtomobilov

Praktično ni več proizvajalca vozil, ki ne bi razvijal in vlagal ogromnih vsot v razvoj električnih avtomobilov. Njihovemu razvoju sledijo tudi države in ponudniki polnilnic ter pospešeno gradijo omrežje. (<https://siol.net/avtomoto/zgodbe/elektricna-prihodnost-velike-napovedi-kruta-resnicnost-foto-505033>)

Posebej se na trgu krepijo v Nemčiji in Franciji, v malce počasnejšem tempu tudi pri nas. Pri tem ne gre za na novo odkrito romantično razmerje, gre preprosto za vse strožje emisijske zahteve tako Evropske unije kot njenih posameznih članic, ki jih je, ne glede na to, kaj si kdo o tem misli, mogoče doseči le z električnimi vozili. (<https://www.delo.si/nedelo/prihodnost-v-polnem-zamahu/>)

Ni skrivnost, da se vse bolj nagibamo k zeleni mobilnosti, zato naše ceste počasi, a zanesljivo prevzemajo električni avtomobili. Varstvo in skrb za okolje ni več samo naša odgovornost, ampak tudi način življenja, ki si ga danes lahko privoščimo. Električni avtomobili bodo prevladali. Ponudniki avtomobilov, ki so se zavezali varovanju okolja tudi sami spodbujajo prodajo svojih avtomobilov, ki po cestah vozijo brez neposrednih izpustov in jih lahko vse pogosteje vidimo v obujenih retro vozilih ali v povsem novih modelih. (<https://cekin.si/koristno/tako-brezskrbno-se-bomo-lahko-vozili-z-elektricnimi-avtomobili.html>)

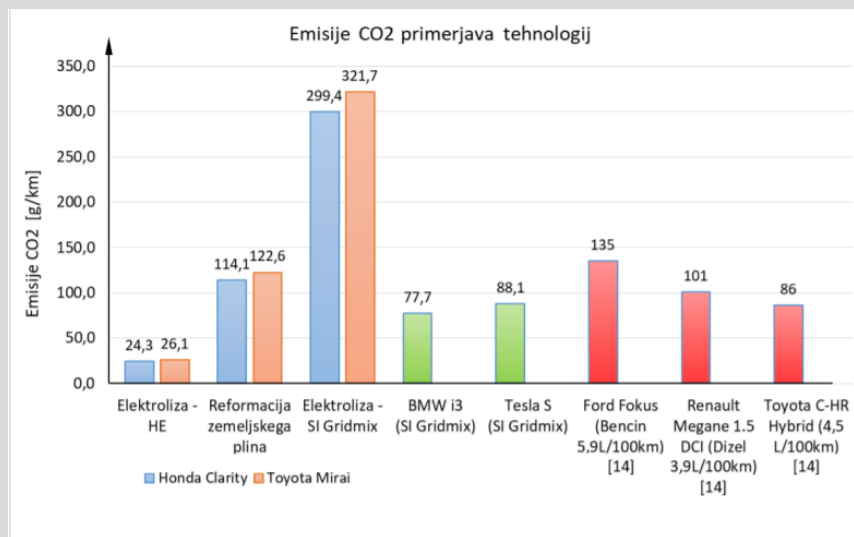
Delež prodaje električnih avtomobilov brez dvoma strmo narašča, kot se povečuje tudi povpraševanje po njih. Elektro različice so danes vse bolj priljubljene, zato je samo še vprašanje časa, kdaj bodo postale naše glavno prevozno sredstvo. Glavna skrb, ki je povezana z električnimi avtomobili, pa je trajanje njihove baterije, zato se sočasno z avtomobili razvijajo tudi najsodobnejši sistemi za polnjenje električnih vozil, ki so pomemben del električne polnilne infrastrukture tudi pri nas. (<https://cekin.si/koristno/tako-brezskrbno-se-bomo-lahko-vozili-z-elektricnimi-avtomobili.html>)

### Vpliv električnih vozil na okolje

Uporaba avtomobilov, še posebej v mestnem prometu, je največji vir onesnaževanja zraka, predvsem v večjih mestih. Tam dvig kvalitete zraka ne bo mogoč brez sprememb, ki so potrebne v urbanem transportnem sistemu ali z uvajanjem okolju prijaznih goriv in vozil. Električni avtomobili pri vožnji ne spuščajo v zrak toplogrednih plinov ter škodljivih plinov za okolje in ljudi. Mnogi opozarjajo, da uporaba električnih ni tako ekološka, kot je videti na prvi pogled. V izdelavi sestavnih delov naj bi bilo največ onesnaževanja okolja.

Pri Evropski agenciji za okolje so zaradi tega opravili raziskavo o škodljivosti električnih avtomobilov na okolje. Raziskava je zajemala celo življenjsko dobo električnih avtomobilov (v Evropi) in pokazala, da je manj škodljivih vplivov za okolje pri električnih vozilih kot pri tistih, ki uporabljajo fosilna goriva. Se pa med proizvodnjo električnih vozil ustvari nekaj več okolju škodljivih snovi. Tehnica skozi celo življenjsko obdobje pretehta v korist električnih avtomobilov. Pri omenjeni raziskavi Evropske agencije za okolje se je pokazalo, da električna vozila skozi vso življenjsko dobo ustvarijo med 17 do 30% manj onesnaževanja v primerjavi z klasičnimi avtomobili. V prihodnosti se naj bi delež do leta 2050 z izboljšanjem tehnologije povečal na 73%. (Jevšek Dejan, 2020)

V naslednjem grafu (Graf 1: Emisije CO<sub>2</sub> primerjava tehnologij) je prikazana primerjava izpustov CO<sub>2</sub> na kilometer pri avtomobilih z različnimi tehnologijami.



Graf 1: Emisije CO<sub>2</sub> primerjava tehnologij (<https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/Dokument.php?id=112187&lang=slv>)



Iz grafa je razvidno, da je glede na emisije CO<sub>2</sub> trenutno najboljša izbira električni avtomobil na baterijski pogon. Enako dobra odločitev je tudi hibridni avtomobil. Ugotovili so, da se vozila na gorivne celice zelo slabo izkažejo, saj imajo, razen če je vodik proizveden z energijo iz obnovljivih virov, zelo slab ogljični odtis na prevožen kilometer. Najboljši način proizvodnje vodika je trenutno reformacija zemeljskega plina, toda tudi pri tem postopku se emisije CO<sub>2</sub> ne razlikujejo veliko od tistih, ki jo povzročajo klasične tehnologije. Ugotovili so, da realni izpusti CO<sub>2</sub> na prevožen kilometer pri vozilih na baterije znašajo okrog 80 g/km, in vozila z gorivnimi celicami 120 g/km (reformiran zemeljski plin). Oboje se močno razlikuje od 0 g/km, ki so zapisani v uradnih statistikah. (Hvala Klemen, 2018)

### *Spodbujanje uporabe in prodaje električnih avtomobilov*

#### **a) Subvencije električnih avtomobilov**

Subvencije Eko sklada – zadnje informacije 2021: Eko sklad, Slovenski okoljski javni sklad je znižal subvencije za električna vozila. V skladu z novimi pogoji boste ob nakupu 100% novega električnega vozila lahko dobili 4.500 € subvencije. V primeru rabljenega/testnega/sluzbenega lahko pridobite do 3.500 € subvencije - NE VELJA ZA PRAVNE OSEBE. (<https://www.porscheinterauto.net/elektricni-avtomobili/subvencija-za-elektricna-vozila/>)

#### **a) Prodaja električnih avtomobilov**

Po poročanju agencije Reuters se je posebej izboljšala prodaja električnih vozil v prvem letošnjem četrtletju, a proizvajalci opozarjajo, da brez pomoči države pri širjenju elektropoline infrastrukture ne bo šlo, da pa bi ta del avtomobilske prodaje obdržal ugoden trend, računajo tudi na pomoč oblasti pri prepovedi uporabe avtomobilov s pogonom na fosilna goriva.

Taki so podatki Mednarodne agencije za energijo IEA, kjer poudarjajo, da je epidemija covida upočasnila prodajo vozil z motorji na notranje zgorevanje v minulem letu za 16%, a povečala prodajo električnih vozil kar za 41 odstotkov, kar trenutno znaša okoli 3 milijone »električarjev« na leto. A razlike med trgi so še vedno ogromne. Na velikih in globalno pomembnih trgih kot so Rusija, Južna Amerika ali Afrika je na cestah še zelo malo električnih avtomobilov, na drugi strani pa zaradi vedno bolj ostrih zakonov pri izpustih raste delež teh vozil na cestah v Evropi in na Kitajskem. Tudi v Sloveniji se prodaja povsem električnih vozil izboljšuje. V primerjavi z letom 2019 je v 2020 prodaja zrasla s skoraj 700 vozil na leto na več kot 1600.

Precej se je izboljšala tudi prodaja priključnih hibridov, za okoli 46 odstotkov, padla pa je prodaja klasičnih hibridov. Globalno gledano so kupci v letu 2020 za električna vozila porabili kar 120 milijard dolarjev, države pa so z olajšavami prispevale še dodatnih 13 milijard, torej okoli 10 odstotkov celotne prodaje. Za primerjavo – v letu 2015 je bil ta delež olajšav še 20 odstotkov. Prav tako bi cena baterij v prihodnje naj še padala, a cena električnih avtomobilov se ne bo izenačila s ceno s fosilnimi gorivi gnanih vozil pred letom 2030. Zato si avtomobilski proizvajalci veliko obetajo tudi od prepovedi prodaje naftnih avtomobilov, ta pa bi lahko prišla zaradi vedno bolj strogih zakonskih omejitev pri izpustih. Tako je že zdaj okoli 20 držav napovedalo, da bo v roku desetih let na svojih cestah prepovedalo vožnjo avtomobilov z motorji z notranjim izgorevanjem, EU pa si prizadeva, da bi bil ta datum 2035.

V Sloveniji načrtujemo s strožjo zakonodajo močno otežiti prodajo novih vozil z notranjim zgorevanjem do leta 2030. Poleg tega naj bi države še več vlagale v širitev polnilne infrastrukture, s čemer bi veliko prispevali k širjenju zaupanje potencialnih kupcev v električna vozila. (<https://avto-magazin.metropolitan.si/novice/prodaja-elektricnih-avtomobilov-raste-a-brez-pomoci-drzave-ne-bo-slo/>)

### *Pet zanimivih dejstev o električnih avtomobilih*

#### **1. Električni avtomobili niso več tihi**

Do nedavnega je bil eden od užitkov vožnje z električnim avtomobilom mir in tišina, ki ju je prinašal na cestah. Od julija 2019 je novo pravilo EU pomenilo, da morajo vsi novi električni in hibridni avtomobili po zakonu oddajati umetni hrup, da jih kolesarji in pešci lahko slišijo. Hrup se pojavi pri hitrostih 13 mph in manj. K sreči je hrup le zunaj avtomobila, zato je za voznike še vedno lepo in tiho. (<https://www.edfenergy.com/electric-cars/facts>)

#### **2. Pri Tesli so predstavili novo funkcijo za ohranjanje hlajenja hišnih ljubljencev**

Zanimiva novost avtomobilov Tesla je nedavno predstavljen 'Dog Mode'. Vozniki z hišnimi ljubljenci v avtu lahko uporabijo funkcijo zaščite pred pregrevanjem kabine, da ohranijo avto na primerno hladni temperaturi za hišne ljubljence, ki ostanejo v notranjosti. Še

bolj pametno kot to, avtomobil prikazuje tudi veliko sporočilo na osrednji plošči zaslona na dotik, ki mimoidoče obvešča, da je vse v redu in da je hišni ljubljencek na udobni temperaturi. (<https://www.edfenergy.com/electric-cars/facts>)

### 3. Zelene registrske tablice

Električni avtomobili v Združenem kraljestvu bi lahko imeli svoje zelene registrske tablice, če se bodo uresničili vladni načrti. V okviru prizadevanj za promocijo vozil z nizkimi oddajami vlada Združenega kraljestva trenutno razmišlja o uvedbi posebnih registrskih tablic z novim električnim avtomobilom. Posebna tablica za zelene avtomobile se uporablja v državah, kot so Norveška, Kanada in Kitajska. (<https://www.edfenergy.com/electric-cars/facts>)

### 4. Svojo hišo lahko napajate iz električnega avtomobila

Električni avtomobili bi lahko predstavljali baterijo na kolesih. S pravo opremo je mogoče električno energijo iz avtomobilskega akumulatorja uporabiti za oskrbo doma ali uravnovežiti električno omrežje ob določenih urah dneva. Prav tako je to povsem izvedljivo z uporabo avtomobilske baterije za napajanje prireditev na prostem, kar je Nissan leta 2013 pokazal s svojim sistemom LEAF-to-home. (<https://www.edfenergy.com/electric-cars/facts>)

### 5. V Združenem kraljestvu se vsakih devet minut registrira nov električni avto

Ob koncu leta 2018 so številke pokazale, da je trg električnih vozil v Združenem kraljestvu vozil že sedmo leto v porastu, in sicer za 19% – vsakih devet minut je v Združenem kraljestvu registriranih 59.700 novih avtomobilov s priključki. (<https://www.edfenergy.com/electric-cars/facts>)

## Razprava – odgovori na raziskovalna vprašanja

V uvodu tega članka je bilo zastavljenih nekaj vprašanj glede vpliva električnih avtomobilov na okolje. Sledijo odgovori in pojasnila nanje:

- Kako električni avtomobili zmanjšujejo onesnaževanje okolja?

Glede na vir: [file:///D:/Users/Uporabnik/Downloads/RAZ\\_Jevsek\\_Dejan\\_i2020.pdf](file:///D:/Users/Uporabnik/Downloads/RAZ_Jevsek_Dejan_i2020.pdf) je bilo ugotovljeno, da električni avtomobili pri vožnji ne spuščajo v zrak toplogrednih plinov ter škodljivih plinov za okolje in ljudi. Mnogi opozarjajo, da uporaba električnih ni tako ekološka, kot je videti na prvi pogled. V izdelavi sestavnih delov naj bi bilo največ onesnaževanja okolja.

- Kako reciklirati električna vozila?

Odgovoriti na to vprašanje je bilo poskušano s pomočjo vira <https://www.mojprihranek.si/mobilnost/kako-reciklirati-e-avtomobile/?cn-reloaded=1> in ugotovljeno, da je baterije mogoče pred recikliranjem ponovno napolniti in tako ponovno uporabiti. Hibridni avtomobili, ki so trenutno na cesti, na primer Toyota Prius, uporabljajo nikelj-metal-hidridne baterije, ki jih je mogoče na enak način razstaviti in reciklirati.

- Ali se splača kupiti električno vozilo?

Različni viri ugotavljajo, da imajo električna vozila svoje prednosti in slabosti. Prednost je, da manj onesnažujejo okolje kot navadni avtomobili. Slabost pa se kaže v polnjenju električnih avtomobilov, saj potrebujejo veliko časa, poleg tega je doseg manjši..

- Je prihodnost res v električnih vozilih?

Vir <https://avto-magazin.metropolitan.si/novice/prodaja-elektricnih-avtomobilov-raste-a-brez-pomoci-drzave-ne-bo-slo/> ugotavlja, da je prihodnost je v električnih vozilih. V Sloveniji načrtujemo s strožjo zakonodajo močno otežiti prodajo novih vozil z notranjim izgorevanjem do leta 2030. Poleg tega naj bi države še več vlagale v širitev polnilne infrastrukture, s čemer bi veliko prispevali k širjenju zaupanja potencialnih kupcev v električna vozila.

- Ali so električna vozila glede toplogrednih plinov res 100% čista?

Avtor diplomske naloge Vpliv električnih vozil na okolje Dejan Jevšek pravi, da se je pri raziskavi Evropske agencije za okolje pokazalo, da električna vozila skozi vso življenjsko dobo ustvarijo med 17 do 30% manj onesnaževanja v primerjavi z klasičnimi avtomobili. V prihodnosti se naj bi delež do leta 2050 z izboljšanjem tehnologije povečal na 73%. Trenutno električni avtomobili niso 100% čisti.

- Kako se spodbuja uporaba električnih avtomobilov?

Glede na vir <https://www.porscheinterauto.net/elektricni-avtomobili/subvencija-za-elektricna-vozila/> je bilo ugotovljeno, da se uporaba električnega avtomobila spodbuja z subvencijami. Za 100% električni avtomobil se lahko z vlogo dobi 4.500€ subvencije, za rabljenega, testnega ali službenega pa 3.500€.

- Kakšen je okoljski vidik proizvodnje električnega vozila?

Glede na vir [file:///D:/Users/Uporabnik/Downloads/RAZ\\_Jevsek\\_Dejan\\_i2020.pdf](file:///D:/Users/Uporabnik/Downloads/RAZ_Jevsek_Dejan_i2020.pdf) je bilo ugotovljeno, da električni avtomobili pri vožnji ne spuščajo v zrak toplogrednih plinov ter škodljivih plinov za okolje in ljudi. Mnogi opozarjajo, da uporaba električnih avtomobilov ni tako ekološka, kot je videti na prvi pogled. Pri izdelavi sestavnih delov je največ onesnaževanja okolja.

## Zaključek

Glede na različne vire, ki so bili preučeni, je mogoče sklepati, da se delež prodaje električnih avtomobilov iz leta v leto povečuje in prav tako se povečuje naše zavedanje, kako pomembno je, da ohranimo čisto okolje. Vsak dan nas ozaveščajo o onesnaževanju okolja in kakšne velike posledice lahko to prinese v prihodnosti. Epidemija je prodajo električnih vozil v minulem letu povečala za 41%. E-vozila imajo še veliko slabosti, je pa gotovo, da jih bodo skozi leta izboljšali in se bomo najbrž vsi vozili na elektriko. Električni avtomobili na prvi pogled res zmanjšujejo onesnaževanje okolje, kar se vidi pri uporabi, vendar se pri izdelavi e-vozil onesnaži velik del okolja. Kljub temu je statistika pokazala, da so še vedno bolj okolju prijazni kot klasični avtomobili. Najverjetneje v prihodnosti subvencij za e-vozila ne bodo več dodeljevali. Sklenemo lahko, da majhni koraki vodijo k velikim spremembam, električni avtomobili pa so tisti, ki bodo naša prihodnost.

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## TEORETIČNI PREGLED POMENA MEDGENERACIJSKEGA POVEZOVANJA IN SODELOVANJA

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**Povzetek:** Ob vstopu v tretje življenjsko obdobje oziroma po 65. letu starosti se vse več starostnikov odloči za spremembo okolja in s tem za odhod v dom za starejše. Danes ne velja več, da so starostniki obnemogle osebe, temveč so, če jim služi zdravje, še polni življenja, ljudje z mnogo izkušnjami in optimistično naravnani. V okviru institucionalne oskrbe in tudi izven nje jim je na osnovi navedenega potrebno omogočiti, da vse danosti koristno uporabijo ter s tem še izboljšajo kakovost življenja v tem obdobju in s tem posledično lastni slog življenja.

Po podatkih statističnega urada bo v Sloveniji leta 2060 več kot 30 % prebivalstva starejšega od 65 let, saj ima Slovenija že od leta 2003 več starostnikov (starejših od 65 let) kot mladih (otrok do 15. leta).

Generacije, stare 65–74 let, so po svojem življenjskem ciklu veliko bolj podobne ali sorodne v povprečju 10 let mlajšim prebivalcem kot pa starostnikom med 75. in 84. letom.

Strah pred staranjem ima lahko tudi negativne posledice, zato poskušajmo starejšim čim pogosteje stati ob strani, se zavedati njihovega pomena v družbi in živeti v sožitju z njimi.

**Ključne besede:** starostniki, mladi, dom za starejše, družba, medgeneracijsko povezovanje in sodelovanje.

## A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERGENERATIONAL INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION

**Abstract:** When entering the third period of life, or after the age of 65, more and more elderly people decide to change their environment and thus to go to a home for the elderly. Today, the elderly are no longer considered to be infirm, rather, if their health serves them well, they are still full of life, people with many experiences and an optimistic attitude. Within the framework of institutional care and also outside, it is necessary to enable them to make good use of all the opportunities they are given and thereby further improve the quality of their life during this period and, consequently, their own lifestyle.

According to the data of the Statistical Office, in 2060, more than 30% of the population in Slovenia will be over 65 years old, since Slovenia has had more elderly people (over 65 years of age) than young people (children up to 15 years of age). Generations aged 65–74 are much more similar or related in their life cycle to the population 10 years younger on average than to those aged between 75 and 84.

The fear of aging can also have negative consequences, so let's try to stand by the elderly as often as possible, be aware of their importance in society and live in harmony with them.

**Keywords:** the elderly, young people, home for the elderly, society, intergenerational integration and cooperation.

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## Uvod

Starostniki se v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju soočajo z veliko osebnimi težavami, ovirami, veliko pa jim pomeni biti aktiven in soudeležen v družbi. K temu veliko pripomore tudi sodelovanje z drugimi, predvsem mlajšo generacijo.

Tudi v Sloveniji predstavljajo starejši veliko družbeno skupino. 15, 4 % slovenskega prebivalstva ima več kot 65 let in le 15 % je mlajših od 15 let ([www.stat.si](http://www.stat.si)). Takšna struktura prebivalstva nam nakazuje družbene posledice v prihodnosti: neravnovesje v družbi, spremembe na področju socialnega varstva, zdravstva, izobraževanja in dela. Potrebno bo razviti nove oblike medgeneracijskega povezovanja.

Medgeneracijsko sodelovanje razumemo kot izmenjavo izkušenj in spoznanj, druženje, učenje, pomoč ene generacije drugi, ustvarjanje, ohranjanje in širjenje socialne mreže. Gre za materialno varnost in ohranjanje kulturne dediščine ter socialno in čustveno oporo. Statistični prikazi kažejo, da stari starši skrbijo za vnuke in so pomemben del življenja otrok. Več osamljenosti se pojavi v poznejši starosti, zato so potrebni različni programi za povezovanje. V osnovnih in srednjih šolah so se oblikovali programi »Prostovoljno delo srednješolcev in osnovnošolcev«, ki se izvajajo med šolskim letom. Namen teh programov je, da bi nekoliko omilili osamljenost, izoliranost in občutek nepotrebности starih ljudi v domu. Inštitut Antona Trstenjaka je razvil mrežo društev za medgeneracijsko sožitje. Učenje ponuja veliko možnosti, kar kažejo tudi različni drugi programi (Macuh, 2019).

