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(eds.)

Recent Developments in Sociology and Social Work

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Foreword

The book ***Recent Developments in Sociology and Social Work*** edited by Georgeta Rata, Mehmet Ali İçbay and Hasan Arslan gathers papers on two overlapping disciplines – (*applied*) *sociology* and *social work* – that study community, social interaction and the effect of various systems such as family, school, community, law, or political sphere on the individual. If *sociology* provides a thorough examination of the causes of social dysfunction (putting an emphasis on theory and focusing on social groups to lead to individuals), *social work* is more focused on practical strategies to alleviate it (trying to change or improve a part of society by focusing on each individual).

As a social science, *sociology* uses methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop knowledge about social order, social disorder and social change.

Sociology as the study of social behaviour or society is analysed here from the perspective of its organization alone (*Christian Ruggiero and Giovanni Santonastaso*).

Several authors have conducted research on *social policy* (*Vincenzo Maimone, Magda Sorur, Ferhat Arık, Aysun Aydın-Oksuz and Zafer Sagdic*) and on *welfare* (*Kooni Yuk-Ling Ma, Gloryka Ednadita, Burçin Ekici, Selen Koçak, Nilufer Negiz, Ahmet Uçar, Düriye Toprak, Meryem Küçük, Halil Bilecen, Cevat Bilgin and Handan Kaynar Bilgin, Serap Taşdemir, H. Burçin Henden Şolt*), while others (*Rosalia Condorelli, Andrea Lombardilino*) have focused primarily on *refining the theoretical understanding of social processes*.

Subject matter ranges from the *micro-sociology level of individual agency and interaction* (*Rosalia Condorelli*) to the *macro-sociology level of systems and the social structure* (*Giuseppe Luca De Luca Picione, Lucia Fortini and Emanuele Madonia*)

The traditional focuses of sociology are, in this volume, on *deviance* (*Assiye Aka, Paola Panarese and Chiara Landi, Ruchan Gokdag, Metin Kilic and Bahar Aykac, Neşide Yıldırım*), *law* (*Esmâ Esgin Gündel*), *religion* (*Mehmet Yazıcı*), *sexuality* (*Rizqya Juwita and Grace Kilis, Melike Kaplan*), *social class* (*O. Nejat Akfırat, Vehbi Bayhan, Seçil Özdemir Metlioğlu, Giovanni Brancato and Giada Fioravanti*), *social mobility* (*K. Onur Unutulmaz*), and *social stratification* (*Suna Tekel, Ozlem Altunsu-Sonmez and Mina Furat*).

Given that all spheres of human activity are affected by the interplay between social structure and individual agency, sociological research could not ignore such subjects as *education* (*Alessia Bartolini, Andrea Lombardilino, Derya Elmali Şen, Hülya Bilgin, Emre Karadeniz and Beyza Karadeniz*), *health* (*Alejandra Ramirez Ovalle and Sandra Clark, Orhan Balıkcı and H. Mustafa Paksoy, Özge Soysal and Ceylin Özcan, Ünal Şentürk*), *the Internet* (*Giuseppe di Palo, Aysun Aydın-Oksuz, and Bahar Kucuk*), *medicine* (*Bengü Berkmen*), *military* (*Lucia Fortini, Umut Bekcan, Vedat Çalışkan*), *role of social activity in the development of scientific knowledge* (*Alican Kaptı, Ali Esgin*), and *social capital* (*Dominika Liszkowska, Giulia Rossi, Ozge Cengiz and Can Cengiz*).

The topic of *qualitative and qualitative techniques in social research* is approached by Alican Kaptı. Other approaches towards the analysis of society such as *interpretative* (*Rosalia Condorelli, İbrahim Eylem Doğan*), *hermeneutic* (*Vincenzo Maimone, Kooni Yuk-Ling Ma*) and *philosophic* (*Alican Kaptı, Mehmet Yazıcı, Cem Özatalay and Senem Örnek*) are also represented in this volume, together with research based on *analytical* (*Magda Sorur, Ozlem*

Altunsi-Sonmez and Mina Furat, Onur Unutulmaz), *computational* (Halil Bilecen) and *mathematical* (K. Cevat Bilgin and Handan Kaynar Bilgin) rigorous techniques.

This collection of essays on the study of human beings as members of society will appeal to administrators, business magnates, developers, educators, legislators, managers, non-governmental organisations, non-profit organisations, planners, politicians and policy-makers, and social workers, as well as to all people interested in resolving social issues in general.

Complexity Theory, Sociology, Social Integration: A New Theoretical and Methodological Paradigm for Social Sciences

Rosalia Condorelli

1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, behavioral and social sciences have seen a paradigm shift, expressive of a broader, interdisciplinary process of re-founding the paradigm of contemporary science. Currently, the science of complexity is the most significant proposal in this process of paradigmatic re-foundation, marking the passing of the classic scientific epistemological, mechanistic and reductionist, Newtonian-Laplacian paradigm, and, therefore, the passing of the way of understanding and doing science emerged in the seventeenth century, starting from the conceptualization of its own object of study, and i.e., *the system* with its operating mechanism and its evolution. The scientific community is presently witnessing the rise of a new science showing the limits of our capacity to predict and control events and celebrating the growing acknowledgement of non linearity and, therefore, discontinuity irreversibility, uncertainty, unpredictability of real phenomena:

This essay reflects on the main implications of the *New General System Complex Theory* for Science in general, redefining and dispelling myths of traditional science, and Sociology in particular. In Sociology, insights of *Complexity Theory* have contributed to a new way of thinking about social systems, by re-addressing some fundamental sociological issues starting to social system, emergence, change and predictability concepts, and re-specifying the relationship between micro-macro levels of analysis, system and environment, order and disorder, determinism and chance, processes in the frame of a anti-reductionist/emergentist perspective. The paper focuses on these theoretical issues and tries to re-read issues inherent the social integration in a increasingly differentiated, individualized and globalized modern society in the light of the most recent theoretical and methodological acquisitions in the field of complex systems.

2. The New Complexity Science: Emergent Self-Organization at the edge of the chaos

The contents of contemporary scientific debate appear to be admirably summed up in the title of a well-known essay by Prigogine, dated 1997. *The End of Certainty* highlights how modern science celebrates, through the complexity concept as emergent self-organization, the dialectic synthesis of the opposition between two categories, scientifically and culturally conceived as mutually excluding one another: order-disorder, determinism-unpredictability. Is the end of classic science, the end of a science able to forecast, which sees systems as stable system, characterized by linear interaction relationships among its components, namely proportionality constants between input and output, by a linear determinism which is guarantee of predictability and controllability of events. From Aristotle to Descartes, from Newton to Einstein, uncertainty was considered the daughter of ignorance. The lack of event forecast and control was the result of the lack of knowledge of the Law that generated events. Hence came the Enlightenment - the Cartesian, Newtonian, Laplacian confidence in the ability of reason 'to light up the darkness', to tear away the dark curtain of the unknown, to conquer with the light of reason, what was obscure, to reclaim terrains of ever growing ignorance, affirming the realm of certainty, in other words, the realm of predictability and control over events. In the new epistemological panorama, this trust has gone. Uncertainty is not considered, *sic et simpliciter*, a condition based on ignorance, nor as a condition

depending on chance, in a huge cosmic lottery which assigns to events mere probability of occurrence. Instead, it seems intrinsic to the system. It is now converted into structural elements, that is, into inherent elements to the generator mechanism of real phenomena even if it is a deterministic mechanism. So, surprise and uncertainty are, according to Prigogine, 'essential', inextricably part of human destiny, of nature and of human history (Prigogine, 2010). It is the end of classic science but the start of a new one.

In open systems, like those strange mixtures of chemical substances, kept in a state of agitation, which Prigogine studied in his laboratories, the increase of entropy, imposed by the second law of thermodynamics does not necessarily create disorder, but ever new, surprising, configurations. As much as in the framework of the classic paradigm the whole dynamic of evolution tends to stabilize, with no place for *surprise*, which is absorbed into the limbo of randomness, the more, complexity science refers to systems as unstable systems, living and transforming in a continuous process, adapting to environmental perturbations by *self-organizing*, by evolving *irreversibly* towards an ever new order and producing *emergence*, unexpected, sudden and unpredictable changes (*bifurcations*) as a result of nonlinearity of interactions and positive feedback among system components. In this sense, Prigogine does not see degradation in thermodynamic processes and in entropy, but an increase of complexity; in dissipative structures, he sees combinations of order and disorder, and in *arrow of time*, he sees creation and not dissipation (Prigogine & Stengers, 1979; 1984). This theoretical perspective sets aside reductionism: the new, emergent, order is the macro result of nonlinear micro interactions, with properties which are properties of the "whole" and not reducible to the sum of behaviors of each single agent. Which is to say that the general scheme of evolutionary systems is not understandable and predictable through individual interactions among its components, considered one by one. We are facing a new, *bottom-up* and *up-down* determination of causal relationships between the parts and the whole. On one hand, the system influences the parts/components, *connecting* and mixing them up in a super ordered whole and not simply uniting them in an aggregate, on the other hand, every element can act upon the whole and can modify it (*bottom-up process*), into a new, unexpected structure, which in turn connects the parts into a new form, re-binds them into a new whole (*up-down process*) which will be maintained until a new disturbance directs it toward a new evolutionary direction. Or else, the system can flow into *chaos* and eventually destroy itself.

In short, a system's operating and change mechanisms have been re-specified. *Self-organization*, *emergence*, *novelty*, *surprise* are the words used today to describe the new patterns of relationships, the new high-level properties of the system generated by collective dynamics of its components or by *nonlinear interactions* among its constituent parts (Holland, 1998; McDaniel & Driebe, 2010). Complexity, as emergent self-organization, has required a new interpretative model based on the assumption of distance *from the edge of chaos* as the preferential state, just as Prigogine suggested for dissipative structures. Complex systems are *far from equilibrium* systems (in a thermodynamic sense, namely *maximum entropy*), at the *edge of chaos* or intermediate between complete order and complete disorder, between complete differentiation and complete connection (neither too regular nor predictable, like crystal molecules, nor too random and chaotic, like molecules of a gas tending toward entropy), and able, just because they are in this intermediate state, to *self-organize* and evolve. Systems survive just because they operate *at the edge of chaos*, and should maintain a balance between flexibility and stability to avoid falling over the edge.

This phenomenon of far-from-equilibrium self-organization has been described by *Dissipative Structures Theory* and by all other approaches, which on the whole constitute Complexity Theory: *Complex Adaptive Systems Theory* (the Santa Fé School) (Miller, 2007), even though it is interpreted in light of 'learning and selection' terms and co-evolution between system and environment, and *Autopoietic Systems Theory* (Maturana & Varela,

1984). In particular, Maturana and Varela include the self-organizing process in the framework of a system evolution process which is not determined but only suggested by the environment. *Complex autopoietic* systems, self-organize and *self-reproduce* their own elements, by working as a *non-banal machine*, adapting by autonomy, without losing their identity, to environmental perturbations (*operational closure*).

The new configurations occurring on the edge of chaos are the expression of an implicit order, which originates inside the same system. *At the edge of chaos*, the system, although unpredictable in its dynamic, is deterministic, and constrained by order-generating rules. Therefore, the study of Complexity and Chaos celebrates a *new* ideal of science, a new scientific awareness that if, on one hand, it can no longer to be articulated on forecasting purposes for its own self-definition, on the other hand, it models itself on the peremptory duty of accounting for mechanisms and laws which still structure and generate discontinuity, unpredictability, and emergence. Indeed, the increasing success of Complexity Science lies in new nonlinear mathematical modelling techniques.

From this perspective, the study of complexity teaches us a new way of understanding predictability. Complexity Theory argues that systems evolve over time, with long periods of stability that are disrupted by short periods of sudden change, setting the stage for a new period in the life of the system. Under certain conditions, system characteristics are more stable and therefore any intervention action may produce the expected outcomes. But under other conditions, over the edge of chaos, prediction is definitively lost, and it is impossible to control the outcomes of any intervention action on natural or social systems. Hurricanes, heart attacks, earthquakes, like stock market crashes, political campaigns, wars, cocaine use, and so on, appear to be events out of our control. While it is true that we often are unable to forecast *what* will happen in the evolution of a given phenomenon, non-linear dynamics, through building nonlinear models, allow us to 'predict' what conditions (*parameter values*) give way to certain types of dynamic behavior. For example, we can know at *what values* a biological population (as well as a disease) dies out or evolves into a periodic or chaotic behavior, at what values, a company goes bankrupt, a certain party loses the elections, a political system become instable, a war breaks out, crime waves become uncontrolled and social control systems disorganize. In attempting to prevent and, therefore, to avert reaching an uncontrollable situation, knowing the *threshold* where phenomena turns into chaos is knowledge of prime importance. By being aware of the threshold, it would be possible, for example, to plan eventual interventions so as to keep the system away from limit situations and as close to stable situations as possible. Within the framework of the Social Sciences, for example, it is difficult not to agree with statements like those of Elliott and Kiel, according to which "by better understanding the confluence of chance and determinism in social system evolution, we may better learn when and how to direct policy responses" (1997. p. 68).

3. Complexity in Social Systems

In sociological field, consideration of social systems as complex systems has not triggered much resistance. The arguments used in favor of such an attribution are based on the logical and sociological inadmissibility of the possibility of social systems coinciding fully, on one hand, with the maximum differentiation state - a structure interaction processes that does not refer to institutionalized regulation criteria, to shared symbolic codes (maximum disorder) -, and, on the other hand, with the state of maximum connection - a rigid interaction process structure, pre-codified by rules and formal regulation criteria (maximum order). In fact, the opposite would mean decreeing, on the one hand, the absence of the conditions necessary for the process of interaction and, consequently, the impossibility of a sociological discourse in

virtue of the evanescence of its object (the social system), and, on the other hand, with the perfect homologation of interactions and loss of the source of internal variety and the ability to redefine meanings in the face of external perturbations, the inability of social systems to adapt to environment, inevitably doomed to entropy (i.e. Bertelli & Neresini, 1988). Strong social systems' self-organizational skills, the activation within them of processes able to relate stability and change, order and disorder, constraints and emergence, drive us toward a conception of social systems as complex systems, and require, even for social systems and for the interpretation of their working and evolution mechanisms, models based on distance from equilibrium (*entropy*) as the preferential state. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Prigogine himself (1979) considered Durkheim a forerunner of the dissipative structure concept in the social field, by interpreting the labor division process as proof of social system spontaneous self-organization process in response to society's moral and material density increase

Contemporary macro-sociological approach has, therefore, no difficulty in recognizing social systems as *dissipative structures* (Reed & Harvey, 1992; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Ball, 2012) or *adaptive* and *autopoietic* complex systems (Luhmann, 1984; Buckley, 1998; see also Castellani & Hafferty, 2009). Nonlinearity, self-organization, emergence, surprise, self-reproduction, operative closure, co-evolution, fitness landscape concepts have entered into sociological language, structuring a new way of thinking about social systems. As with any other complex system, *at the edge of the chaos* or intermediate between order and disorder, autonomy and interdependence constraints among agents (neither too regular and predictable nor too random and chaotic), instability, emergent self-organization capacity, and continuous transformation into ever new interaction structures, into new patterns of meanings or social expectations, new *surprising, unexpected, unpredictable* order patterns, and new communication structures through communication, are emphasized, as a result of the combined action of differentiation and connection processes, and as non-passive adaptation (simply suggested and not determined, *operational closure*) to the disorder produced by loss of stability triggered by environmental disturbances.

Classic issues of Sociology have thus been readdressed. The new scientific paradigm has encouraged going beyond Parsons' functionalism without relinquishing a macro-sociological analysis of society as a whole. Although Parson's definition of social system as *ordered, stabilized, and embedded* in social structures' interweaving of interactions, continues to be accepted and recognized as indispensable for Sociology, reflection today, starting from Bailey's assessment of Parson's functionalism (1984; 1994), rejects the properties of equilibrium as tendency toward system *stability*, self-maintenance of order if disturbed, while it is in favour of self-organization process analysis of systems *at the edge of chaos*. On this track, Luhmann (1984)- who has constructed his theory of modern society on complexity – reaches a hypothesis of social systems, focused on sociological transposition of Maturana and Varela's (1984) concepts of *operational closure* and *autopoiesis*, in the light of which environment does not determine but only suggests self-organization. Luhmann's definition of social systems as emergent, self-reproducing, operationally closed communication systems underlines the autonomy and 'non banality' of social systems. The capacity of social systems to produce by itself its own elements, by reproducing communications through communications, is rooted on the theoretical assumption of a system that, responding to environmental perturbations entering into the autopoietic communication network, decides whether and how to react, whether and how to change, according to its structure, without losing its own identity, increasing its own internal level of differentiation and cohesion, and producing *emergence* - therefore, difficult to predict new social structures, new self-organizing outcomes

Having respecified the relationship between system and environment in terms of a relationship of dependence and independence at the same time, even the *social emergence* and *change* concepts, the relationship between micro-macro levels of analysis, order and disorder, determinism and chance have been readdressed in the framework of a connectionist and anti-reductionist/emergent perspective, synthesizing in the *complex realism* concept, the tension between sociological critical realism and post-modern vitalism, between search for general theory and instances of contextual understandings.

On one hand, the micro-macro-micro approach to social systems has found support in the bottom-up and up-down process where emergence in Complex Systems Theory is found. Sociological interpretations of society as complex dynamical systems resolve the *social emergence* issue in the sense of a spontaneous *bottom-up* self-organizing process, recognizing the self-reflexivity and rationality of social actors without losing the emergent character of social totality, being expressed by surprising, counter-intuitive, unintended effects, unexpected patterns of social expectations which are beyond the intentions of each agent and cannot be explained by reducing them to the properties of individual interactions (Sawyer, 2005). Micro e macro are structured in inter-relational relationships where the macro emerges from non-linear micro local interactions, and, in turn, new emergent order connects the parts in a new whole which constrains and re-orientes social actions (*causal up-down process*) until a new self-organization and change process.

On the other hand, applying dissipative structure or emergent, surprising, self-auto-organization concepts to the study of society means looking at social systems as inherently historical entities whose evolution “is driven as much by internal instability as by external perturbations”(Harvey and Reed, 1997, p. 306), using environmental feedback for learning and adaptation. And the same conditions of nonlinear interactions or sensitive dependence on initial conditions observed for natural systems have been acknowledged to be the foundation for their historicity. Prigogine said, for example, that human history can be described as a succession of bifurcations as well. (2010, p 16). This realization has introduced an *emergentist* conception of social change into Sociology, which celebrates *discontinuity* and *unpredictability* and *uncertainty* of the process but recognizes that it is the result of non-linearity, underpinning the deterministic mechanism of evolution. So, complexity theory have been used to support realism, the stable order of meaning idea in line with the Enlightenment, confident in the progress, conception of a deterministic world, with rational and objective, intrinsic order (Reed & Harvey, 1992; Byrne, 2014), contrasted with interpretations using it to support a post-modern vision, emphasizing the lack of stable sources of sense and rational teleology of history, the dismissal of the possibility of social causality and systematic social inquiry in favour of the uncertainty, unpredictability and surprise (Cilliers, 1998). Complexity theory goes beyond this dichotomous conception, linking determinism, and unpredictability, order and disorder. From this perspective, the *complex realism* concept (Reed & Harvey, 1992) synthesizes complexity theory and critical realism. It remains within the modernist programme of progressive thought and rejects at the same time the canons of postmodernism and reductionist positivism.

Thus, the way of thinking about the aim of Social Sciences was influenced as well. Complexity's insights have contributed to strengthen sociological sensibility toward the analysis of deterministic structure and logic, underlying human behaviour “including the logic and structure of indeterminacy” (Huckfeldt, 1990, p. 431), being considered no longer a metaphysical element but a valuable conceptual tool in the analysis of social life. In other words, today, the Complexity Epistemological Paradigm has encouraged sociological awareness that, although we can not *predict* social phenomena, we must attempt to *understand* underlying mechanisms governing social phenomena by modelling nonlinear social interactions.

Compared to linearism, the directional shift is substantial. Today, Social Sciences and Sociology have disavowed the pervading existence of linear social change processes and shown the validity of *deterministic nonlinear dynamical models (nonlinear equations)* in formalizing human interdependences and describing discontinuous processes of social change, beginning with the population's evolution and market instability, going on to phenomena such as political revolutions, voting and electoral shifts, crime dynamics, urban growth, spread of innovations, adolescent childbearing, marital instability, authoritarian attitudes (i.e. Brown, 1991; Saperstein, 1984; Priesmayer, 1995; Dendrinis, 1992; Gottman et. al., 2005). Many of these studies found that social systems present a *bounded development process*. In this process, human interdependences are structured according to a non-linear logic of the *logistics* type, where the interplay among factors that promote growth and factors that act as restraints. *Non-linear Logistic Model*, which is the *the rule* in social systems (May, 1976), contrasts the idea of a regular linear or exponential trend (expression of the cause-effect constant proportionality logic), and can result in unpredictable outcomes of social interaction relationships and irregular and instable trends of social change process (even chaotic processes).

4. Complexity, Social integration and Suicide

Based on the principle of differentiation, modern society, as a form of emergent self-organization, can be understood as the result of a historical process that proceeds by emanation from undifferentiated homogeneity to heterogeneity, ruled by functional differentiation processes and interests, symbolic differentiation, and by the structural form of connection or integration found in organic solidarity. Drawing from this same concept, by Simmel Classical Sociology came up to the analysis of money; Durkheim developed his reflections on the transformations of moral solidarity and Weber articulated the process of rationalization in the various spheres of social life like religion, economy, and politics. Even Parsons' Theory of General Action, states Luhmann (1992), is still built upon the principle of differentiation as central formula both for analysis of development (low/growing differentiation) as for the explanation of modern individualism as role differentiation. However, problems lie at the level of the symbolic differentiation that accompanies the growth of internal complexity in the modernity system, at the level, that is, of the organic solidarity repercussions and the individualization process, as differentiation of symbolic codes, in terms of uncertainty inherent in the process of identity construction, weakening of the sense of community and social bonds, social isolation and its consequences in reference to suicidal behavior.

Trying to re-read, within the most recent theoretical and methodological acquisitions in the field of complex systems, problems inherent to social integration in an increasingly differentiated and individualized modern society, we would like, in particular, to put the issue in these terms: can we share, even today, the same vision of modernity and its consequences that Durkheim left us with his suicide analysis? Or can society surprise us?

For Durkheim suicide proves to be the tangible sign of that modernization process that, on one hand, while it contracts the sphere of existence under the authority of traditions and leads toward autonomy, toward personal responsibility and individualism which in itself is desirable, on the other hand, it simultaneously nurses the germs of social malaise identifying its most dangerous manifestations in group disintegration, weakening of primary ties and social isolation. Here D is still moving in an interpretive framework that reflects Classical Science, insofar as it seems to conceive social systems as linear systems, characterized by relations of constant input-output proportionality, in particular, between growth of

modernization and loss of the sense of identity and the meaning of life, achieved through weakening of social ties generated by the development of the process of individualization.

However, if it is true that modernization process weakens social ties and that social group cohesion degree impacts on suicide, as is confirmed by various current empirical supports (see Wray et al. 2011), nevertheless several studies, investigating the modernization impact on suicide during a long time frame (from 50 to 100 years and over), actually found that beginning the second half of the 20th century suicides in western countries more industrialized do not increase linearly, proportionally as modernization processes increase, as well as Durkheim's theory leads to predict. But, despite continued individualization process, they found stabilizing or falling suicide rate trends (i.e. see the Värnik's research on 105 countries of the World from 1950 to 2009; see Krujits, 1977; Stack, 1993; Thomas & Gunnell, 2010; Agerbo et al., 2011; Värnik, 2012; Condorelli, 2013). How, then, can we interpret these findings? Suicide trends seem to lead us to think that the criterion leading to actions in an interaction system based on weak ties is not necessarily characterized by the *proportional* increase of identity loss and meaninglessness of existence as modernization and social isolation condition increases, and that, instead, individualism has "strengthened" up to the point of neutralising, to a certain degree, that disintegrating valence regarding identity and sense of life which, according to Durkheim, is the first propeller toward self destruction. In other terms, after the initial shocks of modernization, a gradual process of *adaptation* to the stresses of modernization associated to low social integration levels, to the *liquidity* of social ties characterizing our contemporary or post-modern society seems to be activated in modern society. From our perspective, this process cannot be understood in the theoretical durkheimian frame, but in the light of the new anti-reductionist conception of social systems as *complex adaptive systems*, systems which self-organizing by adapting to environmental perturbations and generating as a *whole* surprising, emergent effects due to nonlinear interaction relationship (or nonlinear meaning processes), among their components.

In order to support this interpretation, in the frame of *Nonlinear Dynamical System Modeling*, we propose to formalize the logic of suicide decision-making process responsible for changes at aggregate level in suicide growth rates by a nonlinear differential equation structured in a logistic way being expression of *restrained* increase process. This equation is able to model the decision making process according to the logic of compensation, of the impact, that is, both the factors that lead to suicide, and the factors that intervene to restrain it (i.e. benefits of economic and industrial progress, (Halbwachs, 1930), legislative measures that favor relationships among divorced people and their children, the spread of a materialistic mentality, which gives more importance to consumption rather than to labor and to the family (Krujits, 1977)). In other terms, it is able to uncover the mechanism underlying the change process in the suicide growth rate by testing the hypothesis of the activation of an adaptation process regarding the liquidity of social ties in modern society. In support of this hypothesis, we modeled suicide data in modern Italian society from 1875 to 2010 (Figure 1):

Figure 1. Suicide rates in Italy - 1864–2010



Elaboration from ISTAT Source - Suicidi e Tentativi di Suicidio - 1864–2010

The Italian suicide rate time series (S_{ti}) can be thought of as the derivative or rather the growth rate ($s_{ti} = S_{ti+1} - S_{ti}$, with i from 0 to N) of a change process in the level of Suicide Population (S_{ti} ; $S_{t1874} = S_{t1873} + s_{t1874}$, $S_{t1875} = S_{t1874} + s_{t1875}$, $S_{t1876} = S_{t1875} + s_{t1876}$, ..., $S_{tn} = \sum_{i=0}^{n-1} s_{ti}$, $N=136$). In considering the observed data trend, the following nonlinear difference equation structured in a logistic way was found suitable in modelling the suicide rate trend

$$S_{t+1} - S_t = (a S_t - b S_t^2) + c S_t^3$$

of which the integral solution is:

$$S_{t+1} = (1+a) S_t - b S_t^2 + c S_t^3$$

or else

$$S_{t+1} = k_1 S_t - k_2 S_t^2 + k_3 S_t^3$$

We followed the procedure which was suggested from Priesmayer (1995) in order to find the best estimate of model's parameters and the best fit to data (for a detailed description see Condorelli, 2016).

Consequently, the following parameters was estimated

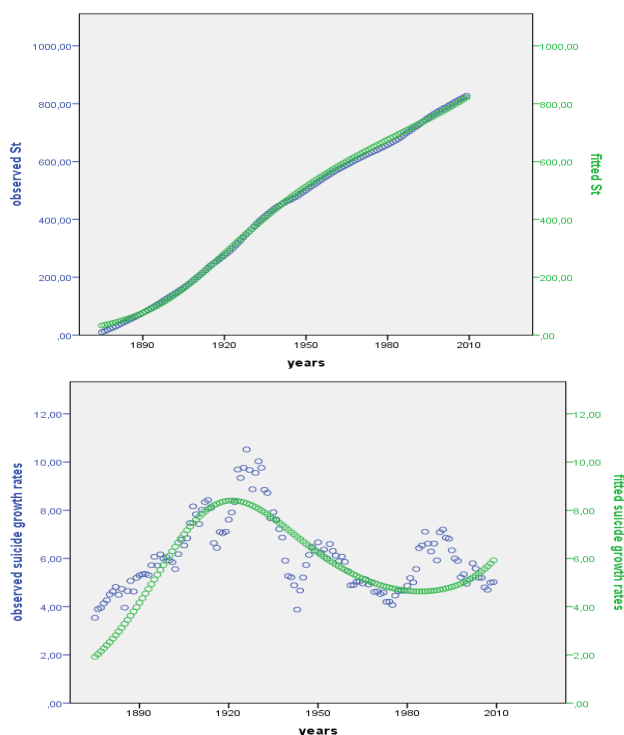
$$S_{t+1} - S_t = 0,069 S_t - 1,727 S_t^2 + 11,949 S_t^3$$

and

$$S_{t+1} = 1,069 S_t - 1,727 S_t^2 + 11,949 S_t^3$$

The model led to estimate for integral solution a R^2 value between observed and fitted data able to account 99,8% of variance ($R^2 = 0,998$) (Figure 2); while, for derivatives or suicide growth rates, it led to estimate fitted suicide growth rates which represent the best fit to actual suicide growth rates (Figure 3; R^2 is 0,45, but it is the highest value compared to values that subsequently we computed by differential linear and exponential models: R^2 was near zero in both cases).

Figure 2 Observed Suicide population S_t and Fitted Suicide population **Figure 3** Italian suicide growth rates and Fitted suicide growth rates (or derivatives).



By synthesizing, the equation is able to model the suicide increase beginning from 1876, after the first industrial development, up to 1927-1930⁹⁾, and the subsequent decrease, in particular in the 60s and 70s after *economic and industrial boom*; by adding a cubic component to the quadratic, logistic growth, the model reduces errors better than using other models in the rising trend in suicides rates of recent decades in times of economic crisis. However, even when considering the suicide increase, suicide rates no longer reach the maximum levels attained during the period between the two wars. Therefore, Suicide population S_t increase by a *restrained* growth rate compared to past growth

Although the analysis should be further repeated in other contexts as well, this is a first step to credit the adaptation hypothesis. The findings suggest that while Industrial development increased and the individualization process intensified (marriage rates went progressively down and, since the 70s, divorce and separation rates went progressively up), people seemed to adapt to social fragmentation, except for economic and financial deprivation.

The above analysis gives us the opportunity to integrate Durkheim's Theory with Halbwachs' Theory, along with more current theories of modernity like Bauman's. The restrained suicide rate growth seems to suggest the idea that an emergent, 'surprising', process of self-organizing, of adaptation to *social liquidity* has been activated in modern society, with signification processes that do not respond linearly and proportionally to the increasing fragility of ties in the vital worlds, absorbed in the context of 'normal everyday life'. For Durkheim, modern man suffers from the tragedy of a freedom which leads him to despair, while for Bauman, living one's own life within society like in a territory where one can enter and exit at will, open to a consumer approach to social relations, to ever new possibilities of relationship and to ever new redefinitions of identity, allows post-modern man to exorcise his despair, and to stop at the threshold without going into it (Bauman 1995). *Complexity* enables us to complete the interpretative framework, by allowing placement of the generating

mechanism of adaptation process in *non linearity* property and *surprise* as working and evolution rule of social interaction systems.

5. Complexity, Globalization and Social Integration

Current, growing, migratory processes that affect Western Europe have placed the issue of social integration at the center of sociological and political debates. The growing ethnic and cultural diversity in today's national societies, result of globalization, has emphasized the issue of meaning by which the equality concept has to be understood in a social contexts marked by an unprecedented condition of excess "otherness" or, to quote another eloquent expression, of *super-diversity* (Vertovec, 2010), and has strongly re-proposed the theme of identity and possible ways of reconciling differences and social cohesion. Post-modern society is called to measure up to the dilemma of how to promote peaceful social relations between people of different cultural universes, host societies and minority groups - how to configure the relationship between 'otherness' and identity, how to concile cultural differences and social cohesion by creating peaceful, based on criteria of equity, coexistence. Hence, which cohesion model should we use? How can social cohesion, in a context of ever growing cultural differentiation, emerge and be maintained?

Over the past decades, moral philosophy and political theory have advanced several approaches regarding this matter, depending on the emphasis placed on Individuation or collective identification identity construction processes. The link is immediately clear: depending on whether you accentuate one or the other dimension of identity, there are necessarily, different ways of conceiving the foundation of social solidarity/integration, of understanding rights - individual rights vs. collective rights – and, therefore, different ways of understanding difference and modalities of inclusion and relation with it

Generally, we can say that all positions appear classifiable according to a demarcation line consisting in response to the main problem, that is, as Hall (2000) states, whether cultural differences have to continue to be always and exclusively restricted to the private sphere in the name of a universal equality of rights (*undifferentiated citizenship*), as dictated by the inclusion of the pluralist liberal democratic model, or whether, according to the most recent model of multicultural inclusion, they must be publicly acknowledged by special, sectional, rights, (*differentiated citizenship*). Pluralism acknowledges the individualistic foundation of liberal society, and underpins a vision of social integration resembling Durkheim's organic solidarity, governed by a consent which restricted to a set of core values, such as human rights, freedom and equality, religious and informative pluralism, and by an atomistic relationship between the individual and his community. Extended to cultural differences, this concept entrusts the possibility of living together to the combined devices of mutual recognition and undifferentiated citizenship

Multiculturalism, instead, in its moderate form (*pluralist multiculturalism*; Kymlicka, 1995) as well as in the more radical form (*communitarian multiculturalism*, Taylor, 1992) rejects the individualistic concept of liberal society, demanding the recognition of cultural specificity, in and for itself, on the basis of the principle of *equal value / equal respect* and in the name of safeguarding collective individual identity. Consequentially, the liberal concept of difference privatization, in the name of the universal principle of equality (all equal-all different) is overturned in public recognition of the same (all different-all equal), through special, collective rights, differentiated by group, which take the specific characteristics of individual value communities into account (differentiated citizenship, which extends universal citizenship, based on equal economic, political and social rights, up to englobe cultural, of group, rights (Young, 1990; Taylor, 1992; Honnet, 1992; Kymlicka, 1995). Reciprocity of recognition is absent here, therefore, the concept of social integration that is subtended is

based not on the sharing of common values but on the admissibility of a procedural solidarity, a sort of *externalized integration*, one might say, that enables the community to obtain rights without having to necessarily opt for cultural integration into the host society.

However, in the face of growing radicalization of the customs and traditions of Islamic communities, indexed everywhere in the USA and in Europe, including Great Britain and other European countries, long at the forefront of multiculturalism (Holland, Denmark, Sweden ...), with a growing trend of arranged marriages, honor killings, female circumcision, with more or less recent acts of fundamentalist terrorism, the question whether multiculturalism is a valid response to ensure social integration and peaceful coexistence among different cultural identities, coexisting within the confines of the same nation with a dominant culture, has seriously challenged the political world and, especially, the academic world.

Academic debate over this issue is somewhat controversial. On one hand, the multicultural project, as it is formulated, has been exposed to intense criticism, which points out certain ethical and political limits: on the one hand, the danger of ethical relativism, on the other hand, the sufficiency of a simply procedural device to create solidarity is widely questioned, highlighting the danger of configuring communities as *enclaves*, with strong intra-group ties and weak inter-group ties, crystallizing society into a sum of non-communicating communities (Guolo, 2004, p. 108), balkanizing it, fragmenting it into parallel societies (Schlesinger, 1992; Heller, 1996; Touraine, 1998; Baumann, 1999; Sartori, 2000; Joppke, 2004; Sen, 2006; Donati, 2008) neutralizing, based on the combination of the principles of tolerance and Socialist political inclusion, the possibility of creating relationships between cultures, forgetting reciprocity and solidarity and adapting, as in Luhmann's sociology, to a functionalist system that operates on the basis of the equal freedom principle in leaving others to their own fate (Donati, 2008, p. 31). On the other hand, as far as ethical limits are concerned, the principle of equal value /equal respect as universal principles continue to be still maintained, and critics rejected (Rattansi, 2011). And for those who, like Touraine (1998) and Sen (2006), reiterate the fallacy of multicultural reasoning, Modood and others respond by viewing the real fallacy in an essentialist concept of the culture, which does not recognize internal differences in groups, agreeing to the identification of Muslim religious identity, *sic et simpliciter*, with Islamic fundamentalism (Modood, 2008, 2010, 2012), regard religious secularism suspiciously and relaunch the relevance of the multicultural project as a *nation-remaking* project.

Again, the debate is rather controversial.

From my perspective, complexity provides a new framing to grasp issues of change involved in the process of globalisation by re-specifying the relationship of a system to its environment. The use of the concept of self-organization *at the edge of the chaos* re-frames the debate on management of cultural differences and enables a more adequate account. Social systems, as dissipative structures, work (survive, self-organize and evolve) *at the edge of chaos*, far from equilibrium or entropy, from that transition threshold in a chaotic range where, as already stated, all forms of even the least amount of controllability and predictability is lost. These concepts make it possible to ground the debate into safer terrain, made such by acquisitions regarding the working mechanisms of the social system itself. By using the language of complexity, the considerations concerning the multiculturalism inadequacy as a strategy of coexistence among different cultural groups, finds new justification by anchoring the judgment of fallacy of multicultural reasoning to the vision of a society conceived so as to dangerously visit that maximum margin of differentiation which should be avoided, being identified as the margin of ungovernability. One could argue that, contrary to the linear point of view, the introduction of a new policy can begin a process of non-linear emergent self-organization, which leaves everything open to all possibilities. At

the moment, however, after multiculturalism, albeit in more or less moderate forms, was applied as the official policy in various Western countries since the 60s (beginning with Canada), there is no denying that there is the emergence of effects that presents dissonance in respect to the multicultural promises of cohesion, social peace and *nation-remaking*. Many forms of Islamic radicalism and many populisms and signs of nationalistic rejection are preoccupying signals of the relationality deficit among cultural groups that multiculturalism institutionalizes. Even the attempt to separate Islamic radicalism from Islam seems to be rather disputable (i.e. see Guolo, 2004).

How to bridge this *relationality deficit* that multiculturalism proposes as a solution to cultural conflicts? From my personal point of view, Complexity completes the interpretive framework constructively, allowing a useful analysis to understand in which direction alternative solutions can and should be looked for. The Complexity framework, in my opinion, is where the entire debate must be kept. Within this framework, for example, the reference to *inter-culture*, as more current response to the dilemma of reconciling differences and social cohesion, avoiding the risks of mono-culturalism, on the one hand, and social balkanization, on the other, can gain greater meaning. The interculturalism breakthrough is to promote an integration process that refers to a new concept of identity, that of *enriched identity*, in the logic of a mutual encounter, dialogue and learning / morphogenesis among different identities, helping to ensure the foundation of that common world that overcomes multiculturalist isolationism. There is a controversial debate: pluralists and multiculturalists debate whether interculturalism is merely a variant of multiculturalism (see Meer et al., 2016), or it goes beyond the communitarian approach of multiculturalism and embraces pluralism (Cantle, 2015). However, inter-culturalism seems to repair the relational short-circuit between identity differences where implicit axiological relativism of the multiculturalist model of integration is grounded. It can do so, not only because it allows the creation of a public civic space, where one can dialogue, but above all, because it binds the possibilities and resolution of dialogue to the inalienable meta-cultural principle of human dignity that comes *first*, before reason without faith, which weakens and devoids the reason itself of every humanism, and before any faith that prevails over reason and turns it into violence. By this criteria to guide dialogue, and to act as 'kingmaker', one can attempt to lay the foundations for good practice and good multi-ethnic societies.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, there is no denying the constructive role of Complexity Theory, by resolving relationships between order and disorder in the new configuration of *inter-relationships* process, according to a *unicum* which finds in *weak determinism*, in *self-organization* and in *deterministic chaos* concepts its most essential synthesis. Complexity theory addresses the nature of emergence and demonstrates the importance of non-reductionist explanations for science, including social science. The new way of thinking about systems is useful in understanding the diverse processes of social change in an individualized and globalized society.

Inevitably, complexity challenges us on the nature of reality. It raises questions that cannot be liquidated merely by thinking that acquisition of concepts such as emergence, surprise, and unpredictability are really, *sic et simpliciter*, only alibis to hide our scientific failures behind. Dissipative structures have shown the *creative* role of time, and how instability, emergence, surprise and unpredictability is the rule and not the exception when we move away from entropic equilibrium, pushing strongly in the direction of a historical, biological conception of Physics, in a *new alliance* between natural systems and living, social

systems (Prigogine, 1979) Thus, complexity poses a challenge for future research, projecting it in completely new theoretical and methodological areas. Today, it must be focused on the game rules that allow us to understand the interplay between order and disorder, or, to put it in sociological terms, between realism and postmodernism, so we can feel, by paraphrasing Kauffman (1995), *at home in the universe*.

7. References

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Unstable lives.Regulatory changes of the labour market and social mechanisms

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1. Introduction

The sociological literature has always paid great attention to the role of work in structuring the life courses of young people (Cavalli, 1980; Giddens, 1991; Buzzi, Cavalli, & De Lillo, 2007). The processes of renovation of the labor market of the last twenty years, consequence of regulatory changes in Europe (Elia, 2013), need an even more deep and accurate analysis of the contractual positions. This is true especially regarding the analysis of how the professional status (employed or unemployed) and the type of contract (stable in time or temporary) influence the empowerment process in the different institutional frameworks (Bertolini, Hofäcker & Torrioni, 2014).

The transformations of the labor market have undermined the old social security based on the figure of the male breadwinner as head of a nuclear family and holder of the typical form of so-called “stable and employed work” (Mingione, 1997). Considering these premises, the focus of this work is to understand how the young Italian couples with unstable employment build the basis of their independent life together.

Many complex social causes and economic policies have led to the restructuring of the old forms of production based on mass production by creating new organizational units, developed horizontally, characterized by greater autonomy and operational discretion (Mintzberg, 1983).

What we wish to emphasize here, however, is that these changes have not only seen an increase in demand for highly qualified personnel but they also – as a matter of fact – emphasized working on adaptability and employment of the labor supply that in fact it is moving towards a more and more stringent process of individualization (Paci, 2005) and professionalization.

In short, these considerations allow us to state that, to a first and simplified analysis, the production and organization flexibility had its counterpart in a working and employment flexibility: not only work tasks were made flexible so that they were adapted to different production requirements, but also the very same employment relationships (Barbier & Nadel, 2002).

In this regard, for example, Reyneri (2003) distinguishes between functional flexibility (which refers to the organization of production) and numerical flexibility (which refers to the decrease of contractual stability). The latter, in particular, has undermined some certainties, their historical “weaker party”: the worker.

From the point of view of work’s supply, the debate about the relationship between flexibility and job insecurity is on and not yet resolved uniquely. It is important to note, however, that although there are many authors who took a more balanced position - for example, see Harrison (1998) -, the clash between the proponents of flexible confident and their vehement detractors is destined to remain unsolved at least until they both persist to exclusively emphasize the positive and negative sides.

In fact, it is necessary to look to the flexibility of the work very carefully and, as pointed out by Regini (1998), to discern aspects that stem from what he calls the lower and the higher path to national competitiveness. The first is characterized by low profile with regard to wages, labor qualification and quality of the product, while the second one generates a type of working flexibility with exactly opposite characteristics than the lower path. However, it is only in the case of the higher path that it is possible to emphasize, in addition to the advantages

for the progressive integration of young people looking for their first job, the possibility of self-realization that a non-standardized and creative employment can offer (Paci, 2005).

In other words, the flexibility can "theoretically vary between multiplication of possibilities and chances, and extreme reduction of the possibilities and chances; between maximizing the opportunities (not frequent, but (...), not non-existent) and minimization of opportunities (largely recurring and highly problematic)" (Toscano, 2007, 13).

So, if the word flexibility has a neutral sense in itself, and judgment of what it is and the effects it causes depend on personal points of view (Barbier & Nadel, 2002), it is true that a number of variables (economic, cultural and social capital, for example) strongly influence the way in which this is experienced by people. In our opinion, it is very important to remember this conclusion when trying to examine the condition of the young couples we interviewed.

2. Methods

To understand how young Italian couples could overcome the difficulties of economic and working uncertainty we administered some interviews to those couples in which no one of their members had a stable and employment job. This proved hard to accomplish because not so many young people decide to start living by themselves without some sort of job security, especially if that means to live with a partner.

The interview started in 2007 with a simple random sampling and they are still ongoing. We also asked the couples to introduce us to other people with those characteristic but only in few cases, this was successful. What happened in the majority of the situation is that the members of the couple do not know any people fitting the requirements we asked for.

It is important to note that this research started way before the introduction of the recent Italian Jobs Act that changed the rules of temporary contracts, and that is why we decided to publish the analysis of the interview of the twenty couples representing particularly meaningful cases. The semi-structured interviews tried to understand the paths toward the construction of the autonomy of the couples. We also asked what led them to decide to live together and which resources they were able to use. It is important to notice that the member of each couple were not interviewed together but separately so that the total number of interviews is forty.

These semi-structured interviews administered to couples that we chose to present here, have given us a very rich and detailed overview, hardly reducible to a set of simple comparisons between one couple and another. In short, even one quick glance at the general condition of the couples makes evident the difficulties of making comparisons between certain variables while taking under control all the others. For example, we found deep differences regarding their path of emancipation from original families, regarding the type and cause of uncertainty and uneasiness they feel, regarding family and working back-ground which somehow shape their everyday living, and regard the objectives that these young people have set as individuals and as members of a couple.

In an effort to explore this complexity, in this paper we try to shift the focus of the analysis from the simple comparison of the general conditions of young couples, to the differences emerging by comparing their situation to what we defined "dimensions of precariousness". These are five different areas of insecurity - each one distinct from the other - representing five possible threats to the creation and continuation of the daily life of the couple.

Before we go any further, though, we need to refer to the discussions carried out in the preceding paragraph to make at least a preliminary consideration with respect to the terminology we used. Making explicit reference to the concept of "precariousness" does not

mean to have forgotten the existence of a number of positive aspects that flexibility brings. We have already mentioned, in fact, even if briefly, the problem of the relationship between flexibility and precariousness that both held court in the recent speculation – academic and non-academic – in terms of the labor market. What we would like to stress now is that the decision to refer only to one of the terms of the dichotomy was mainly due to two well-defined sets of factors.

First, not to lose the starting point of view that has fueled the design and implementation of this research, referring to the curiosity to find out how these couples had been able to become independent from their families of origin even in the absence of working guaranteed stability and, consequently, of income received.

In short, to understand how the existence of such families was possible has meant, in our view, address the critical issues and threats that these couples have had and have to overcome every day.

Other preliminary thoughts should refer both to the fact that, of course, the five dimensions that we highlighted are not necessarily identifiable in all couples and for all the people. Moreover, they sometimes are not considered – despite their presence – as possible threats. In fact, perception or not, the existence of such factors of precariousness sometimes does not constitute a serious problem for the existence of the couple. Entering the merits of the matter, we can say that, according to our observations, the precariousness that characterizes the life of the interviewed couples can concern five sphere of everyday life: a) working, b) employment, c) economic, d) housing and e) existential. In this paper, in particular, we will discuss about the first two.

Finally, we must notice that these dimensions, most of the times, are independent from each other, although, in an entirely theoretical line, it is possible to identify some links of cause and effect between them. However, despite the appearances, the causal relationship between the dimensions have not always an empirical foundation for all couples. This is the main reason why we think it is not so useful, for the purposes of our analysis, to refer to a general concept of precariousness. We instead prefer to consider a more precise articulation about the different fields of everyday living experience.

Even when we can clearly notice some similarity in the level of insecurity, in fact, it is hardly comparable between the different cases we analysed. For example, in the case of two subjects that experience the same employment precariousness (which refers, as we shall see, to the instability of employment contracts) the economic precariousness can be very different due to greater regularity with which they perceive their salary or to the fact that the income is more or less substantial.

Yet, with the same economic and employment conditions, our couples show very different living conditions depending on the kind of properties of their home and its features. Moreover, family aid, if present, allows reducing at least partly the instability that can result from these two areas that we are going to discuss in more detail.

3. Findings

The difference between employment precariousness and working precariousness explicitly refers to the distinction proposed by Barbier & Nadel (2002) between employment flexibility and working flexibility.

Specifically, as the authors claim, making the work flexible means to increase the degree of adaptability of human activity with respect to the specific needs of the production. It follows, obviously, that this practice does not imply, in principle, no decrease of the guarantees of workers. On the contrary, make the employment flexible - basically, what embodies the

balance of power between those who supply and those who demand a specific productive activity - means to make the characteristics of the specific contractual relationship established between the parties (times, ways and places in which it is carried out) variables.

It is this last aspect that has led to an increasingly pushing deregulation of the negotiation, which resulted essentially in a lower level of assurance and a scaled professional identity of the subjects.

Entering directly into the discourse that interests us here, we can say that a privileged point of view to analyze the employment precariousness is to relate it to the risk/opportunity dichotomy.

In fact, the lack of stable and secure employment is not always a source of concern. People most oriented toward professional activities, for example - generally those that have a higher cultural capital and a strong confidence in their skills and competencies - this dimension is less problematic. Indeed, it is often associated with a defined set of opportunities such as awareness, constituted by the possibility of increasing their curricular experiences, and achieve a good degree of self-realization. This attitude leads to a certain self-confidence and a strong dedication to their job.

The advantages are, however, that this does not bind myself. I mean, I'm not the metalworker who, is helpless and does not know what to do if his factory fails (...) That is, you still have to keep up that stimulus, that adrenaline so that you have to say - I must find a way to do what I have to do! (R., male, Degree, 31).

It is useful to emphasize that for many of the respondents skills are considered, in the same way as the money, as "symbolic emblems", that are, interchange means that can change hands without taking into account the specific characteristics of individuals or groups that use them at that particular juncture (Giddens, 1990). This is true, in a way, regardless of their cultural capital. Others, however, consider the discussion related to the skills as inseparable from the person who conveys them. These ones, usually referring to the possibility of being employed in different working contexts, yet in the same field of activity, point out the opportunities tied to personal growth. Finally, others more oriented to the mere practice, seem to devote little attention to the level of skills attained. Those with lower socio-cultural capital, in particular, seem to share this approach.

The employment precariousness, in the same way, can become a source of anxiety and worry because, in many cases, the basis for the material sustenance of the couple are challenged every time that a contract ends, especially in the absence of warranties with respect to the possibility of a renewal. This certainty in some cases has strong repercussions on the state of mind with which the work task is carried out.

In particular, serenity is being questioned because of performance anxiety. This comes not only from a desire to appear worth for the task but by the need to be better than other competitors contending for the job do. When this happen, people feel judged by the employer that if displeased, could call into question the renewal of the employment relationship. In this case it appears very clear the difference with the previously described attitude where confidence in own skills makes less acute perception of the struggle with other contenders and more serene relationship with the employer.

... Being a fixed-term contract, I have anxiety to be confirmed for the following year, so I have no room for errors. I can never be late, and is stressful because I work far away. It takes me about an hour to get to work. If I accompany the children to school, I am late because my job starts at 08:15. This definitely unnerves me having to be continually tested... When I know

that I would do well even in a somewhat 'more serene context. Instead, I feel constantly under scrutiny by the employer, by the parents (F. female graduate, 35).

Also, the employment precariousness – especially when it comes along with economic precariousness – is linked to the frustration generated by the impossibility to formulate proactive long-term personal projects or couple-oriented. What is quite vivid from the analysis of many interviews, in fact, is that many people conduct their lives on hold to stabilize their employment status. In other words, it seems that some couples live, waiting to start living.

...Consider that if I wanted to... My contract expires in July ... Now my contract expires. If I want to go... If I want to arrange something that will last three months, I cannot because I do not know if I will be called back to work in September. No way to plan anything (...) I speak in terms of planning in general, as a couple or as an individual ... It does not allow you anything. I mean, really! The certainty for the future and then ... The disadvantage that encompasses all the disadvantages of the world, really! (R., male, Degree, 36).

If the situation does not become more stable, I find myself in great difficulty with regard to expenses, because, let's say, the expenses have a fairly regular pattern that does not correspond to the income of my work (C. male Degree, 30)

In fact, the relationship with the future is present and pervasive. The real problem is that such an attitude, most of the time, runs out in the attention given to the possibility that adverse events may occur. It almost never consider the possibility of programming – that is the meaning of the word "proactive" – a series of actions to start something out of one's own will like, for example, the birth of a child or, more simply, the organization of a trip.

Working precariousness is essentially the effect of a renewed way of thinking about the organization of work and manage it in order to increase the adaptability of the employment services to the needs of the production processes or individual. Obviously, this holds true not only for the workers involved in the assembly line, now increasingly organized according to the just-in-time, but also for the plethora of the tertiary sector workers engaged in those high relational intensity activities. This is also true especially for all those who carry out those creative works in which very thin, if not non-existent, are the differences between the activities carried out in their own homes and those carried out in the workplace.

Also with regard to this dimension, an excellent reading key is the risk/opportunity dichotomy. First, nearly all the components of the young couples reject the idea of a monotonous and repetitive work. In fact, the majority of respondents is looking for creative works in which, above all, it is possible to decide the work time with the purpose, in most of the cases, to better adapt it to their daily life times. Those who hold a higher cultural capital show an obvious aspiration to be freelancers and become, as they say more and more often, "entrepreneurs of themselves".

The truth is that now I can not imagine just a standard contract, if standard means a permanent contract in one place (M., female, post-graduate training, 35).

... The advantages, as I said before, are those of greater freedom in the organization of time (L., male, graduate, 32).

That said, we must add, however, that although achieving a certain degree of working autonomy is a goal pursued by many, in some situations, especially if the critical issues presented by the employment and economic precariousness are present, such freedom of

organization generates a loss of meaning. A loss of any daily routine and, paradoxically, a loss of freedom of action. It is there that the flexibility of the tasks becomes real insecurity.

... Work and contractual commitments must be a bit more regular so that people have time to work and a time to live. Instead this thing, here, the self-organization invades your own spheres, there is no distinction of spaces, times, places. No distinction between work and private. It's a risky thing ... At least I feel so. (C. male Degree, 30).

It is obvious that the employment and working precariousness may be closely related. In fact, it is important to take into account the necessary commitment to search for a new job itself (employment precariousness), the necessary acquisition of new skills - through training or work - that allow you to remain competitive in the labour market, the attempt to develop new social networks, new contacts and new job opportunities to expand the opportunities for integration. Not to mention the daily hoseworks that still carry away more time and resources. It is easy to understand how all these activities are expensive in terms of required time and resources. In particular, those who are aware that their employment contract will not be automatically renewed have developed one that can be defined an "anticipatory strategy" seeking new job opportunities before the current job ends.

... Now I'm getting used to think to begin to set a new one, or take part within another project even before terminating something. Here, you begin to prevent. I have to activate myself. Usually this allows you to set in motion some other things before your job ends up (C. male Degree, 30).

Low wages (economic precariousness) make daily working commitments more onerous because it forces to engage in more than one job simultaneously. Among other things, in reference to the remarks made earlier about the precariousness of employment, it is useful to recall that this need to find a job at all costs flattens the chances of professional enrichment that a new job can offer. How stated by Andreoni (2005, 232), for example, "when the temporary work is experienced as a simple substitution or contingent need, this prevents to qualify it in positive terms, as the carrier of professional innovations, intellectual, creative, existential, subjective, even compared to the complexity of the organizations".

In short, the structuring of numerous work commitments often assumes a configuration perceived as "inevitable". In short, the supposed freedom of action refers, where provided, to a single job position concerning a single contract.

If it is necessary to have more than one job and commit to look for another one, it is possible to state that a set of jobs that allow a certain "freedom of action" turns into a cage from which it is difficult to get out.

Some respondents, in fact, complain of a lack of opportunities for their time management that actually seems imposed by something or someone, or because of the enormous amount of commitments, or because of deadlines to meet, or because the necessary job search actions. As a result, the boundaries between work and non-work are uncertain and it is hard to carve out personal space or to devote to the relationship with your partner.

However, one should not forget that flexible employment does not always imply a flexible working. It is mainly from this point of view that the distinction between employment and working precariousness is particularly useful. There are some cases, in fact, of clearly structured eight-hour working day. In other words, it may happen that the renounce of a major contractual guarantee - generally considered a negative aspect of flexibility (Barbier & Nadel, 2002) - does not guarantee greater autonomy in managing working time - aspect of flexibility that, despite the risk of working precariousness that we have examined, is generally

considered positively (ibid). What is atypical, in this case, is the insecurity about the renewal of the contract, the lack of guarantees and minimum rights, the lack of a period of leave and absence of working identity, of belonging to a working class, and the consequent lack of social protection that a union can provide. In short, no work creativity and autonomy in managing time, no chance to collect, if needed, more income at the same time; in other words, in this case, the tradeoff is not between security and autonomy but between uncertainty and unemployment.

4. Conclusions

It seems clear from the analysis led in this work that the apparent ambiguity with respect to the assessment of the positive possibilities that temporary occupations can guarantee or not, depend on the fact of not distinguish properly between objective and subjective factors. The first ones are about the characteristics and content of occupations that are analyzed. It is useful to reiterate that the introduction of temporary work contracts characterizes a set of very different occupations which differ for production industry sector, level of remuneration, level of subordination and hetero-direction regarding, the relationship with the employer, and professional contents.

Subjective factors, instead, refer to personal aspirations and individual skills – and this is purely linked to individual level of empowerment – to improve one's own individual paths of life thanks to the working experience. In this case it seems useful the distinction made by Fullin (2004) between paths with transition expectation and oriented paths. The first characterize those involved in unstable occupations – that usually do not correspond to personal aspirations and achieved qualification – that would do any job waiting to find any better or more secure accommodation. Oriented path, instead, characterize those people who, even wishing for a more secure and stable employment, are generally satisfied with the content of their work and they are not going to change that kind of activities.

If the former seem to suffer most of the risks associated with temporary nature of labor relations, the second, on the contrary, can benefit more the opportunities flexible contracts are able to offer, even if only from a purely psychological point of view. In this, the resources that individuals are able to mobilize (social capital) and the support of the family network play a crucial role.

The interviews conducted in our survey, highlight the concerns for the renewal of the contract (Gallino, 2007), in the absence of a true realization, in Italy, of a social security system that gives the opportunity to live less harsh and uncertain transitions between different unstable employments. The countless commitments to be honored; economic revenue that fail to keep up with the expenses; the living conditions that in some cases are life-threatening; the possibility of admitting the failure of the project to be independent and return to live with the families of origin because it is impossible to support one's own emancipation; the fact of not being capable of becoming parents. These are all aspects that many of the interviewed couples feel as everyday threats. So these young adult live these pressures with greater or lesser intensity, waiting that something starts to go in the right way. Waiting to start living.

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Internet makes us stupid or intelligent? How the network is changing our cognitive faculties

Giuseppe Di Palo

1. Introduction

The digital environments are leading to the emergence of an inevitable decay and deterioration of traditional cognitive faculties including the ability to concentrate and memory. Parallel perspectives¹ speak of new skills and styles of attention as a response to the digital environment strategies characterized by an information glut that is unprecedented in human history². Also McLuhan says that the media change our nature without our be conscious³.

Main actors of this dialectic are Nicolas Carr (2011) and Howard Rheingold (2013), which respectively respond to the questions of why the internet makes us stupid or intelligent.

Carr argues that Internet, understood as the multifaceted set of always-connected digital devices, decreases the quality of our cognitive mode of attention and memory, making us lose some intellectual faculties as the deep reflection and richness of collective and individual memory. The continuous stresses of the digital environments do not enable to keep attention focused and deep reflection.

According to Rheingold, however, the network can make more intelligent provided that you acquire certain skills. In order for Internet to become a profitable environment is necessary an education on its use without which the experience of new media will raise an unmanageable chaos.

2. The Method

This study was divided in the comparison between the thought of the two main authors integrating everything with the ideas of other scholars who have faced or are somehow interested in the topic of this discussion. Efforts were then focused on the issue of the possible misunderstandings due to interpret a written message (especially on the net).

After are been advanced some hypothesis verified with the observation of communicative processes (with new technologies) in two different levels: institutional and formal communication, and peer-to-peer and informal communication.

3. Results

Results of this study should prove that with social networks and instant message services, we are losing the authenticity of human relations because these communication forms have some limits as asynchronous communication, no physical presence of interlocutors. The absence of interlocutors can bring to interpretate the written text in a different mode if compared with the issuer's original thought. We can help ourselves with the use of emoticons or exclamations, but the real meaning of our communication does not correspond to our original thinking.

¹ V. Bitti, 2014; N. Carr, 2008, 2010, 2011; P. Davis, 2008; S. Johnson, 2006; P. Lévy, 1996; G. Lovink, 2008, 2012; M. Masi, 2015; E. Morozov, 2011; V. Mosco, 2014; H. Rheingold, 2013; G. Small, G. Vorgan, 2008; M. Spitzer, 2013; S. Turkle, 1996, 2012.

² Comp. V. Bitti, 2014, 1.

³ Comp. C. Formenti, 2011, 49.

For these reasons the online video seems to be the best form of communication. In a video you can see your interlocutor although he is not really present. This allows you to better understand the content of the message, avoiding misunderstandings.

The online written text (connected to the activity of reading) changes the habits of the reader. In fact, diminish concentration and patience to read long writings. Users preferred, instead, small fragments of text that have also multimedia contents. Readers are no longer willing to waste time and have no time to lose even given the frenetic pace of today's society.

Essentially what facilitates attention and memory, in an environment permeated by a multitude of content and distractions, seems to be the fun aspect capable of rising from the mass of Internet data to capture and hold the viewer's gaze. An example may be the fact that you are more likely to remember the exact words of a song rather than the text of something that has been read. Tones, accents, rhythms, melodies facilitate the remembering process.

Internet, therefore, has changed not only the way we communicate and build relationships, but also the way of thinking. This is mainly because have changed consumption patterns of media products and this precisely by means of internet. People access and are easily used to the convenience and are no longer willing to give it up. After all, people spontaneously look for those software and web sites that offer the most help and the greatest number of tips. Users want softwares that are helpful and friendly. Referring again to Internet audiovisual contents, these would seem to be immune from concepts such as decreased attention and concentration. An example can be given from web tv (with simple and brief interactions but able to produce significant increases in cognitive control) by transforming the media experience more and more in a constant brainstorming with other users.

4. Discussion

Internet, says Carr, give birth behavioral and cognitive habits that reconfigure circuits and paths of our brain. This structural change is due to an important property of the human brain , crucial to our evolution as a species: the neuroplasticity⁴.

It isn't important to be digital natives or digital immigrants (Prensky, 2001), Internet, perhaps, is changing the brains of all the people changing the operating models of the mind, strengthening some and weakening others. Substantially, people tend to an increasing difficulty to stay focused while reading longer texts.

Internet, says Carr, is a place that encourages to read fast feeding distracted thinking and superficial learning.

And people prefer this “rapid” approach compared to deepening⁵ also because they have relative time to deepen⁶.

Internet, then, is perhaps a threat for memory. With its overabundance of information Internet appears as a forgetfulness technology⁷ overloading the memory. Thus, concentration and remembering becomes difficult.

About that Mauro Masi (2015) says that people soon will be more superficial and less able to concentrate. Our information will be, for example, only those of 140 prints that we can read on social networks⁸.

⁴ Comp. V. Bitti, 2014, 2; Carr, 2011, chapter 2.

⁵ Comp. M. Galbiati, F. Piredda, 2010, 33.

⁶ Ivi, 36.

⁷ Comp. N. Carr, 2011.

⁸ Comp. M. Masi, 2015, 13.

Internet makes us stupid or intelligent? How the network is changing our cognitive faculties

Although if Masi is agree with Carr's thesis, he also recognizes the positive qualities of the Internet as a greater collaboration for a responsible use of the Internet. In effect, Masi says that the Internet is a global phenomenon, a human right (mentioning the Facebook creator, Mark Zuckerberg), a God's gift, mentioning Pope Francis that adds that Internet is a place full of humanity, a people network because communication is not a technological attainment but a human attainment⁹. From these words we can deduce that Internet is not only a technical infrastructure but is also the community that it can be connected. This concept is the basis of McLuhan's global village theory¹⁰ that says that the world become little and transportable (for example in a mobile phone). Therefore, Internet becomes the engine of economic and cultural change.

On the other hand, Censis (Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali) highlighted in the 2014 report on the social situation in Italy that internet digital revolution is parallel to personal use of media (each user creates its own schedule), at the biomediac age with emergence of personal biographies on social, and, in the end, to the phenomenology of selfie. It is a real paradox: more we are connected in Internet, more we are focused on our individuality. Some authors (Bennato, 2011; Mascheroni, 2012; Turkle, 2012) have discussed about how technologies of internet sociality lead to people isolation from real life: instead of interacting directly with other people, the users remain closed and alone in their own room to relate with a cold machine without feelings.

Some researches of prof. Daniel T. Willingham (University of Virginia), among the greatest learning psychologists, prove that is not totally true that the internet making us stupid: the key concept is the ability to concentrate. Scientists measure this capacity from two points of view, namely concentration and memory. The change of this capabilities depends by the huge range of internet contents and by the motivation to search and see new things.

In short, Internet has not (yet) changed the attention span of people but introduced a trend to a new thought. This can be a positive motivation unless it does not turn into something pathological pushing superficiality (non deepens anything over a tweet) and frustration (the anxiety of searching for the new can not be satisfied forever and sooner or later there is a limit)¹¹.

About this question intervenes also Henry Jenkins (2010) that emphasizes two topics: focused attention and distracted attention. The second one is typical of acting multitasking. Jenkins says that low capacity of maintain focused attention is growing up with the advent of new media. For Jenkins the multitasking is an answer strategy to a digital environment full of information that it can scan the information flow giving attention to other important aspects. So, multitasking and focused attention shouldn't be considered as opposite competences, but as complementary abilities strategically used by the brain to overcome memory limits. So are born multiple ways of learning and strategies to process information, and none of these are seen as better than the other but these are evaluated inside a specific context¹².

The Internet, therefore, could facilitate learning and strengthen certain cognitive abilities that allow you to juggle the abundance of data you get once you are online, because as pointed out by Jenkins (2006), the convergence don't happens between multimedia equipment but in the brains of individual consumers. However, as of this last statement, you understand how Carr, in his criticism, also recognizes the positive side of new technologies that can make life easier. This makes us more valuable as workers, friends and colleagues. The Internet usage generated a lot of practical benefits, for this reason we stay online for a long time¹³.

⁹ Ivi, 129.

¹⁰ Comp. A. Grasso, M. Scaglioni, 2003.

¹¹ Comp. M. Masi, 2015, 186-187.

¹² Comp. H. Jenkins, 2010, 129.

¹³ Comp. N. Carr. 2011,170.

We can speak now of intellectual technologies. These are instruments that we can use to increase our mental faculties and to increase social practices. In this category of instruments are included also tablets, computers and smartphones.

The advent of technological tools increasingly innovative and constant exposure to these brings contemporary society between two technological worlds: the first one concerns a simplification of activities, the latter contributing to the user's involvement on a logic that gives space to products mainly recreational and leisure as they were in the past cinema, phonograph, radio and television.

For this reason, Internet has gained immense popularity among the electronic media users for a simple reason which is often given as obvious and taken for granted: the bi-directionality. With Internet we can send and receive e-mails. It's very easy and useful. We can exchange some information online with other users, we can upload and download files. So, Internet connects us to others (we can think, for example, at instant message service or software for videoconferences and videocall as Skype). With these technologies, as a simple smartphone, users can share on blogs and social networks their creations as video and photo. They can also share, criticize and modify the creations of other users. Furthermore, we stay online for a long time also because we have more fast connections that have allowed to make more operations online¹⁴.

Interactivity, hypertext link and multimediality are the Internet qualities that Carr highlights stressing that they bring considerable benefits including fast access to large amounts of information and ease for users in sharing their point of view.

Instead for Rheingold Internet can make us more intelligent if we obtain some knowledge in the media usage.

Without a correct education about Internet usage the new media experience can be a real chaos.

As say Marco Centorino and Angelo Romeo (2012, 92), the hypertextuality leads to a new mode to read and deal with an argument. It has educated users into thinking differently.

We don't have an exclusive relation with a book, but with an hypertext that has new rules and a non linear organization. It prompted people to read and think differently¹⁵.

Citing Buckingham (2013), Rheingold talks about literacies (attention, critical rating of information and management of the Internet social aspects) necessary to use effectively Internet technologies. Attention is the foundation of the other literacies. We can use automatic filters for information but the principal filter is always our brain.

Rheingold calls this literacy information (information + attention).

For this reason, between 1990 and 2000, internet and its contents were considered as collective intelligences¹⁶. For Lévy (1996, 34-37) the intelligence grows with technologies. With technologies, in fact, people can share knowledge, they can interact with specific contents and they can contribute, with an information exchange, to make it better¹⁷.

The relation network, with the use of digital instruments, can bring to intelligence increase and to creation of a collective brain. In this case the focus is on the concept that we can be promoters of our relations¹⁸.

For de Kerckhove (2008) connective intelligence is the practice of the related intelligences in a specific context. This relation is based on Internet and technologies usage. Intelligence are connected to achieve a common goal. They have the possibility to interact with an Internet

¹⁴ Ivi, 109-110.

¹⁵ Comp. G. Bettetini, B. Gasparini, N. Vittadini, 1999, 104.

¹⁶ P. Lévy, 1996.

¹⁷ Comp. M. Centorino, A. Romeo, 2012, 90-91

¹⁸ Comp. F. Bruni, 2006.

Internet makes us stupid or intelligent? How the network is changing our cognitive faculties

connection¹⁹. Some example of connective intelligence are blogs and social networks where users can share and comment their knowledges. So, we can comprise the fundamental role of online relations and online participation.

Sharry Turkle (1996, 7) criticizes this concept. She says that, with social networks and instant message services, we are losing the authenticity of human relations because these communication forms have some limits as asynchronous communication, no physical presence of interlocutors. The absence of interlocutors can bring to interpretate the written text in a different mode if compared with the issuer's original thought. We can help ourselves with the use of emoticons or exclamations, but the real meaning of our communication does not correspond to our original thinking.

For these reasons the online video seems to be the best form of communication. In a video you can see your interlocutor although he is not really present. This allows you to better understand the content of the message, avoiding misunderstandings. Essentially, Rheinghold wants to make intelligent the users in a correct Internet usage. If the users will use Internet correctly they can increase their intelligence.

Internet has created the possibility of new literacies, new knowledge and people (on the basis of this assumption) can learn how to regulate and control the attention. Distraction, however, can be interpreted as a side effect. Therefore, without a full understanding of digital media, in terms of uses and consumption, users would risk being excluded and relegated to the past.

For Rheinghold the online participation is very important too: in social media, in web sites, in blog, with a Twitter message, with a video creation and it sharing, with comments and critics. There are all important operations for the wellness of online users community.

Also Philip Davis (2008) says that Internet making us impatient readers but more intelligent: we have a lot of connections to documents and with other users.

We can see now that Carr's critic is focus on read the written texts: lack of concentration, rapid and fragmented reading, poor memory storage. A new Intellectual ethics is emerging²⁰.

According to Carr the stupidity resulting from Internet may depend on the online written text (connected to the activity of reading) that changes the habits of the reader. In fact, diminish concentration and patience to read long writings. Users preferred, instead, small fragments of text that have also multimedia contents. Readers are no longer willing to waste time and have no time to lose even given the frenetic pace of today's society.

Also McLuhan (1986) says that media as telephone, radio, cinema and television, have reduced the role of the written text. Audiovisual content (preferred and sought after by users) allows, in fact, a picture or a sound to stay longer etched in the memory compared to a written text. This concept is close to the notion of photographic memory.

Essentially what facilitates attention and memory, in an environment permeated by a multitude of content and distractions, seems to be the fun aspect capable of rising from the mass of Internet data to capture and hold the viewer's gaze. An example may be the fact that you are more likely to remember the exact words of a song rather than the text of something that has been read. Tones, accents, rhythms, melodies facilitate the remembering process.

Also Onishi (2008) reaffirmed this concept. He said that readers would not read the professional writers's works because in these are present very difficult terms to understand and because the stories are very long²¹.

It is approached in this way to the theme of "user generated contents" and, even more, to that part of journalism, of users who produce content for other users in a peer-to-peer logic.

¹⁹ Comp. M. Centorino, A. Romeo, 2012, 94.

²⁰ Comp. N. Carr, 2011, 99.

²¹ Comp. N. Onishi, 2008.

Internet thus enriches the fruition experience with its attractive elements pushing towards the active use of content involving all the senses simultaneously.

Media companies must therefore adapt to the new expectations of users now in full harmony with the combinations of Web content. Our minds are adapting to the Internet intellectual ethics that allows you to have more information with no side effects. But a side effects is shown by Davide Bennato (2011) for which social subjects on the web are, in the same time, isolated in the daily reality.

Other fundamental studies about Internet are Sherry Turkle (1996) researches that represent the beginning of the first ethnographic investigations about the Internet and about the use of virtual identity. Turkle's idea is that the individual who attends virtual networks builds his virtual identity that feels more real compared to that than he has in everyday life. He can also have a lot of virtual identities.

Even anonymity, a nickname, a pseudonym constitute forms of identity that allow you to express unexplored multiplicity of one's self.

Internet, therefore, has changed not only the way we communicate and build relationships, but also the way of thinking. Through the use of technology, moreover, many people think that they can defeat loneliness but, citing the previous paradox, we can say that we can communicate with the whole world while we are closed in our room.

This is mainly because have changed consumption patterns of media products and this precisely by means of internet. People access and are easily used to the convenience and are no longer willing to give it up.

It's like trying to take away a chocolate from a child immediately after that he discovered the taste. After all, people spontaneously look for those software and web sites that offer the most help and the greatest number of tips. Users want softwares that are helpful and friendly. As the economist Tyler Cowen said, when access to information is easy, we tend to favor the short, the sweet and the small²².

Referring again to Internet audiovisual contents, these would seem to be immune from concepts such as decreased attention and concentration. In fact, there are new hybrid technology tools created by the combination of videos and books (vooks), which provide a no linear reading system, more adequate to the new needs arising from being hyper - connected. It is an evolved form of the e-book that, in the near future, can be implemented with the typical functions of Internet, including social networking (and therefore the social sharing)²³.

²² Comp. N. Carr, 2011.

²³ Original paper: <https://www.academia.edu/s/14785d2048/internet-ci-rende-stupidi-o-intelligenti-come-la-rete-sta-cambiando-le-nostre-facolta-cognitive>.

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Family and School Together in Italian Multicultural Society

Alessia Bartolini

1. Introduction

This paper presents a reading intended to reflect to joint responsibility between family and school in Italian multicultural society. A discussion of educational joint responsibility between family and school gives us an opportunity to look at specific responsibilities, recognizing each party's role in education in the light of recent social changes. Many psycho-pedagogical theories developed over the past thirty years have highlighted the significance of the positive presence of parents in the school in terms of children's learning, personal growth, and socialization. Given the new multicultural scenario of our society, the relationship between school and family takes on a new role in terms of intercultural integration. The integration of immigrant families in society can take place in various ways and with the help of different public entities: among these, the school is surely one of the most important for the immigrant family with children.

The school, with a view toward cooperating with the family, must further the rapport with foreign families, taking into account their objective difficulties with language comprehension and their different conception of the relationship to the school; at the same time such families' differences and their participation in scholastic life can be viewed as an added value in the Italian school. The school can become a meeting point, a place for families to exchange ideas, an active workshop in which values can be shared and the barrier of cultural prejudice can be broken down, embracing diversity as a paradigm of the school's very identity in pluralism, as an opportunity to open the entire system to differences: of origin, gender, social level, scholastic background.

2. The study

2.1 The educational context

"It takes a whole village to educate a child." The study was initiated by this evocative image which comes from nearby Africa, and helps us understand how we cannot be alone in raising our children because education, conceived in terms of growth, development and promotion is a process which can take place only with the help of many hands.

It is in this spirit that in recent years an attempt has been made to develop what today is called the Integrated Formative System: an educational system based on the co-participation of the principle educational agencies: family, school, church, and cultural and recreational associations, with the family and the school as principals. To quote Donati, the system "is an organized agglomerate of relationships" which take on "significance" (Donati, 1991, p. 27). The idea hails back to a contrivance which is plural but unified, as is the education of a person: a book written by several authors, declaimed in the voice of several readers. But although it may be true that each educational action is based on a set of values defining it, and is aimed toward an end which moves actions in the direction of a need to be human and social, it is important that the educational work of society not be left to chance, but that it have principles of coherence (cf. Agazzi, 1965, p.32).

When we speak of educational coherence among institutions responsible for the growth and education of an individual, we are not talking about "a uniform education for all, more or less manipulative, or of 'training', but – this idea of consistency – is something resulting from the

acceptance of a dialectic of differences as an eminently human value, interpreted as the provident law of progress and spirit" (Agazzi, 1974, p.6).

The numerous educational systems which society offers must be in harmony with each other, so that man can use every instrument available, in every life context, to "be himself", to "become himself", to make his own, "permanently, the desire to learn and to grow" (E. Faure, 1973, p. 37). "We live in our time and not in another one," observes Dewey. "Only by extracting, every moment, the full significance of every experience in the present do we prepare ourselves to do the same thing in the future" (Dewey, 1938, Ital. trans. 1949, p.34). Each person, young or old, should be put in the condition to reap the greatest benefit from current experiences in order to be mature for those of the future and in this way grow as a person.

If, as Bertolini sustains, education is an intentional action (cf. Bertolini, 1988, pp.245-246), the responsibility for it must be shared among all the educational subjects involved, in order to develop an educational prospect which can refer to "a precise point of reference and a sensible proposal for the educator and the individual being educated" (Milani, 2000, p.148). Each educational agent, therefore, contributing its specific input, is called upon to tune in with the others in terms of values and goals. Probably today there is a greater need for educational consistency than in the past, because the easy access to all types of information and the rapid changes currently under way bring with them models for living which are often contradictory, which can create confusion and disorientation, especially in young people. It is necessary to encourage a new educational sensibility and an awareness in teaching which will favor openness, dialogue and creative exchange among educational participants in order to guide an individual's personal growth without exposing him to distracting or harmful influences (cf. Pati, 2006, p.52).

Today, however, education in our society has taken on the paradigm of complexity. As Ruini writes, "Education has become a problem in a new way; a knot which seems every day more difficult to unravel, a territory much altered, unfamiliar [. . .] the prospects seem fewer and less likely for the person's authentic 'becoming', which must involve a capacity for orientation in life, which must permit the discovery of meaning and reasons for trust, so that the individual may relate to others in a constructive way and not go astray when faced with difficulties and contradictions" (Committee for the Cultural Project of the Italian Bishops' Conference, 2009, p. IX).

2.2 The Literature Review

We must therefore ask ourselves how families and school may really cooperate to produce a common educational approach. The family and the school, however, can find a common ground in the matter of education, and education can represent the terrain on which a relationship between family and school can be developed and take shape, based on a sense of cooperation and joint responsibility (cf. Cattaneo, 2000, pp. IX-X).

Speaking of joint responsibility lets us reflect on the theme of educational responsibility of the family and the school, assigning to each its proper educational role in the light of recent social changes. Joint responsibility is based on the principle of reciprocity between family and school, each with its own prerogatives. To speak of joint responsibility between family and school means to place the accent on a relationship of reciprocity, by virtue of which one institution does not exploit the other, does not concern itself with the other, does not abuse its position with regard to the other. On the contrary, together they undertake to embark on a cooperative venture, each recognizing its specific role.

Many psycho-pedagogical theories propounded in the last thirty years have highlighted the implications of a positive presence of parents in the school in terms of learning, personal

growth and social development. Results of research appear to indicate that the presence of parents on the scholastic scene is advisable, for the child, the family and the school.

A good relationship between parents and teachers can be helpful to a child's success in school, but it does more than that. From the end of the 1980s on, research tells us that a positive dialogue between family and school produces greater scholastic success and lowers the risk of failure in, or abandonment of, school. Bronfenbrenner, in his *Ecology of Human Development*, on the basis of empirical studies emphasized that the quantity and quality of interactions among the life systems of a person maximize the evolutionary possibilities for its subjects, and that a subject in evolution benefits substantially if those who care for him work in a pair, or in any case are jointly involved in activities (cf. Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Ital. trans. 1986).

A fruitful collaboration between school and family, however, becomes a determinant element not only for successful learning but also for a child's overall development of the capacity to adapt and socialize and of a greater willingness to be involved in more complex didactic processes and therefore in social participation in general; in turn these factors favor access to higher levels of learning, whatever the family's social background (cf. Bartolomeo, 2004, p.76). "If the interactions between teachers and parents are good and students feel supported both at home and at school, they show greater self-confidence, they participate actively in their schooling, and they tend to give more of themselves" (ivi, p.77). The positive involvement of parents in scholastic life, therefore, has positive results not only for the level of learning but also for the building of a personal identity and a capacity for socialization.

As far as the family is concerned, it can find in the school a valid partner for helping to manage a young person's difficult moments. A profitable dialogue with the school is important for the family, since it provides an invaluable aid in the increasingly complex task of raising children: complex, because our own context is complex, but also because the family in recent times has undergone important changes which have left it more and more alone in assuming its responsibilities. The nuclear family, increasingly small and inward-looking, has practically eliminated contacts with the outside world. That means that there is a genuine need on the part of parents to share their educational mission with the outside world; but in order for the family to be stimulated to participate in scholastic life, a relationship of trust and reciprocal respect with the school must be created, in which the needs and educational resources of both parties can be recognized and respected in an atmosphere of shared responsibility.

Finally, the school can benefit from the presence of families, allowing an enrichment of its programs through the voluntary contribution of parents, particularly useful in a time of economic crisis such as the one our society is now undergoing. "The more intense and shared the relationship between school and family, the greater the benefit to the school in terms of its educational goals" (Malizia-Cicatelli-Pieroni, 2006, p. 129). It is in this spirit that Minister Fioroni wrote the letter to families in 2007 affirming that the school can carry out its own educational function only if it seals a pact of alliance with the family.

"Our children" – the letter reads -- "grow, together with us, in a society which is rapidly changing, a heterogeneous society of increasing risks and opportunities. In this complex context, collaboration and teamwork between school and family is the most valuable instrument we have for creating a school for everyone and by everyone, a quality school capable of guiding our children and young people in the adventure of knowledge and personal growth. A school that would claim to educate while failing to recognize the family would condemn itself to failure" (Minister Fioroni, 14 September 2007).

2.3 Educational aims and expectations in a changing society

If we could take a virtual trip through our schools we would realize that in recent years something has changed profoundly. In the attendance lists, in addition to Mario Rossi and Francesca Bianchi, we see Abdel Fares, Aisha Al Haj Ahmad, Asmaa Ali, as well as Adelina Rosu, Wei Hu, Estrella Gonzales and many other names which take us to far-away lands, with cultures and traditions different from those in Italy.

In the school year 2013-2014, the Ministry for Instruction, University and Research (MIUR) registered the representation in Italian schools of 206 countries from all over the world, as well as an increase, though slightly lower than in the past, in the number of students who were not Italian citizens. What has remained almost constant is the variety and order of the foreign countries contributing the greatest number of pupils: Romania is in the first place, followed by Albania, Morocco, China, The Philippines, Moldova, India and Ukraine (cf. MIUR, 2014).

In Italian schools of every level there are some 802,785 children of immigrants, 16,155 more than in the school year 2012-2013. Of those pupils, 167,591 attended preschool, 283,233 primary school, 169,780 middle school and 182,181 secondary school. The presence of pupils who are children of immigrants has increased at all levels of education except for middle school, where a slight decrease was registered; meanwhile at all levels of school there has been a decline in the percentage of pupils with Italian citizenship.

The presence of foreign pupils, therefore, is not constant at the different levels of schooling, since it varies from some 10 percent at preschool and primary level to 6.8 percent in secondary school.

Overall, however, the quota of pupils whose citizenship is not Italian has risen from 2.2 percent in the 2001-2002 school year to 9 percent in 2013-2014, though in some classes it has exceeded the ceiling of 30 percent established in the February 2010 circular. But the greatest increase is in the number of pupils born in Italy to foreign parents. In 2013-2014, the total number of foreign pupils increased by 2.1 percent compared to a year earlier, while the increase of those born in Italy was 11.8 percent. Schoolchildren born in Italy whose citizenship is not Italian now represent 51.7 percent of all pupils who are children of immigrants. In other words, the second generation of foreign students is now in the majority (cf. *ibid*).

This last figure is extremely interesting because it lets us look at the phenomenon of immigration in a new way.

Not all foreign students are immigrants, since more than half of them were born in Italy. Nonetheless, they continue to be considered foreigners according to the current legislation which is based on the principle of *jus sanguini*, or the rights of blood, in which citizenship passes from generation to generation independently of where one is born, grows up, or resides [. . .] Currently, children born in Italy may request citizenship at the age of eighteen and must demonstrate uninterrupted residence in Italy during that time (Favaro, 2011, Ch. 1).

The cultural plurality of society is mirrored within the classroom, where multiculturalism can be photographed instantly. The entire educational field is involved in the process. “Teachers and educators, whose main concern has always been to favor the transmission of the national language, values and norms, now find themselves faced with new tasks” (Portera, 2006, p.11). In order to meet the moral and social obligations of our country to guarantee all immigrants – including those from outside the European Union – the right to education, the school has attempted to respond to these changes by developing new protocols for inclusion and new teaching models, beginning with the Ministerial Circular n. 301 of 1989 (*Inclusion of foreigners in compulsory education: promotion and coordination of measures for the furthering of the right to education*). The circular states that each single school is called upon not only to promote “an increasingly acute awareness of the significance of a multicultural society” by promoting “didactic activities oriented toward the validation of the characteristics of different ethnic groups” by encouraging “students to accept and understand those

characteristics" in order to "promote a cultural awareness which is open-minded", but also to promote "measures to increase awareness in the community and in the immigrant groups. In fact it is necessary to create an atmosphere favorable to integration for the purpose of raising awareness of the opportunities that the scholastic institution offers, and of the ways to use them. Acting together will provide the possibility for gaining additional and more adequate knowledge of the cultural levels, the models of behavior, the social and economic conditions of immigrant groups. It is clear that such knowledge represents an essential contribution to didactic planning" (Ministerial Circular 301/1989).

Such a concept must be reconsidered on the basis of analysis of new educational requirements, to promote educational programs which are truly inclusive and not simply based on assimilation and conformity with the socio-cultural models held by the majority.

3. Educational strategies

If multi-culture is indeed a factual way to describe our society, it is the historic moment we are engaged in, it is the condition of our present time, made evident by the numerous presence of immigrants coming from different parts of the world; inter-culture is not a natural phenomenon but something which must be created, must be encouraged and designed so that it can open itself to an authentic relationship with the other. It is not a spontaneous event but a dynamic with strong emotional implications, a conscious extending of oneself in the direction of the other. Inter-culture disposes a person to an authentic confrontation, to a relationship of mutual priority, in which each person preserves his own originality in a free giveandtake. Such an approach to democratic coexistence results in the development of a mentality which is open, flexible, capable of accepting the diversity of the other.

Many scenarios are possible in a multicultural society: from indifference to acceptance; there are so many ideas, attitudes and feelings, on a continuum ranging from fear and prejudice to curiosity, interest, assistance, comprehension, interaction. Every culture has something to give to, and take from, the others. The relationship between cultures is always a relationship among diverse identities, or rather, between identity and otherness, and it raises the issue of the right of each person to be recognized as a specific being, even if no person can be considered really pure or uncontaminated. The pedagogic premise underpinning this thesis is that there is no hierarchical conception of cultures. "Each people has its own culture," wrote Father Milani, "and no one people has less than another" (Barbiana School, 1975, p. 139). No educational institution, he continues, can fail to accept persons of different cultures.

Intercultural coexistence is a new human question which schools have had to face only in the last 25 years and which must be answered by accepting new educational challenges, certainly not a simple task. Inter-culture represents a true revolution in the field of education; it becomes the paradigm most suitable for guiding educational processes, for promoting a new grammar of civilization, and for that reason it could create "the new normality in education", a new Paideia (cf. Nanni, 2010).

"It is not a question of creating separate or special spaces for anyone -- either foreign or native -- but, on the contrary, putting into play in a positive way the opportunities offered by the current situation: in this new millennium, every culture's horizons are expanding enormously and the chances of unexpected encounters are increasing for everyone. If we are able to make constructive use of the conflicts which will inevitably arise in such encounters, it will be possible to create something new and to safeguard the specificity and the value of each person and each culture" (Genovese, 2003, p.199).

Intercultural education today must be the new paradigm of education, in order to join unity and plurality, universalism and relativism, attention to the specific needs of each individual and common educational paths in a harmonious way.

Being together, however, is not enough to favor the process of integration. Acceptance alone is not sufficient to guarantee processes and attitudes which are authentically inclusive. To encourage an authentic process of integration and interaction among cultures "it is necessary to go beyond didactic techniques to a pedagogic panorama capable of re-imagining the future, starting with the challenges of the present, in order to live together, equal and different, in equal dignity" (Favaro, 2011, Ch. 1).

3.1 Educational objectives

Schools, and educational services in general, have a central role in the processes of integration not only of the children but also of the families. "The school, more than other institutions, is called upon to utilize the positive potential inherent in the encounter among cultures and to limit the negative, also inherent in encounters among peoples and cultures, so that xenophobia may not prevail over empathy" (Silva, 2008, p.28).

The school, moreover, is the place in which families may form an educational alliance for the benefit of their children.

"Despite the differences in projects and conceptions, in the school each family becomes the educational partner with which to establish a pact; each immigrant ceases to be an immigrant but becomes simply a parent in the midst of other parents. Nonetheless the distances, the difficulties in rapport between the school and the immigrant families, and between the Italian and foreign parents, are a fact which is frequently underlined by teachers and school administrators" (Favaro, 2011, Ch. 8).

A number of elements appear to separate immigrant parents from teachers; both are called upon daily to face the fact of other-ness, with an approach to cultural life and values which are different, with "educational styles different from one's own, with models of behavior of young people which are difficult to decipher, with countless difficulties in communicating. These are the reasons behind most of the obstacles faced by teachers. For their part, the families do not always understand the school's requirements, they often are not clear about its educational methods and goals, and they tend to see the school as a place simply for the transmitting of academic disciplines. An insufficient familiarity on both parts regarding the reciprocal procedures in education is added to linguistic difficulties and cultural differences which cause misunderstandings which may be unimportant of themselves, but which over time can escalate to the point of causing parents to become indifferent in their approach to the school, and teachers to develop a stereotyped image of the immigrant family (Silva, 2008, pp. 24-25).

While it is true that the label "immigrant family" conceals a variety of situations and experiences because every family is different from every other with its particular cultural baggage, all such families can be united by the same need for identity. All are called upon every day to close the gap between the need to feel a part of the host country and the preservation of their roots. All such families are called upon by immigration to reassess not only place, time, and personal life goals, but also relationships and emotions. Introducing a child to the educational mainstream is not without pain for the immigrant family, representing as it does a sort of "migration within a migration" (Favaro, 2011, Ch. 8), a step which substantially alters the rapport between generations and requires yet new forms of adaptation. It is for this reason that parents, rather than collaborating with the school, may appear to be

completely closed to it, or at least uninterested or uninvolved; much, however, depends on the relationship with the teachers and with the school as a whole.

"It is in fact the personal commitment which gives value to the relationship, defining it as a conscious experience which puts into play the parties involved and their beliefs and values, but also as a factor of transformation and change. It is a relationship based on reciprocity, understood as an ethical and practical principle which can shift the encounter from a utilitarian level, or one of dominance/submission, to a level of respect and parity. The reciprocity overcomes the imbalance between teachers and parents which is linked to linguistic and cultural differences, but also to the difference in their roles and functions. Commitment, reciprocity, exchange are the founding principles of a model of relationship between school and family which is valid in general and in particular in multicultural contexts (Silva, 2008, p. 35).

The participation of foreign parents in school life must be understood as a new challenge for the scholastic institution if it is true, as mentioned above, that a fruitful collaboration between school and family works in favor of children's socialization and participation as well as their greater scholastic success. The dialogue between teachers and parents is still more necessary in the case of immigrant families, since the support of the teachers can help foreign children and their parents feel more included in the Italian system. The school, aiming for a co-planning with the family, must also maintain a relationship with foreign families, taking into account their objective difficulty in language comprehension and their different way of conceiving their relationship to the school, but also learning to perceive their diversity and their participation in scholastic life as an added resource for the Italian school, "both because it encourages connections with local parents to begin a network of inclusion, and because their contribution opens up new scenarios of possible change" (Vittori, 2003, p. 91).

4. Conclusion

The school can become a place of lively encounter and exchange among families, an active workshop of shared values, capable of tearing down the barriers of cultural prejudice; but for this to happen, a genuine rapport is necessary, based on active listening, capable of recognizing the needs and expectations of parents, including foreign ones. But more explicit national policies are also necessary, as well as a proper use of intercultural instruments and cultural mediators, still too rarely employed in schools, to create with the help of all parents a more inclusive school able to educate tolerant, free individuals. This is the path indicated in the most recent guidelines for acceptance and integration of foreign pupils in the few lines dedicated to the relationship with immigrant families, where it is stated that "the involvement of families and information in different languages concerning the functioning and structure of the educational system, the objectives for learning, the organization, the evaluation and the diverse activities of schools is of crucial importance in the processes of integration and orientation" (MIUR, 2014, p.12).

"Our pupils are equal and diverse: equal in terms of language, cultural 'immersion', socialization in preschool and primary school; diverse in terms of family, cultural points of reference, religion, skin color, etc. To be inclusive, it follows that a school must be equipped with attitudes and mechanisms which put all children in a condition to learn from diversity and to live with respect for, and interest in, others. It is therefore necessary to initiate a new phase, a phase of inclusion which can integrate what has been considered and accomplished over years, but which can present a new outlook, more conscious of the changes, issues and questions which are still open and of the attainments which have so far been achieved (Favaro, 2011, Ch. 9).

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New defence policies and changes in military institutions: the sociological perspective

Lucia Fortini

1. Introduction

In the contemporary and global political and socio-economical frame, Armed Forces have to face new challenges involving the very identity of the institution owning the monopoly of the rightful use of the violence. Even if sociology, despite the importance of the consequences, has not paid so much attention to the effect of armed force on society (Kilby, 2013; Heinecken, 2015), social sciences and military sociology are well-aware about what are the difficulties and the uniqueness in studying the military and the transformations of this institution (Soeters, Shields, Rietjens, 2014).

The end of the Cold War has led to new geopolitical and economic order in which the strong global economic integration has not yet joined a defined policy coordination. The global governance processes, in fact, with the breaking of old and consolidated balances, have to deal with the new risks of liquid society: lack of anchors, compression of the middle class, new democratic transitions, new identity processes, rediscovery of nationalism, frustration management, and the discontent of the people suspended between desire for modernization and rejection of Western values (Talia & Amato, 2015).

This favored the outbreak of new conflicts and new claims that have further complicated the international political scene, where we are witnessing a gradual breakdown in diplomatic set up leading to an increasingly differentiated regional grouping, and a growing presence of turbulence and internal crises, by nature always interconnected. The recent terrorist acts, for example, are part of a crisis scenario characterized by a climate of general unfriendliness that accompanies the relations between the United States, European Union and its countries, where the economic crisis and austerity policies have created divisions and conflicts (Maniscalco, 2015).

With this historic transition, in short, the Western democracies have had to contend with a new, broader and more complex concept of national security able to include, beyond the traditional doctrines of defense of territory, new tasks and functions. We refer, for example, to the management of crisis on a global scale, peacekeeping missions, humanitarian intervention, and even the creation of new nations (Mannitz, 2013). In fact, if before the Second World War the existence of an army was closely linked to the defense of national borders, during the Cold War, the threat posed by the enemy deployment determined the main functions of military forces. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of a well-defined idea of enemy, the emerging elements of what we might call "world domestic policy" led to a greater complexity of military missions conducted in concert by more nations and, in fact, less clearly linked to national defense issues.

In other words, "multipurpose threats and a concept of security not restricted in the military perimeter of national sovereignty have expanded the horizons of the intelligence services, not only in a spatial sense, but also as regards the fields of intervention and the 'subject' of the securitizations" (Maniscalco, 2015, p. 79).

This not only substantially change the very idea of "soldier" but poses serious problems of legitimacy to the normally granted military use of force under the particular conditions of the defense of an enemy threat. One example is the debate on constabularization processes (Zimmerman, 2005), namely the use of military resources for conducting operations traditionally associated to the police.

In any case, beyond the problems of legitimacy, the military involvement in this new type of missions led to an increase in the number of military interventions undertaken by democratic

states. In more structural terms, this new scenario has been accompanied by a process of professionalisation of the Armed Forces (Haltiner & Tresch, 2007) and a general reduction of the personnel involved, that was enriched, in contrast, by the entrance of women and, more generally, by the participation of different ethnic groups (Farina, 2014).

In fact, as we have briefly mentioned, compared to more conventional task of defending the national borders, the participation to complex international operations requires the reformulation of the idea of a soldier that must be developed and accepted by the members of the Armed Forces, together with a new ethical and moral vision of how to behave during such missions. Although the use of force is legitimate in military operations, it is undeniable that the public opinion, in general, is very sensitive to a normative preference for the peaceful resolution of all conflicts.

This forces us to consider at least two problems, both linked to the exercise of control functions and decision-making. First, although the political power holds these responsibilities, it is undeniable that the military institution has to deal with this ambiguity at each hierarchical level. In fact, the nature of the missions and the introduction of new technologies pose all the soldiers, who, at the tactical level, play key roles in complex missions, in situations with possible strong political impact, even the lowest degree soldiers (Ruffa, Dandeker, Vennesson, 2013).

These actions can have possible political effects, not only locally, but also globally because of the dissolution of boundaries between time and space determined by the development of new communication technologies. Not to mention the possibility that deplorable acts, recorded with amateur equipment, can arouse the attention and the outrage of world public opinion. Therefore, this increased spread of responsibilities throughout the command chain presents serious problems of control and adequate development motivation and sense of belonging of the military, who are asked for more skills and the development of a higher level of professionalism.

This brings us to the second question, which concerns the management of the transformations taking place in the type, number and quality of human resources employed by the Armed Forces. In fact, generally, two reasons are given to explain the increased recourse to forms of voluntary co-option with respect to conscription, and both insist on issues primarily related to the formation of the necessary expertise to undertake the role of a soldier. While, in fact, the introduction of new technologies requires the skills and a level of expertise that you cannot achieve in a basic military training (Janowitz, 1971), the other is the internationalization of operations that requires special training.

It would seem, then, that it is precisely the minor involvement in operations of defense of national borders, in favor of the missions of defense of national "values", to have determined this great revolution in the recruitment criteria. The new requirements regarding the required skills, in view of the relationship between costs and benefits, have seen the preference of gradually smaller and professionalized armies, supported by service providers selected in the civilian sector (Moskos, 2000). As Mannitz (2012) points out, however, this new configuration sets new human resource management issues in which the high cost needed to train soldiers, may eventually inhibit their use in high-risk missions.

As we have seen, the drivers of change and transformations to which the Armed Forces have had to adapt can be grouped under four broad categories: political, technological, organizational and relational, all somehow interconnected but each bearing its own specificity. These have led to the assumption of new responsibilities for the military of any kind and level, which has increased the level and number of strategic skills, tactics and techniques involved in the exercise of their functions. Moreover, they have focused on interpersonal and organizational skills able to motivate and bring together new generations of soldiers - composed of heterogeneous groups of individuals becoming mostly professionals in

the exercise of legitimate violence - capable to cooperate with those involved in the system of international security forces from different countries. In the management of these new challenges the role of decision-makers, i.e. the officers, it acquires considerable significance. This work will deal with the changes introduced in recent years by the Italian Air Force Academy in Pozzuoli, with respect to the Officer's Building processes in an attempt to adapt the characteristics of this armed force to the changing needs of the new environment. This theme is worth analyzing, because of the general difficulty of studying the military, relating to privacy issues and institutional public image retention. In fact, as all the armed forces, this organization is obliged, in the exercise of his functions, to administer the legitimate use of force and endangering the lives of third parties and its members as a real possibility of its activities (Soeters, Shields, Rietjens, 2014). This might happen in a context in which public opinion is generally attentive and contrary to such an eventuality to occur.

2, Methods

The analysis of the literature showed us the new challenges that the Armed Forces have to face in the light of the changing scenarios that characterize the global landscape. Choosing to study the Air Force Officer's building processes depended on the particular characteristics and the important strategic role it plays. In fact, if the management, monitoring and control of airspace, since the founding of NATO, have become the key to the prevention and resolution of conflicts. It is important to remember that among the Armed Forces, the Air Force is the one that possesses the most advanced technological system that is also more susceptible to processes of innovation and renovation. It is in this Armed Force, in short, that the transformations discussed above can be particularly noticeable and radicals.

The Air Force Academy also performs its task since 1923, and since then, between historical events and changes of location, it formed the official generations that were operating before, during and after the Cold War. A vantage point of view, in short, to witness what were the challenges to overcome and the changes that have been introduced by this Armed Force.

The reading of organizational change has been carried out through the lens of neo-institutionalism and its two main concepts. First the "isomorphism", that is the reasons why the units that make up a certain population are pushed to be similar among them (Mayer, Rowan, 2000); second the "organizational field", that is a heterogeneous group of actors, with no defined borders, involved in a specific and recognized institutional environment of society (Powell, Di Maggio, 1983).

As for the empirical part, well aware of the difficulties relating to the military environment study (Soeters, Shields, Rietjens, 2014), the Officer-building processes have been reconstructed through 10 biographical interviews to as many officers who make up the permanent framework of the Academy. These officers were once young cadets, while today there are decision makers of this structure.

3. Findings

The Academy of Pozzuoli trains the Italian Air Force Officers. The training courses, lasting five or six years, can be divided into three main categories: Pilots Corps, Service Corps and Generic Corps, the latter divided into Genius, Commissioners and Medics. The richness of the information collected relating to the Officer-building processes will be presented according to a thematic division that will refer to the different roles and training paths provided by the Academy courses, to the organization of courses and content of training activities, to the relationships that established between, and within different courses.

3.1 Roles

The training of Pilots and Service consists in the achievement of three-year degree in aeronautical sciences with some role-specific differences.

In the case of pilots, of course, there is a specific training path for the flight and the acquisition of military pilot's license. This category will be used to pilot the aircraft interceptors, bombers, rescue helicopters, military transport aircraft, remote-controlled aircraft.

Pilots are traditionally the backbone of the Air Force: they embody its mission and, at least for the moment, they are the only ones destined to fill the highest command positions within this Force. After the experience of the operational years of flight, in fact, the pilots are selected to start the management path. The most important change occurred over the years, with regard to the role of pilots, it has been the introduction of the section dedicated to the piloting of drones, which fits, of course, in a process of continuous technological updating of the aircraft used.

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Service Corps, by contrast, receive specific-role training that refers to four broad categories of "airspace control", "flight crews," "logistical support", "operational support." In fact, Service are the natural completion of the organizational role of pilots, performing not only all the key roles that allow them to take the flight activities, but also all the operations carried out by the Air Force that does not involve the use of aircraft.

The four major categories, over the years, have been enhanced with functions and tasks to read the complexity of operational scenarios and adapt programs and strategies. It is among the Service Corps that, for example, officers are trained to be dedicated to intelligence activities and human resource management, two issues of vital importance to the defense and security policies outlined in the previous paragraph.

Finally, with regard to Generic Corps, Engineers, Commissioners and Medics get degrees, respectively, in civil or aerospace engineering, in law and in medicine. Starting with the third year, the cadets in that category begin to follow the university courses with other civilian students.

3.2 Training activities

Every year the Academy announces a competition to select about eighty students who will form the new course that will begin the five years training process – except for Medics, whose path has a duration of six years. Each course has a name, recalling winds, constellations, mythological symbols or birds of prey having the initial letter in alphabetical order progressively and a number that indicates, once the progression of the letters A to Z is completed, the specific number of the progression.

If, for example, the first course name is "Aquila", exhausted nineteen letters of the alphabet used in the progression, the course following the one called "Zodiaco" has taken on the name "Aquila II" and so on, to ensure a kind of ideal continuity and traditions, identified by the name of the course that is repeated every 19 years.

The training activities proceed along three major axes, which has different importance during the five years of cadet participation in the academy: university activities, military activities, sports activities. To these it is possible to add what we decided to define as formal relations activities that we will consider, in more detail, later.

Most respondents define the first year of each course as the toughest. During the first year, it is hard to get a leave and the pace of the activities to perform are frantic. This is to create a constant physical and psychological pressure with the purpose to select the cadets that are more motivated to stay, and to build a sense of belonging to one's own course and, more generally, toward the Air Force. Students do not have the ability or the time to devote attention to themselves, and the difficulties scattered *ad hoc* along their path can be overcome only by teamwork and collaboration with fellow students. More generally, the focus is not on the individual but on the course: if a cadet makes a mistake, for example, is the whole course to be punished. The oath is collective and is carried out, in a very moving ceremony, by the course organized as a squad, and not by the cadets individually. In addition, up to the Christmas period, students of the first year may not speak or interact – without a request from their superior – with cadets of previous courses. During the first year, students of all roles take university courses in the Academy, dedicate a good part of their time to the acquisition of “formal” military knowledge as the march, and have an obligation to carry out sports activities according to a precise and daily scheduling.

The second year is very similar to the first but with less time pressure and the possibility of cultivating the specificity of one's own individuality. The students of the second year not only are considered “senior” of those who begin the path of the first year, but some of them play an important role in the management of the candidates in the competition for the next year course.

The third year cadets are no longer referred to as “students” but as “aspirant” and this change in the nomenclature emphasizes, in fact, some major changes: a better balance between the collective and the individual, and an increase in individual and personal responsibility.

In the third year, for example, some cadets are selected to become the so-called “Chosen”. They will have to deal with the first-year students and ‘control’ them. The group of Chosen, of course, following the guidelines of the senior officers, have the task of motivating, punish, control and organize the new recruits. An important task for both the Academy itself (collective), and for each individual Chosen that, apart from the honor and the responsibility of having to look after the growth of new students, must be able to do this new activity together with the myriad of other commitments he must face. We will return on this point in more detail later.

The cadets belonging to Generic Corps, however, from the third year, start to go to the university every day to take courses with civilian students. We have seen that the introduction of Generic Corps in the courses of the Academy has been a recent innovation, aimed at providing specific military training also to engineers, commissioners and medics.

During the first three years, the Academy is very similar, although with decreasing intensity, to the “total institution” model defined by Goffman (1968) in which the management of time and daily spaces is almost entirely institutionalized, that is, hetero-directed and established by the organization, with obligation for room and board in the structure.

In the fourth year, the cadets take the individual oath and become officers with the rank of Second Lieutenant. This is where the tension collective/individual resolves and the cadets are even allowed to find accommodation outside of the Academy. The relationship with the Academy takes the form of a normal eight-hour daily work, so the cadet takes service in the morning, at 07:45 a.m., and then go home around 4:00 p.m.

Go to live outside the Academy is a recent innovation, dictated more by economic and logistical reasons rather than actual training purposes. In an era of austerity and spending

review, in fact, the housing autonomy of most of the cadets of the fourth and the fifth year is a significant savings for the Air Force.

During the fourth and fifth year, the training activities are devoted to the specialization of the different roles, which prepares cadets to tasks that take place in the future application departments. The fate of each cadet - that is, the assignment of tasks and the geographical place of destination - consistent with the specifics of the training undertaken, will depend on the Air Force contingent needs and its position in the ranking based on the evaluation of the results of the three lines of training areas described above: university, military, sports.

3.3 Formal relationships

In a context characterized by a rigid and well-defined hierarchy, it is important to provide a precise definition of the term “formal relationships”. With these, we refer to all those activities that, while embedded into the hierarchical organization, especially in relation to the top-down direction, represent the power relation as well as organizational, logistics and management purposes.

In other words, the substantial difference to be highlighted using the concept of “formal relationships” is the processual and dynamic dimensions of the interactions between the cadets themselves and between them and their superiors, where the concept of hierarchy, instead, simply points to a set of relations considered in a more static way.

Nevertheless, the most important aspect, and the reason why we will dedicate a specific space to this issue, is the educational and training aspect that formal relationships assume within the growth paths of the Cadets. This is one of the main aspect of the training project called “student in the spotlight”, with which the Academy provides future officers with the tools to exercise the organizational activities and control.

We have already examined, for example, the figure of the "Chosen", and it is from here that we begin this discussion. In the third year the Academy, as we have seen, select some cadets, in their early twenties, to play a key role in management, motivation, organization and evaluation of new subscribers in the first year. This is an important way to empower cadets and increase their awareness of the vital role that they play as Officers in the Air Force, as well as the possible consequences of their actions. The Chosen take decisions that will affect the academic life of the new generation. The Chosen, in fact, play an important role in ensuring the continuity of practices and traditions, because everyone, in some way, refers to the Chosen they have known in their first year and, above all, because everyone is well aware of the important training task that they are asked to perform.

The Chosen carry out their difficult role under the guidance and close supervision of senior officers, who exercise a role of guarantor in respect of first-year students, but that also are called to evaluate the performance of the cadet of the third year. As paradoxical as it may seem, in the formal power relationship that develops between the Chosen and students of the first year, the most important practical training is undertaken by the third year Chosen. They and their control and management capabilities are the real object of evaluation.

Nevertheless, that is not all. The Chosen operate as a team - the team of the Chosen - that in addition to direct the course of the first year, has to manage itself, giving a common line and defining the modalities of intervention and priorities. Each team has an internal organization, with a chief, a deputy, and a pool of dedicated cadets, each one assigned with a very specific goal.

Everyone is responsible for his task and every one acquires leadership functions – even compared to the management of its Chosen Chief – in achieving the objectives related to his

task, in a complicated, however well-balanced mix of dedication and exaltation of oneself, group and individual work, command and fulfillment of one's own responsibilities.

This model of formal relationships involves only a very small number of cadets, usually ten. To ensure that all cadets can benefit of the project "Student in the spotlight", the organizational structure of the team of the Chosen has been exported to many learning and training activities of the Academy, organizing several teams to achieve specific objectives. In this way, each cadet participates in different teams, sometimes in the role of leader and sometimes in the role of follower. Teams can be organized to intra-course or inter-course level and may involve the management of particular aspects of cadet life, such as common finances, the organization of events, the management of the refectory, sports equipment, teaching, complementary activities, or simply the organization of a guided tour.

The project "Student in the spotlight" was recently introduced, developing a custom strategy to meet the needs of the Italian Air Force inspired by a training model borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon school, considered more efficient in the performance of the chain of command functions.

This is an example of institutional isomorphism, i.e. the tendency to homogenization of organizational practices of institutions that act within the same organizational field. In fact, the inter-forces relationships, including military institutions of different countries, are frequent in the conduct of defense and intelligence functions. This creates a tendency to imitate the strengths of other actors or the need to conform, due to regulative or functional reasons, to the practices and processes carried out by other actors who operate in the same organizational field.

The important thing is the overall balance of individual and collective factors, charges and honors, responsibility and control represented by the project "Student in the spotlight". This is played on a different scale, and in the specialization of different skills, in a subtle game of power and decisions, elation and frustration, control and obedience, which allows future Officers of the Italian Air Force to develop and hone leadership skills.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we analyzed the Officer's building processes of Italian Air Force Academy of Pozzuoli. The reconstruction has surely been partial and incomplete, but adopted a synchronic perspective, telling something of the functioning of this institution, as well as a diachronic one, highlighting the changes that have affected the Academy's training function.

In fact, we were able to experience the enormous effort made by this institution to adapt to the major changes that have affected the needs and problems emerging from the new global configuration created, but still in the process of change, after the end of the Cold War. Effort that had to take account of the period of austerity that reduced the available resources.

The political and relational consequences of a participatory management, at the international level, of the new peacekeeping activities and asymmetric warfare has determined new challenges and a re-thinking of the traditional defense policies.

The new type of professionalism built in the Academy and the transformation of its educational paths were the answer to the increase of necessary technical, technological and relational skills that characterize a modern military force made up increasingly by professionals.

5. References

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Cultural Practices and Human Rights

Dominika Liszkowska

1. Introduction

Despite the fact that violence against women can be found anywhere in different communities around the world, certain examples of violence such as female genital mutilation or honor killings can be defined as “identified cultural practices” (Werner, 2009: Penn and Nardos 2003).

There is no doubt that transnational steps have been taken. The aim of these steps is to eliminate such practices. However, the conflict between activists attacking gender-based violence in defense of human rights and local communities recognizing the legitimacy of these practices seems to be inevitable. For the environment of feminists, these practices represent gender-based violence and serve as a mechanism for the maintenance of power by men over women (Werner, 2009: Maynard, 1993). The fear of potential violence, resulting from cultural conditions and the regular occurrence of violence against women, has an undeniable impact on the control and reduction of feminine behavior.

Leach wrote:

“It is a crime to kill a neighbour, an act of heroism to kill an enemy, but who is an enemy and who is a neighbour is purely a matter of social definition” (O’Shea: Leach 1968: Nader 2003).

In accordance with the principle of cultural relativism of Boas, every culture should be examined “from within”, researchers should try to penetrate the right environmental, historical, and psychological conditions of this culture and not estimate it through “foreign criteria”. It is extremely difficult considering practices discussed in this work. The basis of these practices has a cultural character and refers to patterns of behavior accepted in some communities (Szacki, 2007).

In this study three cultural practices that have been ingrained in the minds of many communities in the world were discussed, however, the effects they bring are a threat to life and health of (mainly) women and flagrant violation elaborated by the international community of human rights. The main hypothesis is the assumption that all of these cultural practices are in flagrant violation of human rights developed by the international community. The analysis made in this article is based on the source material and the work of researchers who for many years have been engaged in research on the essence of these practices, as well as numerous documents and reports (such as UNICEF and WHO).

2. Data Collection and Analysis

2.1. Female Genital Mutilation and Human Rights

The practice of female genital mutilation is a form of abuse to which women and girls in some countries in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa are exposed (World Health Organization, 2008). Definitions of female genital mutilation, female genital cutting and female circumcision refer to all treatments that are related to the partial or complete removal of external female genital and other damage of female reproductive organs resulting from non-medical reasons (UNICEF, 2013). According to typology of female genital mutilation prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO) (developed in 1995 and updated in 2007),

there are four types of FGC - clitoridectomy, excision, infibulation, and other forms (e.g. prickling or scraping) (World Health Organization, 2012). All over the world, approximately 100-140 million women and girls undergo such treatments and from 2 to 3 million more are exposed to it every year (World Health Organization, 2008).

Treatments of female genital mutilation which substantially mean damage of normal reproductive organs, interfere with the proper functioning of the body of women and girls on whom they are being performed and bring many physical and mental consequences. Immediate consequences can include severe pain, psychological trauma, infection, bleeding, and in some cases even death. To carry out FGM various tools, such as sharp knife or razor are used. According to estimates, only 18% of all operations are performed using surgical tools and anesthetics (World Health Organization, 2012).

The problem of female genital mutilation in the context of human rights was raised during many different international conferences, e.g. World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994, Whether the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2006). At the end of 2012, the United Nations General Assembly under the leadership of a group of African countries (which is one of the informal groups in the Assembly, responsible for consultation and improvement of works on the problem) adopted Resolution 67/146 entitled "Intensifying global efforts for the elimination of female genital mutilation". Another important step was the submission of a statement by the group of African countries to UN Human Rights Council which included the list of challenges that must be faced by the the international community, to eliminate the practice of FGM (European Commission, 2013).

Many acts of international law condemn the practice of genital mutilation. African countries committed themselves to take all appropriate measures to eliminate harmful (social and cultural) practices listed in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) or art. 5 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples (2003) (Equality Now, 2011). These documents oblige a state to take all necessary changes in national legislation to eliminate the practice of FGM. In the case of Europe, regulations concerning human rights have an important place in Council of Europe conventions. An important document is the Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (CAHVIO, entered into force in 2014). This is the first instrument on the continent which contains a comprehensive framework to prevent violence and protect victims. It also relates directly to the issue of genital mutilation in article 38 (Shreeves, 2015).

Female genital mutilation is considered a violation of children's rights included in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the most serious form of violence against women and girls. It is widely performed on girls aged four to twelve. Scientists dealing with the issue of FGM note that the age of the victims who undergo surgeries is getting lower every year (Equality Now, 2011). There are communities in which treatments are performed on girls shortly after birth, others perform them after the wedding or during pregnancy (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2006).

Through the practice of female genital mutilation fundamental rights and freedoms of women and girls are violated or restricted: the right to physical and mental integrity, the right to the highest attainable standard of health, children's rights, freedom from discrimination based on sex (including violence against women), freedom from torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, and even the right to life (END FGM – European Campaign, 2010).

The reasons why members of many communities in the world decide to perform genital mutilation of their daughters or granddaughters are complex but interrelated (Murray, 2013). They are affected by values and beliefs considered by various communities and because of that there is no way to replace them immediately. In many communities, female

circumcision is considered a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood; therefore, consequently a girl becomes a woman. It is an act of socialization of cultural values and belonging to the family or the community and relationships with previous generations. This is the case of Pokoto tribe that lives in the territory of Kenya (Modola, 2013). Despite the fact that in that country the ritual of female genital mutilation has been prohibited for several years, it still persists in many tribes. For Pokoto, circumcision is considered a necessary condition that must be fulfilled by any girl who prepares for marriage. It is a rite of passage to the stage of maturity which is an important event for the whole community.

The main justifications for conducting these practices are customs/traditions, female sexuality, religion/beliefs, or social pressure (Murray, 2013). There are many other reasons why treatments for women are performed. These include, among others, faith in the enlargement of the clitoris with age which makes it necessary to remove it, the recognition of marriages per transaction (in which the family of a man pays the woman's family tribute, when the woman is not circumcised, the family of a man does not need to pay dues), the belief that the external genitalia are impure and can cause death of the newborn during childbirth (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office on Women's Health, 2009), fear of the unknown (in communities where the cult of ancestors exists, women are instilled a fear of the unknown - a curse or the possibility of indignation of the ancestors), recognition of uncircumcised women as dirty and retraction them from household activities or functions, religious activities, public recognition and awards (Equality Now, 2011).

2.2. Honor Killings and Human Rights

According to the article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person. A similar article can be found in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Art. 6 pt. 1). According to this art. each person has “the inherent right to life”. It should be protected by law, because no one can be arbitrarily deprived of life. Also, in an act of the Council of Europe or the European Convention on Human Rights right to life is recognized; in article 2 Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law:

“No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law” (European Convention on Human Rights, 1950) (Revised by Protocol 13).

According to Murrey:

“The rights to “life, liberty, and security of person” and to freedom from “slavery or servitude” and “cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment” in articles 3, 4, and 5 of the Universal Declaration were to be guaranteed to every person. Who could take issue with that? The problem is the context: these words referred to civil and political prisoners, not to people who were subjected to “slavery,” “torture,” or “cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment” in their homes or places of work” (Murrey, 2013).

Honor killings have long been a cultural practice through which family members make a decision to deprive of life one of their relatives. A woman exposed her family honor through actions (which in the opinion of the family is an offense) (Human Rights Watch, 2001). This act can be, for example, the refusal of marrying a candidate for a husband chosen by the

family, being accused of extramarital or premarital sex, rape (made on a woman). Murders of this type are planned in great detail. It happens that women are stoned to death, have their throats slit or they are tortured for a long time before their death (both physically and mentally).

This cultural practice appears among the members of a community who believe in a strong patriarchal structure, in which the norms of male superiority and female inferiority, control and obedience have been rooted. This type of murder vary considerably from the others because it is regulated by the logic of a particular culture (for which the understanding of the concept of “shame” and “honor” found in patriarchal societies is common).

According to Wells:

“that members of the society do not readily question; they become part of the “rules of the game,” in other words, a social norm, defined as: [A] “social regularity,” a behavior that is in fact widely adopted in society. What distinguishes these social regularities as social norms is that they are not only what people do, but what society holds that people should do. The particular actions constituting a social norm have larger cultural or social meanings, which lead other members of society to approve or disapprove of them. The meanings attached to a social norm cause members of society to feel obliged to conform to social norms, either because the meaning has become internalized or because to do otherwise would risk sanction from other members of society” (Cohan, 2010).

Every year (according to estimates) among communities of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Yezidi (United Nations General Assembly, 2014) in different parts of the world, from 5000 up to 20 000 homicides of this kind happen (Deol, 2014). They are also becoming more noticeable in countries that are not identified with the communities in which this practice is widespread. According to the High Commissioner for Human Rights, cases of honor killings have already appeared in Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden or the UK.

One of the countries in which there is a noticeable trend towards the emergence of honor killings among immigrant communities from the circle identified with this practice is Germany. Estimates which are published by the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law says that every year approximately 12 honor killings are committed in this country (Oberwittler and Kasselt, 2011). In the period between 1995 and 2005, a total of 78 cases of honor killings was reported. Organization “Peri”, which aims to combat the problem of forced marriages, notes that there is a trend in German courts to treat the perpetrators of honor killings as “special”. Their guilt is pronounced “more easily” and due to this they are subjected to standards different to those of members of the communities in which the practice of honor killings is not accepted (Klaud, 2014).

An important problem that affects honor killings (as well as other practices which have a cultural background) is that it can be used as an excuse for the real reasons for their conduct. This is the case of the so called “fake honor killings” that occur in Pakistan. It is a state in which the number of honor killings is one of the highest in the world (it is difficult to determine, but it can be a number up 1000 per year) (CQ Global Researcher, 2011), and one of the reasons that lead to them are financial motives. They occur, for example, in cases in which a woman refuses to renounce her part of the property. The murder of her is expected to enable its recovery. Some families in debt also decide to deprive their relative of life. Then, the apparent reason is “the presumption of immoral behavior”. The woman is murdered and the man accused of being her lover is supposed to transfer money to her family, which is intended to be a compensation for the “apparent” loss of the family honor (Schirmmacher, 2006).

2.3. Bride Kidnapping and Human Rights

Forced and early marriages deprive women of their fundamental rights. Marriage without the consent of one or both partners include both physical and emotional coercion and it is undoubtedly a violation of human rights. The regulations concerning marriage are included in a number of legal acts at international level. Forced marriages are also condemned by the major religions of the world (Thomas, 2009). However, regardless of the law and the opposition of many circles, they are still continued similarly to other cultural practices.

The following story shows how difficult the situation of kidnapped women can be:

“In August 2007 in one of the villages of Bazar-Korgon district of Jalalabat oblast, a 17 year old girl, bride kidnapping victim committed suicide. When she was kidnapped and taken to the boy’s home she got out of the kidnapper’s place saying that she was not a virgin. Afterwards everyone in the village spread the rumors about her not being a virgin. At her home she did not have peace. Her grandmother (her mom had passed away) cursed and yelled at her day and night saying bad things. Her relatives said that she shamed her whole family and now nobody else would marry her and she needed to go back to the kidnapper. After having these hardships and pressure by her own family the kidnapping victim went to the barn of their neighbor and hung herself with the note in her pocket: “tell my dad I am still a virgin; I hope I am leaving for a peaceful place now”. Villagers blamed her saying that she was truly not a virgin or psychologically ill, otherwise she wouldn’t commit a suicide” (Kleinbach and Babaiarova, 2013).

According to the classification of the historical forms of the practice of bride kidnapping, which was suggested by Barbara Ayres, throughout history there can be distinguished four forms of abduction. They may coexist together in many communities in a specified place and time. The first of these forms is the 'wife raiding'. It involves a courageous assault in which men from one community/tribe steal a woman from another community/tribe. The second example is 'genuine bride theft'. It is a practice aimed at stealing a woman from within the own community of a man. The groom's family offers an apology or compensation to the family of a woman, and after the abduction establishes “affine relation”. In the case of another form which is 'mock bride theft', a woman pretends to look helpless and obedient. However, in reality, she made a decision about the escape voluntarily. Finally, the last form of 'ceremonial capture' is a ritual which takes place with the full knowledge and consent of a kidnapped woman and her family (Werner, 2009).

Over the years the practice of bride kidnapping has appeared actually on all continents. In Europe it is cultivated in the Roma community (Legiec, 2015). In Central Asia, it is popular in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus. Also some countries in Africa are not free from this type of practice - a form of kidnapping defined as Thwala exists in the south of the Republic of South Africa (Dixon, 2012).

Sizani Ngubane from the NGO Rural Women's Movement in South Africa, says that bride kidnapping is a practice that is a perversion of the culture of this country. A similar opinion prevails among scientists who are trying to find the source of the kidnapping of brides ala kachuu- in Kyrgyzstan and explain its form (Kleinbach and Ablezova and Aitieva, 2005). Although the research of sociologists and anthropologists in the post-Soviet Central Asia points to a revival of various traditional norms and practices relating to the issue of marriage suppressed in Soviet times, in the case of the practice of bride kidnapping such a thesis cannot be proved. However, among Kyrgyz people there is no consensus as to whether Ala kachuu can be classified as a traditional Kyrgyz practice (Amsler and Kleinbach, 1999).

Cases of Kyrgyz Ala kachuu, in which a group of men kidnaps a woman in the street using force and coercion, increased along with the post-Soviet economic crisis and the deteriorating quality of life. The practice originally was particularly common in rural areas, where local practices and traditional lifestyles are more resistant to cultural modernization. However, internal migration on a large scale directed mainly to cities, contributed significantly to the synthesis of urban-rural cultural norms and the spread of a variety of practices, including Ala kachuu.

The research of a team composed of Russell Kleinbach, Mehrigul Ablezova and Medina Aitieva showed that 84% of abducted women get married to the man who kidnapped them. It was shown that nearly half of ethnic Kyrgyz women have been abducted before marriage, and about two-thirds of kidnappings were kidnappings without the consent and against the will of a woman. As many as 35-45% of Kyrgyz women (ethnic) were forced into marriage with the kidnapper, who was not chosen as a candidate for her husband. Ala kachuu is therefore a violation of both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981) (Kleinbach and Ablezova and Aitieva, 2005).

Sociologists, leaders of non-governmental organizations, as well as government representatives and experts in the field of abduction and forced marriages agree that the number of kidnappings in Kyrgyzstan increases with every year. However, there are no official statistics on the percentage of marriages that each year begin with the kidnapping. Official figures say that there are about 15000 kidnapping cases a year in Kyrgyzstan (Wlodek, 2014). Unofficial statistics present up to 30,000 kidnappings. According to estimates, the rate of kidnappings and marriages resulting from them in Kyrgyzstan is about 30% to 80% (in some areas) (Wlodek, 2014).

In the conclusions of the cumulative study conducted in 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012 on 165 women examined by a research team of Russell Kleinbach, we can read that 12% of girls kidnapped in Kyrgyzstan are aged 17 years or less, the average age of abducted women is 19,9 years, and the average age of kidnappers is 24,5 years (Kleinbach and Babaiarova, 2013).

In a broader context, the problem of bride kidnapping is also connected with the issue of forced and early marriages, which mostly affects young women and girls (although there are cases of men who are forced to marry). As in the case of honor killings and the practice of female genital mutilation, as well as, the problem of bride kidnapping and forced marriage, it is difficult to look for reliable statistical data. These problems have often informal and undocumented nature. Another problem is the fear of opposition to the usual "closed" circles of family and communities.

3. The Connotations

In view of the problem, the division of cultures made by Mead may be considered important (Mead, 1970). She singled out three types of cultures which are also the three stages of their development. The first stage is post-figurative culture. These cultures are focusing on the older generation, as well as on the knowledge and experience which derive from it. Constant returning to the past is significant in this case, as it builds a traditional society with a slow rhythm of changes. The next stage is the co-figurative culture, or "discovered peers". In this stage, the emphasis is put on the reliance on the "experience of the younger generation, which has no equivalent" in the experience of parents, grandparents and other elderly people in the closest environment. It is based on the models of peers and young people themselves invent new styles of behavior, based on personal experience, and recommend them as a model for other peers. The co-figurative system of culture is associated with rapid transformations in technology and social structures, which are accompanied by the intensity of migration

processes and the formation of distance between generations. Behaviors in this stage, are not supported by ideas about the past or the future. They are imposed and controlled by a certain group. This is the behavior of necessity which is loosely grounded in isolation from post-figurative childhood experiences. The third type is the pre-figurative culture, which is imposed by the younger generation. Today, children live in a world about which the elders have no idea, and only few of them could assume that this phenomenon occurs. The development of this type of culture depends on whether it is possible to establish a dialogue with the young generation and whether it can act in a way that will lead the elderly towards an unknown future. In this case, the young teach the elderly about the direction in which they should go in the future (also to solve the existential problems) (Mead, 1970).

It seems that the societies which are still practicing the discussed practice can be recognized as post-figurative cultures. They focus on the former generations and habits transferred by them. The next generation duplicate the behavior of their ancestors and are closed on environmental influences and cultures in which there is no acceptance of certain standards adopted by the post-figurative culture. The extent and the pace of development of these communities which cultivate the practices discussed above, as well as the way in which the international community can help in the activities of awareness and conviction about the dangers of these practices will affect their disappearance

4. Conclusion

In this analysis, the author confronted three cultural practices: female genital mutilation, honor killings and the practice of bride kidnapping. These are three different practices, however, both of them have a connection with human rights violations. On one hand, there are societies that for many years have been acting in accordance with standards accepted by themselves, even those which have been rooted for many centuries. On the other hand, there are the regulations in the field human rights that the international community has developed in a number of documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (the Universal Declaration), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (the Civil and Political Rights Covenant), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant). The importance of the rights of women and girls is also underlined in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Children's Rights Convention). These documents, which have an international character, with the time have been supplemented with regional instruments, among which the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms or the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights can be mentioned.

These practices are closely related to the issue of women's rights and for the circle of feminists are a topic for discussion and fight for these rights. Anthropologists who deal with the nature of such practices need to be objective and attempt to understand the communities that cultivate them. On the other hand, there are communities that are defending themselves against accusations directed at them with arguments referring to the right to cultivate their culture and traditions which have been cultivated for many years. The problem is very complex, however, taking into account the aspirations of the international community as a whole to protect the rights of each human, legitimacy of such practices seems to be unjustified.

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Critique of the “societas academica”. Knowledge and communication between Vico e Habermas

Andrea Lombardinilo

1. Introduction

This proposal focuses on the university reformism debate according to antiphrastic dialectics (peculiar to our modernity) between university and anti-university, in order to investigate in more detail the heuristic approach as well as the different, convergent approach fostered by Vico and Habermas.

To the fore is the development of the reflection on the “commoda” and “incommoda” (advantages and disadvantages) of university. Both Vico and Habermas propose distant but synergic interpretations in the light of different social and cognitive patterns as well as the consideration of Habermas’s attention to Vico’s thought.

Some of the matters pointed out by Vico in the inaugural speech *On the study method of our times* given in Naples in 1708 (didactic fragmentation, excess of self-reference, the separation between humanism and scientism, the limits of the freedom of research, to name a few) characterize social reflection on university. This happens in the hard years of the student protest, as emphasized by Habermas in his essay, titled *University in the democracy* (1967).

Furthermore, it is worth noticing that reflection on the destiny of universities is entrusted to the form of oral speech as in the case of Vico and Habermas and other important thinkers (Derrida, Morin, McLuhan, Bourdieu). These are the ones who have dedicated some significant programmatic reflections to university reformism, therefore, critical discourse on the university and public analysis on the communicative act can be joined together, far beyond the self-referencing limits of our universities.

2. Methods. Reformism and functional renovation: the drawbacks of university

At the beginning of his essay titled *On the Future of our Educational Institutions* (1872), Friedrich Nietzsche suggests some possible innovations both for schools and universities, in the particular historical phase featuring the consolidation of the great European nationalisms. In the foreground are the rules that the educational systems should abide by, together with the didactic and scientific organizations of the higher education institutions. His approach is both critical and proactive, inspired by the awareness of the deep changes connected to the advance of modernity: “It is just possible that between now and then all *Gymnasias*--yea, and perhaps all universities, may be destroyed, or have become so utterly transformed that their very regulations may, in the eyes of future generations, seem to be but the relics of the cave-dwellers’ age” (Nietzsche, 2009, Preface).

Basically, Nietzsche can be considered one of the most critical voices of the academic society of his time. In fact, the constant growth of the cognitive complexity has produced an interesting debate about the drawbacks of our universities, about their social role and scientific purposes. The cultural endeavor of the medieval universities, analyzed by McLuhan according to a communicative approach, has deeply changed across the centuries, because of a progressive separation between cognitive goals and functional priorities (McLuhan, 2011, pp. 105-111).

This is one of the reasons that leads Nietzsche to conjecture on a deep renewal of the whole educational system, so as to start with a brand new course, inspired by the convergence between learning and professional priorities. Basically, he delivers a sheer anti-academic

speech, pivoted on understanding the real needs of future generations. Conservatism is one of the most relevant risks which marks the academic act, so deeply embedded in the attempt to reproduce, as much as possible, the symbolic power which founds the practice of knowledge. After all, the symbolic capital of the academic commitment was effectively noticed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) in the Eighties; he highlighted the rooted tendency not only to separate the humanities from scientific disciplines, but also to exploit possible enhancement of strategies for recruiting young researchers and professors.