## Teoretična izhodišča

### Medgeneracijsko povezovanje in učenje

Programi medgeneracijskega učenja navadno vključujejo dve nestični generaciji, včasih tudi več različnih generacij, ki so vključene v organizirano ali namerno izobraževalno dejavnost. Najpogostejša oblika je učenje mlajših od starejših, ko starejši v organiziranih, običajno šolskih situacijah učijo ali delijo svoje spretnosti z mlajšimi. Pogosti so tudi programi, ko se starejši učijo od mlajših. Starejši morda ne potrebujejo vseh znanj kot mlajši, toda s pridobivanjem nekaterih novih znanj na področju družbenih, kulturnih in tehnoloških sprememb se izogone nevarnosti, da bi postali marginalizirani.

Najbolj splošen primer tega, kaj lahko mlajši naučijo starejše, je uporaba e-pošte in spletnih strani. Različne raziskave in projekti, ki smo jih zasledili na spletnih straneh univerze v Ulmu, ki je nosilka projektov Learning in later life ([www.lill-online.net/online/](http://www.lill-online.net/online/)), kažejo, da se starejši udeležujejo izobraževanja v starostno mešanih skupinah. Ob pregledu strokovne literature (Kump, Jelen Krašovec 2010, Hlebec 2009, Kump 2008, Findeisen 2002) in prakse lahko ugotovimo, da ima medgeneracijsko učenje več funkcij:

- starejši postanejo pomembna podpora drugim skupinam pri učenju in sodelovanju, pa tudi pri osebnostnem razvoju ter razvoju samozavesti,
- projekti medgeneracijskega učenja so priložnost za dejavno družbeno vključevanje,
- medgeneracijsko učenje nudi priložnosti za prostovoljno delo, bodisi mladih ali starejših, tako se povečujejo tudi njihove možnosti za vključevanje v skupnost, oblikovanje medsebojne pomoči, krepijo se njihova socialna omrežja,
- mlade in stare spodbuja k premagovanju stereotipov,
- ob druženju spoznavajo, da se različne generacije v isti kulturi srečujejo s podobnimi težavami.

Medgeneracijsko učenje se tesno povezuje z učenjem v prostorih, kjer ljudje živijo ali delajo. Pogosto povezujemo dva koncepta učenja, to je medgeneracijsko (»intergenerational learning«) in skupnostno učenje (»community learning«, »community education«). Skupnost razumemo kot družbeno enoto, ki ima svoje meje. Slednje so v nekaterih skupnostih toge, v drugih pa bolj fluidne in odprte. Za nekatere ljudi in skupine so skupnosti lahko inkluzivne, za druge izključujoče. Findeisen (1996) zapiše, da skupnost opredeljujejo predvsem skupne potrebe in skupni interesi njenih članov, ki jih medsebojno povezujejo. Skupni interesi se kažejo na naslednjih področjih: skupna tradicija, kulturna dediščina, skupna identiteta, pripadnost in zvestoba kraju, socialne vezi v soseski ali kraju, solidarnostna pomoč, prizadevanje za skupno politično moč, skupno delovanje za spremembe in podobno.

Medgeneracijsko učenje in učenje v skupnosti najpogosteje opazujemo ter interpretiramo s pomočjo socialnih teorij učenja. Med najbolj znanimi teorijami sta Illerisov in Wengerjev model. E. Wenger (2009) in K. Illeris (2009) sta predstavila učenje kot proces, ki se vedno odvija v družbenem okolju in je z okoljem določen. Znanje in zmožnosti se konstruirajo v določenem okolju, zato je bistvenega pomena dialog, možnost spraševanja, sprotnega preverjanja smisla ter lastnih domnev. Skupnostno učenje se razvije tudi tedaj, ko si ljudje želijo vplivati na dogodke v svojem vsakdanjem življenju in zato te dogodke poglobljeno spoznavajo skozi učne procese.

Ljudje se učijo postati aktivni člani skupnosti, »učijo se biti« v smislu ustvarjanja skupne družbene identitete. Značilne poteze te oblike učenja so prostovoljna udeležba, delitev vlog učenja in poučevanja med vsemi člani in spreminjanje skupnosti ter posameznikov, kar je posledica kolektivnega namena in delovanja. Učenje v skupnosti je učenje z drugimi in učenje od drugih. Gre za tranzicijo informacij in transformacijo znanja ter identitete.

Skupnosti postajajo prostori kolektivne zakladnice idej, ki se vzdržujejo z razvojem »kapitala modrosti« (Gaudiani, 1998; v Kump, 2008). Ljudje se povežejo, da bi s poglobljenim preučevanjem lokalnih situacij ustvarili novo lokalno vednost in bi to, kar so se naučili, prenesli

tudi v prakso. Takšna izkušnja učenja v skupnosti ustvarja kolektivno vednost, katere lastniki so vsi člani (Stein in Imel, 2002; v Kump, 2008).

Medgeneracijsko učenje in skupnostno učenje povezujeta ljudi in krepi vključenost (inkluzivnost) ter solidarnost. Z različnimi strategijami (od e-mreženja do skupinskega učenja) omogočata, da ljudje izstopijo iz svoje osamljenosti in postanejo v okolju dejavni. Na različne načine pripomoreta k medsebojnemu spoznavanju in razumevanju ter premagovanju stereotipov.

Povzamemo lahko, da imata tako medgeneracijsko kot tudi skupnostno učenje podobne funkcije. Obe vrsti učenja nastajata z namenom, da bi v življenje ljudi vpeljevali kakovostne spremembe. Ta namen se dosega z združevanjem znanja in tistih zmožnosti, katerih nosilci so starejši, in drugih, katerih nosilci so mlajši, z znanjem iz kulturne zakladnice, kolektivnega spomina. Obe vrsti učenja povezujeta pridobivanje znanja, oblikovanje znanja z dejavnostjo v okolju. Védenje ne ostaja le v mentalnem svetu ali zapisano na papirju. Védenje se uresničuje z delovanjem.

### *Medgeneracijska soodvisnost med generacijami*

Zmanjševanje odvisnosti med generacijami poteka na mikroravni znotraj družine in na makroravni kot odnos med družbenimi kohortami. Gre za proces, na katerega vplivajo družbenorazvojni dejavniki, kot so npr. ločitev proizvodne in socializacijske funkcije družine, migracije, urbanizacija, tehnološki razvoj, spreminjanje strukture družine Goriup in Lahe (2018, 174). Hojnik Zupanc (1999, 53) povzema Bengstona in Blacka (1996) ter ugotavlja, da se medgeneracijski odnosi spreminjajo z interakcijo med osamosvajanjem posameznika in družbeno-kulturnimi spremembami. Navajata naslednje značilnosti tega odnosa:

- stališča posamezne generacije so odvisna od tega, kateri vrstniški skupini le-ta pripada;
- individualne osebnostne spremembe pomembno vplivajo na medgeneracijske odnose;
- medgeneracijski odnosi sami po sebi so razvojni pojav – to je kontinuiran proces, na katerega vplivajo individualne razvojne spremembe in kulturne spremembe;
- gre za dvosmerno kontinuiran pojav – vsak sprejema od drugega in prenaša na drugega;
- na medgeneracijske odnose vplivajo dejavniki, ki pomenijo kontinuiteto (npr. sorodstvo, solidarnost), in tisti, ki pomenijo medgeneracijske razlike;
- socialno-kulturne spremembe se kažejo kot konfrontacija podobnosti in različnosti med generacijami.

V tradicionalni družbi lahko medgeneracijske odnose opazujemo prek neformalnih stikov med pripadniki različnih generacij v razširjeni družini, ker generacija kot družbena kategorija še ni oblikovana. Člane razširjene družine povezujejo prostorska bližina, socialni izvor, hierarhični medsebojni odnosi po načelu materialne in intelektualne moči in družinska solidarnost, ki se izraža v medsebojni pomoči, socializaciji in nadzoru. Prevladuje nizka stopnja individualizacije – posameznikovo življenje je v večji meri določeno z danimi pogoji kot z lastno iniciativnostjo. Individualnost je podrejena skupnim interesom, posameznik ima veljavo le kot družinski član in ne kot posameznik. Njegova vloga je, da prispeva k blaginji družine. Ta vrednostni sistem se kaže v hierarhičnih medgeneracijskih odnosih: podrejenosti mladih, ki nimajo proizvodnih izkušenj in materialne moči, ter podrejenosti starih družinskih članov, ki po predaji imetja prav tako nimajo več materialne moči, hkrati pa jih pojevanje fizičnih moči omejuje, da bi prispevali k družinski skupnosti enako kot mlajši člani. Materialna, socialna in funkcionalna podrejenost starih članov razširjene družine do mlajših je vodila v njihovo popolno nesamosojnost in v mnogih primerih v veliko osamljenost, menita Goriup in Lahe (2018, str. 175) in dodajata, da so se z razvojem tehnologije in urbanizacijo, ki sta temeljna dejavnika modernizacije, postopno začeli spreminjati medgeneracijski odnosi. Pogoji modernizacije so sprožili migracije, ki so zajele predvsem mlade ljudi. Le-ti so odhajali s kmetij zaradi konservativnega mišljenja staršev, ki jim je onemogočalo, da bi uveljavili nove ideje na domači kmetiji, zato so začeli odhajati iz razširjenih družin v novo okolje in tako prišli v stik z novimi kulturnimi vrednotami in novimi možnostmi za osebnostno samouresničenje. Začele so se rahljati hierarhične medgeneracijske vezi in družina je izgubljala funkcijo avtoritativne in hierarhične institucije. Hkrati z osamosvajanjem mladih je prišlo do materialnega osamosvajanja starejših ljudi (upokojitev je starim ljudem prinesla redne mesečne dohodke), pozneje pa tudi do funkcionalnega osamosvajanja s sistemsko urejenimi oblikami institucionalnih in zunaj institucionalnih storitev (prav tam, ista stran).

Včasih je bilo dovolj medgeneracijskega sodelovanja in druženja že samo znotraj družin (Tehovnik, 2012). T. i. »naravno medgeneracijsko sodelovanje« se je v družinah zgodilo samo od sebe, saj drugače pač ni šlo. V eni hiši je poleg staršev živel še vsaj en otrok, po možnosti še s svojo lastno družino, in avtomatično so se tri generacije znašle v situaciji, ko so skupaj delale za iste cilje, se ob večerih družile in pogovarjale. Te medgeneracijske izkušnje so bile neizbežne in neprosto voljne. Za mlajše generacije današnjega časa ter za moderno razvijajočo se družbo pa je, kot se lahko opazuje okoli sebe, bolj značilno, da mladi odhajajo stran od staršev in si ustvarjajo svoje družine čim dlje od ostalih članov sorodstva, z namenom, da izkažejo svojo samostojnost in da jim »nihče ne soli pameti«. Generacije so postale vedno bolj izolirane ena od druge. Stari starši živijo večinoma sami v prevelikih hišah, mlade družinice odhajajo v majhna mestna stanovanja, starši so do večera v službi, otroci preživijo večino dneva med vrstniki v šoli in popoldanskem varstvu. Stiki med generacijami v družini se zgodijo ob koncu tedna za nekaj ur. Večinoma gre za prazne pogovore in »instant pomoči« v gospodinjstvu, ki človeka ne obogatijo (v medgeneracijskem smislu) v dovoljni meri.

Hitre družbene spremembe, ki so sledile predvsem po drugi svetovni vojni, pa zmanjšujejo razlike med generacijami, zaključujeta Goriup in Lahe (2018, str. 175). Povečuje se medgeneracijska kontinuiteta na makro in mikroravni. Vedenjski vzorci postajajo starostno

nedoločljivi, povečuje se podobnost med starši in otroki neodvisno od njihove prostorske oddaljenosti (podobnosti se kažejo v izražanju jaza, v modi, v preživljanju prostega časa). Gre za dva prepletajoča se procesa: na eni strani za sprejemanje globalnih trendov, ki homogenizirajo kulturo različnih generacij, na drugi strani pa za deinstitucionalizacijo individualne življenjske zgodovine, ki se kaže v starostni nedoločljivosti različnih vlog.

### *O medgeneracijskem učenju med starejšimi odraslimi in mlajšimi otroki*

Pedagoški inštitut je bil vključen v dvoletni mednarodni projekt TOY – Together Old and Young – Skupaj stari in mladi. V okviru projekta so raziskovalke Razvojno-raziskovalnega centra pedagoških iniciativ Korak za Korakom, izvedla srečanje z naslovom »Tkanje preproge generacij«. Projekt TOY je bil mednarodni projekt o medgeneracijskem učenju med starejšimi odraslimi (55+) in mlajšimi otroki (0-8 let). Projekt je financiran s strani Evropske Komisije, Program Vseživljenjsko učenje, podprogram Grundtvig. V projekt TOY je vključenih 9 organizacij iz sedmih držav (Irska, Italija, Nizozemska, Poljska, Portugalska, Slovenija in Španija). Doslej je bil potencial medgeneracijskega učenja, ki vključuje otroke od rojstva do 8. leta starosti, prezrt. Menimo, da lahko starejši odrasli in mlajši otroci sodelujejo v skupnih aktivnostih, se skupaj učijo, se bolje spoznajo in se skupaj zabavajo. Projekt TOY je preko mreženja, zagotavljanja primerov inovativnih praks ter oblikovanja dostopnih orodij in virov za spodbujanje medgeneracijskega učenja prispeval k pridobivanju kompetenc za delovanje na področju medgeneracijskega učenja, ki vključuje mlajše otroke (Jager, 2014).

Srečanje je bilo organizirano z namenom promocije medgeneracijskega učenja, predstavitve dosedanjega dela v okviru projekta TOY ter povezovanja zainteresiranih posameznikov in organizacij, ki delujejo na področju predšolske vzgoje oz. zgodnjega otroštva, izobraževanja, sociale, zdravstva oz. vseh, ki se ali bi se želeli ukvarjati z dejavnostmi medgeneracijskega učenja oz. jih še nadgraditi. Srečanja se je udeležilo 42 udeležencev iz cele Slovenije, med katerimi so bili vzgojitelji, učitelji, vodstveni delavci vrtcev, predstavniki društev upokojencev in medgeneracijskih društev, domov za starejše in ljudske univerze. Srečanje je odprla dr. Tatjana Vonta s prispevkom Potreba po medgeneracijskem sodelovanju z vidika sprememb v družbi, v katerem je izpostavila trenutne (hitre!) družbene spremembe in v povezavi s tem potrebo po ustvarjanju in iskanju poti za medgeneracijsko sodelovanje že od najzgodnejšega otroštva dalje, če želimo:

- graditi in vzdrževati odnose med starimi in mladimi;
- krepiti socialno kohezijo v skupnosti;
- podpirati starejše kot varuhe znanja;
- prepoznavati vlogo starih staršev v življenju mlajših otrok;
- bogatiti učenje starih in mladih (The TOY Project Consortium (2013a)).

V drugem delu srečanja so udeleženci v mešanih skupinah predstavnikov različnih sektorjev izmenjali svoje izkušnje, ideje in primere dobre prakse na področju medgeneracijskega sodelovanja in učenja, nato pa v več skupinah oblikovali akcijske načrte na vprašanje »Kaj želimo doseči?« v kontekstu spodbujanja medgeneracijskega sodelovanja in učenja. Udeleženci so izražali načrte v zvezi z bogatitvijo in nadgradnjo že obstoječih praks s pomembnim poudarkom na kontinuiteti delovanja. Izražali so spoznanja, da zgolj posamične prireditve za otroke in starostnike v domovih za starejše oziroma vrtcih niso dovolj, temveč je treba načrtovati dejavnosti, ki potekajo redno, v katerih so oboji aktivno vključeni, ki temeljijo na njihovih interesih in potrebah in ki obema skupinama nudijo možnosti soustvarjanja znanja in sooblikovanja učnega procesa. Izpostavili so tudi skrb za sodelovanje s starostniki, ki niso neposredni uporabniki domov za starejše, povezovanje z lokalno skupnostjo in potrebo po razvijanju vrednot medgeneracijskega sodelovanja in socialne kohezije že od posameznikovega zgodnjega otroštva dalje (Jager, 2014).

Menimo, da je potrebnih čim več podobnih primerov dobrih praks, ki bodo v prihodnje še ojačali medgeneracijsko sodelovanje.

### *Razprava o rezultatih/ugotovitvah*

Starostniki naj bi svoj čas preživljali ustvarjalno in se ne predajali malodušju in dolgočasju. Ponuja se jim ustvarjalno preživljanje prostega časa. Veliko je različnih dejavnosti, ki so prilagojene zmoglostim in interesom posameznika. Semkaj sodi tudi izobraževanje in možnost vseživljenjskega učenja, s tem pa možnost nadaljnega kakovostnega osebostnega razvoja. Vse pa je seveda odvisno od njihovih želja in potreb, predvsem pa od različnih ovir, katere se jim postavljajo na pot pri njihovem kreativnem delu v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju.

Zadovoljevanje tovrstnih potreb starostnikov v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju ob odhodu starostnikov v dom za starejše lahko celo boljše izpopolnjeno kot v primarnem, družinskem okolju. Ob odhodu v dom se morajo sorodniki zavedati, da neznane stvari ljudem na splošno povzročajo negotovost, občutek ogroženosti in napetosti. Prav je, da starostnike skušamo prepričati, da se je mogoče vse tisto, česar še ne znajo, naučiti, česar ne poznajo, spoznati in se na nove stvari in razmere tudi navaditi, seveda v primeru, ko zanje pomenijo boljše okoliščine in boljše zadovoljevanje njihovih potreb. Ko starostnik prestopi v novo okolje, potrebuje podporo svojcev in profesionalno osebje doma, zato sta zelo pomembna pogovor in dobra medsebojna komunikacija, da bo starostnik lažje prebrodil zanj stresno situacijo. Pozitiven odnos do življenja v domu je večji pri ljudeh, ki so domove predhodno obiskali in se že pred vstopom vanj

seznanili z življenjem v njih. Če se starostnik pred prihodom osebno sooči z novo okolico, si pridobi občutek o delovanju in funkcioniranju ustanove.

Ramovš ([www.inst-antonatrstenjaka.si](http://www.inst-antonatrstenjaka.si)) navaja, da je vsaka potreba informacija, kaj živo bitje trenutno potrebuje za svoj obstoj in napredek, obenem pa daje motivacijsko energijo za doseg ali uresničenje tega cilja. Živo bitje občuti svoj notranji energetski potencial kot napetost, stisko ali nujno, dokler energija ni porabljena oziroma potreba zadovoljena. Potrebe so tudi glavna energija ali gibalno za človekov osebni in vrstni razvoj. Stiska ob nezadovoljenosti potreb poganja osnovni socialni imunski vzgib, to je samopomoč. Kakor za vsako energijo v naravi velja tudi za energijo človeških potreb, da ne more ostati neuporabljena, pri uporabi pa ne more biti nevtralna: smiselno se izlije v ustvarjanje ali pa se nesmiselno uporabi v razdiralnosti.

Na osnovi podanih teoretičnih razmišljanj o potrebah starostnikov v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju smo predstavili, s katerimi potrebami se soočajo starostniki v tem obdobju. V nadaljevanju podajamo še nekaj predlogov, kako lahko starostniki, ki bivajo v domovih za starejše, zadovoljujejo svoje potrebe po aktivnem preživljanju prostega časa. Z dolgoletnimi izkušnjami in znanjem, ki ga posedujejo, lahko pripomorejo ob pomoči drugih (strokovnih in tehničnih služb) k izboljšanju manjših primanjkljajev, ki se pojavljajo v času bivanja v sekundarnem okolju.

### Sklepna misel

Starostniki se ob zadovoljevanju lastnih potreb tako doma kot tudi v domovih za starejše na lastno željo in glede na zdravstveno stanje in osebne zmogljivosti lahko vključujejo v različne aktivnosti. Tukaj mislimo predvsem na tiste »mlajše« starostnike po 65. letu starosti. Vodstvo in strokovne službe bi lahko (v kolikor je takšna tudi želja starostnikov) koristno uporabilo znanje, izkušnje in sposobnosti starostnikov pri vsakodnevnih opravilih v okviru prostočasnih dejavnosti oziroma v kreativnem ustvarjanju v vseživljenjskem učenju. V okviru raziskave smo izvajali tudi proste razgovore s starostniki, ki bivajo v domovih za starejše. Na osnovi razmišljanj starostnikov, ki jih povezujemo z dispozicijskimi ovirami (Cross, 1981), ki so povezane s psihosocialnimi značilnostmi starostnika, kot so stališča, samopodoba, lastna prepričanja o sposobnostih in drugo, predlagamo:

- hortikulturno ustvarjanje in urejanje okolice lastnega doma ali doma za starejše, ki jih izvajajo starejši, ki so zdravstveno sposobni (vrtovi, gredice, okrasno in sadno drevje). Za to delo starostniki morda potrebujejo strokovnjake, ki poznajo svoje delo. Organizirajo naj krajši tečaj o poznavanju problematike in s tem zagotovijo starostnikom, da bo okolica ne zgolj urejena, temveč tudi strokovno obdelana, za kar je potrebno ob dobri volji tudi veliko sposobnosti za tovrstne dejavnosti. Predlagamo, da bi lahko pri delu starostniki, ki imajo dovolj izkušenj in znanj, le-to prenašali tudi na sostanovalce, po potrebi in želji zunanjih obiskovalcev pa tudi nanje (obrezovanje sadnega drevja, vinske trte, rož in grmovnic idr.);
- tehnična opravila doma in v domovih za starejše so zelo pogosta. Ob tehnični službi (hišnik) je med starostniki veliko takšnih, ki so v okviru svojega poklicnega udejstvovanja aktivno delali na različnih področjih dela, ki so prisotna tudi v domovih za starejše. Predlagamo, da zato, ker tehničnih opravil ne morejo opravljati neposredno (varstvo pri delu), tehnični službi pomagajo s strokovnimi nasveti.

Z vključevanjem starostnikov, ki so bili v času svojega delovno aktivnega življenja strokovnjaki na omenjenih področjih, v vsakodnevna opravila doma ali v domu za starejše, lahko domovi za starejše koristno izrabijo njihova znanja, hkrati pa veliko pripomorejo k dvigu njihove samopodobe ter potrditve, da so še vedno koristni tudi za druge.

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## OPERATIVNA SINHRONIZACIJA VARNOSTI IN NADZORA V IGRALNIŠKO-ZABAVIŠČNEM CENTRU

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**Povzetek:** Skozi evolucijo razvoja človeka smo ljudje ves čas iskali oblike zabave, iger in osebne sreče, pri čemer smo vedno želeli na nek hiter ali inovativen način priti do materialne ali druge koristi, pri čemer je človek razvil različne oblike ravnanj, s katerimi bi lahko obšel postavljene kriterije in sistem. Kmalu so organizatorji iger ugotovili manipulacije, ki so finančno oškodovalе njihovo organizacijo in igro, za kar so organizirali fizično varovanje ter razvili miselno tehnologijo za preprečevanje goljufivega ravnanja udeležencev. Danes v sodobnem času organizatorji iger v zabaviščnem centru uporabljajo sodobne tehnologije in usposobljene operaterje, ki s pomočjo video nadzora poskušajo preprečiti škodljiva ravnanja. Sodobni sistemi omogočajo kasnejše pregledovanje posnetkov pretekle zabave (časa) in iger (z zamikom), kar ustreznim osebam omogoča analizo poteka dela ter uvajanje novih varnostnih sistemov, novih upravljavskih in vodstvenih postopkov. Prednost varnostnih sistemov je v vse boljši tehnologiji, ki omogoča sinhronizacijo tehnike in tehnologije, ki s snemalnimi sistemi, z boljšo resolucijo in natančnejšimi zapisi omogoča pregled bolj skritih in manj opaznih mest v igralnici, kar vodstvu in menedžmentu omogoča boljše vodenje in upravljanje. Operativna sinhronizacija varnosti in nadzora v igralno zabaviščnem centru poleg nadzora poteka iger in zabave zahteva nadzor nad poslovanjem družbe s pomočjo on-line sistema in RFID tehnologije, nadzor varnostnih razmer in zagotavljanje reda na varovanem območju (video nadzor, protipožarni sistem), nadzor posebej varovanih prostorov, kot so trezorji in števnice (video nadzor, protivlomni in protitropni sistem, protipožarni sistem, kontrola pristopa, mehanska zaščita), preprečevanje goljufij in drugih prevar s strani gostov (video nadzor, mehanska zaščita, RFID tehnologija) ter nadzorovanje delovnih procesov in preprečevanje goljufij in drugih prevar pri delu zaposlenih (video nadzor, kontrola pristopa, mehanska zaščita, RFID tehnologija).

**Ključne besede:** igre, operativna varnost, sinhronizacija, tehnologija, video nadzor

## OPERATIONAL SYNCHRONIZATION OF SECURITY AND CONTROL IN A GAMING AND ENTERTAINMENT CENTER

**Abstract:** Throughout human evolution, humans have always sought forms of fun, games and personal happiness, always attempting to gain material or other benefits in some quick or innovative way, and humans have developed various forms of behaviour to circumvent the established criteria and system. Soon the game organizers became aware of manipulations that were financially detrimental to their organization and to the game, for which they organized physical security and developed mental technology to prevent fraudulent behaviour by the participants. Nowadays, the game organisers in the entertainment centre use modern technology and trained operators to prevent harmful behaviour through video surveillance. Modern systems allow for the subsequent review of recordings of past entertainment (time) and games (delayed), enabling the relevant personnel to analyse the workflow and to introduce new security systems, new management and administrative procedures. The advantage of security systems lies in the increasing technology that allows for the synchronisation of techniques and technology, which, with recording systems, better resolution and more accurate recordings, allows for the inspection of the more hidden and less visible areas of the gaming room, allowing for better management and administration by management and executives. The operative synchronisation of security and control in the gaming and entertainment centre requires, in addition to the monitoring of the games and entertainment, the monitoring of the company's operations using an online system and RFID technology, the monitoring of the security situation and the maintenance of order in the secured area (video surveillance, fire alarm system), the monitoring of specially secured areas such as vaults and counters (video surveillance, burglar and robbery prevention, fire protection, access control, mechanical protection), prevention of fraud and other scams by guests (video surveillance, mechanical protection, RFID technology) and monitoring of work processes and prevention of fraud and other scams in the workplace by employees (video surveillance, access control, mechanical protection, RFID technology).

**Keywords:** games, operative security, synchronisation, technology, video surveillance

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## Uvod v raziskavo

Pri uvodnem definiranju varnosti v igralništvu se avtorji srečujemo s pojmom splošne igralniške varnosti in pojmom operativne varnosti, pri čemer pojasnimo, da operativna igralniška varnost predstavlja temelj varnosti, ki je nujno potrebna za varno poslovanje in obvladovanje operativnih varnostnih tveganj v igralniški družbi in igralniški dejavnosti. Predstavlja temeljne funkcije delovanja službe za operativno video kontrolo in varnostne službe, ki izvajajo nadzor varnostnih razmer, vzpostavljajo in zagotavljajo red in varnost vsem udeležencem v igralniškem okolju, varnosti ljudi in premoženja, igralniških procesov, preprečevanje škod in obvladovanja operativnih varnostnih in s tem povezanih tveganj v igralniški dejavnosti. V vsem tem je nujna sinhronizacija vseh segmentov operativne varnosti v igralniški družbi, ki mora zagotoviti globalno varovanje dejavnosti, varovanje osebja in finančnih tokov igralniške dejavnosti. Torej skozi definicijo operativne igralniške varnosti avtorji razumemo operativno igralniško varnost v vseh procesih, od igralniške recepcije, blagajniškega in trezorskega poslovanja, skozi področje igralnih naprav, igralnih miz, reda na varovanem območju ter fizične varnosti premoženja, zaposlenih in obiskovalcev, kar bo predstavljeno v nadaljevanju.

Igralništvo in igre na srečo predstavljajo del gospodarske dejavnosti, ki je ozko vezana na turizem, pri čemer predstavlja ista dejavnost, igralništvo, presežek turistične ponudbe, ki v zadnjih letih ekonomskega in tržnega razvoja privablja vse več deležnikov. Ta presežek je dvignil turizem na zelo visoke oblike ponudbe bivanja, uživanja hrane in pijače in posebej ponudbe različnih oblik zabave, pri čemer mnoge države to obliko zabave imenujejo visoki turizem. Tako igre na srečo predstavljajo krono zabave, zaradi česar so se nekatere osebe (goljufi) specializirali za obide kriterijev in sistemov ter z goljufivim ravnanjem skušajo srečo najti z nedovoljenimi oblikami. Za onemogočanje ali preprečevanje zlorab so v igralniških družbah razvili sodobne tehnologije, s katerimi poskušajo goljufe onemogočiti, za kar so v prostore igralnic in zabavišč uvedli videonadzore, ki operaterjem omogočajo stalen pregled prostorov in igralnih sistemov. Gre za prenos fizičnega varovanja na sodobno tehnologijo, s katero operativne osebe lahko nadzirajo prostor, igralne sisteme, imajo nadzor nad poslovanjem, gosti in delovnimi procesi zaposlenih.

Igre na srečo v obliki turistične aktivnosti so se najbolj razvile v Združenih državah Amerike, kjer so bili sistemi v stalni nevarnosti zlorabe in oškodovanja, zaradi česar so prve video nadzore prenesli iz vojaških nadzorov in jih po enakem vzoru uvedli v igralništvo že leta 1980. Šlo je sicer za analogno obliko video nadzora, kjer robusten pa vendar uporaben sistem operaterju daje možnost videti, kdo je v prostoru, okoli prostora oziroma tam, kjer je video nadzor nameščen. V prvotnih oblikah so lastniki kapitala ali lastniki igralniških sistemov video nadzor prepoznali za zmanjšanje števila zaposlenih, posodabljanje video sistemov pa je omogočilo povezovanje in sinhronizacijo posameznih sistemov varovanja in delovanja znotraj igralno zabaviščne dejavnosti. Sodobnejši (novejši) sistemi so omogočili kasnejše pregledovanje posnetkov, kar je omogočilo analizo dela ter prepoznavanje novih varnostnih sistemov, novih upravljavskih in vodstvenih postopkov. Prednost varnostnih sistemov je v vse boljši tehnologiji, manjšimi snemalnimi sistemi z boljšo resolucijo in natančnejšimi zapisi. Sodobnejša tehnologija je bolj skrita in manj opazna, kar vodstvu in menedžmentu omogoča boljše vodenje in upravljanje, obenem gre za digitalno tehnologijo, ki je sistemsko vezana na inteligentne sisteme, internetna omrežja in programske sklope oziroma IT sisteme, ki so izpostavljeni zunanjim vplivom.

Področje igralniške dejavnosti je pravno mešano prežeto področje, kjer se srečujemo z gospodarsko pravnimi posli gospodarskih družb (Murtič, Jankovič, 2018), v katerem igralniška organizacija eksistira kot gospodarska družba, delovno pravnimi razmerji med delodajalci in delojemalci oziroma zaposlenimi v igralnici, pogodbenimi posli (Jankovič, Murtič, 2019), skozi katere je sklenjeno več različnih pogodbenih razmerij med uporabniki in ponudniki iger na srečo in mnogo širše. Slovensko pravno podlago za uvedbo video kontrole v igralnicah in igralnih salonih predstavlja Zakon o igrah na srečo (Uradni list RS, št. 14/11 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 108/12, 11/14 – popr. in 40/14 – ZIN-B), ki zavezuje koncesionarje, da morajo predpisati podroben način izvajanja avdio video nadzora. Iz zapisane podlage je razumeti, da morajo lastniki ali vodstvo v igralnicah in igralnih salonih zagotoviti neprekinjen video nadzor vseh procesov prirejanja iger na srečo. Pri avtorju Kovačiču (Kovačič, 2015) vidimo, da v svojih zapisih navaja igre na srečo kot igralne salone in igralnice, ki se razlikujejo v tem, da v ponudbi nimajo živih iger, ki se izvajajo s krupjeji, temveč gre za igre na igralnih avtomatih in elektronskih ruletah.

V igralnicah so zaradi poslovanja z vrednostnimi žetoni in z gotovino na igralnih mizah večje možnosti za nastanek škodnih pojavov, vendar dogodki kažejo, da goljufi in osebe, ki poznajo sisteme poskušajo oškodovati tudi igralne salone. Zato je nujna vzpostavitev varnosti in nadzora s pomočjo sistemov tehničnega varovanja in IT tehnologije, kar ima več vlog, s katerimi se zagotavlja nadzor nad poslovanjem s pomočjo on-line sistema in RFID tehnologije, nadzor varnostnih razmer in zagotavljanje reda na varovanem območju (video nadzor, protipožarni sistem), nadzor posebej varovanih prostorov, kot so trezorji in števnice (video nadzor, protivlomni in protitropni sistem, protipožarni sistem, kontrola pristopa, mehanska zaščita), preprečevanje goljufij in drugih prevar s strani gostov (video nadzor, mehanska zaščita, RFID tehnologija) in nadzorovanje delovnih procesov in preprečevanje goljufij in drugih prevar pri delu zaposlenih (video nadzor, kontrola pristopa, mehanska zaščita, RFID tehnologija). Gre za profesionalno vzpostavljane kombinirane sinhronizacije sistemov fizičnega in tehničnega varovanja v igralnicah in igralnih salonih ter službe za video kontrolo, kjer se izkaže operativna sinhroniziranost varnosti in nadzora v igralniški dejavnosti.

## *Področje raziskave*

Področje raziskave je igralniška dejavnost, kjer proučujemo sisteme in službe, odgovorne za igralniško operativno varnost, kjer se skozi delovanje operativnih služb, z uporabo ustrezne tehnologije (video nadzora) zagotavlja sinhronizirano varnost in nadzor v igralniški dejavnosti. Podlago za izvajanje ali za ponudbo visokega turizma, iger na srečo in dejavnosti za varovanje je treba iskati v Ustavi Republike Slovenije (Uradni list RS, št. 33/91-I, 42/97 – UZS68, 66/00 – UZ80, 24/03 – UZ3a, 47, 68, 69/04 – UZ14, 69/04 – UZ43, 69/04 – UZ50, 68/06 – UZ121,140,143, 47/13 – UZ148, 47/13 – UZ90,97,99, 75/16 – UZ70a in 92/21 – UZ62a). Notranji ustroj in sistemizacija delovnih mest predstavlja organiziranost igralniške družbe, kjer po Zakonu o gospodarskih družbah (Uradni list RS, št. 65/09 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 33/11, 91/11, 32/12, 57/12, 44/13 – odl. US, 82/13, 55/15, 15/17, 22/19 – ZPosS, 158/20 – ZIntPK-C in 18/21) organizirajo dejavnost, notranjo strukturo in obliko odgovornosti za opravljanje nalog. Področje turizma ureja Zakon o spodbujanju razvoja turizma (Uradni list RS, št. 13/18). Področje iger na srečo ureja Zakon o igrah na srečo (Uradni list RS, št. 14/11 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 108/12, 11/14 – popr. in 40/14 – ZIN-B) in področje varovanja ureja Zakon o zasebnem varovanju (Uradni list RS, št. 17/11). Podlago je mogoče poiskati še v drugih zakonih, ki se navezujejo na javni red in mir, na preprečevanje kaznivih ravnanj in mnogo širše, kar bomo spoznali v nadaljevanju.

V sklopu delovanja igralniške dejavnosti delujejo varnostne službe, ki so v sklopu igralniške dejavnosti za svoje delo neposredno odgovorne vodstvu oziroma direktorju oddelka za korporativno varnost, ki je odgovoren za celovito varnost v igralniški družbi. V manjših igralniških družbah (manjše igralnice ali igralni saloni) je to varnostni manager ali oseba, odgovorna za igralniško varnost. Pravna podlaga dopušča, da vodstvo igralniške dejavnosti organizira še fizični operativni nadzor na igralnih mizah in igralnih avtomatih, ki je odgovoren direktorju igralnice in s prej navedenimi službami sodeluje zgolj preko telefonskih zvez. V praksi ta fizični operativni nadzor nad igralniškimi delovnimi procesi na varovanem območju igralnice izvajajo inšpektorji iger in interni nadzorniki na igralnih avtomatih, za kar potrebujejo ustrezne licence. Za prirejanje posebnih iger na srečo mora imeti igralniška družba fizično ločene prostore, in sicer za igralniško recepcijo (nadzor nad vstopom in izhodom gostov iz varovanega območja), igralni prostor za izvajanje iger na igralnih avtomatih (pokrito s fizičnim nadzorom, video nadzornim sistemom, in on-line nadzorom igralnih avtomatov), igralni prostor za izvajanje živih iger (pokrito s fizičnim nadzorom, video nadzornim sistemom, on-line nadzorom igralnih miz ter RFID tehnologijo), sistemski prostor, kjer se ločeno od igre nahaja on-line sistem za nadzor nad igrami in tovrstnim poslovanjem, blagajniško poslovanje in blagajne, kjer se menjava denar v igralne žetone in izplačuje igralne dobitke, števnica denarja in žetonov ter trezor, kjer se hrani denar in vrednostne žetone (pokritost z video nadzornim sistemom, on-line nadzorom in RFID tehnologijo), nadzorno analitični center (NAC) za delo in usposabljanje službe za video kontrolo, varnostno operativni center (VOC) za delo, usposabljanje in hraniščem orožja varnostne službe in prostore za izvajanje gostinske in zabaviščne dejavnosti.

V sistemu sinhronizacije varovanja igralniške in zabaviščne dejavnosti služba za video kontrolo v igralništvu predstavlja pomemben segment varnostnega sistema, s katero gospodarska družba zagotavlja varnost sistema in oseb, ki so deležni zabave. V praksi je ta služba del gospodarske družbe in je organizirana z zaposlenimi, zelo redko takšno obliko varovanja zaupajo zunanjemu izvajalcu. Gre za vzpostavljanje notranjega organizacijskega reda, ki ga je lažje izvajati z lastnim osebjem. Zunanji outsourcing sicer opravlja dela in naloge po istem zakonu o varovanju, vendar je pri zunanjih organizacijah tveganje v fluktuaciji uporabnega osebja, kar predstavlja veliko tveganje za varnost. Avtor Kovačič (2015) omenja občutljivost nadzora ter možnih zlorab, zato podpira notranjo kontrolo pod vodstvom gospodarske družbe. Avtor govori o profesionalnem pristopu organizacije v izvajanju varnostne službe, pri čemer poudari pripadnost zaposlenih, ki se počutijo kot del gospodarske družbe in skrbijo za varnost njenega delovanja. Znotraj sistema vodenja in upravljanja posameznih služb, posameznih sistemov, je zaradi varnosti nujno, da so službe in sistemi fizično in sistemsko ločeni, kar zagotavlja boljšo varnost, vsi skupaj pa so odgovorni istemu vodstvu organizacije oziroma gospodarske družbe, ki se ukvarja z igrami na srečo. Koncept je realen in dosegljiv le, če ga upoštevajo v začetni fazi odpiranja igralnice in je pri tem izbrana lokacija za prostore službe. Varnostne službe morajo imeti ločen vhod v objekt, s čimer se preprečijo možni zunanji vplivi na osebe.

## *Teza raziskave*

Organizacija varnosti iger na srečo predstavlja obliko operativne varnosti v tej dejavnosti, zato je ves čas podvržena k iskanju in usklajevanju različnih idej in sistemov za varno poslovanje. Video sistemi predstavljajo obliko inteligentnih sistemov, ki omogočajo nadzor ves čas brez prisotnosti človeka in obenem izvedejo video zapis za toliko časa, kolikor ga operater ali zahtevano pravilo želi. Gospodarske družbe, ki se ukvarjajo z igralniško dejavnostjo video nadzor organizirajo kot samostojno notranjo organizacijsko enoto, ki je specializirana za spremljanje varnostnih razmer, izvajanje nadzora nad igralniškimi procesi ter analizo stanja. Njena naloga je opazovanje, spremljanje igralniških procesov, sistematično pregledovanje in analiziranje spornih dogodkov, vrednotenje ugotovitev in informacij, njihovo operativno poročanje za reševanje dogodkov na varovanem območju, ter poročanje direktorju oddelka za korporativno varnost. Vodi jo direktor oddelka, ki je neposredno odgovoren predstavniku lastnikov igralniške družbe, s katerim ves čas iščeta boljše rešitve za varnost dejavnosti. Za izboljšanje varnosti smo predvideli raziskovalno tezo: »Sinhronizacija varovanja

posameznih služb zagotavlja večjo varnost v igralniški dejavnosti«. Skozi to tezo smo iskali metode dela, medsebojne povezave varnostnih in drugih služb ter tehnologijo nadzora, ki v medsebojni sinhronizaciji omogočajo večjo kontrolo in preprečujejo notranje zlorabe ter oškodovanje gospodarske družbe. Gre za pomen operativne varnosti družbe, ki mora biti med seboj tako povezana in zopet tako ločena, da zagotavlja sinhronizacijo posameznih del in nalog, ki bodo zagotovili varnost dejavnosti. Zato sistem zahteva, da je nadzorno analitični center z ostalimi prostori službe fizično ločen od igralnice, kar predstavlja ločen vhod v objekte in ločen vhod od ostalih zaposlenih v igralnici ter obiskovalcev. V sklopu teze je nujno vedeti, da je za osebje operativne službe druženje z ostalimi zaposlenimi v igralnici in z gosti v igralnici, zaradi upravičenih varnostnih razlogov prepovedano. Vstop v igralnico je dovoljen le diskretno in v izjemnih primerih, ko je to potrebno za ugotavljanje določenih dogodkov, odpravo pomanjkljivosti ali zagotavljanje varnosti. Zaradi dovoljenja, koncesije in licenciranja mora organizacija znotraj nadzorno analitičnega centra urediti nadzorni prostor, učilnico za usposabljanje in druge prostore, ki so ločeni od prostorov, ki jih uporabljajo gostje in deležniki v igralnici. Z vidika zagotavljanja ustrezne tehnične varnosti in mehanske zaščite morajo prostori operativne varnosti dosegati določene standarde za varnostno nadzorne centre (Zakon o igrah na srečo (Uradni list RS, št. 14/11 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 108/12, 11/14 – popr. in 40/14 – ZIN-B).

### *Potek raziskave*

Igralništvo je dejavnost, kjer so varnostna in operativna tveganja prisotna ves čas, zato je potrebno sprotno proučevanje, odkrivanje, iskanje in uporaba ustreznih sistemskih ali tehnoloških inovacij, ki bodo v sinhronizaciji zagotovile večjo varnost. Skozi raziskavo obravnavamo igralniško recepcijo in ugotavljamo, da ima cilj zagotoviti prostore, tehnologijo, sredstva in obliko privlačne zabave, ki naj bi pritegnila igralce, ki so v iskanju sreče pripravljeni vložiti določena denarna ali druga sredstva za srečo. Ravno ta nagib posameznikov opredeljujemo kot del turistične ali gospodarske dejavnosti, ki se ves čas spreminja, dopolnjuje, izboljšuje ter išče načine, ki bodo po volji turistov. Zakon o igrah na srečo opredeljuje sistem prirejanja iger na srečo na način, da igre na srečo potekajo v urejenem in nadzorovanem okolju, kjer je mogoče preprečevati pranje denarja, goljufije in druga kazniva dejanja ali ravnanja v nasprotju z javnim redom, s čemer naj bi zaščitili mladoletnike in druge občutljive osebe pred škodljivimi vplivi čezmernega igranja iger na srečo ter da se varujejo udeleženci iger na srečo. Koncesija je urejena v 30.-44. členu zakona, kjer so natančno opredeljeni pogoji in postopki organizacije iger na srečo in kjer pojasnijo, da gre v igralništvu za dejavnost, v kateri mora organizator zagotoviti pogoje igralništva in obenem pogoje varne zabave v iskanju sreče. Igralniška družba (koncesionar) mora zagotoviti nadzor nad osebami, ki prihajajo v igralnico in sicer s sistemom video nadzora in z evidentiranjem vstopov. Pomembno vlogo ima igralniška recepcija zaradi oseb, ki vstopajo v igralnico. Koncesionar mora voditi posebno evidenco o igralcih in obiskovalcih, ki vsebuje osnovne podatke za identifikacijo oseb, pri čemer je podatke v evidenco o igralcih dovoljeno vnašati samo osebam, ki v skladu z internimi predpisi opravljajo dela in naloge receptorja. Varnostnikom zunanje varnostne službe je dostop do podatkov dovoljen le v primerih, če je tako opredeljeno v pogodbi med naročnikom in izvajalcem varovanja, kjer je potrebno vsebinsko opredeliti področje zaradi varstva osebnih podatkov in izjave o zaupnosti. Igralniška družba (koncesionar) mora predpisati podroben način izvajanja nadzora z avdio video napravami in drugimi sodobnimi tehničnimi sredstvi. Koncesionar mora zagotoviti dnevno vodenje posebne evidence o ugotovljenih ali opaženih nepravilnostih na igralnih napravah in pripomočkih ter pri izvajanju in poteku igre. V ta namen mora organizirati ustrezen nadzor nad prirejanjem iger na srečo na igralnih napravah, imeti vzpostavljen nadzorni informacijski sistem igralnih naprav (on-line nadzor), ki je povezan z informacijskim sistemom nadzornega organa, kateremu omogoča neposredni nadzor. On-line nadzor mora verodostojno spremljati, beležiti in shranjevati podatke o igranju in dogajanju na posameznih igralnih napravah ter spremljati in beležiti dogodke, povezane z delovanjem on-line nadzora. Skozi varnostna tveganja osebje in sistemi preprečujejo vpliv na igro s pomočjo naprave, ki jo ima igralec pri sebi in ki izvira iz podjetja, ki proizvaja igralne naprave zaradi površno ali namerno opravljenega dela programerja igralnih naprav, pri izvedbi določenih nastavitvev (primer vstavljenega bankovca za 100 evrov in krediti za 1000 evrov) zneskov. Za opravljenim delom pride in na tem igralnem mestu prične z igro oseba v navezi s programerjem, to pomeni ponarejanje igralnih lističev, igra na elektronski ruleti z izdanim promo lističem, ki ga izda blagajnik v navezi, fizično poseganje v avtomat s pomočjo določenih letev ali motilcev, kar vpliva na višino kredita ali izplačila in fizično poseganje v elektronske rulete, kjer se ustavlja kroglico na določeni dobitni številki.