Furthermore, Weber (1919) had already pointed out serious drawbacks regarding the self-referential nature of academic actors, far from assuming the practice of science as a solid vocation: “No university teacher likes to be reminded of discussions of appointments, for they are seldom agreeable. And yet I may say that in the numerous cases known to me there was, without exception, the good will to allow purely objective reasons to be decisive” (Weber, 1946, p. 3).

The unfathomable nature of the academic mission mingles with its irreplaceable cognitive function, so significant in the era of digitalized knowledge and connected relationships. At the dawn of the ascent of the totalitarian systems of the twentieth century that would greatly reduce the freedom of teaching and thought, Weber exalts the vocational instances of academic commitment. And it is important to realize that his determination in denouncing the functional degenerations of the University of his time is quite surprising.

Despite belonging to the teaching staff, he blames his university for the inability to assess the merit and value of the young scholars. His anti-academic reflection sounds like a striking summation of the drawbacks peculiar to academic society, destined to change how the socio-cultural role of universities was conceived: “One must be clear about another thing: that the decision over academic fates is so largely a 'hazard' is not merely because of the insufficiency of the selection by the collective formation of will” (Weber, 1946, p. 3).

Weber underlines that the tasks of scholars may not match the purposes of professors, as Derrida specifically explains in his reflection on the university without condition of our times. Indeed, Weber’s opinion of the educational emergency that involves universities makes us ponder on the development of educational systems when great socio-cultural, political, economic and technological shifts appear.

Since reaction times of educational systems are usually slower than ongoing changes, sociologists and thinkers have often focused on the delays and culpability of academic society in adapting to the evolution of the scientific and functional scenarios. This is what Giambattista Vico remarks at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Cartesian thought had already permeated the different aspects of civil and cultural life in Naples (Naddeo, 2011; Lilla, 1993; Campailla, 1971).

The definition of a new study method approaches as the attempt to recover the centrality of the humanities in educational processes and reduce the influence of rationalism and scientism professed by the Enlightenment thinkers. As a consequence, the universities have heaped up a number of drawbacks that must be resolved by means of an effective reform strategy.

Some of the criticalities pointed out by Vico, as for example didactic fragmentation and the self-referential character of academic actors, are perhaps those that permeate the mass universities of our times. Their appearance is strictly linked to the conquests of the European students’ movement. That was the moment in which the Universities were prompted to renovate their educational mission and face the lack of communication, information and autonomy denounced by Habermas in his analysis of the University in democracy (Caputo, 2003).

In the Sixties he deals with some of the most urgent reform actions that Universities had to support to preserve their cultural and scientific prestige, in a time marked by unexpected social and political changes. These are some of the problems generated by the diffusion of the

electronic media and mainstream information strategies. As assumed by Bauman, these functional shifts have deeply undermined the educational centrality of post-modern universities: “University have to compete on allegedly equal terms with numerous other agencies” (Bauman, 2001, p. 130).

Comprehension of these criticalities allows us not only to understand the origins of the anti-academic reflection suggested by Vico and developed by Habermas, but also to outline the evolution of the debate on the future of educational systems. To the fore are the economic and cultural features of the social scenarios that have marked the transition of universities from the old medieval “stadium” to the digitalized communities of our times (Jenkins, 2008; Thompson, 1995).

3. Findings

3.1. Vico and academic drawbacks: notes on the Cartesian university

In compliance with his mediological theory, based on the idea of media as mere corporal extensions, McLuhan has often remarked the need to innovate educational strategies according to communicative evolutions. Neither schools nor universities can afford to wait for the innovations to come, otherwise they would run the risk of losing the cognitive role played in the past. McLuhan develops this educational concept in one of his main works, *Understanding media*, in which the peculiar relationship between tradition and innovation is not neglected: “Continued in their present patterns of fragmented unrelation, our school curricula will insure a citizenry unable to understand the cybernated world in which they live” (McLuhan, 2003, p. 460).

The functional revolution bolstered by the technological advance implies the acquisition of a different socio-cultural awareness of the changes that should be faced and eventually acknowledged. From this point of view, the “fragmented unrelation” of the disciplines which form the curriculum might appear as one of the main drawbacks of educational systems, so risky in a time marked by the convergence of knowledge.

After all, McLuhan has always acknowledged the importance of Vico in the history of modern thought. His theory of historical courses and recourses may provide the scholar of communicative processes with further interpretative patterns, potentially meaningful in probing the origins and development of cognitive tendencies. In fact, the fragmentation of educational theories seems to link the mass University (marked by the proliferation of disciplines and hyper-specialization) to the Cartesian University so much criticized by Vico (Lombardinilo, 2014, pp. 39-78).

Needless to say, he attempts to construct a new study method capable of contrasting the dominion of rationality and restoring the positive benefits of fancy and imagination (Gessa-Kurowschka, 2005). In paragraph 14 of the inaugural speech *On the study method of our times* (delivered in Naples in 1708) Vico takes the opportunity to focus on the “commoda” and “incommoda” of the universities of his time, so as to outline the possible solutions to contrast the cognitive and functional drifts of the Cartesian university.

In the light of the complexity spread by the advance of progress, Vico’s theoretical assumption is that universities are indispensable in modern times. Nevertheless, the lack of universities in ancient Greece and Rome must be interpreted as the consequence of a different way of training human skills, based on the military activities in Greece and the study of the law in Rome.

The shift from the ancient academies to the modern universities implied the construction of a disciplinary pattern to take into account the great changes fostered by the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. This fact implies the definition of a new study method to endow the young with the cognitive tools best suited to probe the ongoing social complexity. According to the philosophical program of his *New Science*, Vico deals with the definition of a new system of criticism, also inspired by Bacon's essay *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* (1623): "It is a positive fact that, just as knowledge originates in truth and error in falsity, so common sense arises from perceptions based on verisimilitude" (Vico, 1990, p. 13). The poetics of verisimilitude is one of the cornerstones of Vico's philosophy, partly related to the need to downsize the rationalist impact of Cartesian civilization. The attraction of knowledge springs not only from the practice of calculation and the cult of progress, but also from the dialectics between error and truth, whose interaction allowed the ancients to probe the unfathomable incoming essence of existence. In the meantime, youths should develop their faculties "as early as possible", according to an educational program capable of indicating the difference between truth, error and verisimilitude (Caputo, 2003).

It is quite clear that any possible method of studies cannot afford to renounce the intellectual and heuristic contribution of the humanistic disciplines, displaced by the Cartesian myth of reason and progress. "What Vico dislikes, what he combats in Descartes, is not the arrogance of a thinker belonging to a different nation (and there would have been some excuse for this attitude, in view of Descartes' depreciatory attitude toward Galileo, whose discoveries he considered as either erroneous or trivial), but "Renato's" professed antipathy, nay, utter contempt, for the *litterae humaniores* and pre-eminently for languages" (Gianturco, 1990, p. xxvi).

Any hypothetical consideration of Vico's effort to found his own new science cannot set aside the criticism that he implements starting from the "depreciatory attitude" towards Descartes and his experimental method. Some hypothetical questions may facilitate our comprehension. Is it really necessary to wipe out the cultural heritage of by gone centuries just to exalt the new religion of technique? Is it so fundamental to replace the humanities with the intellectual obsession of science, whose impact on social and civil life continues to inspire current debates? Finally, can imagination be really undone by the finite power of reason, so dependent on historical and social contingencies?

Well ahead of the advent of the risk society (Beck, 1992), Vico assumes that the new study method should overcome the unfruitful separation between the human and scientific branches of knowledge. The didactic fragmentation denounced by Vico could be interpreted as the consequence of the radicalization of the Cartesian approach to daily life and cultural practice. Instead, Vico suggests a different way to observe the inextricable contradictions of human experience. He advocates a much more relativist approach: "Probabilities stand, so to speak, midway between truth and falsity, since things which most of the time are true, are only very seldom false" (Vico, 1990, p. 13).

Therefore, Vico points out that science and philosophy must interact, because the first may result incomplete without the latter. This is the reason why it is important to make the disciplines converge, instead of confining them within obsolete heuristic boundaries. Vico's syncretism appears an attempt to produce integrated cultures, well in advance of the end of the great narrations (Lyotard, 1979).

Comparison of the different disciplines would facilitate a different symbolic interpretation of social life, increasingly influenced by the cultural revolution bolstered by the printing press (Ong, 2002). As a matter of fact, the digital universities of our times descend from the typographic academies proliferating in the eighteenth century, when the diffusion of Arcadia accelerated the diffusion of aristocratic intellectual centers.

In this regard, it is quite interesting to remember the address delivered for the fourth annual inauguration of the *Accademia degli Oziosi*. Vico makes this speech in January 1737 in the house of the Academy's influential patron and scholar, Nicola Maria Salerno. On this occasion, the philosopher points out that science cannot be developed without the study of eloquence and philology. In particular, he emphasizes the heritage of the ancient rhetoricians, above all Cicero and Demosthenes (Vico, 1990, p. 87).

Vico can only denounce the drawbacks of the Cartesian study method, founded on the analytical probing of human experience. Of course, Vico refuses to conceive it according to mathematical patterns. The young are prompted to assume an “heroic mind”, described in occasion of the inaugural speech made in 1732. The geometrical mind claimed by the Cartesians is nothing but the expression of their overflowing trust in reason, the belief that recent discoveries will go on being implemented.

The alleged “proofs” of the geometric method are destined not to replace “the erroneous order of thought” featured in medieval universities, pivoted on the logical force of syllogism and rhetoric (Mooney, 1991). Teaching strategies ought to increase the creative skills of the students, whose cognitive endeavor is strictly connected to the possibility of treasuring the poetical and rhetorical lesson of the past.

The latter is so important as to enable teachers to highlight the importance of the humanities in the comprehension of the educational and symbolic processes that rule the communicative phenomenology of modern times. In this perspective, Vico invites the academics to overcome strict separation among the disciplines. This separation is accused of producing drawbacks so relevant that only a reliable and effective educational system would be able to overcome them. Vico's attention to the ancient rhetoric implies full awareness of the cognitive patterns which seem to characterize the cognitive scenarios of our times.

After all, the fragmentation of the disciplinary sectors and the proliferation of didactic tools are only two of the trademarks of the post-reform universities, queried not only by the persistence of structural criticalities (cutback of funds, lack of accountability, disconnection from the job contexts, proliferation of courses and decentralized seats, absence of internationalization), but also by the hyper-specialization of expertise. The fragmentation of didactic activities may be seen as t

he result of normative excesses bolstered by the number of reforms in recent years. The programmatic purpose regards the rationalization of the whole university system by means of a constant increase in the didactic requirements of courses. Vico would suggest that every reform should take into account the real cognitive instances of the young people, by overcoming corporative issues and conservative debates that connect academic action to sheer contingent issues.

The fact that Vico stresses the irreplaceable nature of universities does not keep him from denouncing the negative effects of the didactic fragmentation of his university, heavily imbued with the Cartesian craving to exalt the beneficial influence of reason (Vico, 1990, p. 76).

The “unitary spirit” that should inspire the practice of knowledge is nothing but the essence of the cognitive involvement of scholars. Vico takes the chance to emphasize it in reference to the urgent need to pursue the endeavor of wisdom. First of all, the model of the ancient philosophers is bound should be treasured and renewed according to the syncretistic instances of modernity (Lyotard, 1979).

In the foreground is the construction of an educational paradigm which might be suited to the new cultural endeavors proposed by the Enlightenment society. “The novelty of Vico's curriculum lay in its pedagogical premise that the course of study ought to conform to the intrinsic nature of the human mind rather than the extrinsic relationship among the extant disciplines of knowledge” (Naddeo, 2011, p. 81).

The purpose of the philosopher is to underline the central role played by the dialogue among the sciences and disciplines. Needless to say, the apparent anti-modernity of Vico's proposal is deeply rooted in the heuristic dimension of myth and poetry. After all, the study of the ancient philosophers and historians may endow the scholar with the interpretative tools needed to build the perspective of the heroic mind, suspended between prophecy and utopia: "The Heroic Mind in its Wisdom dedicates its knowledge of the whole to the service of the human community in order to articulate and promote the *sensus communis*, the sense of shared, communal human experience" (Ruffo Fiore, 1998, para. 1).

This *sensus communis* to be achieved by means of the constant practice of knowledge, explored in all its variety (Schaeffer, 1981). Universities must not only teach, but also educate and develop the social and human skills of youth: "For this very reason, your university education has the following purpose and it is right that you should keep it fully in view: you have come together here, ailing as you are in mind and soul, for the treatment, the healing, the perfecting of your better nature" (Vico, 1980, p. 8).

Any reform process must not underrate the functional and economic changes also bolstered by the technology as Vico well realizes through the knowledge of academic mechanisms. Nevertheless, the metaphor of the heroic mind conceals a veiled criticism towards the increasing separation between human and scientific disciplines.

Any hope of success is founded on the capacity to mingle innovation and tradition, by avoiding any further incommunicability among academic actors and their respective expertise. This is precisely what McLuhan and Habermas point out in the age of the media fall out, also exploiting the lesson of Vico, involved as they were in the construction of a new study method, suited to the greatest possible extent to the new electronic media.

3.2. Habermas and the extrafunctional expertise of universities

In 1953, long before the advent of the connected society, McLuhan pointed out the close connection between higher education and communication (McLuhan, 2005, p. 9). The attention paid to the evolution of the educational processes in the time of media expansion lays the groundwork for the relevance of the interactional implications peculiar to the electronic age in the construction of a study method that is both modern and reliable, based on the relationship between theory and praxis (Habermas, 1961 and 1971).

As mentioned before, the dematerialized university theorized by McLuhan seems to descend from the typographic university criticized by Vico, especially because of the invasion of low quality books and improvised writers. Every new medium implies an unavoidable reconfiguration of the human senses, according to the symbolic and semantic features of the communicative practices set in place by the media (Silverstone, 1999). This is much more true for educational institutions, whose times of reaction to the social shifts are usually slower than evolutionary phenomena.

This happens when the academic environment ceases to appear as a community, encumbered by personal interests and contingent priorities. In other words, the transition to the mass university, further accelerated by the efforts of the European students' movement in the Sixties, can be interpreted as the attempt to build a new academic environment, much more inclusive, transparent and accessible than in the past (Morcellini & Martino 2005; Bourdieu, 1984).

The goal of democratic knowledge and pluralistic education is no longer perceived as utopian by new generations, submerged as they are in the complexity of the media and cultural industry. Habermas, like McLuhan, is aware of the communicative dimension of the ongoing changes which are projecting the universities towards new functional scenarios. For

Habermas, knowledge of Vico’s thought turns into a further means of knowledge of the historic complexity of our modernity (Tessitore, 1974), ineluctably founded on the recurrence of social and political phenomena (Privitera, 1996).

From this point of view, the persistence of specific drawbacks allows us to interpret university reformism as an incessant attempt to disrupt a functional system yet still enveloped. Basically, the rapid growth of technocracy, the advent of the public media sphere and the globalization of economies (Calhoun, 1992) engender a new perception of the cultural role of universities: “The problem is compounded because of the demise of the modern state which has become a cheerleader for the economy and in the process sees itself as running the economy rather than running society.

The challenge for the university is to identify its role in the context of this analysis” (Fleming, 2006, p. 6). Two days after the murder of the German student Benno Ohnesorg, killed by a policeman during the visit of the Persian Shah in Berlin (June 2nd, 1967), Habermas made his famous Hanover speech which revolved around the relationship between University and democracy. His approach is strongly anti-academic, since he is aware of the serious drawbacks of the university system in reference to the real didactic and scientific effectiveness of the academic engagement.

A reliable university reform should be inspired by three fundamental principles: the creation of the “necessary independence” of universities from the state and the economic establishment; the promotion of scientific activities by means of a communicative action “as much intense and wide as possible”; the training of the scholars “by means of the information about the research activities and the consequent participation” (Habermas, 1968, pp. 104-105).

These three principles, so relevant in a programmatic context, are obviously extremely ambitious. In fact, they result in potential contrast with the management features of the university system, traditionally reluctant to be open about itself. As a result, Habermas can only point out that “the University appears as a hierarchical association of power in the eyes of the students” (Habermas, 1968, p. 104). In the background is the need to implement the political activism of the young, bound to foster a real and concrete renovation process also in educational institutions (Habermas, 1968, pp. 99-100).

The conflicts between academic actors and students spring from the criticized reform of the courses, likely to hamper the political involvement of students, foster the corporative interests of the academic lobbies, and reduce the professional and cultural appeal of the young graduates. Forbidden use of the conference room, together with a series of corporative decisions, marks the socio-political dimension of a conflict that is increasingly bitter and pressing.

The attempt to bolster a de-politicization of the University collides with the desire for inclusion and participation of the students’ communities in compliance with the political, economic and civil issues engendered by the cold war (Habermas, 1961). It is not by chance that didactic reform appears to be a political topic, closely connected to functional issues peculiar to the mass university to be instituted: “The result would be a rigid limitation of the study time, the exclusion of students from the research activities and a de-politicization of Universities” (Habermas, 1968, pp. 101-102).

The risk of a further closure of the Universities towards the participation of civil society can be averted by means of a simple functional reform, pivoted on the innovation of teaching strategies, the synergy of the different branches of knowledge and more effective politics of inclusion. First of all, the universities should be allowed to manage research funds independently.

Then, the “principle of the chair” should be abolished. Finally, the participation of scholars and professors ought to be implemented through better information about the conditions of

science scientific conditions. “The Free University fulfills its duties to serve the maintenance of the development of the social democracy founded on the rule of law” (Habermas, 1968, p. 107).

It is no chance that Habermas’ reform program is inspired by the need to achieve three main fundamental goals: endow the students with the so called “extra functional skills”, i.e. all “those qualities and aptitudes which result relevant for the exercise of an academic profession and are not transmitted by themselves by means of the knowledge and professional skills” (Habermas, 1968, pp. 110-111). This means that the educational systems should take care not only of cognitive training, but also of the social and civil inclusion of the young. This goal strictly depends on the achievement of two other purposes: “transmitting, interpreting and implementing certain cultural traditions to the society” and forming “the political consciousness of its students” (Habermas, 1968, pp. 111-112).

Of course, the reform of the statute and the introduction of joint committees formed by students and professors are not sufficient to start the new reform founded on accountability, communication and democracy. In the light of the need to make teaching strategies much more modern and innovative, theory and practice of the academic processes are about to be deeply questioned. The solution resides in the construction of an academic society capable of educating and forming the political conscience of young people, according to a much more intense cooperation among the disciplines: “For this reason we do not need to take into account the hypothesis of a contrast between the University divided into many closed disciplines and the so called formative University. This may be true until we decide to arbitrarily break the process of rationalization” (Habermas, 1968, p. 126).

The social role played by extra-functional skills can be implemented only through better communication between the academic actors and civil society. Therefore it is fundamental that the University system reacts promptly to the deep social changes fostered by the advent of the media society, by means of a didactic reform that should endow the university with needful credibility and authority.

The construction of the University in democracy implies offsetting the drawbacks engendered by the old self-referential habit: “Habermas prompts us to see the university as a community of discursive reason or communicative procedures, and we are most rational when we participate in communities characterized by free and unconstrained discourse, i.e. democratic discourse. He prompts us to see the university community as a lifeworld” (Fleming, 2006, pp. 18-19).

The political relevance of the students depends only on the possibility to turn the utopia of a democratic university into the reality of a communicative university. The latter is achievable nowadays by means of the new assessment and rationalization policies that seem to inspire the path of academic systems towards a more modern educational dimension.

4. Conclusion. Critic of the academic society: sociological notes

At the dawn of the media society, both McLuhan and Habermas deal with the incapacity of the higher education systems to keep pace with the profound changes that technological progress is about to produce in social and economic environments. From this point of view, it is quite clear that the symbolic power of universities emphasized by Bourdieu in *Homo academicus* is no longer sufficient to guarantee the cultural role assured by the magnificence of secular tradition. The dialectics between humanities and sciences risk nowadays concealing some of the main drawbacks that continue to feature in the educational action of academic actors, often encumbered by the shackles of bureaucracy.

It is no chance that the construction of the University without condition claimed by Derrida through the acquisition of a different cultural approach is founded on transparency, independence, communication. “This University without conditions does not, in fact, exist, as we know only too well. Nevertheless, in principle and in conformity with its declared vocation, its professed essence, it should remain an ultimate place of critical resistance – and more than critical – to all the powers of dogmatic and unjust appropriation” (Derrida, 2002, pp. 25-26).

After all, the discourse on the future that our universities cannot set aside is the reinforcement of the so-called academic society across the decades. For this reason it must be pointed out that the transition from modernity to post-modernity has implied the transformation of the universities into mere educational agencies, increasingly entangled in reform processes destined to be conceived as the only path to renewal and efficiency.

Needless to say, the increase of normative hypertrophy has compelled academic communities to develop a different professional habit, much more attentive to the new instances of evaluation and rationalization that inspire the process of harmonization of the European higher educational system (Campbell & Carayannis, 2012; Palomba, 2008). However, the reforms are not always capable of solving the disadvantages stemming from didactic fragmentation and the lack of communicability among different branches of the disciplinary sectors.

They risk being increasingly confined within the boundaries of the bureaucratic practices. As a consequence, some drawbacks persist that have marked the transition of universities to the age of complexity. There is the tendency to foster disciplinary autonomy, bound to limit any possible dialogue among the different branches of knowledge.

As Morin asserts, “our system of ideas (theories, doctrines, ideologies) are subject to error and, in addition, they protect errors and illusions contained in themselves. Resistance to unsuitable or indigestible information is inherent to the organizational logic of all systems of ideas” (Morin, 1999, p. 19). The intellectual errors noted by Morin are remote from the ones denounced both by Habermas in reference to the attempt to democratize the university system and by Vico, who refers to the construction of a new study method. His attempt to retrench the influence of Cartesian scientific patterns shows the importance of an effective didactic reform, in compliance with the necessity to endow the university with its legitimate cultural role.

Likewise, Habermas realizes the urgent need to turn the university into a communicative and intellectual community, open to the participation of its main stakeholders, above all the students. Autonomy, inclusion, politicization: these are the benchmarks of the new mass university engendered by the political and social breeding ground of the Sixties.

Both Vico and Habermas know that any possible chance of innovation depends on the availability of the “societas academica” to resign the self-referential criteria that often inspire academic action and decisions. For this reason their reflection on the drawbacks and advantages of universities may appear as simple tirades against scholars and professors’ unawareness of the problems that universities must constantly face because of the impossibility of keeping pace with the social, professional and economic change (Cowen, 2000).

The academic society is required to turn into an open community, capable of exploiting its secular authority to overcome the drawbacks that are historically featured in its didactic and educational involvement. This is the reason why the discourse on the future of our universities (previously delivered by Nietzsche) cannot set aside legitimate criticism of the educational systems, aimed at stimulating a different way to conceive modernization and social participation. The possible solution lies in the permanent on-going renewal of teaching strategies according to the advance of progress and innovation (Latour, 2009).

The different branches of knowledge are bound to intersect as much as possible. After all, even Bauman recommends exploiting the disciplinary polyphony of our universities: “It is a good luck for the universities that despite all the efforts of the self-proclaimed saviours, know-betters and well-wishers to prove the contrary, they are not comparable, not measurable by the same yardstick and – most important of all – not speaking in unison”. (Bauman, 2001, p. 137). This is one of the drawbacks of the digital universities of our time, characterized by the anxiety of innovation and the fear of change.

5. References

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The Learning Process of New Fatherhood: A Narrative Inquiry of First Paternal Experiences – From Challenges to Growth

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1. Introduction

Pregnancy and labor not only bring stress to new mothers, these also induce stress to the first-time fathers. It is not easy for fathers to get connected with children from pregnancy, even after they are born.

In the past few years, many male changed their roles from working fathers to full time fathers in Hong Kong. It is very different from traditional full time housewives trend. In Hong Kong, most social services targets are female. Male seldom actively approached and received services even they encountered difficulties in families or lives. Only few NGOs in Hong Kong had specific services that providing for male clients, but not father as core role in the services. Actually, the need of a new father is seldom mentioned in local social services that should be further developed.

This paper is trying to use narrative inquiry approach to delve into the paternal experience of six new fathers. From the stories depicted by them, we would know what the challenges they are facing after role transition, how they learn to become a father role, and how they get connected with children. All admitted the experiences were tough ones, though they learnt and grew a lot. If some more preparation could be done beforehand, they would adjust the roles better. In return, the whole family would be benefit.

Thus, it will be very valuable that to understand more about new fathers' needs and give some suggestions on social work services, that could be provided for them as to help them better adjust in their new roles, which in turn will have profound impact on the whole family.

2. Method

2.1 Narrative analysis

All knowledge is socially constructed (Smith, 1997). Narrative analysis allows people to construct their own meaning of past life events and interpret their experiences (Lam & Chan, 2004). Narrative analysis allows for the systematic investigation of personal experience and meaning (Riessman, 2003). As human lives in and shaped by a linguistic milieu, narrative is the form of hermeneutic expression in which behavior is understood and made meaningful (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 145). Narrative is also the principal form of manifestation through which life events are combined into unanimous, meaningful and united themes (Polkinghorne, 1988). It becomes a purposeful participation with a preferred theme for the individual (Ma, 2013; Polkinghorne, 1995/2005). The fundamental interest of narrative is to make sense of experience, which contributing in constructing and communicating meaning (Chase, 1995, p. 1).

The importance of narrative is to allow the storyteller to tell his/her own story in the pace of his/her own. He/she can select and filter which element and theme to be included in the story. That means the individual has the power to choose which, when, what, who and his/her feeling to be included in the story (Ma, 2013). The storyteller can speak out the immediate feeling and thought during the narration. He/she can interpret his/her own meaning on any particular event, but not by others (Cortazzi, 1993; Josselson, 1995; Ma, 2013; Riessman, 1993; Spence, 1982). Thus narrative analysis is a meaning-extraction process when

the storytellers are talking about themselves (Lam & Chan, 2004). They have the rights to bestow meaning to their own stories.

If we want to have deeper and thorough understanding of the life stories and challenges of new fathers, we must listen to their own narration. From their narratives, we will know more how they can overcome all adversity during difficult time and what is the impact on the whole family.

2.2 Design

This study used narrative analysis to understand new fathers in Hong Kong. The interview used semi-structured and open-ended questions to invite participants to share their new paternal experience. It followed the time sequence of marriage to paternal experience so as to let them easier to narrate their stories. Some follow up questions were asked according to the answers they provided whenever necessary. The interview format remains open, flexible, and adaptive to encourage in-depth, responsive descriptions of participants' stories. Active listening and non-judgmental attitude is utmost important.

2.3 Target

Six new fathers with at least one kid aged less than 18 months were recruited. As there were limited respondents, thus all respondents were snowball samples through different networks.

All respondents are aged from 34-40 years old. They had been married for 3-10 years. Their education level was from bachelor to master degree. All are professionals. Only one wife was full time housewife and all others were working mothers. Background summary of all respondents is in Table 1.

Table 1. Background summary of respondents

Name	Age	Marriage Years	Education Level	Occupation	Wife		Children	
					Age	Occupation	Sex	Age
Sam	36	5	Bachelor	Dentist	35	Dentist	M	3yrs
							M	16mos
							M	16mos
Pit	40	10	Master	Lecturer	40	Social Worker	F	3yrs
							F	3mos
Jan	37	7	Bachelor	Designer	36	Designer	M	3yrs
							F	1yr
Nick	40	4	Master	Lecturer	35	Social Worker	M	2yrs
							M	6mos
Kit	38	4	Master	Lecturer/ Psychologist	37	Executive	M	14mos
Bob	34	3	Master	Surveyor	34	Housewife	M	8mos

2.4 Data collection

Each interview was arranged for the convenience of participants. After discussion with participants, most convenient time and place was confirmed. Each interview lasted around 2-4 hours.

Democracy is the power to say “No”. From calculus of consent to reasonable dissent

Each participant was clearly explained about his rights during the interview. As they joined the research on a voluntary basis, they could terminate whenever they didn't want to continue. They could describe their own stories from their subjective framework of reference. Interviews were audiotaped, with prior participant consent, and then were transcribed for analysis.

2.5 Data analysis

Narrative analysis was adopted for data analysis. According to Riessman (2008, p. 183), narrative analysis “refers to a diverse set of methods, a ‘family’ of interpretive approaches to spoken, written, and visual texts.” There are four broad approaches of narrative analysis, namely, thematic analysis, structural analysis, dialogic/performance analysis, and visual analysis (Riessman, 2008).

A good narrative analysis necessarily inquires language and structure and guides people to see beyond the surface and explore deeper individual and social meanings (Riessman, 2008). The analysis procedure included transcribing, analysis of the narrative content, structure, linguistic, discursion and context. Finally, an overall analysis and report writing was done.

3. Findings

From the data collected, it is inevitable that being a father is a learning process (Liu, 2003). Many different scholars agreed that fatherhood is a very powerful growth process for fathers (Abell & Schwartz, 1999; Marcel, 1964; Maslow, 1954, 1968; Erikson, 1963, 1982). In sum, fatherhood is a learning and growing process for the fathers themselves derived from the result of this research. Here a pathway is suggested to elaborate this learning road:
Confusion -> Connection (with kids and partners)-> Commitment -> Meaning extraction (father's role/identity, life)

3.1 Confusion

According to the findings, all participants found that they felt confused when the children were still small. They could not easily identify the role of father.

- ✧ **Bob**, “I wanted to throw my son on the floor on the first night! It was so horrible that he cried and cried! I did not know the reasons and what to do. I was really tired and exhausted.”
- ✧ **Jan**, “I will use marathon to describe second pregnancy of my wife. As my wife had placenta previa. My wife had to stay in hospital for 60 days before delivery. I went to visit her every day, chatted and prayed with her.”
- ✧ **Kit**, “I was not used to have a baby in my life. It was quite strange. I have to adapt to become a father.”
- ✧ **Sam**, “When baby was still small, I really could not feel myself as a father. Or say I could not feel he was my son then.”

- ✧ **Pit**, “When the baby was small, only some caring duty was done. I could not feel I was her father.”
- ✧ **Nick**, “After my first son was born, the life was busy, troublesome and harsh. I was sleepless due to endless crying of my son.”

3.2 Connection (with kids and partners)

3.2.1 With kids

As children gradually grew up, the participants could connect with their children step by step. The interaction with the children made them identify their “fatherhood”. The more interaction with the children, they could connect with the children much easier. They would strive their best to become a good father and want to provide the best for the growth of children.

- **Sam**, “There were three people called me ‘daddy’. They kissed me and I am responsible for their lives. I am aware of and identified with the new identity. I must. This is very important to me.”
- **Kit**, “I will use ‘soil’ as a metaphor. As a father, I have responsibility to provide fertile soil for my son to grow up. At least I have to teach him how to be a good person without committing crimes.”
- **Bob**, “I have psychological compensation for my own. As my father was dead when I was very small, it left a hole in my life. It was so regretful in my life. So I have a mission that I must be a good father.”
- **Jan**, “The response of my kids made me know I was their father! They only find me to do certain things, but not others.”
- **Nick**, “I feel fatherhood is very important.”

3.2.2 With partners

Apart from connection with kids, they could feel more connected with their partners. The relationship with partners changed from time to time during the pregnancy and child-rearing process. Yet all have the tendency toward better relationship with their partners. They cherish each other much more than before.

- **Jan**, “For the first pregnancy, I witnessed the whole process and felt it was very inhuman! She was extremely painful and it was too difficult for a mother to deliver! I felt really thankful to my wife and thought mothers are really great! I would love my wife more!”
- **Kit**, “We had argument on the decision of having baby after marriage. My wife wanted freedom and did not want a baby, but I wanted. My wife became more open after the birth. I felt our relationship became closer after that.”

Democracy is the power to say “No”. From calculus of consent to reasonable dissent

3.3 Commitment

After getting connected with children, the participants agreed they sacrificed their private time in return to give more time to children. They chose to spare more time to accompany with children, instead of spending time for own leisure and with friends. They even re-prioritize their career to serve the children and partners as some thought pregnancy was a matter of two, not only mother.

- **Nick**, “Before becoming a father, I spent most of the time to friends and leisure. Now I rushed back home immediately after work and wanted to see my son as soon as possible.”
- **Pit**, “After the birth of my daughter, I stayed at home more and seldom went out. Before I loved to attend talks, but now I would not attend. Then I discovered even I did not attend, I lose nothing. But I have witness my kids’ growth. This is more valuable and cannot be replaced.”
- **Sam**, “I want to go back home as soon as possible after work. I was afraid that when I went back after work, my kids slept and could not play with them.”
- **Kit**, “I also decided to quit the full time job and changed to a freelancer. This increased availability to serve my wife, such as accompanying her to do prenatal examination, attend class. I think having baby is a matter of two, not only her own.”

3.4 Meaning extraction (father’s role/identity, life)

3.4.1 On father’s role/identity

After commitment was built, the participants had strong sense of their father’s role and identify. They explore lots of meaning behind the fatherhood: some want to widen kids’ horizon while some to set a good role model for kids. They could find the meaning on their own way with their own pace from their kids.

- ✓ **Bob**, “I want to widen my kid’s horizon, enlighten his life. I want to be a wise and farsighted father, who can bring insights and inspiration to him. Besides, I will be aware of my behavior more. I will be more conscious of attitude and wordings.”
- ✓ **Sam**, “I use baking cake as a metaphor, for the first few years of a kid, what shape of the cake do you want and you can make it. That means you have to perform a good role model for your kids.”
- ✓ **Pit**, “I will review my own behavior more than before. When I felt angry, I would try to stop and think before I lost temper. I changed my personality due to continuous review on my own.
- ✓ **Kit**, “I tried to correct some bad habits and perform well in front of my son. I always demonstrate a role model for him. Then I will gradually change myself, become a better father.”

3.4.2 On life

From the interviews with participants, they all admitted they have a new insight in their lives after the birth of kids. Kids were like their “teachers” and made them review their life meaning. They admitted they have stronger sense in their life direction and found meaning in their work also.

- ✓ **Nick**, “I found more meaning in my life. I have stronger sense in my life direction. I only focused on my own before, such as earning money, buying flat, immigration, etc. Now, I do all these things for my kids. Live for my next generation is very meaningful. I have one belief: one of the purpose of human, is to share my experience and connect with others, especially with my next generation. This is the meaning of generativity.”
- ✓ **Kit**, “I will have a more detailed life plan, for the sake of my family.”
- ✓ **Jan**, “I believed earning money was most important and successful before the birth of my kids. But now I don’t think that. I feel it is very concrete to earn money for my family now.”

4. Discussion

After examining the road of fatherhood, a sentence can make the conclusion: “Learn to unlearn, learn to learn.” For the social work practice and parent education implication, three dimensions should be put more effort for the better adjustment of the pathway of fatherhood: preparation, transition and on-going support.

4.1 Preparation

It really takes time for every father to identify the role of himself in the process of being a father. Thus more preparation is important to lower the confusion and ease their stress when role change occurs.

For example, some talks or seminars for dad-to-be before the delivery of baby should be hold. During the talks or seminars, some fathers can share their own experience and try to give some tips for the dad-to-be. Role paly or case discussion can further enhance their readiness and allow them to considerate about the role change challenge.

Besides, organizing some experiential programs on pregnancy and baby-sitting on different ages for dad-to-be or those plan to have babies. This can let them feel the subjective experience of their wives and thus increase their empathy or understanding towards their partners. This will thus enhance the relationship between them.

Moreover, couples counseling or interviews should be made before the birth of baby. They need to have time to discuss the plan of having or not having babies, they have to plan their time better and their readiness of having a baby.

Furthermore, providing life review and planning counseling before becoming fathers. This can give them some time and chance to rethink of their life choice. If much more careful plan can be made beforehand, they can adjust the new role or transit the confusion period better and faster.

4.2 Transition

After the birth of baby, both parents encounter many changes on their time arrangement and life choice, they need some more concrete guidance such as child rearing skills and knowledge, psychological counseling or in-depth discussion between couples for better adjustment of the role of father.

Moreover, both parents should squeeze some more time for dating on their own without taking the baby. They should discuss and share their feeling after the role change and try to praise each other more. Joining some young couples camps periodically for new parents to re-explore and refresh the relationship. All these can help enhance the intimacy and maintain the relationship between them, which in turn can bring cohesion among the new nuclear family.

Furthermore, some more experienced fathers can share their experience about their children of different age. This can help the new fathers to learn some skills and gain support from the senior fathers. They can travel less with good role model or bad role model.

4.3 On-going support

As the developmental needs of the children change from time to time, fathers will encounter new challenge and difficulties when the children grow up. They can form some support group or self help group among fathers to share “men’s difficulties” and try to seek recognition from these groups.

Besides, they can make use of community resources such as social services centres to build up broader network across different areas. They can share most updated information and tips when facing various challenges on child rearing issue.

Moreover, they can create some web page among them to facilitate the communication and sharing among them.

Furthermore, providing consultation on parenting to fathers and review with them on their performance as a role model of a father regularly is very important. They can ask social workers to help in this area.

5. Conclusion

In short, new fathers have many needs when they face role transitions.

From individual perspective, they have to understand and define fathers’ roles. Then they have to identify with fathers’ identities. As a result, they will try to review their lives and rearrange their priorities.

From the family perspective, they have to learn how to connect with their kids. Then they also have to re-explore couples’ relationships. Furthermore, they have to build up a role model for children.

All these changes bring lots of challenges to them to become a good father. They need lots of support before, during and after the role change. If these can be done, they can have a better transition of role and which in turn can enhance the cohesion and bonding among the whole family.

6. Limitations

All respondents are aged from 34-40 years old. They had been married for 3-10 years. Their education level was from bachelor to master degree. All respondents are professionals. Only one wife was full time housewife and all others were working mothers. This research may not show the situation of low social economic class fathers.

Besides, researcher is female and is known to some respondents. This may induce some gender issue.

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Democracy is the power to say “No”. From calculus of consent to reasonable dissent

Vincenzo Maimone

1. Introduction: What happened to democracy?

Are we sure that majoritarian criterion is the best option to determine and evaluate the results of public choices? Can we still trust a model of democracy of this kind? Can we still trust popular will?

In this paper, I discuss about the contemporary conditions of democracy. I analyse in which ways the strategies of construction of the public opinion have changed the grammar of public debate, and also how the calculus of consent has modified the nature of democracy itself.

The main idea is that an incorrect priority assigned to the procedures or to the formal structures of institutions has hidden the real aim of public discussion, or more general, the real aim of politics.

A curious, ambiguous, but very popular mantra seems to be the golden rule of politics in the contemporary age: "If people want it and if people vote it, then the outcome will be true, good and not contestable, whatever it will be and whatever will be the consequences for them or for others".

An important clarification is necessary, before that analysis goes on. I do not want, in anyway, defend or sustain a sort of paternalistic view of public decision. I am not asserting that people can not or do not know how to decide what is the best thing for them. I am just suggesting that we have to protect the idea of democracy from a very dangerous trivialization. In my opinion, indeed, democracy needs complexity and, moreover, it needs a pluralistic approach, which has to consider the fundamental value of a reasonable (and not ideological) dissent.

2. Contemporary scenarios and the nature of democracy

Several events that have recently occurred, all over the world, have seriously influenced the point of view on democracy and its applications. Observing carefully the evolution of the historical and political processes that have characterized and characterize nowadays the contemporary age, seem to emerge, in fact, important issues that pertain to the future, or in terms, perhaps more radical and less optimistic, the real possibility for democracy to be a model or a solution, still plausible, to compose the internal and external institutional conflicts.

Consider, as examples, the surprising electoral escalation of Donald Trump, the consequences of which still seem bleak and difficult to predict. A relevant aspect of this event is that all those narratives linked to xenophobic, supremacist and not inclusive ideas which America has considered to have passed as a result of a complex, painful, but at the end positive, historical process of involvement, participation and recognition of minorities, had not dissolved at all, but they were only dormant and they had been covered with a thin veil of hypocrisy and political correctness ready to be torn from engaging rhetoric of a sufficiently photogenic leader; or consider the outcome, perhaps less surprising, but equally rich of consequences for the future of the European Union, determined by vote for the Brexit in UK; or again, the recent *golpe* attempt in Turkey and the consequent process of removing of the opposition started by the government, or it would be more appropriate to say by the regime, chaired by President Erdogan.

Further widening the focal used to explore the contemporary politics reality, we could add that the tendency which seems to consolidate itself inside political debate, is that typical of a populist syntax and of a superficial, but evocative, reference to concepts like *tradition*, *membership*, *identity*, *foundation*. The contemporary democracy has been put in check by ideas and principles that are radically restructuring the way a political proposal becomes a shared, consistent, and over all, functionally feasible project. In other terms, what has been modified are both the construction process of consent and the role and function ascribed to participation in public debate.

These aspects are producing deflagrating effects inside the different dimensions of interpersonal relations. A mutation like this, indeed, breaks down and erodes the homogeneity that should characterize the consent expressed on a political proposal, whatever it is. And, as we will develop later, a similar result determines a slow but inexorable impoverishment of understanding and interpretation of reality: an epistemological and hermeneutic barbarism whose most obvious result is the annihilation of any form of criticism and dissenting.

Underlying this decline we can situate a widespread misunderstanding about what ought to be an authentic and fruitful democratic participation. The consensus building, as well as forms through which people disclose their affiliations and consolidate their sense of membership, have ended to assume, entirely, tones and lexicon of the football supporters or, and that is worse, of a religious and fideistic dogmatism. A radicalization such this is compromising the public debate moving the barycentre of dialectic from the argumentative dimension, grounded on good reasons, to that of the identification, rooted in homologation and incidence, often pernicious, of pressure to conformity.

If we accept as plausible this perspective, then the strategy of promotion of a political proposal able to intercept the largest and possible electoral consensus, under different aspects, is comparable to that used to realize a patchwork. In this way, the political project becomes a inhomogeneous medley, often fated to contradict itself, but however kept together by a likewise inhomogeneous, but inflexible, popular will. As Leonard Zelig, the movie character interpreted by Woody Allen puts it, the political message assumes a chameleon-like dimension, modifying and adapting itself, time after time, to the idiosyncrasies of the listeners. In this sense, we can interpret the disappearance of broadly-based parties as the consequence of loss of that social bond which was guaranteed by sharing a certain, consistent and modelled, idea of society. The political void was, just partially, filled by popular movements. Nevertheless, their message is, in many cases, incoherent and extremely jagged, and often it is kept together by a restrictive and not inclusive logic that is totally incompatible with a democratic dialectic.

In summary, the relevant aspect that seems to characterize the nature of democracy, interpreted on the basis of the dominant paradigm today, is the one which encloses the deliberative mechanisms inside of rigid, but thin, boundaries, of a simple quantitative calculus. What prevails in the public sphere is the trivialization of the classical definition of democracy as the *will of the majority*. Observed under this perspective, the election of Trump, the vote on Brexit, the armoured consensus to Erdogan, - but we could say the same, in paradoxical terms, about Korean regime of Kim Jong-Un or, going back in time, about the Nazi-Germany or about the Soviet Union of Stalin -, could be confused as complete forms of popular participation.

However, limiting the evaluation of democratic institutions to the simple calculation of voting percentages, to the measure of intensity of the applauses or to the satisfaction degree for the governing institutions, represents a rough mistake of analysis.

The democratic precept: "one head, one vote", loses every significance if we do not take into account the quality of the head or if we forget to verify the awareness with which people have expressed their preference or the availability of alternative views.

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As epistemologists and social psychologists know, very often, within the decision-making processes, which help to produce knowledge, the whole does not overlap with the sum of its parts. The way in which knowledge, prowess, intuitions and observation skills of members of a workgroup are harmonized, moves inside a quantic universe. The epistemological process is as much more fruitful as wider are the heterogeneity of perspectives and the disposition to listen within the group. Generalizing, a procedure like this should find space within the institutional contexts and within deliberative models that are the basis of public choices.

Democracy, therefore, requires a special attention concerning complexity and thus it should not do without protecting a plurality of conceptions and a free space of expression and critic within institutional architecture.

3. Dissent: why we are afraid of it and why we need it?

Saying that democracy can not reduce itself to a simple count of adherences means taking seriously the issues of merits and method of public discussion: analysing with a special focus the different ways through which we achieve a collective decision. The collegial nature of a resolution, however, does not necessarily coincide, in some cases, with a full and wide sharing of the outcome of the choice selected by the players involved.

The thesis I support is that it is not irrelevant to ask "if" and "why" some voices were silent during discussion, and "if" and "why" some aspects, potentially problematic, have been overlooked. Opening the door to dissent means trying to reduce the gap that sometimes exists between a collective choice and a good and correct decision.

For a better understanding of the reasons that make dissent required as a guarantee of the quality of decisions and, in the context of public choices, as an element of greater stability of democratic institutions, it is a priority to keep the attention on the different shades of meaning through which the consent is expressed. This is a preliminary matter useful to determine the origin of most of the so-called deliberative dysfunctions.

I believe that, in general terms, we can determine three forms through which a consensus usually is expressed. Maybe a catalogue like this does not exhaust all possible types of consent, but this essential list is useful for the theme of this analysis.

In my opinion, we express a consensus: 1) with *conviction*; 2) because of *subjection* or 3) due to the effect of *pressure to conformity*.

1) The first type corresponds, in most cases, to what we could consider as the consensus as it should be. On the basis of this approach, a subject decides, consciously, to approve a particular proposal, an idea or to join a political project, showing a full understanding about every aspect or, at least, on the relevant and meaningful elements of the choice that he approved: interiorizing and making its own. This type of consent deteriorates when a conviction turns into radicalism and consensus becomes the result of a dogmatic and itself-closed perspective.

2) The subjection implies that a person adheres to a proposal on the basis of a real or potential threat for their own safety or that of their loved ones. In this sense, a person could decide to join a project just for fear of incurring reprisals of some kind due to the expressed dissent. When people do not have tools or an adequate force to rebel, they are forced to capitulate under the oppressive yoke of those who exercise a domain of a certain kind over them.

3) The third type of consensus suffers the effect of what social psychologists (Asch, Sherif, Milgram, ecc.) are used to call *pressure to conformity*. Within this perspective, a subject approves a proposal, whatever it is, for convenience and not because of a strong belief. In some cases one could even be personally sure of the opposite: that is, be aware of the inherent

limitations or weakness of the idea which he or she will support despite of everything. But in order to avoid being isolated from the rest of the group or stigmatized because of the differences within perspectives, he or she will prefer to distance from subjective judgment. The fear of ostracism practiced by the majority group is a deterrent and a brake that inhibits the free expression of the self.

John Stuart Mill had already grasped this aspect in his famous work *On Liberty*. In fact, for Mill:

“[...] unmeasured vituperation employed on the side of the prevailing opinion, really does deter people from professing contrary opinions, and from listening to those who profess them”. (Mill, 1989, 55)

The recourse to vituperation, to verbal violence, pointed out by Mill, reveals how a veiled or explicit threat of exclusion or stigmatization represents an effective deterrent to the manifestation of doubts, perplexity or denial by a person or a minority group. Nevertheless, it is necessary to note how the fear of dissent, the uneasiness and the annoyance aroused by a discordant voice that, apparently, disturbs and breaks off the harmony of an unanimous chorus, involve, albeit with different effects, both those who have the power, and obviously, those who distanced themselves from shared opinion of a majority.

The former considers the non-compliance as an attack on their authority or, in the case of a group, a critique on the constitutional values of the community. The others, as already pointed out, could be afraid of being ostracized or stigmatized and being isolated and excluded from every possible interpersonal relation. Suppress a thought and an independent voice becomes, then, a kind of affirmation of the supremacy and cohesion of a group, a party, an entire set of people towards a minority that is perceived as hostile and potentially dangerous.

I believe it is necessary to draw attention, for a moment, on the value and extension ascribed to the term "people". This concept, too often, is mantled by a sacred halo that it is not its own and it does not correspond at all to its real ontological essence. The idea of "people" is, like that of "culture", a derived and conventional concept, produced by sedimentation and overlapping of principles, knowledge and conceptions about the world that are temporary and not stable at all. Transforming this temporariness in a kind of dogmatism that muddles up the terms considering as synonymous "people" and "majority" and crystallizing and blocking the course of history, means giving, in a more or less conscious way, a legitimacy to the processes of exclusion and isolation. And it is something of this kind that seems to occur nowadays and that reinforces convictions about the sacredness of the narratives and of the false myths of foundation that characterize, often redundantly, the current political debate.

The mythicizing of the people modifies the balance of power and opens the door to despotism.

As John Stuart Mill properly pointed out:

“The ‘people’ who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the ‘self-government’ spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of people, moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of people; the majority. Or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people, consequently, *may* desire to oppress a part of their number; and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power”. (Mill, 1989, 7-8)

What Mill wants to emphasize is not only the desire for dominance of a part, even if it is the majority, on the whole. In his lucid analysis, indeed, he points out the danger within the tyranny of majority. A risk, that of the tyranny of opinion, which deeply undermines and erodes consciences and that was considered by Mill more dangerous, because hidden and not immediately visible, rather than political despotism.

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“Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough: there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development, and, if possible, prevent the formation, of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism”. (Mill, 1989, 8-9)

In spite of the persistence of these obstacles and the obstinacy with which majoritarian groups insist on pushing towards more and more invasive forms of homologation, the dissent constitutes a fundamental and vital element for social progress. Something of which society has an extreme need.

There are several reasons at the basis of the necessity to guarantee the dissent in the context of deliberative mechanisms. In this paper I will focus on two aspects that, in my opinion, should prevail when constructing an institutional and democratic horizon. The first aspect concerns the epistemological dimension that is at the basis of each argument or discussion interested in some measure to approach the truth. Under this profile, if we consider the idea of truth as a conception never definitely reachable and hence always subject to a sort of dynamic approximation, then the function of the dissent is to maintain an high tension to the truth and an high degree of interest towards a more and more clear and distinct conception of reality. And this aspect plays a central role not only into interactions of those who are members of a minority group, but also into the process of strengthening of convictions and theses sustained by supporters of the dominant thought, as it were.

In other words, dissent plays a propaedeutic function both to approach a more clear and rational vision and to revise positions not logically correct but which are produced by biases or hasty judgements.

In this sense, Mill emphasized that ensuring the free expression of opinions meant to provide additional opportunity to truth and to its progress. And this aspect constitutes an advantage for the whole human race.

“But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error”. (Mill, 1989, 20)

There is a great difference between presuming an opinion to be true, because, with every opportunity for contesting it, it has not been refuted, and assuming its truth for the purpose of not permitting its refutation. In the first case, we are operating in the direction of an open and free discussion predisposing the opportunity to review our positions and our judgments if the theses submitted show to possess a greater degree of rationality and credibility than those incurred by us; in the second case, preventing any form of revision of judgments and theories, we inexorably slide towards dogmatism and hence expose ourselves to the risks of a short-sighted radicalization.

“Complete liberty of contradicting and disproving our opinion, is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth for purposes of action; and on no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of being right”. (Mill, 1989, 23)

In *Why Societies Need Dissent*, Cass Sunstein has focused the attention on the role played from dissent as corrective element of deliberative dysfunctions that characterize a large part of public discussions. The relevant influence of pressure to conformity, the incidence of group polarization, as well as a wrong or approximate use of information, in some cases accepted

without a necessary control of their reliability, are all potentially dangerous elements for a correct deliberation. In the information age, in which frenzied speed of dissemination of news widely overcomes a more cautious and well-pondered evaluation of the facts, the possess of useful tools in order to have a better guidance of judgement and to put up a reasonable and efficient shield to glowing imposition of standardized opinion, constitutes the only defence weapon against the risk of homologation and barbarism.

Still following Mill's teachings, it is important to remember that:

"When there are persons to be found, who form an exception to the apparent unanimity of the world on any subject, even if the world is in the right, it is always probable that dissentients have something worth hearing to say for themselves, and that truth would lose something by their silence". (Mill, 1989, 49)

Within this perspective, dissimilarity, dissonance of thought and the free manifestation of individuality represent inalienable values. And it is precisely this aspect, that is the defence of the peculiar individual freedom, which constitutes the second mainstay that reinforces the need for dissent. Saying it differently, implementation of free expression, the guarantee of a social space within which it is possible to reveal and support, with adequate reasons, the own point of view constitutes a multiplier of progress possibilities both individual and collective. Hence, individuality represents a fundamental good for growth and promotion of the self and, consequently, of whole society. A wealth made of consciences and ideas that should be protected and safeguarded. One could say that dissimilarity and, in some cases, irreverence in front of power expressed by those who disagree, constitutes an antidote to passivity and laziness of conformism.

"If there are any persons who contest a received opinion, or who will do so if law or opinion will let them, let us thank them for it, open our minds to listen to them, and rejoice that there is some one to do for us what we otherwise ought, if we have any regard for either the certainty or the vitality of our convictions, to do with much greater labour for ourselves". (Mill, 1989, 46-47)

It is not the conflict between opposite conceptions that we have to fear, both epistemologically and politically speaking, but rather the suppression of one of the voices. The crystallization of the mistake, both logical and political, arises from the silence imposed to the counterpart.

Paraphrasing Mill, it is possible to say that "by being exaggerated that a truth turns into falsehood". (Mill, 1989, 53)

So the only possible alternative remains a constant openness to criticism and revision of judgments. The renounce to this peculiar freedom and the annihilation of initiative spirit and of any desire of self-assertion, expose us to the risk to being subdued to the yoke of despotism of habit, to the passivity that is proper of existences bridled in custom, and they allow us the ape-like imitation as only form of expression: a semblance of freedom that solely reveals itself as a fruitless conformism.

It remains to deal with a last issue that supports the thesis on the necessity of dissent. In fact, a question has remained in the background and now it deserves to be made explicit in some way.

It regards the complicated relationship between conformity and dissent. It is, only apparently, a quantitative issue. The purpose of this question is to formulate a sufficiently comprehensive definition of what can be considered as a *reasonable dissent*.

To say it with the words of Cass Sunstein:

"What is the right mix between conformity and dissent? How much dissent is optimal?" (Sunstein, 2003, 89)

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It is impossible to answer these questions in an abstract way. It is so because the decision-making process produces concrete effects and involves costs: the costs related to the choice and its direct and indirect consequences; costs related to errors of valuation resulting from hasty and not long pondered decisions. As Cass Sunstein reminds us, often a preference in favour of the conformity seems to answer the economic criteria and the needs to reduce the costs linked to deliberative procedures. However, such a purely quantitative requirement must take into account the consequences produced by wrong choices. Every decision is never neutral. It reformulates the appearance and characteristics of the scenario in which we decide to live, act and interact. And this aspect produces important aftermaths for present and future generations. Within this perspective, optimal dissent, a reasonable dissent is what it is able to rectify the distortions related to misjudgements and distortions related to incorrect or unverified information. Put in these terms, the answer still seems elusive and not very incisive. Indeed, it is very difficult to determine in advance when dissent is a right solution to the wrong answer formulated by public opinion or by the power group. Often, this riddle was solved by history: theories, once considered heretical and non-aligned to orthodoxy shared by the majority, have proved to be true by determining a necessary paradigm shift. The disposability of wait, however, is not fully compatible with public choices that moving themselves, very often, within the dimension of contingency and requiring very short time for deliberation.

In general terms, following the bipartition introduced by Sunstein, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of dissenters: 1) *contrarians*; 2) *disclosers*. The first, of course, are those who merely oppose a stubborn resistance against the decisions of the majority groups. It is a radical opposition, often ideological, and not always comforted by the support of good arguments in defence of their denial. The disclosers, are those whose dissent goes together with the sharing of information needed to make a careful inspection and possibly a review of the choice made by a majority. The presence of disclosers is fundamental, but in order to entirely and successfully accomplish their task, it is important to reduce the social pressure and the push to conformity which, in some cases, prevent them from freely expressing their opinions. Considered in this way, the question, of what are the characteristics of a *reasonable dissent* can be resolved on the basis of two main policies, namely, on the one hand the institutional and democratic guarantee given by a full and feasible freedom of thought; on the other hand, a vigilant prudence from the institutions. The first would limit the negative influence exerted on the choices and preferences, both individual and collective, by all those elements of social pressure that produce very bad decisions (*conformity, social cascades, group polarization*). The second would discourage dissent when it is not supported from logically sustainable arguments. By using this expression, however, we do not want to legitimate any kind of preventive control on the contents. If so, it would be like snitching in through the back door what was rubbed out the main, but rather, the aim is to emphasize the constructive nature of objections. The value of dissent lies in its ability to generate curiosity and a reasonable doubt and not an unwarranted fear or, and this is worse, an irrational distrust.

We can say that reason is the index of scale to compose the relationship between conformity and dissent. A relationship that can, and must, live in the dimension of the conflict, but which, nevertheless, has to move along the line of improvement and the search for the common good, the respect and the promotion of individual rights.

4. Fake democracy

There is a last issue I want to discuss here which could not totally appear typically academic, but, if we observe with due attention, it is one of the most worrying elements when observing

the health of contemporary democracies. Although moving along the territory of irony, this issue raises an important epistemological question that is necessary to resolve in order to develop effective barriers to the loss of thickness of the public discussion. This concerns the quality and value of the information that underlie the reasons with which all define their own preferences.

We said that one of the characteristics of the contemporary age is the remarkable availability of information. Every day we are flooded by a huge, continuous and relentless stream of news, suggestions, opinions and leading articles. There is no space, both real and virtual, in which this flow of information does not exert its pressure. On the one hand, no doubt, this aspect has fostered some growth of interest and popular participation, involving a growing number of people in discussions and debates towards which they would have been uninterested in the past; on the other hand, the floods of information has lowered the qualitative level of news and, in inversely proportional terms, it has, almost exponentially, increased the risk of having to deal with a growing number of those dissertation which by using the sharp and suggestive expression of Harry G. Frankfurt, have been iconically defined *bullshit*. Once the term was purified by its potential scurrility, what emerges is a serious and dense epistemological reflection about the value and care of the truth which none of us should stop improving. Under this profile, the brief paper written by Frankfurt, *On Bullshit*, constitutes an almost serious analysis, but moreover it is a warning against a thin and sneaky danger which is eroding at roots our societies, reducing, day by day, the ability of critics and understanding of the world and exposing us to the risk to be deceived by those who control and use, with strategic cunning, information without meaning.

To fully understand the dimension of such a contamination it is important to define in a clear way this concept and distinguish it from that, more sophisticated, of a lie. The *bullshit*, indeed, is a rough material, elaborated and diffused with no particular care. For this reason, it is more dangerous than lie. On this point we must be very clear: the *bullshit* is a danger worse than falsehood.

The reason of this is connected to two elements: on one hand, the aim that *bullshit* wants to pursue; on the other, the attention towards the dimension of truth.

Regarding the first point, it is sufficiently clear that the specific objective of *bullshit* and, also, of those who spread it, is to build, very quickly, a broad base of consensus. To pursue this aim, usually, such a proposition stimulates the coarser receptors of the public opinion: it refers to simple values, almost primeval and widely shared. And it does so without paying attention to coherence nor to any logical succession. The real aim is standardization of consent, all the rest has no relevance.

These are goods that have, nowadays, a high market value. As appropriately emphasized by Harry G. Frankfurt:

“The realms of advertising and of public relations, and the nowadays closely related realm of politics, are replete with instances of bullshit so unmitigated that they can serve among the most indisputable and classic paradigms of the concept. And in these realms there are exquisitely sophisticated craftsmen who – with the help of advanced and demanding techniques of market research, of public opinion polling, of psychological testing, and so forth – dedicate themselves tirelessly to getting every word and image they produce exactly right”. (Frankfurt, 2005, 29, para. 11)

At the basis of each affirmation attributed to semantic concept defined by Frankfurt there is a simplification ungrounded and indifferent to any horizon of truth. And it is along this borderline that we can catch and recognize the difference between a liar and who tells just *bullshit*. Unlike the latter, in fact, the liar reveals a greater attention towards the truth, despite being aware that the intentions are consciously divergent from it. Those who say *bullshit*, instead, show a total indifference to how things really are. What really worries them is

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absolutely other and their intention is not to give away a distorted representation of a reality which, however, they prove to know. Unlike the liar, in fact, those who say *bullshit* have not any idea, do not possess any particular reference or any detailed knowledge of how things truly are. The inner danger of the *bullshit* lies in this complete loss of references. The sense of bewilderment produced by *bullshit* is a politically significant weapon. In fact, a mass with no specific references is more easily trainable. Because, just like a flock, people in order to end their vagrancy and to determine a sort of horizon of meaning, which they need, would rather prefer to trust, without opposing any resistance, those who will show to know the road or will feign to indicate it, flaunting sureness and resoluteness.

The risk on the horizon is that democracy in the contemporary age is built on a consensus without thickness, empty and incapable to give a precise outline of reality. The contemporary democracy, day after day, seems to resemble the scenarios depicted in the dystopian literature.

It is just in view of this next future that we should strive to find a precise and sincere vision of reality, and that we should take the responsibility to oppose to all forms of oppression, abuse or deception, a strong and decisive "No".

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Gender continuum in Italian advertising: The representation of the LGBT identities according to the professionals²⁴

Paola Panarese, Chiara Landi

1. Introduction

Despite biological gender has been extensively utilized in segmentation studies (Dommeyer, 2008; Barone, Palan, Miniward, 2004), many scholars demonstrate that advertisers confuse sex, gender and sexuality (Berganza, del Hoyo, 2006; Furnham, Bitar, 1993; Furnham, Schofield, 1986; Furnham, Voli, 1989; García-Muñoz, Martínez, 2009; Livingstone, Green, 1986; Mazzella, Darkin, Cerini, Buralli, 1992; Rak, McMullen, 1987; Rey Fuentes, 1994), and sometimes use outdated and rigid stereotypes (Dobscha, 2012; Panarese, 2014; Zayer, Otnes, 2012).

A significant body of research evidence showed many differences in the advertising portrayals of men and women, particularly on television (Barthel, 1988; Belkaoui, Belkaoui, 1976; Berganza, del Hoyo, 2006; Chafetz, 1974; Courtney, Whipple, 1974; Furnham, Mak, 1999; Gilly, 1988; McArthur, Resko, 1975; Schneider, Schneider, 1979), and some studies found that gay people have a small amount of advertising space on TV, billboards and printed pages (Raley, Lucas, 2006).

Even though lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals are generally indistinguishable from heterosexual individuals, advertising practitioners sometimes represent them as different in appearance and behavior: gay men are often portrayed as promiscuous, flashy, and effeminate, and lesbians are depicted as masculine or ultra-feminine, aggressive or provocative (<http://www.thedrum.com/opinion/2015/07/07/advertisings-representation-lgbt-people-still-behind-times>).

The representation of transgender people is even more rare and stereotypical: the only type of transgender individuals presented in commercials is a sexy feminine male-to-female transgender person «shown to serve up a surprising twist: “She is a He!”» (Tsai, 2004, n.p.).

Moreover, gay and lesbian families are commonly misrepresented in advertising, probably because society frequently equates sexual orientation with the ability to reproduce (Mazur, Emmers-Sommer, 2002), and also because «it’s difficult to show ‘a housewife’ or ‘breadwinner’ figure in a 30-second ad if they’re both male, female or trans» (<http://www.thedrum.com/opinion/2015/07/07/advertisings-representation-lgbt-people-still-behind-times>).

Since consumers make sense of their identities also using advertising, and gender is a powerful ideological force (Goffman, 1979), the way in which gender and sexual orientation are represented in an ad is not devoid of consequences. Similar to race-, religion-, and class-based caricatures, the stereotypical representations of LGBT identities could denigrate and marginalize individuals and groups (Raley, Lucas, 2006).

Thus, we studied the production processes that lead to gender representations. In spite of a persistent criticisms of advertising’s treatment of gender (Kilbourne, 1999), empirical studies about practitioners’ perspectives are very rare (Ottesen, Gronhaug, 2004; Rossiter, 2001), little is known about their theories of advertising (Reid, King, DeLorme, 1998; West, Ford, 2001), and few authors have analyzed the production process behind the gendered messages (Zayer, Coleman, 2014).

²⁴ Paola Panarese is the author of the first and the second paragraphs, Chiara Landi is the author of the third and the fourth paragraphs.

Moreover, there are some studies about gay depictions in films and news (Dyer, 1984; Alwood, 1996), but the topic of gay images in advertising is quite new.

For these reasons, the paper aims at describing some results of a research about the influence of the production process on the representation of gender in Italian advertising, focusing on the depiction of LGBT identities and homosexuality.

2. Method

A qualitative approach consisting of semi-structured in-depth interviews was chosen in order to discover where the ideas for certain gender representations come from and who determines how and what gender-based advertising should be. We followed the tradition of past research by examining advertising professionals' perceptions (Drumwright, Murphy, 2004, 2009) to understand their attitudes and behaviors in their own words.

Given the exploratory nature of this work, the study was associated to the "grounded theory" approach (Corbin, Strauss, 1990; Glaser, 1992, 1998; Strauss, Corbin, 1990), used to determine models and patterns, working inductively to lay the groundwork for the development of theoretical frameworks emerging from the collected data. Observations were "grounded" because they were situated in the empirical phenomena from which they emerged.

Respondents were selected from among senior-level advertising agency practitioners working in Italy, through personal and Faculty contacts. We used snowball sampling and thus the first contacts were asked to identify other participants. As the sample snowballed, focused selection (Creswell, 1998) was made so that many different viewpoints would be represented. Since Cronin (2004) noticed that much research has a *disproportionately intense focus on creatives* and neglects the perspectives of other workers within the advertising industry, we opted for two occupational groups of informants, in strategic and creative functions. Only people at senior levels were involved: account managers and creative directors. In smaller agencies, we selected the owner, CEO or general manager of the agency for the strategic role. In larger organizations, the informants were heads of their functional units. We also selected the same number of men and women, because previous work demonstrated that cultural knowledge within the advertising agency is gendered (Alvesson, 1998).

Since past research found that the length of experience in agencies can impact decision-making (Davis, 1994), the informants included in the study varied in industry experience (from 4 years, up to more than 30). Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the informants.

The interviews were conducted in person when possible, in the practitioners' offices, or via Skype and telephone. They lasted from 30 to 110 minutes, and were all taped and transcribed.

During the interviews, informants were asked "grand tour" questions (McCracken 1988) as well as focused questions: the interviews started with a broad topic on representations of gender in advertising and then probed more specifically into the production processes of gender portrayals. The thematic areas of the interview were:

- Perception of advertising representation of gender in Italy;
- Description of the production process of gendered images;
- Perception of the responsibilities in the potential distortions in the gender representations.

In order to refine ways of asking questions and to help in developing the emerging concepts, extensive field notes were taken after each interview. Following Nyilasy and Reid

(2009), the interviews were transcribed and assessed by an initial reading to get a preliminary grasp of content. We used the constant-comparative method throughout the coding process, coding and recoding the transcripts through many iterations of data analysis (Creswell, 1998). In the first step, we identified general themes in the data and refined our codes. Next, we compared codes and recorded relationships between them. Then, we noted a deeper storyline and hypotheses linking concepts. Finally, we identified theoretical propositions about practitioner thought.