Gospodarska družba lahko organizira igralni prostor za izvajanje živih iger, kjer skrbi za javni red in mir, pri čemer igralcem, ki pri izvajanju posebnih iger na srečo kršijo pravila iger, lahko prepove nadaljnjo udeležbo pri igrah. Prisotna so še varnostna in druga tveganja pri igranju na živih igrah, kjer se lahko pojavijo na različnih nivojih. V praksi obstajajo tveganja med zaposlenimi in udeleženci, kjer se lahko pojavi pusetiranje; klasična kraja žetonov na ameriški ruleti in s strani igralcev ali njihovih spremljevalcev; kraja žetonov pri igri blackjack v navezi delivec in igralec (primeri žetona v kavi itd.); kraja žetonov drugim igralcem z metodo »lepljenja dlani«, in sicer igralec polaga svoje žetone manjše vrednosti in pri tem pobira žetone višje vrednosti; metanje žetonov na določeno lokacijo/prostor (odprto okno ipd.), nato žetone pobira čistilka oz. drugi zaposleni v navezi; delivec s kartami izbija igralcu višje stave pri že znani igri (naveza); navidezno mešanje kart in deljenje igralcu za dobitne kombinacije (naveza); scan kart z napravo/video kamero, ko maskirka odpira karte; kamere v telefonih, prstanih, broškah, gumbih ipd., ter prenos slike v bližnji prostor, kjer druga oseba sporoča informacije igralcu v igralnico; razpolaganje igralcev z dodatnimi kartami igralnice in nasilje in fizični napadi na osebje pri mizi/ krupje, nadzornik, inšpektor.

Posebno vlogo v dejavnosti ima sistemski prostor (on-line), skozi katero mora igralniška družba za izvajane iger na srečo imeti zagotovljen in vzpostavljen nadzorni informacijski sistem, tako imenovani on-line sistem. Ta sistem mora biti povezan z informacijskim sistemom nadzornega organa, kateremu je na ta način omogočen učinkovit nadzor nad delovanjem igralnice. Sistem nadzora mora zagotavljati verodostojno shranjevanje in beleženje dogodkov na vseh igralnih aparatih, stalno povezavo z blagajniškim poslovanjem, povezavo s prirejanjem iger na srečo na posamičnih igralnih napravah ter spremljanje varnostnih in drugih tveganj v sistemskem prostoru. Pri tem je treba vedeti, da tudi v sistemskem prostoru lahko prihaja do nepravilnosti, še posebej ko se izvajajo informacijske dograditve. Zato morajo biti vse spremembe dokumentirane in ustrezno urejene z dvojno kontrolo. Vse spremembe na programu morajo biti predhodno odobrene in usklajene z nadzornim organom (Zec, Dobovšek, 2015).

Znotraj dejavnosti ima poseben pomen blagajniško in trezorsko poslovanje, ki ga igralniška organizacija organizira on-line in mora potekati brezhibno ter verodostojno spremljati, beležiti in shranjevati podatke blagajniškega in trezorskega poslovanja. V funkciji so še prenosne blagajne, ki morajo biti vedno ločene od ključev za njihovo odpiranje. Vsaka prenosna blagajna se prinese iz trezorja na delovni pult, kjer se jo odpre in prešteje denar, žetone ipd. V te blagajne sme v času njenega obratovanja vstopiti samo pooblaščen oseba z licenco. V prisotnosti blagajnika lahko v blagajno vstopi tudi druga oseba z licenco, ki izvaja kontrolo blagajniškega poslovanja in oseba brez licence, ki se usposablja za dela in naloge blagajnika. Koncesionar za igralni salon mora organizirati blagajniško poslovanje tako, da je ločen obračun med blagajno in trezorjem. Ročno ali strojno štetje denarja, žetonov in lističev se izvaja komisijsko v števnici in vedno pod avdio video kontrolo. Komisija mora prešteti vse žetone, gotovino in lističe iz izpraznjenih igralnih avtomatov, in sicer ločeno za vsak igralni avtomat, o čemer mora voditi posebno evidenco, ki je sestavni del dokumentacije dnevnega obračuna. Vsebniki denarja, žetonov in vrednostnih lističev morajo biti vidno označeni, da je na kamerah razvidno za katero številko igralne naprave ali mize gre.

Skozi procese dejavnosti se izvajajo tudi postopki menjave vsebnikov iz igralnih naprav, ki jih osebe izvajajo pod nadzorom video kamer, na kateri mora biti razvidna številka vsebnika, ki se mora ujemanjati s številko igralne naprave. V blagajniškem poslovanju se prisotna tveganja, ki so povezana z ustrezno hrambo in evidentiranjem igralnih žetonov in njihovega stanja – tedenska/mesečna kontrola žetonov; s fizičnim dostopom do trezorja z gotovino in žetoni po načelu kontrole in principa štirih oči, pri čemer vstop dodatno omogoča služba za video kontrolo na daljavo; pri prenosu gotovine/dobitka s strani nadzornika do gosta se lahko zgodi, da nadzornik gostu izplačila ne izroči, ga ne izroči v celoti oziroma prejete napitnine ne prinese v zato namenjeno kaseto za napitnino; zgodi se lahko tudi neustrezen nadzor nad štetjem žetonov in gotovine (odsotnost nadzornika ali mrtvi koti, ki niso ustrezno pokriti s kamerami).

Pri uvajanju sinhronizacije varnostnih sistemov so pomembni prostori službe video kontrole, kjer se ravno tako lahko pojavljajo tveganja, ki so lahko tehnične ali druge narave. V praksi so znani izpadi mrežnih povezav ali električne energije, slaba kakovost posnetkov zaradi svetlobe, hrupa, vročine, znani so tudi človeška malomarnost pri delu in nespoštovanje delovnih in organizacijskih navodil. V primeru, da organizacija nima ustreznega postopka pri kadrovanju v tej službi, kjer morajo biti zaposleni z visoko integriteto, lahko pride do velikih težav. Vsled tega je potrebno skrbeti za stalno usposabljanje kadra in redno vzdrževanje sistemov in naprav od 2 do 4-krat letno. Potreben pa je tudi vodstveni nadzor in notranja kontrola dela. Še posebej, če se pojavi kakšen sum za nepravilnosti. Nujen je stalen nadzor in pregledovanja posnetkov v izmeni in posnetkov, ki so starejši, ter ustrezno vodenje evidenc. Prav tako je potrebno vzpostaviti notranjo kontrolo nad logi video nadzornega sistema, s čimer se izvaja kontrola nad zlorabo pregledovanja posnetkov video nadzornih kamer brez upravičenosti in predhodnega dovoljenja.

Za varnost v igralnih salonih skrbi video nadzor, ki ga ves čas spremlja operativna oseba, ki je odgovorna za celovito varnost. Gre za strokovnjaka za varnost, ki je usposobljen za delo na video nadzornem sistemu, ima znanje s področja fizičnega varovanja, požarne varnosti, pozna vsa igralniška varnostna tveganja, ima nacionalno poklicno kvalifikacijo varnostni menedžer ter licenco za internega nadzornika v igralniški dejavnosti. Izvaja tudi nadzor nad delom pogodbenih varnostnikov – varnostne službe, ter koordinira njihovo delo. Pripravlja in izvaja interna usposabljanja za zaposlene za področje igralniške varnosti ter jih seznanja z internim varnostnim režimom. Te službe sodelujejo tudi s policijo in ostalimi državnimi organi, s katerimi pravočasno zavarujejo osebe in sisteme ter zadržijo osebe, ki so osumljene kršitev.

V igralni dejavnosti je v obtoku veliko gotovine (denarja), ki v procesu igranja kroži med posameznimi igralci in igralno gospodarsko družbo. Gotovina je predmet želja oseb, ki z različnimi zvijačami, tehniko in znanjem poskušajo preslepiti osebo, aparat ali sistem ter si na nezakonit način prilastiti denar. Gre za ravnanja, ki jih opredeljuje Kazenski zakonik (Uradni list RS, št. 50/12 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 6/16 – popr., 54/15, 38/16, 27/17, 23/20, 91/20, 95/21, 186/21 in 105/22 – ZZNŠPP), ki v 211. členu pojasni, da kdor, zato da bi sebi ali komu drugemu pridobil protipravno premoženjsko korist, spravi koga z lažnivim prikazovanjem ali prikrižanjem dejanskih okoliščin v zmoti ali ga pusti v zmoti in ga s tem zapelje, da ta v škodo svojega ali tujega premoženja kaj stori ali opusti, se kaznuje z zaporom do treh let. To velja tudi za področje igralništva, kjer se goljufije neskončno in nenehno spreminjajo, njihov seznam je dolg in se vedno dopolnjuje, kar pomeni, da človeška domišljija nima meja. Ne glede na to, kako dober je varnostni sistem, prej ali slej se bodo vse igralnice in igralni saloni soočili z goljufijami. Obstaja toliko razlogov za goljufije, ki se pojavljajo, kot je različnih vrst prevar vezanih na tehniko, sisteme in znanje, ki ga goljufi študirajo. Pri vsem je seveda pomembno, ali in kako so operativne osebe igralnice pripravljene na

njihovo pravočasno odkrivanje. Igralniška industrija je še posebej zanimiva za zunanje družbe in zaposlene in sicer zaradi svoje bogate podobe. Pri tem pa v prvi vrsti ne smemo mimo odločitev, ki jih igralniške družbe sprejemajo na kadrovske področju in na področju preprečevanja goljufij in kriminala belega ovratnika. Prezrti ne smemo nezadovoljnih zaposlenih, ki so mnenja, da bi morali napredovati oziroma jih »prehitijo« manj sposobni in kompetentni sodelavci, so lahko povod za goljufije, bodisi za sodelovanje v navezi, individualno ali kaj vedo, vendar jim je vseeno, da se goljufije izvajajo. Kriminal belega ovratnika, ki je v igralniški družbi lahko »javna skrivnost«, pa prav tako vpliva na nezadovoljstvo tistega dela zaposlenih, ki jim takšna ravnanja managerjev pridejo do živega. Običajno je manjša pozornost usmerjena na računovodsko področje, marketing in ostale dejavnosti, kjer so možnosti za goljufije izjemno velike, torej goljufije na »zadnji strani igralniške družbe«. Pri preprečevanju goljufij je tako zelo pomembno, da vemo kdo ima moč, da preprečuje goljufije, kdo ima možnosti in dostop do sredstev in kdo ima finančne potrebe ali razloge za goljufijo. Skrbno načrtovanje je tako ključnega pomena za končni uspeh vsakega boja proti goljufijam. Tako je zelo pomembno, kako odkrivamo goljufije pri dejavnosti iger na srečo, kot tudi goljufije pri dejavnosti na »zadnji strani igralniške družbe«. Goljufije v igralnici pa je težko ugotoviti in dokazati, še posebej ob dejstvu, da je zelo tanka črta med goljufijo in nenamerno napako. Zaposleni se bodo namreč vedno sklicevali, da je bila storjena napaka ali nesrečen slučaj. V teh ugotovljenih primerih je potrebno za nazaj opraviti pregled posnetkov video nadzornih kamer in sicer delo krupjeja, ali je krupje večkrat storil omenjene napake. Pri enkratnih goljufijah, kjer so v igri veliki zneski, je primer lahko zelo otežen, medtem ko se pri več primerih zgodi, da je dotični zaposleni ravnal enako in se bo težje izgovarjal, da je šlo za napako. Zato je proaktivna kontrola izjemno pomembna, da ugotavlja tudi primere nepravilnosti iz naslova napak. V praksi so znani primeri, kjer zaposleni izvajajo notranje kraje, kar pogosto izhaja iz vzrokov poplačila visokih osebnih dolgov, dragega življenjskega sloga, ki presega dohodek, ali drog in zloraba alkohola. Pri tem je zelo pomembno, ali zaposleni v igralnicah tudi sami zahajajo v druge igralnice in igrajo za denar. Tovrstni zaposleni so potencialno podvrženi deviantnim ravnanjem.

Nadzor je potrebno opravljati tudi nad podeljevanjem točk pri igrah na igralnih mizah, ki jih je nato mogoče zamenjati za hrano, hotelske sobe, darila, in druge nagrade ali ugodnosti z namenom, da se igralec ponovno in večkrat vrne v igralnico. Osebe dodeli igralcu točke glede na njegove zneske stave, čas porabljen na igro in drugih dejavnikov, ki kažejo, da je oseba dober igralec. Te točke so napisane na karticah, ki so nato vnesene v t. i. sistem Player tracking. Pri tem gre za preprečevanje ustvarjanja računov za imaginarne igralce. Da bi preprečili zlorabe, morajo službe za notranjo kontrolo in revizije poslovanja izvajati pogostejše naključne in redne revizije. Glede na register škodnih dogodkov je mogoče ugotoviti, da je največ primerov v igralništvu povezanih z igrami na igralnih mizah (ameriška ruleta, Caribbean poker, blackjack, punto banco, craps – igra s kockami) in sicer 58 %, sledijo igralne naprave (igralni avtomati in elektronske rulete) z 20 %, blagajniško in trezorsko poslovanje s 15 % ter ostali dogodki (ropi, ponarejeni denar v obtoku, tatvine v gostinstvu) s 7 % (Kovačič, 2017). Najpogostejša tveganja, ki jih je mogoče identificirati v praksi v igralniški dejavnosti so rop, goljufija, interna kraja in goljufija, informacijski vdori, prekomerno pitje in pretepanje. Glede na zaznana tveganja je skozi iskanje sinhronizacije ukrepov za varovanje igralniške dejavnosti treba iskali aktualne načine varovanja, ki bi jih bilo mogoče učinkovito uporabljati pri zagotavljanju varnosti iger na srečo (Hribar in drugi, 2015).

Avtorja Zec in Dobovšek (2015) sta področno opisovala goljufije v igralništvu, kjer sta navedla, da se v igralništvu goljufije pojavljajo in predstavljajo pereč problem, ki se pojavlja že od prvih iger in vse bolj od nastanka prvih igralnih salonov in igralnic. Gre za obliko igre, kjer obiskovalci igralnic s svojim hazarderskim obnašanjem tvegajo veliko premoženja, s ciljem pridobitve koristi. Že ob odločitvi, da gre v igralnico, bo največji del igralniških obiskovalcev izgubo dojemal kot del igre na srečo, kjer bodo dobili ali izgubili, žal pa bodo drugi želeli svojo izgubo nadomestiti z goljufivim ravnanjem, pri čemer ne bodo izbirali sredstev. Poznamo goljufe, ki občasno igrajo in so priložnostne narave, takšni bodo poskušali goljufati s preprostimi triki. V praksi je zaznano, da ti načeloma goljufajo z majhnimi vsotami in jih osebe igralnice skozi nadzor kar relativno hitro odkrije. Težava je v profesionalcih ali profesionalnih združbah, ki delujejo z namenom čim hitrejšega in večjega zaslužka ter pri svojih aktivnosti uporabljajo različno tehniko, znanje in programe. Ti predstavljajo igralnici, igralniškemu osebju in ne nazadnje tudi organom pregona največji problem, podatkov o raziskanosti tovrstnega kriminala ni veliko in odkrivanje je zelo zahtevno. Starejši avtorji (Gradišnik, 1993) opisujejo goljufije v igralnicah kot široko obliko, ki so pojavljajo kot notranje ali zunanje ali v kombinaciji. Kot najbolj nevarne navajajo tiste oblike, ki jih je zaradi konspirativnega delovanja akterjev težko odkriti in je za njihovo preprečevanje potrebno poznati psihologijo storilcev. Gradišnik psihološke podobe igralcev pojasni kot nevarne igralce, ki si hočejo dobitke pridobiti na goljufiv ali prevarantski način. Prepoznavajo jih kot prikrite igralce, ki na videz ne vzbujajo pozornosti, so prijazni, vendar ves čas iščejo načine, kako bi se skozi igro okoristili. V praksi so pogosto zaznani tudi primeri notranjega pohlepa zaposlenih v igralnicah, ki si skozi varovanje ali opravljanje drugih del v igralnici poskušajo prilastiti žetone ali denar. Med udeleženci posebnih iger na srečo so tuji ali domači udeleženci, ki so pohlepni in ves čas iščejo priložnost za prevaro. Službe varovanja morajo delovati diskretno (nevidno) in ves čas z namenom, kako in na kakšen način preprečiti potencialne storilce, za kar lahko uporabljajo tehnologijo ali se sami odločijo za opazovanje. Odkriti škodni pojavi so dober pokazatelj uporabe video nadzora, operaterjev, fizičnih oseb in tehnologije, pri čemer se skozi ustrezno načrtovanje vidi sinhronizacija varnosti pri igri in v zabavišču. Skozi proaktivno spremljanje poteka igranja je mogoče preventivno delovati, pri čemer je povezanost ali sinhronizacija tehnike in človeka pokazatelj za zmanjšanje škode v igralniški dejavnosti. Pomembno vlogo v igralnici ima inšpektorji iger, nadzorniki na igralnih avtomatih in varnostna služba, ki med drugim skrbijo tudi za varnost in dobro počutje obiskovalcev.

Znotraj varnosti je pomembna notranja organizacija, kjer se dodeljuje pravica dostopa ali omejitev dostopa znotraj varnostnih con, ker je na ta način mogoče preprečiti nekatere povezave ali stike med posameznimi službami in obiskovalci. Glede na odprto dejavnost na področju igralništva, predvsem na področju igralnih miz in t. i. žive igre, kjer je v obtoku gotovina in vrednostni žetoni, je težje onemogočiti dostop obiskovalcem in igralcem do teh mest. Obstajajo sicer posebni prostori za igralce z močnejšo igro, kjer bi se lahko zagotavljalo visoko mero zasebnosti in varnosti, tako igralcem kot ostalih vrednosti. Zelo pomembno je, da ima igralniška družba skrbno določene varnostne cone in urejeno vstopno kontrolo na vseh segmentih dostopov, tako za zaposlene kot za obiskovalce. V vsakem trenutku je potrebno vedeti, da so na varovanem območju ljudje, ki so ustrezno registrirani. Prav tako je takšen pristop potrebno zagotavljati z vidika požarne varnosti ali drugih izrednih dogodkov, ko je potrebno reševanje ljudi ter nudenje prve pomoči. Težavo predstavljajo nadzor in kontrola pri vstopih ter registracijah obiskovalcev, kjer naj bi ugotavljali, ali ne gre morda za ponarejene dokumente, pri čemer bi morali vključiti policijo. Je pa pri tem seveda vprašanje, ali bi bila igralnica pripravljena sama »ovaditi« igralca, ki je v igralnico prinesel večje količine gotovine, ki jo je pripravljen zaigrati. Dostop do prostorov in delovnih področij je potrebno ustrezno urediti glede na funkcije in upravičenja do dostopa. Prav tako je pri tem potrebno upoštevati časovno linijo za dostope zaposlenih, ali so to dostopi 24/7 ali v manjšem obsegu in za čas določenih delovnih aktivnosti. Vstopi v posebej varovane prostore morajo biti regulirani tako, da je vsak vstop dodatno odobren s strani službe za video kontrolo, kar pomeni, da nihče brez njihove vednosti nikoli ne more vstopiti v trezor, števnico oz. v prostore, kjer se hranijo denar in druge vrednosti. To pomeni, da vstopi brez predhodne odobritve v igralniške delovne in druge prostore znotraj njih niso mogoči brez predhodnih dostopnih pravic in odobritve. Služba za video kontrolo je na drugem nivoju pooblaščen, da potrdi dodelitev dostopnih pravic in na prvem, da jih odvzame, ter skrbi in izvaja kontrolo na tovrstnem področju. Pooblastila za dodeljevanje dostopov na prvem nivoju ima druga oseba iz drugega oddelka ali službe, iz področja kadrov ali organizacije. Dodeljevanje dostopnih pravic mora biti vedno na princip štirih oči, da ni vse na eni osebi, ki bi lahko sama kadarkoli odvzemala ali dodeljevala pravice, temveč ena oseba podatke vnese, druga pa jih potrdi. Pri odvzemanju dostopnih pravic pa mora biti v domeni službe, ki je operativna 24/7, da v primeru izrednih situacij takoj odvzame zaposlenim dostope do prostorov. Znotraj 5. varnostne cone, do katerih vodijo varnostna (krožna) vrata in kjer so trezorji, je potrebno urediti dostope na brezkontaktno biometrijo očesne šarenice, kjer sta prav tako potrebni dve osebi za vstop do trezorjev.

S pomočjo sinhronizirane varnosti je nujno izvajati notranje preiskave in zbirati dokaze, ki bi pripomogli pri zaznavanju ali odkrivanju posameznih kaznivih ravnanj. Zakon o kazenskem postopku v 1. členu določa pravila, ki naj zagotovijo, da se nihče, ki je nedolžen, ne obsodi, storilcu kaznivega dejanja pa se izreče kazenska sankcija ob pogojih, ki jih določa kazenski zakon in na podlagi zakonitega postopka. V 145. členu zakona je zakonodajalec navedel naznanitev kaznivega dejanja, ki se preganja po uradni dolžnosti, pri čemer je treba razumeti, da kadar obstajajo utemeljeni razlogi za sum, da je bilo storjeno kaznivo dejanje, so navedeni v teh členih dolžni storiti vse, da se kaznivo dejanje odkrije, primejo storilci in zoper njih uvede potrebne postopke.

Za ustrezno sinhronizacijo človeškega dela in tehnologije je nujno poznati oblike kriminalitete in primere goljufij ter škodnih dogodkov na področju igralništva, skozi katere je mogoče planirati nove postopke, nove naloge, nove kombinacije za odkrivanje in preprečevanje posameznih kaznivih ravnanj. V praksi so pogosti primeri, ki pokažejo, kako posamezne osebe znotraj igralniškega sistema ali zunanji vplivi spreminjajo tok iger in na različne načine oškodujejo igralniško družbo. Primere pokažemo v zaporedju, in sicer:

- Krupje je pri igri poker nameščal karte tako, da si je gost na takšen način priigral cca 250 tisoč evrov. Gost, kot upokojeni krupje, ki je zelo dobro obvladal trike s kartami, se je z delivcem predhodno dogovoril o načinu goljufanja ter o delitvi neupravičeno priigranega denarja. Zaradi sumljivih okoliščin pri igri z zelo visokimi dobitki, ustreznim ukrepanjem služb in z zbiranjem obvestil s strani policije, je prišlo do zadostnih razlogov za prikrito preiskovalne ukrepe, ki so privedli do aretacije vpletenih oseb, ki sta delovali v navezi.
- Goljufi so v navezi z zaposlenim v igralnici izvajali goljufije pri igri s kartami. Vloga zaposlenega je bila, da je v igralnici skrbel za delovanje elektronske naprave ter da je iz igralnice prinašal karte, ki so jih na očem neviden način označili ter jih vrnili nazaj v igralnico. Elektronska naprava je imela optični čitalec, ki je prepoznal določeno število kart, ki bodo v zaporedju prišle iz kartnika ter prenašala sliko v sprejemnik, ki je bil nameščen zunaj igralnice. Operater, ki ni bil v igralnici, je nato signaliziral enemu igralcu pri igri, da je ta vedel, na katero polje mora staviti in ostali igralci v skupini so mu s stavami sledili.
- Skupina zaposlenih v igralnici, ki jo je vodil inšpektor iger, je z igralnih miz izvedla tatvino vrednostnih žetonov. Inšpektor, ki je bil v navezi z dvema igralcema, ki sta v tistem večeru bila v igralnici, jima je tekom večera izročal omenjene vrednostne žetone. Igralca, ki sta nekaj časa igrala na igralnih mizah, nato pa sta hotela unovčiti žetone na blagajni, sta bila skupaj z ostalimi udeleženci odkrita in prišlo je tudi do njihove aretacije s strani policije.
- Igralec si je v igralnem salonu prigrjol več kot 100.000 evrov in sicer na način, da je s prenosno napravo vplival na igralni avtomat, da mu je ta pogosteje dajal dobitke. Omenjena naprava, ki jo je imel shranjeno v žepu mu je s pritiskom v določenem trenutku omogočala, da je z njo na igralnem avtomatu »ujel« dobitne kombinacije. Ker so bili ti dobitki zelo visoki in so se pojavili v nekaj dneh, je primer sprožil podrobno preiskavo, ki je obrodila pozitivne in zanimive rezultate.
- Oseba je v igralnici opazovala igralce in njihove dobitke. Pri prevzemu izplačila s strani igralca je le tega spremljal pri odhodu iz igralnice ter ga zunaj nje napadel ter mu odvzel priigrani denar.

Gre za oblike odkritih oblik kaznivih ravnanj, ki jih zakonodajalec različno klasificira in določa posledice, so pa veliko hujša dejanja, ki sta jih Bill Zender in Willy Allison zbrala in opredelila kot 20 največjih prevar v igralnici (Allison 2022). Kriteriji za uvrstitev na seznam 20 največjih prevar so bili ocenjena količina izgubljenega denarja, kreativnost, geografska razširjenost ter časovni obseg prevare. Za uvrstitev na seznam je morala prevara doseči vrednost vsaj milijon dolarjev. Natančno število igralniških prevar je težko določiti, saj se o manjših prevarah pogosto ne poroča. Dostikrat tudi igralnice skrivajo te dogodke. Pri določanju višine prevare so bile uporabljene uradne in neuradne informacije, tako pridobljeno ocenjeno število je bilo zaokroženo na milijon dolarjev. Navajata, da je trajanje in dolžino prevare nemogoče natančno določiti, saj igralniška industrija teh informacij ne zbira in hrani. Igralniške prevare različne združbe pogosto kopirajo in jih izvajajo na najrazličnejših koncih sveta, ki nimajo zakonske podlage za pregon igralniških goljufij ali pa v igralnicah, ki bodisi nočejo, bodisi jim ni potrebno poročati o prevarah (na primer v ilegalnih igralnicah). V nadaljevanju je predstavitev 20 največjih prevar v naključnem vrstnem redu, ki vsebujejo kratek povzetek, ne omenjajo pa imen vpletenih oseb ali igralnic, saj je bolj poudarek na izvedbi prevare. Namen teh objav je sprožiti razpravo ter jih vključiti kot izobraževalno gradivo za igralniške menedžerje pri iskanju ustreznih rešitev za zaščito iger pred škodnimi dogodki.

Pri ameriški ruleti gre za uporabo računalnika za ruleto, kjer oseba s pomočjo skritega računalnika, ki ga nosi pri sebi, lahko predvidi, na katerem polju bo kroglica pristala v cilindru. Med tem, ko krupje zavrti cilindar, računalnik preračuna vstopno hitrost žogice glede na pozicijo na cilindru. Podatki se vnesejo s pritiskom palca na nogi, saj se v čevlju nahaja senzor, ki je povezan z računalnikom. Po izračunu se informacija posreduje igralcu preko majhne bluetooth naprave v ušesu, ki stavi na preračunano polje na ruleti. Računalnik za ruleto omogoči igralcu prednost 40 %. Vsled tega je bilo igralce težko izslediti, saj njihovi dobitki niso bili tako pogosti. Izguba igralnic: od 1 do 10 milijonov dolarjev.

Možna je podobna goljufija z igralnimi avtomati, kjer računalnik predvidi jackpot, ko računalniški heker vdre v igralni avtomat in analizira generator naključnih števil ter ustvari program za predvidevanje zaporedja. Organizirane skupine se nato razporedijo po igralnicah po vsem svetu in poiščejo specifične tipe igralnih avtomatov v igralnicah. Ko najdejo te avtomate, posnamejo del igre z mobilnimi telefoni in posredujejo posnetke za računalniško analizo. Po opravljeni analizi se telefon uskladi s časovnim zaporedjem rezultatov. Telefon pošlje igralcu opozorilo z vibriranjem, ko je čas za pritisk gumba. Računalnik usmerja igralce k manjšim zadetkom, ki jih igralnice ne zaznajo. Izguba igralnic: od 10 do 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Možne so tudi napake pri zaporedju na igralnem avtomatu, kjer je igralec odkril, da vsebuje določen tip igralnega avtomata za video poker programsko napako, ki jo je možno izkoristiti. Tako imenovani hrošč podvojene stave »double-up bug« omogoča igralcem, da zmagovalni jackpot ponovijo z višjo stavo. Igralec sedi pri avtomatu in stavi en cent na vrtljaj. Potem, ko s časoma zadane jackpot, si ne izplača dobitka takoj, ampak ponovno odigra specifično zaporedje gumbov, ki je prineslo zmagovalni dobiček, le da tokrat stavi najvišji možni znesek. Znane so izgube igralnic za več kot 1 milijon dolarjev.

Manipulacije zaposlenih na igralnih avtomatih, kjer lahko skupina zaposlenih, ki ima dostop do notranjosti igralnih avtomatov, prilagodi tako, da izplačujejo lažna izplačila. Z uporabo svojega strokovnega znanja so spremenili količino vnesenega denarja in izbrisali zgodovino lažnih in goljufivih zneskov iz avtomatov. Z zvijačo pridobljeni dobički so bili izplačani preko njihovih soprog in partnerjev v obdobju 4 do 5 let, ki so za ta namen vzpostavili fiktivna podjetja in številne bančne račune za pranje ukradenega denarja. Izguba igralnic: od 1 do 10 milijonov dolarjev.

Skozi igre s kartami je mogoče napačno mešanje kart pri igri baccarat, kjer se goljufivi delivci najprej zaposlijo v igralnici, kar zlorabijo pri delu z namenom napačnega mešanja kart. Med uporabo naprave za mešanje kart si igralec zabeleži zaporedje kart na kupčku za odvržene karte. Po koncu uporabe naprave za mešanje kart delivec vzame osem kompletov kart ter jih premeša, ob tem pa namenoma drži ob strani skupek 100 kart, ki jih ne meša z ostalimi kartami. S tem se ohrani zaporedje, ki si ga je igralec zabeležil. Pri naslednji uporabi naprave za mešanje kart igralec počaka na pripravljene karte in lahko izračuna rezultate ter stavi v skladu z izračunom. Izguba igralnic: od 10 do 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Mogoče je tudi napačno mešanje kart pri igri baccarat s pomočjo kamere, kjer zaposleni goljufivi delivec pri zadnji stopnji mešanja kart dva kompleta kart »na visoko« meša tako, da so vidne s strani. Zatem izvede še lažno mešanje »step through«. Pri tem igralca, ki sodeluje v združbi, položi torbico s skrito kamero na mizo, da posname mešanje kart. Posnetki so se prenašali v hotelsko sobo, kjer je tretja oseba informacije preko sistema prenašala ostalim igralcem za mizo, ki so počakali na pričakovano zaporedje kart in stavili glede na prihajajoče karte. Izguba igralnic: od 10 do 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Možna je uporaba kamere v napravi za mešanje kart, kjer med igro igralci zamotijo delivca, ostali na mizi za baccarat pa zamenjajo napravo za mešanje kart z identično napravo, ki ima v notranjosti nameščeno majhno kamero. Pozicija kamere je taka, da ujame zaporedje kart ob koncu kompleta. Ti podatki so nato s pomočjo programske opreme pretvorjeni v besedilno obliko in poslani na mobilni telefon igralca, ki tako pozna zaporedje razdeljenih kart. Izguba igralnic: do 1 do 10 milijonov dolarjev.



Možna je tudi kamera pri sekanju/rezu kart pri igri baccarat, kjer ima igralec, ki se javi, da bo presekale karte v rokavu nameščeno kamero, ki je povezana z diskom za shranjevanje videa. Delivec, ki sodeluje pri prevari, obrne osem kompletov kart proti igralcu. Preden vstavi presekano karto, jo igralec podrsa po vrhu kupčkov kart in ob tem z nohtom pomakne robove kart tako, da so vidne v kameri, ki se nahaja v rokavu. Igralec zapusti igro po preseku kart in si na varnem pogleda video ter posreduje informacijo igralcem pri mizi. Izguba igralnic: več kot 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Možna je tudi uporaba telefona za branje kart pri pokru, kjer goljufivi delivec kart zamenja komplet kart s prirejenim kompletom, ki ima na robovih kart označbe, podobne črtnim kodam, s katerimi nato igralec preko programske opreme na svojem mobilnem telefonu preko kamere analizira in identificira označene karte. Pred začetkom igre igralec vnese v telefon število igralcev pri mizi. Po mešanju kart delivec poravnava kupček kart in jih položi na mizo v zaznavno polje telefona, ki ga igralec prav tako položi na mizo. Program nato preko majhnih slušalk obvesti igralce o tem, kdo ima najboljše karte. Izguba igralnic ni znana.

Možna je tudi kamera v napravi za mešanje kart, kjer je služba za servis opreme v igralnicah predelala serijo baccarat naprav za mešanje kart tako, da je vanje vgradila majhno kamero ter napravo z daljinskim upravljanjem, ki porine prvo karto navzgor in tako razkrije njeno vrednost. Na začetku igre igralec, ki pri goljufiji sodeluje s službo za servis, na daljavo odkrije prvo karto, da je vidna na kameri. Ta video je direktno predvajan na mobilne telefone ostalih sodelujočih igralcev v prevari. S tem, ko poznajo prvo karto v vsaki rundi baccarata, pridobijo igralci prednost 7 % v razmerju do hiše. Znale so izguba igralnic do 100 milijonov dolarjev. Podobno je s kamero v gumbu delivca, kjer delivec, ki je udeležen pri prevari, zamenja običajen gumb na svojem telovniku z gumbom, ki ima nameščeno majhno kamero. Med mešanjem kart delivec karte postavi tako, da je zaporedje vidno na kameri. V nadaljevanju lažno premeša karte tako, da ostane zaporedje kart isto kot na posnetku. Zatem ponudi igralcu, s katerim sodeluje, da preseka karte. Ko gre zatem delivec na počitek, si ogleda posnetek in pošlje zaporedje kart igralcu pri mizi. Znale so izgube igralnic 10 milijonov dolarjev.

V igralniški praksi so odkrite skupine, ki zamenjajo karte, kjer igralec baccarata v rokav namesti držalno napravo, ki deluje kot robotska roka, ki drži karto. Ko karta poveča vrednost v roki, igralec aktivira napravo s pritiskom na gumb. Naprava mu ponudi karto iz rokava, sam pa ji vrne drugo karto, tako pride do zamenjave. To zamenjano karto lahko igralec uporabi kasneje. Začetno karto igralci pridobijo na različne načine, vključno s krajo ali ponarejanjem. V praksi so izgube igralnic 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Znale so tudi tatvine omarice s kartami pri baccaratu, kjer se skupina tatov zbere okrog omarice za shranjevanje kart pri igri baccarat z visokimi omejitvami stav ter zakriva pogled zaposlenih in nadzornih kamer. Vdrejo v omarico in ukradejo paket predhodno premešanih kart, ki so shranjene za prihodnje igre. Z ukradenim paketom kart gredo v hotelsko sobo, kjer si zabeležijo zaporedje kart, potem pa paket vrnejo na originalno mesto na enak način kot so paket odtujili. Počakajo na trenutek, ko pridejo zabeležene karte na vrsto za igro in stavijo glede na zaporedje kart. V praksi so zaznane izgube igralnic do 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Ravno tako skupine izvajajo kraje s kamero in kombiniranim vozilom, kjer igralec s skrito kamero v rokavu igra poker treh kart z delivcem, ki nenamerno dviguje karte preden jih položi na mizo s hrbtno stranjo navzgor. Igralec se postavi tako, da so vrednosti kart vidne na kameri. Slika s kamere se v živo prenaša v kombinirano vozilo zunaj igralnice, kjer sodelujoči v prevari prepoznajo karte in jih sporočajo nazaj igralcu preko skrite slušalke v ušesu igralca. V praksi so zaznane izgube igralnic več kot 1 milijon dolarjev.

V igri kamera pri baccaratu z odkritimi kartami omogoča igralnici, ki uporablja predhodno premešane karte na igrah baccarat, da uvede obvezno razkritje dveh kompletov kart, ki jih delivec razporedi po mizi, da se igralci lahko prepričajo, da so zares premešane. Igralec, ki je sodelavec delivca posname razkrite karte s kamero v rokavu. Delivec nato lažno premeša karte tako, da ostane zaporedje kart enako kot pri razkritju kart. Igralec zapusti igro in si skrivoma pogleda posnetek. Ko se vrne za mizo, pa on in njegovi igralci počakajo na začetek zaporedja in stavijo glede na predvidene rezultate. V praksi so znane izgube igralnice več kot 1 milijon dolarjev.

Možno je tudi izkoriščanje asimetričnih kart, kjer se igralec osredotoči na igralnice z napravami za avtomatsko mešanje kart pri igri baccarat, ki uporabljajo naprave z odkritimi kartami ter slabo proizvedene karte, ki jih je možno razvrstiti po robovih. V sodelovanju s pomembnim igralcem je mogoče doseči spremembo uveljavljene procedure v igralnici. Najpomembnejša sprememba je bila, da delivec karte s hrbtno stranjo navzgor razdelil, potem pa igralec določi, ali bo karto obrnil direktno ali na stran. To je omogočilo prevaro, kjer je bilo možno pri prihodnjih igrah vnaprej identificirati nizke in visoke karte pred polaganjem stave, kar je prineslo veliko prednost v razmerju s hišo. V praksi so znane izgube igralnic do 100 milijonov dolarjev.

Mogoče je tudi, da si delivec zapomni karte, kjer med mešanjem kart pri igri baccarat delivec, ki ni pod nadzorom, vzame 20 kart in si zapomni zaporedje. Potem lažno premeša karte, da ohrani zaporedje 20 kart. V sodelovanju z igralci pri mizi počaka na zaporedje in zatem preračuna rezultate naslednjih treh do petih iger. Preden razdeli karte, skrivoma gestikulira sodelujočim v združbi, kako naj stavijo. V praksi je zaznana izguba igralnic do 10 milijonov dolarjev.

Zanimiva je možnost prevar z VIP gosti z internimi informacijami, kjer igralnica kot previdnostni ukrep uporablja napravo za preverjanje ustreznega mešanja kart pri baccaratu z osmimi kompleti. Toda ta naprava izpostavi zaporedje kart nadzorni kameri, preden pridejo do igralne mize. VIP gost prepriča menedžerje v igralnici, da mu dovolijo vstop v nadzorno sobo pod pretvezo, da njegov pomembni klient želi neodvisni nadzor. Ko preveri video posnetek naprave za preverjanje ustreznega mešanja kart, si zabeleži zaporedje kart ter posreduje svojemu sodelavcu te »interne informacije«, vključno z identifikacijsko številko naprave za mešanje kart. V praksi so znane izgube igralnic do 100 milijonov dolarjev. Podobno je pri igri s kockami, kjer združba, ki ob metu drsa kocko. Gre za staro prevaro, ki se še vedno pojavlja v številnih igralnicah in je zelo težko opazna. Izkušeni igralec eno od dveh kock podrsa, namesto da bi jo zakotalil in tako doseže določen parameter rezultatov, ki zmanjšajo prednost hiše v prid igralcem. Za uspeh te prevare pa morajo ostali člani združbe zmotiti vodjo igre in ostale zaposlene v trenutku, ko igralec vrže kocke, da ti ne opazijo napačnega meta kock. V praksi je zaznana izguba igralnic do 10 milijonov dolarjev.

Znane so prevare s stavo pri igri craps, kjer delivci pri igri sodelujejo z igralci pri stavi »hop bet«, ki ne obstaja. Ko so kocke vržene, eden izmed igralcev zamrmra nekaj nerazumljivega, kot da bi šlo za izenačenje stave (ali pa ne). Ko se kocke ustavijo, izplača goljufivi delivec igralcu zmagovalni »hop bet«. V praksi so zaznane izgube igralnic več kot 1 milijon dolarjev.

Primeri goljufij in škodnih dogodkov pokažejo, da se brez visoko profesionaliziranih služb in nadzora ni mogoče učinkovito kosati z goljufi. Tveganja, ki v smeri goljufij in ostalih deviantnih pojavov pretijo igralnicam in igralnim salonom prihajajo tako od igralcev kot od zaposlenih ter v njihovi navezi. Psihološke podobe igralcev posebnih iger na srečo kažejo, da so najbolj nevarni tisti igralci, ki iščejo načine, da bi pridobili dobitke na nepošten način in ki so pri svojem početju zelo disciplinirani. Takšne igralce lahko poimenujemo »profesionalni goljufi z dolgim rokom trajanja«, saj obiskujejo širok krog igralnic in jih je zelo težko odkriti, kajti s prigoljufanimi zneski ne izstopajo. Pri ostalih profesionalnih goljufih, ki pri svojem početju pretiravajo in hočejo iz igralnice odnesti velike vsote denarja, pa je samo vprašanje časa, kdaj bodo odkriti. Zelo nevarni so tudi števcji kart pri igri blackjack, ki sicer ne spadajo med goljufe, vendar potrebujejo posebno obravnavo in nadzor.

## Razprava

Priranje iger na srečo predstavlja obliko gospodarske turistične dejavnosti, ki omogoča obliko zabave, v kateri se skozi sisteme delovanja vrta veliko gotovine in ta je skozi svoj pretok pogosto predmet poskusov različnih delovanj oseb, ki poskušajo priti do nje. Gospodarske družbe, ki se ukvarjajo z organizacijo iger na srečo morajo upoštevati vsa navodila zakona o organizaciji iger na srečo, zakona o zasebnem varovanju ter v povezavi z igrami na srečo še zakon o kazenskem postopku, kazenski zakonik in zakon o javnem redu in miru ter drugo pravno podlago, s katero je mogoče zagotoviti nemoteno delovanje. Pravna podlaga je tudi podlaga za načrtovanje, pripravo ter organizacijo iger na srečo, s čimer se gospodarske družbe, ki organizirajo igre na srečo, ustrezno organizirajo, kako varovati celotno delovanje vseh sistemov, povezanih z dejavnostjo. Poleg organizacije delovanja in varovanja deležnikov gospodarske družbe igralniške dejavnosti, nadzor nad delom igralniške dejavnosti izvaja posebni davčni urad Republike Slovenije za nadzor prirejanja iger na srečo. Nadzorni organ pri opravljanju nalog postopa po zakonu, ki ureja splošni upravni postopek, in zakonu, ki ureja inšpekcijski nadzor, če s tem ali drugim zakonom ni drugače določeno. Če nadzorni organ pri opravljanju nadzora ugotovi, da se igre na srečo prirejajo v nasprotju z zakonom ali na njegovi podlagi izdanimi predpisi, koncesijsko pogodbo, sprejetimi pravili ali splošnimi akti, izda odločbo za odpravo ugotovljenih nepravilnosti. Nadzor nad sistemom prirejanja iger na srečo mora biti urejen na način, ki omogoča, da igre na srečo potekajo v urejenem in nadzorovanem okolju, da se preprečijo pranje denarja, goljufije in druga kazniva dejanja ali ravnanja v nasprotju z javnim redom, da se zaščitijo mladoletniki in druge občutljive osebe pred škodljivimi vplivi čezmerne igranja iger na srečo ter da se varujejo udeleženci iger na srečo. To izvaja Finančna uprava Republike Slovenije.