We interviewed forty respondents: twenty men and twenty women; twenty in creative role and twenty in strategic role.

Table 1. Characteristics of the informants

Pseudonym	Functional role	Gender	Education	Years of experience	Agency pseudonym	Agency size	Agency affiliation	Agency context
AM1	Strategic	Female	College	17	Agency 1	Medium	Network	International
AM2	Strategic	Male	High s.	11	Agency 2	Small	Indep.	National
CD1	Creative	Female	College	10	Agency 3	Large	Network	International
CD2	Creative	Female	College	25	Agency 4	Small	Indep.	National
AM3	Strategic	Female	Master	27	Agency 5	Large	Network	International
AM4	Strategic	Male	College	10	Agency 2	Small	Indep.	National
AM5	Strategic	Female	College	7	Agency 7	Large	Network	International
CD3	Creative	Female	Master	28	Agency 8	Medium	Indep.	National
AM6	Strategic	Male	High s.	12	Agency 6	Medium	Indep.	National
AM7	Strategic	Female	College	12	Agency 9	Medium	Indep.	National
AM8	Strategic	Male	Master	15	Agency 5	Large	Network	International
CD4	Creative	Female	College	10	Agency 10	Small	Indep.	National
CD5	Creative	Female	College	4	Agency 11	Medium	Indep.	National
AM9	Strategic	Female	College	9	Agency 12	Large	Network	International
AM10	Strategic	Male	College	10	Agency 13	Large	Network	International
CD6	Creative	Female	College	4	Agency 16	Small	Indep.	National
CD7	Creative	Female	High s.	28	Agency 14	Small	Indep.	National
AM11	Strategic	Female	College	4	Agency 15	Small	Indep.	National
AM12	Strategic	Male	College	13	Agency 5	Large	Network	International
AM13	Strategic	Female	Master	10	Agency 5	Large	Network	International
AM14	Strategic	Male	College	3	Agency 6	Medium	Indep.	National
AM15	Strategic	Female	College	5	Agency 16	Small	Indep.	National
CD8	Creative	Female	College	12	Agency 17	Large	Network	International
CD9	Creative	Female	College	10	Agency 18	Small	Indep.	International
AM16	Strategic	Male	College	5	Agency 19	Small	Indep.	National
AM17	Strategic	Female	College	7	Agency 6	Medium	Indep.	National
CD10	Creative	Female	High s.	6	Agency 20	Medium	Indep.	National
CD11	Creative	Male	High s.	15	Agency 1	Medium	Network	International
CD12	Creative	Male	High s.	12	Agency 21	Small	Indep.	National
AM18	Strategic	Male	College	6	Agency 22	Large	Network	International
AM19	Strategic	Female	High s.	25	Agency 23	Medium	Indep.	National
AM20	Strategic	Male	College	34	Agency 24	Small	Indep.	National
CD13	Creative	Male	College	15	Agency 25	Large	Network	International
CD14	Creative	Male	College	11	Agency 6	Medium	Indep.	National
CD15	Creative	Male	High s.	31	Agency 26	Small	Indep.	National
CD16	Creative	Male	College	30	Agency 27	Small	Indep.	National
CD17	Creative	Male	College	21	Agency 28	Small	Indep.	National
CD18	Creative	Male	High s.	20	Agency 29	Large	Network	International
CD19	Creative	Male	High s.	10	Agency 30	Large	Network	International
CD20	Creative	Male	College	11	Agency 31	Small	Indep.	National

In regard to work experience, eleven respondents had worked in their agency for less than ten years, nineteen had between ten to twenty years' experience, and ten more than twenty years (among these, three had more than thirty years' experience).

About education, twenty-six respondents had a college degree and four had also completed a master degree.

We interviewed professionals in thirty-one agencies of different sizes. The size of the agency was classified according to the number of employees. We distinguished agencies as *small*, when they had under twenty employees, *medium*, with a number of employees between twenty-one and one hundred, and *large*, with more than one hundred workers. This classification was different from the classical European categorization of organizations because it considered the dimension of the Italian advertising industry and the difficulty of collecting information about annual billings. In our sample, small agencies (16) prevailed, followed by large (13), and medium-sized ones (10). More specifically, sixteen informants worked in small stand-alone agencies, two worked in medium-sized global agencies, nine worked in medium-sized stand-alone agencies, and thirteen informants worked in large global agencies.

The views about LGBT issues within advertising have emerged without direct questions, but the topic has naturally developed in conversation.

The following sections will present our findings (for purposes of confidentiality, only the role in the agency²⁵ and the sex of the informants have been attributed in the presentation of respondents' quotes).

3. Results

The problematic related to how the gender representation takes into account the LGBT universe emerged in 24 out of 40 interviews and has been associated with the question about the existence of an evolution of this issue and the way it is faced in the field of advertising in 10 of those cases. In the remaining cases it was associated with the presence of a specific testimonial widely recognised as a gay icon in a national advertising campaign led by Mulino Bianco, Antonio Banderas.

When asked to name an example of Italian commercials attentive to the LGBT identity, a large portion of the sample referred to the Findus campaign where, in an invitation to dinner, a son declares his homosexuality to his mother adding that his so-called roommate is actually his partner. We witness a coming out done in a very peaceful way, in the context of a quiet family dinner. The mother seems more attentive to the quality of the food being served than to the supposedly unexpected news.

One interview made reference to the Althea advertising campaign. Althea is an Italian company producing ready-made sauces, which in 2012 advertised their different types of sauces showing couples of different ages, both heterosexual and homosexual, gays and lesbians, in the act of kissing and hugging. The differences in age and sexual orientation of the people wanted to hint to and remind the different kinds of sauces advertised.

In the international context the most relevant case is the advertising campaign made by Ikea, a forerunner of an advertising style in which every gender and sexual orientation find their place. With regards to the representation of transgender identities, one interview refers to a commercial run by Perfetti advertising the chewing gum Vivident Blast in which a father says to his son, stripping himself naked: "I'm not your father, I am your mother". This campaign produced mixed reactions in Italy, with the transgender community labeling it as an example of blatant transphobia. The attention focused on the Findus advertising campaign,

²⁵ CD=Creative Director, AM=Account Manager.

extremely different from other examples of advertising in which there are depicted regular couples of gay and lesbian people, seems to show that, among the professionals interviewed, homosexual couples consisting of two men are considered more common and socially acceptable than those consisting of two women.

The perception of the LGBT community and its representation in advertising in our sample does not differ much from the findings of a similar research into the relationship between LGBT and advertising in the US context; even in this context we can infer that the market portion labeled as “gay” mainly portrays gay males (Fejes, 2002), mostly white and good looking: the subtly discriminatory element towards the other minorities is evident. (Waters, 2013).

Spite being considered the most representative, the Findus campaign is widely judged negatively.

The criticisms expressed by the respondents, however, are not comparable to those that emerged within the LGBT community in the debate that followed the campaign. The LGBT community has long debated the question, seeing in this advertisement an effort made by the company in order to normalize the new models and to make them similar to the traditional ones. Our respondents, rather, have highlighted the fact that this apparent inclusive approach may be a mere speculation which has exploited the *gaffe* made by the President of Barilla company: in a September 2013 interview broadcasted by the Italian radio station Radio 24 about the lack of any depiction of homosexuality in Barilla’s advertising, he replied «we will not make advertising with homosexuals because we like the traditional family. If gays do not agree, they can always eat other brands of pasta».

One of the criticisms made to the Findus campaign is connected with the thought that the acceptance by the mother of the coming out of the child may become a new stereotype.

An even more negative perspective, that is nonetheless more attentive to the LGBT debate on this aspect, defines the campaign as a way to make the people forming the dominant heterosexual community feel politically correct, as for instance in this interview:

AM6: I think it is a little grotesque, it was done in a wrong way. Who uses that kind of communication and that register does not know what he is talking about and tends to exploit this model to build new stereotypes. It is a terrible thing, you have to understand the mechanism before using it. This approach does not speak to the homosexual community, instead it speaks to the heterosexuality communities trying to vehiculate a politically correct communication.

What is striking is that in every and each case the representation of a character defined by a binary sexuality and gender identity is considered by marketers as the sole key to new markets. This approach is almost mandatory and prevents marketers from focusing on a society characterized by multiple gender identities, acting to obtain a full social inclusion.

CD13: I'd rather talk about the reason why that brand (Findus) is airing that commercial ; it does not make sense to me, for what it represents and how. Even if they tried to say something more extreme, I think they failed.

Continuing

AM13: (...) I remember the Findus commercial: they tried too hard to show a homosexual couple and they ended up with a big failure

It is often stated, while reporting examples of international campaigns that successfully manage to represent the LGBT identity in a positive way, as for instance we saw with the Vigorsol, Ikea and Nissan campaigns, that companies in Italy, and in other Catholic countries struggle to convey the message to the public. Here's an example:

AM10: A couple of years ago we launched a product by Nissan. The campaign had been produced in Paris and in it there was a boy in disguise, who suddenly took off his wig and went back home. The whole picture was represented in a fun, not trashy way. In the Italian campaign, this part was just cut off.. of course not by our choice. It was on air in France and Germany, but not in Italy, Portugal and Spain.

Among the interviewees we noticed an extremely low quantity of reference to negative message towards the LGBT community conveyed by the campaigns. The most relevant comment on the topic is the following:

AM4: One of the most negative memories I have on the topic is connected to the Mentadent Campaign. They had this product that gave you a dazzling smile, so when the protagonist of the commercial passed by everybody was trying to reach for him. When a guy in the street does that, the protagonist makes a disgusted face.

Reflections on the message structure are present in three interviews, all referred to the Findus case. The most discussed aspect is the format of the ad, where we only see hands moving and we hear two male and a female voice. Findus stated that this was the kind of format they adopted in the representation of other types of families in other instances.

The verbal and nonverbal communication received very little attention in the discussion and few references were made to specific details like the representation of the hands and their role as an affection medium, to the cooking operations or to the mother who clutches her son after his coming-out. Multimodal components of the message does not seem to be important, perhaps because of the professional role of the informants and the very low percentage of creatives who have talked about the issue of homosexuality.

Little attention is also paid to the labels used by the son when he talks to his mother about his companion: not just a “roommate”, but also a “partner”. Coming out as it is done in the scene seems to be just another minor innovation being introduced, at the same level of the new microwaves recipes being advertised. The context is extremely reassuring with no levels of friction, a solution that has been labeled as unreal by many observers. There is no trace of the battles for the recognition of civil rights and for a full social inclusion. The labels used show the plurality of identities that an individual can adopt without being hurt inside an heterosexist logic and language code, as often happens in the everyday oral communication when referring to LGBT identity (Maturi, 2013).

With reference to the decision-makers involved in the production process and their role in the definition of the contents of the campaigns, the interviews often point out the role of the client that determines the content of the campaigns in relation to the specific markets of destination. There are however some more nuanced responses; in the following one we see how the decisional process is seen as a group process rather than a single-man decision:

CD2: Who is responsible? The easiest answer would be the creative crew, but I think it is limiting. (...) We must also say that there is the customer who approves it, there are the various agency departments. Yes, it is true that I am the creative talent, but we are like antennas: we catch the signals going around in the ether and we absorb them; we know that if we work with a client, such as a car company, we know how to operate and which option to adopt in order to perform the best job.

4. Discussion and conclusion

With relation to the LGBT community, we must remind that social science in general and more specifically the analysis of media phenomena have neglected the culture of sexuality,

both in the Italian advertising and in the international context with rare exceptions (Raspini, 2013; Tindall, Waters, 2013).

Any discussion on this topic should take place without preconceptions and prejudices, with the aim to overcome the dichotomy between homosexuality and heterosexuality, often used in the social world as a mean of control and maintenance of the social order (Corbisiero, 2013). If we limit our field of study to the advertising industry, the emergence of plural identities in the commercials requires a specific focus by researchers who should also invest energies in order to innovate their survey and analysis tools.

As pointed out by Caputo (2013), the quantitative analysis approach is not suitable to the study of the LGBT community, due to its heterogeneous nature and to the difficulty of identifying the subjects (Fejes, 2002). In our opinion, this concept also applies to the study of the representation in the advertisement of the complex mosaic of gender. The most suitable approach should be a mix between qualitative and quantitative methods in data processing and in raising data awareness through interviews with privileged witnesses, bringing out the topic not through direct questions, but letting it emerge from the conversation in a natural way in order to avoid a self-censoring process in the interviewee related to the possibility for the topic to cause embarrassment or convey prejudice or social stigma.

Moreover, it must be avoided that the possibility for the social heterosexual norm to be internalized acts as a barrier to the spreading of attention in the general public towards the gender pluralism.

In our survey, we followed this approach strictly.

The answers provided by the respondents confirm that, despite the professionals are still focused on the male-female dichotomy, there is also room for a fresh look on the new roles played by the gender identities in the society. The creators of the production process show therefore the same lack of attention to the problem of the representation of the LGBT community that has been recognized in the social sciences, in Italy and abroad (Fejes, 2002).

However, the feeling of the change taking place and the recognition of a new attention to LGBT issues is provided without an explicit admission by the privileged witnesses, by the fact that the theme emerges naturally in the conversation when we speak of an evolution in advertising. Advertising is changing because the society is changing. Advertising is a mirror of society, even if distorted and selective (Pollay, 1986).

The respondents seem to have a negative outlook of the phenomenon: responses indicate that LGBT identities introduced in some marketing campaigns are not to be considered hints of an imminent recognition of the existence of a reality characterized by a mosaic of identities and the emergence of a path to full social inclusion. They are instead more similar to an elementary operation for the acquisition of new market shares. This interpretation is consistent with the findings from some US studies among the few works focused on LGBT and advertising (Fejes, 2002; Tindall, Waters, 2013). The attention showed by marketers and companies for this specific market share has been object of study since the 1990s in the United States. The dominant image was a generic gay consumer who was highly educated, oriented towards luxury goods, travelling and interested in hi-tech products: a very attractive consumer indeed (Fejes, 2002). This had also led to hidden forms of advertising oriented towards the LGBT community as the “gay window advertising”, a form of advertising that was not so obvious to the general reader but was instead very clear for the gay community. The common ground for all these studies is the belief that the LGBT community which went from being marginalized in the 1960s, to being pitied and eventually, from the 90s onwards, to being courted and sought after, does not represent an ideological and political issue but simply a market share to be exploited somehow.

According to our respondents, the clients are responsible for these productive choices.

It seems necessary therefore to change the culture of the buyers, to create an awareness of the plurality of identities eliminating the cages, the conceptual fences that force a stereotypical gender representation in advertising campaigns that are still too connected to a traditional representation of the gender dichotomy and, at the same time, to a stereotyped picture of the LGBT community. More generally, as claimed by Guastini et al. (2014), we must raise awareness of the social responsibilities that anyone with access to the mass media has. It is necessary to spread an authentic culture of communication.

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Knowledge, Awareness, Perception & Prevention of Zika: A Latin-American rural region's perspective

Alejandra Ramírez Ovalle, Sandra Clark

Introduction

The Zika Virus was first identified in 1947 in Uganda (PAHO, 2015). In 2015 autochthonous cases in the Americas were reported; Mexico declared its first two non-imported cases in November of that year (CONAVE, 2015). In February 2016, the World Health Organization declared the Zika Virus outbreak a public health emergency due to its association with clusters of microcephaly and other neurological disorders (WHO, 2016). By the beginning of June 2016, 39 American countries and territories had reported autochthonous transmission.

In Mexico, by the 10th of June 2016, a total of 357 autochthonous cases of Zika had been confirmed, 113 belonging to pregnant women. These cases were distributed along eleven states, two of which are contiguous to the state of Guanajuato with nine total number of cases between both (DGE, 2016). As of January 02nd, 2017, the country has confirmed 7,475 autochthonous cases (PAHO, 2017), of which 4,138 belong to pregnant women (DGE, 2017). No cases have been reported in the state of Guanajuato; this could be explained by the fact that Guanajuato's average altitude is 2000mt (6562ft), an elevation at which the *Aedes* mosquito do not thrive (CDC, 2016).

Ideally, during a public health crisis such as ZVD, public health education should be informative, comprehensible and empowering while at the same time it should serve to dispel unnecessary fear. The aim of our investigation was to assess how rural communities in Mexico are educated about public health issues, specifically ZVD. We were interested in knowing how rural Mexicans were educated, the effectiveness of the education they receive, the emotional impact of the education, and preventive measures taken as a result of the education.

Method

Our study is a cross-sectional, descriptive, questionnaire-based investigation conducted among attendees of health fairs organized by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through the organization Proyecto Puentes de Salud, a university organization that sends students and faculty each summer to conduct public health projects. The questionnaire was administered in six rural communities in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico over a two-week period in the month of June 2016.

Participants were recruited while waiting to receive medical attention at the health fairs. Participation was voluntary. Informed consent was obtained orally from each participant before the questions were asked. Names were not collected to protect confidentiality.

One-hundred questionnaire-interviews were conducted, representing 32% of the total number of health fair attendees, and 4% of the total population⁵ in the communities sampled. The median number of participants per community was 17.

The questionnaire was designed and cross reviewed by the authors of the study. It consisted of seventeen items with 4 sub questions for a total of 21 questions. The survey contained questions pertaining to demographics, knowledge of Zika, knowledge of prevention strategies, and emotional impact.

Questions were asked, face-to-face, by a single interviewer, in an open-ended manner. An answer-key was designed to simplify data collection; when an answer not present in the

answer-key options was given, it was written down and then added to the answer key. The phrasing and sequence of questions was modified if necessary, according to each participant's responses and understanding. See Annex 1 for questions and answer key.

At the end of each questionnaire, the interviewer provided face-to-face education on Zika, emphasizing preventive measures and correcting misinformation. Printed public material from the CDC about Zika and pregnancy was also handed to pregnant women, those who wanted to become pregnant and those who were living with a pregnant woman.

Convenience stores close to the locations of the health fairs were visited in every community to ask about the availability of insecticide and repellent. Also, in those communities equipped with a health center a short interview with the doctor/head nurse of the center was conducted to ask about measures being taken to inform about Zika and prevent its transmission.

Data collected from the questionnaire was analyzed using STATA. Simple proportions and percentages were used. Questions on knowledge and prevention were open ended with more than one answer acceptable. Results for knowledge of ZVD are reported as percent of respondents and therefore may add up to more than 100%; results for awareness and prevention are reported as percent of total responses. Unadjusted chi square testing was done for the variables age and knowledge of malformations and age and knowledge of mosquito transmission.

Findings

Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants are depicted in Table 1. The majority of the participants were female (81%) and mean age was 42 years (+/- 18yrs). Median household makeup was 5 (+/- 2). Most participants, 76%, had some education; 14% were illiterate. Eight of the 100 respondents planned to conceive or have their partner conceive within the next year. Most, 83%, had access to a cellular phone.

TABLE 1. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

GENDER	Male	Female						
	19	81						
AGE (YEARS)	< 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60	70	80+
	10	15	22	19	12	13	9	0
HOUSEHOLD MAKEUP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
	2	14	16	19	20	8	10	11
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Illiterate	Writes and Reads	Unfinished elementary	Elementary	Secondary	High School	Technical degree	College
	14	10	6	19	36	6	1	8
ACCESS TO A MOBILE PHONE	Yes	No						
	83	17						

Though most, 87%, of the respondents had previously heard of ZVD, 94% did not feel well informed about the virus. Little over half respondents, 54%, did not know the cause of Zika, 35% identified the cause as a virus, 5% a mosquito, 4% a bacteria and 1% a trauma. Most, 66%, identified the mosquito as a source of transmission, 7% identified sexual intercourse, 2% identified contaminated blood, and 20% stated they did not know. Over a third, 36 respondents, could not identify any complications of ZVD, 53 listed birth defects as a complication, and no respondent considered paralysis a complication. Concerning treatment

Knowledge, Awareness, Perception & Prevention of Zika

options, 64% stated they did not know, 14% stated there was no treatment, and 19% thought there was a treatment but could not name it. See Table 2.

TABLE 2. KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS DATA

TABLE 1. KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS DATA																
PREVIOUSLY HEARD OF ZVD	Yes				No											
	87				13											
SOURCE OF INFORMATION N = 137	Health center talks		Through a friend or relative		At a hospital		Television		Internet		Radio		N/A			
	22	16%	3	2%	4	3%	77	56%	3	2%	15	11%	13	9%		
CAUSE OF ZIKA	Don't know				Mosquito		Trauma		Bacteria		Virus		Other			
	54				5		1		4		35		1			
ZIKA TRANSMISSION N = 120	Don't know		Like the flu		Mosquito bite		Contaminated food		Blood		Sexual Transmission		Kissing		Dirty water	
	20	17%	1	1%	79	66%	6	5%	2	2%	8	7%	2	2%	2	2%
COMPLICATIONS OF ZVD N = 123	Don't know		Birth defects		Hemorrhage		Death		Rash, fever, headache		Paralysis		Affects elderly		Affects children	
	36	29%	53	43%	1	1%	12	10%	17	14%	0	0%	2	2%	2	2%
TREATMENT FOR ZIKA INFECTION N = 103	Don't know		Vaccine		None		Symptomatic		Antibiotics		There is one, but can't specify					
	65	63%	1	1%	14	14%	4	4%	0	0%	19 18%					
FEEL WELL INFORMED	Yes		No													
	6		94													
WANTS MORE INFORMATION	Yes		No													
	95		5													
PREFERRED SOURCE OF INFORMATION N = 114	Health center talks		Home visits		At school		Television		Written information		Radio		Telephone call		Other	
	54	47%	15	13%	4	3%	18	16%	11	10%	2	2%	0	0%	11	9%

We asked about sources of information for ZVD. Of the total responses (n = 133) television was the most popular, 56%, followed by 16% for health centers, 11% radio, and 2% internet. Almost half, 47%, of the total responses for preference for information was for health center talks, followed by television 16% and home visits (13%). See Table 2.

In terms of prevention, of the total responses 103 responses, 100 respondents, 72 listed avoiding mosquito bites, 2 avoiding sex with infected persons, 26 unsure. Concerning specifics measures to avoid mosquito bites of the total responses (n=157 responses for 100 respondents) the most popular response was elimination of standing water at home, 37%, followed by using insecticide, 20%, using long sleeved shirts and pants, 15%, using repellent, 15%, and using screens on windows and doors, 10%. See Table 3.

TABLE 3. PREVENTION DATA

TABLE 3. PREVENTION DATA																
PREVENTIVE MEASURES FOR ZIKA TRANSMISSION N = 103	Don't know		Avoiding mosquito bites		Avoiding unprotected sexual intercourse with an infected person				Vaccination		Frequent hand wash					
	26	25%	72	67%	2		2%		1	1%	2	2%				
PREVENTIVE MEASURES FOR MOSQUITO BITES (KNOWLEDGE) N = 157	Don't know		Long sleeves and pants		Nets on windows and doors		Hand washing		Insecticide		Elimination of standing water		Repellent		Other	
	4	3%	23	15%	16	10%	1	1%	31	20%	58	37%	23	15%	1	1%
PREVENTIVE MEASURES FOR MOSQUITO BITES (PRACTICE) N = 235	Repellent				Insecticide/Fumigation				Nets on windows and doors				Elimination of standing water			
	25		11%		78		33%		43		18%		89		38%	

Fear of getting infected with Zika was also questioned; 10% of respondents had no fear, 7% had no opinion, 36% were a little worried and 46% were very worried, and 1% felt panicked about Zika.

Seven out of eight of the respondents who manifested having short-term plans to get pregnant stated that knowledge of Zika and its complications has influenced their decision.

Chi square testing of age with knowledge of malformations associated with ZVD showed that participants less than or equal to 40 years of age were significantly more likely to know that ZVD causes congenital malformations than those more than 40 years of age ($p=0.026$). Likewise Chi square testing of age with knowledge of mosquito transmission associated with ZVD showed that participants less than or equal to 40 years of age were significantly more likely to know that ZVD is transmitted by mosquito than those more than 40 years of age ($p=0.045$).

We assessed the availability of insecticide and repellent in stores. All communities had at least one store where insecticide could be bought; whereas only one store in one community had mosquito repellent available.

Only three of the six communities had a health center. The one nurse and two doctors interviewed elucidated a lay health advisor system for health education. Bimonthly talks on health topics, Zika included, are given to the members of a national social inclusion program called "Prospera" at the health center. Prospera members then spread the information received in towns without a local clinic.

Discussion

While most of the participants in the rural communities of Guanajuato Mexico are aware of ZVD, there are significant gaps in knowledge of the virus and, to a lesser degree, preventive measures for reducing the risk of becoming infected with the virus. Moreover, a review of local tiendas revealed inadequate access to DEET based mosquito repellants. Half of the study participants expressed substantial fear regarding ZVD. A promising finding was an association between younger age and improved knowledge of both the transmission and complications of ZVD.

Proper health response to new epidemics is critical to the public health of rural communities. Mexico was at the epicenter of the H1N1 flu pandemic in 2009. Initial response to that epidemic was panic, at both a national and international level, towards what turned out to be a relatively mild form of influenza⁶. The Zika virus is a new epidemic of major concern due to its link to congenital malformations and Guillain- Barré syndrome. Zika arrived in Mexico in late 2015 and rapidly started spreading. Though the state of Guanajuato is largely protected from the mosquito that spreads ZVD due to its altitude, the epidemic affords us a unique opportunity to investigate knowledge, awareness, perception and preventive conduct towards it in a rural environment.

We were encouraged to see that an active lay health advisor network exists in rural Mexico, particularly given the literacy concerns that exist in rural Guanajuato Mexico, and the preference of study participants for face-to-face education. Still it appears that most participants receive the majority of their information on ZVD through television. Less than half the participants received face-to-face education on ZVD. We documented that most study participants have access to cellular phones, making this a promising technology for rapid dissemination of updates on all aspects of public health threats in the future.

This was a small study using a survey developed by the authors specifically for rural Mexico. Our findings are not generalizable to other populations, and the reproducibility of our results has not been tested.

Conclusions

More precise information on transmission and complications of Zika is needed to increase level and accuracy of knowledge in rural Guanajuato Mexico. In addition, strengthening lay health advisor networks and improving the use of available technology will increase access of this information to vulnerable populations.

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ANNEX 1

Knowledge, Awareness, Perception & Prevention of Zika

Encuesta número: _____ Fecha: _____ Lugar: _____

Virus del Zika
Encuesta de Percepción – Conocimiento



Favor de marcar con una cruz (X) la respuesta, y completar los espacios en blanco.

- Género ☐ Masculino ☐ Femenino
- Fecha de nacimiento (DD/MM/AAAA): ____ / ____ / ____
- ¿Cuántas personas viven en su casa? (Incluyendo a la persona encuestada) _____
- ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación académica? (Grado completo. En caso de "Otro", favor de describir)

☐ Universidad	☐ Carrera técnica	☐ Preparatoria
☐ Secundaria	☐ Primaria	☐ Algo de Primaria
☐ Sé escribir y leer	☐ No sé leer ni escribir	Otro: _____
- ¿Tiene usted o alguien en su familia un teléfono celular?

☐ Sí ☐ No
- ¿Qué tipo de microorganismo es el que causa el Zika?

☐ Agua contaminada	☐ Un hongo	☐ Un virus
☐ Un químico	☐ Una bacteria	Otro: _____
- ¿Considera que usted está bien informado sobre el virus del Zika?

☐ Sí ☐ No

No me interesa saber más
Me gustaría saber más

7.1 ¿De qué manera le gustaría obtener más información?

☐ Pláticas en el Centro de Salud	☐ Visitas domiciliarias
☐ Llamada telefónica	☐ Recibir información escrita
☐ Otro: _____	
- ¿Qué sabe usted del virus del Zika?

- ¿Cómo se enteró del virus del Zika? (Puede escoger más de uno)

☐ Centro de Salud
☐ Radio
☐ Televisión
☐ Internet
☐ Amigo o familiar
- ¿Sabe cómo se transmite el virus del Zika? (Puede escoger más de uno)

☐ No sé
☐ De persona a persona, parecido a la influenza
☐ Por la picadura de un zancudo
☐ Por comer comida mal preparada
☐ Por un beso
☐ Transmisión sexual
Otro: _____
- ¿Sabe cuáles son las complicaciones de infectarse con el virus del Zika? (Puede escoger más de uno)

☐ No sé
☐ Malformaciones congénitas como la microcefalia
☐ Hemorragias
☐ Parálisis flácida aguda (Guillán-Barré)
Otro: _____
- ¿Sabe cómo se puede prevenir la transmisión del virus del Zika? (Puede escoger más de uno)

☐ No sé
☐ Evitando las picaduras de zancudos
☐ No teniendo relaciones sexuales con una persona infectada, o utilizando preservativo
☐ Vacunándose
☐ Lavado frecuente de manos
Otro: _____
- ¿De qué manera puede usted prevenir las picaduras de zancudo?

☐ Utilizando manga larga y pantalones	☐ Utilizar repelente
☐ Usar mallas/mosquiteros en puertas y ventanas	☐ Limpiar, vaciar y tapar envases con agua
Otro (preguntar sobre remedios caseros): _____	

	Sí	No
13.1 ¿Utilizan repelente en su hogar?	☐	☐
13.2 ¿Utilizan Insecticida/fumigaciones en su hogar?	☐	☐
13.3 ¿Tienen mosquiteros en su hogar?	☐	☐
13.4 ¿Practican medidas para eliminar agua estancada en su hogar?	☐	☐
- ¿Sabe si existe algún tratamiento para los que se infectan con el virus del Zika? (Puede escoger más de uno)

☐ No sé
☐ Vacuna
☐ No hay ningún tratamiento
☐ Sólo se pueden tratar los síntomas
☐ Con antibióticos
Otro: _____
- ¿Tiene miedo de infectarse con el virus del Zika?

Encuesta número: _____ Fecha: _____ Lugar: _____

☐ No me preocupa para nada
☐ Me preocupa poco
☐ Ni me preocupa ni me desprecupa
☐ Me preocupa mucho
☐ Me da pánico

- ¿Está planeando embarazarse dentro del próximo año? (Si es masculino, preguntar por planes de embarazo de su pareja)

☐ Sí ☐ No

(Si la respuesta es "Sí": El virus del Zika se transmite a través de relaciones sexuales o por la picadura de un zancudo. La infección durante el embarazo puede causar malformaciones congénitas.) ¿Esta información afecta su deseo o planes de embarazo?

☐ Sí

¿Por qué? _____

☐ No

¿Por qué? _____
- ¿Algún comentario? (En relación a esta encuesta o al virus del Zika)

Gracias por sus respuestas

Fashion and Identity: the concealment or disclosure process?

Giulia Rossi

Introduction

Fashion is a language, more precisely, an action that originates from a material body, intended to express a response involving both a sender and a receiver. This language can be expressed in various types; verbal with the involvement of the emission of sounds, as well as written or nonverbal, for example in relation to gestures and proxemics.

For language/communication this intends going from an individual mental sphere to the common sphere and this pooling of thought takes place through signs capable of establishing a relationship. Fashion can be understood in this way, as to relate the part of each of us with the outside world, for instance when speaking, writing or drawing. In his trendy dedicated essay published at the end of the XIX century, George Simmel closely analyzed the phenomenon, emphasizing the dual aspect of conformism and separatism, imitation and differentiation. On the one hand, cohesion through the imitation of those who are at the same social level, on the other hand the exclusion and differentiation of one group against the other. One may therefore consider fashion as a form of closure against external groups through a selection of signs of recognition. This social segmentation highlights, on the one hand, a necessary internal cohesion to the group, but also another element of claim against another group or class.

Fashion is a pervasive phenomenon; everything is fashionable in our society, not only clothing but more generally lifestyle or even ideas. Fashion therefore becomes a social factor that relates primarily to the body, but not exclusively. It has a fluid and porous character, able to adapt and as there cannot exist society without language and communication, there cannot exist a society without fashion. Fashion becomes an expressive instrument of social identity, as claimed by Roland Barthes in another cornerstone of fashion literature (Barthes, 1967).

As the famous saying goes, "the habit does not make the monk", however we may fittingly add that it indeed invokes it, and as the sociologist William Thomas points out, when one is in front of a person dressed as a monk, one will act "as if" they were really a monk. No one can stay a stranger to fashion, it is an element everyone must learn to come to terms with, a "game to play" which we are all called to participate, as claimed by Ugo Volli.

"Sociology studies fashion as a kind of collective behavior, as a salient trait of mass society and mass culture; as a peculiar expression of social stratification; as a phenomenon that anticipates and reflects more or less important forms of social and cultural change; as economic process that condenses interests, organizations, professions, companies, division of labor models and activities of mass media."

(L. Gallino, Sociology Dictionary)

What attracts fashion is its great penetrating power, an almost magical and inexplicable charm that in some ways comparable to a divine devotion of a religious nature. Carl Flugel, author of the *Psychology of Clothes*, emphasizes the proximity of the fashion phenomenon to that of the great cults in which alongside starch believers stand the officiants, in this case the editors of fashion magazines, fashion designers and influencers. Opposite them stand the scholars who are erroneously positioned outside and rule judgement upon the phenomenon as a ridiculous and senseless profession of faith.

In addition to this component that wriggles from each analytical analysis, the fashion phenomenon differs from others primarily for two elements; the low level of internalization and the high rate of change. Thanks to this ever evolving element, fashion seems suited to

meet the incessant changes in the need-base system, while the cultural models are slower in changing. In times of crisis, when moving from one cultural form to another, there are a number of trends that constitute a form of compensation which satisfies individuals in the face of obstacles to real change.

1. Gender identity. Gender as a social construction. History and culture intertwine and express gender, body and fashion.

We are witnessing a progressive encroachment of menswear towards womenswear and vice versa. Gender boundaries fade, imprinting possible new identity forms, identified, captured and exploited by the fashion system from a body increasingly at the service of fashion, which lends itself to be shaped and defined to please trends of the moment.

If in the past gender territories, whereby the identification of objects have always had a strong characterization, for example on the male or female, but also as a status symbol, an expression of class, of belonging to the mainstream or a specific subculture (Polhemus, 1994), today this definition of borders is increasingly latent and with it the emergence of self-awareness. On one hand, these cross borderings mark a loss, but on the other spawn as evidence of a positive process in which encroachment is in fact enrichment, barriers are broken down, sectoral rigidities crumble and a greater ability for both sexes to compete emerges.

Fashion allows this cross boundary of identity to become explicit. Their implementation provides the opportunity for the individual to deal with their own masculinity and femininity, and to do so in a context in which the issue is not restricted, but more and more present in the scientific and nonscientific discussion, helping to overcome many obstacles. A reality that was once only reserved by artists and poets, has today become a cultural fact, at least from a certain age onwards (most clearly by the end of compulsory education) and in more metropolitan areas than in rural areas where some legacies of the past are more firmly resistant.

At what moment did the masculine/feminine cross boundary of identity transition into the mainstream? As it is possible to identify a *punctum* from where it all began, then it is possible to trace an evolution in the field of arts and literature that has greatly influenced this process. From Plato's Symposium to Ovid's Metamorphoses to Balzac's Seraphitus, the theme has always fascinated intellectuals and creative minds.

Although in the past it has always been the male style to intrude in the world of women - this is evident in the revolution of the 1920s led by fashion icons such as Coco Chanel and big screen influencers such as Marlene Dietrich or even a great literary character like Orlando by Virginia Woolf, what is known in modern times is a contrast of the phenomenon, or the crossover of the female identity into the male realm. An example of an extreme case worth noting is the story of the Danish painter Einer Wegener, who was the first transgender person to undergo gender reassignment surgery. A story successfully brought to the screen by director Tom Hopper in the film *The Danish Girl*. It therefore prevailed a plurality of identities as a "confederation of souls" from unstable equilibrium, constantly in a state of redefinition and reconstruction.

The change of clothes had, some philosophers will say, much to do with it. Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than merely to keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world's view of us. For example, when Captain Bartolus saw Orlando's skirt, he had an awning stretched for her immediately, pressed her to take another slice of beef, and invited her to go ashore with him in the longboat. These compliments would certainly not have been paid her had her skirts, instead of flowing, been cut tight to her legs in the fashion of breeches. And when we are paid compliments, it behoves

us to make some return. Orlando curtsied; she complied; she flattered the good man's humours as she would not have done had his neat breeches been a woman's skirts, and his braided coat a woman's satin bodice. Thus, there is much to support the view that it is clothes that wear us and not we them; we may make them take the mould of arm or breast, but they mould our hearts, our brains, our tongues to their liking.

Woolf V., Orlando

As explained by Dr Cardoso, believing to be 'an entity' who is part of themselves, detached from the immeasurable diversity of its self, is an illusion, however naïve, of a single soul of the Christian tradition. Dr Ribot and Dr Janet see personality as a fusion of various souls, because we have different souls within us, a union that is controlled by a presiding ego. Dr Cardoso continues to describe what is generally referred to as the norm, or our being, or normalcy, which is solely a result, not a premise, and depends on the control of a ruling ego imposed on the fusion of our souls; if another self arises, stronger and more powerful, this then overthrows the ruling ego and takes its place, guiding this union of souls, and the rule is maintained until it is not ousted in turn by another ruling ego or a direct attack or erosion for a patient.

Tabucchi A, Sostiene Pereira

2. Body and fashion

Fashion is civilization in constant evolution, it is language, a social reality about each individual in relationship with themselves and with others, thus affecting the definition of both personal and social identity. According to the theoretical perspective of *Fashion Theory*, fashion is considered a system of social meanings within which produces cultural significance, aesthetics and identity of the veiled body. The individual dresses for three factors: security, decency and ornament, but it was the latter to prevail, marking the difference between the term “clothing” that indicates when it is used to protect the body as much it can be used to adorn (Flugel, 1972)

Clothing therefore must be analyzed together as a cultural and social model, an image immediately transmissible, communicable, of its identity. This is reflected in the various subcultures that have prevailed throughout history (Polhemus, 1994), where style has always been the instrument of affirmation of a new group, as opposed to its predecessor.

In the public sphere, as defined by Goffman (1982), clothing is revealed as the bearer of signs which hide a more or less obvious meaning, useful to favor the interaction or, on the contrary, to radicalize the insulation. Clothing, together with the body, becomes an instrument of communication in the binding fashion game (Volli, 1988), to which no one can escape. It is never insignificant, even in the face of nudity, which in this reading of fashion as a social construct, can be understood as the absence of clothes.

Historically, the veiled body creates gender as performance and social representation (Calefato, 2011), by virtue of signs recognized as "male" or "female" signs made up stereotypes, according to the principle of imitation on which it holds up, but also differentiation and social distinction (Simmel, 1895).

Throughout history, mass media and new technologies of communication and information have had an ever more determinant and incisive role in the process of identity redefinition. In the revealing to others through clothing, the body is showcased to the world and in this representation creates a bridge between the internal and external worlds at the benefit of the public, both virtual and real who are constantly on the net. A representation in which local and global are intertwined and constantly redefine also new cultural identity.

In the words of Walter Benjamin, the "roads of the collective dwellings" are various and changing. These words, however, no longer in reference to the Parisian passages specified by the author as the *mise en scene* of accessories and people for fetishistic amusement that defined the French capital in the 1800 but rather the new internet and social network scene that triggers an inexhaustible and insatiable hunger for popularity, recognition and approval.

An apparently disintermediated process, free, able to establish direct contact between me and the infinite potential audience of fans how could "like" the outfit I chose to leave the house in this morning, or staging table for tonight's dinner. Reality mediated in different ways, following new schemes and more fluid communication rules, indeed all-encompassing and pervasive of every aspect of human existence.

A step beyond the Orwellian watchful eye of Big Brother, this world in which the scrutinizing eye, the one who "is watching" lays within each individual and leads them to always prefer popularity rather than happiness. It is also worth mentioning that if clothing is a sign and communicates, we cannot help but communicate, but also, at the same time lie. As Umberto Eco says in *Theory of Semiotics*, semiotics is the discipline that studies everything that can be used to lie, including fashion.

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The Relationship between Love and Marital Satisfaction among Individuals in the Early Stage of Marriage

Rizqya Juwita, Grace Kilis

Introduction

It is an innate need of human beings to be tied in a romantic relationship (Clements, Cordova, Markman, & Laurenceau, 1997), and so marriage is an important part of adult life. A successful marriage could lead to benefits while unsuccessful ones could lead to harmful effects (Olson & DeFrain, 2006). A study by Glenn and Weaver (1981), for example, concluded that marital happiness contributed most to global happiness compared to satisfaction with work, financial situation, community, non-working activities, family life, friendship, and health. In addition, a longitudinal analysis by Kim and McKenry (2002) found that marriage has a strong effect on spouse's psychological well being. On the other hand, marital discord could lead to depressive symptoms (Beach, Katz, Brody, 2003; Choi & Marks, 2008) and illness (DeGenova, 2008).

Duvall and Miller (1985) divided marriage into eight stages based on time and age of the first child. These stages are summarised in Table 1. Of the eight stages, the first stage, which is called 'the early stage of marriage' in this study, is the most critical stage of marriage. Davidson and Moore (1996) found that this phase was the foundation to determine a successful marriage in the next stages. Couples who felt dissatisfied with their marriage at this stage experienced a steeper decrease in marital satisfaction and were more prone to divorce (Lavner, Bradbury & Karney, 2012). Another study by Huston, Caughlin, Houts, Smith, and George (2001), found that couples that loved each other less in the early marriage were also more prone to divorce in later years. The first few years of marriage itself is a period very prone to divorce (Goode, 1993). This situation stresses the need to study factors related with marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage. In this case, love is something that we need to examine as most couples marry and stayed married for love (Duffy & Atwater, 2005).

Table 1. Stages of Marriage

No	Stage	Characteristic
1	Married couples (without children)	Couples who have not had any children yet
2	Childbearing families	Couples with their first child aged 30 months old or less
3	Families with preschool children	Couples with their first child aged 30 months to 6 years old
4	Families with school children	Couples with their first child aged 6 to 13 years old
5	Families with teenagers	Couples with their first child aged 13 to 20 years old
6	Families launching young adults	Couples with the first child leaving the house up to the last child leaving home
7	Middle-aged parents	Empty nest up to retirement
8	Aging family members	Retirement up to death

Both love and marital satisfaction have different characteristics dependent on time. Sternberg (1988) claimed that each component of love has a different developmental course and so along the period of a relationship, different types of love can occur. Moreover, marital satisfaction follows a U curve with the highest marital satisfaction seen in the first stage of marriage, decreasing towards the bottom in families with school children and teenagers and starts to increase again in families launching young adults to aging family (Orbuch, House, Mero, & Webster, 1996; Fowers & Olson, 1993; Bird & Melville, 1994). These

developmental courses of love and marital satisfaction stress the need to take account for the stages of marriage when studying love and marital satisfaction.

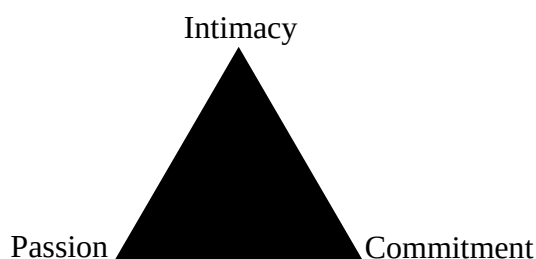
Some previous studies examined the relationship between love and marital satisfaction. Deeb (1989) and Lewis (2011) found a relationship between love and romantic relationship satisfaction. However, none was done specifically for the early stage of marriage. As we have discussed earlier, it is important to examine marital satisfaction in stages of marriage. Based on this gap, we proposed two research questions. First, we would like to examine the level of marital satisfaction among individuals in the early stage of marriage. Second, we would like to examine whether a relationship exists between love and marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage.

Several studies found that love and marital satisfaction were influenced by several demographic aspects. Love was influenced by age and gender (Miller, 2012) while marital satisfaction was influenced by age at marriage, education, working status, length of courtship, age of marriage, income, and living arrangements (Fowers & Olson, 1989; Strong, DeVault, & Cohen, 2011; Zainah, Nasir, Hashim, & Yusof, 2012; Mirecki, Chou, Elliott, & Schneider, 2013). When we find a relationship between love and marital satisfaction, we would also see whether these demographic aspects confound our finding.

Love

The concept of love in this study was based on Sternberg's triangular theory of love. According to Sternberg (1988), love consists of three components, which are intimacy, passion, and commitment, creating a triangular shape as shown in Figure 1. First, Sternberg defined intimacy as "... those feelings in a relationship that promote closeness, bondedness, and connectedness" (Sternberg, 1988, p. 38). Intimacy is very important in romantic relationship as it serves as the foundation of that relationship (Sternberg, 1988; Miller, 2012). Intimacy as an emotional component of love can be expressed in a number of ways, for example communicating deep feelings, promoting spouse's well-being, empathising, and giving support (Sternberg, 1986). Second, passion is a motivational component of love, as it drives a spouse to stay in a romantic relationship by physical attraction, sex, and the related (Sternberg, 1986). Miller (2012) also suggested that passion is related to psychophysiological arousal such as palpitation, increasing hormone secretion, and erecting. Passion can be expressed in various ways such as kissing, hugging, sexual intercourse, etc. (Sternberg, 1986). Third, commitment, the cognitive component of love (Sternberg, 1986), has two aspects: short-term and long-term commitment (Sternberg, 1988). The short-term aspect is a decision to love someone, while the long-term aspect is a decision to maintain the love until the end (Sternberg, 1988). Commitment can be expressed by giving promise, being devoted to one's spouse, staying in the relationship despite of difficulties, being engaged, and married (Sternberg, 1986).

Figure 1. Sternberg's Triangular Theory of Love



Marital Satisfaction

Hawkins (1968) defined marital satisfaction as “the subjective feelings of happiness, satisfaction, and pleasure experienced by a spouse when considering all current aspects of his marriage” (p. 648). Roach, Frazier, and Bowden (1981) added that “marital satisfaction is defined as the perception of one's marriage along a continuum of greater or lesser favorability at a given point in time” (p. 539). This means that the marital satisfaction experienced by a spouse can be different than the marital satisfaction experienced by the other spouse. According to Fowers and Olson (1993), there are ten aspects of marriage that are very important to marital satisfaction. These aspects are issues of personality, communication, conflict resolution, financial management, leisure activities, sexual relationships, children and parenting, family and friends, equalitarian roles, and religious orientation (Olson, Fournier, & Druckman, as cited in Fowers & Olson, 1989).

Method

Participants

The inclusion criteria of participants in this study were those who had been married for a maximum of two years and had not had any children. Participants were recruited in Indonesia using the convenience sampling technique. Questionnaires were given to participants based on their availability at that time through a printed questionnaire and electronic mail. We distributed the questionnaires with 134 couples (268 people) and 106 questionnaires were returned. Of these 106 participants, some were dropped from the study because their characteristics did not match the inclusion criteria. The final sample for this study was 85 participants (62.4% female, 37.6% male, $M_{age} = 26.61$, $SD_{age} = 2.4$). All participants had signed a confidentiality agreement to participate in this study.

Research Instruments

Love. Love is measured by the Indonesian version of Sternberg's Triangular Love Scale (TLS) by Mahmudah (2012). The TLS consists of three subscales measuring components of love. Each subscale consists of 15 items each. TLS used the Likert scale ranging from one (very inappropriate) to four (very appropriate). The adapted TLS is a valid and reliable measurement of love. TLS has an internal validity coefficient of more than .4 for all the items in each sub-scale. Coefficient alpha reliability, showed .94 for the intimacy and passion subscales, .96 for the commitment subscale, and .98 for TLS as a whole.

Scoring. Every item from the TLS was scored based on participant's choice of answer. A score of one would be assigned to items answered 'very inappropriate,' two to items answered 'inappropriate,' three to items answered 'appropriate,' and four to items answered 'very appropriate.' These scores would then be summed for every subscale. The total score of the TLS was derived by adding up the total score for every subscale.

Marital Satisfaction. Marital satisfaction was measured by a modified version of Fowers and Olson's (1993) Enrich Marital Satisfaction Scale (EMS). The original version of

the EMS by Fowers and Olson (1993) is a questionnaire measuring marital satisfaction from the ten aspects that constructs marital satisfaction mentioned by Olson, Fournier, and Druckman (in Fowers & Olson, 1989). The scale consists of two subscales, which are marital satisfaction and idealistic distortion (Fowers & Olson, 1993). We made some modifications of the EMS. In this study, we only used the marital satisfaction subscale and not the idealistic distortion scale. We also eliminated the item measuring children and parenting because the participants recruited in this study were those who had not had any children yet. Third, some items in the original version were double barrelled, so we separated those double barrelled items into several items. Fourth, the original items were written like a sentence. We modified the style of writing into checklists instead of sentences. We also modified the choice of answer from 'strongly disagree to strongly agree' to 'very dissatisfied to very satisfied.' To avoid central tendency, we also added the choice of answers from five scales to six scales. Finally, these items were translated to Indonesian and some wordings were adjusted. The modified version of EMS consists of 16 items with Likert scale ranging from one (very dissatisfied) to six (very satisfied). The modified version of the EMS was proven to be a valid and reliable measure of marital satisfaction. The internal validity coefficient showed a coefficient of more than .4 for each item. Using coefficient alpha reliability, the modified version of EMS showed a coefficient of .91.

Scoring. Every item of the EMS was scored based on participant's choice of answer. A score of one to six was given to answers of 'very dissatisfied' to 'very satisfied' respectively. A total score of EMS was derived from the sum score of every item.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through the convenience sampling and snowballing techniques. First the team asked those who were available and agreed to participate. From these participants, we asked whether they had someone they knew with the characteristics that we were looking for that might want to participate in our study. Participants were explained about confidentiality and signed the confidentiality agreement. The TLS and EMS were distributed through electronic mail or print, contingent on the participant's availability.

Data Analysis

The IBM SPSS version 21.0 was used to analyse the data in this study. Several statistical analysis techniques were used to analyse the data based on the research questions. Descriptive statistics were used to summarise the demographic characteristics of our participants and to answer our first research question. The Pearson correlation was used to analyse the final research question. In addition to these questions, Pearson correlation, independent sample t-test, and one-way ANOVA were used to test whether there are any demographic characteristics confounding our second research question. Finally, the partial correlation was used to examine the relationship between love and marital satisfaction while controlling a third variable confounding the relationship.

Results

Levels of Love and Marital Satisfaction

Results showed that both love and marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage are still high. The scores of love ($M=156.58$, $SD= 16.16$) and its components ($M_{intimacy}= 52.11$,

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$SD_{intimacy}= 5.69$, $M_{passion}= 49.93$, $SD_{passion}= 6.55$, $M_{commitment}=54.58$, $SD_{commitment}= 5.8$) were greatly skewed towards the maximum score of TLS. Looking at each component, commitment was the highest in this stage. The same applies for marital satisfaction. Participant's score of marital satisfaction ($M= 82.39$, $SD= 7.43$) was greatly skewed towards the maximum score of EMS. These findings are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Description of Love and Marital Satisfaction

Variable	n	M	SD	Minimum Score	Maximum Score
Love	85	156.58	16.16	128 ^a /45 ^b	180 ^a /180 ^b
Intimacy	85	52.11	5.69	42 ^a /15 ^b	60 ^a /60 ^b
Passion	85	49.93	6.55	36 ^a /15 ^b	60 ^a /60 ^b
Commitment	85	54.58	5.80	43 ^a /15 ^b	60 ^a /60 ^b
Marital Satisfaction	85	82.39	7.43	61 ^a /16 ^b	96 ^a /96 ^b

Note: ^a Participant ^b Instrument

Relationship between Love and Marital Satisfaction

The Pearson correlation was used to analyse the relationship between love and marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage. The relationship between each components of love and marital satisfaction was also examined. Results showed that there was a significant, positive, and small correlation between love in general and marital satisfaction ($r= .294$, $n=85$, $p= .006$). Similar results were found for the components of love. Intimacy ($r= .248$, $n=85$, $p= .022$) and commitment ($r=.223$, $n= 85$, $p=.040$) were also found to correlate significantly and positively with marital satisfaction, also with a small effect size. Passion and marital satisfaction results in a significant, positive, and medium correlation ($r= .315$, $n= 85$, $p= .003$). This result showed that passion has the highest effect size compared to the other two components when it comes to a relationship with marital satisfaction. Our findings are summarised in Table 3. These analysis means that an increase in love and its components relates with an increase in marital satisfaction as well.

Table 3. Relationship between Love and Marital Satisfaction

Variable	n	r	p	Effect Size (Cohen, 1988)
Love and marital satisfaction	85	.294	.006**	Small
Intimacy and marital satisfaction	85	.248	.022*	Small
Passion and marital satisfaction	85	.315	.003**	Medium
Commitment and marital satisfaction	85	.223	.040*	Small

* Significant at the 0.05 level

** Significant at the 0.01 level

After a significant relationship was found, we also examined whether participants' demographic characteristics based on factors influencing love and marital satisfaction really influence our findings in this study. A summary of the results is presented in Table 4. Results showed that out of several factors, living arrangement was the only factor that influenced love and marital satisfaction in our study. There was a significant difference in love of those living only with their spouse ($M=158.95$, $SD=15.56$) and those living with their extended family ($M=151.48$, $SD=16.52$), conditions; $t(83)= 2.02$, $p= 0.47$. Moreover, living arrangement also had an effect on spouse's marital satisfaction. Our result showed that there was a significant difference in marital satisfaction of those living only with their spouse ($M= 83.879$, $SD= 7.079$) and those living with their extended family ($M=79.185$, $SD= 7.275$), conditions; $t(83)=2.822$, $p= .006$. This means that living arrangement had an effect on both spouse's love

and marital satisfaction. Spouses who lived only with their spouse had a higher love and marital satisfaction compared to those living with their extended family. This result also means that in this study, living arrangement was a confounding factor for both love and marital satisfaction.

Table 4. Factors Examined

Variable	Factors	Variable Type	Statistical Analysis	Result
Love	Age	Continuous	Pearson correlation	$r = .125, p = .254$
	Gender	Dichotomy	Independent sample t- test	$t(83) = .573, p = .568$
	Living arrangements	Dichotomy	Independent sample t- test	$t(83) = 2.02, p = .047^*$
Marital Satisfaction	Age at marriage	Continuous	Pearson correlation	$r = .059, p = .593$
	Education	Categorical	One-way ANOVA	$F(4,80) = 1.98, p = .106$
	Working status	Dichotomy	Independent sample t- test	$t(83) = .989, p = .326$
	Length of courtship	Continuous	Pearson correlation	$r = -.025, p = .822$
	Age of marriage	Continuous	Pearson correlation	$r = .037, p = .739$
	Income	Continuous	Pearson correlation	$r = .079, p = .471$
	Living arrangements	Dichotomy	Independent sample t-test	$t(83) = 2.822, p = .006^{**}$

* Significant at the 0.05 level

** Significant at the 0.01 level

We would like to test for a pure relationship between love and marital satisfaction in this stage. Therefore, we examined this relationship whilst controlling for living arrangement with a partial correlation. When we control living arrangement on the relationship between love and marital satisfaction, we found that there was a positive, significant, and small relationship ($r = .247, n = 85, p = .024$). Conducting a partial relationship between passion and marital satisfaction also resulted in a positive, significant, and small relationship between the two variables ($r = .278, n = 85, p = .01$). The effect size for passion and marital satisfaction decreased from medium to small after the living arrangement was controlled. In contrast, intimacy ($r = .202, n = 85, p = .06$) and commitment ($r = .173, n = 85, p = .116$) did not show a significant relationship with marital satisfaction after living arrangement was controlled.

Discussion

Several aims of this study were to (1) examine the level of love and marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage, (2) examine the relationship between love and marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage. The first aim resulted in high levels of love, its components, and marital satisfaction among individuals in the early stage of marriage. This finding was not surprising as most people marry for love (Duffy & Atwater, 2005). Commitment, specifically, was highest in this stage. This was also not surprising as a decision to marry itself is an expression of commitment (Sternberg, 1986). In addition, the mean length of marriage of our participants was seven months. The marriage was still new for our participants, therefore their love were still high. As for marital satisfaction, its level is highest in the first stage or marriage, before the baby comes (Orbuch, House, Mero, & Webster, 1996; Fowers & Olson, 1993; Bird & Melville, 1994). Therefore, our finding on the level of marital satisfaction in this stage was also not surprising.

The second aim of our study was to examine the relationship between love and marital satisfaction. We found that there was a significant, positive, and small correlation between love in general and marital satisfaction. The components of love were also positively related

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with marital satisfaction, with medium effect size. Intimacy and commitment showed small effect sizes when correlated with marital satisfaction, while passion showed medium effect size. However, we also found that living arrangement was confounding the relationship as it affects the mean difference of love and marital satisfaction. After controlling for living arrangement in the relationship of love and marital satisfaction, a different result was found. Only love in general and marital satisfaction, and passion and marital satisfaction were positively correlated, both with small effect sizes.

Our finding is somewhat different than previous studies. For example, Lewis (2011), Silberman (1995), and Sternberg (1988) consistently found that intimacy was the strongest predictor for marital satisfaction. In our findings however, only passion as a component of love had a small relationship with marital satisfaction. Participants of those previous studies were not targeted specifically to the first stage of marriage (Lewis, 2011; Silberman, 1995; Sternberg, 1988). Therefore, for romantic relationship in general, love was strongly related to marital satisfaction and intimacy might be the most related to marital satisfaction. As every marital stage has its own characteristics, what is more related to marital satisfaction in every stage might be different. In this case, passion was more important in the early stage of marriage than the other two components of love. Our finding matches Sternberg's (1988) triangular theory of love. He explained that the importance of the three components of love varies in the course of the relationship. In the early phase of a relationship, passion is the most important component as it acts as a drive for the relationship (Sternberg, 1988). Sexual activity is a prominent expression of passion in marriage. The early stage of marriage is a stage where sexual activity is most frequent (Davidson & Moore, 1996; James, 1981). Regan (2003) and Miller (2012) said that sexual relationship contributes to marital satisfaction in general. Sexual relationship also contributes to the hope to ease negative situations and makes the relationship more pleasing (Henderson-King & Veroff, 1994). Olson and DeFrain (2006) stated that the first two years of marriage is usually the hardest years for a lot of couples. Therefore, passion that brings hope to fix these hardships could help couples have a more satisfying relationship in this stage.

From our finding, we also learned that intimacy and commitment did not have a significant relationship in the early stage of marriage. Love in general and marital satisfaction was also found to have only a small relationship, while a previous study by Deeb (1989) found a strong relationship between the two variables. Deeb's (1989) study was also not specifically done for the first stage of marriage. This means that there are other factors that relate more to marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage. According to Clements, Cordova, Markman, and Laurenceau (1997), love is more important to mate selection than relationship satisfaction. They added that in marriage, the more important thing for satisfaction is how couples handle their differences (Clements, Cordova, Markman, & Laurenceau, 1997). Duval and Miller (1985) described the first stage of marriage as a stage full of adaptation. Therefore, in the early stage of marriage, how couples adapt to each other may be more important than love. In relation to adaptation, the relationship of love and marital satisfaction gets smaller after controlling for living arrangement. According to Olson and DeFrain (2006), the early stage of marriage is a stage where couples have to leave their nuclear families to be independent and functions as their own unique family. In cases where couples live with their extended families, this function can be altered.

Lastly, we would like to identify the limitations of our study. There are two major limitations of this study. First of all, this study used the convenience sampling technique which is prone to self-selection factor. Second of all, the sample size in this study is too few compared to the general population. While Guilford (2001) stated that a minimum of 30 participants is a requirement to closely get to normal distribution data, our small size was unbalanced in demographic characteristics. To forestall this, future research should attempt to

maintain representativeness by having more participants with diverse demographic characteristics. Moreover, as living arrangement was known to effect love and marital satisfaction, future studies should control this factor more extensively.

Conclusion

This study found that love, with each of its components, and marital satisfaction were high in the early stage of marriage. We also found that living arrangement had an effect on both love and marital satisfaction. After controlling for living arrangement, we found that love in general correlates positively with marital satisfaction. This means that in the early stage of marriage, an increase in love relates to an increase in marital satisfaction. However, we found that the relationship was weak. We also found a weak relationship between passion and marital satisfaction. We did not find a relationship between the other two components of love with marital satisfaction. Future studies should focus on finding factors that are strongly correlated with marital satisfaction in the early stage of marriage, as this stage is a critical stage for future stages.

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Differences in Psychological Well-Being Between Indonesian Elderly Pet Owners and Non Pet Owners

Gloryka Ednadita

Introduction

It had been indicated consistently that pet ownership demonstrates numerous psychological benefits for its owners, namely as a source of social support, unconditional love, safety and security, developing social relationship, trust, autonomy, sense of competence, purpose, and also reducing loneliness and stress (Black, 2009; Burnett, 2009; Ferry, 2007; Gulick & Krause-Parello, 2012; King, 2011; Orsini, 2005; Smith, Johnson, & Rolph, 2011). As a result of these benefits, pet ownership is highly popular, especially among the elderly (Parslow, Jorm, Helen, & Jacomb, 2005; Pohnert, 2010). The reason being the elderly experience declining social relationships due to their children growing to have their own family, loss of spouse and significant others, declining physical health, retirement, and others (Dradjat, 2010; Geller, 2005; Lesmana, 2011; Marks, 1996; Papalia, et al., 2009; Sarwono, 2006; Santrock, 2002). Hence, pet ownership, that is beneficial as a source of social support, affection, and others, has an important significance to the elderly.

Various studies had proven that these psychological benefits are strikingly associated with psychological-well being, as social support, affection, along with others are fundamental human needs (Black, 2009; Lesmana, 2011; McConnel & Brown, 2011; Wells, 2010). Therefore, pet ownership is assumed to have a relationship with psychological well-being. Psychological well-being is a state where individual can accept his/her strengths and weaknesses, develop positive social relationship with others, become an autonomous individual, control his/her own environment, have a sense of purpose, and engage in personal growth (Ryff, 1989; 1995).

This assumption has been confirmed with numerous studies, specifically by McCullough (2007) and Smith, Johnson, and Ralph (2011) that found pet ownership increases psychological well-being, autonomy, and positive relation among the elderly. Nonetheless, existing studies still show inconsistent findings (Anthony, 2005; McCullough, 2007; Pohnert, 2010). Tucker, Friedman, Tsai, and Martin (1995) and Raina, Waltner, Bonnet, and Abernathy (1999) found that there was no relationship between pet ownership and psychological well-being among the elderly. These studies were also in accordance with Pelletier's (2007) study that showed pet ownership did not have a relationship with well-being and depression.

These inconsistent findings on the relationship between pet ownership and psychological well-being among the elderly encouraged the author to further investigate the differences in psychological well-being between elderly pet owners and non-pet owners. In addition, although there is an increasing trend of pet ownership, such studies are scarce in Indonesia and hence, this would be one of the pioneer studies. As a South East Asian country, Indonesians have unique characteristics, such as extended family structure and high community ties (Georgas, 2003; Macionis, 2008; Muhammad, 2006; Park, 2007; Sunarto, 2009; Wells, 2010). Thus, it could be expected that their needs of social support have been met by their family and community, where McConnel dan Brown (2011) claimed that it could moderate the impact of pet ownership on well-being.

This study aimed to examine the differences in psychological well-being between Indonesian elderly pet owners and non-pet owners. The findings of this study could contribute as a theoretical development on clinical psychology theory, specifically on the benefits of pet ownerships among the elderly and as a practical development on the wellbeing among the

elderly, specifically on policy making and solutions of issues on well being.

This study limited the pet ownership to dog and cat ownership due to the following reasons. First, dogs and cats tend to initiate response and proximity through wagging its tail, barking, and walking closely, which lead to increasing positive and safe feelings for its owners (Black, 2009; Ferry, 2005). Second, dogs and cats are perceived to have feelings and are responsive to its owners' emotional experience, which result in the owner's decreasing anxiety and increasing relaxation (Beals, 2009). Third, dogs and cats could accompany its owners in their activities, such as doing house chores or going outside, which could tighten the emotional bond between owners and their pets (Geller, 2009). Fourth, dogs and cats are perceived to have a sense of loyalty and affection through their rituals of welcoming their owners home, which could increase positive feelings and self-esteem of their owners (Geller, 2009). Fifth, dogs and cats are furry animals that provide opportunities for owners to caress and in turn, lower their stress and increase their well-being (Anderson, 2010; King, 2011). Lastly, dogs and cats are shown to increase owners' social interaction, which lead to positive feelings and well-being (Ferry, 2005). This pet limitation to dog and cat is in accordance with other studies, such as Burnett (2009), Doglas (2002), Ferry (2006), and Gulick and Krause-Parello (2012).

Methods

This study was an applied descriptive research with quantitative measures. It was an observational cross-sectional study. The inclusion criteria for the participants of this study were Indonesians with a minimum age of 60 years old and a minimum level of education of a high school diploma. The education inclusion criterion was in accordance of Ryff, Keyes, and Smothkin's (2000) study, with the purpose of reducing the effect of education as a covariate on psychological well-being. For the pet owners, the inclusion criteria were the following: owner lives with pet; owner takes care of pet for pleasure purposes, not economical nor security reasons; owner is responsible for the pet care, such as providing foods and giving a bath; and the pet is limited to a dog and/or cat (Black, 2009; Dradjat, 2010; Ferry, 2006; McConell & Brown, 2011).

The instrument used in this study to assess psychological well-being was the Scale of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989). It consists of 18 items of six subscales, namely self-acceptance, positive relationship with other, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth. It uses a Likert attitude six points scale of "strongly disagree," "disagree," "somewhat disagree," "somewhat agree," "agree," and "strongly agree," with each of these options are scored 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 respectively for favourable items. An example of the items is "I like most aspects of my personality." This measurement has good psychometric properties (Kafka & Kozma, 2002; Wells, 2010) and integrates extensive theories from mental health, clinical health, and human development (Ryff, 1989). It had been adequately adapted to Bahasa Indonesia with a tested validity of corrected item total correlation validity of 0,2 and alpha cronbach reliability of 0,709 (Hapsari, 2011; Melida, 2011).

This study used the non-probability sampling method, specifically convenience sampling, due to unknown population size and accessibility of data. The targeted sample unit was a minimum of 30 elderly pet owners and 30 non-pet owners, to meet the requirement of a closely normal distribution data (Guillford, 2001). Sixty-five questionnaires were returned from the total of 85 questionnaires distributed via printed questionnaires and electronic mail in several big cities (Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, and Surabaya). After checking the completeness of the data, 62 questionnaires (31 pet owners and 31 non-pet owners) were used

in data analysis. All participants signed an informed consent and confidentiality agreement to participate in this study.

In data analysis, the IBM SPSS version 21.0 was used, with the statistical methods performed as follows: descriptive statistics to obtain organised and clean descriptive data; independent sample t-test to investigate whether there was a significant mean difference between the two groups of sample, and one way ANOVA, to investigate whether there were significant mean differences between two or more groups (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2007). Secondary variables such as demographic characteristics (age, gender, marital status, and living arrangement) were also examined, along with number of pets owned and period of owning pet.

Result

Demographic and Psychological Well-Being Description

Following is the result table of the demographic description of the participants (N=62).

Table 1. Demographic Description of the Participants

Demographic Characteristic	Elderly Pet Owners		Elderly Non- Pet Owner		Participants (N=62)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Gender						
Male	12	38.7	12	38.7	24	39.7
Female	19	61.3	19	61.3	38	60.3
Age						
Young-Old (60-74 yo)	30	96.8	23	74.2	53	85.5
Middle-Old (75-84 yo)	1	3.2	7	22.6	8	12.9
Old-Old (85 yo and older)	0	0	1	3.2	1	1.6
Educational Level						
High School Diploma	6	19.4	14	45.2	20	32.3
Vocational	2	6.5	6	19.4	8	12.9
Bachelor	18	58.1	8	25.8	26	41.9
Master	5	16.1	1	3.2	6	9.7
Doctoral	0	0	2	6.5	2	3.2

Differences in Psychological Well-Being

Marital Status						
Single	2	6.45	1	3.2	3	4.8
	27				45	72.6
Married	2	87.1	22	70.8	14	22.6
Widower	2	6.45	8	26.0		
Living Arrangement						
Living alone	4	12.9	7	22.6	11	17.7
	27				51	82.3
Living with spouse/family		87.1	24	77.4		

In Table 1, it is shown that most of the respondents in this study were female, young-old sub-age group, bachelor level of education, married, and living with spouse/family. The differences between the two groups were in sub-age and educational level characteristics, with pet owner group had notably a younger age and higher educational level.

In regards of description of the pet ownership on the elderly pet owner group (N=31), below is the following result table.

Table 2. Frequency Description of pet ownership on the Elderly Pet Owner Group

Ownership Characteristic	Sub-group	Freq.	Percentage
Owned Pet Animal	Cat	11	35.5
	Dog	20	64.5
Number of Owned Pet	1 pet	20	64.5
	2-3 pets	9	29
	>3 pets	2	6.5
Number of Years	<1 year	6	19.4
Owning Pet	1-3 years	4	12.9
	3-5 years	10	32.3
	>5 years	11	35.5

In Table 2, it is shown that most of the participants in the elderly pet owner group had one dog as a pet for more than five years.

Furthermore, the description of the psychological well-being on participants was calculated. The following is the result table on the participants' psychological well-being (N=62).

Table 3. Psychological Well-Being Description of the Participants

Psychological Well-Being	M	Minimum	Maximum	SD
Total Score	79,6	58	94	6,788
Subscales Score				
(4) Self-Acceptance	12.65	6	17	2.612
(2) Positive Relations with Others	13.97	9	18	2.165
(6) Autonomy	12.55	6	17	2.274
(3) Environmental Mastery	13.31	6	17	2.207
(5) Purpose in Life	12.6	7	17	2.165
(1) Personal Growth	14.53	8	18	2.28

In Table 3, it is shown that the mean total score of participants' psychological well-being was 79.6. As this mean was much more closely skewed to highest the possible score (of 108) than to the lowest possible score (of 18) of the instrument, the participants' psychological well-being was categorised as high. Regarding the subscales, it is shown that the highest mean was found in personal growth, while the lowest mean was found in autonomy. This means that the participants were best in their openness to experience and realizing their potential, while less able to regulate their behaviour from within themselves.

Main Result

The following is the result table on the description of the psychological well-being mean difference between the elderly pet owner group and non-pet owner group (N=62).

Table 4. Psychological Well-Being Mean Difference between the Two Groups

Group	N	M	Significance	Notation
Elderly Pet Owners	31	80,48	$t = 1,029$	Not sign.
Elderly Non-Pet Owners	31	78,71	$p = 0,307$	

Based on the t-test statistic calculation, it was found that $t = 1,029$ with $p = 0,307$.

Differences in Psychological Well-Being

This means that there was no significant psychological well-being difference between the elderly pet owners and non-pet owners, as the mean difference found was due to chance or error factor.

The following is the result table on the psychological well-being subscales mean difference between the elderly pet owner group and non-pet owner group (N=62).

Table 5. Psychological Well-Being Subscales Mean Differences between the Two Groups

Subscales	Group	M	Significance	Notation
Self-Acceptance	Pet owners	12,32	$t = -0,972$	Not sign.
	Non-pet owners	12,97	$p = 0,335$	
Positive Relations	Pet owners	14	$t = -0,116$	Not sign.
	Non-pet owners	13,94	$p = 0,908$	
Autonomy	Pet owners	12,65	$t = 0,333$	Not sign.
	Non-pet owners	12,45	$p = 0,741$	
Environmental Mastery	Pet owners	13,45	$t = 0,515$	Not sign.
	Non-pet owners	13,16	$p = 0,609$	
Purpose in Life	Pet owners	13,52	$t = 3,776$	Sign.
	Non-pet owners	11,68	$p = 0,000$	
Personal Growth	Pet owners	14,5	$t = 0,05$	Not sign..
	Non-pet owners	14,52	$p = 0,956$	

Based on the t-test statistic calculation, it was found that $t = 3,776$ with $p = 0,000$ in purpose in life subscales. This means that there was a significant purpose in life difference between the elderly pet owners and non-pet owners, where the elderly pet owners had significantly higher purpose in life than the elderly non-pet owners. The mean difference found was due to existing difference between the two groups, not chance or error factor.

Furthermore, the one-way ANOVA test was performed to calculate the psychological well-being subscales mean difference between the elderly dog owner, cat owner and non-pet owner group (N=62).

Table 6. Psychological Well Being Subscales Mean Differences between the Three Groups

Subscales	Group	M	Significance	Notation
Self-Acceptance	Non-pet owners	12,97	F = 5,555	Sign.
	Cat owners	10,45	$p = 0,006$	
	Dog Owners	13,35		
Positive Relations	Non-pet owners	13,94	F = 0,54	Not sign.
	Cat owners	13,45	$p = 0,586$	
	Dog Owners	14,3		
Autonomy	Non-pet owners	12,45	F = 1,779	Not sign.
	Cat owners	11,64	$p = 0,178$	
	Dog Owners	13,2		
Environmental Mastery	Non-pet owners	13,16	F = 0,261	Not sign.
	Cat owners	13,73	$p = 0,771$	
	Dog Owners	13,3		
Purpose in Life	Non-pet owners	11,68	F = 7,021	Sign.
	Cat owners	13,45	$p = 0,002$	
	Dog Owners	13,55		
Personal Growth	Non-pet owners	14,52	F = 0,052	Not sign.
	Cat owners	14,73	$p = 0,949$	
	Dog Owners	14,45		

Based on the one-way ANOVA calculation, it was found that $F = 5,555$ with $p = 0,006$ in self-acceptance subscale and $F = 7,021$ with $p = 0,002$ in purpose in life subscale. This means there was significant self-acceptance and purpose in life differences between the elderly non-pet owners, cat owners, and dog owners, where the elderly dog owner group had significantly higher self-acceptance and purpose in life than the other two groups. The mean

differences found were due to existing differences between the three groups, not chance or error factor.

Discussion

Based on the descriptive analysis on participants' psychological well-being in general, it was found that the participants had categorically high psychological well-being. This was consistent with Papalia, Olds, and Feldman's (2009) and Santrock's (2002) claims that there is an increasing psychological well-being among the elderly, as there are improvements in social welfare accessibility, lifestyle quality, and supportive facilities, which Joga (2013) claimed are also found in Indonesia. This could also be explained by the high score on positive relation with others subscale, which is the key of the elderly's well-being, especially among the Asian community such as Indonesia (Bee & Boyd, 2002; Dayton, 2001; Hutapea, 2011; Papalia, et al., 2009). The reason being the social relationship could help the elderly to retain life satisfaction amidst stress and trauma, such as when losing a spouse. Moreover, social support could also help preserve and improve physical and cognitive health for the elderly.

Furthermore, the highest score was found in the personal growth subscale. This finding was in accordance of Hapsari's (2011) and Lesmana's (2011)'s claims that the elderly indeed have numerous positive potentials; they are still able to understand, grow, adapt, and engage in a life task. On the other hand, the lowest score was found in autonomy subscale. This could be due to the Indonesian elderly's dependability to others and their unassertive attitude (Hutapea, 2011; Lesmana, 2011). Moreover, this finding was also consistent with Ryff's (1995) study that demonstrated participants with eastern collectivist culture had a low score on self-oriented subscale such as autonomy.

The main result showed that there was no significant psychological well-being difference between the elderly pet owners, both dog and cat, and non-pet owners. This finding was in accordance with Parslow et al.'s (2005), Tucker et al.'s (1995), Raina et al.'s (1999), and Pelletier's (2007) studies that indicated the importance of attachment factor between owners and their pet. The attachment factor determines the extent of quality time spent between owner with their pet and owner's emotional investment on their pet (Pohnert, 2010). Thus, as claimed by Ferry (2006) and Tucker et al. (1995), the psychological impact of a pet on psychological well-being is dependent on the attachment between owner and pet, not just the ownership factor. More studies are recommended to investigate the relationship between pet-owner attachment and psychological well-being.

In addition, no significant relationship found between pet ownership and psychological well-being could also be due to the Indonesian elderly already receives adequate social support. Indonesians have unique characteristics such as extended family structure and high community ties (Georgas, 2003; Muhammad, 2006; Park, 2007; Sunarto, 2009; Wells, 2010). Hence, their social support needs have been met and might moderate the relationship between psychological well-being and pet ownership, as indicated by McConnel and Brown's (2011) study. Future studies may consider limiting the participants into the elderly who lives alone and/or with single status.

In regards of the subscales, the elderly pet owners had a higher purpose in life than non-pet owners. This was consistent with previous studies, specifically Ferry (2007) and Black (2009). This finding was essential as it indicated that a pet helps the elderly to find purpose and meaning in life, which is one of the developmental tasks of the elderly (Papalia, et al., 2009). This is because a pet is usually considered as a member of family and thus, become one of the reasons to live (Pohnert, 2010). Pet ownership also provides routine and

structure in their lives, as they need to walk their pet outside and gives baths and foods on a regular basis (Geller, 2005; Moeller, 2010). Additionally, pet ownership is also found to increase spirit, engagement, happiness, and life satisfaction (Geller, 2005).

Going into more specifics, the elderly dog owners had higher self-acceptance than cat owners and non-owners. This finding was in accordance with Gulick and Krause-Parello's (2012) study that showed pet ownership helps the elderly in accepting imperfections in self and life and in redefining their self-worth, which is one of the developmental tasks of the elderly (Santrock, 2002). The reason is due to therapeutical benefits generated mainly by dogs, and not cats (Wells, 2007). Dogs are indicated to be a relaxation source, reducing stress, increasing self-esteem, and a place for owners to express their sadness (Kist, 2009; Orsini, 2005; Pohnert, 2011; Shiloh, et al., 2003). Not to mention that perceived unconditional love and loyalty of dogs could help eliminate despair and hopelessness while also increasing feelings of safety and comfort (Black, 2009; Dradjat, 2010; Geller, 2005).

Furthermore, the following were the limitations of this study. First, lack of control on age and educational level of the participants. The differences found on these characteristics between the two groups might become a covariate and thus an alternative explanation of this study's finding. Nonetheless, the study already examined a specific age group, namely the elderly, and limited the educational level by means of participant's inclusion criteria of minimum of high school diploma. Second, the small sample size could lowered the statistical power and thus, reduced the test's ability to detect differences. However, the sample size was still satisfactory considering this study's time period, resources, and feasibility. Future studies may take these into account by applying more vigorous control on demographic characteristics and possible covariates and also increase the sample size.

Conclusion

Based on the data analysis, the following are the main study's findings. First, there was no significant psychological well-being difference between the elderly pet owners, both cat or dog owners, and non-pet owners. Second, in regards of subscales, the elderly pet owners had significantly higher purpose in life than non-pet owners, and more specifically, dog owners had significantly higher self-acceptance than cat owners and non-pet owners.

These findings are imperatively valuable when reviewing solutions to solve psychological well-being issues of the elderly. For example, it could be taken into consideration in policy making to allow pet ownership in geriatric care and nursing homes. This finding could also be included in psychoeducation to socialise psychological benefits of pet ownership, especially for the elderly. Socialisation regarding the importance of emotional bond between owner and their pet is shown to lower stress and increase well-being (King, 2011). Lastly, this finding could encourage the use of dog-assisted therapy, as it was indicated that dogs could be beneficial as a source of relaxation and expressing oneself (McCullough, 1986; Shiloh, et al., 2003).

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Sociologist as a profession: an analysis of newspapers titles 1994-2013

Christian Ruggiero, Giovanni Santonastaso

1. Introduction

The Research project of significant national interest (PRIN) 2010-2011 “Professions in the public space beyond the crisis”²⁶ aims at investigating data, roles and perspectives of the public sphere professions: those jobs dealing with politics, education, communication, and culture, that, in our perspective, are represented by those who graduated from the faculties of political, social and communication sciences (Morcellini, Faccioli, Mazza, 2014).

One of the theoretical assumptions of the Research Project is that these professions are affected by the public sphere crisis: there seems to be a common trait between individualism (Putnam, 2000; Bauman, 2001) and the crisis in the professions of public sphere (which, for example, is also expressed in the generalised crisis of political representation – Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Patterson, 2002). The widespread common place critical stance against the knowledge and the professions that fall into the “realm” of what is here defined as public space is central in today's society. In fact, these are all activities that are based on crucial knowledge to interpret and understand our world and our present times (McQuail, 2013).

The wider Research Project, investigates the policies and the professional training offered by universities for jobs in the public sphere, the social perception of the related professions, and the public representation of these professions, with particular attention to media representations. This work represents a part of the latter of the above mentioned research areas. The “social construction” of jobs in the public sphere and of the role carried out by the images provided by the media are central when it comes to reconstructing the picture related to the public reputation and to the social appeal held by such professions. In fact, the media representations significantly contribute to define a more general social representation of jobs in the public sphere, which appears to be closely tied to the national socio-economic context.

The specific subject investigated in this research action, carried out by the Rome Research Unit²⁷, Sapienza University, is the informative dimension in media representation: images pertaining to information systems (quality and popular press on the one side, infotainment tv shows on the other) have been analysed with reference to the image of the job in the public sphere.

In particular, we analysed articles from the main economic Italian newspaper (*Il Sole 24ore*) and one of the main omnibus Italian newspapers (*la Repubblica*) selected during the period from 1994 to 2013.

Choosing the period from 1992 to 2012 means to put the research activity into a wider reflection in times of radical change regarding first the academic offer's structure, in political representation and in public participation (coinciding with the “second Republic”). Secondly, a substitution role of the media in a context of rising individualism, certainly important for the political, social, communicative profession's public “statute” (Morcellini, 2013).

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²⁷ Scientific Coordinator Prof. Mario Morcellini; Research Action Staff Proff. Marco Bruno, Mihaela Gavrila, Rolando Marini (University of Perugia), Christian Ruggiero, Drs. Giovanni Brancato, Simona Cannataro, Simone Mulargia, Fiorenzo Parziale, Giovanni Santonastaso.

Through the analysis of titles and texts of these articles we tried to explore how the *media discourse* (van Dijk, 1985; 2013) created by these two important Italian newspapers contributes to shape the public image of the professions of the public space.

The selection of the two newspapers reflects the distinction between “quality press” and “popular press,” that, although not entirely applicable to the “Italian case,” is functional to distinguish two information sources, ideally contributing to build two different images of the professions of the public space.

On the one hand, we have *Il Sole 24 Ore*, the major economical newspaper in Italy, the second in distribution after *Corriere della Sera* (the most diffused Italian newspaper), closely linked to Italian Industrial Federation (Confindustria). It is the heir of *Il Sole*, the newspaper founded by Gaetano Semenza and Francesco Vallardi in 1865, on the model of the *Times*, reporting the news regarding comments on the Stock Market, dispatches on the market of silks and cotton, and political commentaries. When *Il Sole* joined *24 Ore*, founded strictly after the Second World War, in 1946, the Italian industrial and economic élite had a nearly unique reference point in the newspapers panorama. On the other hand, we have *la Repubblica*, the third newspaper in distribution, the second in readership after *Corriere della Sera*, from the very beginning the opinion newspaper of the centre-left Italian readers. Founded by Eugenio Scalfari in 1976, it has been in the years the most successful example of a newspaper able to contend with *Corriere della Sera* the primacy of readers and influence on opinion Italian public, allowing more of its “institutional” rival the spectacular nature of the news and storytelling (Agostini, 2004). A very peculiar example of how the Italian press has claimed its peculiarities into the “Mediterranean model,” *la Repubblica* “introduced more colorful writing and graphic presentation; broadened its agenda to include more entertainment and culture and eventually sports and crime; hired women reporters; and increased female readership” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 101). In fact it represents a symbol of how, in the last three decades, commentary-oriented journalism had the best on the attempt to establish “neutral” papers as a response to the shift toward a stronger market orientation in the Italian press.

So, the comparison between “quality” and “popular” press, that is to say between a newspaper representing “manifestations of popular political involvement through the press that depend on rational debate” on the one hand, and a newspaper which aesthetic “is to instruct the reader into begin a more adept reader of contemporary patterns of consumption and identity” on the other (Conboy, 2002, p. 148) seems to be satisfied taking *Il Sole 24 Ore* and *la Repubblica* as sources for the corpora of articles to be analysed.

2. Method

The databases of both *Il Sole 24 Ore* and *la Repubblica* were queried in full text research with a set of keywords directly referring to the professions of interest: “sociologist,” “political scientist,” “communicator,” and “press agent.”

A first step of content analysis (Altheide, 1996) brought us to better distinguish the articles we found, on the basis of five critical elements.

First, the *degree of involvement* the profession of the public space we were analysing was submitted to in the article: negligible (i.e. only a citation of the opinion of a sociologist, amongst many others); partial (i.e. a citation in order to explain a phenomenon that is strictly linked to social life, about which the position expressed from a sociologist is not considered as central, but it is rather important in the structure of the article); central / focalised (i.e. citations from one or more sociologist that constitute the key to understand the phenomenon the article deals with).

Second, the *kind of involvement* the profession of the public space we were analysing was submitted to in the article, as regarding: a single exponent of the discipline (i.e. Luciano Gallino, considered the main Italian sociologist of work); a well-defined group (i.e. experts in sociology of work); the profession collectively intended (i.e. any professor in sociology the journalist could find, even if his/her studies were pretty far from the “analysed” phenomenon).

Third, the *role of the profession* in the article’s narration: protagonist of the event (i.e. an interview with a well-known sociologist who’s specific knowledge is presented as crucial to understand a certain phenomenon); source (both direct or indirect) of elements of knowledge (i.e. a sociologist called to show recent data on the phenomenon the article deals with, taken from reports, books or files); commentator or interpreter of a phenomenon, problem, event (i.e. one or more sociologists called to tell their opinion on a certain issue to help the reader get more data to build an opinion); source and commentator / interpreter (i.e. a sociologist whose opinion is strictly linked to the data he’s presenting on a certain issue, because he’s the lead researcher of an observatory or a permanent research team).

Fourth, the presence of *elements related to the formation of the profession* (i.e. a reference to the University where a young sociologist studied, or to the academics / school of thought he could have encountered, and how they / it could have influenced his work).

Fifth, *the explanation of the social value assigned to the profession* called into question in the article, that, if detectable, was due of: skill-specialisation (i.e. he studied this, he earned a scientific prize on that); *experience, capacity to witness* (i.e. he did, he said); skill and experience (in a mix that does not let the first or the second prevail).

A second step of analysis that is crucial for the analysis here presented is linked to the attempt to understand how the *media discourse* created by the press contributes to shape the image of the professions of the public space. Following van Dijk (1985, p. 5), media discourses can be taken as “the basis for an ‘inferential framework’, that is, as ‘expression’, ‘indicator’, ‘signal’ or as ‘stimulus’ for other, ‘underlying’, phenomena in culture and society, such as ideologies, power, dominance, discrimination, racism and sexism, media access of elites, or the uses and effects of the media with the audience.” To do this, content analysis tools traditionally used on media products need to be supported by more in-depth strategies: “Afl levels and dimensions of analysis need to be attended to, from ‘surface’ properties of presentation, layout, graphical display in printed discourse, or intonation, paraverbal and nonverbal features in spoken media discourse, on the one hand, through an analysis of syntactic structures, lexical style or rhetorical devices, to the ‘underlying’ meanings, connotations or associations, or the pragmatics of speech acts performed.”

The “analysis of syntactic structures, lexical style or rhetorical devices” van Dijk speaks about can be performed on both the main textual element of a newspaper article: its title and its body.

To focalise on titles is not only a matter of economy: “It is through the titles that the newspaper gets its key messages. The title decides the interpretation of the article [...] it serves as a ‘code’ for the rest of the article” (Eco, 1971, p. 354).

Papuzzi (2010) gets the point with more accuracy: the title represents a parallel text, not only an introduction to the article’s body, it has its own expressivity and, exactly because it is part of the desk’s work, it fully symbolises a newspaper’s identity and the pact of reading it established with its readers. It supplies to the reader the essence of the argument: a phrase graphically in greater evidence that has the task of breaking the news. Since the reader skims a newspaper more than reading it, the title becomes an informative element of great importance, a small text string entrusted to explain and comment on the fact that the article deals with, while more elaborate information can be found in the body of the text. Since it has to attract the reader, it is the place where journalism practice can use extra-ordinary

syntactical and lexical paradigms, wordplays, direct discourse, rhetoric figures like inversion, ellipsis, alliteration, or metonymy.

The first result we had on 5.374 cases, the full corpus comprehensive of the articles mentioning “sociologist,” “political scientist,” “communicator,” and “press agent,” was the greater presence and regularity of one of these professions: the sociologist. It was not a great surprise: if not the most “newsworthy,” it is certainly the easier to be found on newspapers, because of the natural tendency of journalism and sociology to share knowledge about contemporary social world (Bechelloni, 1994).

It is precisely from the recognition of the widespread use of the term “sociologist” in both the newspapers that arose the opportunity to work on this research paper. We decided in fact to take advantage of this “strong” element (or, rather, this data) as a starting point for further analysis (of more modest size and pretensions) that, with the help of some conceptual and operational tools related to the discourse analysis studies (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2003; Richardson, 2007), could go more deeply into the study of the image, provided by the media, of the considered profession.

More precisely, we decided to make a qualitative analysis of the titles of the newspapers articles containing the word “sociologist.” In particular, it was considered the presence and evolution, in them, of that set of grammatical and stylistic features that some scholars (Proietti, 1992; Dardano, 1994) have called “enlivenings” (in Italian, “vivacizzazione”) or “brilliant style,” which indicate those tools used to give the language of journalism a greater vividness, impressiveness, and immediacy.

Some of the tools used to obtain enlivenings can be, for example: the replacement of “normal,” or at least neutral, *verba dicendi* (such as “tell”) with more expressive verbs (like “toss off”); the use of tropes; the use of stereotypes and formulas typical of spoken language, etc. As we will show, the list is long and complex.

These tools, as pointed out by Dardano, would be a consequence of the so-called “weeklyization” (in Italian “settimanalizzazione”) of the newspaper, a phenomenon described by Eco (1997) in terms of a change of ways of doing the daily information. Newspapers in fact would follow the model offered by weekly magazines, increasing the number of pages (in order to ensure more space for advertising), focusing on comments and sensationalism, and sometimes giving more emphasis to “exaggerate” the news. As a consequence, this led to a loss of referentiality in many headlines and to the growth of their stunning characteristics.

The choice of titles is due to at least four different reasons: *in primis*, the headline is considered a place of synthesis, in which the newspaper highlights what it believes is the focus of the news; the title is a very important level of the “use of the press:” from its reading it will come, or not, the reading of the rest of the article. Then, as suggested by Murialdi (1982, p. 15), “the titles and guarantee to the newspaper, and indicate its style [...]. The appearance and style to ensure the attachment of the newspaper the reader’s attachment, they create a habit, and often a tenacious faithfulness. For this reason, formal changes in the newspapers are rare, and have a very slow process;” finally, a very important element, highlighted by Eco (1971, p. 354): “it is through the titles that the newspaper does get its key messages. The title decides the interpretation of the article [...] it serves as a “code” for the rest of the article.”

Therefore, after having selected the articles of the two newspapers containing the term “sociologist,” we decided to define the period to analyse: so the corpus has been restricted to the years 1994, 2004 and 2013. These years are considered very significant for two reasons: first, they cover some of the decisive moments for the so-called “Second Italian republic” (roughly, its dawn, its height and its sunset – Colarizi, Gervasoni, 2012). Secondly, these are the years of the birth and stabilisation of university courses in Communication sciences.

The chosen analysis then led to a further, necessary selection of the corpus that, in some way, could “justify” (or, better, that could give full meaning to) the study of the only newspaper headlines. Since not all the titles of the articles which featured “sociologist” had some connection with this term (for example, in the articles in which the sociologist figure was marginal compared to the subject), they were selected for the purpose of research only those articles in which the degree of involvement of the profession (a variable already “measured” within the PRIN, mentioned before) had been judged to be central, to be sure to have a secure reference in the titles.

3. Results

In this way we obtained (see Table 1), for *Il Sole 24 Ore*, 84 articles: 26 for 1994, 29 for 2004, 29 for 2013; for *la Repubblica*, instead, 110 items: 53 for 1994, 41 for 2004, 16 for 2013. Even if the data are too few to be able to derive some very valid indications, it is possible to notice, even before starting the analysis, two interesting elements. On the one hand, the modest (but constant) number, of articles of *Il Sole 24 Ore* centred on the figure of the sociologist. On the other hand, the high number of articles from *la Repubblica* dedicated to the profession (compared to *Il Sole 24 Ore*, they are more than double) in 1994, a number that has been gradually decreasing over the years to be lower, in 2013, to the number of articles of the economic newspaper.

Table 1. Sub-corpus Sociologist * Central involvement: number of articles per newspaper

	1994	2004	2013	Total
Il Sole 24 Ore	26	29	29	84
la Repubblica	53	41	16	110
Total	79	70	45	194

Before proceeding, it was necessary to put an order to the large number of cases of “enlivening” identified from the existing literature (especially, Proietti, 1992; Dardano, 1994), *but never grouped in a systematic, rigorous way*, and therefore in a way that could be considered functional to a research activity.

So we chose to distinguish the enlivenings into two large groups (see Table 2), according to the fact that the “expressiveness” of the style could affect more the sphere of the meanings or the sphere of the form of words and of the ways in which the words bind with each other to form a sentence. In the first case we will talk about “semantic phenomena,” among which it is possible to find, among many, tropes (metaphors, metonymies, synecdoche, wordplays and puns, hyperboles, euphemisms), use of an ironic register, idiomatic expressions, technical terms, slangs, use of foreign words and so on. In the second group, the “syntactic phenomena,” there are nominal style, ellipses, postpositions and, overall, dislocations of words, and so on.

However, *it should be pointed out that this is a distinction of convenience, particularly useful for operational purposes*: in fact the “syntactic phenomena” can be also “semantic,” and vice versa (roughly). Even more important, it is possible that the presence of mixed cases (not only between different “phenomena,” but also between types pertaining to the same “phenomenon”), as it is also possible to notice in the Table 2.

Table 2. Distinction in enlivenings.

Distinction in enlivenings	
Semantic phenomena	Syntactic phenomena
- Tropes (metaphors, metonymies, synecdoche, wordplays, calembours, hyperboles, euphemisms) - Prefixes, suffixes - Technical terms / specialised sub-codes (incl. contamination of registers) - Reported speech - Ironic-brilliant register - “Handbook titles” - Foreign words - Idiomatic expressions - Epithets, antonomasia, nicknames - Colloquial register - Narrative titles - Paradoxes (even apparent ones) - Slogan	- Nominal style - Reported speech - Ellipsis - Postpositions, dislocations - “Handbook titles” - Foreign words - Neologisms - Idiomatic expressions - Queries - Narrative titles - Slogans - Specifications in parenthesis

Having distinguished the enlivenings, the analysis focuses on some particular types of semantic phenomena, considered more impressive than syntactic phenomena because of their greater figurative power: that is why they are, presumably, most effective on readers. The types of semantic phenomena considered are: tropes, reported speech, presence of technical terms and what we assumed as a new category we called “handbook titles.”

Despite their “noble vocation” (they should serve, in fact, as it is well known, to “facilitate” understanding), tropes’ excessive or inappropriate use leads to unnecessary effects of spectacularisation, trivialisation and even misrepresentation. We divided the tropes we found into four categories (see Table 3): metaphors, metonymies and synecdoche, hyperboles and euphemisms, calembours and wordplays.

As it can be seen from the Table 3, metaphors are the most numerous type of trope in the corpus: a total of 42 for *Il Sole 24 Ore* (and progressively increasing: 9 in 1994, 15 in 2004, 18 in 2013) and 62 for *la Repubblica*, a “popular” newspaper (which, however, shows an opposite trend: 30 in 1994, 22 in 2004, ten in 2013). The cases of metonymy and synecdoche, as well as those of hyperboles and euphemisms, are very few. The last type of tropes,

combining the calembours and the wordplays, presents a fair amount (15 cases for *Il Sole 24 Ore*, 20 for *la Repubblica*).

Here are some examples:

“Tv violenta” / “Violent TV” (*la Repubblica*, 22/6/1994)

“Delitti e castighi del populismo” / “Crimes and punishments of populism” (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 29/2/2004)

“L’era dell’«homo eroticus»” / “The era of «homo eroticus»” (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 5/5/2013)

“I cittadini cyborg dell’impero digitale” / “Cyborg citizens of the digital empire” (*la Repubblica*, 1/8/2013).

Table 3. Number of tropes in the titles per newspaper

	Tropes					
	1994		2004		2013	
	Sole24Ore	Repubblica	Sole24Ore	Repubblica	Sole24Ore	Repubblica
Metaphors	9	30	15	22	18	10
Metonymies and synecdoche	2	3	1	3	0	0
Hyperboles and euphemisms	0	0	1	3	0	1
Calembours and wordplays	4	14	7	5	4	1
Total	15	47	24	33	22	12

We then recorded a reasonable number of cases of reported speech (direct speech, quotes, colloquialisms etc.), often used to liven up the journalistic texts and give an impression of authenticity and “immediacy,” as well as to offer a presumed summary of what was said. Many studies (Calaresu, 2004) have shown, however, that reported speeches are rarely accurate or authentic (especially in titles). Actually, they hide the newspaper’s editorial policy. Compared to *Il Sole 24 Ore*, which has made a moderate use of it, *la Repubblica* (see Table 4) shows a number of cases far higher, around 35 (13 in 1994, 15 in 2004, seven in 2013), in line with its orientation more close to the “lay man.”

Here are some examples:

“«Favorevole o contrario»: il mestiere di fare domande” / “«Favorable or adverse»: the job of asking questions”
(*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 9/5/1994)

“Vogliamo l’eroina di Stato” / “We want the state heroine” (*la Repubblica*, 13/9/1994)

“Siamo diventati tutti vulnerabili” / “We have all become vulnerable” (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 22/9/2013)

“Lipovetsky: ormai siamo tutti consumatori estetici” / “Lipovetsky: By now we are all aesthetic consumers”
(*la Repubblica*, 22/8/2013).

Table 4. Number of reported speeches in the titles per newspaper

Reported speech			
	1994	2004	2013
Il Sole 24 Ore	4	8	2
la Repubblica	13	15	7
Total	17	23	9

It is also interesting the data concerning the presence of technical terms (see Table 5). While *la Repubblica* shows only two of them in total (one in 2004 and one in 2013), *Il Sole 24 Ore* has six cases in 1994 and progressively decrease to one case in the other two selected years. In other words, the amount of specific information of the conveyed subject (sociology) is very low.

Here are some of the few available examples:

“Vie postmoderne alla sociabilità” / “Postmodern ways to sociability” (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 16/1/1994)

“C’è più mobilità sociale e voglia di imparare” / “There is more social mobility and will to learn” (*la Repubblica*, 24/6/2004)

“Riscoprendo Tarde, sociologo incompreso” / “Rediscovering Tarde misunderstood sociologist” (*la Repubblica*, 14/4/2013).

Table 5. Number of technical terms in the titles per newspaper

Technical terms			
	1994	2004	2013
Il Sole 24 Ore	6	1	1
la Repubblica	0	1	1
Total	6	2	2

The last of the considered elements is the category we tried to identify as “Handbook titles,” that pretend to explain, just like a handbook could do, in which way things are, how they are made or how do they work. Usually these titles begin with words like “How to...,” “Here’s how...,” “In this way...” and so on.

Despite being a transverse linguistic phenomenon, the “handbook titles” are widespread especially in sections of newspapers dedicated to fashion, curiosity, habits (sometimes even in the science section). Their presence within the corpus is quite limited, even if it shows a constant presence through the years; however, these titles are an interesting phenomenon, strangely not considered by theory.

Even in this case, the main effect obtained is to exalt the information contained, trivialising it, in addition to an indirect exaltation of instrumental knowledge.

Here are some examples:

Ecco in cosa crede l'uomo razionale / Here's what the rational man believes in (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 27/6/1994)

Come cambia e come ci cambia la vita / How it changes and how it changes your life (*la Repubblica*, 22/10/2004)

«Così il web aiuta a stare meglio» / «In this way the web helps you to get better» (*la Repubblica*, 09/1/2013).

4. Conclusions

From the analysis of the titles included in the corpus, several significant elements emerged.

First, a large and growing presence of metaphors and calembours, a significant number of reported speech and a widespread lack of technical terms. This confirms the hypothesis that both mainstream and specialised news fail in covering issues and characters linked to sociology as belonging to a specialised sphere of action (Bourdieu, 1993). Sorrentino (2006, p. 38) underlined that journalistic field is characterised by blurred limits “between journalistic production and other forms of representation of reality.” What we were trying to find was a distinction between the news coverage of such a specialised subject (representations of reality in which the role of the sociologist is central) in “popular” and “quality” press. At least we were looking for a little difference, also because of this we used methodological tools borrowed from linguistic and rhetoric studies. Our results point out that the two media discourses considered are essentially homologated, and based on the same set of features.

In this context, the strong presence of enlivenings confirmed those trends to the spectacularisation, banalisation and possible misunderstandings that are featuring more and more the language of Italian journalism. Historical and social data shaping the Mediterranean context (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) explain the lack of specialised information in an international comparison. Despite of this, the research for an “expert” coverage of sociology as a newsworthy subject was sustained by important elements. The expansion of scientific journalistic production in Italy goes back to the late Seventies (De Mauro, 1992), and the competition with online journalism leads the printed press to focus on specialised contents (Valentini, 2012). None of these elements seem to have as a consequence the presence of a “quality” representation of matters directly linked to sociology as a scientific field.

In sum, we found very little differences in the media discourse built by popular press, represented by *la Repubblica*, and that built by the quality press, represented by *Il Sole 24 Ore*. Thus, the profession of the sociologist is far to achieve a social representation of its role doing credit to its capacity in interpreting and understanding our world and our present times.

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Under The Italian Skies: An International Open-Air Set.²⁸

Giovanni Brancato, Giada Fioravanti

1. Introduction.

Besides the obvious presence of the American film system and the continuing growth of new realities such as those of the Asian continent - just consider the Indian film system and, in particular, the rise of Hindi language film industry, known as Bollywood - the Old Continent has always played a central role in the World cinema system. Specifically, Italy conquered, and still holds, a leading position compared to other nations, due to two main reasons: the first is historical and the second one is related to government policies. On the one hand the undisputed centrality as a place of some milestones of the historical evolution of the seventh art, and its role as a source of inspiration for world famous directors, an example is documentary film *My voyage to Italy* (1999) by Martin Scorsese. On the other hand, the central role of government initiatives - that are implemented thanks to regional funding especially in recent years – based on the territorial promotion linked to the film productions.

The connection point between these two elements is represented by the central role of the spatial element where the film narration takes place. Settings, landscapes, atmospheres and spaces are all elements that make Italy an ideal location to tell stories that represent, not only traditional Italian society, but also the modern multi-ethnicity. In addition to the space as a physical entity, the central role of Italy is based on its identity as a land of collective imagery. The "Bel Paese" is rich in symbolic connotations able to give expressive force to fictional narratives so filmmakers from around the world have often chosen, and still continue, Italy as location and backdrop for their films.

2. Space in the Italian cinema history as source of inspiration.

After World War II, Italy experienced a period of economic growth corresponding to the most successful moment of the Italian cinema: Neorealism. In particular, during the last years of the conflict, the Italian directors narrated stories in which the subject was the life of ordinary people struggling with the difficulties of the Italian society of that moment. In this period, the public's attention focused on important directors such as Luchino Visconti, Roberto Rossellini, and Vittorio De Sica. While illustrating the existential reality of that time, Italian cinema told its stories by making characters appear as truthful as possible: by leaving the studios, film shooting was done on the streets, often the actors were not professionals, happy endings were few, and the films were so realistic that viewers were given the impression of watching documentaries. In this moment, the landscapes become a new key element of storytelling: destroyed urban landscapes and settings reminiscent remind the tough conditions of life. An example of the neorealist cinema, and perhaps the most emblematic, is *Roma città aperta/Rome Open City* (Rossellini, 1945) which dealt with the resistance against the German troops occupying the Italian Capital. Significantly, the most famous scene of the entire film was shot outdoors and not in a studio: after the protest against the policemen, Pina, played by Anna Magnani, runs desperate just before her death. After the end of the conflict, Italian cinema dealt with workers, the unemployed and pensioners who lived amidst hunger and despair but who, nevertheless, dreamt of building a brighter future. Now, some directors began dealing with social problems such as inflation, and the hardships of rural life, which in

²⁸ This paper is the result of a joint research effort of the two authors, Giovanni Brancato wrote sections from 1 to 4 and Giada Fioravanti wrote sections from 5 to 8.

that period constituted the basis of the Italian economy. Two well-known examples are *Ladri di biciclette/Bicycle Thieves* (De Sica, 1948), which won an Oscar for best foreign language film in 1949, and *La terra trema/The Earth Trembles* (Visconti, 1948). In both movies, locations were essential for the narrative: the first was set in Rome, a city undergoing slow reconstruction, while the second was shot in Acitrezza, a small Sicilian-fishing village. While they depicted two very different social realities, both had a common aim: to describe life's difficulties and the desire, in spite of these difficulties, to overcome them.

While neorealist cinema was very popular throughout the world, and especially so in the United States, Italian audiences preferred foreign films which showed a reality quite different to that of post-war Italy. The late 1940s and early 1950s were the years when *On the Town* (Donen & Kelly, 1949) and *An American in Paris* (Minnelli, 1951), *Samson and Delilah* (DeMille, 1949) and *Quo Vadis* (LeRoy, 1951) came to the cinema theatres. In this period, many Italian directors moved away from "pure" Neorealism. The landscapes and environments were almost totally relegated as background elements to the storytelling. Rome became the centre of world cinema and the Cinecittà studios became the centre of European cinema system reconnecting with American filmmakers for example Mervyn LeRoy and William Wyler. Italian cinema developed new and more profitable trends, such as *neorealismo rosa/pink Neorealism* and *commedia all'italiana/comedy Italian style*. The international audience appreciated famous actors such as Alberto Sordi, Vittorio Gassman, Marcello Mastroianni, Ugo Tognazzi and Nino Manfredi, and directors e.g. Pietro Germi and Mario Monicelli. However, two of the most representative Italian directors, Federico Fellini and Michelangelo Antonioni, went beyond these categorisations: their films explored issues emanating from the unconscious, rather than visible reality, usually narrated in the neorealist cinema. At the turn of the 1960s the panorama of Italian cinema was expanding and the international appreciation for Fellini and Antonioni was increasing.

After the international success of those years, the so-called "dolce vita," Italian cinema went through a period of great productivity starting from the 1970s until the late 1990s. Directors like Bernardo Bertolucci, Giuseppe Tornatore, Gabriele Salvatores and Roberto Benigni, who won at least one Academy Award for best director or best foreign language film, characterised this period. Following these years, one of the most important dates for contemporary Italian cinema is March 2 2014, when Italy achieved international success by winning the Oscar for best foreign language film with Paolo Sorrentino's *La grande bellezza/The Great Beauty* (2013). Here, the landscapes of Rome were the ideal narrative background: an example was the opening film sequence of some tourists visiting the famous Acqua Paola Fountain (known as the "Fontanone"), where it was possible to attend one of the best panoramic views of the city. Following the success of this movie, also due to cultural policies, which aimed at re-evaluating its territory and culture, Italy increasingly became a favourite setting for national films aimed at rediscovering and promoting local realities that are far from the usual tourism options. Furthermore, by choosing Italian landscapes as a background, Italy also became popular with large international productions: examples are *Ocean's Twelve* (Soderbergh, 2004), and more recently, *Spectre* (Mendes, 2015), the twenty-fourth James Bond film, and Ben Stiller's new film, *Zoolander 2* (2016). Both of them were partially shot in Rome: more or less all scenes were set in the streets of the Italian capital. In this regard, these last two can be considered new opportunities for Italy's cinema system to return to its former glory, also, thanks to promotion policies adopted by the Italian government in recent years.

3. A “new” way to help local cinema system.

The growth of the Italian film industry is closely linked to the creation and proliferation of regional film commissions. Principally, these commissions (of which there are seventeen) support cinematic and audio-visual productions by stimulating investments in the individual regions. They facilitate the granting of permits, logistics and encourage the development of International co-productions. Furthermore, they provide assistance in drawing funds from the financial resources that regions set aside to the film and audio-visual industry. The promotion of national film productions has always been a central issue in the State policies since the birth of the Italian Republic. An example is the law of the Under Secretary to Entertainment, Giulio Andreotti (29 December 1949, n. 958), approved in response of the growing success of American cinema in Italy instead of the national films, in the period between the late 1940s and early 1950s. But, in recent years, the State's policies are linked to a further goal: the promotion of local territorial realities, and, in particular, positive benefits to the local economy of the locations where the films are shot. “Regions that host film productions have the opportunity to increase their economic revenues and therefore to enhance the wealth of the local communities” (Cucco, 2013, p. 264).

An example is the Lazio Regional Fund. This is the financial instrument under the new strategic regional law for cinematic and audio-visual productions aimed at supporting one of the strategic sectors of the economy and the competitive potential of the Lazio Region. It had a total budget of 45 million Euros covering the period 2011 to 2013 and promoted co-productions between different countries. It also encourages major foreign productions to shoot their films in Italy. In this regard, it is interesting to look at some conditions and requirements that allow access to the fund not directly managed by the Roma-Lazio Film Commission. First, the fund has to be assigned to Italian and foreign companies of producing films and audio-visual products that must be recognised as “cultural products.” The “below the line” production budget – costs arising difference between the total cost of production and artistic part, producer fees and overhead expenses not directly involved in the project's production - must be spent within the territory of Lazio between 20 and 40 percent. The maximum grant amounts 500,000 Euros for cinematographic works and 750,000 Euros for audio-visual works¹ (<http://www.culturalazio.it> - accessed 2 September 2015).

This is only one example of the overall situation of the policy adopted to promote Italian art and culture through cinema and the use of the Italian territory. These strategies have allowed the image of Italy to be considered unique in the world, and, as a stimulus to many foreign artists, filmmakers, painters, poets and musicians. As a direct consequence, many lesser-known localities are now popularised. In contrast to famous places such as Rome, Venice or Florence, this financial benefit has provided a breath of fresh to several Italian regions whose economies are based on tourism. An example is Anthony Minghella's *Il paziente inglese/The English Patient* (1996), winner of no fewer than nine Oscars and twelve nominations, which was filmed in the area between the provinces of Lucca and Siena, in particular at Forte dei Marmi and Pienza.

4. Dual perspective on the film environments analysis.

The topic of the analysis of film environments has entered predominantly into aesthetic studies, while, at the same time, allowing us to highlight the centrality of the locations in narrative films. In one way or another, landscapes in films, have always played an important background-framing role, as they were in earlier and modern day theatre productions. Landscapes have also been used “functionally” as in the first few frames of film history with the Lumière brothers where the camera, which is placed outdoors, in the street, shows one of

the most "natural" and recurrent industrial scenes of the nineteenth century: some workers leaving the factory.

In the following years, with the emergence of the so-called "narrative cinema," landscapes came to be relegated to the role of theatrical background for the characters' stories and for the film storyline itself. Subsequently the landscape as central focus returned to modern cinema, starting from Neorealism, where the landscape became an autonomous narrative, displaying its strength and as an evocative exhibition of film history (Bernardi, 2004). This is confirmed by those studies that deal with film space as a key element for analysis of film concerning it as text, time of narrative, and as a place of representation and communication (Casetti & Di Chio, 1990).

In this regard, it is interesting to examine the film at an iconic level, centred on its visual elements (Aumont & Marie, 1996). An important contribution to this kind of film analysis has certainly been the research of Erwin Panofsky, an art critic "lent out" to the cinema who transferred some analytical elements from the art world to that of cinema.

"The most explicit - and consequently often cited - of Panofsky's specificity arguments is the claim that cinema's 'unique and specific possibilities can be defined as dynamization of space and, accordingly, spatialization of time' (Panofsky, 1947, p. 246). While the second half of this definition, an important topos of early film theory, is left completely undeveloped, Panofsky does articulate at some length how, in contrast to the space of the theater which is (more or less) static, film space is utterly dynamic" (Levin, 1994, p. 5).

Panofsky examines new categorisations of art analysis at the iconological and iconographic levels and recognises - in both centrifugal and centripetal sense - two different points of view. Film space is analysed by focusing on the distinction between the iconographic level - shots and sequences - and the iconological level characterised by interpretations and symbolic values related to the spirit of the places included in the narrative structure.

The deep relationship between the storyline and locations of Panofsky's double vision can be reinterpreted in a triple conception. Firstly, space can be seen as setting or as part of the narration interacting with the characters and narrative dynamics. Second, as a cross over point between the *topos* of the main genres (comedy, thriller, fantastic), and geographical *topoi*, referring to cultural background and the routine practices of writing and direction implemented by the production company; and thirdly, as the choice of the main locations which are strongly characterised in the global imagination and as such, carriers of meanings and film references such as quotations, suggestions and continuous intercultural references.

On the basis of these criteria the three films that have been selected for analysis are: *The Twilight Saga: New Moon* (Weitz, 2009) which takes place partly in the Tuscan town of Montepulciano, *The Tourist* (Henckel von Donnersmarck, 2010), set almost entirely in Venice, and *To Rome with Love* (Allen, 2012), filmed in Rome.

5. Under the Italian Sun, again.

Twilight Saga: New Moon (Weitz, 2009) is the sequel film of a saga series dedicated to teenage vampires based on the bestselling novels by Stephenie Meyer whose stories are about the tormented love story between a human, Bella Swan, and a vampire, Edward Cullen. Rather than delving into the plot itself, that which interests us here is the scenic relationship,

both in the novel and the film, between the small, rain-drenched town of Forks in Washington State, and the medieval Tuscan village of Montepulciano. The film script requirement that the vampires travel to Italy is connected to various family feuds and amorous dramas: according to the author, the most noble and ancient family of the *living dead* resides in Tuscany, and Edward, the protagonist, who is convinced that the woman he loves, Bella, is already dead, appeals to them to execute him.

Although the scenes filmed in Montepulciano - from minute 01.30.13 to 01.46.36 - make up a rather small part of the whole film, they nevertheless have the greatest visual impact. There are a number of reasons for this. First of all, there is the relationship between location and the unfolding of the narrative. The transition from suburban America to a small Italian town represents the key turning point in an exciting narrative climax accompanied by the selected film scenes. The main sequence consists of an alternation between two diametrically contrasting scenes; Bella's frenetic race in her yellow Porsche along the roads of the Tuscan hinterland, and then among a crowd of hooded villagers dressed in long red capes is contrasted to the slow motion "stripping" of Edward who offers himself to the light of the sun to demonstrate his monstrous nature, to the (potentially aggressive) crowd. Secondly, the strength of the colours which, under the Tuscan sun are bright yellow and pinkish red, are contrasted with the blue and green hues of the American setting.

Twilight Saga is a fantasy saga aimed at predominantly young audiences. Latching on to recent trends, the film revolves around a family of good vampires that has learned how to suppress its homicidal instincts and blend in among mortals while maintaining an aura of nobility and charm, giving them an almost caste-like aura. In order to further emphasise the nobility of "blood," the author gave the vampires an aristocratic lineage and chose Tuscany as the residential seat of the ancient family. Even though she had been to Tuscany before, it was the author's firm intention to shoot part of *Twilight Saga: New Moon* in Tuscany where she created an imaginary village called Volturi. Once the scene had been written the author consulted a map of the region and the town of Volterra, with its narrow mediaeval streets, houses perched on the hillside and a town square with the clock tower, happened to correspond to the description she had just written. Even if the writer ascribed almost magical connotations to this coincidence, that which does seem relevant to our analysis here, is the strength and power of the central Italian, and specifically Tuscan, landscapes. These manage to evoke sharp, almost postcard-like, images, even in the minds of people who have never been there. For narratives set in Gothic environments, Tuscany is seen as an ideal location. Stories set in villages and small towns in Italy are not only limited to the cinema but are also found in the literary works of writers from all over the world. Italian history is characterised by drama and mystery which are derived from not only its noble and tormented past glories and grandeur, but also from oppression and torture. Horace Walpole's famous 1764 novel *The Castle of Otranto* comes to mind, as does the Shakespearean drama *Romeo and Juliet*, set in the beautiful town of Verona. Also worth mentioning is the name of Clive Staples Lewis's fantasy land, Narnia, which was inspired by Narni, an Umbrian town located halfway between Rome and Assisi.

While on the one hand this may well be a symptom of a sedimentation of Italian villages within the collective imagination, through products of the cultural industries, and in particular those of the film industry, it is also due to the transformation from real places into *narrative topoi*, which have, in one way or another, been severed from their geographical and cultural connections. As an example we may take the specific case of the town of Volterra. While it is true, on the one hand, that it has received some sort of unintended advertising, both as a result of the events narrated by Meyers and the film itself, it nevertheless finds itself doubly defrauded of its territorial identity: first of all by the author's ex-post choice, based on a mere similarity of the Volturi lineage rather than on the actual environmental and appealing

landscape features of the village; secondly, by shooting the Italian scenes in Montepulciano in the province of Siena and claiming that Montepulciano, on account of its architectonic conformity, lent itself to a better interpretation of “Volterra” in the cinematographic fiction. For the most part, the indoor scenes were shot primarily in the building of the town council and several other historical buildings. Outdoor scenes were shot in Montepulciano’s Piazza Grande and at the entrance of the town council building where a seven-metre-long fountain made of wood and papier-mâché was constructed following the description given in the book.

6. The Discreet Charm of the Venetian Lagoon.

The Tourist (2010), a spy story directed by Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck, is set almost entirely in Venice, where misunderstandings, revealed secrets and dramatic turns of events are staged. The film features the femme fatale, Elise Clifton-Ward (played by Angelina Jolie) and a mild mathematics Professor, Frank Tupelo (Johnny Depp).

The plot brings to mind other classics of the spy story genre such as *Charade* (Donen, 1963) and *To Catch a Thief* (Hitchcock, 1955). In the film a Scotland Yard inspector, Acheson, is on the trail of a conman named Alexander Pearce, who is accused of stealing a large sum of money from a Russian criminal. In order to get to Alexander, the police constantly follow his partner, Elise, who had lived in Paris before travelling to the Venetian lagoon. Here, following Alexander’s instructions, she was to befriend a stranger with of similar height and build to that of Alexander and flirt with him in the hope of throwing the police off Alexander’s trail. Once identified, the unsuspecting professor Frank Tupelo finds himself involved in a whole series of narrative mechanisms which include being chased by Russian criminals, betrayed by the Italian police, rescued by the beautiful stranger, and finally becoming a rescuer himself. This occurs in the last scene when it is revealed that the Professor had all along been none other than the infamous Alexander himself. In spite of being very well made the film failed to generate particular enthusiasm in either the film critics or the public. The main element of note, even more than that of the fame of the two actors, was the choice of location – Venice.

Aiming for success in the wake of classics in the spy story genre of the golden age of Hollywood which spanned the 1960s and 1970s, the film made use of all the iconic elements at its disposal in order to portray a mysterious and elegant narrative. These ranged from the choice of wardrobe to the setting, and from the use of photography to the cast selection.

The Tourist is a remake of a French film, *Anthony Zimmer* (2005), written and directed by Jérôme Salle and is divided into three main narrative sequences: the first, which is set between Paris and Scotland Yard (up to the minute 00:11:06), deals with the background to the narration; the second from 00:11:06 to 00:24:08 minute is set primarily on a Trenitalia Frecciarossa train. It is here where the two protagonists meet as they travel to Venice. A residual part set on a plane where the bad guy, Reginald Shaw, is introduced; the third and main sequence, which coincides with almost all of the film, is set in Venice.

For the first seven minutes, which are set in Paris, the camera follows the footsteps of a woman dressed as a 1950s celebrity, wearing long white elbow-length gloves and large black glasses as she walks through the city and then sits down in a typical Parisian cafe to sip some tea. Apart from these initial scenes, the rest of the film is set in Venice. Both of these cities are full of charm and glamour: the first is regarded as one of the world’s culture and fashion capitals, and the second, besides being the venue of important cultural events such as the Venice Film Festival and the Biennale of Contemporary Art, also had, due to its unique geophysical structure, been the location of both romantic and crime dramas such as Luchino Visconti’s *Senso* (1954) and *Morte a Venezia/Death in Venice* (1971), *Othello* (Parker, 1995),

Federico Fellini's *Casanova* (1976) and more recently, F. Gary Gray's *The Italian Job* (2003), *Casino Royale* (Campbell, 2006), and many others.

Following in the wake of these films, *The Tourist* provides a picture of a city which is both majestic and decadent. For example, there is the contrast between the beautiful Danieli Hotel which hosts the protagonists, and the local market into which Johnny Depp is flung to save himself from a chase, or contrast between the blinding brightness of Piazza San Marco and the nocturnal darkness of the silent canals where prisoners and money are exchanged. The interiors are always magnificent, almost an extension of the protagonist herself, when she moves through the city as if it belongs to her and the Lagoon city, somewhat toned down by the massive presence of tourists (in spite of the title), is rendered more essential so as to enhance its beauty.

To give the city an even greater touch of Hollywood and obtain a greater visual impact the production chose to invent an airport on the banks of the Lagoon: at 00:28:25 the bad guys, who arrive by plane, chase Johnny Depp on foot along a runway and then jump into a speedboat. No sooner does the speedboat leave the airport than it is already at San Marco on its way to the Riva degli Schiavoni. This time sequence necessarily collocates the landing strip on the small island of San Giorgio Maggiore facing Piazza San Marco. Tricks like this, which are commonly used within fictional narratives in order to satisfy script or production requirements, appear on the one hand as somewhat irreverent towards one of the most noteworthy and easily recognizable cities in the world as well as causing the discerning viewer a sense of alienation that does not help the credibility of the story. On the other hand, they are justified by the almost "artificial" nature of the city which the various media circuits represent as a spectacular set where celebrities from the world of cinema, fashion and art hop on and off luxury yachts and speedboats and strut along the red carpet. Seen from this point of view, the existence, albeit temporary and unlikely, of an airport, is consistent with this picture of the city as a locality of worldliness.

7. Back to the Eternal City.

Dedicated to the major cities of the old continent, *To Rome with Love* (2012) is Woody Allen's the most recent film of his European tour. After *You Will Meet a Tall Dark Stranger* (2010) filmed in London, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (2008), and *Midnight in Paris* (2011), Allen came to Rome where he filmed the comedy *To Rome with Love*. At times grotesque, the film deals with various interwoven characters with as many narrative strands as characters. The film pays considerable "homage" to Italian comedic films and the filmmakers who had brought worldwide fame to the beautiful country of Italy: its narrative structure line is typical of film episodes such as *Ieri, Oggi, Domani/Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (De Sica, 1963) rather than Mario Monicelli's *I mostri/The Monsters* (1963) and one of the major subplots of Fellini's *Lo Sceicco Bianco/The White Sheik* (1952) comes to mind. There is also a tribute to contemporary Italian cinema with the choice of the Oscar winning Tuscan actor Roberto Benigni, who, though not Roman, stands in the international imaginary as a symbol of Italian cinema.

The plot, which is intentionally disconnected and inconsistent, somehow seems to make space for the scenic digressions which Rome offers the director, rather than the vicissitudes of his characters. The film, which at first was to be titled *The Bop Decameron*, recalling Boccaccio's literary work, begins with an unlikely traffic policeman, similar to the character played by Alberto Sordi in *Il Vigile/The Traffic Warden* (Zampa, 1960), who, from the centre of Piazza Venezia, right under the Altare della Patria/Altar of the Fatherland, also

known as “National Monument to Victor Emmanuel II,” converses with the public and tells them stories from the Eternal City rather than directing the traffic.

After that the camera follows a famous architect wandering nostalgically through the back streets of Trastevere where he meets one of his young colleagues to whom is to become a mentor matters of the heart; a couple engaged to be married (he, Roman, she, American) grappling with knowledge regarding their respective families (the girl's father is played by Allen); a couple from the town of Pordenone visiting the city in the hope of improving their position. Both of them are eventually seduced by two colourful characters (a seductive escort and a film star); finally, it is the turn of a man without any particular qualities portrayed by Benigni, who suddenly becomes an object of veneration for the media which seek him out constantly, until, suddenly, they lose interest in him and cast him back into the anonymity from which he had been plucked. Woody Allen created a film that summed up “being Italian” and in doing so did not avoid using stereotypes, regardless of the risk of giving the public, as well as Italy, a product which was overly didactic, and indeed in many ways “manneristic,” in its representation of Italy.

From its music to its food, from the characters to its locations, the film is a combination of the colourful and the Baroque, illustrated and saturated light and scenic elements which contribute to giving whole film a mock 1960s atmosphere, which, more in intentions than in facts, recall the Rome of Fellini's *La dolce vita* (1960), as well as comedy typical of the Italian tradition such as Steno's *Un americano a Roma/An American in Rome* (1954) and Monicelli's *I soliti ignoti/Big Deal on Madonna Street* (1958), even if real traces to these are few and far between. There are numerous references to traditional/pop Italian culture. These range from Modugno's *Nel blu dipinto di blu (Volare)* as background music for the opening scene of the film, to opera lyrics sung in a shower by the unlikely undertaker.

In the film there are mainly two props/iconic elements relevant to our analysis: (i) the association of various visual aspects of Rome with the storylines of the characters; (ii) the relationship between interior and exterior locations. In the first case, it should be noted how each character is distinguished by its journey through the various places in the city which form the backdrop to their stories. It is almost as if the hero's journey or the development of character transformation are sublimated by this journey through Rome. The young architect and his girlfriend move between the most Bohemian district of the city to sites filled with art: ancient in the case of Villa Adriana, and contemporary in the case of the Auditorium Parco della Musica. The young lawyer/trade unionist, Michelangelo, and his American girlfriend chose the most typically touristic sites of the city such as Piazza Venezia and the Campidoglio. The newlywed couple visiting the city (lacking only a cardboard suitcase typical of post-war Italian emigrants) lose themselves in a Rome full of villas or among the alleyways of Jewish ghetto where they come across open-air performances and meet local celebrities. In contrast, Roberto Benigni remains in the Rome of worldliness, where once celebrities could be seen parading, and which now has become the daily scene of the everyday man.

As was the case in his two previous films, the director indulges in dramatic license by placing the landscapes of Villa d'Este and Villa Adriana (located in Tivoli) and images of a beachfront within the Roman walls. With regard to the contrast between indoors and outdoors, one is struck by an oxymoronic opposition between indoors and outdoors: the first characterised by classic and antique furniture, with abundant religious elements such as crucifixes and other religious symbols which seem to indicate a sort of popular kitsch at every layer of society and the second by such beauty and brilliance that even the alleys of the working class neighbourhoods are filled with charm and style.

8. Conclusion.

From the above it can be inferred that, thanks to the policies of promoting the territory and the encouragement of the film commission, Italy is considered a hunting ground for foreign, and especially American, film productions which see our country as an ideal location to enhance the value and prestige of the narratives. As a result of its territorial variety which ranges from villages to cities and from the coast to the countryside, as well as its rich artistic heritage, Italy is able to offer the double advantage of being both unmistakable and unique.

The example of *New Moon* in fact explains how Tuscany (or, more generally, the centre of Italy), with its medieval villages has been an obligatory filming location, first for the author and then the director, to give the reader/viewer the sacred, mysterious and ancient aura that the story required. On the other hand, *The Tourist* is an alternative to U.S. cities for filming scenes containing breath-taking chases and international intrigues. The contrasts between ancient and modern, light and shadow, good and evil, have been at the centre of several crime dramas set in Italy, such as *The Talented Mister Ripley* (Minghella, 1999), and, more recently, *Angels & Demons* (Ron Howard, 2009). Venice is the quintessential city of ambiguity where the mask, which the protagonist symbolically puts on as a form of false identity, represents one of the most iconic elements characteristic of the Lagoon City (the Venice Carnival, with his characteristic masks, is one of the most famous carnivals in the world). Finally there is Rome, the city of a thousand faces, capable of telling endless stories, from Sorrentino's baroque vacuity (*The Great Beauty*, 2013) to Woody Allen's picture postcard representation that does little more than than wander through the city with the camera, like some or other provocative 1960s vamps, such as Sophia Loren or Anna Magnani.

In conclusion, taking up Marcel Martin's partition in terms of scenery and location (1955), we may define the relationship between Hollywood cinema narration and Italian settings according to three levels of complexity: a first level is defined as *realistic* when the represented sociocultural landscape fits reality closely. The film *The Tourist*, apart from some exceptions, faithfully reproduces the location, the various environments and the atmosphere of Venice, both in terms of its temporal setting and the narration.

A different classification refers to those films where, even though the environment is faithfully represented, one can nevertheless perceive some desire on the part of the author to give the location a spirit which, whether in terms of atmosphere or narrative time, is artificial to some extent. This is the case of *To Rome with Love*. It is evident that Woody Allen wishes to somehow hide Rome's daily reality so as to present it postcard-like in both mind and spirit. This representation may be called *impressionist*.

Finally, the third degree of complexity is called *expressionist*. Here the environment is reshaped and stylised with a symbolic function to artificially recreate an historical era or a fantastic setting as in the case of *Twilight Saga: New Moon* in which the director's choices and set design contribute to immersing the Tuscan village of Montepulciano into a mediaeval, pagan, and mysterious atmosphere in keeping with the needs of fantasy narrative.

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Analytical vision of the reality of Arab women's development of social policy Perspective

Magda Sorur

1.Introduction

The reality of women in any society is effectively a benchmark for judging the real degree, advancement borders are offering this community the same as the degree of advancement of women, cannot actually apply in isolation from women, and where there is a failure , women's share in it is the largest and the least fortunate of the opportunities, which for progress is measured not only sharply higher, but a large degree bottom out. (Abu Tahoun, 2000).

Despite all the achievements and gains made by Arab women during the past decades, the issue of women's participation remains problematic affect the rates of development in the Arab countries, women in the Arab world is facing many challenges, like the rest of the women in the other regions of the world.

Women all over the world - especially in the Arab world are classified as vulnerable and marginalized groups, and at the same time and in an orderly fashion, society seeks to install social adjustment process for women to accept putting marginalized by virtue of the magnitude of this category of women. (Mato, 2009).

Attention to women's issues and their participation and contributions was launched in the development of their communities from the argument that human capital is the maker of wealth, and that human development should be centered on the empowerment of women as fundamental for building human capital substrate, and supporting influence, and organizing capabilities, and uphold her position, changing perception of herself a way that they are able to choose, and to have a voice to defend her interests, and their capacity to participate in decision-making and bring about change.

Although attention of Arab women's issues in general, and the Gulf in particular, the beginning of the mid-twentieth century, however, that these issues are no longer seen in the narrow scope in terms of the relationship between the sexes only, but became seen through development and community overall dimensions, where excluded that vision is common in most of those communities, the belief that every gain for women means a loss for men, it has confirmed many of the research and studies that have addressed the issues and problems of Arab women and the challenges faced by the results of the challenge of empowerment that these societal challenges profoundly affect the oppression of women and marginalized and subject to the control of man and that gender inequality may pose a more pervasive inequalities, because it adversely affects half the population of the community. (Workshop,2009).

2. The status of Arab women's development realities and aspirations.

The status quo and what it really is, according to reports of the Arab Women's Development (Arab Women Development Report 2015).

2.1. Legal status, status social, economic and political status of women in the Arab region does not allow adequate protection for them. Arab region according to various international reports in the lowest ranking in the world in terms of the status of women and gender equality.

2.2. Non women benefit in general and the most vulnerable rural woman, from particular, the appropriate policies with enough budgets (that were not non-existent). They also do not have

access to resources and services, such as health, education and social insurance, transportation, justice ... and that means there is no enjoyment of their human rights and legal rights.

2.3. The proportion of women in Arab parliaments stood at 9.5%, the lowest in the world, compared to 18.7% for the sub-Saharan Africa, 22% in each of the America and 42.1% in the Scandinavian countries. The situation has not changed according to data and reports published in 2014, where the Republic of Rwanda ranked first worldwide by 63.8%.

This has shown evidence from all over the world that the presence of women leadership positions has positive benefits for society as a whole. Women have achieved thanks to the civil and political participation meaningful steps, including in the relevant legislation on domestic violence fields, women's health, and labor rights.

2.4. for the right to education Arab region ranked fifth (5) globally in terms of educational attainment (by sub-Saharan Africa).

2.5. Most of the Arab countries make undeniable efforts in integration of women in development and the process of economic growth, but the results of these efforts are much lower than the world average. This means that these efforts are not enough to create the desired change; the Arab region occupies the lowest rank in the economic participation.

2.6. Most of the Arab countries did not hesitate to join the many international human rights treaties, which guarantee women's rights and equality and to eliminate discrimination against women in the civil and political fields, but they are placed at the same time obstacles in the national legal system. Which are a contradiction with the national legal system and a contradiction in the attitude and commitment of the international.