Inšpektor za igre na srečo ima pooblastila pri svojem delu pregledati poslovne prostore igralniške družbe in vse procese, ki so neposredno ali posredno povezani s prirejanjem iger na srečo, naprave in pripomočke za prirejanje iger na srečo, naprave za nadzor nad izvajanjem iger na srečo, audio video posnetke nadzornih kamer, evidence in druge dokumente ali podatke. Inšpektor za igre na srečo je lahko prisoten pri dnevem obračunu naprav, blagajne in trezorja ter pri drugih postopkih in procesih, ki se odvijajo neposredno ali posredno pri prirejanju iger na srečo. Glede na zakonska pooblastila, ki jih ima inšpektor za igre na srečo iz FURS-a velja poudariti, da je tovrstni zunanji nadzor zelo pomemben z vidika preprečevanja goljufij in drugih škodnih dogodkov, ki bi se jih morebiti posluževale igralniške družbe. Prostor za tovrstne mahinacije obstaja, zato je pomembna tudi dobra usposobljenost in integriteta inšpektorjev, da pravočasno ugotovijo tovrstna dejanja, jih preprečijo in nenazadnje zaščitijo ugled dejavnosti. Naloge nadzornega organa so v izvajanju neposrednega nadzora pri opravljanju vseh procesov, ki so neposredno ali posredno povezani s prirejanjem iger na srečo, sodelovanju z uradom, pristojnim za preprečevanje pranja denarja, vzpostavljanju informacijskega sistema, ki je v neposredni povezavi z on-line nadzornimi sistemi igralnih naprav koncesionarjev in informacijskimi sistemi in izvajanju nadzora preko nadzornega informacijskega sistema.

Pomembno je, da če nadzorni organ na podlagi podatkov in ugotovitev oceni, da so pri opravljanju dejavnosti podani razlogi za sum kaznivega dejanja, obvesti o tem pristojne organe (Policijo, Urad za preprečevanje pranja denarja). Za izvajanje nadzora ima nadzorni organ pravico zahtevati sodelovanje drugih državnih organov, specializiranih organizacij, zavodov ali posameznikov, kadar to ni v nasprotju z interesi postopka. Nadzorni organ sme podatke, ki jih je pridobil po zakonu, uporabljati samo za zakonite namene. Vsaka oseba, ki sodeluje oziroma je sodelovala pri opravljanju nadzora, je zavezana vse v tem procesu pridobljene podatke, informacije in dejstva obravnavati kot poslovno skrivnost. Dolžnost varovanja tajnosti podatkov traja tudi po prenehanju delovnega razmerja pri nadzornem organu. Po poteku treh let nadzorni organ podatke iz prejšnjega odstavka arhivira. Po treh letih od arhiviranja podatke uniči. Trajno hrani podatke iz registra koncesionarjev, igralnic, igralnih salonov ter prirediteljev klasičnih iger na srečo. Naloge nadzornega organa opravljajo pooblaščen osebe za nadzor, ki jih imenuje predstojnik organa. Pooblaščen osebe za nadzor iz prejšnjega odstavka morajo izpolnjevati pogoje, ki jih za opravljanje nalog inšpekcijskega nadzora predpisuje zakon, ki ureja inšpekcijski nadzor. Pooblaščen osebe za nadzor samostojno opravljajo naloge nadzora po tem zakonu, vodijo postopek ter izdajajo odločbe in sklepe v skladu z zakonom, ki ureja splošni upravni postopek. Za preostala pooblastila, pristojnosti, postopke in ukrepanje se smiselno uporabljajo določbe zakona, ki ureja inšpekcijski nadzor. Pooblaščen oseba nadzornega organa ima pravico pri svojem delu pregledati poslovne prostore in vse procese, ki so neposredno ali posredno povezani s prirejanjem iger na srečo, naprave in pripomočke za prirejanje iger na srečo, naprave za nadzor nad izvajanjem iger na srečo, avdio video posnetke, poslovne knjige, pogodbe, listine, evidence in druge dokumente ali podatke prireditelja oziroma koncesionarja, ki omogočajo vpogled v poslovanje in so potrebni za ugotovitev dejanskega stanja. Pooblaščen oseba nadzornega organa je lahko prisotna pri dnevnem obračunu naprav, blagajne in trezorja ter pri drugih postopkih in procesih, ki se odvijajo neposredno ali posredno pri prirejanju iger na srečo. Pooblaščen oseba nadzornega organa pri koncesionarju, med drugim nadzira tudi strokovno usposobljenost delavcev v igralnici.

V raziskavi smo ugotovili, da je eden izmed osnovnih pogojev za nemoteno poslovanje igralniške dejavnosti zagotoviti visoko stopnjo varnosti v igralniškem okolju za vse udeležence. Za zagotavljanje splošne varnosti v igralniških družbah lahko skrbi interna ali zunanja varnostna služba. V procesu zagotavljanja celovite varnosti, ima ob interni službi za video kontrolo in službi za informacijsko varnost pomembno vlogo tudi služba skladnosti poslovanja (Chief Compliance Officer). Vidno vlogo v tem procesu ima varnostna kultura vseh udeležencev, čeprav lahko vplivamo nanjo neposredno le pri zaposlenih. Naloga vodstva je, da preko odgovorne osebe za varnost, ki mora imeti vizijo in učinkovite strategije, s sinhronizacijo vseh varnostnih sistemov, z internimi usposabljanji in drugimi aktivnostmi pripomore k dvigu varnostne kulture. Na ta način zaposleni pridobijo potrebna znanja za boljše razumevanje varnostne problematike v igralništvu in področne zakonodaje ter se seznanijo z internimi varnostnimi pravili. Zaposleni se tako usposabljujejo tudi za ustreznega ravnanja s tveganimi obiskovalci, da s svojim neustreznim ravnanjem ne povzročijo nepotrebnih incidentov. Namen usposabljanja je tudi dvig splošne kulture tveganj ter učinkovit sistem upravljanja in obvladovanja varnostnih tveganj.

Skozi raziskavo smo prikazali primere iz prakse, kjer so primeri goljufij ter drugih škodnih dogodkov v igralništvu pokazali, da je sinhronizacija varnostnih služb, tehnologije in služb za video kontrolo nujna in da predstavlja zelo pomemben segment pri zagotavljanju korporativne varnosti v igralnicah in igralnih salonih. Igralniški procesi in statistika škodnih dogodkov kažejo, da teh procesov ni dobro prepuščati naključju in da sta profesionalni pristop in proaktivno delovanje še kako pomembna. Posebno vlogo ima management sodobnih igralniških družb, ki se zaveda, da je nujen profesionalni pristop k organiziranosti služb in ustreznim investicijam na področju operativne varnosti, kar prinaša pozitivne rezultate. Pri upoštevanju navedenega so investicije v sisteme sinhronizacije varnostnih služb, vodenja in upravljanja, načrtovanja in usposabljanja brez dvoma upravičene in smiselne. Zaradi splošne strategije pri obvladovanju goljufij je zelo pomembno posredno sodelovanje z ostalimi službami znotraj igralnice, z inšpektorji iger in varnostno službo. Zelo pomembni so postopki in pretok informacij v primerih, ko se sumijo goljufije in ostali škodni dogodki. Prav tako so koristne informacije in izmenjava dobre prakse med službami drugih igralnic ter širitev sodelovanja v mednarodni prostor (Kovačič, 2015). Gre za prepričanje, da je usklajeno delo in sinhronizacija različnih sistemov pogoj za uspešno in varno delovanje gospodarskih družb igralniške dejavnosti in da tovrstna sodelovanja zelo pripomorejo k zmanjševanju in pravočasnem preprečevanju goljufij in ostalih škodnih dogodkov. Pri tem je seveda potrebno odmisлити rivalstvo v branži ter dati prednost varnosti in preprečevanju škodnih dogodkov. Prezare se pojavljajo povsod, ne glede na velikost igralniške družbe. Register škodnih dogodkov je koristen pri načrtovanju usposabljanja zaposlenih, čeprav je bolje biti korak pred goljufi in nepoštenimi zaposlenimi, kar pa lahko dosežemo le z dobrim vodenjem in visoko motiviranimi kadri na področju operativne varnosti. S tem smo potrdili postavljeno tezo, da sinhronizacija varovanja posameznih služb zagotavlja večjo varnost v igralniški dejavnosti, kar naj bi bilo izhodišče za vse boljše povezovanje ter iskanje novih rešitev.

### *Zaključna misel*

Poslovanje igralniških družb, njihov ugled v družbenem okolju ter ugled dejavnosti nasploh so odvisni od uspešnega zagotavljanja visoke stopnje varnosti, preprečevanja goljufij, ostalih škodnih in varnostnih dogodkov. Medsebojno povezovanje in sinhronizacija posameznih varnostnih služb je le izhodišče za razmišljanje, kako najbolje zagotoviti izvajanje igralniške dejavnosti ter kako doseči prijazen in spoštljiv sprejem gostov igralcev ali turistov igralcev v igralniški dejavnosti.

Igralniška dejavnost se razvija že mnoga desetletja in v istem času jo spremljajo različne oblike poskusov posameznikov ali skupin, ki poskušajo na različne načine igralniško dejavnost preslepiti ter protipravno in neopaženo priti do materialne koristi.

Pri naši raziskavi smo se dotaknili pravne podlage, povezali in ločili posamezne oblike varnostnih in drugih služb v igralniški dejavnosti, kjer smo skušali priti do najbolj prepričljivega dokaza, s katerim bi potrdili ali ovrgli postavljeno tezo. Nedvomno se je pokazalo, da mora igralniška dejavnost poleg ustreznega usposabljanja, menedžmenta in organizacije dela, na strokoven in zahteven način ločiti dela, naloge in funkcije posameznikov ali skupin, obenem pa mora imeti vse niti v svojih rokah ter celoten sistem medsebojno povezovati v cilju doseganja ekonomskih učinkov. Nemogoče je govoriti o konkretnem modelu ali obliki popolnega varovanja, kajti gre za dejavnost, ki se razvija, izpopolnjuje in širi, s čimer je ves čas izpostavljena novim poskusom. Kolikor si igralniške dejavnosti, njihov menedžment in varnostne službe prizadevajo za varovanje dejavnosti, toliko se nepridipravi izobražujejo in proučujejo sisteme, kako preslepiti varnostne sklope in priti do denarja.

Raziskava je sicer potrdila postavljeno tezo, pa vendar gre le za en poskus predstavitve možnosti kombinacije delovanja varnostnih služb, vodstva in tehnologije s ciljem preprečevanja oškodovanja igralniške dejavnosti. Na novih raziskavah je, da proučijo nove primere, jih pokažejo in omogočijo nove varnostne naloge.

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## BALKANSKI POTOVNI PLAKATI XX. STOLETJA

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### **Povzetek:**

*Namen:* Avtor obravnava popotniški plakat kot orodje oglasnega komuniciranja in sestavino kulturne podobe Balkana. Posebno zanimiva je medkulturna interakcija zaradi širjenja informacijskega prostora, kulturnega in umetniškega razvoja ter krepitve evropskih integracijskih procesov.

*Metodologija:* Študija temelji na sistemsko-strukturalni, primerjalni in sociokulturni metodi. Avtorica je za analizo vizualizacijskih sredstev in likovno-slogovnih značilnosti popotniškega plakata v 20. stoletju uporabila kronološko-žanrski princip.

*Rezultati in zaključki:* Članek se osredotoča na analizo stopenj stilizacije plakatov od skoraj realizma do formalizacije in generalizacije. Vizualno razmišljanje v oglaševanju uporablja grafične veščine, metode vizualne umetnosti in stilistiko evropske umetnosti. Primerjava popotniških plakatov pokaže, da ljudski motivi v sedemdesetih izginjajo iz oglaševanja. Sodoben popotniški plakat se lahko osredotoči na najnovejše trende v ekoturizmu in varovanju kulturne dediščine, razvoju nacionalnih parkov, mednarodnih poletnih šolah, športnih tekmovanjih, tematskih izletih, etničnih festivalih.

*Praktične implikacije:* Avtorica prispeva k teoretičnemu razumevanju popotniškega plakata kot produkta umetniško-projektne kulture in sredstva za reprezentacijo regionalnih posebnosti. Izvedba je možna z razvojem oglasnih sporočil, izvajanjem predavanj, seminarjev, konferenc in izpopolnjevanj v turistični panogi.

*Vrednost:* Dobljeni rezultati poglobljajo idejo popotniških plakatov, posplošujejo njihove komunikacijske in likovno-estetske vidike ter omogočajo identifikacijo novih dejavnikov izobraževanja na konceptualni in prognostični ravni. Začrtane so bile razvojne perspektive popotniškega plakata glede na specifiko Balkana.

### **Ključne besede:**

## BALKAN TRAVEL POSTERS OF THE XX CENTURY

### **Abstract:**

*Purpose:* The author considers the travel poster as a tool of advertising communications and a component of the cultural image of the Balkans. Of particular interest is cross-cultural interaction due to the expansion of info space, cultural and artistic development, and strengthening of the European integration processes.

*Methodology:* This study is based on system-structural, comparative and sociocultural methods. The author applied the chronological-genre principle for the analysis of visualization means and artistic-style features of travel poster in the 20th century.

*Results and Conclusions:* The article focuses on the analysis of the levels of stylization in posters from near realism to formalization and generalization. The visual thinking in Advertising use graphic skills, methods of visual art and stylistics of European art. Comparing the travel posters, it is shown that folk motives disappear from advertising in the 1970s. The modern travel poster can focus on the latest trends in ecotourism and protection of cultural heritage, national parks development, holding of international summer schools, sports competitions, thematic tours, ethnic festivals.

*Practical implications:* The author contribute to the theoretical comprehension of travel poster as a product of art-project culture and a means of representing regional specifics. The implementation is possible by developing advertising messages, conducting lecture courses, seminars, conferences, and advanced training in the tourism industry.

*Value:* The obtained results deepen the idea of travel posters, generalize their communicative and art-aesthetic aspects, and allow the identification of new factors of education at the conceptual and prognostic levels. The development perspectives of travel poster were outlined regarding the specifics of the Balkans.

**Keywords:** travel ads, poster designing, Balkans, visual stylistics, communicative design.

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## *Introduction*

At the end of the 20th century, the interest in textuality changed with a new interest in visualization. Since language could not offer complete explanation of the reality, cultural philosophers increasingly emphasized the power of visual expression in art, science, and, in fact, in everyday life, where the media and communication are considered as important determinants. Appropriately, visuality requires a comprehensive analysis to integrate the methodology of cultural theory and history to interdisciplinary research. The relationship between visuality and cross-cultural communication opens up another complex area of media research with poster as one of its components.

Poster can tell much more about the age than other documents. Poster involves an instant perception of information, expressive means and deliberate layout. Cultural heritage of poster can be observed in various contexts: image, axiological, economic, semantic, and creative – as an exchange of images and symbols. Communicative approach, in our opinion, is the most appropriate for the analysis of poster stylistics within the historical framework, while cross-cultural approach adapts advertising to another cultural environment in accordance with its traditions and values, takes into account cultural differences of countries and national peculiarities of perception. The intertwining of many cultural events, changes of values, mentality and worldview led to transformations in the means of artistic expression, introduced a large number of style searches in advertising poster, particularly, in a tourist one.

Nowadays, the main contradiction lies in multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and globalization, which are opposed by de-globalization and orientation of contemporary advertising at regional consumers. If tourist postcards with views of different countries were very popular in the second part of the 19th century and in the first part of the 20th century, though, by the middle of the 20th century, advertising poster of large and medium formats became the most common.

## *The purpose and objective of the research*

At the beginning of the 21st century poster still remains at the forefront of main advertising medium for outdoor advertising (especially in city-lights), indoor (in the interiors for various purposes), even as an element of decoration (instead of paintings), in virtual contests of different thematic focus, and can be completely transformed into online banner ads (Pryshchenko, 2020). The relevance of this study is determined by the importance of poster in the image-cultural area of many countries, since it actively transmits social, cultural and historical development of the society, becomes pictorial chronicles and the reflection of life (Polska Szkoła Plakatu, 2007). Vitaliy Shostya, a well-known Ukrainian poster artist, stated that the view on the printed poster as an artistic phenomenon occurred in the early 19th century. Thanks to the talented personalities poster received valued artistic component as the informative content of poster and became the dominant resource in addressing the audience. At that time, exhibitions of posters as art objects after the loss of their previous utilitarian function indicated the emergence of the new kind of Art.

To reveal the Balkans advertising poster features let's examine this part of the Europe. Albania, Bulgaria (formerly Thrace, including Macedonia), Greece, Northern Macedonia, partly Romania, the European part of Turkey (Eastern Thrace), countries of former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Montenegro, Croatia, Serbia, Northern Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) are located on the Balkan peninsula. According to Harry Judge, the Balkans is a region with incredible nature and rich culture heritage from different ages (Judge, 2003).

Basically, East and West, Orthodox Christianity and Islam, Antiquity, Romanesque style, Gothic, Baroque and Abstractionism were actively involved in the shaping of the Balkans culture. However, the Adriatic was heavily influenced by Venice (a Latin-Byzantium hybrid). In the 9th century Serbia was more influenced by Bulgarian culture than by Byzantium, but the Byzantine and Ottoman empires had a strong impact on Bulgaria culture. Moreover, Etruscan, Greek, Byzantium, Turkish, Italian cultures dominated in the art of Montenegro in the 15th –17th centuries. After, French culture had an impact on the art of Montenegro in the 18th century and Austria-Hungary influenced it in the 19th century (The cultural monuments of Montenegro, 1997).

The outbreak of the First World War contributed to the development of national ideas, and adjusted the national character of struggle between states. National movements led to independence becoming extremely massive at that time. Specifically, it was the desire for Slavic people liberation in Austria-Hungary, Ukrainians – in the Russian Empire, Flemish – in Belgium and Irish – in the United Kingdom (Nikic 2020, p. 703).

Egidio Ivetic, the author of the book "History of the Adriatic: A Sea and its Civilization", in search of the Adriatic identity, carries out a historical tour around large ports, political and shopping centers, such as Venice, Trieste or Dubrovnik, and less-known territories, as the Adriatic is not only the sea, it is also a place of great empires battle for the influence in this region, and, finally, it's home for bright cultural diversity (Ivetic, 2021).

It's not surprisingly that cultural heritage becomes accessible to all categories of the population through advertising communications. The poster semantics expands, adds new connotations, serves for cognitive, educational and image purposes. Researchers Vasyl Sheiko and Yurii Bohutskyi believe that culture is a powerful factor in human activity. They explain that we observe the world in colours of culture, and state that mass culture is one of the most striking manifestations of modern developed societies sociocultural existence (Sheiko & Bohutskyi, 2005, p.121). Additionally, they explain the importance of cultures' dialogue in the media, since the forms of folk culture are very plastic and variable in practice (Sheiko & Bohutskyi, 2005, p. 125).

Analysing the design practice in the South of Europe, Viktor Danylenko notes that countries of this region depend on tourism for much of their income. Though, he identifies two trends in visual communications there. The researcher outlines average and internationalized, often influenced by Italian or Austrian style of visual communications in the sea coastal countries. The areas remote from the sea or large cities, on the contrary, demonstrate folk or Turkish-like elements in their visual communication and mountainous provinces show specific artistic patterns. Slovenia is the most “western” of all the Balkan countries as it is geographically close to Austria and Italy. Croatia and Montenegro have notable individual influences of European Union design activities, but often adapted to local and geographical reality. As for the urban environment of Romania, Moldova and Bulgaria – it is not remarkable, it is surrounded by media design objects in the form of endless banners and billboards with famous world brands. In general, he concludes that the Baltic countries adapt Scandinavianism, the Balkans accept Italian stylistics, and Central Europe prefers German design (Danilenko, 2009, p. 123-127).

Currently, key questions and notions of the Balkans tourism in the 20th century, including Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece are not presented in literature. Therefore, this study contributes to the history of poster related to the conceptualization of visual language. Poster is considered as an object of graphic design and main advertising medium, a means of cross-cultural interaction, cultural integration and regional identification. The analysis of the artistic and style features of the Balkan region poster revealed certain trends in the depiction of tourist zones and natural objects. This study reveals the image-cultural role of travel advertising and its stylistic transformations in the Balkans.

### *Research methods*

A number of modern scientific methods were used to solve this study issue. The author applied system-structural method as predominant to study the poster in detail, analyze its individual factors and their synthesis to highlight and analyze functional aspects of visual communication. Differentiation of the travel poster visual expressive means in past and modern times was provided with the use of comparative method. Furthermore, by applying comparative method the author contributed to understanding poster aesthetic information and art imagery, revealed significant influence of artistic styles on advertising creativity, examined compositional organization of advertising messages, specific style features, art-graphic materials and techniques. The sociocultural method made it possible to interpret advertising graphics in posters as a reflection of certain stages in society development. We applied the chronological-genre principle for the analysis of visualization means and artistic-style features of the Balkan travel posters in the 20th century.

### *Research results*

The poster with its visual resource and the experience of specific problem solving has been and still is a desirable partner in any activity that requires a reliable communication medium with the end user, the person. It is the level of proficiency in the language of poster that allows the artist or designer to transform the information into advertising product with special characteristics of the finished creative content. Special niche belongs to the Balkan travel poster of the second part of 20th century. Advertising of goods as well as advertising of natural heritage needs creative imagery. For instance, mountains are presented on tourist posters of many countries and regions: the Balkans, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, India, the United States, Crimea, the Carpathians, the Caucasus, the Ural and Tibet, providing geopolitical orientations that address issues of historical, cultural and national identity. Mountains are the subject of philosophical reflection and environmental meditation, a means of spiritual healing, scientific studies, medical therapy and recreation, as well as a source of artistic innovations. Mountains are not only the objects of reflection in art and mass media, they can also be considered as sociocultural hyper projects, influencing the view about our existence, planet Earth and society. Mountains appear on posters as romantic deserts, national parks, sports grounds, recreational resources, etc.

Travel posters of the second part of the 20th century, comparing to modern ones, are a bit naive from today's point of view, expressively straightforward, but much more creative and special. Mountains and the sea were main objects to promote tourism development. All images, coding certain messages, formed a state of reliability, stability and openness to consumers. Negative connotations and values, either as doubtful interpretations were absent in posters of the second part of the 20th century. Graphic means ranged from partial stylization of natural forms (decorative art) to emphasized geometry or pop art. Often added ethnic motives were representation of national cuisine, ethnic festivals as exotics that was interesting to Western Europeans. There was also the diversity of colours – from saturated colours to a limited colour scheme or almost monochrome solution. Accordingly, the levels of stylization in posters were from near realism to formalization and generalization. Often, compositional organization of posters was realized according to the principle of symmetry. First attempts of asymmetry in the arrangement of font and image elements of poster appeared only since the 1970s, and later. The active use of photographs instead of drawings spread at the same time.