This situation was attributable to the policies, programs and strategies adopted by the State, which were not effective desired in the empowerment of women on the one hand, and to achieve gender equality on the other hand, it requires review the rights of women, such as the right to work and the right to education and training and the right to insurance or social security, including ensuring that women enjoy legal protection for the entire rights.

Many studies confirmed that:

2.7. There are positive images of women's participation, where the woman was able to confirm the presence and occupies their place this role has exceeded the national level. (Mujahid, 1994)

2.8. women going out to work leads to increased resources and exploitation of these resources, including an incentive to participate. (Musa, 1996)

2.9. women's literacy achieves socially return for positive values and the expansion of women's roles (Jarwani, 1999).

2.10. Women's training leads to an economic contribution within the family and raise their awareness of the importance of education as well as the acquisition or social health habits better. (Imam, 1999)

2.11. Increasing rates of women in the labor market and enable correction is indifference in the relations between men and women to achieve a fair and continuous development, as well

as the participation of women in the decision-making process and the full participation of women in the development process. (Helmy, 2002)

2.12. the need for powers presence of women in the global market (Allam, 2002)

2.13. There are limitations to the participation of women in political decision-making centers and taken (Kamal, 2002).

2.14. There are various obstacles to social, economic and political hinder women's empowerment and gender equality, including the impact on community development (Naz, 2011).

2.15. the development of women's skills and investment helps in achieving economic growth and poverty reduction in the South(Hickel, 2014)

2.16. granting small loans to women is a way to help empower women to participate in social development (Uddin, 2015)

2.17. Business Women play an important role in the local economy through small projects in developing countries, and achieved economic empowerment of women and entrepreneurship, family and community development and create jobs and achieve economic independence, personal, social and capacity among rural women (Vani, 2015).

It is therefore necessary to remove the obstacles that still stand in the way of women, and we are working to expand the areas of their contribution so that they can do all the roles assigned to it to participate in the development process.

Strengthening the role of women and to maximize its contribution to the development, it builds on the firm belief that the upgrading of the status of Arab women working is a fundamental pillar of the community development and sustainable development.

The degree of participation of women in economic and social activity is one of the most important criteria used to measure the progress of societies, especially in the context of interest of sustainable human development which is based on the development of queens and capabilities of individuals to the fullest possible extent and evolution.

The development of women, and its place is a reflection of the degree of progress reached by the community, hence it invest their wasted energies a becomes necessity that must be achieved, and, especially in light of three major trends its features and axes to emerge since the end of the twentieth century's first move in the emergence of a new model called the human development Sustainability, which provide all individuals to expand human abilities to the fullest extent possible, they are loyal to the development of the people, and pro-jobs, pro-nature, they give a higher priority to reducing poverty, and productive employment, and the social integration (Cond, 2012).

3. Arab Women's Development Challenges

The challenges facing women in the Arab world is not fundamentally different from those facing women in the whole world, and the fact that the difference in degree not in kind, the priorities are not on the whole, and it was intended that the suffering of Arab women is relatively higher than the suffering of many areas world, including some developing regions, applying the measure adopted by the United Nations Development Programme and the empowerment of women, clearly revealed that the Arab countries suffer from a striking lack

of empowerment of women. And the Arab region comes in second to last among the regions of the world by the empowerment of women scale, and did not come down, except sub-Saharan Africa (Human Development Report, 2013).

It is necessary to emphasize that the challenges facing Arab women are all part of a broader and more comprehensive the challenges that facing the Arab region as a whole, and is more than a complex external internal challenges and rooted in the depths of history and it is not possible to confront the challenges facing the women's isolation from the college facing the Arab world at large challenges, marginalization of Arab women and their absence from the decision-making circles and remoteness from the circle of influence, and the absence of freedom is not only the other side of the marginalization of the Arab man and the loss of its role and effectiveness in the public domain and this and that is not only part of the loss of the entire Arab world for his role at the international level and the loss of independence in making its future and its subservience to the other politically and socially and economically ... etc., words and short, the most important challenge of Arab women is facing a lack of freedom, which is not a mansion, but it was a result of logical for the low level of actual practice of freedom in Arab countries (economic and social commission report, 2003).

In light of reported international documents to women's rights to work, starting from the Prevention of Discrimination against Women and the Beijing Platform for Action and the conventions of the International Labour Convention, it can split the challenges facing Arab women into main axes as follows (Tarrah, 2006)

3.1. The challenges related to globalization and liberalization policies and the integration of economic policies and structural reform: Refers fact that in spite of the increase in women's share of the Arab labor force, the focus of female work is confined to the sectors of agriculture, social and personal and government services and manufacturing industries and trade and that the males who vary their operating structure of the reverse.

3.2. Challenges related Methods institutional integration: The challenge is to raise awareness and recognition for governments and decision-makers at the entrance policy responses to gender as a springboard to adopt policies that take into account the results and their impact on women before they are issued. The commitment to privatization, financial empowerment of women's economic of the most important institutional mechanisms on the one hand to find opportunities to work free women in micro, small and medium-sized on the other hand, the provision of projects and social services appropriate to enable women's economic participation, economic levels, which is known on the budgets Responsive National Planning levels by gender Budgeting. As a result of the spread of illiteracy and poverty, empowerment of women in the Arab world, the challenge in women's access to the informal sector and the agricultural sector, who do not provide the conditions and job security and insurance cover much or what it calls international labor conventions of decent work for women, in addition to the lack of clear mechanisms to regulate this sector by governments, which increases its size increased unemployment and poverty.

3.3. the challenges related to general human rights culture: The traditional image of the surface, which is by addressing the issue of employment of women by the media (presenters and preparers) are not based on submission of women's work in the form of a human right in the decision-making and the issue of the right to equal opportunity, a key entrance to be adopted as a start to modify the overall vision of the rights and duties of citizens.

4 .empowerment and integration of women in development policies

In fact, the share of women in the workforce and participate in public and political life in the Arab region force is among the lowest quota in the world, and is expected to result in improved levels of education and the achievement of equality between women and men in the field of education to increase their access to productive and gainful employment, as well as enable them to do a greater role in decision-making within the family and in public life (Sulaiman, 2010).

Therefore, the issue of women's empowerment not seen in narrow scope, ie, in terms of the relationship between the sexes only, but it is of developmental and societal dimensions of the cross-cutting issue, which means that the goal is not only to address the situation of women, but it must be done through an alternative vision of society is seen for the future in the local, regional and international framework.

The mechanisms available to empower women and therefore awarded sources of power to be an influential actor capable of influencing others and has a multiple choice and freedom of choice as required under the protection of individual and collective interests, it must include the following: (Shakib, 2007)- :

4.1. building awareness among women: a basic process works in essence a radical change of the wrong concepts about the woman herself and her rights and the community about the different roles that women can be exercised as a human being and excels where in their work and performance alongside men, the correct view is it the process may be slow but profound and build a solid platform and other future steps.

4.2. rehabilitation, training and capacity building: This is a supplementary step whenever grew up awareness among women and society, so that women are accepted on training programs consciously, Hamas, and the passion and expertise and armed with capabilities that enable it to fight the various fields of work.

4.3. build the knowledge base: In the context of talking about the empowerment of women is meant women's access to decision centers that influence decision-making and policy development across political, executive and legal, cultural, social and economic institutions making centers.

The requirements of the Arab women's empowerment (Sattar, 2007):

4.4. women's literacy, eliminating gender gaps in education in its different stages.

4.5. economic empowerment of women through the reduction of poverty.

4.6. The development of women's skills to help them raise awareness and have culture and rehabilitation.

4.7. adopted initiatives to achieve women's economic security and poverty reduction, such as small enterprises programs, and loans.

4.8. issuing legislation that supports women's political participation.

4.9. broaden the base of representation in parliamentary bodies.

4.10. programs that allow political outreach to women to encourage them to participate in political life.

4.11. activating the role of associations and civic organizations working in the field of women because of their vital role in education sessions for women to increase their awareness of their rights and duties.

4.12. flexible and attentive to the needs of women in response.

Challenges facing the Arab countries with regard to women's empowerment (Samalouti, 2007).

4.13. limited institutional capabilities of the national bodies and mechanisms

4.14. difficult economic and political situation are unstable and weak financial resources.

4.15. The lack of specialized in mainstreaming gender issues and the lack of development programs and education and training in the field of type mechanisms.

4.16. social, economic and cultural factors and the large overlap between the various critical areas of concern which requires addressed in an integrated manner.

4.17. The Arab countries adopt public policies that are not consistent with the objectives of the program of development of the United Nations, as these policies still working to preserve the existing situation which reflects a large influence prevailing culture of conservatism somewhat.

4.18. Arab women have achieved religious levels as part of a mirror that reflects the different levels of political participation empowerment indicators. Most Arab states either have recent legislative organs, or they flashing equality to win political gains.

4.19. considered political factors of the more factors that hinder the achievement of gender equality.

There are a lot of regional changes experienced by the Arab region together with international and global variables and paid to the evolution of developmental concepts in dealing with the situation of women and thus a growing awareness of the importance of the role of women and the need to enable the effective participation in their societies.

And a mistake to assume that the Arab women's problem has been completely solved through fabricated initiatives such 1975.1985 Beijing Conference, 1995 and the International Decade for Women and the strategies to accelerate girls' education .. etc.) Or through the collaborative efforts of government and non-governmental organizations, but the concerted government and international efforts (Mato large, 2006).

5. Exploring the future of women's empowerment from the perspective of social policy (Mustafa, 2015):

5.1. legislative reform to address laws that discriminate between women and men in many of the rights

5.2. Changing cultural legacies sterile want to isolate women from society, is achieved through seminars, conferences and media.

5.3. attention to training courses for women to raise their skills and abilities in social work, economic and political

5.4. The economic empowerment of women through giving them opportunities in small and micro-businesses

5.5. political empowerment as well as public leadership positions.

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The Sociology of Entrepreneurship and Women Entrepreneurs

Suna Tekel

Introduction

Today, women entrepreneurs are increasingly a source for economic growth and by creating new businesses, propose different solutions for managerial, organizational and business problems. However, both in social sciences and in society, women entrepreneurs are neglected. This is not only due to the fact that there are less women entrepreneurs than men, but also because women found and manage new firms in different industries than men. For instance, retail, education and other services preferred by women entrepreneurs are considered less significant for economic development and progress than high technology and production sectors. Thus, when research, programs and policies on entrepreneurship are examined, it could be observed that they are more tailor-made for male entrepreneurs and do not cater for the expectations and requirements of women entrepreneurs. As a result, it is not possible to argue that there is equality between women and men in entrepreneurship (OECD, 2004). Gender equality is not only an objective to attain, but also is a main factor to reach sustainable economic growth, social progress and environmental sustainability (Kumar, 2014: 1).

Entrepreneurship and Sociology of Entrepreneurship

The roots of the concept of entrepreneur go back to the captains who hired legionnaires in 16th Century France, but the concept was used for the first time in the 18th Century for the economic actors who undertake public works with a contract or implement new agricultural techniques in their own lands or take risks in industry using their own capital. First theoretical definition was written by Cantillon and Turgot in the second half of the 18th Century when they emphasized that the distinctive feature of entrepreneurship was the uncertainty intrinsic to the economic activities and inclination to accept risks. Jean Baptiste Say on the other hand, defined the entrepreneur as an individual who gathers the necessary factors to produce for profit and positions himself at a central point among capitalists, workers, technicians, merchants and consumers. John Stuart Mill separated the entrepreneur from the capital investor. Joseph Schumpeter embodied the characteristic of proactivity in the definition of entrepreneurship (Martinelli, 2001: 4545). Today, entrepreneurship could be defined as the process of creating innovation in society and economic environment by forming new organizations (Steyaert, 2007). Thus, the process of creating innovation by transforming the existing organizational structure is defined as intrapreneurship or corporate entrepreneurship. Entrepreneur could be defined as the person who organizes, manages and takes the risks of an enterprise (Lounsbury, 2007: 14).

Female entrepreneurs are women who has one or more businesses at home or outside their home incorporated under their names, work alone or with their employees or form partnerships with the title of business owner, manage production and/or distribution, marketing and sales of any goods or services, contact with institutions or organizations related to their business in their own name, make decisions on the organization of the business process, planning the production, managing, liquidating or developing the workplace, have a say in investing and area of use of the business profits (Ecevit, 2007: 459).

Although the scientific research on entrepreneurship is relatively new phenomenon, scholars have proposed several entrepreneurship theories. These theories while aimed to explain the entrepreneurship process; who could be entrepreneurs or entrepreneurs are the product of

which economic or social conditions, at the same time suggesting propositions that could help those who want to be entrepreneurs (Hurley, 1999: 54). They stressed on differences separating entrepreneur individuals from others, need for achievement, control focus, risk-taking tendencies, problem-solving style and innovative character leadership style, values and socialization experiences, considered the individual, hence the individual's psychological characteristics as the main factor in how and why the new enterprise was founded, scrutinized success stories of the entrepreneurs as case studies deducting results. On the other hand, studies focusing on the characteristics of the social structure that could present opportunities for the entrepreneur's activities on a macro level are conducted and the opportunities or handicaps presented by the corporate environment in foundation of new and innovative organizational structures are examined. Ultimately, it is significant that both approaches are used in entrepreneurship studies in conjunction. Sociologically, incorporation of an innovative organization could depend on the individual, however unless there is a sufficient infrastructure, the efforts of the individual could well be in vain (Thornton, 1999: 21).

Entrepreneurship sociology is a sub-branch of sociology scrutinizing the social context, process and effects of entrepreneurial activities. Entrepreneurship on the other hand, includes a purposeful action related to the incorporation of new formal organizations in the strict sense; or in the broader sense, innovative efforts related to the social institutions, organizational forms, technologies and operational routines (Lounsbury, 2007: 2). Thus, entrepreneurship sociology differs from industrial psychology and economy. Because, it considers cultural and symbolic dimensions of entrepreneurial activities while studying interpersonal networks organizational structure, constitution of the population and institutional environment in addition to the individual entrepreneur. Ultimately, main argument of sociological analyses is that entrepreneurship could not be understood outside the sociocultural context. Today, there are 4 approaches in entrepreneurship sociology that explain the entrepreneur/entrepreneurship phenomenon (Lounsbury, 2007: 18): The first, the contextual approach focuses on the effects of material and cultural environment affecting the individual disposition in entrepreneurship. The second, the behavioral approach studies the entrepreneurial activity process in micro level. The third, the constructivist approach studies the results of an entrepreneurial decision related to organizational beginning on the industry, community and the society as a whole. The fourth, the ecological approach focuses on the direct effects of cultural and material environment on the economic and institutional development apart from the activities of the entrepreneur individual. This article plans to analyze demographic characteristics and individual objectives within the context of the first and second approaches.

Female Entrepreneurs Around The World

Generally, female entrepreneur types could be grouped in four (Ecevit, 2007: 459):

Traditional entrepreneur: These are female entrepreneurs, who assume both entrepreneurship ideals and traditional gender roles and attempt to fulfill both, balancing familial and business tasks, and do not project to expand their businesses too much. They usually own guesthouses, restaurants, catering firms and coiffeur parlors.

Innovative entrepreneur: These entrepreneurs hold entrepreneurship ideals over their traditional gender roles and prioritize the expansion of their enterprises. They usually work in areas where mostly college graduates are employed such as market research, advertising, public relations and press.

Domestic entrepreneur: These hold traditional gender roles over their entrepreneurial ideals and consider entrepreneurship as a side job. They usually engage in long term and small-scale businesses.

Radical entrepreneur: It is a female entrepreneur, who acts to prevent trivialization of women and considers her business as a tool to serve this purpose. They are usually in retail, education and small-scale manufacturing businesses.

In most countries there are only a small number of women who start-up a new business, self-employed or are owner and manager of small businesses. The type of education that female entrepreneurs receive, the lack of role models in entrepreneurship, gender definitions in the society, low social status and inability to access financial sources are the problems that female entrepreneurs face.

The results of the study conducted by OECD (2004: 15) in 2000 demonstrated that although the rate of male entrepreneurs to female entrepreneurs differs in countries scrutinized, generally the percentage of female entrepreneurs in all economies is very low. Turkey had the lowest female entrepreneur rate (13%) while Portugal had the highest (40%). In Canada, the number of female entrepreneurs increased 208% between the years of 1981 and 2001 and was 38% by the year 2003. The rate is 28% in the USA, 36% in South Korea, 26% in the UK, 28% in Sweden and 18% in Germany.

By 2012, in addition to the existing 98 million female entrepreneurs, in 67 countries 126 million women started up new businesses. These women did not only start up businesses for themselves, but also provided employment for others. 48 million female entrepreneurs and 64 million self-employed women employ one or more people.

The distribution of entrepreneurs who have started entrepreneurship in 2014 and maintain a new business for less than three and a half years (early stage entrepreneurs) worldwide is as follows (GEM, 2014: 85 – 86): Africa: male 27.56%, female 24.59%; Asia and Oceania: male 14.38%, female 11.35%; Latin America and Caribbean: male 19.25%, female 16.11%; European Union: male 10.21%, female 5.45%; Non-European Union: male 7.25%, female 4.82%; North America: male 16.38%, female 10.56%. An analysis of the age range distribution of entrepreneurs in this group would reveal that they are mostly in 25-35 age ranges. It could be observed that the most entrepreneurial activity takes place in the continent of Africa or in factor driven economies.

Thus, the following enquiries could be made: Why the rates of female and male entrepreneurs differ based on gender and how these differences affect the entrepreneurial process? Why these differences are valid for all countries? Why these differences persist despite the work conducted to eliminate the gender gap during the last decades?

Social gender is a concept that includes not only the roles and identities but also communication styles of individuals with each other in interactive level, cultural beliefs and distribution of resources in macro level. Thus, social gender is a determined and quite powerful conservative system. Cultural beliefs are factors of gender stereotypes that cover expectations on individuals' skills and knowledge acquisition. These represent the truths accepted or believed by most people in society about the female and male categories. Thus, entrepreneurship is generally accepted as a masculine task. In other words, characteristics that define entrepreneurship such as leadership, risk-taking, to be success-oriented, being independent, flexibility, spirit of adventure and aggressiveness are not generally used to define feminine tasks.

Women have little choice on flexibility of daily time management for they have basic responsibilities for their families and children. Thus, they tend to assume home based or part-time occupations. Therefore, female entrepreneurs lose their motivation as a result of the perception that entrepreneurship is a male occupation and also to balance their responsibilities in the family and in business, when they desire to form a firm or an organization, they prefer that to be either home based or part-time.

When the characteristics of social structure are considered, political and institutional conditions such as occupational closure and occupational segregation could repress the skills

of female entrepreneur to explore entrepreneurial opportunities. This fact could still be valid in many countries, albeit it has subsided in many places.

Family friendly policies affect women labor and enterprise in a positive way because they enable both women's active career and management of time easily.

In many countries where employees have compensation or unemployment benefits when they lose their jobs, the lack of these benefits for job owners could present a disadvantage in the case of failure in self-employment. When unemployment occurs, it could create more severe consequences for self-employed individuals when compared with employees. Because, the individual could lose all his or her savings, in addition to his or her income. Thus, large responsibilities of women for their families and the lack of social security in self-employment obstruct women from becoming entrepreneurs.

Tax system could also be an advantage or a disadvantage for entrepreneurs. For instance the fact that corporate taxes could be lower than withholding income taxes could be an advantage. On the other hand, high withholding income tax could be a disadvantage for people who want to start-up their own business for it decreases the possibility of personal savings.

Today, occupations in technology intensive industries require mathematics, natural sciences or engineering education or a formal education that provides understanding or knowledge on technologies. Educational inadequacy for female entrepreneurs with no education in these fields is a problem. Thus, lack of education in general is a significant problem. Because especially in developing countries, women do not have adequate education due to the characteristics of the social structure or economic problems. Consequently, their access to the required knowledge to become entrepreneurs is blocked.

In historical process, women did not assume the role of an entrepreneur therefore lack role models. Also lack of individuals that could be examples in their attitudes, behavior and actions is another handicap for women entrepreneurs. The effect of role model is gender based. For instance children of entrepreneurs are affected as well. Having an established entrepreneur in the environment could enable the child to see entrepreneurship as a career alternative. Son of an entrepreneur father, as well as the daughter of an entrepreneur mother could aim to become one.

An employee of a small business could start-up his or her own in the same sector. Small firms could provide information on how to run and manage a business. Such small businesses could serve as a training center for those who want to start-up their businesses. Thus, personal factors, educational experience and contextual background could affect an individual's self-efficacy in a positive manner. Perceived self-efficacy is considered as the main factor in entrepreneurship.

In developed countries, university graduate women do not prefer entrepreneurship. Thus, relatively unskilled or educated and rich women are inclined towards entrepreneurship. If a female entrepreneur is less skilled than her male counterparts, her prospects are dimmed.

Entrepreneur Women in Turkey

Among OECD countries, while Iceland was the first in employment share for women with a rate of 77.3% in 2011 Turkey was the last with 27.8%. Male participation in the workforce in 2004 was 70.3%, while the same figure for women was 23.3%. One third of all female workers were unpaid family workers. Paid or casual employees among women were 54.3%, while self-employed women were 10.8%. In the same period, the rate of men working as paid or casual was 66.5%, while 22.3% of men were self-employed. Paid or casual employment rate of women are lower than men and twice as much men are self-employed than women. In 2004, the percentage of women working in agricultural occupations was 50.8%, but this rate decreased to 39.3% in 2012. During the same period, the percentage of men working in

agricultural occupations fell from 21.6% in 2004 to 18.4% in 2012. Both numbers of women and men in agricultural jobs went down. Unemployment rate among females exceed that of males. In 2004, women unemployment rate was 11% and the same rate was 10.8% in 2012. Among males, the unemployment rate in 2004 was 10.8%, and it decreased to 8.5% in 2012 (TUIK, 2012 Women).

TUIK data show that the rate of male employers was 93% in 2011, and the rate of female employers was 7%. In 2012, share of male employers decreased to 92.5%, while the share of females went up to 7.5%. In 2011, 9.9% of women and the 24% of males were either employers or self-employed, and the province with the highest rate of employer and self-employed women was Artvin (25.5%) and the lowest was Bingöl (3.9%).

36% of female entrepreneurs are small businesses and 13.2% are medium-sized. Entrepreneur women are mostly in the age ranges of 30-39 and 40-49, followed by 50-59, 29 or younger, and 60 or older (the least). Most of them are college graduates, followed by post-graduate and medium school graduates. Women entrepreneurs use their own private financial resources the most, followed by the support of national resources, non-governmental organizations, international organizations and European Union respectively (SEECCEL, 2014).

According to 2012 data, employer women entrepreneurs are active the most in wholesale and retail commerce, other services, professional, scientific and technical activities and manufacturing industries. Self-employed female entrepreneurs are in manufacturing industries, wholesale and retail commerce, administration and services, other services and professional, scientific and technical activities mostly (Türkonfed, 2014: 50)

Between the years of 2008 and 2013, 40,647 women and 44,138 men participated in 3,233 entrepreneurship courses organized by Turkish Employment Institution. It could be stated that more and more people are interested in entrepreneurship.

During the last five years in Turkey, the number of male entrepreneurs decreased by 19 thousand, while the female entrepreneurs increased by 32 thousand. The increase in female entrepreneur numbers was continuous in the last decade. During the years of 2009 and 2010, when the effects of the global crisis was at its worst, the number of male entrepreneurs decreased, but female entrepreneurs increased. Although that was not the sole reason, women increasingly participate in the labor market to compensate for the loss in household income during the periods of economic crisis. Furthermore, it could also be suggested that the campaigns and programs during the recent years to motivate and support female entrepreneurship had a significant contribution (Dünya e gazete, 08.12.2014).

The findings of a study on women entrepreneurs demonstrated that value judgements and beliefs of society on women (30%), lack of information (23%), obstruction of the competition (20%), difficulties in providing capital (16%) and legal and bureaucratic obstacles (11%) are the problems entrepreneur women face (Keskin, 2014: 90).

Result

Although entrepreneurship is a recent area of research in social sciences, several theories were suggested on the subject. It was observed that mostly personal traits were concentrated on. However, it is obvious that personal traits are expressed only when the suitable environmental conditions are present. Thus, both fields should be considered when entrepreneurship in general, and women entrepreneurship in particular are studied. It is possible to explain the increase in women entrepreneurs worldwide by considering it in these two perspectives. Educational opportunities of women still increase today relatively. As a result of the increase in knowledge and the opportunities to access the knowledge, although women make the most of the opportunities due to the economic difficulties or the loss of employment by household members, they also become entrepreneurs for self-fulfillment, social respect, to have a career,

or to create innovation. Financing and support policies favoring female entrepreneurs by international organizations and in national level as in Turkey caused the number of female entrepreneurs as well. Increasing number of female entrepreneurs becomes a role model for the beginners. As a result, women who could not graduate to start a family or to take on responsibility of their families start businesses under supportive environmental conditions and contribute to both individual and national economies.

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Psychological and Demographic Factors Affecting the Political and Social Participation of Turkish Immigrants in Germany

O. Nejat Akfırat

1. Introduction

Beyond any doubt, political participation and social participation is affected by social and contextual factors. There are studies showing that youth participation goes parallel with adult participation. Political and social participation is an indicator of contemporary societies as well as a field for individual development (Amna, Extrom, Kerr, and Stattin, 2009).

According to Hoffmann (2004), citizenship has always been associated with participation throughout the history. However, it has been observed that conventional political participation has been declining in developed liberal democracies. This decline seems to be more significant in immigrant-origin groups. There are 1.3 million Turkish origin German citizens by the year 2013 while 990 thousand of them are over 18 years old (Erdogan, 2015). According to Kaya and Kentel (2005), around 60 per cent of Turkish people who live in Germany are not interested in the domestic policy of the country. Additionally, 20 and 25 per cent of these people stated that they were interested in politics to some extent. Second and third generation Turkish people tend to support mainly Social Democratic parties while new young generations were interested in domestic policy of Germany. Kaya and Kentel also found that about 39 per cent of Turkish people in Germany have affiliated with several associations: Religious associations are mostly preferred (%45), and union membership (%12), political party membership (%9). Moreover, the investments on German economics by Turkish people in Germany have increased compared to the previous years. This is an important indicator of the Turkish integration to the country (Pecoud, 2003). In a similar vein, the number of Turkish immigrants has been increasing both in National Parliament and European Parliament (Yurdakul, 2006).

The Turkish population who live in Germany has increased remarkably to a great number. The political participation by the Turkish citizens in Germany has become more visible. Today it is possible to see more Turkish-origin German citizens not only in Federal and Local Parliaments but in European Parliament as well. However, there are few studies examining the social and political participation of young Turkish people living in Germany. Therefore, this study aims to determine the social-political-psychological factors of the social and political participation of Turkish immigrants living in Germany.

2. Method

2.1. The Participants

The study employs mixed methods for data collection. First of all, the quantitative data was obtained through a research group of university students in Germany. Purposive sampling technique was used for choosing the participants. The research group consists of 48 per cent female (60), and 52 per cent (65) male participants whose age average is 25.61 (ss:3.88). 49 per cent of the participants study Social Sciences while 51 per cent study Science.

Moreover, the qualitative data of this study was collected via interviews with 11 Turkish-origin people who were prominent figures in terms of their political and social participation in Germany. These people were chosen according to whether they have interest in social and political issues around them and whether they are influential in terms of

mobilizing people. They have Turkish origin but grew up in Germany and became German citizens. Among these interviewees, there were a federal parliament member, a city councilor, the chief of Immigrant Women's Union, the secretary of European Turkish Businessmen and Business Magnates' Foundation, and the chief of Foreign Students' Department, the chief of social democratic associations. In addition, the interviewees were carefully chosen according to their affiliation to different political parties (SPD, CDU, FDP, GRÜNE).

2.2. Data Collection Procedures

2.2.1. Personal Information form

In order to collect the quantitative data, the researcher developed a socio-demographic information form that consists of questions about the participants' age, gender, parental educational background, and family income.

2.2.2. Social and Political Participation Scale

This study was mostly based on an assessment instrument developed by Flanagan, Syvertsen and Stout (2007). It was adapted to this study by eliminating some cultural elements and by inserting new items about host culture. It is a 146-item social and political participation scale which is used to determine the factors affecting young people's participation. Table 1 shows the information regarding the validity and reliability of the results: (Akfirat and Cok, 2013).

Table 1: The reliability and validity data of sub criteria of social and political participation scale

Sub Scala		Item	Factors	α	variance	item-test correlations	CFA				
							GFI	AGFI	CFI	RMR	RMSEA
1	Participation	4	Political and Social Participation	.85	50	.574 - .870	.99	.98	.99	.004	.034
2	Involvement to the Decisions in Family	10	Decisions in Social Relationships	.85	52	.525 - .851	.94	.90	.91	.006	.070
			Decisions in Daily Life	.79							
			Decisions for Future	.81							
3	Confidence	12	Confidence to the Political Foundations	.85	55	.563 - .865	.95	.92	.96	.030	.005
			Confidence to the Non-Political Foundation	.56							
			Confidence to the Social Foundations	.54							
4	Civic Behaviors	12	Competence for Civic Action	.75	54	.634 - .867	.96	.94	.99	.020	.026
			Political Voice	.66							
			Critical Consumer of Political Information	.76							
5	Assessments of Elected Officials and Government	13	Trustworthiness of Elected Officials	.79	52	.528 - .816	.93	.89	.93	.060	.070
			Civic Accountability	.65							
			Unconditional Support for Government Policies	.64							
6	Involvement Expectation	7	Political Involvement Expectation	.82	53	.525 - .844	.99	.99	.99	.016	.000
			Social Involvement Expectation	.60							
7	Endorsement of Special Interest	10	Endorsement of Social Interest Groups	.75	47	.522 - .791	.97	.95	.99	.020	.016

Groups			Endorsement of Political Interest Groups								
8	Political-Social Perception	8	Political Efficacy	.75	74	.732 .899	-	.98	.96	.99	.003 .020
			Trust to the Country	.87							
			Anger about Social Injustice	.75							
9	Types of Citizen	9	Justice Oriented Citizen	.67	58	.522 .843	-	.96	.93	.97	.025 .062
			Personally Responsible Citizen	.77							
10	Parents Civic Engagement	3	Parents Civic Engagement	.82	74	.829 .897	-	1.0	1.0	1.0	.000 .000
11	Political Conversations with Others	8	Communication with Parents about Politics	.81	73	.767 .896	-	.97	.92	.98	.062 .069
			Communication with Teachers about Politics	.73							
			Communication with Friends about Politics	.86							
12	Values	6	Helping Others and Protecting the Environment	.85	69	.517 .895	-	.99	.97	1.00	.021 .031
			Secure Employment	.85							
13	Personal Beliefs	5	Concern about the Future	.60	54	.686 .806	-	.99	.95	.99	.055 .072
			Social Trust	.52							
14	Media	15	Overall Media Consumption	.70	51	.571 .861	-	.90	.85	.86	.045 .080
			Usefulness of Mainstream Media Outlets	.79							
			Trustworthiness of Media	.81							
15	School Climate	18	Open Classroom Climate	.82	61	.600 .887	-	.93	.90	.97	.058 .039
			Student Ownership	.82							
			Social Analysis	.84							
			Classroom as a Caring Community	.85							
			Experience of participation in school	.83							
16	Personal Political Aspirations	6	Personal Political Aspirations	.85	69	.637 .932	-	.99	.96	1.00	.035 .050

2.2.3. General Self-Efficacy Scale: (GSES)

Another scale used in this research is General Self-efficiency Scale, which was developed by Matthias Jerusalem and Ralf Schwarzer in 1981 (GSES). GSES evaluates the perceived self-efficacy in its general context (Scholz and Schwarzer, 2005). The scale, which was developed in Germany, was adapted into Turkish by Aypay (2007). GSES consists of 10 items in 4-item Likert form. It can be applied to anyone over 12 years old.

2.2.4. Interview Form

In order to conduct interviews with previously mentioned prominent people, first of all, a draft interview form was developed. The questions in the form were prepared by considering the factors in the literature which were stated to affect the political and social participation. In order to take an expert opinion, the interview form was sent to three scholars, who were qualified enough in terms of knowledge and experience in their fields. Finally, the form was revised and finalized by taking the opinions of those experts into consideration.

3. Findings

3.1. Quantitative data

This part of the paper presents the findings of the statistical analysis of the data. The relations between the political and social participation scores and predictive variables were examined, and a negative linear relationship was found; between the scores of social and political participation by the university students living in Germany and their scores of general self-efficacy was ($r=-.19$) $p<.05$; between the score of the experience of participation in school was ($r=-.24$) $p<.01$; between the scores of political efficacy perception was ($r=.20$) $p<.05$; between the average scores of parents civic engagement was ($r=.18$) $p<.05$; between the scores of involvement to the decisions for future in family was ($r=.22$) $p<.05$; between the the score of the confidence to the political foundations was ($r=-.42$) $p<.01$; between the score of the confidence to the social foundations was ($r=.20$) $p<.05$; between the the score of the political voice was ($r=.22$) $p<.05$; between the score of the critical consumer of political information was ($r=.37$) $p<.01$; between the score of the social involvement expectation was ($r=.48$) $p<.01$; between the scores of the endorsement of social interest groups was ($r=.24$) $p<.01$; between the scores of the personally responsible citizen was ($r=.23$) $p<.01$; between the scores of the open classroom climate was ($r=.18$) $p<.05$; between scores of the student ownership was ($r=.19$) $p<.05$. However, between the other variables a linear positive relationship was found.

Table 2-Results Of The Multi-Linear Regression Analysis Results Regarding The Prediction Of Political And Social Participation Scores:

	Beta	Standard t Error	β	t	R ²	F
Political and Social Participation						
Constant	22.44	3.86	-	5.82		
General self Efficacy	.15	.06	.21	.28**		
Experience of participation in school	.20	.10	.15	1.94*		
Political Efficacy Perception	.21	.14	.13	1.54		
Parents Civic Engagement	.07	.09	.07	.82		
Involvement to the Decisions for Future in Family	.18	.12	.12	1.55		
Confidence to the Political Foundations	-.33	.11	-.26	-2.99**	.48	7.21**
Confidence to the Social Foundations	.21	.17	.09	1.22		
Political Voice	.27	.20	.11	1.37		
Critical Consumer of Political Information	.06	.15	.04	-.37		
Social Involvement Expectation	.38	.12	.33	3.06**		
Endorsement of Social Interest Groups	.34	.12	.21	2.75**		
Personally Responsible Citizen	.17	.09	.15	1.90*		
Open Classroom Climate	.18	.19	.11	1.51		
Student Ownership	.02	.07	.02	.20		

* $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$

As the results of multi-regression analysis done for the political and social participation of young Turkish university students living in Germany shows in Table 2, the variables that are thought to have effects on the political and social participation are predicted to have a statistically significant effect at the level of $[F(14,125) = 7.21, p<.001]$. The

variables mentioned above proves 48 per cent of the total variance for the political and social participation of the Turkish university students living in Germany.

When the β and t-test results regarding the regression coefficient significance were examined, the scores of the political and social participation by Turkish university students living in Germany were as follows; general self-efficacy ($\beta=.21$, $p<.001$), experience of participation in school ($\beta= .15$, $p<.05$), confidence to the political foundations ($\beta= -.26$, $p<.001$) negatively, social involvement expectation ($\beta= .33$, $p<.001$), endorsement of social interest groups ($\beta= .21$, $p<.001$), and personally responsible citizen ($\beta= .15$, $p<.05$). These variables were observed to have significant effect over the political and social participation by Turkish university students living in Germany. However, the following variables were observed to have no significant effect over the political and social participation by Turkish university students living in Germany.

3.2. Qualitative Data

This part presents findings of the interviews conducted with Turkish-origin people living in Germany who were prominent profiles in terms of social and political participation.

Whether they participate in decision-making in the family they grew up:

Majority of the interviewees (8 out of 11 people) said that they were encouraged to participate in making decisions in the family.

“Our opinions were asked in the house and political issues were often discussed at home.” (Female, age 25, an alderman)

“I can even say that I can make my own decisions myself. I was also asked what my opinion was about common family matters. We used to talk together where to go or what to buy.” (Female, age 56, a member of European Parliament)

Their political communication with the teachers at their schools:

The interviewees' political communication with the teachers at their schools might be classified as positive and negative. However, they said that both attitudes had a positive effect on their participation. Seven of the interviewees said that they had a positive political communication with their teachers and two had a negative political communication. Yet, two of them said they had no political communication with their teachers.

“Our teachers, too, used to encourage students to express their political views.” (Female, age 56, a deputy in European Parliament).

Their participation life at their schools:

Interviewees also indicated that their level of participation at school was generally high and the majority (8 out of 11) stated that they were school chief or student reps.

“I acted as a chief student from the fifth year to the 13th year even though my German was not as good as a German child's.” (Male, age 50, a vice president of the assembly, an alderman)

“I volunteered for being a student rep when I was a student. I managed the union that was in charge of immigrant students.” (Male, age 36, General Secretary of Businessmen's Club.)

The way they participate at present; social participation of those whose level of political participation is high; political participation of those whose level of social participation is high:

All of the interviewees stated that their participation do not have single-dimension. They did not have enough time to participate more and they added that their political participation was associated with their social participation.

"I believe I am extremely active in terms of my political and social participation." (Male, age 50, a vice president of the assembly, an alderman)

"I can say that I was always active." (Male, age 63, a chief of an association).

How do they evaluate the factors that affect their participation?

Five of the interviewees said that their families had an effect on their level of participation; one interviewee said both his family and the school he attended affected his participation.

"My father and my family were very effective. The left-winged organisation which I am in helped me to gain this concept." (Female, age 55, a deputy in State Parliament)

When the data collected from the interviews is generally checked,

All of the interviewees were university graduates; the participants defined their family income - one of them as above, four of them as average and 6 of them as below average; In terms of political and social participation, they described their families as people showing an active participation; none of the mothers affiliated with a political party; however, four of them stated that their fathers affiliated with a political party; they have been supported to participate in decision-making in the family; they have discussed about politics with their teachers; Almost all of them participated at different activities at schools where they studied; Both of their levels of social and political participation are high; their level of participation is affected by their families and their being as a foreigner. In addition, the time period they are in and social conditions of their society have an effect on their participations, too; Their role models are generally the ones whose level of political or social participation is quite high; finally, they pointed out that the level of political and social participation of Turkish university students living in Germany is low.

4. Discussion

This study aims to determine the psychological and demographic factors affecting the political and social participation of Turkish immigrants living in Germany. A scale to assess the factors affecting political and social participation was developed by taking the literature into consideration (Akfirat and Cok, 2013). The nature of the participation by young people was observed with the help of this scale. The interviews were carried out with politically and socially prominent people living in Germany. In the interviews, the factors affecting these people's participation were deeply examined and the dynamics behind their participation were assessed.

The first effect as a factor affecting political participation was found to be the general self-efficacy perception. General self-efficacy is defined as the person's belief of efficacy for dealing with his tough and tense lifestyle (Scholz and Schvvarzer, 2005). The participants

pointed out that they were not just witnesses of the incidents around them; they thought they needed to take actions and to fight if necessary. These findings show their general self-efficacy perception.

One of the common findings of the qualitative and quantitative data is participation experience at school. It has been emphasized by the researchers that a teacher's democratic qualifications and the classroom atmosphere are as extremely important as the courses at school in terms of giving students democratic skills (Evans, 2015; Isac, Maslowskia, Creemersa, and Werfa, 2014; Niemi and et al. 2000; Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Lerner, 2004; Pasek, Feldman, Romer, and Jamieson, 2008;). The findings of our research are coherent with the literature as it found that the young people's previous participation at school had a significant effect on their level of participation as adults. Young people can have interest in politics, through belonging to and learning in a group with the help of these kinds of activities (Eccles and Gootman, 2002; Sohl and Arensmeier, 2015). The concept of democratic participation, the self-efficacy and skills that are needed to participate are learned gradually and they can never be taught as abstract theories (Hart, 1997).

Moreover, this study also finds that, one of the predictors that negatively affect political participation is 'trust in political institutions. There are studies in the literature indicating that there is a positive and negative relationship between trust in political institutions and participation. It is assumed in some studies that there is a positive circle between trust and participation. (Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Dubrow et al., 2008; Norris et al., 2005; Renshon, 1974; Putnam, 2000; van Aelst and Walgrave, 2001). However, there have also been studies showing that even though the person's level of trust is low, he performs the act of participation (Dalton, 2006; Hooghe and Marien, 2013; Inglehart, 1977; Ramid et al., 2012;). The findings in our research support a negative relationship.

Social organizations are the structural determiners of the democracies (Schomacher, 2001). Erogul (1991) stated that organizations aiming to motivate social participation put a pressure on the political party in power and these kinds of participation are important for the continuity of democracy. Therefore, besides political parties, other organizations like unions, occupational organizations are accepted as the means of participation. This result is supported by the findings gained from the qualitative data. The people who were interviewed with said that their participation had both social and political characters; and they added that this would go on in the future, too.

According to Schomacher (2001), participating in voluntary associations is similar to political participation in many ways. Along with political participation, participation in social institutions should be taken into consideration while studying political participation since both types of participation are on a volunteer basis and they can only be achieved via organized communities. A lot of studies in the past (Flanagan and Van Horn, 2003; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995; Youniss and Yates, 1997) have shown that the participation in the adulthood is associated with the participation in various clubs, groups or activities in the adolescence period. Middle-age period was determined to be the period when this interest was at the top level. According to the research conducted by Jennings, Stoker and Bowers (2001) on three generations, participation in volunteering associations can be observed in high school years. This rate falls down during the young adulthood years; however, it rises again at the middle age period. A lot of student unions acting extra-curriculum programs at high schools and the expectation of participation in these groups are through the end of adolescence years (Jennings, Stoker and Bowers, 2001). Hilles and Kahle (1985) claim that high school students' participation in these associations is directly proportionate to their social development, the consistency of their social roles and their academic success. When the young people fully depend on the society, they feel more encouraged and motivated both in the family and among their peers and in the society. Participation motivates participation

(Mokwena, 2003). In other words, young people interiorize their status and their relation with the society as ‘an individual’ and they make efforts to sustain this.

Another finding of this study is that the family has also an effect on participation. For children and little kids, the family is an environment where discussions about the politics take place the most. Most of the young people agree with their family’s choices about political affiliations, especially about a political party, to a great extent (Geissler, 1996). It was found out that the effect of the family on 15-17-year olds was much higher than the teacher’s. This effect depends on the educational approach, the family’s socio-cultural situation, and the political power of the country (Fend, 1991; Dunham and Bengston, 1992; Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo and Sheblanova, 1998; Fletcher, Elder and Mekos, 2000; Hashway, 1998).

The participation by the young people is considered as a development duty (Sherrod, Flanagan, &Youniss, 2002). Young people’s participation is accepted as a factor that supports the immigrants’ integration to the country where they live in (OECD, 2012). This study aims to determine the factors affecting the participation of Turkish young people living in Germany. The findings of this study are thought to be a source for further studies in the future.

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An Intergenerational Study about Gender Roles and Attitudes, Family and Working Life

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1. Introduction

Within this study, the similarities and differences in gender roles and attitudes among three generations of women were studied in Konya which is considered as a conservative city in Turkey. The differences in gender roles and attitudes were analyzed in relation with the position of women and men in family and the participation of women to education and working life. The main problematic of the study is the relation of gender roles and attitudes, the position of women in marriage and in private life and the participation to public life. What is tried to be understood in this study is the evaluation of the distinction between private and public by the 3 different generations of women in the same family. The similarities and differences among three generations of women in the same family show the transformation of gender roles and attitudes among generations and the reasons for it. It is assumed that as it is seen many feminist studies, women accept rigid private sphere- public sphere division in their lives because they have accepted patriarchal conservative value judgments and gender roles. But still reasons behind the differences between women in regards to gender roles and attitudes are ambiguous.

This study's distinction of public/private is used by feminist theory in analyzing women's status in society. The distinction of public and private have been discussed and used as an analytical tool by different authors since 1960s such as; Blood and Wolfe (1960), Ortner (1972), Hartmann (1976), Kandiyoti (1988), and Moghadam (2004). As Kağıtçıbaşı (1986) has summarized women's status in Turkey may be analyzed in relation with the political, institutional reforms after the Republic's foundation with increasing literacy rates, educational achievements, labor force participation and professionalization of women. However, these improvements about women's status in general could not reach all the women. The problem in countries such as Turkey, which have no legal restrictions on women's employment, women have a low labor market participation rate. Studies of Göle (1991), Kandiyoti (1997), Ecevit (1998), Özbay (1998) portrayed the conditions Turkish women in relation with patriarchal conservative family relations and public and economic life.

According to Hoşgör and Smits (2006) "only 35 percent of married Turkish women is gainfully employed and half of them works as (family) farm worker" (p.3). Affecting element is the private sphere in terms of family dynamics and interaction patterns and the position of women in family. Under the influence of conservative patriarchal gender and family relations, women are prevented to be or do not attempt to be or desire to be in public life and define themselves in the realm of private family life as obedient wives. Similarly Dedeoğlu argues (2000); "family functions has a significant role in shaping women's employment. Because both the decisions of women regarding participating in working life and the quality of their labor in the labor market is influenced by the family" (p.140). This study, specifically asks how women identify/portray themselves in relation to their husbands, their private life and to their public life (in participation to education and labor market). To analyze this, it is firstly necessary to view the demographic characteristics of women in relation to age, educational level, and income level and marriage types. Secondly, analyzes their views about marriage life or private life of spouses. And thirdly analyzes their views about women's participation in education and in working life.

2. Method

In this study, 150 women were interviewed, 50 of them in each generation all of which had been married at least once. The first generation is over 60, second generation is between 40 and 59 and third generation is between 18 and 39. These 150 women are the families of the students of Selçuk University Sociology department living within the boundaries of Konya city. Most of the women (76.8 percent) are living in the center of Konya city center.

Age considering generation, women's education level, income, occupation, the long-term place of residence, and the type of marriage variables were considered in the study. In order to understand women's attitudes about gender and gender roles especially in relation to family life; they were asked about marriage life, the relation of woman and men in private life, the gender division of labor, the decision making structure in the family. Also, women's attitudes in relation to the division of public and private, their views in regarding to women's participation to education and working life were taken.

3. Results

3.1. Demographic Findings:

In terms of education level, 27 percent of them are graduated from private school, 2.2 percent of them are illiterate, and interestingly 18.2 percent of them are graduated from university. If this variable is analyzed in terms of generations, 54.5 percent of the first generation women are illiterate, 12.1 percent of them are literate and 27.3 percent of them are graduated from primary school. There is no university graduate in this generation. Second generation's 51.5 percent is graduated from primary school, 18.2 percent of them are graduated from high school and 12.1 percent of them graduated from secondary school. This data shows that women's education level increase over generations significantly.

In terms of occupational situation, 78.8 percent of all women (118 women) are housewives, 5.1 percent of them are teachers, and the sum of all the other options includes only 2 percent of women. 97 percent of first generation, 78.8 percent of second generation, 60.6 percent of third generation is housewives. 12.1 percent of third generation women are teachers, which show that the big difference in terms of educational level among the generations do not continue in occupational level. The reason is mothering; a significant number of young women give up their jobs after becoming mothers.

60.6 percent of all the marriages are arranged, 8.1 percent of them are arranged by kins, 3 percent of them are eloping, and 28.3 percent of them are companionate. In this variable, it is seen that type of marriage most evident changes from first to third generation. However, the second generation's percentages in different marriage types are more similar to first generation then the third. Companionate marriage is highest in third generation (54.5 percent), and arranged marriage's percentage is the same in the first and second generation (72.7 percent) but it is 36.4 percent in third generation. Thus, there is a big leap from the first to the third.

Regarding with the monthly income, it can be seen that average income for each generation is increasing from the first to the third generation. The average monthly income of first generation is 1162 Turkish lira, second generation is 2316, and third generation is 2900.

All these variables show that women's position in public is increasing through improvement in educational and income level. Moreover, the women were given more rights in choosing who to marry in the third generation.

3.2. Marriage Life and the Position of Women in the Family

Women's private lives were analyzed in relation to their perceptions about how a happy marriage is guaranteed and the decision making structure and leadership in family. All are effecting the position of women in the family.

3.2.1. Women's significance and position:

Firstly and strikingly, when asked, older women (first generation) mentioned that (42 percent) women are not valuable or significant. Also, some of them mentioned that women have significance only when they have grand children or some of them mentioned female births (women) make the home. These answers show that women legitimate and continue the men's superiority over women. Some interesting answers are such as;

“What can I say? In reality men are superior. Men is working and feeding. Boys are superior comparing to me, not the girls. Do not consider nonsense. Girls place is different than boys”. (77 years old, illiterate)

“If my time is considered women did not have a position or significance. Women should be silent when it is necessary and should talk when it is necessary. In my time the woman's place was like ‘a woman can only talk once in a six month and that time was gone yesterday’” (41 years old, literate)

The only significance of women was explained in relation to domestic labor and childcare.

“Women make the home. Men bring from outside and women manage the house work. A woman is responsible for upbringing of children, beauty and order of home. If the woman is not good, home will not have taste.” (70 years old-graduated from primary school)

Second generation women's 45.5 percent said that women is important, 25.5 percent of them said that female birds (women) make the home and 27.3 percent of them said women are not given importance. Again, the women's importance was related with the position of women in family and arranging the relationship between men and children. Third generation of women's 51.5 percent said that women are important and valuable in the family. 12.1 percent of them said that female birds (women) make the home. Women's 6.1 percent of them say women's importance is mediocre. This generation mentioned women are important but have nostalgia for older marriages. It is explained such as; “Women's place is important in family. For me, if we look at older times, women were more precious in the times of our grandmother's time in the eyes of men... But now we have a kind of equality with men. But men now do not give much importance to women.” In this answer, it can be seen that women's importance, equality with men are considered two different separate things. This woman thinks, while women become more equal with them, men's perception of women worsened.

3.2.2. Women-Men equality:

This brings the problem of gender equality. 64.6 percent of all women said that men and women are not equal, 22.9 percent of them said men and women should be equal and only 12.5 think they are equal. The argument that men and women should be equal implies they are not equal. So, it can be said that 87.5 percent of the participants think women and men are not equal. Another interesting thing is women think the reason behind women's inferiority is men's superiority in terms of physical power and divine creation. 9.4 percent of first generation, 12.1 percent of second generation and 15.2 percent of third generation think they are equal. Moreover, men's superiority over women was related to the Islamic religious beliefs and norms, men's physical and mental capabilities and societal norms. Some of the interesting responses are such as;

"Of course, women and men cannot be equal. God had created men superior, a step ahead of women. How can this be equal?" (61years old, illiterate)

"My god created men superior over women." (66 years old, graduated from primary school)

"Women and men should be equal. The same world, the same life, the same bread, the same water, etc... Because the protective power of men is more, society has accepted as men superior." (74 years old, illiterate).

"How can they be equal? Men do much heavy work which women cannot do, even do not have a clue about how to do." (74 years old, illiterate).

"They cannot be equal. Men are always superior to the women. What will happen if we consider them equal? If a man do what he wishes, does he become dishonorable? No. but if a woman is seen with someone, she gets a bad reputation at that instant. Where is the equality? Are we equal? No, we are not equal. If a men play around till to the sun rise, it will be said that he is a man. Equality is not possible." (42 years old, graduated from secondary school).

"Women are not equal with men. After all we were created from the rib bone of men. Being equally paid does not mean we are equal with men." (27 years old, graduated from university).

"Even if we say they are equal, we can see that there is inequality. Men are always a step ahead of women. But we should sustain equality between men and women." (27 years old, graduated from university).

"Women and men cannot be equals ever. But in reality women are superior because of their capabilities and actions; at least giving birth is an example of women's superiority." (27 years old, graduated from high school).

3.2.3. Being the head of household and making the decisions:

The problem of having equality between men and women brings us the question of who is or could be the leader in the family or the head of household. 66.7 percent of all responses said that man should be head of household. 17.2 percent of them said that leadership should be shared between man and woman. 7.1 percent of them said others (family elders, husband, man etc..) should think they are the leaders but the head of the household should be the woman. 12.1 percent of the first generation said the head of the household is the family elders. It could be seen that the first generation is still carrying the norms of extended family relations which have three generations in the same household. But this has changed in the second and third generation. 78.8 percent of the first generation, 60.6 percent of the second generation and the 60.6 percent of the third generation said the head of the household should be the man. 21.2

percent of second generation and 33.3 percent of second generation said the leadership should be shared. We can see that the proponents about men's leadership did not lessen from second to third generation, but the idea of sharing leadership increased. Interestingly, the second generation has the courage and self-confidence to be leader in the household. 9.1 percent of second generation, 6.1 percent of third generation think women should be the head of household. Some interesting responses are such as;

"It is man. It should be man. His mind thinks more about future, knows about profits and losses... God ordered this." (70 years old, graduated from primary school.)

"The head of the household is my husband. The reason is based on traditional customs. We have taken this from our elders." (49 years old, graduated from primary school.)

"The head of the household is the man. Man is more patient, more cautious. Women behave a little more short-tempered. For me, the man should rule. It can be talked, discussed and agreed on but man is a step ahead. It should be the man." (47 years old, graduated from primary school.)

"The man should think he rules but the woman rules the house. In our house, it looked like my dad had given the decisions but my mother's opinions and wishes been realized. My mother was preparing my father's decisions beforehand." (41 years old, graduated from secondary school.)

"... The man is the head so he should care about the troubles. So, we will not think about these troubles. If there is a head of the family, it should be the man ahead of everyone. I do not want to be the head" (28 years old, graduated from university)

"I think a little different. Yes, there should be a head of the family in order to prevent the chaos. In our society man thinks they are the head of the household but on the other side of the coin, women are leading. Women should lead in the backside. (25 years old, graduated from university)

68.7 percent of all the responses said that they make decisions together with their spouses. 23.2 percent of all the responses said that decisions are made by the man. 3 percent of them said their mother in law makes the last decision. Other responses said that it changes according to subject, sometimes the decision could be made by me, sometimes by my husband and sometimes by elders. 42.4 percent of the first generation, 75.8 percent of the second generation and 84.8 percent of the third generation said they make the decisions together with their husbands. Differing from the head of the household, we can say that women's position in family has changed from first to third generation. If we think that making decisions is implementation of being the head of the household, we can say that men seem to be and accepted to be the leaders but they either let their wives to share their decisions in a democratic way or women gain the position of participating in the decision making. Perhaps both is true. 42.4 percent of the first and 21.2 percent of the second and less than 6 percent of third generation said the decisions are made by men. Similar to the head of the household problematic, some of the elder women said decisions are taken by the elders of the family as a continuation of extended family. Some interesting responses are such as;

"If my husband says yes, it happens, if he says no, it does not happen. What my husband says is done." (70 years old, illiterate.)

“If a decision should be made, everyone is asked for their opinion and tells it. But my husband gives the last decision. But he cares about our opinions.” (49 years old, illiterate.)

“Decisions are made by talking and discussing. You even have to ask to your children. A mind could be superior from another. Now, the youth is more enlightened because they are educated so opinions should be discussed and then a final decision will appear.” (49 years old, graduated from secondary school.)

3.2.4. Sustaining happy marriage

Regarding with the women's perceptions of how a happy marriage is guaranteed, the first generation seem to be much more conservative. They think that if you obey your husband, be good-humored, self-sacrificing, agreeable person and good mother, you will be happy in your marriage. The answers of first generation could be classified as, firstly as 33.3 percent having love, respect and trust between spouses, secondly as 15.2 percent having understanding between spouses, thirdly, as 9.1 percent having patience. In the second and third generation the percentages of answers have changed. Having love, respect and trust is 57.6 percent in second generation, 63.6 percent in third generation. Having understanding between spouses is 15.2 percent in second generation, 24.2 percent in third generation. Other answers include being patient, self-sacrificing and having money. Money was considered by only third generation as something needed in a happy marriage.

“If men talks loudly women will be silent; if women talks loudly men will be silent. If the man does anything wrong women is going to turn a blind eye on it. If the woman does anything wrong, man will not tolerate it” (61 years, graduated from primary school)

“If you say ya (he) to your husband then it is okay” (42 years old, graduated from secondary school)

3.3. Division of labor in family

Regarding to the division of labor in the family, both the equality in house work and what is women's and men's job in the house were asked to the women. While the 53.6 percent of all responses said house work should be equal, 33.3percent of them said it should not be equal. The interesting thing is that 13.1percent of all the responses said if the woman is employed outside, then house work could be equal. For them, if woman is not employed than she should do the house-work. 69.7 percent of first generation, 57.5 percent of the second generation and 33.4 percent of third generation said house work should not be equal. 18.2 percent of first generation, 27.3 percent of second generation and 54.5 percent of third generation said it should be equal. 12.1 percent of first generation, 15.2 percent of second generation and 12.1 percent of third generation said it could be equal if the woman is employed. The numbers show that there is an important tendency for equal sharing of house work from first to third generation. But an important criterion for sharing the house work is women's employment. Some interesting responses:

“It is not right to make men work in the home. He should work outside and bring food to the home and woman should do the house work and care for the children.

Nowadays, women now not really do the housework and even cannot care for their own children and employ a woman to look after their own kids because they want to be employed outside. It is not right" (80 years old, literate)

"It could not be equal. Even if they are both employed, would man clean the windows?" (54 years old, graduated from primary school)

"For me, the work of men and women responsible in the house should change according to women's employment situation. If she works, the housework should be shared. But if she does not, then, house work is women's work even if man sometimes helps her but it is not sharing housework." (25 years old, graduated from secondary school)

Regarding to the second question of what is men's job in the house; 52.5 percent of all responses said that providing household's needs, repairing and fixing things in the house and going to the market. 35.4 percent of them said they should help women. 10.1 of them said they can do anything and 2 percent of them said women and men should complete each other. In this question the response of helping women is only valid if the woman is employed. Otherwise, all the house work is women's job. The problem is house work is women's work so the men are only helping to the women's work. Thus, when woman works, she usually does all the housework herself. This is the realization of double burden for women.

72.7 percent of the first generation and 45.4 percent of second generation and 39.4 percent of third generation said that men is responsible for providing household's needs, repairing and fixing things in the house and going to the market. For the first generation, doing all the house work is women's responsibility. 3 percent of first generation said men can do everything in the house. 42.4 percent of second generation, 36.4 percent of third generation said men's job is helping women. 90.9 percent of second generation and 75.8 percent of third generation said women's job is doing all the house work. 6.1 percent of second generation and 18.2 percent of third generation's said women do everything in the house. 6.1percent of third generation said women and men should complete each other. Some interesting responses are such as;

"Women should have the jobs that belong to the women and men either. But in nowadays, it is not like that. There are too many working women. Men should not wash the dishes or iron cloths. They cannot do this kind of work properly. If their wife is sick or if she pays attention for her baby, he can help her since woman cannot cope with all these works by herself. Even if she is employed, her husband should not do house work. He should just help for unimportant tasks. Men cannot manage housework." (61 years old-graduated from primary school)

"Women are responsible for housework but men are responsible for outside work. Everyone knows his/her responsibility. No one should commend to the other. If someone needs help, the other one helps. This situation is valid for both sides." (70 years old-graduated from primary school)

"In our time, men did not do housework because it was seen as a shame. If a neighbor had seen, he/she would condemn this condition. But in nowadays, men do all kinds of works. If they do not, it is seen as a shame. Ad women work as well. Men should help but women are more successful than men. (64 years old, illiterate).

"Men should work and earn money properly; women should do housework, as well." (45 years old, graduated from primary school).

“Men should help their wives during the holidays. And if there is a hard work, he should help again. (40 years old, graduated from primary school).

“How can I say? Men can do all kinds of works absolutely. Partners should protect each other. Men can help kitchen for simple things and they should do all heavy works in any case. He could say “I am preparing dinner tonight”. I did not ask for any help but my husband was very charitable and helped me in my pregnancy. He cooked and took care of children and did housework. A man can do everything to protect his wife. (53 years old, graduated from primary school)

“The types of works are obvious. So I cannot expect him to do my work, neither he. Washing the dishes and doing the cooking should be my job because I am at home. But if there is a job such as repairing something, he cannot expect me to do it according to me. I do not want to see a man in the kitchen because men are not suitable for it. If I am ill and I cannot do it, he can go in the kitchen and does it.” (25 years of old, graduated from university).

“Men should work and provide for his children and wife. And women should look after her husband. Then it is appropriate. There is no need for sharing work. Men are not suitable for these kinds of work. But he should help me if I am employed. Otherwise, there is no need for it.” (32 years old, graduated from primary school)

If three generations are analyzed, it could be seen that from first to third generation, men’s responsibility area is widened from the providing household’s needs, repairing and fixing things in the house and going to the market to the option of doing anything in the house.

3.4.Women’s participation in paid labor and in education

3.5.Educating girls:

In the interviews, to understand the women’ attitudes about women’s participation in education and working life, it is firstly asked what they think about girls’ education. 93.9 percent of all the responses say that girls should be educated. Only 4 percent of them said they should not be educated and 2 percent of them said they should be educated to a level. But most of the responses say that living conditions get harder so women’s contribution to family income is a good thing and some say it is significant and good thing that women can stand on their own legs. 84.8 percent of the first generation, 97 percent of the second generation and 100percent of the third generation said that girls should be educated. 9.1 percent of first generation, 3 percent of second generation said that girls should not be educated. 6.1 percent of second generation said girls should be educated a little. In the first generation some of the women think being educated as being able to reading and writing. Or sometimes education is understood as gaining income for the family.

“I am really a proponent of educating girls. I could not go to school. I would sell my fortune to enable my grandchildren to go to school. Not knowing is very hard. So I say women, be educated” (70 years old, illiterate).

“Girls should be educated. They should earn their own income, have a good job. They should work at least for not to be dependent to their husbands.” (61 years old, graduated from secondary school).

“If the child wants to be educated, you should let them to have education. If you she does not want education, you cannot make them go to school. If she does not want to be educated, then you should teach what you know. Then she has to learn her duties in the home. (80 years old, literate)

“I want all my children (my son and my daughter) to be educated. But I wish my daughter to be educated more because I want them to stand their own feet, and do not depend on anyone.” (37 years old, graduated from associate degree program)

“She should go to university but should wear headscarf and be covered appropriately.” (32 years old, primary school)

3.5.1. Women’s participation in paid labor

All of the responses 68.7 percent of them said that women should work, 28.3 percent of them said they should not. 3 percent of them said the husband should decide whether his wife could work. Half of the women, who said women should not work, say that they can work if their income level is low. Women’s participation in paid labor is portrayed with women’s standing on their own feet without depending on anyone.

If we look at results by generations, 48.5 percent of the first generation 72.7 percent of second generation, 84.8percent of third generation said women should work. 27.2 percent of first generation, 15.2 percent of second generation and 3 percent of third generation said they should not work. 15.2 percent of first generation and second generation and 12.1 percent of third generation said they could work if they do not have enough money. The remaining 9.1 percent of first generation think women should take their husbands permission to participate in paid labor. Responses which said “women should not be employed”, also said women become too tired when employed and so could not efficiently do the housework and childcare. A significant number of women in second generation especially mentioned that if a woman cannot do the housework and outside paid work at the same time, than she should not be employed. Some interesting responses are such as;

“Women become too tired when she is employed outside home. It is better if she takes care of her children and growing up them” (70 years old, graduated from primary school).

“If she has an important job such as being a teacher or a doctor, then she should work. We were not teachers or doctors but I had worked five times more than them in garden and can still work like that.” (80 years old, illiterate)

Another interesting point especially for the second generation women is the idea that being a working mother especially being an educated mother could increase women’s position in the house, increase her self-esteem and enable her to speak her mind and make her a better mother.

“Women should absolutely work because her self-esteem increases when she is employed and learn to stand on her own feet.” (42 years old, graduated from secondary school)

“A mother’s being educated and intellectual is very important for her children and for her relationship with her husband. A woman’s earning income and gaining economic independence is wonderful. I am earning money by doing housework but if I could have education, it would be better.” (53 years old, graduated from primary school)

“A woman’s have economic independence is a perfect thing. Not good but perfect because you are now not depended. You do not have to ask for money from your husband. You contribute family income so you can do what you want when you want. You become an achiever.” (25 years old, graduated from university)

In generally, it could be seen that women has become proponents for women’s participation in paid labor from the first to third generation. Also, the women’s reasons for woman’s employment have changed. While the first generations contribution to family income is found significant, second and third generations mentioned more about women’s economic empowerment.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

Interviews with the three generation of women in the Konya which is a the seventh biggest city in Turkey in terms of population, but known to be a conservative place, confirm the four general tendencies in Turkey in relation with women’s employment. Firstly, there is low rate of employment for married women. As Hoşgör and Smits (2006) mentioned, “only 35percent of married Turkish women is gainfully employed and half of them works as (family) farm worker” (p.3). Secondly, women’s employment is mostly found acceptable when they are educated. Thus, women’s most appropriate and easy way to economic empowerment goes through education. Thirdly, women’s employment is always evaluated with considering the housework load and childcare responsibilities. Fourthly, when a woman gets education and then became employed, became more self-empowered and more modern in terms of house work and husband-wife relationships. As a result, as Hoşgör and Smits (2006) say; “Women engaged in the formal economy are more highly educated, have husbands with higher occupations, have fewer children, live in the West and urban areas, are less suppressed by their families and have less traditional gender role attitudes” (p.3).

These arguments were also supported by İlkaracan (1998), who had argued that the most important obstacle for women’s employment outside household is the sexual division of labor. As she argued, “the women, whose identity and position is primarily determined by being wife and mother, are not encouraged to the paid employment. So their opportunities for education and thus gaining qualifications for employment are limited by their families. Moreover, the women who had been employed mostly give up their jobs because of getting married or having children” (p. 285-286). Another problem of sexual division of labor is the double burden because the women should do the housework and care for children anyway. Thus, they do not wish to be employed. Finally, because of the oppression of their social circle, women’s employment in public space is not found appropriate by their families.

İlkkaracan (1998, p. 287) also supports the argument that education is the most striking element in gaining employment element for women when it is not so critical for men. This is true because a few women who had gained from the reforms regarding modernization of Turkish nation and enhancing of women’s right; could reach higher education and became professionals in the areas of law, engineering and medical science. Thus she divides the working women in to three groups regarding employment; agricultural family workers (unpaid and working in the household), low or non-educated women working in urban areas in low-paid, labor intensive jobs and professional women who have high education. Interviews show that women mostly do not prefer the first and second kind of employment since they have been living in urban area and do not wish to be employed without being professionals. Then, the only option is to be educated in order to be employed.

In our study, the effects of education on women’s’ private and public lives were seen. When we analyze the relationship between women’s’ education level and occupation, it is

observed that with the increase in education level, the rate of being housewife decreases. It is most evident in the university graduates of which only 27.8 percent are housewives. The relationship between education level and occupation is meaningful at the level of .01. Secondly, when we analyze the relationship between women's' education level and decision making in the family, it is seen that with the increase in education level, the response of "taking decisions together" increases, and "man takes the decision" decreases. Especially, the women graduated from high school and university, it was mostly said that they are taking decisions together. Thirdly, when we analyze the relationship between education level and equally sharing of housework, it is evident that with increase in education level the number of women who equally share housework increases.

As a general conclusion of the study, it can be argued that there is a tendency for women's being more equal with men in time in terms of all the mentioned gender related issues since the women's perceptions of themselves change in time. But the most striking element multiplying the liberation of women from more rigid gender stereotypes, roles and attitudes is seemed to be education of women and their participation in paid labor.

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The Uncompromising Couple of Turkish Modernization; Culture and Civilization

Ferhat Arık

1. Introduction

The word culture stems from "Cultura" and it is equivalent "Colere" in Latin which means to pay attention, earthwork, cultivated land, to cultivate. Voltaire began to use the word as the formation and development of human intelligence. Then, this word was adopted in German literature as "Cultur". Klemm -the ethnographer- used the word 'Cultur' as the equivalences of civilization and cultural evolution. In the aftermath, the word was translated into languages like Spanish, English, Slavic and attained definitions in a wider range (Güvenç, 2002, p. 95-99).

Malinowski (1992) puts forward that culture is a sum total, partially material and partially non-material like the production and consumption materials of the society, basic actions of some groups, opinions and skills of the people and their beliefs and habits.

According to Tylor (1871), culture or the civilization is a complex whole containing knowledge, convictions, art, morality, law, and tradition and all other talents and habits acquired by the people as the members of the society.

According to Eliot (1871), culture is a reflection of a religion, its concrete correspondence, compelling to discuss the culture with religion. The religion builds the culture and protects the people from chaos, depression and hopelessness, providing the material and non-material needs of the society.

Mac Iver -American sociologist- states that the civilization contains tools and the culture contains the objectives. German Alfred Weber is the first who had this idea. Accordingly, the civilization is mechanisms and organizations designed by people to rule the living conditions and nature. Culture, on the other hand, is the expression of the lifestyle put forward in the life, idea, daily interactions, religion, art, and literature. British and German people preferred the word civilization instead of the culture. The concept of the civilization is adopted as the equivalence of primitivity, barbarism or under-development by the French and British, who were well-advanced in areas like science, technology, philosophy and industry. The German were behind these two countries in term of social development and they expressed and defined themselves with the word culture (Güvenç, 2002, p. 96).

In German, culture emphasizes the financial conditions, while in English it is the whole of the physical, moral and spiritual incidents. In the same time, it is expressed as the art of the barbarian tribes while civilization bears no such meaning. Because the civilization is the expression of a level higher than barbarian and primitivity (Meriç, 1985, p.25).

In English, there is an occasion where a person can be qualified as "cultured" while it does not exist in German. In German, culture and the civilization are distinct. The societies advanced in the social life tried to crown this superiority with the civilization concept.

Culture is defined as the entirety of the material and non-material components of the social life. Accordingly, this definition puts the definition of the British and French into a contradiction. Because, the hunting style of even the most primitive Australian indigene or an African, the medicine of the American indigene are the dynamos of the modern industry and also components of the culture. In that sense, they are all a work of a collective human spirit (Turhan, 2002, p.36).

While Turhan criticizes the culture-civilization distinction of Gökalp, he states that the distinction between those two is artificial and not scientific evidence-based.

"In regard to the idea that has no scientific basis and has spread quite a lot, there is no difference or distinction between the civilization and the culture. The strangeness in this opinion is that it considers that the Western civilization is represented as if only by one nation and that there is no difference among the nations representing this civilization. In that sense, those what belong to the culture of only one community of a nation and that what belonged to the civilization attached so tight that it is quite difficult to recognize which components belonged to the civilization and which to the culture" (Turhan, 2002, p. 40).

Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu -a significant sociologist in the post-Gökalp period- also dwells upon the culture and civilization concepts. According to Fındıkoğlu (1985), the levels in non-material and social sciences of the nations could be equal up to a certain limit; however, he underlines that apart from the science and technology, all nations have their own unique identities. And the content of these identities is composed of cultural components.

As can be seen, Fındıkoğlu agrees with Gökalp who states that the civilization is relevant with science and technology, and the culture is a national concept; however, his standpoint regarding the culture differentiates from Gökalp's as he evaluates the culture in two different aspects. Fındıkoğlu analyzes the concept of culture as individual and social. In terms of the individual aspect, culture is defined as the residue of those what are learned, read and heard in the mind. As it contains the main content of the culture, it can be regarded as a holistic definition. In terms of the social aspect, culture contains cultural institutions like language, religion, economy, politics, art, and folklore (Güngör, 1991, p. 51-52).

Hilmi Ziya Ülken -one another eminent sociologist in that period- (2002) objects that culture is national and civilization is international and that the science and technology are the basic units forming the civilization. The process and perspective developed with Gökalp and then Fındıkoğlu changed with Ülken. On the contrary of Gökalp, Ülken finds it unnecessary to separate culture and civilization from one another. Because it is a mistake to consider that substance and its shape, and essence and its form are different. He states that the culture has an active and dynamic way of creating and that civilization is the culture getting a shape and becoming static. Culture and technics are not different.

According to Nurettin Topçu (2004), culture and civilization are mixed in our country and therefore, Western imitation became a part of Turkish modernization. Although initially he seems to separate the culture and civilization -within the frame of culture being moral and civilization technical-, he considers the civilization as a part of the culture and the civilization only appears with a cultural creation and therefore both are a national component. In that sense, he regards the point where culture and civilization are separated as the imitation of West.

Cemil Meriç believes that the word culture has no sense and it is a reflection of the ugly face of the West. The concept of culture is not a moral and philosophic humanism but actually, the structure of the counter culture lacking the deepness and meaning created by Hippie culture.

"I know no concept more unreliable than the culture. You cannot evaluate because it has endless components; you cannot describe because it does not stay as it is. When you try to determine its meaning with the words, it is like holding the air; the air is everywhere but your hands are empty. Culture is one of the words demonstrating the thought misery of the West; it is unreliable, dark and insincere. From agriculture, exercise and fishery to the civilization -all that come to your mind, or not-, it is dozens of meanings" (Meriç, 1985, p. 9).

Culture makes an emphasis on the wildlife in the modern world rather than the teaching where a human tries to comprehend and feel himself, the society, history and the universe. According to Meriç, it is the scarf of the homo-economicus trying to hide its bloody conquests. His main emphasis is on the 'wisdom'. Wisdom is the sum of the features what makes human a human, a door opening to maturity, science crowned with the deed, both faith and decency. Wisdom does not separate as religious and earthly, that is to say, it accepts no disintegration, just like any whole. Wisdom is a word covering all types of thinking. Wisdom does not separate but unites; it is just like a garden where grudge becomes silent, walls are demolished and disagreements come to an end. Wisdom begins with knowing yourself, and knowing yourself is getting rid of the slavery of the prejudices (Meriç, 1985, p. 11).

He took wisdom -which is a philosophy, lifestyle, moral teaching- as a basis and tried to create his own world and philosophy. Culture - as always- is a work of the West creating the other. In the West, it is always 'them and us'; 'us' is a lie based on the interest; it is empty and far from a meaning.

"Culture is different for a German and different for a French. Sometimes it is the social life, sometimes a cluster of habits, a review of acquired skills. So, culture is a concept made up by the Europe. This word entered into our language through two different sources: French and American English. In French, culture is almost the equivalence of 'wisdom' in Turkish; while it is the civilization of the culture in American English. With the influence of Tylor and anthropology, culture is more likely to be regarded as the civilization" (Meriç, 1985, p.15-17).

Yılmaz Özakpınar states that each society has a culture; however, what composes a civilization is the process of human being noticing that human mind is a source of opportunities. Civilization shows up in societies where people design their mind and existence by going out of the limits of their own mind, giving a meaning to their life, making rational interpretations regarding the life and determining their objective of life with their own mind activities.

"Any work created within nature and social life is culture. Works of culture fulfill the necessities of the life while reflecting the order of faith and morality of the civilization that they come into existence" (Özakpınar, 1999, p. 51).

The concept of the culture had various descriptions throughout the history and now its content and the process where the concept of the culture is formed has changed. Likewise, the content of the civilization has lost its depth in the globalization era when 'the world became a global village'.

2. Culture and Civilization Distinction in Ziya Gökalp and Erol Güngör

2.1. Culture and Civilization Distinction in Ziya Gökalp

Ziya Gökalp is one of the leading figures in the development of sociology as a scientific activity in Turkey. The conceptual framework he adopted for social incidents is still in the focus of the sociological problems of both the sociology and the country. The culture and civilization distinction of Gökalp is one of those fundamental concepts. This

conceptualization -used to direct the Turkish modernization- has changed when compared to Gökalp's period; however, it is still worth studying as a modernization issue.

The Ottoman Empire entered into the period of regression with the Karlowitz Treaty and began to feel the power of the Europe much stronger. Social and economic developments in Europe like the French Revolution and Industrial Revolution showed their influence on the Ottoman and all those processes became the end of the Ottoman while foreshadowing the new Turkey. The collapse of the Ottoman was attached to the incomprehension of the developments in the West and the issue of Westernization was regarded as the fundamental condition for a social transformation. Apart from the regression period in the Ottoman, the main objective became being like the West. While some stated that a complete Westernization move -in a cultural and technological sense- should be made, some like Gökalp stated that the scientific and technological development could be acquired preserving the culture. It can be considered as a discussion on what the new Turkey skeleton would be built within the scope of culture and civilization concepts. Many figures expressed that a transformation in the civilization is compulsory; however, in which direction should the cultural transformation be and how the social base would react it was regarded as problems. Taking the religious and cultural sensitivities of the social base into consideration, it can be seen that a distinction is made between the culture and civilization concepts. Gökalp's ideas were based on entering into western civilization by preserving the social structure.

Under the historical conditions, Gökalp was aware of the power of Western civilization just like other intellectuals. Thus, the salvation was in entering into this civilization. He systematized the distinction between culture and civilization as a product of such period and prepared the intellectual background for Turkish society entering into western civilization.

This idea (1996) demonstrates itself in Turkization-Islamization and Modernization systematic. Namely, an inception was applied to the society where a civilization can be changed preserving both national and religious values. This approach would prevent the adverse reaction and prejudice from the society against the transformation.

Ziya Gökalp -the founder of Turkish Sociology- was the person who discussed and built the culture and civilization concepts systematically in Turkish Sociology. Gökalp uses 'Hars' which is the synonym of culture in Turkish, instead of 'kültür' (culture). Because 'Culture' has two meanings in French, which are 'hars' (culture) and 'tezhip' (illumination). *Hars* is the folk culture, containing the whole social life; besides, it is democratic and national. *Tezhip*, on the other hand, is peculiar to the intellectual with high education, it is aristocratic and international. An individual values only the *hars* of its own nation; however, if that person has *tezhip*, then he would like the *hars* of another nation and try to enjoy it (Gökalp, 1995, p. 106-107).

Stating that the concept of culture has two dimensions as *hars* and *tezhip*, Gökalp separates *hars* from civilization. He sees both similarities and differences between *hars* and civilization. The similarity is both contain the whole of the social life as religious, moral, judicial, intellectual, economic, linguistic and scientific. There are only a few points where *hars* and civilization are separated. First, *hars* is national while civilization is international. There are separate French *hars*, British *hars*, and German *hars*; however there is a common western civilization among these nations. Secondly, although the civilization is the whole of the social life arising methodologically with the individual will, *hars* does not appear neither with a method nor with an individual will. Another difference is *hars* is composed of feelings while civilization is of knowledge. The fourth difference is civilization can be acquired by other nations with imitation but *hars* cannot be imitated. Last difference is while a nation can change its civilization, it cannot change its *hars* (Gökalp, 1995a, p. 35-37).

Gökalp (1995b) describes the civilization as "a common review of the social life of several nations in the same prosper.", and he adds that "There is a common Western civilization among the European nations. There are a British *hars*, a French *hars*, and a German *hars* all different and unique in this civilization. Although *hars* is national, civilization is international".

While stating that *hars* is composed of feelings, civilization is composed of intelligence, technics, and knowledge. Although a nation cannot imitate the feelings of one another nation, they can imitate and make use of the technic and the knowledge; and therefore, they will be able to change the civilization as much as needed.

Uriel Heyd (2001) claims that culture and civilization distinction of Gökalp does not exist in French sociology, especially in Durkheim. Durkheim deals with the two concepts as the same fact within the civilization concept. However, there is a distinction between culture and civilization concepts in German sociology. Tönnies -one of the pessimistic figures especially in the modernization process- states that the culture and civilization concepts lie under the community and society distinction. As a romantic just like Gökalp, Tönnies reframes his theory based on the community-culture concept.

According to Gökalp (1995b), *hars* has a national feature; *hars* -namely culture- is unique to nations and cannot be imported. In the first societies, religion was the most significant social structure and according to Gökalp, religion is national and lays the basis for the *hars*. In the primitive societies, civilization is only a magic. Because magic is national, namely, it is a belief open to everyone. *Hars* being national and civilization international -the essence of the distinction between *hars* and civilization- demonstrates itself in the distinction between religion and magic in the primitive societies. Furthermore, religion serves to no interest while magic was made for interest. Thus, Gökalp states that all idealist components forming *hars* are of religion, and all technical components forming civilization are from magic.

According to Gökalp, the development of *hars* in a society brings the development of a civilization. Or, if *hars* is not developing along with the civilization, then that culture is doomed to disappear.

Gökalp explains it with some cases where he claims that the Egyptian civilization was defeated since their *hars* was spoiled while their civilization was advancing. Iran and Greece are cases to this explanation as they became superior thanks to their strong *hars* and staying away from civilization. İbn-i Haldun also shares a similar vision; he separates the states into some periods. He claims that in the one of those periods -which will also be their last period-, those who have a weak solidarity and ideal will be destroyed and replaced by a tribe with stronger solidarity and ideal.

Gökalp tried to demonstrate that a tribe with a stronger *hars* would triumph over a tribe that is civilized in moral and political terms.

2.2. Culture and Civilization Distinction in Erol Güngör

Erol Güngör explains the culture and civilization distinction as an effort to find scientific evidence about how to direct the social life, rather than a sociological analysis. Furthermore, while elaborating on the cultural change, he focused on the influence of the technological developments in the culture. Güngör addressed the culture-civilization distinction to shape the new Turkey and draw a road map, rather than a sociological or anthropological case.

Güngör claims that the culture and civilization distinction is still not clear since the topic is addressed with no scientific criteria but personal desires (Güngör, 1986a, p. 9).

Analyzing initially Gökalp and the developments in the afterward, Güngör makes an emphasis on the ambiguous parts of the culture-civilization distinction. Güngör believes that a practical problem lies under the foundations of Gökalp's opinion on culture and civilization distinction. And he asks whether we would adopt the social and cultural values of the Western world while following their progress in civilization. Stating that this would lead to extraordinary struggles, Güngör claims that a person who has no deep-rooted habit could easily adapt it; however, it would mean to murder if someone at the age of forty with a well-established character is forced to adapt. Because, in the event of accepting this change process, a completely new person appears and his old character will just disappear. Güngör states that this was the dead-end which Turkish intellectuals always confronted during Gökalp period. He believes that while desiring to own the civilized mediums establishing the financial superiority of the Western world, we could not stay away from cultural values, faith, and philosophy of the same world (Güngör, 1986a, p. 15).

Güngör mentions about the missing information in Gökalp's systematization besides the contradictions due to creating solutions according to the needs of the day. Referring to the religion fact in Gökalp's formula, he claims that the same fact is a cultural component in another civilization. Güngör states that the fact of religion is counted within the civilization as it is not invented by the Turkish; however, it is counted among the cultural components since the Turkish adopted it in their way. Güngör asks then why the Turkish people deserted their old religion and accepted the Islam. Gökalp replied as below: "Because the Turkish accepted the Islamic and the Eastern civilization, and a civilization can be accepted only as a whole. But this brings another problem. If we should adopt the Western civilization as a whole, then doesn't it include the Christianity?" (Gökalp, 1995, p. 11-13).

Güngör emphasizes the complexity of the culture concept and that it will have a value-judgment in all cases and adds that the culture concept can still be analyzed by eliminating absolutely wrong parts. Güngör states that the culture in social sciences is the manner and tools tried to solve the crucial problems in a social life and which have become a standard in the long term. Moreover, the lifestyle adopted to meet the needs of a society forms the culture of that structure with all material and non-material components (Güngör, 1986a, p. 19).

Güngör (1984) claims that there is neither a certainty nor an agreement on the definition and analysis of the civilization concept as on the culture concept. He states that the civilization theory of Gökalp is a first and is adopted by many Western scientists. In Gökalp systematization, civilization is passed through intercultural learning and it is the name of the common components passing this way. According to Güngör, civilization is the association of the similar or the same nations; culture, on the other hand, represents the sides separating them from one another. Although Güngör mentions some difficulties in this separation, he also states that he takes this definition as a basis.

Güngör explains that the discussion on the culture and civilization started when the Ottoman Empire was destroyed by the Western countries or when the Ottoman civilization was defeated by the Western civilization and that the same discussion in that period still continues as a hot topic since this defeat and destruction still continues. Even as he states that the ideas claimed by the Turkish intellectuals should be considered within the historical conditions, he tries to demonstrate that state of depression that the Ottoman society was in. Within the context of the culture and civilization discussions, Güngör studies the explanations by Gökalp on Eastern and Western civilization and the dualities in social structure and puts forward his own analysis on them.

Gökalp believes that the Ottoman intellectuals are representatives of the Eastern civilization while the society is of traditional national culture. These intellectuals speak a language called Ottoman, which is a made-up language different from Turkish; the only language appearing naturally is the Turkish spoken only by the society. The poems of the

Ottoman poets are created by imitating the Persians and they lack inspiration and creativity. The Ottoman music, too, is only a science passed from the Byzantine to the Arabians and then to the Ottoman; however, the Turkish folk music is composed of sincere epistles created by the people themselves. This duality is observed between savants of the society and the Ottoman; the savants of the Ottoman became savant with a rank given by the Padishah and therefore, they were ignorant people with no knowledge. The real knowledge was seen within the society. Even the ignorants of the society were superior to the Ottoman savants. Political and military successes achieved by the Ottoman Empire, as well, were thanks to ignorant and illiterate admirals. Turkish stereotype and Ottoman stereotype are that opposite. But why all about Turkish stereotype is good and Ottoman stereotype are bad? Because the Ottoman stereotype embarked on the imperialism -which was dangerous to Turkish culture and lifestyle- and became cosmopolite, valuing the class interest over the national interest. While analyzing these ideas from "The Principles of Turkization" from Gökalp, Güngör interprets it as the result of a psychological depression of the young man who just arrived in Istanbul from Anatolia for studies (Güngör, 1986a, p .41). Güngör claims that Gökalp has these ideas because he is ignorant about the Ottoman history. Güngör indicates that it is impossible that cosmopolitan and ignorant people rule a great state for hundreds of years and that making it by using the Turkish society as servants.

Anthropologist Linton expresses that the cultures are deeply tangled with one another and Güngör states that the ideas of Linton on culture and civilization could be a trace in the analysis of the concepts. What Linton claims for American culture is actually valid for all cultures. Especially the nations with the same civilization are constantly exchanging cultures. Stating that this exchange brings vitality to national societies, as well as to the civilizations, Güngör asks whether a culture still contains national components while containing so many foreign components.

Gökalp tried to explain the national culture only with original aspects that is to say with local factors; however, he indicated that the common parts with foreign culture are civilization. As Gökalp sees that reality of the national cultures besides the civilization, and therefore promotes the impossibility of having both a national culture and a common civilization, Güngör considers his idea as a great step. However, Güngör also states that the first and great sociologist has some certain contradictions since Gökalp did not make a sound explanation within the context of an appropriate knowledge about the circumstances of the time. Güngör believes that Gökalp missed the incessant continuity of the culture and civilization and at some occasions he even regarded them as dialectical oppositions.

Güngör says that Mümtaz Turhan fills this gap in our country and E. Sapir in the West. These two figures maintain that culture and civilization are no different facts. National cultures are only various scenes of the civilizations. The common civilization components, which are the subjects of international exchanges, gain identities unique to themselves within the circumstances of each nation and thus, each nation adopts the civilization in their way (Güngör, 1986b, p. 77). What we call as culture is how the civilization is comprehended in the societies or how it is adopted by them.

According to Güngör, it is just like among the individuals/groups of the same culture, the values of that culture are not adopted exactly the same way. So as the components of the same civilization gain different shapes and features in different societies. Güngör makes analysis of another perspective on the culture and civilization distinction as below;

He states that one of the main differences between the culture and civilization is the same as the difference between target and medium, and that the scientists who agree on this idea, believe that the civilization is all of the mediums to attain social targets. In that sense, the works produced in technological level belong to the civilization. Cultural components, on the other hand, are what the targets are. Social organization systems, technics and all

mediums created by people to control the life serve to the service of meeting our needs. Güngör objects to this definition of the civilization saying that the term technology should be used instead; however, he also separates the cultural components created as targets by the people themselves and the mediums revealing these components (Güngör, 1986b, p. 97).

Güngör says that even today we are not aware that the technological civilization develops according to a different system from culture, and we think that the technological development and cultural development would go hand in hand. This mistake leads us to use the same measures for the technological developments as applied in culture, causing a pointless old-new conflict. The old and new in the culture is not equal to old and new either in technology or civilization. Stating that civilization has always had one direction going forward, Güngör claims that old and new qualifications in the cultural area are far from objectivity. These terms demonstrate only the time difference between two things. Besides, Güngör also says that the change of works of culture within time does not always have a direction going forward. One can never say whether Aşık İzzet is a better poet than Karacaoğlu or Atilla İlhan than Nedim. Whereas the technological or civilization developments were always better than their predecessors (Güngör, 1986b, p. 116).

3. Conclusion and Evaluation

The discussion, as the outlook of the modernization adventure starting in late Ottoman and still continuing and revolving around the concepts of culture and civilization, actually targets building cultural and identity foundations of the renewing social structure. Under the influence of some systematical problems like the rise of the West, ethnical differentiations, the transition from *ummah* to a nation and more, Gökâlîp -the prominent figure in the revolution and foundation period- developed a theory on the concepts of culture and civilization. In the second half of the Republic -when just started to stand on its feet-, the concepts of culture and civilization were addressed in different ways. In this period, Güngör emphasized the inevitable relation between the technological development and cultural change and tried to demonstrate the engagement between the concepts of culture and civilization.

In post-1980, with the change in the economic policy in our country just like everywhere else in the world, the concepts of culture and civilization got far from a conceptual system explaining the social. The facts of culture and civilization became a stereotype structure before the technology with the extraordinary growth of communication technology, neoliberal politics, and international relations.

Today, we can talk about a religion centered and conflict oriented civilization setup. "Clash of Civilization" from Huntington is a popular product of this perspective. It is claimed that the societies in the 21st century are separated in a religion-centric way and that the new world order setup will be originated from this separation. Although the recent conflicts are not directly originating from the religion itself, there are many conflicts where the religion is taken as the basis. Similarly, there is a significant alliance claiming that Turkey has not yet entered into EU due to the difference in religion.

Globalization is one another current fact putting a light on the transformation of the culture and civilization concepts. Globalization is turning the world into a global village, and the consumption patterns, organizations, and groups in this 'village' are quite similar. Globalization has a structure stereotyping all of the social groups within the frame of consumption. There is a 'stereotype' in many areas from food to clothing, from entertainment to relaxation. The mobilization increasing with advanced transport and communication

opportunities decreases the cultural connection and creates a platform for a cosmopolite understanding.

The globalizing world strains anything national and turns them into a universal norm or destroys them. Because national cultures, national religion, national economy is the greatest obstacle before the globalizing world. The globalization is based on turning the whole world into a single market and making as much of use as possible.

It is claimed that the globalization will lead to a dedifferentiation in the lifestyles and destroy the national cultures by eroding them, that a new 'world culture' will appear on the basis of the 'high values' of these cultures, and that this culture will be the guarantee for the world peace.

The globalization fact injects new values to the society via media and mass communication tools while it creates a fake reality about values offered are the right, the livable and the meaningful. The new system introduced by the globalization process today is nothing but building a civilization. The civilized values of the global world demonstrate themselves in the expression "I consume, therefore I exist".

While mass communication tools and media keep the society away from thinking, producing and acting, the agents of the globalization assume the cultural values that have to be developed by the individuals and social structure, and they promote consuming and destroying, not sustaining and enriching.

Although the discussions on the culture and civilization are not as effective as in the first period of the Republic, they put light on a period of Turkish modernization. While the Turkish modernization has entered into the most painful and effective period with the economic and political developments especially in post 1980, although the concepts of culture and civilization change form under the international influences like European Union projects, new civilization envisions, neoliberal policies and globalization, identity and cultural facts will remain as the essences of the problem.

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Spatial and Cultural Results of Neoliberal Policies: New Discipline Spaces and Production of New Cultural Identities

Aysun Aydin-Oksuz, Zafer Sagdic

1. Introduction

Widespread adoption of prisons in Western societies in the nineteenth century indicates a very important transition period in power domains. In terms of punishment, imprisonment took place of public executions, torture, or other “shows”. A “double change process” was experienced. Demonstrations disappeared and deprivation of freedom and reformatory discipline superseded agonizing.

That transition initiated to change the spatial equivalent of discipline concept. The term discipline began to be identified with the words closure/abstraction/confidential. Discipline in front of the society was abstracted from the society and turned into surveillance form. Being under surveillance became a natural part of discipline. Becoming aware of the fact that surveillance was one of the most important instruments of discipline, made disciplinary actions a part of daily life. Discipline now no more a punishment action after crime but began to turn into “docile bodies” as described by Foucault (2015), or a type of social taming.

Another input of social and individual discipline is economy, which is one of the most effective areas on architecture course and activities in modern world. The metaphor “invisible hand” created by Adam Smith¹ (2006), one of the leading economists of 18th century, suggests the question “which products” are produced “how” and “for whom”, and although this metaphor and related question may be regarded as one of the fundamental principles of economy, it also has great importance for architecture. Adam Smith suggested that “an invisible hand” instead of the state should carry out the economic activities.

The metaphor of “invisible hand” in economy policies and “docile bodies” metaphor in individual discipline identify how today’s architecture field is instrumented and how new discipline spaces are produced. These discipline spaces are not places used after crimes as it may seem but on the contrary, they are basic/essential and in demand spaces for modern world’s social and individual lives.

In this scope, the purpose of hereby study is to bring a critical view point to how residence blocks, high-rise office buildings and shopping mall spaces, that may be seem as today’s physical equivalent of discipline concept, have been normalized; how they have become a part of daily life without being noticed, how they have become objects of preference and how these new covered/hidden discipline spaces produce global single cultural code. At this point, first defining neoliberalism-power-discipline concepts, and then revealing the network of their relations will provide a more sound ground for the study.

2. Neoliberalism-Power-Discipline

Neoliberal policies started to accelerate in 1980s and lead to political and social regulations and transformations starting from economic fundamental. Neoliberalism emerged upon the failure of the current economic policies of the time to find solution for the financial crises experienced in the second half of the 1970s, is derived from classical liberalism of the 17th century. For this reason, it is necessary to mention liberalism concept to evaluate the concept of neoliberalism in a correct way.

Liberalism is relatively new compared to other many concepts used in political theory. Although it is a European-origin and Spanish-originated word, it originally comes from Latin

language. Apart from being an ideology or a financial policy, neoliberalism is primarily “rationality” anticipating the construction of the attitudes of the ruled via the ruling. On the other hand, Foucault’s definition gives that rationality an administrative structure since it includes the application to administration instruments for the purpose of directing the individuals’ preferences as to reach some desired objectives. In this case, it will be accurate to define neoliberalism as rationality (Dardot & Laval, 2012). It affects the attitudes of the subjects by constructing and re-transforming each area in the society in order to re-produce the system. The concept of power, thus, has experienced a breakage in the new era and recovered from its oppressive and disciplinary characteristics and adopted a more regulating and transforming mission. The power, becoming productive, has infiltrated into every single point of the society and produces the subject as integrated to the system. The subject, being included into the system in this way, positions itself as a part of the order and begins to consent to hegemony (Akkuş, 2015).

Neoliberalism, re-positioning the state, targets to configure the individuals by favor of the rulers. During that configuration, the ruling power integrates the subject into the system by catching it in every area with a rather regulating and transforming mission than an oppressive and disciplinary one. The subjects adopting the inter-subject meanings of the current power in this way, are articulated by accepting that they have become parts of the system on their consent. The purpose here is to make the subjects re-produce the system by adopting and indigenizing it by re-constructing the subject and its preferences instead of taking the subject under control in an oppressive way.

Neoliberals, criticizing the modern liberalism’s making the individuals weak against the state, have adopted the founding principles with the welfare of the nations concept of Adam Smith. Adam Smith suggested that the economic activity in the market should be controlled by an “invisible hand” instead of the state (URL-1).

Smith’s economic metaphor “invisible hand” is a key point for this study, since this invisible hand mentioned by Smith causes to view the traditional power-discipline models in a critical way. While traditional power-discipline is framed upon “not to do” and “prohibiting” concepts, the invisible hand of the neoliberal economic idea takes the individual under discipline via “you should do” concept (Foucault, 2005).

According to Foucault, as a power model invented in the 18th century, the center of the governmentality, functioning as a triangle between “sovereignty, discipline and administrative will”, is the “subjectivity” concept. The main strategy and technique of neoliberal governmentality is to “construct others’ possible action area” (Coşkun, 2016). Foucault states that the understanding that the power basically is the rules, laws and prohibiting and defines the borders between the allowed and the prohibited is generally accepted but this should be criticized and questioned. And he makes this questioning by asking “why we always design the power as law and prohibition?” (Foucault, 2003).

When this question of Foucault and Smith’s invisible hand concepts are combined, we can accept that this exactly responds to today’s Neoliberal economic policies framing that in today’s world basic power over the individual as “you should do” instead of hidden “not do”, not as the law maker on the legal ones.

At this point, the question is what type of discipline mechanism does the new power model processing “should do” instead of “do not” use? The discipline mechanism of the new world is constructed upon dependency.

The main discipline instrument of the modern world is to make dependent. How does this new dependent discipline model created by neoliberalism shape in the architecture field? In this model where the dependency of each and any object can be created, architecture can be objectified and becomes a discipline instrument object that can be sold, consumed and even becoming addictive to.

3. New Discipline Spaces: Residences-Shopping Malls-High-Rise Office Buildings

3.1. Residences

One of the most important features of Neoliberal discipline is that it makes the individual to act as different economic input models in his private life, family relations, business life, social activities, hobbies and friendship relations instead of being a single subject. That is both the reason and result of the division and fracture of each action of Neoliberal subject within different discipline patterns. In this scope, as a result of the individual's each action encountering new discipline pattern, different discipline areas emerge in his spatial needs as well. Thanks to the new invisible power method whose purpose is definitely not to prohibit anything but instead, promoting and directing to dependency, the architecture has produced new discipline spaces of its own.

The actions of living – shopping - working have begun to elude from their individual free frame and meaning. The meaning of “residence”, where the individual should psychologically feel free utmost, has lost its meaning and it is now shaped by seeking the answers of the questions such as “where”, “how many floors” or “responding which needs”. Residences have evolved into daily expensive objectives. The meaning of residence has turned into a way of public acclaim instead of individual freedom and necessary to be showed off instead of keeping private.

Residences, one of the basic elements of the urban life, have become the most distinctive reflections of individuals changing through years and thus, of their life styles in the cities. The word “residence”, dictionary meaning of dwelling and house, has given its name to a new dwelling pattern recently emerging in metropolitan cities, now reflecting different meanings. The word “residence” is defined as the dwelling and palace type dwellings for high governmental officers, ambassadors, etc. in Turkish Language Association, but the dictionary meaning and today's common use of this word does not coincide with each other (Alkan, 2014). Today's common understanding of residences generally indicate high-rise dwelling blocks having common social, sport and recreation areas, and fully equipped internal materials, and any features that make the residents feel privileged, such as, primarily security, and reception, daily cleaning, dry cleaning, laundry, shopping services and individual car parking opportunities (Yüksel & Akbulut, 2009).

In the economic change process experienced in scope of neoliberal policies, with the increasing polarization between the poor and the rich, the need of individuals to live among their similar has emerged (Özkan Töre and Kozaman Som, 2009). Although residences have become very popular recently, they bring some problems for urban life and for individuals. The limiting the spaces separated for collective use in these closed habitations with private ownership, causes spatial discrimination. This discrimination limits the enter – exit times of the space in framework of pre-defined rules. The fact that people can meet their needs without going out of their residences hinders social interaction (Özkan Töre & Kozaman Som, 2009). The demand for living in a secure place derives from the need of living with others socio-culturally similar to oneself, and this leads to the formation of “others” and “other spaces”. Whatever is the cause, these limitations result in social and spatial disintegration and reshape these places into somewhere “cannot be gone out” for up-level income group while somewhere “cannot be entered into” (Özkan Töre & Kozaman Som, 2009). The residential areas that cannot be entered or gone out for all different communities create their own discipline network being demanded. This covered discipline network can be seen in the sales mottos of the residence projects. Some of these mottos are;

- A project designed for the ones seeking for perfection in each aspect of life and having a life-long prestige.
- This is the world of privileges... And we are here by your side to meet any of your needs and to provide you a better life.
- We would like to complete any missing points for a happier life by shaping your dream life with all comfort and security features.
- Privileged life of a top-line life (Alkan, 2014).

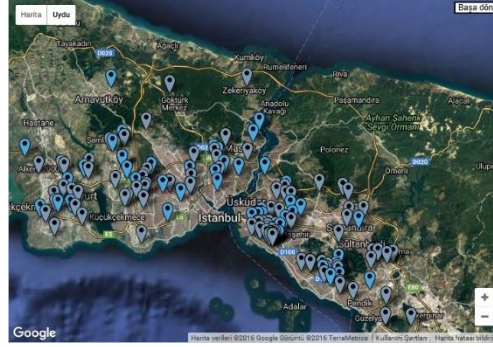


Figure 1. Ongoing housing projects in Istanbul (URL-2).



Figure 2. An advertisement example of high-rise residence blocks (URL-3).



Figure 3. Advertisement example for a high-rise residence blocks (URL-4).



Figure 4. Advertisement example for a high-rise residence blocks life style (URL-5).

3.2. Shopping Malls

The developments providing the ground for the emergence of the shopping malls can be listed as; industrialization, improvements in the technology, location of dwelling and employment spaces towards the outside of city centers, increasing trade potential, developing transportation substructures, increasing use of motor vehicles and advancing life standards. Shopping malls first emerging in the 1950s, have rapidly spread to the Europe and other continents and taken their current shapes by experiencing formal and functional changes through time (Kademoğlu, 2011).

In the modern world, shopping malls where the shopping activity earns an identity with its spatial dimension, are the complex structures designed, planned and managed from a central unit and including reseller shops and various service entities. These complexes including commercial operation types and different volumes of sale departments are constructed to serve for the consumers with a specific area (Cengiz and Özden, 2002).

According to Beddington (1991) shopping malls are the spaces where luxurious materials and functional elements are used, providing security, comfort and circulation advantages and having proper spaces to evaluate free time. The definition of shopping mall by Beddington clearly indicates the modern discipline space examined in the study. The space providing security, safety, comfort and opportunity of spending free time, basically disciplines the individual. Smith's "invisible hand" and Foucault's "domicile bodies" exactly emerge at this point. With invisible hand, an only-brand-based shopping activity is performed rather than object-oriented. With domicile bodies, as a result of the fearful scenarios created for open shopping places, in other words bazaars of the city, people walk around and sit within the shopping malls all day in a domicile manner. Thus, individuals are surrounded with invisible discipline instruments and spaces created by the modern world.



Figure 5. Shopping – individual (URL-6)

Lulea from Switzerland designed by Ralph Erksin in 1955 and Southdale from the United States designed by Victor Gruen in 1956 can be given as the first examples of shopping malls in the world (Coleman, 2007).

For Turkey, the closest, and the most important breaking point regarding today's social and economic developments is post-1980 liberal market economies. Overseas expansion policy in economy after the changing market shares and competition in the 1980s increased the attention towards imported goods and this lead to the need of shopping spaces where these imported goods and their competitive local products can be found together. The

first shopping mall in Turkey is Atakoy Galeria Shopping Mall opened in Bakirkoy, Istanbul in 1988. Primarily in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, the investments limited by three metropolitan cities, has spread across Turkey and Anatolian cities today.

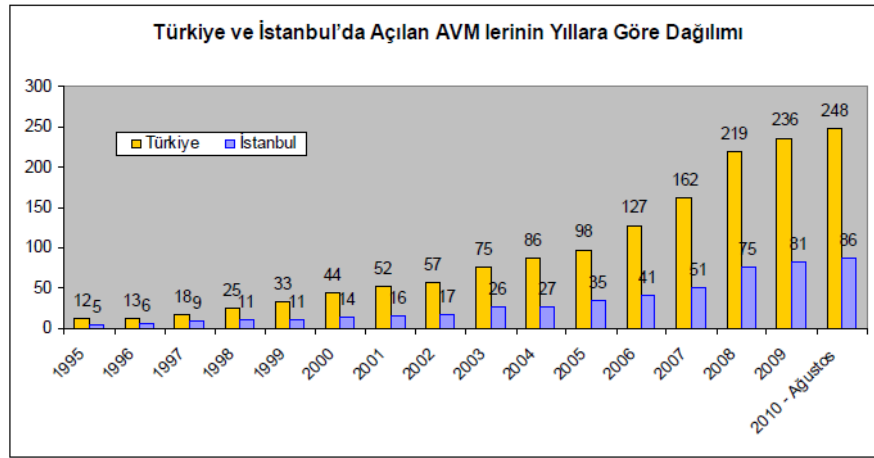


Figure-6. Shopping Malls in Istanbul (Yıldırım, 2010)

3.3. Office Blocks – Plaza

Turkey experienced a fundamental change after 1980 in terms of the policies in the economy. As a result of economic policy shaped towards providing function to the liberal market conditions, foreign companies started to invest in Turkey, especially in Istanbul and open branch offices. With this regard, post-1980 change in Istanbul can be related with the globalization concept. The desire to create attractive and capital-oriented spaces resulted in decrease in the attention for old central business spaces that cannot respond to new spatial formations and lead to new central business spaces.

While the Neoliberal policies produce shining, desired business spaces for the individuals, they have also started to imprison and keep the individual under continuous surveillance in those spaces. Working individuals have been made to demand for working in high-rise office blocks, in other words plazas, and this demand has resulted in individual's being under constant surveillance and supervision. The activity of working has been taken under a strict discipline and guard together with that produced and demanded space.



Figure-7. Office Blocks Interior Design Example (URL-7)

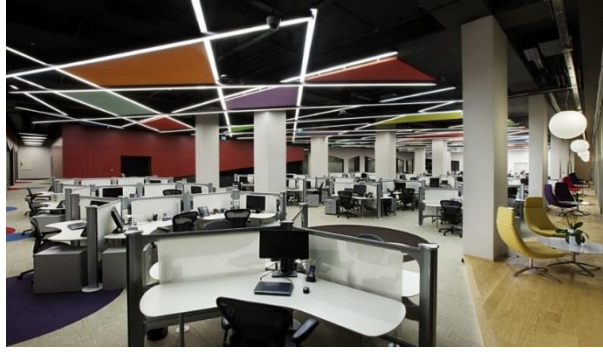


Figure-8. Office Blocks Interior Design Example (URL-8)

4. Conclusion

Neoliberalism does not structure how the laws and rules in a society should be created and how this society will be governed, but on the contrary, it builds the ruling power in a hidden but in a more strict and unbreakable way by depending on “you should do” principles. Neoliberal policies directly intervenes in the daily life by imposing a “truth law” which must be recognized by the individual and others as well, in which it categorizes the individuals, defining them with their individualism, and attaching to their identity. Neoliberal subject is mainly divided into two; as consumer and producer subjects. This is the first transformation brought by the neoliberalism. In this regard, the field of architecture has been one of the most affected areas from the invisible hand of neoliberalism. Architecture has begun to be structured in a way being sold, purchased, constantly changed, and consistently demanded. As a result of that construction way, it can be stated that a discipline production is provided with the instrumentalisation of architecture. The invisible hand of the discipline can integrate into the basics of the society in this way and the most powerful discipline instrument of the ruling power is the real and tangible spaces where this invisible hand exists and demanded by domicile bodies.

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¹ Adam Smith is not only one of the founders of economy discipline but also one of the founders of other social sciences, because Smith was one of the first philosophers responding to the “order question” which is still an important question of social theory. Indeed, since Smith’s time up today, it can be stated that the answer to what is protecting the social internal cohesion in modern societies, which is the thesis of “unintended consequences of intentional human action” has not changed (Özel, 2009).

The Effect of the Internet on the Perception of the City: The Production of the Virtual Culture and the Alteration of Urban Reality

Aysun Aydin-Oksuz, Bahar Kucuk

1. Introduction

In conjunction with today's information technologies, entrance of the internet into the daily life has changed the way individuals communicate and provided people using the internet tools more frequent. The virtual world provided by the internet technology, is a new cultural virtual-reality world, in which users express themselves and keep in contact with the other users.

With the usage of the virtual communication programs in the portable equipments, users can share the cities they go as of "the moment" and every status shared can become a new cultural code for that city. It is possible to upload photographs and comment about the cities, which are visited. Thus it can be possible to have an idea and foresight about the cities, visited for the first time, as if they are visited and experienced.

The emerging developments of communication technologies affect the perception and definition of the city, too. Now with the web, the setup about a singular world and virtual cities come into existence. This virtual visibility of the city takes precedence over the physical experience and becomes perceivable with the internet tools.

So, it is possible to gain experience about a city without physical experience, as if it is seen. This situation generates a different sense of reality beyond the known and admitted definition of the real spatial culture. In other words, the city and the real cultural codes about the city, that are actually earthly, namely experienced with the physical senses, now find an expression just with a mental/intellectual definition of the reality.

In this regard the purpose of this study is to identify how the technological changes occurring in the field of communication affect the concepts of "urban reality", "perception of city", how it transforms them and how these concepts can be reconstructed and to search for the answers to the questions, which can be generated as a result of these questions, like how the new virtual cultural codes are formed.

In accordance with the examinations in point, in the study it will be discussed primarily what the internet and virtual media are and the new reality, that they have generated; thereafter it will be examined the city culture and what the new virtual cultural codes generated by the virtual media can be, and the problem about how these codes affect transforming the city.

2. Virtual-Reality New Virtual Cultural Codes

We are witnessing the internet left his mark on the last quarter of the past century and is described from a historical perspective as a third revolution –after agricultural and industrial revolutions- or with its more enhanced definition, rapid improvements in the fields of communication and computer technologies. In conjunction with these improvements, rapid and comprehensive effectiveness of the internet has moved it beyond a technological innovation. The internet has begun to be discussed as a field of politics, economy, culture and identity. Having globalizing influence of the internet through its technological properties, has caused it to be at the centre of the discussions about "globalization", "information age", "post-industrial society" (Güzel, 2006).

Rapidly emerging computer and digital mass media in conjunction with the second half of the 20th century has caused the concept of “place”, that is the space of daily life and experience. This growing rate of the technology has differentiated from the breakings of manufacturing types and means of production, which are experienced in the previous periods (Duygun, 2010).

The internet, unique by the means of getting beyond the limits, has rapidly succeeded to globalize the cultural field. This dominance of the internet in the cultural field has provided the construction of a global culture, that has become dominant and homogeneous at the same time, by making it possible to consist new ways of social and individual relationships, new identities, new cultural forms. So the internet, described as a revolution, have to be analyzed at the macro level as a new cultural, political and economical field beyond a universal ever-growing communication network, in which many computer systems are interconnected.

Virtuality, derived from Latin “virtualis” has been used for the things, which do not exist as a concept but are presupposed as delusions. “Virtual”, was determined by Turkish Language Association that “delusion” is its equal, is used for concepts, phenomena and spaces, which do not exist in reality. Origin is the term derived from the verb “presume”. So a virtual concept is not real nor existent. But it is still not the opposite of the real; namely fake or false (Duygun, 2010).

Starting from this, it can also not be thought that virtual reality is an unsubstantial life form. On the contrary the term has to be perceived as an environment, where endpoints of the real world touching each other over a virtual reality.

The concept “virtuality” gains a new meaning with the digital tools of 21st century. Therefore the relationship between virtual reality and physical reality has to be re-questioned within the context of the relationship between the individual and the city. Digital technology, also under the influence of digital tools of the mobile communication, can provide transition from stationary to mobile in today’s world. And in this situation, physical environments become tools for transition to virtual. Unlimited communication and information possibility in global terms, under the virtual reality creates an environment that influences the human. At this point the relationship between the individual and the city is examined in company with digital technologies and the new meaning, he make of virtuality.

According to Deleuze (2006), virtual is a potential situation that has the possibility to transform into reality. Within this context it can be thought virtuality and reality as parallel concepts rather than opponent that have potential to transform each other and fall within the same relationship pattern (Deleuze, 2006).

In this situation in order to understand virtuality it needs to be asked what reality is. According to Turkish Language Association, the definition of the concept “reality” is as follows: “straight, truth, realness” (URL-1, 2016). And in The Philosophical Terms Dictionary, that is said about the definition of the real: “1. Substance as opposed to the things, that are thought, designed, imagined. 2. The substance free from consciousness.” (Akarsu, 1975).

Slavoj Zizek (2002) defines the real: “The real is simultaneously both hard, impenetrable kernel resisting symbolization and a pure chimerical entity which has in itself no ontological consistency... The real is the rock upon which every attempt at symbolization stumbles, the hard core which remains the same in all possible worlds; but at the same time its status is thoroughly precarious; it is something that persists only as failed, missed in the shadow, and dissolves itself as soon as we try to grasp it in its positive nature!” (Zizek, 2002).

In bold outline we can define the virtual culture as the culture, generated as a result of the usage of the computer networks with various purposes like communication, entertainment, work. Although it is difficult to define the limits of virtual culture, generally it is referred to the cultural structure as a result of the activities, performed in the internet environment by the

individuals. With virtual culture, it is emphasized that it is a culture mediated by the computers, but not the culture, generated as a result of just the usage of the computer and internet technologies. In other words it is the community culture, generated by people, who have common interests and opinions, come together independently of the geography (Birsen et al., 2013).

The elements, nourishing the virtual culture are:

- blogs
- social networks
- games
- chat platforms
- argument platforms.

Gathering together with the people, who have common interests and ideas on these platforms, the individuals can communicate, exchange opinions on discussion platforms, play games for fun, shop, even construct a life in a virtual world, creating his own village. All of these activities provide the generation a new cultural structure, independent of the real world or intertwined (Birsen et al., 2013).

The hyper real world, we stated that now we live in as a result of the series of technological transformation, is a world that the environment and tool are out of their own reserved places; and transform continuously the way we understand and do, deeply attending all kinds of our experiences and practices. It is not the reality in the previous sense; it is the hyper reality or an enormous simulation, with that now we get in touch, when the borders between indirect and direct, fake or imaginary and real become blurred. Baudrillard (2005) defines the simulation: “A state that reality and representation intertwined indistinguishably. From now on we will not need a rational reality, because the “real” is not a position to overcome the ideal or negative processes. Now there is an operational reality. Actually this is not real, because it is deprived of the imaginarieness that will swathe it.” (Baudrillard, 2005).

Information is the result of the internalization process of the individual's own; the synthesis, generated in due course. It is commented freely in the context in mind and added meaning. Information of the city is its existence in mind; it generates urban memory, forms the opinion of city. In the age, that we state that information explosion has taken place, the perceptual border between the virtual experiences and direct experiences has blurred and indicators has given up representing certain realities, creating their own realities; it is the way and structure of the acquisition of knowledge of the cities, and so urban memories and the opinion of city, namely conception of city (Ojalvo, 2008).

Within global context cities, urbanity and urban life dissolve in the platforms intertwine; new urban realities, created in the platforms take precedence over the physical realities of the cities. While urban experiences, gained through the platforms, free from borders of the physical body and physical environment, become prominent in the sense of city; communication with cities undergoes change with the new ways of sight and thinking (Ojalvo, 2008).

Urbanity necessitates reaching specific places, functions, services and information, presented by cities only. In the information society part of these values, constructing urbanity dissolves in platforms, becomes accessible at any moment and while the difference between computer network and city becomes vague, urbanity and reaching the urban life now do not necessitates being physically in the city; the city simply goes into the pocket (Lerup, 2001).

The city in the pocket is personalized at the same time. The city or the system, consisted interwoven cities, can be carried on his body or in portable computer by the individual, sui generis from now on (Coates, 2003).

3. Cities in the Pocket

From a geographical viewpoint individuals' comments in direct proportion to experiences (memories) related to the city and relations can be defined as the sense of city (Hall, 2006; Czepezyński, 2008). In literature sense of city has been examined psychological, sociological and geographical aspects in a wide range, going back to neighborhood, urban and country scale (Jackson, 1994). When outdoors come into question, people's usage of this city, movements in these cities and the ways they comment this city considerably take place in the geographical studies (Warf, 2006). The streets, people spent their children, the places they were when they were at school age and they begun to work; different sounds, smells and images from different times reminds those people of the feelings about these places. So basis of the sense of city is relative depending on the people's experiences and memories.

Today's communication technologies confront us as a powerful factor that affects the sense of the city (Stern & Krakover, 1993; Meyrowitz, 1985). Texts and images, served via television, newspaper and internet, effect and direct the people's space perception (Latham et al., 2009). For example, the city centre image, composed of skyscrapers, used in the description of American cities; has become sort of their symbol (Picture-1).

The perception of an urban space, by its local inhabitants and "the others" is different for sure. But the representation and presentation of the city have importance for the people, who will have information about that city. In view of today's communication technology, outstanding images of a city mean a lot in the presence of those concerned of both local and global public opinion. So the effects of mass media on the structured perception of city are beyond the expectations (Keçeli & Sarıusta, 2013).

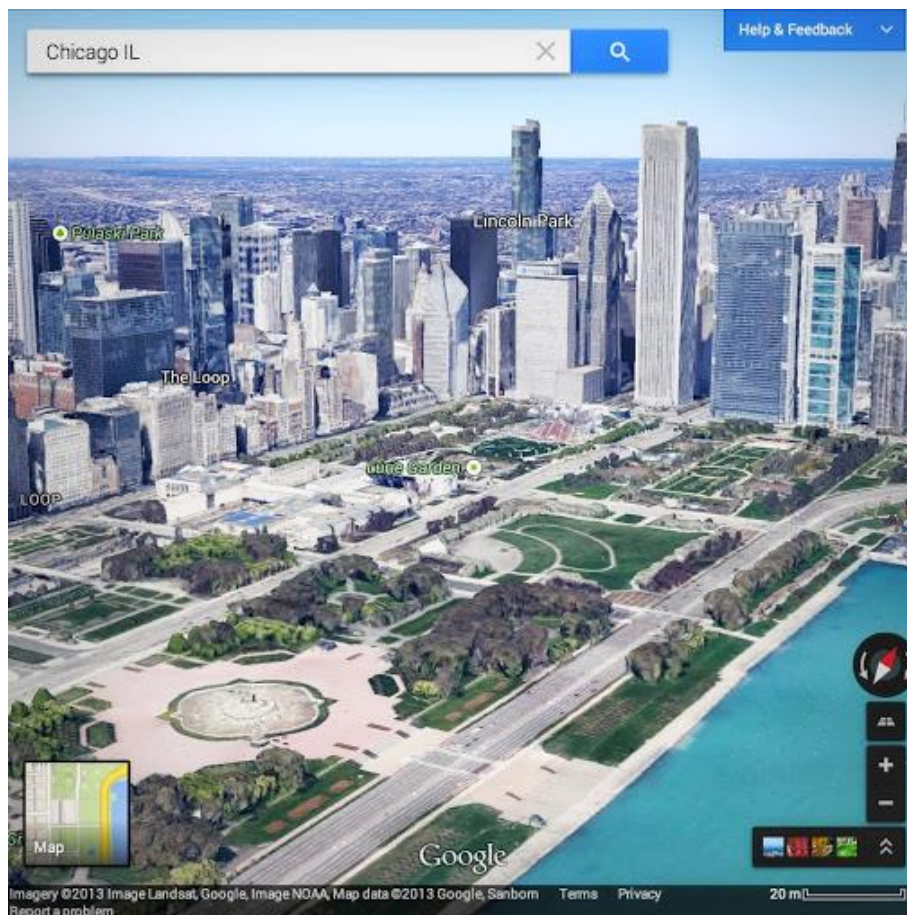


Figure 1. American City Image

According to the statement of Foursquare, there are over 700 thousand places in Turkey. Besides according to the last info, shared by popular social media, the most checked in country in the world is Turkey, after the USA.

The map, created by a software company “Mekansal”, reveals in which regions Foursquare more popular is. The intensity map, on that located over 700 thousand places, is shown to users in two different themes (URL-2, 2016).

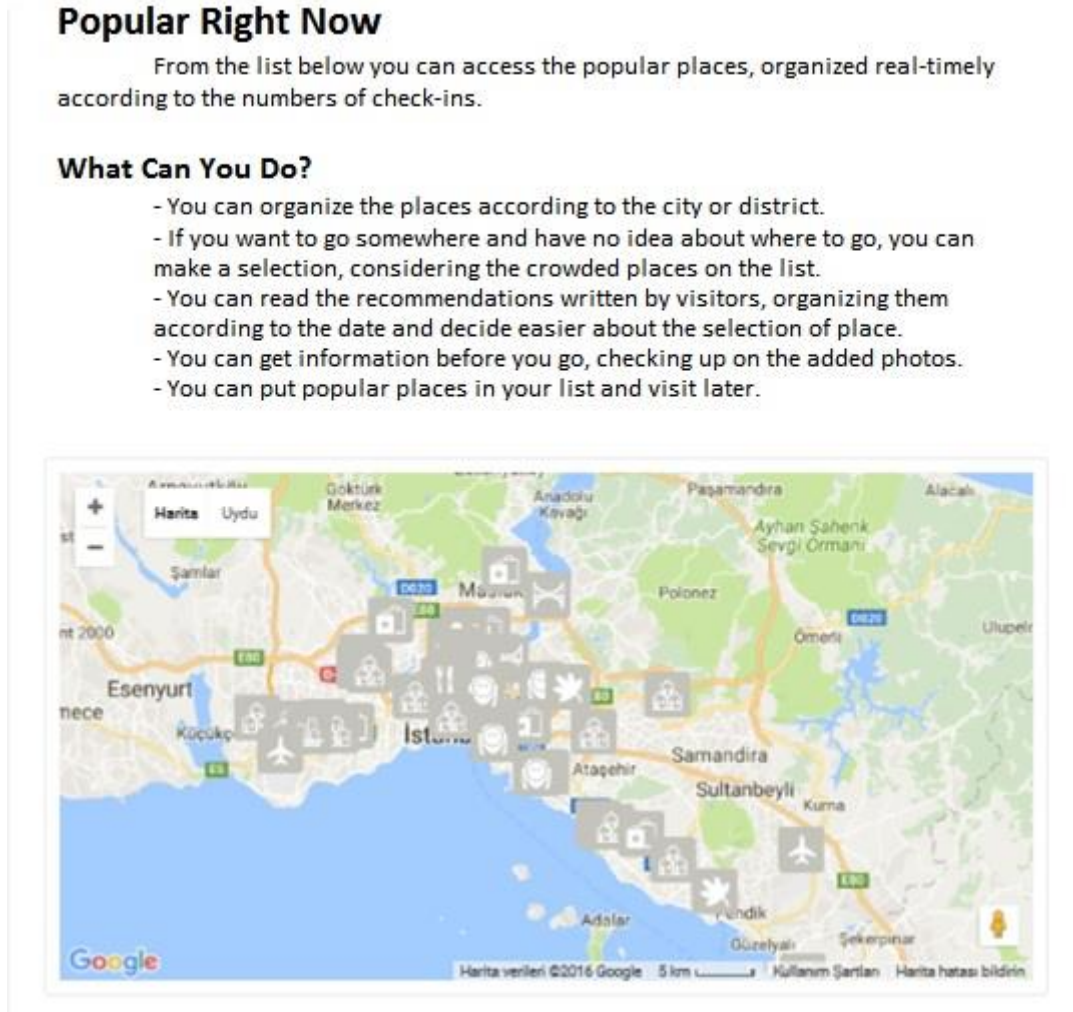


Figure 2. “Popular places right now” (URL-3, 2016)

Lang (1977) mentions that perception is composed of two processes (Lang, 1977). They are the sensory process, building upon our senses and the mental process, building upon the information. While the sensory process is the process, we interpret the information and data from the environment; the mental process is the process following this, which we conceptualize the environmental informations, which we get through our senses or zone out depending on just the experiences and by this way create in our minds (Özen, 2006).

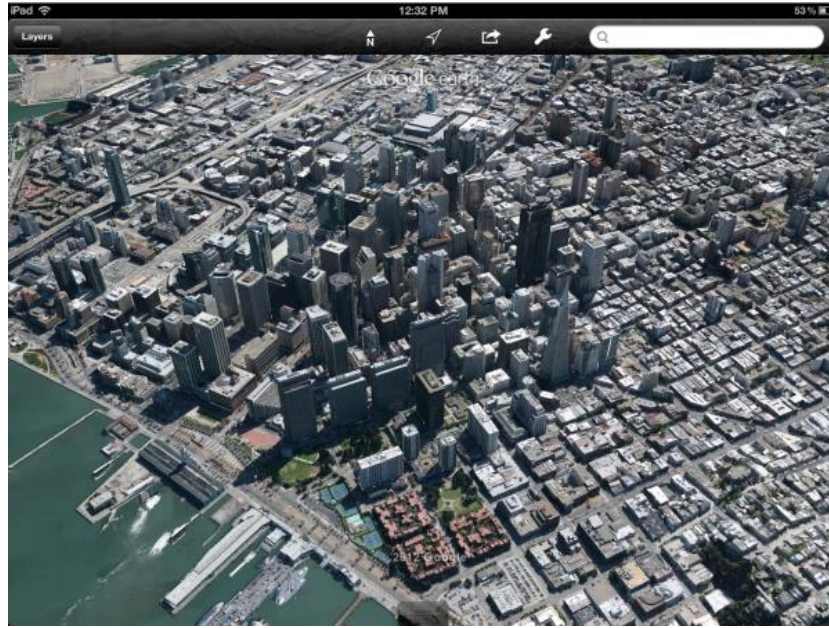


Figure 3. Three Dimensional City on Google Maps

4. Conclusion

The age we live in is the process, that earth and all the space setup, created on the earth are perceived through “virtual (imaginary)” perception, getting further away from the physical sensation/perception. The situation in point extends the individual’s borders of perception, even eternalize in a sense. Now the individual senses the place through models and simulations, instead of the corporeal perception. The state of perception is not formed through sensory/physical contact, envisioned via supposition and production.

Virtual sensations are perceived more “realistically” than the “real” and reach the more interesting position. “Virtual realities” actually generates their own reality in a sense and get further away hegemony of the objects they represent. The individual evaluates the world, cities and the city through the spacial experiences, internalized with newly generated realities, that information environment, got through “representative environments” and physical experiences stay in the background.

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A Survey of Health Workers' Behaviours Towards Refugee-Patients: The Case Of Kilis, Turkey

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1. Background

According to the Refugee Convention of United Nations, refugee is referred as "a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." (Weis, 1961). On the other hand, immigrant is used to describe a person who come to another country to live and have higher quality of life for economics or cultural reasons (Korkmaz, 2014). For migrants, it is a choice; while, for refugees it an obligation. It could be right to describe Syrian people who leave their country and go to other countries as "refugee" according to these definitions.

Each refugee should have the same rights as any other foreigners in a country. These rights contains access to health services without requiring any payment (Jastram & Achiron, 2001).

2. Situation of Refugees in Turkey

Refugee crisis has broken out in Turkey as Syria lost its stability. Since 2011, Syrian Refugees has flocked to Turkey. She accepts the most refugees and hosts about 2.7 million refugees. According to statistics, as of 2016, there are 26 temporary shelters found in 10 provinces. In those shelters, refugee patients have the same health care as the domestic citizens have. One of them was found in Kilis, close to the Syria border. There, the number of refugees passed the number of domestic citizens. 120 thousand refugees stay in Kilis, whereas 90 thousand domestic citizens live there. "During the period from April 2011 till the end of September last year, Turkish hospitals and health centres have treated millions of cases for the almost three million Syrian refugees living on Turkish soil" (middleeastmonitor, 2017). Likewise, from 2011 to today, 180,000 Syrian refugee babies born in Turkey. Kilis is hosting the most number of refugees in Turkey due to be a border city near Syria. For that reason, health workers have to take too much care for refugee patients there.

Today, population of refugees is still growing in Turkey. As of 2015, Over 500.000 refugee patients stayed in the shelters was referred to state-owned hospitals. Within the arrangement made on 11/04/2015, refugee patients can take care in state-owned hospital without referral. Health care is free of charge for them. Almost 40% of patients gone into hospitals in border provinces of Turkey comprise of refugee patients in 2015 (Center For Middle Eastern Strategic Studies, 2015). Because of that problem, these hospitals faces lack of capacity to meet needs of both domestic and refugee patients.

Increasing number of refugees leads to raise workload of health professionals and effects them negatively about their working conditions. Of that reason, Turkish Ministry of Health starts to apply a process in which health professionals are sent to state-owned hospitals which host too much refugee patients with temporary assignment (Korkmaz, 2014).

3. The Behaviours of Health Workers Towards Refugees

Refugee patients can face problems while accessing to the health care services. Some of them are based on relations between refugee patients and health workers (Karlsen, 2007). That relation is impressed by gender, title, cultural and religious factors, experience, expectations and training received. Behaviors and prejudice of health personnel towards refugees are related with health personnels' characteristics, lack of training and qualification to cope with refugees (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Ananeh-Firempong, 2003; Hudelson, Perron, & Perneger, 2010; Richardson, 2008). According to other papers, race, ethnicity, language barriers and racism also play a role in the relation between health workers and patients (Ferguson & Candib, 2002; Karadağ & Altındaş, 2010).

4) Method

This paper is depend on a cross-sectional survey conducted in Kilis province. The survey contains closed questions on demographic information, experience, title, number of the refugee patients cared for, skill and knowledge to cope with refugee patients. The first 5 questions are about personal information. The last 6 questions are on five-point Likert scale to measure behaviours towards refugee-patients.

Sample of study consists of health workers from primary and secondary health services. 56 health workers filled out the survey including doctors and nurses. Participation in the paper was voluntary, confidential and anonymous.

Demographic characteristics of participants included gender and age. It was asked what the frequency of contact with refugee patients and was measured by the number of refugee patients contacted daily; the answer options were 'less than 5', '6 to 10', '11 to 15' and "16 or more". Respondents were asked if they think their knowledge and skill to deal with refugee patients are enough. Participants also reported their opinion about the importance of receiving specific training about refugees' health, with response options being 'not important', 'indifferent' and 'important'. To assess health workers' attitudes toward refugee patients, participants reported to what extent they agreed with the following six statements: Some refugees are aggressive and dangerous; Refugees take advantage of the social benefits that Turkey offers them; Refugees are more claiming than the general population; Refugees often dramatize and exaggerate their problems; Frequently refugees do not respect the health services' rules; When refugees come to my service they behave like victims. Responses for each item had five options ranging from 'strongly agree' (1) to 'strongly disagree' (5) (Dias, Gama, Cargaleiro, & Martins, 2012).

5) Conclusion and Recommendations

Respondents comprise of 35(53%) females and 21(46%) males. There are 25 employees between 18-25, 21 employees between 26-35, 9 employees between 36-45, 1 employee between 46-55. In terms of their titles, 11 respondents are doctor, 45 respondents are nurse. Doctors are older than nurses are. Respondents reports that they daily take care for between 11-15 refugee patients and doctors(3,09) contact more contact with them than nurses(2,89) do.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of respondents, frequency of refugee patients contacted with and responses to get specific training, self-perception to their skills

Demographic Characteristic	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)	Demographic Characteristic	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
Gender			Title		
Male	35	60,5	Doctor	11	19,6
Female	21	37,5	Nurse	45	80,4
Total	56	100	Total	56	100
Number of Refugee Patient			Getting Specific Training		
0-5	15	26,8	Important	23	41,1
6-10	4	7,1	Indifferent	15	26,8
11-15	9	16,1	Not Important	18	32,1
15+	28	50,0			
Total	136	100	Total	130	100
Self-Perception on Skills to Deal with Refugees					
Yes				21	37,5
No				35	62,5
Total				56	100

Most of respondents(62%) think their skills and knowledge are not enough to deal with refugee patients. 41% of respondent say that getting specific training about refugee patients is important, 27% say it is indifferent and 32% say it is not important.

Behaviours towards Refugee-Patients

62% of respondents agree that some refugee patients are aggressive and dangerous, 76% of them agree that refugees take advantage of the social benefits that the state offers them. 49% of them agree that refugee patients are more claiming than the general population, 53,5% of them agree that refugee patients often dramatise and exaggerate their problems, 71,4% of them agree that frequently refugees do not respect the health services' rules, 60% of them agree that when refugee patients come to my service, they behave like victims.

Table 2. Responses to the statements about refugee patients, by health workers' group

Questions	Frequency	1*	2*	3*	4*	5*
Some refugee patients are aggressive and dangerous.	N	5	10	6	19	16
	%	8,9	17,9	10,7	33,9	28,6
Refugee patients take advantage of the social benefits that the state offers them.	N	6	6	5	17	37
	%	7,1	8,9	7,1	10,7	66,1
Refugee patients are more claiming than the general population.	N	6	6	5	17	22
	%	10,7	10,7	8,9	30,4	39,3
Refugee patients often dramatise and exaggerate their problems.	N	4	11	11	11	19
	%	7,1	19,6	19,6	19,6	33,9
Frequently refugees do not respect the health services' rules.	N	4	5	7	15	25
	%	7,1	8,9	12,5	26,8	44,6
When refugee patients come to my service, they behave like victims.	N	5	8	9	16	18
	%	8,9	14,3	16,1	28,6	32,1

*1: Strongly disagree, 2: Disagree, 3: Don't know, 4: Agree, 5: Strongly agree

It does not found any findings about relations age, sex, title, experience, self-competence and behaviours towards refugee-patients. On the other hand, it is found that there is a relation between number of refugee patients cared for and behaviours towards refugee patients. The more number of refugee patients cared for increase, the more negative behaviours are shown toward refugee patients. At the same time, health workers who think receiving specific

training about refugees' health is not important report more negative behaviours than the others do.