In the days of the former Yugoslavia, advertising posters were drawn by hand, because photographing took a lot of time, and printing was not of very high quality. The design had a simple slogan, and the images showed a fusion of tradition and modernity. There are also

such tourist offers that attracted guests simply by illustrating the landscape. A good picture with the name of the place was enough to advertise the city (Nostalgija, 2014).

The selection criteria for this article were individual posters from several Balkan countries with different applied stylistics (Figure 1–Figure 5). The history of art shows that strengthening of cross-cultural communication causes the convergence of criteria for aesthetic evaluation. Additionally, specific premises appear to create peculiar local styles. Due to this, the author proves the existence of certain patterns of aesthetic evaluation for advertising objects with their own features. The unification of compositional techniques and orientation to target groups of consumers (within this topic, it was noted that tourism of the second part of the 20th century in the Balkans focused mainly on the European middle class). Travel posters demonstrate how interested potential tourists were during this period, being a common sight in travel agent offices, train stations, and airports.

Interpretation of "aesthetic – non aesthetic" remains debatable issues. The aesthetic criterion is a historically changing feature used to evaluate or classify artwork, including its decoration, painting, ideology, illusory, illustrations, kitsch, monumentality, originality, plasticity, harmony, stylization, tendency, eclecticism, expressiveness, etc. This study has confirmed identification of specific aesthetic parameters as colour and tone contrast, general colour harmony, limited colour palette, the integrity of the composition, uniqueness of the advertising idea, its clarity, the informative nature of advertising, the conciseness of textual and visual information and its structure, the presence of photo images, computer special effects and the technical quality of the performance of the advertising image. It is worth to add the presence of certain style features, including ethno stylistics in the organization of advertising space, and more precisely – their expediency in the poster. While studying advertising graphics in the context of art-project culture as a basic means of graphic design including ethno-art traditions and national colour system, it is quite appropriate to determine the aesthetic parameters of advertising objects as cultural and aesthetic, and further differentiate them with national or international principles. Colour semantics and regional imagery will be distinguished for the cultural evaluation of objects in ethno-style (Pryshchenko, 2018).

So, consider this with specific examples. The visual images of Bulgaria and Slovenia in the middle of the 20th century most fully reflect the ethnic orientation of travel posters (Figure 1-2). The travel posters of Yugoslavia are very interesting; on which it appears as a country of impregnable black mountains (Figure 3, b-c). Greece is richer in sights and symbols, but even here the classic brand has become "real Greece" – Antiquity, preserved on small islands. Later posters embody a more colourful Mediterranean image of Greece (Figure 4, c). The legendary "Orient Express" from Paris to Istanbul (then Constantinople), passing through the French, German, Austro-Hungarian and Italian railways, was supposed to become an alternative to sea cruises. True, after the First World War, the route had to be slightly changed, bypassing Austria and Germany through the Simplon Tunnel in Switzerland. Hence the updated route was named "Simplon Orient Express" (Figure 5, a). It is obviously seen that folk motives disappear from posters, as international style and/or postmodernism begins to prevail in Advertising in the 1970s, and later.



Figure 1. Bulgaria travel ads stylistics: a) 1950-60s;  
b-c) 1970s - folk motives are absent (<https://www.pinterest.com>)





Figure 2. Slovenia travel ads stylistics: a) 1950-60s; b-c) 1970s - folk motives are absent (<https://www.pinterest.com>)



Figure 3. Yugoslavia travel ads stylistics: a) 1950-60s; b) 1970s, c) 1980s - folk motives are absent (<https://www.pinterest.com>)



Figure 4. Greece travel ads stylistics: a) 1940s; b) 1950s; c) 1970s - folk motives are absent (<https://www.pinterest.com>)



Figure 5. Turkish travel ads stylistics: a) 1920s;  
b-c) 1970s - folk motives are absent (<https://www.pinterest.com>)

### Discussion

Military events and the break-up of Yugoslavia in the middle of 1990s significantly inhibited tourism and advertising of tourism in the Balkans. At the end of the twentieth century, the stylistics of the tourist poster fell under the influence of postmodernism. Due to the development and spread of computer graphics, the postmodern trend continues to develop as a conscious eclecticism at the beginning of the 21st century, which can be the subject of another article.

Stevo Nikic believes that nowadays tourism advertising with modern emphasis on ecotourism is especially interesting and promising in the context of cross-cultural interaction (Nikic, 2012). Cultural tourism is a combination of tourism-relevant activities and culture events (adventure tourism, museum, exhibition and festival tourism, preparation and servicing of national traditional dishes and drinks – the so-called gastronomic tourism (Vucetic, 2011, p. 6). The Balkans can offer a wide range of tourist services. In summer it is a beach holidays and yacht tourism on the Adriatic and Black Seas coast. Skadar Lake is the largest on the Balkan peninsula, located on the territory of Montenegro and Albania. In winter ski resorts welcome many tourists to visit numerous monasteries and churches, buy regional products or souvenirs. Therefore, visual identity is an important resource that helps to distinguish specific object, city as a tourist destination and its uniqueness.

Let's draw attention to the fact that visual elements are perceived faster, easier, more accurately, and understood by people from different countries compared to verbal language. Thus, the travel poster should comply with substantial principle of semantic integrity, which consists of physical, psychological, symbolic set with strong internal connections. Accordingly, colour elements (illustrations, syllables, brand constants of travel agencies) closely interact and determine the advertising effect. Among considerable disadvantages of travel advertising in the early 21st century the author outlines the preference for stereotyping, primitivity, the actual absence of a national image, the dominance of kitsch, eclectics, which become cultural dominants. While the main purpose of advertising is to attract the attention of potential consumer, create positive image of city, region and country, modern travel posters and their corresponding technical transformations for digital media mostly have low aesthetic level.

The analysis of image formation and art imagery issues allowed to determine the components of advertising image, in particular, for tourism. Uniqueness, aesthetics, regional specificity, compliance with the status of the tourist service and clarity to target audiences (budget, middle, premium, luxury) are examined in this study. Comparison of posters by stylistic tendencies revealed the need for more active use of creative advertising technologies: allusions, associations, allegories, hyperboles, metaphors or metonymies. "Visual metaphor becomes universal stylistic figure" (Kaftandgiev, 2012). Iis Tussyadiah looks at design thinking and how to explore and identify problems associated with the provision of tourism services and propose solutions to these problems in innovative ways. Tourism involves a wide array of services from airlines to accommodation to entertainment, but it also involves exploration of places that enables tourists to interact with objects (e.g., sceneries), people (e.g., locals), and other resources in tourism destinations. Design is getting more attention because of the relevance of design methods in the production of tourism products and services that are experiential in nature (Tussyadiah, 2014).

Following specific visual-verbal model, modern advertising message should have an artistic and semantic imagery. Lev Manovich presents a method for analysis of cultural data, with a particular focus on visual media. Cultural analytics refers to the use of computational and design methods, including data visualization, media, and interaction design, and machine learning for the exploration and analysis of contemporary culture. One goal of these explorations is to enable us to see what hundreds of millions of people around the world today create, imagine, and value (Manovich, 2020). Nowadays, visual streams prevail over verbal ones. A new fragmentary, "clip" thinking comes, based on the emotional platform and built on visibility, variability, and perception of a large number of different

visual elements. Visualization provides a basis for further analysis of images, symbols, ornaments, colours and their impact on Society through Internet banners or outdoor advertising for tourist product.

### *Practical implications/Original value*

This study contributes to the theoretical comprehension of the travel poster as a product of art-project culture and a means of representing regional specifics, the visually orientated, and the digital in the future. Practical implementation is possible at the level of developing advertising messages, conducting lecture courses, thematic seminars and conferences for students and graduate students, and as far as advanced training courses in the tourism industry. The obtained results deepen the idea of travel posters, generalize their communicative and art-aesthetic aspects, and allow the identification of new factors of education at the conceptual and prognostic levels also.

### *Conclusion*

The results of analytical and research work indicate that poster actively forms mass consciousness, involves into sign system, provides powerful impact on public opinion, represents past and modern creative experience. The semantic space of the poster is a visualization of significant idea, generalized reproduction of the advertised object in form and colour, perfect reflection of artifacts or natural phenomena in consciousness. Modern poster should perform perfect aesthetics, non-standard visualization and variability of graphic aids and be interesting for the target audience. Considering the poster as an effective channel of advertising communications, for the first time the idea of the visual language of the Balkan countries tourism service of the second part of the 20th century was presented. Undoubtedly, the poster plays a significant role in society, artistic practices and has a great potential for further development of tourism in the Balkans. Beyond the culture and communications, the author recognized an important relationships of the posters with society, economics, politics, and the environment.

Modern conditions establish the basis for creating peculiar local styles. Active development of the tourism, the use of the aesthetic potential of natural harmony will contribute to the approval of national identity, creative thinking development and improvement of the visual and info space. The travel poster can focus on the latest trends in ecotourism and protection of cultural heritage, national parks development, holding of international summer schools for students, sports competitions, thematic tours, ethnic festivals, etc. Within the framework of the designated vector of research, a special place is supposed to be given to further search and comparative analysis of semantic roots in the use of pictorial elements and colouring of the Balkan region in order to develop cross-cultural communications in currently.

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## DRUŽBENA NORMA DAJANJA NAPITNIN: ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA HRVAŠKE

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### **Povzetek:**

*Namen – Namen raziskave je bil raziskati napitninske navade anketirancev iz Republike Hrvaške ter ugotoviti razmerje med različnimi socialno-ekonomskimi in demografskimi skupinami anketirancev.*

*Zasnova – Spletni anketni vprašalnik je bil razvit in izveden na praktičnem vzorcu 252 anketirancev z uporabo vzorčenja snežne kepe kot neverjetnostne metode.*

*Metodologija – Podatki so bili zbrani in analizirani s programsko opremo SPSS, pri čemer so bili uporabljeni povprečna vrednost, ANOVA, t-test za neodvisni vzorec in Eta kvadrat.*

*Pristop – Cilj raziskave je bil bolje razumeti dejavnike, ki vplivajo na pogostost in višino napitnin v Republiki Hrvaški, in raziskati, zakaj gostje najpogosteje puščajo napitnine ter ugotoviti, ali obstajajo pomembne razlike v nasvetih med različnimi storitvami.*

*Ugotovitve – Rezultati študije kažejo, da imajo srčnost, prijaznost in prijaznost ponudnika storitev pomembno vlogo pri višini napitnine. Zato je treba tipologijo gostinske osebnosti v kontekstu napitnine nadalje razvijati.*

*Izvirnost raziskave – Poleg tega rezultati raziskave prispevajo k znanstveni teoriji o motivaciji zaposlenih in potrjujejo ugotovitve dosedanjih raziskav, da višina napitnine in njena pogostost nista odvisni le od hitrosti in kakovosti storitve.*

**Ključne besede:** napitnine, navade dajanja napitnin, motivacija, storitve, kupci, Hrvaška.

## THE SOCIAL NORM OF TIPPING: CASE STUDY OF CROATIA

### **Abstract:**

*Purpose – This research aimed to investigate the tipping habits of respondents from the Republic of Croatia, and to determine the relation between various socio-economic and demographic groups of respondents.*

*Design – An online survey questionnaire was developed and conducted on a practical sample of 252 respondents, using Snowball sampling as a non-probabilistic method.*

*Methodology – Data was collected and analyzed using SPSS software, with the mean value, ANOVA, t-test for independent sample, and Eta square being employed.*

*Approach – The aim of the research was to gain a better understanding of the factors that affect the frequency and amount of tips in the Republic of Croatia, and to investigate why guests most often leave tips, as well as to determine if there are significant differences in tips among different services.*

*Findings – The results of the study suggest that the cordiality, kindness, and friendliness of the service provider play an important role when it comes to the size of the tip. Therefore, the typology of the caterer's personality should be further developed in the context of tipping.*

*Originality of the research – Additionally, the research results contribute to the scientific theory of employee motivation, and confirm the findings of previous studies that the size of the tip and its frequency do not depend solely on the speed and quality of the service.*

**Keywords:** tips, tipping habits, motivation, service, customers, Croatia.

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## Introduction

In most cases, a tip is a gesture of goodwill, i.e. a reward, but there are some situations when it is considered mandatory. The original meaning is a small amount of money given as a sign of reward or attention for a quality service. It is common practice in most countries to consider a tip as obligatory, while in some it has an extremely negative sign, i.e. as an insulting gesture. The main goal of the tip is to properly direct the service provider to the desired behavior or way to meet the requirements of the guest. It also has a motivating function of feeling satisfied and fulfilling both personal and business goals and opportunities. Today, the tip as a modern custom or norm of behavior is applied all over the world but is still strongly influenced by culture and lifestyle. From Turkey, where tips are richly given, through Finland where it is not mandatory, to France where it is mandatory. It is important to note that the value or size of the tip varies considerably from country to country. Somewhere, as is the case with Germany, it is only 3%, while in some European countries, it is 10% of the total bill and on the other hand, in America, it is 15% and even 20% of the total value of the bill. When it comes to Croatia, it can be said that the tip is not required by law and that perhaps it has been neglected for a long time. It is only recently that it is becoming more and more relevant. It directly depends on the quality of the service, i.e. the guest estimates whether he/she should leave it, and usually amounts to about 10% of the value of the bill.

In addition to a large number of different research on the topic of tips, there are still no studies that consider the issue of the habits of giving tips in the Republic of Croatia. The basic idea of this research is to fill this gap that refers to the factors that affect giving tips in Croatia. The most important service activities when it comes to tips are presented, as well as various factors that Croatian citizens consider when determining whether and how much tip they will leave.

The empirical part of the research was realized through an online survey in the form of a structured interview. The research sample consisted of 252 respondents. The snowball sampling technique was applied as a non-probability method based on the recommendations of the initial subjects in order to obtain another subject. Comparative research with previously obtained results in Slovenia and Montenegro was also conducted in order to obtain more precise information and knowledge about the mentioned issues. The main research hypothesis is:

**H0: There are significant statistical differences between several groups of respondents in relation to socio-economic and demographic characteristics that are manifested in the habits of giving tips.**

The basic idea of the research was to expand the previously conducted research in Slovenia and Montenegro in order to find similar patterns of behavior when giving tips in Croatia because they are all neighboring countries that were once a single country. Auxiliary hypotheses are:

H1: Most tips are left on activities belonging to the service sector.

H2: Quality and speed of service are not the most important factors that result in leaving a tip.

H3: The frequency of tipping varies among different demographic groups.

H3 a: The frequency of tipping differs between men and women.

H3 b: The frequency of tipping varies between age groups.

H3 c: The frequency of tipping differs between status groups.

H3 d: The frequency of tipping varies between employment groups.

H3 e: The frequency of tipping differs between educational groups.

H3 f: The frequency of tipping varies between income groups.

H3 f: The frequency of tipping differs between residential groups.

The paper consists of five chapters: introduction, review of the theory of tips, applied research methodologies, obtained results of empirical research, discussion of the obtained results, and conclusion. The introduction presents a theoretical overview of previous research on the topic of tips. The second chapter refers to the applied research methodology, while the next third contains an overview of the obtained research results, followed by a discussion of the obtained results and concluding remarks on the most important suggestions that can have a positive impact on the service industry in Croatia.

## Theory

A tip as regular custom of leaving tips in most countries of the world is a voluntary act that is not legally regulated. If viewed from the perspective of the countries of the world, it can be said that the tip has an extremely interesting nature. From voluntary to mandatory, a tip can be a sign of honor, reward, gratitude, or insult in some countries of the world. Leaving a tip is common practice in countries such as Greece, Italy, Argentina, or the US while some research has shown that those in countries such as Japan, Sweden, or New Zealand are left in very few cases (Star, 1988). However, according to official statistics related to the tip, it is still a prevalent habit in most countries (World Tipping Guide, 2022; Lonely Planet 2020). In general, the issue of tips has been researched very often. Most authors belonging to American scientific circles have researched tips primarily in terms of service quality but also labor costs (Lynn et al., 1993). Other authors

have researched it in the field of tourism for which it is very characteristic (Harris, 1993; Raspor, 2007a; Raspor, 2009; Raspor, 2010; Mansfield, 2016; Raspor and Divjak, 2017). The issue of tips has not been much researched in the former communist countries that once belonged to the former Yugoslavia. Research has recently been conducted in Slovenia (Raspor, 2002; Raspor, 2007; Raspor, 2010; Raspor, 2011; Raspor, 2016; Raspor et al., 2018) and Montenegro (Raspor and Lacmanović, 2018; Raspor et al., 2021). The results of the mentioned research showed that in these countries there are habits of leaving a tip and that there are no drastic differences when it comes to the frequency and amount of tips, as well as that they are most pronounced in service activities that are directly or indirectly related to tourism and catering. The concept of a tip can be explained as a gift or reward for the quality of service provided to those who provide a particular service. Such a simple concept is very difficult to explain when it comes to the factors that influence such a decision. Drinking is usually given after the service has been provided, but there are various factors that affect such activity directly or indirectly. Some of these analyzed factors are racial differences on the supply and demand side of services (Lynn, 2006), physical appearance and posture of employees providing services (Lynn and Mynier, 1993), and even the impact of alcohol on tips (Lynn, 1988). Certainly, there are different practices when it comes to giving tips. The tip in some countries of the world depends on the type of work being done (Cho, 2014). However, despite the multitude of research related to the relationship between employee motivation, service quality, and higher tips (Raspor, 2002a; Raspor, 2002b; Raspor, 2007; Raspor, 2009; Zain et al., 2017), no general conclusion can be drawn. What the research indicates the most is that tipping is caused by different social or psychological motives of the guest as a reward for the excellence of the service provided (Star, 1988; Coakley, 2011; Mandal, 2014).

Motives are organic and psychological factors that trigger or direct a person's behavior, both his actions and his perception, learning, and thinking. The source of motivation is a need. Usually, the need is meant to lack something. Some authors state that innate organic needs cause the initiation of certain physiological processes but not always the direct achievement of goals (Azar, 2010; Robinson, 2014). That is, some authors state, in practice no distinction is made between innate needs and urges (Sarwar and Abugre, 2013). Most psychologists agree that the need should be considered a certain deficiency in the body and the urge to activate the body due to that particular deficiency. It can be said that the process itself when it comes to motivation occurs primarily due to the emergence of need, followed by activation of the organism, then the experience of need itself, and finally imagining the goal by which this need can be met (Arnold, Randall & Patterson, 2010). It is important to note that there is a difference between motives and needs, but also between motives and incentives. The aforementioned authors agree that incentives represent objects or situations that can cause motives to appear, i.e. they encourage those motives to become relevant. So incentives can be different rewards or praises. Precisely, all of the above indicates how strong the motivating effect of the tip that the employee received is. In the continuation of the paper, the problem of tips was previously theoretically analyzed and tested through empirical research on the example of the Republic of Croatia.

### *Giving tips in the Republic of Croatia*

Croatia is characterized by the fact that, unlike some other European countries, the invoices received for the services provided do not contain the stated tip. That is, a tip is not provided by law and is not considered mandatory. On the other hand, there is a custom of leaving a tip, especially in catering. In most cases, this amounts to about 10% of the total amount of the bill. Employees working in the service industry in the Republic of Croatia will be grateful and kind when they receive a tip because the average salaries in the service sector are low and far lower than salaries in other western countries of the European Union. There is a wide range of different service activities in which the custom of giving tips is applied, such as waiters, bartenders, tourist guides, skippers, taxi drivers, cleaners, beauticians, hairdressers, and others. The following Table 1 shows the most common service professions and the usual tips that are left in practice.

**Tables 1: The amount of tips in service professions in the Republic of Croatia**

| Location               | % of tips | HRK          | EUR          |
|------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| Coffee & Bars          | 5%        | 15-20 HRK    | 1-3 euros    |
| Tavern                 | 5%        | 15-20 HRK    | 1-3 euros    |
| Pizzeria               | 5%        | 15-20 HRK    | 1-3 euros    |
| Restaurants            | 5-10%     | 30-50 HRK    | 3-4 euros    |
| Hotels                 | 5%        | 15-20 HRK    | 1-3 euros    |
| Travel Guides          | 10% – 15% | 50-60 HRK    | 5-6 euros    |
| Taxi                   | 0% – 10%  | 7-10 HRK     | 1-1.5 euros  |
| Drivers Yacht Skippers | 5 -15%    | 500-1500 HRK | 60-200 euros |
| Hairdressers           | 5% – 10%  | 8 - 40 HRK   | 1 - 5 euros  |
| Beauticians            | 5% – 10%  | 8 - 40 HRK   | 1 - 5 euros  |
| Masseurs               | 10-15%    | 15-40 HRK    | 2-5 euros    |
| Tattoo Artists         | 15% – 20% | 45 - 150 HRK | 5 -20 euros  |

Source: Tipping in Croatia – How to Tip While in Croatia, 2019.

It is important to note that in the Republic of Croatia, it is not expected to give large amounts when it comes to tips, i.e. it is not seen as in some other European countries. In some countries, leaving a tip can be considered an insult or seen as an act of bragging. On the other hand, when it comes to tips in the Republic of Croatia, it should be noted that the income from tips is in most cases not presented properly as official salaries, i.e. the lack of institutional framework related to tips leads to the possibility of basic fiscal criminal offenses, i.e. criminal offense of tax evasion. In general, income tax laws vary from state to state but are essentially an obligation of economic entities to the state. In the Republic of Croatia, such offenses are punishable by imprisonment from six months to five years, or in a stricter version from three to ten years (Criminal Code of the Republic of Croatia (Official Gazette No. 110/97, 27/98, 129/00, 51 / 01, 105/04, 71/06).

## Methods

The empirical part of the research was realized through an online survey which took the form of a structured interview through which the intensity and amount of tips in the Republic of Croatia were investigated. The snowball sampling technique was used to form the sample as a method without probability, which is characteristic of referring initial subjects in order to obtain another subject (Goodman, 1961; Johnson, 2014). The electronic survey questionnaire was created through the 1KA program (EnClickSurvey OneClickSurvey) which is an open-source application that enables online survey services. A tested questionnaire designed by Raspor (2010) and used in Slovenia (Raspor and Divjak, 2017), Poland (Raspor, 2020) and Montenegro (Raspor et al., 2021) was used. At the beginning of 2021, the survey was distributed via social networks as well as via e-mail. After that, the collected responses were analyzed and processed. The obtained sample of respondents is 252 with different socio-demographic information, their habits related to the frequency and amount of tips in service activities as well as factors that are important to them when making decisions related to tips.

The online questionnaire consisted of questions related to the tip itself or how often respondents leave a tip, then questions related to employees who provide services and factors that affect the intensity and amount of the tip such as kindness, mood, professionalism, appearance, quality of service, speed of service, resolving complaints, etc. The questions further referred to the different methods of payment, how much tips participate in the total amount of the bill to be paid, but also the questions that referred to the average amount of tips left in general. These questions contained a Likert scale of assessment (Brown, 2010; Sullivan and Artino, 2013) of 1-5 points, 1 (always giving tips), and 5 (never giving tips) to rank the intensity of tips. Finally, during the processing of the obtained data, statistical analysis of data was performed using the IBM Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20 software. During the statistical analysis, the chi-square test, ANOVA, and t-test for the independent sample have used the determination of the mean value. The demographic and socioeconomic profile of the sample is shown in Table 2 below.

**Tables 2: Demographic and socioeconomic profile of the research sample in the Republic of Croatia**

|                   |                    | Frequency  | Valid Percent |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------|---------------|
| <b>Gender</b>     | Male               | 196        | 77,8          |
|                   | Female             | 56         | 22,2          |
|                   | <b>Total</b>       | <b>252</b> | <b>100,0</b>  |
| <b>Age</b>        | 18-25 years        | 150        | 59,5          |
|                   | 26-39 years        | 80         | 31,7          |
|                   | 40-55 years        | 14         | 5,6           |
|                   | more than 56 years | 8          | 3,2           |
|                   | <b>Total</b>       | <b>252</b> | <b>100,0</b>  |
| <b>Status</b>     | Single             | 210        | 84,0          |
|                   | Married            | 32         | 12,8          |
|                   | Separated          | 8          | 3,2           |
|                   | <b>Total</b>       | <b>250</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| <b>Occupation</b> | Student            | 164        | 164           |
|                   | Unemployed         | 12         | 12            |
|                   | Employed           | 66         | 66            |
|                   | Self-employed      | 6          | 6             |
|                   | Retiree/pensioner  | 2          | 2             |
|                   | <b>Total</b>       | <b>250</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| <b>Education</b>  | Vocational         | 16         | 6,3           |
|                   | Middle             | 80         | 31,7          |

|                                      |                                     |                |              |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
|                                      | High or Higher                      | 106            | 42,1         |
|                                      | Specialization, Master's, Doctorate | 50             | 19,8         |
|                                      | <b>Total</b>                        | <b>252</b>     | <b>100,0</b> |
| <b>Monthly income before tax (€)</b> | Less than 500 EUR                   | 50             | 23,6         |
|                                      | Less than 700 EUR                   | 80             | 37,7         |
|                                      | Less than 2.000 EUR                 | 32             | 15,1         |
|                                      | Less than 3.000 EUR                 | 22             | 10,4         |
|                                      | less then 4.000 EUR                 | 10             | 4,7          |
|                                      | more then 4.000 EUR                 | 18             | 8,5          |
|                                      | No income, supported by family      | 0              | 0            |
|                                      | <b>Total</b>                        | <b>212</b>     | <b>100,0</b> |
|                                      | <b>Location of residence</b>        | In rural areas | 48           |
| In the city                          |                                     | 134            | 53,2         |
| In the suburbs                       |                                     | 70             | 27,8         |
| <b>Total</b>                         |                                     | <b>252</b>     | <b>100,0</b> |

Source: Research results

A total of 252 people participated in the study. The majority of respondents were men (196) or 77.8%, and 22.2% (56) of women. The largest number of respondents, 59.5% of men and women were young, between 18 and 25 years old, while only 3.2% were older than 56 years. Of the total number of respondents, 84% were students. Most of the respondents, 42.1% of them, had higher or higher education with a monthly income below 700 euros. Regarding the monthly income of the respondents, 37.7% of them stated that they receive less than 700 euros per month, 23.6% of them are under 500 euros per month, 15.1% of them are below 2000 euros per month, while 10.4% stated that they receive less than 3,000 euros per month and only 4.7% of them receive less than 4,000 euros per month. About 8.5% of respondents said they receive over 4,000 euros a month. It is also important to note that the average salary in the Republic of Croatia in January 2022 amounted to HRK 7,378 or EUR 975.12 (Državni zavod za statistiku Republike Hrvatske, 2022). 53.2% of respondents mentioned the city as their place of residence, while 27.8% of respondents live in the suburbs and only 19.0% of them live in rural areas. When it comes to the place of residence, it is necessary to state the specifics of territorial organization in the Republic of Croatia when it comes to regional and local co-government, i.e., there is a large number of small municipalities and there are no real differences between rural and urban local units. It is also important to note that all municipalities and cities except the city of Zagreb are part of counties that represent units of local government and self-government, which are managed by prefects who are state officials. There are currently 555 local self-government units in the Republic of Croatia, 428 municipalities, and 127 cities, i.e. 20 counties (Ministarstvo pravde i uprave Republike Hrvatske).

## Results

### *Tipping habits and determinant factors for tipping*

The results (Table 3), related to tips and factors that determine the size and intensity of tips, indicate that most tips are given, according to respondents, to waiters (80%) followed by taxi drivers (32%) followed by employees in hair salons (28%), and hotel maids (24%) followed by postmen (19%), tourist guides (18%), receptionists (16%), servants (11%) employed at gas stations (10%). It is also interesting to note that all employees who work in bookmakers and casinos receive the least tips, i.e. it can be said that the culture of giving tips is not developed in these jobs and is almost non-existent.



**Tables 3: Tipping habits in various service jobs**

| No | Various service jobs                  | Frequency | Valid Percent |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1  | Service staff (waiters)               | 206       | 80%           |
| 6  | Taxi driver                           | 82        | 32%           |
| 9  | Hairdresser employees (hairdressers)  | 72        | 28%           |
| 3  | Hotel maids                           | 62        | 24%           |
| 7  | Postmen                               | 48        | 19%           |
| 5  | Tourist guides                        | 46        | 18%           |
| 2  | Receptionists                         | 40        | 16%           |
| 4  | Delivery Services                     | 28        | 11%           |
| 8  | Employees at petrol stations          | 26        | 10%           |
| 10 | Employees in beauty salons            | 26        | 10%           |
| 15 | Employees in lottery casinos          | 24        | 9%            |
| 12 | Cashier at the casino                 | 20        | 8%            |
| 16 | Other                                 | 20        | 8%            |
| 13 | Employees at the casino slot machines | 18        | 7%            |
| 11 | Croupiers at the casino               | 14        | 5%            |
| 14 | Vale at the casino                    | 14        | 5%            |

Source: Research results

Based on the above results shown in Table 4, it is evident that the deciding factors when giving a tip in the Republic of Croatia are the pleasantness and kindness of employees (M = 4.36) and only then the quality of the service (M = 4.19) while in the third place Based on the above results shown in Table 4, it is evident that the deciding factors when giving a tip in the Republic of Croatia are the "Friendliness of employees" (M = 4.36) and "Quality of service"only (M = 4.19) while in the third place (M = 4.17) is "Staff professionalism", and only then the "Satisfaction with resolving a complaint" (M = 4.14). It is interesting that the "Service speed" itself is only in fifth place (M = 4.06), while the "Knowledge of the guest's language" is in the penultimate place (M = 3.45) and in the last place is the "Personal arrangement of staff" (M = 3.41).

**Tables 4: Determinant factors for tipping in Croatia**

| Frequency | Valid Percent | Factors for tipping                     |
|-----------|---------------|---|
| 4,36      | 1,799         | Friendliness of employees               |
| 4,19      | ,966          | Quality of service                      |
| 4,17      | ,969          | Staff professionalism                   |
| 4,14      | 1,098         | Satisfaction with resolving a complaint |
| 4,06      | ,929          | Service speed                           |
| 3,45      | 1,234         | Knowledge of the guest's language       |
| 3,41      | 1,290         | Personal arrangement of staff           |

Source: Research results

In addition to the above, the degree of correlation between the "frequency of the tip" and the various components of the service was analyzed. This was realized using Pearson's correlation coefficient (r), which tried to establish whether the relationship between the two variables is significant (less than 0.05) or not (Michael, 2001, 34).

The relationship between the "frequency of tipping" and "service quality" was negative significantly (Pearson Correlation  $-.190^{**}$ ; Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) - insignificant. However, we found a medium positive correlation between "service quality" and "Staff professionalism" ( $.493^{**}$ ); "Friendliness of employees" ( $.332^{**}$ ); "Service speed" ( $.485^{**}$ ); Also, the P value of the association was 0.000, thus indicating a highly significant result. We also found a weak positive correlation between "service quality" and "Personal arrangement of staff" ( $.210^{**}$ ); "Knowledge of the guest's language" ( $.154^{*}$ ). Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

### *Frequency of tipping*

The next part of the paper presents the results related to the intensity of tips in general as well as certain differences when it comes to the intensity of tips in relation to certain socio-economic and demographic characteristics as shown in Table 7. Using t-test for

independent samples, the ANOVA test sought to identify statistically significant differences between respondents in terms of demographic and socio-economic characteristics as shown in Table 5 and Table 6.

**Tables 5: Frequency of tipping regarding gender: Independent Samples Test**

| Levene's Test for Equality of Variances |       |      | t-test for Equality of Means |         |                 |                 |                       |   |       |
|---|-------|------|------------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---|-------|
|   | F     | Sig. | t                            | Df      | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference |       |
|   |       |      |                              |         |                 |                 |                       | Lower                                     | Upper |
| Equal variances assumed                 | 7,090 | ,008 | 1,422                        | 248     | ,156            | ,271            | ,191                  | -,104                                     | ,646  |
| Equal variances not assumed             |       |      | 1,650                        | 115,331 | ,102            | ,271            | ,164                  | -,054                                     | ,596  |

Source: Research results

According to the data shown in Table 5 and Table 6, it can be concluded that there are no significant differences between male and female respondents when it comes to the intensity of tipping (Sig. 0.008) Sig. (2-tailed), 102. If it is  $p \leq 0,05$ , there is a statistically significant difference between the observed groups.

On the other hand, according to the data shown in Table 6, it is evident that there is no significant statistical difference when it comes to categories such as: "Age", "Status", "Occupation", "Education", "Area of live" and "Place of residence". On the other hand, there is a significant statistical difference when it comes to categories such as: "Status" (,001) and "Monthly Income" (,002),

**Tables 6: Frequency of tipping regarding different categories: Independent Samples Test**

|  |                | Sum of Squares | df  | Mean Square | F     | Sig. |
|--|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|------|
| Age  | Between Groups | ,497           | 5   | ,099        | ,176  | ,971 |
|  | Within Groups  | 137,903        | 244 | ,565        |       |      |
|  | Total          | 138,400        | 249 |             |       |      |
| What is your status? (Status)                | Between Groups | 7,214          | 5   | 1,443       | 4,149 | ,001 |
|  | Within Groups  | 84,141         | 242 | ,348        |       |      |
|  | Total          | 91,355         | 247 |             |       |      |
| What is your employment status? (Occupation) | Between Groups | 10,824         | 5   | 2,165       | 2,233 | ,052 |
|  | Within Groups  | 234,643        | 242 | ,970        |       |      |
|  | Total          | 245,468        | 247 |             |       |      |
| What education do you have? (Education)      | Between Groups | 7,806          | 5   | 1,561       | 2,270 | ,048 |
|  | Within Groups  | 167,810        | 244 | ,688        |       |      |
|  | Total          | 175,616        | 249 |             |       |      |
| What is your gross monthly income?           | Between Groups | 40,714         | 5   | 8,143       | 3,970 | ,002 |
|  | Within Groups  | 418,410        | 204 | 2,051       |       |      |
|  | Total          | 459,124        | 209 |             |       |      |
| What area do you live in?                    | Between Groups | 13,815         | 5   | 2,763       | ,500  | ,776 |
|  | Within Groups  | 1303,210       | 236 | 5,522       |       |      |
|  | Total          | 1317,025       | 241 |             |       |      |
| Where is your place of residence?            | Between Groups | 4,463          | 5   | ,893        | 1,951 | ,087 |
|  | Within Groups  | 111,601        | 244 | ,457        |       |      |
|  | Total          | 116,064        | 249 |             |       |      |

Source: Research results

According to previous research conducted in Slovenia (Raspor, 2007; Raspor & Divjak, 2017), Montenegro (Raspor et al., 2018) and Poland (Raspor, 2020), a comparison was made shown in Table 7 where differences can be seen when it comes to the height of the tip that is left.

Tables 7: Amount of tipping

| What is the share in the value of the bill of your average tip that you give? |           |               |           |               |            |               |           |               |
|---|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
|   | Poland    |               | Slovenia  |               | Montenegro |               | Croatia   |               |
|   | Frequency | Valid Percent | Frequency | Valid Percent | Frequency  | Valid Percent | Frequency | Valid Percent |
| <b>3 %</b>  | 82        | 67,2          | 147       | 34,2          | 16         | 19,8          | 52        | 20,8          |
| <b>3-5 %</b>  | 10        | 8,2           | 144       | 33,5          | 22         | 27,2          | 50        | 20,0          |
| <b>5-10 %</b>   | 28        | 23,0          | 96        | 22,3          | 36         | 44,4          | 84        | 33,6          |
| <b>10-15 %</b>  | 2         | 1,6           | 39        | 9,1           | 5          | 6,2           | 44        | 17,6          |
| <b>Above 15 %</b>   |           |               | 4         | 0,9           | 2          | 2,5           | 20        | 8,0           |
| <b>Total</b>  | 122       | 100,0         | 430       | 100,0         | 81         | 100,0         | 250       | 100,0         |
| What is the average amount of tip you give?                                   |           |               |           |               |            |               |           |               |
|   | Poland    |               | Slovenia  |               | Montenegro |               | Croatia   |               |
|   | Frequency | Valid Percent | Frequency | Valid Percent | Frequency  | Valid Percent | Frequency | Valid Percent |
| <b>Up to 1€</b>   | 40        | 32,8          | 187       | 43,4          | 37         | 46,3          | 78        | 31,5          |
| <b>Up to 2€</b>   | 58        | 47,5          | 146       | 33,9          | 29         | 36,3          | 58        | 23,4          |
| <b>Up to 4€</b>   | 22        | 18,0          | 70        | 16,2          | 10         | 12,5          | 34        | 13,7          |
| <b>Up to 8€</b>   | 2         | 1,6           | 19        | 4,4           | 3          | 3,8           | 30        | 12,1          |
| <b>Up to 20€</b>  |           |               | 8         | 1,9           |            |               | 30        | 12,1          |
| <b>Above 20€</b>  |           |               | 1         | 0,2           | 1          | 1,3           | 18        | 7,3           |
| <b>Total</b>  | 122       | 100,0         | 431       | 100,0         | 80         | 100,0         | 248       | 100,0         |

Source: Research results

When it comes to the size of the tip that is left, it is analysed in relation to the amount of the total bill and in terms of the average amount that the service user leaves. When it comes to the average level of the tip that is realized, based on the results shown in Table 8, it can be concluded that it amounts to 1 € (31.5%) and 2 € (23.4%) in the Republic of Croatia. A similar result is shown by the data obtained in Poland (32.8%) compared to Slovenia (43.4%) and Montenegro (46.3%), where this percentage is higher. Tips for up to € 4 are left by a small number of respondents (13.7%) as well as tips from € 8 to € 20 (12.1%). Based on the presented results, it is concluded that almost 70% of respondents leave a tip of up to € 4, or 74.4% of respondents usually leave a tip that varies from 3 to 10% of the total amount of the account in the Republic of Croatia. It is interesting to note that a very small number of respondents (7.3%) leave a tip over € 20, but still much more than in Slovenia (0.2%) and Montenegro (1.3%). In Poland, none of the respondents has a habit of leaving a tip over € 20.

## Discussion

The conducted empirical research tried to investigate whether there are significant statistical differences between several different categories of respondents when it comes to socio-economic and demographic characteristics, that are manifested in the habits of giving tips. The obtained results of the conducted research require a comprehensive approach to both psychological and sociological factors that affect employees in the service industries, that were analyzed in the research. The obtained results can be used as a solid basis for future research on this very current topic, which is still insufficiently researched. Similar research states that managers and owners of catering and other service activities strive to find original and creative ways to motivate their employees in order to provide better service and mutual satisfaction. On the other hand, in the service sector in the Republic of Croatia, there are significant differences between jobs when it comes to the intensity or frequency of receiving a tip. This indicates that further research on the issue of tips in these specific service activities, such as casinos, body care salons or playrooms and bookmakers, should be carried out to obtain results that indicate which factors are responsible for intensifying tips. Also, there would be a knowledge related to the working conditions of employees in these jobs, i.e. the impact of the working environment on employee satisfaction and the quality of service provided. It can be said that a tip is a basic stimulus when it comes to employee motivation. Most sources in the available literature confirm this statement. However, the results confirm that the quality and speed of service do not have to be the most important factors that have a direct impact on the amount and frequency of tips, but that in certain countries such as the Republic of Croatia there may be some variations. By analyzing the obtained research results in relation to the set research hypotheses, the following findings can be stated that relate to the issue of tips in the Republic of Croatia:

The first auxiliary hypothesis (*H1: Most tips are left in activities belonging to the service sector*) can be fully accepted because most tips are really left in activities belonging to the service sector, primarily in catering and tourism. Employees in industries belonging to this sector receive the most tips. Primarily waiters (80%) and then taxi drivers (32%) with hairdresser workers (28%). An interesting fact is

that the results obtained are complementary to the results obtained in similar studies conducted in Slovenia and Montenegro (Raspor, Divjak, 2017; Raspor et al., 2018). However, it is important to note that certain activities still retain a relatively low frequency when it comes to tips such as lottery employees, casino cashiers, as well as business croupiers in casinos (below 10%).

The second auxiliary hypothesis (*H2: Quality and speed of service are not the most important factors that result in leaving a tip*) can be partially accepted because the most important thing for respondents is the pleasantness and kindness of employees providing services (4.36 according to Likert scale), 19) and the professional attitude and behavior of the staff (4.17). These are very interesting results that indicate that there are certain variations in the part personal characteristics of employees and leaves room for further research on how much these characteristics can be adopted, learned and how they are arranged. It is interesting to note that similar research in Slovenia has shown that staff satisfaction is also more important in the quality of service, while in Montenegro in the first place recognized services provided before all other characteristics (Raspor et al., 2018).

The third auxiliary hypothesis (*H3: The frequency of tipping varies among different demographic groups*) which considered certain categories such as "Status" and "Income" and their impact on the frequency of tipping can be partially accepted because the data presented in Tables 7 and Tables 8 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between the above categories when it comes to tipping. Similar studies conducted in Slovenia (Raspor and Divjak, 2017) found a statistically significant difference in terms of monthly income, gender, employment and place of residence, while in Montenegro there were no statistically significant differences in this regard (Raspor et al., 2018).

The fourth auxiliary hypothesis (*H4: The average tip in the Republic of Croatia is higher than in the surrounding countries but does not exceed 10% of the total bill*) which referred to the average tip in the Republic of Croatia may be partially accepted because most respondents confirmed that the tip varies from 5% to 10% of the total amount that the guest receives on the bill, or on average between 1 and 2 euros. That is, one third of respondents, more precisely 33.6%, give a tip from 5% to 10% of the total amount of the invoice, compared to Slovenia where it is 22.3% of respondents, Montenegro where it is 44.4% or almost half of the respondents or Poland where it is 23.0% of respondents. Also, as it can be seen in Table 8, almost a quarter of respondents or 23.4% in the Republic of Croatia leave a tip of 2 euros, compared to a third of respondents in Slovenia or 33.9% and 36.3% of respondents in Montenegro or almost half 47.5% of respondents in Poland.

## Conclusion

The obtained results of the empirical research indicate that the service professions which most often receive tips from the Republic of Croatia are waiters and taxi drivers, after which there are hairdressing services as well as delivery services. Those who are engaged in service activities such as porters and tourist guides receive the least tips. The results also point to the fact that in addition to the good mood of those who provide services and the quality of the service provided, high professionalism of staff in terms of appearance, behavior and communication skills is also important. In addition to the above, the efficiency of the service is of great importance for guests in the Republic of Croatia, as well as resolving any complaints that may arise. It is interesting that the obtained results still indicate that there is no significant relationship between the frequency of tipping and the quality of service, but on the other hand that there is a medium relationship between the frequency of tipping and the pleasure of the service provider. There is also a significant relationship between the frequency of tipping and the level of professionalism of staff. The research is original in the sense that it presents empirical evidence of factors that affect the intensity and level of tips in service activities in the Republic of Croatia. Several different factors that influence guests to leave a tip have been analyzed, i.e. the issue of tips has been analyzed from the point of view of factors on the side of service providers. It can be concluded that the results of this research shed light on some areas of the issue of tips, which is the main variable part of the income of employees in the hospitality industry in the world and in the Republic of Croatia. It is indisputable that the guest is the core of the hospitality industry. Regardless of the type of service provided, the focus must be on the satisfaction of the client himself. The overall attention of the owners and managers of service activities should be on the quality of the service provided, as well as on the quality of the employees who provide it. We are of the opinion that it is necessary to acquaint the general catering public with the obtained research results in order to be better acquainted with the very complex issue of obtaining a tip, i.e. the possibilities of maximizing it. The obtained results indicate that there is a certain space when it comes to the quality of the staff that provides catering services, i.e. that it is necessary to further educate employees in some specific areas such as communication and animation. Since the research was conducted within the Republic of Croatia as a member state of the European Union, we are of the opinion that future research could be moderate compared to other, similar European Union countries but also countries in the region that do not yet belong to the European Union. We believe that the aforementioned issue related to the tip phenomenon requires further research in the direction of the personality traits of service providers, i.e. the possibilities of their education, which directly affects the amount and frequency of tips in the specific case of the Republic of Croatia. The research is interesting also because it provides employers with the opportunity to improve the service through continuous training and education of employees. That would

have two benefits. Employees would receive higher tips and owners would make higher profits. Such conclusions are confirmed by similar research by the author. It would be interesting to investigate whether this is the exception or the rule when other countries are concerned. In general, the presented results can be used as a good basis for further research on this very interesting issue. Future studies could focus on determining the levels between innate and adopted soft skills of employees in the hospitality industry. The specifics of the hospitality sector suggest that there are certain differences between jobs, when it comes to the level and intensity of the tip, but that it is also influenced by certain demographic characteristics. Future research could be realized in complementary tourism activities in order to better isolate and more clearly define the factors that have a decisive influence on the intensity and amount of the tip.

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