Table 3: One way Anova results on relation between number of refugee patients cared for and behaviors

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Some refugee patients are aggressive and dangerous	Between Groups	3,922	3	1,961	1,131	,330
	Within Groups	91,917	53	1,734		
	Total	95,839	56			
Refugee patients take advantage of the social benefits that the state offers them	Between Groups	4,562	3	2,281	1,339	,271
	Within Groups	90,278	53	1,703		
	Total	94,839	56			
Refugee patients are more claiming than the general population	Between Groups	12,465	3	6,233	3,690	,032
	Within Groups	89,517	53	1,689		
	Total	101,982	56			
Refugee patients often dramatise and exaggerate their problems	Between Groups	10,582	3	5,291	3,211	,048
	Within Groups	87,346	53	1,648		
	Total	97,929	56			
Frequently refugees do not respect the health services' rules	Between Groups	10,667	3	5,333	3,669	,032
	Within Groups	77,047	53	1,454		
	Total	87,714	56			
When refugee patients come to my service, they behave like victims	Between Groups	30,511	3	15,255	12,468	,000
	Within Groups	64,846	53	1,224		
	Total	95,357	56			

Table 4. Correlations

		Some refugee patients are aggressive and dangerous	Refugee patients take advantage of the social benefits that the state offers them	Refugee patients are more claiming than the general population	Refugee patients often dramatise and exaggerate their problems	Frequently refugees do not respect the health services' rules	When refugee patients come to my service, they behave like victims
Number of Refugee Patient	Pearson Correlation	,164	,185	,369**	,415**	,241**	,414**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,228	,173	,005	,001	,074	,002
	N	56	56	56	56	56	56

**: Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5. One way Anova results on relation between opinion receiving specific training and behaviors

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Some refugee patients are aggressive and dangerous	Between Groups	5,922	3	1,974	1,142	,341
	Within Groups	89,917	53	1,729		
	Total	95,839	56			
Refugee patients take advantage of the social benefits that the state offers them	Between Groups	5,350	3	1,783	1,036	,384
	Within Groups	89,489	53	1,721		
	Total	94,839	56			
Refugee patients are more claiming than the general population	Between Groups	24,081	3	8,027	5,358	,003
	Within Groups	77,901	53	1,498		
	Total	101,982	56			
Refugee patients often dramatise and exaggerate their problems	Between Groups	39,338	3	13,113	11,638	,000
	Within Groups	58,590	53	1,127		
	Total	97,929	56			
Frequently refugees do not respect the health services' rules	Between Groups	6,559	3	2,186	1,401	,253
	Within Groups	81,156	53	1,561		
	Total	87,714	56			
When refugee patients come to my service, they behave like victims	Between Groups	21,004	3	7,001	4,896	,005
	Within Groups	74,353	53	1,430		
	Total	95,357	56			

6) Conclusion and Advices

The results show negative behaviours towards refugee patients is common among health works. More than half of them reports they have feels negative feelings. There are two main problems lead to that situation. The first one is ever-increasing number of refugee patients. That problem leads to make health workers' work conditions difficult. Workload exceeding the capacity disrupt work discipline, reduce the quality of health service and create stress over the employees. Turkish Ministry of Health carry out an application. Within the scope of that application, health professionals are sent to state-owned hospitals that host too much refugee patients with temporary assignment. The second one is health workers should become aware of important of specific training about refugee patients. That training helps to improve their competence, know how to approach refugee patients and overcome such barriers as language, communication.

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An Investigation: Opinions of Individuals on In Vitro Fertilization (IVF) Living in North Cyprus

Bengü Berkmen

1. Introduction

Assisted reproductive technologies (ART) became a popular method for conceiving a child in recent years. In vitro fertilization (IVF) is a type of procedure of ART in which women receive ovulation stimulating drugs, following with the removal of egg cells from the women and sperm cells from men. The egg cells and sperm are then combined in laboratory conditions. Afterwards the fertilized egg is entrenched to the women's uterus to grow into a pregnancy (Ha'elyon & Gross, 2011).

Fertility treatment as we know it today, it is rather a young discipline in medicine. Yet, infertility and fertility treatment has been recognised for thousands of years. Long before fertilisation was described as the union of egg and spermatozoa, Hippocrates (460 BC) brought forward numerous methods for the problem (Bay, 2014). Infertility issue had tested in many ways over the next centuries. In 1978, it gave the first successful tube baby process (Kirsty, 2006) Louise Brown was the first live born baby after IVF. After the birth of the first test tube baby in IVF in the past 29 years it has been very important developments.

Initially IVF was developed to overcome tubal factor, but nowadays, it has also become used to solve problems such as unexplained infertility, male infertility, endometriosis, ovarian failure (Ünsal, 2007). According to European Society of Human Reproduction and Embryology (ESHRE) (2012), there are more than 1,5 million IVF cycles are performed each year, producing more than 350,000 children.

Having been found to be effective in the treatment of a range of other, particularly "unexplained", infertility problems, the use of IVF has broadened. In addition, later proliferations of ARTs, particularly intra-cytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI), which involves the insertion of a single sperm cell directly into an egg, have amounted to a revolution in the treatment of male-factor fertility problems (Inhorn, 2012). Since its introduction in 1991, ICSI, sometimes used in combination with surgical testicular sperm extraction (TESE) or testicular sperm aspiration (TESA), has enabled many thousands of men with severe fertility problems to have genetically related children. Hence, for the first time, ICSI has provided a medical treatment option specifically for male-factor infertility. (Gürtin, 2013)

Nevertheless, the number of unintentional childless couples and single women seeking medical treatment is increasing (Bhattacharya et al., 2009). People are worried about the risks that may occur related to fertility treatment methods. Fortunately, fertility treatment only rarely leads to medical or surgical complications (Bay, 2014) and is it also valid for the health of IVF babies and parents also?

Infertility treatments start after 1 or 2 years of regular unprotected sexual intercourse (Salvatore et al., 2001), is frequently a source of emotional trauma for infertile couples. Many studies showed the psychological distress associated with IVF treatment, indicating that undergoing infertility treatment and subsequent IVF may result. From the treatment's launch, the emotional adjustment to IVF has received ample attention in clinical, descriptive and empirical studies (Edelmann, 1990). Numerous studies have noted that undergoing infertility treatment and subsequent IVF may result in the development of depressive and anxiety symptoms in %10-%50 of women (Eugester ve Vingerhoets'den akt. Klock & Dorothy, 2000)

In a European survey of 445 women France, Germany, Italy and Spain, Whom 160 were currently receiving treatment, %74 felt resentment when others easily conceived, %67 of

tired of taking advices on how to conceive, and %64 felt uncomfortable around pregnant women or babies. Also %55 patients reported feeling “inadequate” as a woman” and only %24 felt infertility had made them closer to their partner (Domar et. al., cited in, Rich & Domar, 2016)

According to Bay (2014), in a meta-analysis, there may be an increased risk on singletons conceived after IVF/ICSI, of preterm birth and further, the risk of low birth weight according to some short-term offspring consequences compared to the spontaneously conceived controls. In long term studies ICSI children have lower test scores about mental development, although the association was only significant for boys in the one study (Bowen et. al., 1998).

IVF centers in Turkey, operate in accordance with the “Üremeye Yardımcı Tedavi Merkezleri” (Assistant Reproductive Treatment Centers). These regulations allows to create embryos under these conditions: The couple must be married, using their own sperm and eggs, they have to be prove with a documation that can not have children with other methods and indicate the couple's written permission. From 1989 to present there had been 40,000 children born with the use of IVF (Çoban, 2009).

2.Method

2.1 Research Model

This is a qualitative research. Qualitative research is a research approach which focuses on describing events and phenomena in their natural environment with an inductive approach and understanding and reflecting participants’ perspectives (Yıldırım & Simsek, 2006). This study used a phenomenological research method which is one of the qualitative research methods. Phenomenological research is used in social sciences in order to examine and explain event, situations, experiences and concepts (Sonmez & Alacapinar, 2014).

2.2 Study Group

Appropriate situation that is composed of selecting individual and groups in which research can be easily conducted is named as study group (Sonmez and Alacapinar, 2014). Study group included 30 individuals (19 female, 11 male) who voluntarily participated in this study. Participants were reached from the internet or social media between 1-20 February 2016. Ages of the participants are between 18 and 50.

2.3 Data Collection

Participants were informed about how the study will be conducted through telephone and then they were asked to sign the informed consent. Data were collected with In Vitro Fertilization Information and Awareness Opinion Form which were completed by each participant individually. Questions included in the In Vitro Fertilization Information and Awareness Opinion Form were prepared by the researcher and edited after getting an expert’s view. The following questions are included in the In Vitro Fertilization Information and Awareness Opinion Form.

1. In your opinion, why individuals have in vitro fertilization baby?
2. What are the effects of in vitro fertilization method on the baby?
3. What are the effects of in vitro fertilization method on parent candidate?

4. There are 12 In Vitro Fertilization Centers in TRNC. In your opinion, what are the reasons of this number of IVF centers in TRNC?

2.4 Data analysis

The obtained data were analyzed with descriptive statistics. All data were analyzed with peer review after examining the data in order to constitute categories by the researcher and an expert (Creswell, 2009). Results obtained from the analysis conducted separately were calculated using Reliability = Agreement / Agreement + Difference of Opinion x 100 formula. Reliability of the research was determined as 88.4 % based on this calculation. When the result calculated with this reliability formula is above 70%, it means that inter-rater reliability is achieved (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

3.Results

According to the results, 17 of participants (56.7%) have postgraduate degree, 12 of them (40%) have university degree and 1 of them (3.3%) is high-school graduate. When marital status of the participants is examined, it is seen that 17 of participants (56.7%) are married, 11 of them (36.7%) are single and 2 of them (6.7%) are divorced. It is also seen that 16 of participants (5%) 6.3 have children and 14 of them (43.6%) do not have children. It is also revealed that 9 of 16 participants who have children have one child and 7 of them have 2 or 3 children.

Table 1: Individuals' reasons for having in vitro fertilization baby

External intervention to the process		n
<i>Desire for determining the characteristics of the baby</i>	<i>Preventing genetic disease inheritance</i>	5
	<i>Determining gender</i>	2
	<i>Determining the number of children</i>	2
	<i>Total</i>	9
<i>Inability to have children in natural ways</i>	<i>Desire for being a single parent</i>	3
	<i>Infertility</i>	18
	<i>Total</i>	21

According to the responses of the participants, individuals' reasons for having in vitro fertilization baby are divided into two main groups under external intervention to the process main heading. According to this, participants indicated individuals' reasons for having in vitro fertilization baby as desire for determining the characteristics of the baby and inability to have children in natural ways. Under the desire for determining the characteristics of the baby heading, 5 of 9 participants indicated that individuals' reason for having in vitro fertilization baby is the prevention of genetic disease inheritance. Statements of the participants are "...Preventing the inheritance of a health problem either from the mother or the father in order to have a healthy baby." (P12), "...Having the opportunity of selecting some physical characteristics genetically makes in vitro fertilization attractive." (P13), "... a method which spoiled families select and claim that they can have the perfect baby." (P14). 2 of 9

participants stated that determining the gender of the baby is the reason for having in vitro fertilization baby. Statements from the participants are “...*I think it is for determining gender...*” (P21). In addition, 2 of 9 participants indicated that ability to determine the number of children is the reason for having in vitro fertilization baby. An example from a participant’s statement is “...*Individuals have vitro fertilization baby to have twins...*” (P22).

Nevertheless, results revealed that 18 of 21 participants who indicated that people have in vitro fertilization baby since they can not have babies through natural ways indicated that “infertility” is the reason for having in vitro fertilization baby. Sample statements of the participants are “...*Individuals who can not have babies naturally because of infertility or being at a late age prefer this method...*” (P26), “*Inability to have a baby naturally or problems among the couples under normal conditions...*” (P11), “...*Since they have problems in having babies through natural ways...*” (P15) and “*They want to have baby but they can not have naturally.*” (P4).

In addition, 3 of 21 participants indicated that desire for being a single parent is the reason for having in vitro fertilization baby. A sample statement indicates that “...*Although this is not valid for our society yet, women from some countries in the West can have babies alone.*” (P23). Therefore, it can be said that responses of the participants mostly address that in vitro fertilization method is associated with infertility.

Table 2: The effects of in vitro fertilization method on the baby

Content Feature	n
<i>Have effect</i>	
Positive	4
Negative	3
Total	7
<i>Do not have an effect</i>	8
<i>Not have an idea</i>	13

Participants were asked about the effects of in vitro fertilization method on the baby. When the responses are examined, it is seen that 7 of participants reported that it has an effect on the baby, 8 of them reported that it does not have an effect and 13 of them reported that they do not have an idea about this issue. Responses of 2 participants were not evaluated. According to this, 4 of 7 participants who think that it has an effect on the baby stated that it has a positive effect. A sample statement indicates that “...*They have the chance of not having genetic disease.*” (P13).

Besides, 3 of 7 participants stated that this effect is negative. A sample statement indicates that “...*Low birth weight in multiple pregnancy, dead birth, premature birth risk and duration of staying at intensive care unit might be long.*” (P16). 8 participants reported that in vitro fertilization method does not have an effect on the baby. In addition to this, these sentences might be examples for their responses; “...*I do not think that it can have a negative effect on the baby.*” (P20); “*No, it doesn’t. It does not lead to a problem. It enables families who can not have babies naturally to have babies through fertilization in a laboratory environment.*” (P11).

In Table 3, 23 participants indicated that this method has an effect on parent candidates, 2 of them indicated that it does not have an effect and 4 of them indicated that they do not have an idea about this issue. 4 of participants who think that this method has effects think that this method has positive effects and 19 of them think that this method has negative effects. Response of 1 participant were not evaluated since it was not compatible

with the content. One participant who thinks that this method has positive effects reported that “...A happy and anxious waiting.” (P27).

Table 3. The effect of in vitro fertilization method on parent candidates

Content Feature		n
<i>It has an effect</i>	<i>Positive</i>	4
	Difficult process	5
	Stress	1
	Financial difficulty	0
	Medication/hormonal treatment	0
	Not accepting the child	2
	Difficult process + Financial difficulty	1
	Difficult process + Medication/hormonal treatment	1
	Stress + Financial difficulty	2
	Financial difficulty + Medication/hormonal treatment	1
	<i>Responses given to more than one group</i>	
	Stress + Medication/hormonal treatment	1
	Difficult process + Medication/hormonal treatment + Financial difficulty	2
	Difficult process + Financial difficulty + stress + Medication/hormonal treatment	1
<i>It does not have an effect</i>	<i>Negative</i>	
	Stress + Medication/hormonal treatment	1
	Difficult process + Medication/hormonal treatment + Financial difficulty	2
	Difficult process + Financial difficulty + stress + Medication/hormonal treatment	1
	<i>Total</i>	21
	<i>It does not have an effect</i>	2
	<i>I don't have an idea/ I don't know</i>	4

According to the responses of the participants, the effect of in vitro fertilization method on parent candidates are provided under five titles. According to this, 5 of 23 participants stated that in vitro fertilization method is a difficult process for parents. Sample statements from the participants are also provided; “...It is a very difficult process for mother. In the end, mother will carry and give birth to the baby. If there is a problem with the father for not having baby naturally, the process becomes difficult for the father as well. I think that if both mother and father support each other, they can overcome this difficult process.” (P2). “...I observed that this is especially difficult for the mother candidate and it seems that this method makes the natural processes of making a baby-pregnancy-birth mechanic.” (P29).

Nevertheless, 2 participants indicating that this method has negative effect on parent candidates emphasized that this situation leads to stress among parent candidates as well. Participants reported that “This method is a psychological stressor...” (P4), “Psychological pressure, fear of not being able to have a baby, feeling of incompetence, depression, failure and hopelessness after many tryings...” (P18), “I heard that this is a difficult process and it is an inevitable situation that if there is a failure, it creates a negative effect on parent

candidates psychologically.” (P22). 2 participants indicated that parent candidates can not accept the child with this method. The statement *“I think that families who used donor might think that actually the child is not their child.”* (P14).

It is seen that participants reported statements with appropriate content for more than one group. According to this, 1 participant responded appropriately with 4 sub-headings (difficult process, medication/hormonal treatment, financial difficulty) and 5 participants responded appropriately with 2 sub-headings with different headings (stress - medication/hormonal treatment, financial difficulty + medication/hormonal treatment, stress – financial difficulty, difficult process - medication/hormonal treatment, difficult process - financial difficulty). Participants’ responses which had appropriate content with 4 sub-headings included *“It is a difficult and the outcome is not predictable. Stress is high. It is also compelling in terms of financial issues. Besides, as I know, mother candidate takes many medication to her body. I think that this might negatively affect her life in the long run.”* (P16). Participants’ responses which had appropriate content with 3 sub-headings included *“I think that this method is compelling since it is very expensive and parent candidates have many problems so they prefer this method. Also, this method might lead to many different physiological and psychological effects to cope with since there is hormonal treatment and vaccination.”* (P17). Responses comprising content of the two group indicated that *“I think that parent candidates might experience many difficulties in terms of psychological and financial aspects.”* (P10), *“Stress: Pressure because of not being able to have a child under normal conditions. Money: When this situation arises, so much money is spent”.* (P11).

Table 4. Reasons for 12 IVF centers in TRNC

Content Feature	n
<i>Commercial</i>	7
<i>Profit</i>	
<i>Demand</i>	8
<i>Total</i>	15
<i>There is a legal space</i>	11
<i>I don't have an idea/ I don't know</i>	4

In Table 4, it is seen that participants were asked about why there are 12 IVF centers in TRNC. When the responses of the participants were examined, the answers are legal space and profit. 4 participants stated that they do not have an idea about this issue or they do not know. Participants who think that the reason is for profit also indicated that there is a huge demand and commercial purposes.

Results showed that 8 of 15 participants who think that reason of 12 IVF centers in TRNC is profit indicated that this is related with huge demand. Sample statements included *“There is a huge demand for in vitro fertilization since increasing stressful work lives, financial difficulties and harmful foods lead to a reduce in the possibility of having a child in natural ways...”* (P5), *“I think this issue might be handled with investment from Turkey, recent women policies implemented in Turkey, population control mechanisms and restrictions on abortion...these centers are established to serve for both TRNC and Turkey.”* (P29). 7 of 15 participants who think that reason of 12 IVF centers in TRNC is commercial.

Sample statements for this group included “...commercial...” (P20). “but I think this is a commercial issue.” (P30).

Furthermore, 11 of 15 participants who think that reason of 12 IVF centers in TRNC is because of legal space. Sample statements included “Restrictions on some reproduction tecnics in foreign countries for having children made our island attractive...” (P2), “Control is insufficient in terms of ethical and legal aspects and it is because of legal space...” (P3), “Since in vitro fertilization is illegal in many countries, many people prefer to come to here...” (P13) and “This is not under control as in all areas in our country...” (P28).

4. Discussion and Conclusion

Results of this study showed that 21 participants think that people prefer in vitro fertilization method since they can not have children in natural ways. According to this, 18 of 21 participants think that this might be because of infertility and 3 of them think that this might be because of wanting to be a single-parent. Infertility is a condition including being unable to become pregnant without using any birth control methods (Etlik Zubeyde Hanim Women Gynaecological Diseases Education and Research Hospital, 2016). In vitro fertilization method is the process of artifical insemination out of body (in vitro) of an egg or eggs by a sperm. IVF is done to help a woman become pregnant. It is used to treat many causes of infertility such as damaged or blocked fallopian tubes, endometriosis, male factor infertility, including decreased sperm count and blockage unexplained infertility (Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority, 2014).

Nevertheless, 3 participants who think that reason for using in vitro fertilization might be because of unable to having a baby in natural ways indicated that another reason might be wanting to be a single-parent. In fact, feminists, journalists, doctors, scientists and ethics professionalists (bioethicists) discuss IVF method especially in English media (Paxson, 2003). In Poland, in vitro fertilization method leads to a discussion between catholic church which rejects and criminalises this method and politicians, religious men and feminists (Walkowicz, 2012) in vitro fertilization method.

When the effects of in vitro fertilization method on the baby is considered, 7 of 30 participants reported that this method has an effect on the baby. Bowen and colleagues (1998) emphasized that in vitro fertilization method might lead to early birth, low birth weight and birth risks in terms of short-term effects. On the other hand, Zandstra, Van Montfort and Dumoulin (2015) conducted IVF studies on animals and concluded that this method leads to low birth weight, however this is also affected by cultural factors. 11 studies have been conducted with humans until today and only 5 of these studies obtained results indicating a low birth weight as in the animals. It is stated that more studies are needed for more concrete results.

In a longitudinal study, it was revealed that children born with ICSI method had lower mental development scores compared to other children; however this is not supported by other studies (Bowen et al. 1998). Studies examined whether children born with in vitro fertilization method have mental disorders or not and it was revealed that there is no difference between children and adolescents born with IVF method and children born with natural ways. The only difference was that risk of tic disorders are higher among children born with IVF method when compared to children born with natural ways (Bay, 2014). Kallen and colleagues (2011) conducted a study in Sweden and showed that children born with IVF method had more risk for attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder and conduct disorder. However, this statistical significance were eliminated when the parents did not have a baby for involuntary reasons and restriction to term infants.

When the effects of IVF method on parents are considered, responses indicated that this method can have both positive and negative effects on parent candidates. Participants who think that this process has negative effects reported that IVF method might be a compelling method for parent candidates and lead to stress, medication and hormonal treatment might lead to negative consequences and parents can not accept the baby in some situations. In a study, women who had children with IVF method had higher scores on collaboration in their marriage, however they had lower scores on satisfaction with their marriage in terms of friendship when compared to other women who had children with natural ways (Klock & Dorothy, 2000).

According to the results, it is stated that IVF method is a stressful situation for parent candidates and it might increase anxiety. Besides, unpredictable outcomes of the treatment is another source of stress and might lead to depression as well. However, successful treatment and pregnancy period increase their self-esteem and reduce their anxiety as well (Klock & Dorothy, 2000).

8 of 30 participants reported that IVF method leads to financial difficulties among parent candidates. IVF centers request various fees for treatment from people. According to 2014 data, IVF method including additional procedures such as medication and tests costs 6000-9000 Turkish Lira (Tiras, 2014). Minimum wage in North Cyprus is 1730 Turkish Lira (Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2015). According to this, it can be said that IVF methods is an expensive treatment for conditions in North Cyprus. Participants also indicated that parent candidates could not accept the child born with IVF methods in some situations. However, this result is not supported by any finding in the literature.

Participants were asked about the reasons for 12 IVF centers in North Cyprus. 11 of 30 participants reported that this is because of legal space and 15 of them reported that this is for profit. Turkish Republic has brought restrictions for preventing the use of IVF methods for other purposes rather than for reproduction and prohibited the use of embryos obtained from egg and sperm samples taken from parent candidates for other purposes or other candidates (UYTE, 2015). On the other hand, there is no law with restrictions on such issues.

Cheap treatments in foreign countries, high number of reproduction cells and easy accessibility make IVF method desirable (Lunt, Horsfall & Hanefeld, 2016). IVF centers in Cyprus do not serve only to people living in North Cyprus; they also serve to people coming from other countries and this shows the commercial dimension of the situation.

In the present study, opinions of people individuals in North Cyprus about in vitro fertilization baby were examined. According to the results of the study, it is seen that individuals had partial knowledge about IVF method and they mostly focus on the negative aspects of the method. This study also showed that studies in the literature focus on medical procedures of IVF method and psychological health of mothers. Therefore, it is expected that this study will be a guide for further research. In addition, there is a need for studies on father candidates, babies born with IVF method and families.

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Kurdish Question in Turkey: Individual-Level Analysis on Grievance Theory

Halil Bilecen

1. Introduction

What accounts for the underlying causes of the “Kurdish question” in Turkey? In order to answer this question, the research on Kurdish question seems to consider variety of factors including ethnic conflict, conflict resolution, terrorism, counter terrorism, and so on (see, e.g., Luis A. Gil-Alana and Carlos P. Barros, 2010; Ersel Aydinli & Nihat Ali Ozcan, 2011; Arjun Chowdhury and Ronald R. Krebs, 2010; Wallenstein, 2002; Sambanis, 2001; Beer & Mitchell, 2004). Among these, grievance-oriented arguments have dominated the ethnic conflict literature for decades. The grievance theories have been explained in the literature by variety of factors ranging from poverty, social and economic inequalities, and ethnic discrimination, to political discrimination.

While Gurr (1968, 1970) posits a link between deprivation and conflict in analyzing grievance theories, some others (e.g., Heldt, 1999) highlight the importance of inequality as the main reason of the conflict. In all cases, economic inequalities and political discrimination against certain groups in the society have long dominated the research on conflict – even though numerous scholars (see, e.g., Sambanis, 2001; Beer and Mitchell, 2004) think that political discrimination is more important than the economic inequalities. These theories suggest that as the state uses political violence against minority or some certain groups in the society pursuant to their ethnic or religious backgrounds, these groups sooner or later rebel against the state to eliminate these inequalities.

On the other hand, a considerable amount of scholars put the economic grievances in the center of the conflict theories. They argue that unequal distribution of the resources, income inequalities and poverty are the core reasons of the conflict, thereby explaining the conflict better than any other theories do (Crenshaw, 1981; Muller and Seligson, 1993; Ehrlich and Liu, 2002; Murshed, 2002; Blomberg et al., 2004).

Greed theory has been another important variable used in the study of conflict field. With the effects of greed theories in recent years, this field has witnessed a noticeable shift in research on ethnic conflict. In contrast to grievance-oriented arguments that previously dominated the field, more recent research addresses the opportunity-based reasons for rebellion, a shift in emphasis that constitutes a turning point in the literature (Bhavnani and Miodownik, 2010). According to this theory, conflicts occur due to the several factors including geographical conditions of a country, natural resources such as oil and diamond, and rent-seeking rebels (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Humphrey, 2005; Collier 2007).

Simply put, previous research on conflict theory has been divided regarding relative importance of greed theory (rebellion with the interest of the rebel group), and of grievance theory (sociopolitical inequality and human rights violations). Utilizing individual-level survey data, we examine the Kurdish question in terms both of greed theory (Kurdish separatism) and grievance theory (political discrimination, cultural discrimination and economic backwardness). We argue that all of these factors influence the Kurdish question to a certain degree. We also suggest that the Kurdish people that are directly affected by the ethnic conflict, and that give importance to their ethnic identity have favorable attitudes toward grievance factors.

The rest of the study is designed as follows: firstly, the theoretical debates on the roots of the Kurdish question in Turkey will be discussed. Secondly, in the methodology section, we will explain why the data and sampling used in the previous studies are inappropriate

and/or inadequate in explaining the Kurdish question, and present our statistical models. Finally, we will discuss the statistical results of the models, and present the conclusion.

2. Theory and Debate

Two main ethnic groups in Turkey are the Turks and the Kurds. Tension between these two groups began to rise after the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the raise of unifying nationalist policies as of 1920s. The Turkish republic implemented new reforms to form a homogenous secular nation-state after 1923 (Anderson 1991; Zürcher 2004).

Much of the literature on Kurdish question takes the issue on the basis of the new policies implemented by the new republic (see, e.g., Mango 1999; Günter 2000; Ergil 2000; and Aras 2007). Due to these policies, there was a severe political violence until the last three decades towards Kurds in terms of bans for Kurdish language to be spoken, ban of children to have 'Kurdish' names, rejecting to recognize the Kurdish identity, and naming various towns, lakes, and places in the Kurdish-populated regions with 'Turkish' names.

After Abdullah Ocalan formed the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), the conflict turned into a severe violence between two groups. The Turkish Army launched responses to the PKK attacks during 1990s, which further escalated the tension in many regions. Since then, Kurdish ethnic consciousness has risen considerably, which makes Kurdish people demand their political and cultural rights in a more strong voice.

The debates on the Kurdish issue vary. In general, scholars take socio-economic situation, the effects of religion, and political satisfaction into consideration in analyzing the determinants of Kurdish ethno-nationalism in Turkey. Sarigil (2010) for instance claims that "for the pro-Islamic approach, preventing societal polarization along ethnic lines requires using Islam as cement between Turks and Kurds (p. 536).

On one hand, Sarigil (2010) argues, referring the studies of Yavuz (1997) and Duran (1998), that "the pro-Islamic approach asserts that re-emphasizing Islam as a shared value among Turks and Kurds would restrain societal polarization along ethnic lines and consequently curbs Kurdish ethno-nationalism" (p. 536). The religiousness approach suggests that the religiosity has a significant impact on Kurdish ethno-nationalism. On the other hand, there is a socio-economic approach, which suggests that separatist movements are more likely to be found among backward groups in economically underdeveloped regions (Horowitz 1985). According to this approach, better economic situation leads individuals to get less involved in nationalist inclinations.

In this study, we examine the Kurdish question on the basis of greed theory (Kurdish separatism) and grievance theory (political discrimination, cultural discrimination and economic backwardness). We argue that all of these factors influence the Kurdish question to a certain degree. Mainly, we focus on the grievances theory in the statistical models. However, to give an example we show a greed theory approach (Kurdish separatism) to compare it with the grievances.

The greed theory suggests that ethnic conflicts stem from several factors such as geographical conditions of a country, natural resources such as oil and diamond, and rent-seeking rebels. Even though there have been rent-seeking riots by the PKK in Turkey, many think that the grievances such as political and cultural discrimination against Kurds fed the PKK.

We cannot suggest that the ethnic conflict in Turkey stems from the natural resources such as diamond, oil, and valuable minerals. None of these factors led to ethnic conflict in Turkey. Therefore, the greed theory is not the case in Turkey. In our study, we focus mainly

on the grievances such as political discrimination, cultural discrimination, and economic backwardness in analyzing Kurdish question.

3. Methodology, Data, and Statistical Models

Scholars focusing on Kurdish question utilize aggregate-level data and cross-national analysis in general. Utilizing time series models, they use the GDP per capita, unemployment level, ethnic fragmentation and so on, in examining ethnic conflict in countries. Inadequate individual-level analyses preclude us to make detailed interference on certain issues. In this study, we analyze Kurdish question by using an individual-level data.

There are extensive public opinion surveys such as the Euro-barometer and the World Values Surveys that can be used in analyzing multinational approaches for both individual and state level. Yet, some of them are far from explaining the unique situations of single country cases due to their relatively small sample sizes, which may not be sufficient to reflect the different ethnic groups in a country. If we aim at studying, for instance, Kurdish question in Turkey, the World Values Surveys may not be a good sample to focus on. That is, if we try to investigate a specific issue on Kurds, we may have to filter only the Kurdish people for the dataset we have. Therefore, after filtering the Kurds from the dataset, we should have sufficient amount of respondents to make certain assumptions on such specific ethnic issues. The World Values Survey, however, does not have enough Kurdish respondents in almost none of its dataset.

We will use a nationwide survey conducted in 2010, in 59 provisions, with 1160 Kurdish respondents, to investigate the main factors behind the Kurdish question in Turkey. Experienced pollsters used a structured questionnaire and carried out face-to-face interviews with respondents. The survey has various types of questions that captured many crucial aspects of the Kurds, including their identity, religious affiliations, and perceptions on certain issues such as the reasons behind the Kurdish question.

In this study, the question: *How much do you agree or disagree with following statements about the primary reason of the Kurdish question* – was used as the dependent variable in our four models. We categorized the answers as grievances, which are cultural discrimination, political discrimination, and economic backwardness; and as greed theory, which is Kurdish separatism. All of these four dependent variables are measured on a scale of 1 to 5, in which 1 refers to strongly disagree group and 5 refers to strongly agree group.

The independent variables used in this paper are age, gender, education, income, vote for the HDP, religiosity, ethnic importance, support for ethnic identities, life satisfaction, family lost, and migration.

Of the socio-economic variables, *education* is measured on scale of 1 to 6, in which 1 referring to illiteracy and 6 referring to a university or a higher degree. *Income* is measured on a scale of 1 to 6, in which 1 refers to a low income, and 6 refers to higher income.

Age is a categorical variable clustered by three groups. It is coded as 1 for those respondents whose age is between 18 and 28; 2 for 29 and 42; and 3 for 43 and above. *Gender* is coded as 1 for female, and 0 for male respondents.

The rest of the independent variables are operationalized as follow: *Religiosity* refers to self-identified degree of religiosity, and is measured on scale of 1 to 5, in which the lowest number refers to ‘not at all important’ and the highest number refers to ‘very important’. In the field’s literature, there are two important aspects of religiosity: One of which is the religious community an individual belongs to, and the second one is how religious a person is independent of the denomination (Goldberg 2014, p. 307). Here, we measure religiosity, based on the self-identified degrees given by the respondents.

Vote for HDP variable is formed by recoding the answers given for the question; “if there was a national election today, which political party would you vote for”. It is coded as 1 for those respondents who would vote for the HDP and 0 otherwise.

Of the other control variables, *ethnic importance* is measured on a scale of 1 to 5, in which 1 refers to the respondents who give the lowest importance to their ethnic identity. *Life satisfaction* is measured on a 5-point scale, where 5 refers to strong support. *Support for ethnic identities* is measured on a 5-point scale, where the highest level refers to strong support. *Family lost* is a binary variable coded as 1 for those who have lost someone in family during the conflict; and 0 otherwise. *Migration* is also a binary variable coded as 1 for those who had to migrate because of the conflict; 0 otherwise.

Table 1: Summary Statistics of the Variables

Variable	Observation	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	1306	1.943	0.800	1	3
Gender	1318	0.483	0.500	0	1
Education	1302	3.372	1.477	1	6
Income	1234	2.639	1.218	1	6
Vote for HDP	1131	0.431	0.495	0	1
Religion	1296	3.969	0.962	1	5
Ethnic Importance	1294	3.834	0.983	1	5
Support for Ethnic Identities	1301	4.125	0.836	1	5
Life Satisfaction	1276	3.165	1.457	1	5
Family Lost	1322	0.190	0.392	0	1
Migration	1322	0.178	0.382	0	1

For the calculations, STATA package program was used. The equation for the Ordinary Least Square (OLS) estimation is presented below:

$$\text{Kurdish question} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{age})_i + \beta_2(\text{education})_i + \beta_3(\text{female})_i + \beta_4(\text{income})_i + \beta_5(\text{vote for HDP})_i + \beta_6(\text{religion})_i + \beta_7(\text{family lost})_i + \beta_8(\text{migration})_i + \beta_9(\text{life satisfaction})_i + \beta_{10}(\text{support for ethnic identities})_i + \beta_{11}(\text{ethnic importance})_i$$

All of the independent variables are measured on the individual-level basis, using responses collected. We use OLS regression models in this study to test the reasons behind the Kurdish question in Turkey. I will present the statistical results of the study in the following section.

4. The Analysis of the Results

Table 2 shows the statistical estimations of the determinants of Kurdish question in Turkey. The results are obtained on the basis of individual-level data. The models considered here explore how and to what extent greed and grievance theories on Kurdish question are determined by the coefficients of the each explanatory variable.

As denoted in Table 2, there are four dependent variables: Cultural discrimination, political discrimination, Kurdish separatism, and economic backwardness. We will see how each of these variables is affected by the explanatory factors, respectively. As seen in the first

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column where cultural discrimination is dependent variable, only the vote for HDP, ethnic importance, ethnicity support, religiosity, and life satisfaction are statistically significant.

Table 2: Analyzing Kurds' Opinion on Greed and Grievance Theories

	<i>Cultural Discrimination</i>	<i>Political Discrimination</i>	<i>Kurdish Separatism</i>	<i>Economic Backwardness</i>
Age	0.02 (0.05)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.17 *** (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Gender	0.03 (0.07)	0.11 * (0.06)	0.20 *** (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)
Education	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.05 * (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Income	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.08 *** (0.03)
HDP	0.41 *** (0.08)	0.67 *** (0.08)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.08)
Ethnic importance	0.28 *** (0.04)	0.17 *** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.07 * (0.04)
Religiosity	-0.08 ** (0.04)	-0.13 *** (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 ** (0.04)
Ethnicity support	0.17 *** (0.04)	0.10 *** (0.04)	-0.08 * (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Life satisfaction	-0.10 *** (0.03)	-0.14 *** (0.03)	0.16 *** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Family lost	0.05 (0.09)	0.19 ** (0.08)	-0.09 (0.10)	0.26 *** (0.09)
Migration	0.02 (0.09)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.31 *** (0.10)	-0.30 *** (0.09)
Constant	2.25 *** (0.31)	3.14 *** (0.29)	2.92 *** (0.34)	3.79 *** (0.31)
N	964	961	965	959

Note: The models represent the results of Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regressions. Standard errors are in parentheses. Level of significance is: *** p.001 ** p.01 * p.05.

Among these, vote for the HDP, ethnic importance and ethnicity support are positively associated with grievance theory, revealing that respondents who give importance to their ethnicity and who think that governments should support other ethnic identities are more likely to think that the Kurdish question stems from the cultural discrimination against Kurds.

Religiosity is statistically significant, but its coefficient is negative - which suggests that respondents think that cultural discrimination is not the reason of Kurdish question, as self-identified degree of religiosity increases. Similarly, respondents who satisfy with their life are less likely to think that Kurdish question stems from cultural discrimination.

With respect to political discrimination as seen in the second column, all significant variables in the case of cultural discrimination are identical with political discrimination. Their coefficients are in the same direction too. Other significant variables are gender and family lost. The results reveal that respondents who have lost someone in their family during the ethnic conflict are more likely to think that the Kurdish question stems from the political discrimination against Kurds.

When we look at the Kurdish separatism in the third column, most of the coefficients are in the opposite direction, compare to other three columns. For instance, respondents who think that governments should support other ethnic identities and who had to migrate to other regions due to the ethnic conflict are more likely to think that the Kurdish question does not stem from the Kurdish separatist movements.

As age and education increase, respondents are less likely to think that the Kurdish question stems from the Kurdish separatist movements. That is, older and better educated Kurds tend to think that the Kurdish separatist movements do not have significant impact on the Kurdish question.

Finally, with respect to economic backwardness as shown in the fourth column, income, ethnic importance, religiosity, family lost, and migration are statistically significant. As income increases, respondents are less likely to think that Kurdish question stems from the economic backwardness of the Kurdish-populated regions.

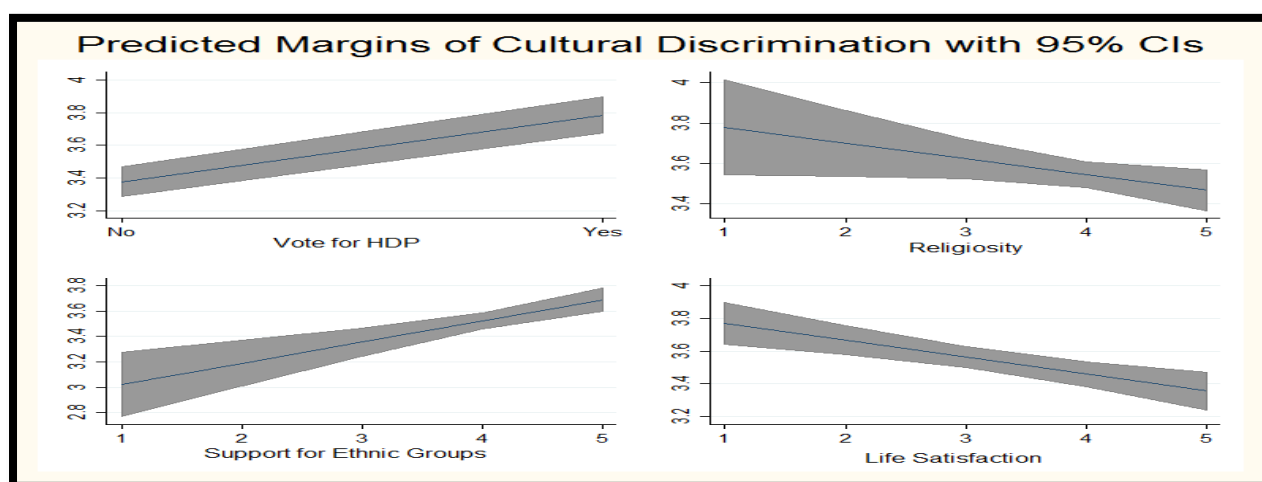


Figure 1: Thoughts on Cultural Discrimination against Kurds

To illustrate individuals' thoughts on cultural discrimination against Kurds, we plot the predicted margins of cultural discrimination with 95% confidence intervals in Figure 1. As depicted in the left plots, respondents who would vote for the pro-Kurdish HDP and who think that governments should support other ethnic identities do "agree" that there is a cultural discrimination against Kurds. Conversely, as religiosity and life satisfaction increase, a person is less likely to agree that there is cultural discrimination against Kurds.

Figure 2 reports the results for 'vote for HDP' and 'support for ethnic groups' in respect to political discrimination. In the left plot, it is shown that a male person, that lost someone in his/her family during the ethnic conflict, and that would vote for the HDP is at the highest level in agreeing that the Kurdish question stems from the political discrimination against Kurds. The right plot shows predicted margins of political discrimination in regard to support for ethnic groups and religiosity. The results suggest that the least religious people who think that the governments should support other ethnic groups in the society do "strongly agree" that there is political discrimination against Kurds.

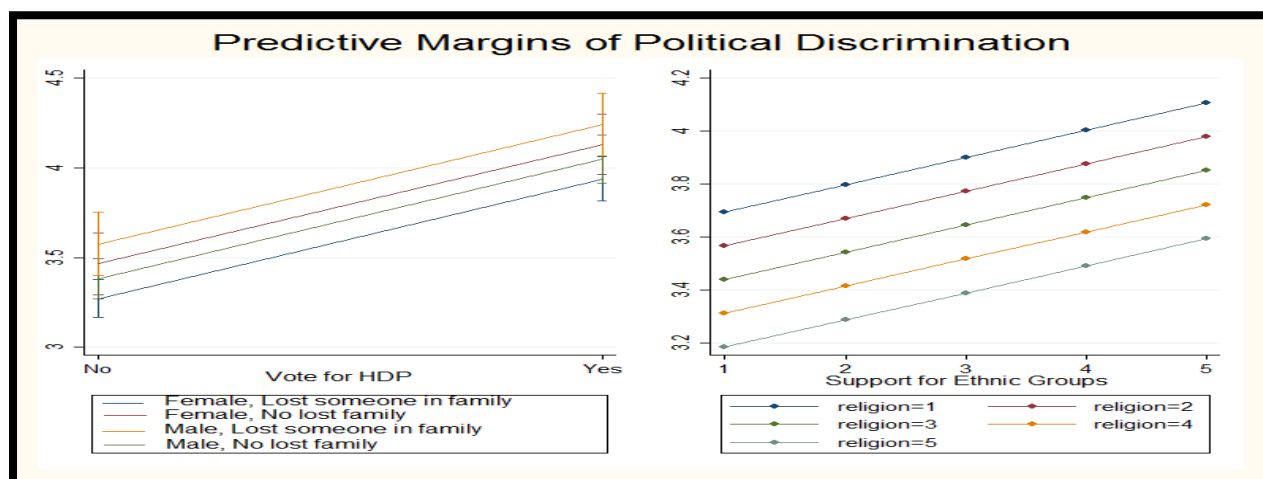


Figure 2: Thoughts on Political Discrimination against Kurds

Finally, Figure 3 shows individuals' thoughts on Kurdish separatism in regards to education, age, migration, and life satisfaction. As seen in the left plot, older and better educated Kurds "strongly disagree" that the Kurdish question stems from the Kurdish separatist movements. Similarly, a person who had to migrate to other regions due to ethnic conflict "strongly disagrees" that the Kurdish separatist movements cause the Kurdish question.

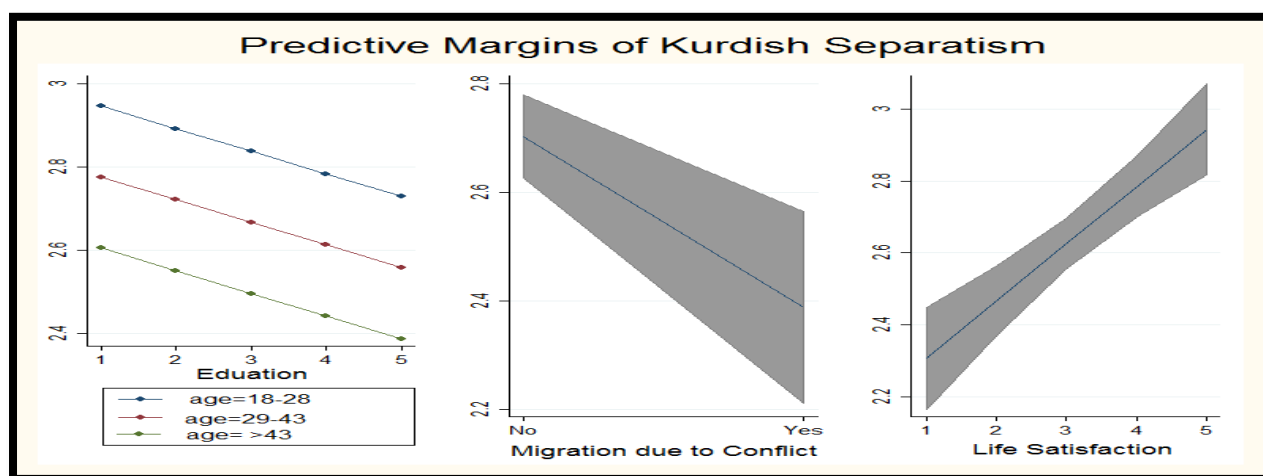


Figure 3: Thoughts on Kurdish Separatism

5. Conclusion

Kurdish question has been one of the most contradictory phenomena for decades not only in Turkey but in several countries in the Middle East. This paper attempts to examine the factors behind the Kurdish question and ethnic conflict thereupon in Turkey by conducting individual-level analysis. Previous research has been divided concerning relative importance of greed theory and of grievance theory. This study focuses on the relationship between Kurdish question and socio-economic characteristics of individuals, and grievances such as political discrimination, cultural discrimination, and economic backwardness.

We find that these grievances influence the Kurdish question. We also find that the Kurdish people that are directly affected by the ethnic conflict, that have favorable thoughts on Kurdish ethnic-oriented parties, and that think that their ethnic identity is very important to them have favorable attitudes toward grievance factors.

Respondents who would vote for the pro-Kurdish HDP and who think that governments should support other ethnic identities do “agree” that there is a cultural discrimination against Kurds. When it comes to Kurdish separatism, the results change. The older and better educated Kurds “strongly disagree” that the Kurdish question stems from the Kurdish separatist movements.

These results are based on individual-level data. Future research could investigate Kurdish question by adding aggregate-level data such as GDP per capita, inflation rate, and unemployment rate. Hence future research could obtain more generalizable results on Kurdish question by conducting multilevel analysis.

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The Effects of Socio-economic, Ideational and Demographic Factors on Having Children in Turkey in the Context of Demographic Change

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1. Introduction

The world populations have been experiencing demographic change historically. Before the twentieth century, fertility and mortality rates floated at high levels all over the world. The situation started to change in the first half of the twentieth century; decreasing mortality rates and increasing life expectation at birth led an increase in population growth rate. This demographic change is defined as mortality transition by demographers. In the second half of the century, another type of demographic transition came out; fertility rates decreased remarkably and this made the growth of population to slow down which is called fertility transition. The mortality and fertility transitions produced a global demographic change by causing old population to increase and young population to decrease.

The first important explanations about fertility change were made by Becker (1960), Becker and Lewis (1973) and Willis (1973). These researches include utility maximization and quality-quantity approach; parents take both the number of children and qualification of the children into account. Therefore, they decide about the number of children by considering the length of education for their children and the expenses for this education. On the other hand, Caldwell (1996) criticizes the economic theories of fertility transition and he points out that fertility behavior and attitude should be evaluated in the context of social aims. While all societies are rational in economic terms, social aims might differentiate across the societies. According to Lesthaeghe (1983) the diversities of fertility behaviors are related to cultural difference; differences of fertility levels and the rates of changes of these differences are linked to religious beliefs and differences of their practices, materialism and degree of individualism. Becker and Barro (1986) state that low rates of child mortality motivates parents to have children, technological development and improvement of social security system produce negative effect on having child.

Demographic, ideational and socio-economic factors have been effective on the onset of the fall in fertility rate. Researchers argue that the decrease in fertility rate started with modernization process. Modernization transformed the idea of having child; it caused people to see children as economically unbeneficial burdens. Fall in fertility rate is closely related with compulsory education, imposition of legal age of marriage by state, increase of labor for participation of women, religious beliefs, materialism, individualization and secularization.

Income takes an important role in theories explaining fertility transition. Several researches concluded that there is an inverse relation between income and fertility. Generally speaking, higher income countries experience the lowest fertility rates. Besides, lower fertility rates have been observed for the households having higher incomes within countries.

According to (Becker, 1981, s. 144), several researchers pointed out that remarkable increases in income have been leading serious decreases in fertility rates. Individuals become eager to buy more time saving outputs and services like fast-food or having meal at restaurants as they get richer. Children extraordinary time-consuming goods as a consumption item. So, the richer people shift their consumptions from children to less time-consuming goods such as expensive houses, fancy cars, beautiful clothes. (Clark, 2013, s.315-316).

According to the world bank, the fertility rate of the world was 5 in 1960s, but the same rate decreased to 2.5 by 2015. (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN>). The population projections forecast that fertility rate is expected to fall down to 2.25 by 2050. (United Nations, 2015, s. 38). Turkey has been experiencing the similar demographic

processes. In Turkey, firstly mortality rate decreased and after that fertility rate has fallen down. The fertility rate in Turkey was 6 in 1960s, it turned out to be 1.96 in 2015. The projections say that it will be 1.85 by 2050. The fall in fertility rate will cause the decrease in population and aging of population. (www.tuik.gov.tr)

According to the results derived from the socio-economic analysis for the number of children in some chosen cities in Turkey, the education of women is very important and effective on decision of childbearing. The human capital variables of women such as their working status, their education levels, wage levels and the properties of human capital of men were found to be the factors that affect the birth decision of households. (Üçdoğruk, 2003). In an another work on Turkey (Üçdoğruk, 2005), there is an inverse relation between the number of children and the education level. Janalgpourghouschhg (2014) argues that fertility rate would be decreasing with the increases in expenses on social security and education.

In this paper, the factors affecting having children are searched. In addition, the magnitudes and directions of these effects on having children are being analyzed. For this aim, the ordered probit model is estimated by using the data on Turkey derived from World Values Survey database. The dependent variable is defined as the number of respondent's children; the independent variables are importance of religion, the level of happiness, fatalism, marital status, financial satisfaction, religiosity, anxiety of not being able to give good education to children, individual autonomy, social status, gender, age, level of education, employment status and level of income.

2. Method

The dependent variable is the number of children; having children is better than having no children and having several children is better than having children in terms of demographic transition; this categorization reflects the fertility effect on demographic change. As the number of children per person decreases over time, fertility transition -i.e. decrease of fertility rate- as an important part of demographic change is observed. The number of children is a proxy variable for the fertility rate in this context. Thus, the effects of ideational, socio-economic and demographic factors on having children imply the effects of these factors on the fertility rate. The effects of independent variables on the different levels of the dependent variable is an essential issue in this work since the dependent variable has the ordering information; no child, 1 and 2 children, 3 and more than 3 children. Ordered probit model is the most proper kind of model from this perspective since it assumes an ordering information for the dependent variable.

The ordered probit equation has the nonlinear functional form. Therefore, magnitudes of the estimated coefficients are not interpreted, but their signs give the directions of the effects of independent variables on dependent variable; they might be negatively or positively related variables. In the ordered probit model, marginal effects of each independent variable give us the real effects on dependent variable. More technically, marginal effect indicates the increase in probability of specific number of children category when an independent variable increases by one unit. We are deriving the marginal effects of the estimated model and we discuss and analyze the resulted numbers.

The ordered probit model can be defined in the following manner (Greene, 2003);

$$y^* = x'\beta + \varepsilon$$

where ε is a normally distributed stochastic variable with zero mean and unit variance. Even if y^* is unobserved, we do observe

$$y = 0 \quad \text{if } y^* \leq 0$$

$$\begin{aligned}
&= 1 && \text{if } 0 < y^* \leq \mu_1 \\
&= 2 && \text{if } \mu_1 < y^* \leq \mu_2 \\
&\vdots \\
&= J && \text{if } \mu_{J-1} \leq y^*
\end{aligned}$$

Here, μ s are unknown parameters; they would be estimated with β . It is assumed that ε is normally distributed across observations. Moreover, the mean and variance of ε are normalized to zero and one.

Dependent variable's probabilities of taking these values for the ordered probit model are

$$\begin{aligned}
P(y = 0|x) &= \Phi(-x'\beta) \\
P(y = 1|x) &= \Phi(\mu_1 - x'\beta) - \Phi(-x'\beta) \\
P(y = 2|x) &= \Phi(\mu_2 - x'\beta) - \Phi(\mu_1 - x'\beta) \\
&\vdots \\
P(y = J|x) &= 1 - \Phi(\mu_{J-1} - x'\beta)
\end{aligned}$$

For all the probabilities to be positive, we must have

$$0 < \mu_1 < \mu_2 < \dots < \mu_{J-1}$$

Note that marginal effects of the regressors on the probabilities are not equal to the coefficients. For the three categories case, the probabilities are,

$$P(y = 0 | \mathbf{x}) = 1 - \Phi(\mathbf{x}'\beta)$$

$$P(y = 1 | \mathbf{x}) = \Phi(\mu - \mathbf{x}'\beta) - \Phi(-\mathbf{x}'\beta)$$

$$P(y = 2 | \mathbf{x}) = 1 - \Phi(\mu - \mathbf{x}'\beta)$$

The marginal effects of changes in the regressors are

$$\frac{\partial P(y = 0 | \mathbf{x})}{\partial \mathbf{x}} = -\Phi(\mathbf{x}'\beta)\beta$$

$$\frac{\partial P(y = 1 | \mathbf{x})}{\partial \mathbf{x}} = [\Phi(-\mathbf{x}'\beta) - \Phi(\mu - \mathbf{x}'\beta)]\beta$$

$$\frac{\partial P(y = 2 | \mathbf{x})}{\partial \mathbf{x}} = \Phi(\mu - \mathbf{x}'\beta)\beta$$

These marginal effects show the effects of changes in regressors on the probability of each categories in dependent variable. Therefore, relations between dependent variable and regressors are measured by marginal effects.

In estimating the model, we used the data derived from World Values Survey (WVS) database. The WVS consists of nationally representative surveys conducted in almost 100 countries and the database contains almost 90 percent of the world's population. These surveys use a common questionnaire. The WVS is the largest investigation of human beliefs and values ever executed; it is currently including interviews with almost 400,000 respondents. Moreover, the WVS is the only academic study covering the full range of global variations, from very poor to very rich countries. The data related to Turkey is derived from the 6th wave of the survey conducted in 2011. The sample size for our estimation is 1605.

We are using the question -code V58- "Have you had any children" as a dependent variable. The responds to the questions start with 0 and goes up to 8 and more. The mean value of the respond values is almost 2, which is exactly 1.84; thus we redefine the dependent variable like this; no child is denoted by 0, 1-2 children is denoted by 1, 3-more children is denoted by 2. So we have the categorical dependent variable which takes the values 0, 1,2 and has the ordering information; that is from 0 to 3 the number of children is increasing.

3. Findings

The descriptive statistics of all variables used in the model are derived. Table 1 indicates these statistics. First of all, the statistics of dependent variable points out that 36% of the respondents do not have any children, 37% of them have 1 or 2 children and 25% of them have 3 and more children.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of the Variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Dependent Variable				
Number of Children (0)	0.367601	0.482302		
Number of Children (1,2)	0.379439	0.485399		
Number of Children (3 and more)	0.252960	0.434843		
Ideational Factors				
Importance of Family	0.956386	0.204298	0	1
Importance of Religion	0.656698	0.474959	0	1
Life Satisfaction (level 1)	0.094704	0.292897	0	1
Life Satisfaction (level 2)	0.383178	0.486313	0	1
Life Satisfaction (level 3)	0.519626	0.499770	0	1
Individual freedom of choice (level1)	0.081619	0.273870	0	1
Individual freedom of choice (level2)	0.373209	0.483808	0	1
Individual freedom of choice (level3)	0.533333	0.499043	0	1
Religiosity	0.818692	0.385394	0	1
Individual Autonomy	0.678505	0.467196	0	1
Feeling of Happiness	0.376947	0.484773	0	1
Socio-economic Factors				
Financial Satisfaction (level 1)	0.173209	0.378546	0	1
Financial Satisfaction (level 2)	0.529595	0.499279	0	1
Financial Satisfaction (level 3)	0.284112	0.451131	0	1
Social Class (level 1)	0.285981	0.452021	0	1
Social Class (level 2)	0.678505	0.467196	0	1
Social Class (level 3)	0.019314	0.137671	0	1
Income Level 1	0.271028	0.444629	0	1
Income Level 2	0.526480	0.499454	0	1
Income Level 3	0.181308	0.385394	0	1
Education Level 1	0.401869	0.490429	0	1
Education Level 2	0.112773	0.316413	0	1
Education Level 3	0.337695	0.473071	0	1
Education Level 4	0.147664	0.354877	0	1
Demographic Factors				
Age Interval 18-29	0.318380	0.465993	0	1

The Effects of Socio-economic, Ideational and Demographic Factors on Having Children

Age Interval 30-49	0.456698	0.498277	0	1
Age Interval 50-98	0.224922	0.417661	0	1

The first ratio is very remarkable; more than one third of the respondents have no child. This has some clues about the demographic transition in Turkey. The same number was 16% in the 3rd wave and 28% in the 4th wave surveys. The first of the ideational factors is the ratio of the respondents thinking that family is important in life, which is 95%; this is the highest ratio all over. The ratio of the ones perceiving that religion is important is 65%. The lowest level of life satisfaction variable is 9%; in other words only 9% of the respondents are almost dissatisfied with their life.

The next variable is defined as individual freedom of choice here; the original question in the survey is "how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out?" Only 8% of the individuals say that they have no choice at all. Approximately more than half of them (53%) is saying that they have great deal of choice. 37% of them is saying that they have freedom of choice somehow. This situation remarks the strong signs about individualism. 81% of the respondents say that they are religious; the second highest number among the variables. The next variable is once again related with individualistic tendencies; The two third of them (67%) see themselves as autonomous individuals. When regarding this individual autonomy number (%67) with the one belonging to the individual freedom of choice (%53 + %37), the individualistic feature coming together with modernization is dominant factor among the respondents. The last of the ideational factor is the level of happiness; the 37% say that they feel really happy.

The third category of the variables is defined as socio-economic factors. Financial satisfaction is the first variable of these; dissatisfied 17% , satisfied somehow 52% and completely satisfied 28%. Besides, 67% of the respondents describe themselves as belonging to middle class, and 52% of them is saying that their household income is in the group of level 2. Education level is split into four groups; 40% of them has no formal education and completed primary school, 11% completed secondary school, 33% completed high school and 14% completed university. Finally, we have age as a demographic factor; The 31% is in 18-29 age interval, 45% is in the 30-49 age interval, 22% is in the 50-98 age interval.

The estimated probit model is presented by Table 2. The dependent variable is the number of children and it is an ordered categorical variable as defined before; 0 for no child, 1 for 1 and 2 children, 2 for 3 and more. The independent variables are subtitled under three classes; ideational factors, socio-economic factors and demographics factors. We are searching the effects of these factors on having children.

Ideational factors include importance of family, importance of religion, life satisfaction, individual freedom of choice, religiosity, individual autonomy and feeling of happiness. Socio-economic factors are financial satisfaction, social class, income level and education level. Finally, we have age intervals as demographic factors.

The reference categories are specified right under the table. The effects of the level variables on having children are relative effects; they are compared with the reference categories. The estimated coefficients belonging to these independent variables are indicated in the second column of the table; they cannot be directly interpreted since the model is nonlinear. Fortunately, sign of each estimated coefficient provides information about the direction of the effect of independent variable on the dependent variable. In the third and fourth column, there are associated standard errors and z-statistics for each variable respectively. The statistical significances of the variables are determined by using the z-statistics.

The specification test statistics for the model are shown at the bottom of the table. The results points out that the model is statistically significant. The pseudo- R^2 of the estimated

model is 0.268. Chi squared statistic is used for testing $H_0: \beta = 0$ (Greene, 2007); it is about the overall significance of the model. The value of the statistic derived from the model is 932.57 which is remarkably high and its probability value is 0.000000. Since the p-value is much less than 0.01, the hypothesis saying that the all coefficients are zeros is rejected at the 1% significance level. In other words, even if some of the coefficient estimates are statistically significant, we can say that the model is overall statistically significant.

Table 2. Estimated Ordered Probit Model

Independent Variables	Coefficient	Std.Error	z-value
Ideational Factors			
Importance of Family	0.19268	0.15828	1.217
Importance of Religion	0.19520	0.06967	2.801***
Life Satisfaction (level 2)	0.02761	0.11571	0.239
Life Satisfaction (level 3)	0.06901	0.12030	0.574
Individual freedom of choice (level 2)	-0.02958	0.11397	-0.260
Individual freedom of choice (level3)	-0.04171	0.11218	-0.372
Religiosity	0.21419	0.08501	2.520**
Individual Autonomy	-0.02045	0.06715	-0.305
Feeling of Happiness	0.11805	0.06942	1.700*
Socio-economic Factors			
Financial Satisfaction (level 2)	-0.06236	0.08986	-0.694
Financial Satisfaction (level 3)	-0.09936	0.10828	-0.918
Social Class (level 2)	-0.00869	0.07367	-0.012
Social Class (level 3)	0.15668	0.23120	0.678
Income Level 2	-0.11020	0.07681	-1.435
Income Level 3	-0.29881	0.10765	-2.776***
Education Level 2	-0.54224	0.10257	-5.286***
Education Level 3	-0.93312	0.08223	-11.348***
Education Level 4	-1.04917	0.10319	-10.167***
Demographic Factors			
Age Interval 18-29	-1.25563	0.07843	-16.008***
Age Interval 50-98	0.44612	0.08014	5.567***
Number of Observations	1605		
Chi-squared	932.5753		
Prob(ChiSqd>value)	0.000000		
Info.Criterion: AIC	1.61293		
McFadden R-squared	0.26818		

Notes: *, ** and *** denote statistically significant coefficient at the 10, 5, and 1 percent level of significance respectively. Dependent variable is the number of children on a three-point scale (0, 1 and 2). The reference categories are life satisfaction (level 1) individual freedom of choice (level 1) financial satisfaction (level 1), social class (level 1), income level 1, education level, age interval 30–49

The variables of importance of religion, religiosity and feeling of happiness among the ideational factors are statistically significant at the 1%, 5% and 10% level of significances respectively. All of the signs of the estimated coefficients belonging to these variables are positive. The individuals thinking that religion is important in their life have more tendency to have children than the ones seeing religion is not important. The positive sign of the religiosity variable implies that religious persons are having more children.

Besides, the happy individuals seem to have more children. The results are consistent with the theoretical expectations. The traditional factors like religion have positive effect on having child. The other variables - life satisfaction, individual freedom of choice and individual autonomy- are not statistically significant. Even if the signs of the estimated coefficients are as expected -the more individualistic attitude, the less tendency of having child- we cannot interpret them since they are not significant. Among the socio-economic factors, the variables of financial satisfaction and social class are not statistically significant, but the variables of income level and education level are statistically significant at the 1% significance level. The negative signs of the coefficients of the income level and education level tell us that the tendency of having more children is lessening as the income level and education level increase. The more educated and the richer are having less children as demographic transition theory say. Finally, demographic factors are statistically significant at the 1% level. The reference category is the age interval 30-49; it is the middle aged people. The estimated coefficient of the 18-29 interval is negative; the younger persons have less children than the middle aged ones do. The positive sign of the 50-98 interval imply that the older ones have more children than the middle aged do. This is consistent with the theory saying that the willingness to have child is lower for the young generation and higher for the old generation.

The Table 3 indicates the marginal effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable. In this table, Y=0 refers that no child, Y=1 refers 1 and 2 children, Y=2 refers 3 and more children; the number of children increases from 0 to 2. We will explain only the marginal effects of the significant variables. Thinking that religion is important decreases the probability of having no child by 0.07 units and increases the probabilities of having 1-2 children and having 3 and more children by 0.025 and 0.04 respectively. Being religious person decreases the probability of having no child (Y=0) by 0.078 units and increases the probabilities of having children for Y=1 and Y=2 by 0.03 and 0.047 units. For both of the variables of importance of religion and religiosity, marginal effects for Y=2 are bigger than ones for Y=1; the religious beliefs have the positive effects on the number of children. Feeling happiness decreases the probability of having no child by 0.04 units while it increases the probabilities of having children by 0.013 and 0.029; the persons who feel themselves happy have more tendency to have child than the ones not feeling happiness have.

The marginal effects of the income level 3 are 0.11 for Y=0, -0.046 for Y=1 and -0.065 for Y=2; being at the top level of income increases the probability of having no child 0.11 units and decreases the probabilities of having children by 0.046 and 0.065 when it is compared with being at the lowest level of income. In other words, the willingness of having child and the number of children decreases as income increases.

All of the marginal effects of the education level 2, 3 and 4 for Y=0 turned out to be positive as 0.21, 0.34 and 0.40. Remember that the reference category is the lowest level of education (level 1) for this variable. Therefore, when it is compared with the lowest level of education, education level 2, 3 and 4 increases the probability of having no child and this marginal effects are increasing as the level scales up. The other marginal effects for Y=1 and Y=2 for all of the education levels are negative and they get more negative as the education level increases in general.

Besides, the magnitudes of the marginal effects of the education levels are much bigger than the ones of the other independent variables; the education level really matter for having children. The estimated results related to the education level imply that the motivation to have children is diminishing for the more educated people.

Table 3. Estimated Marginal Effects

Variables	Y = 0	Y = 1	Y =2
Importance of Family	-0.0710	0.0290	0.0420
Importance of Religion	-0.0702	0.0250	0.0452
Life Satisfaction (level 2)	-0.0098	0.0032	0.0066
Life Satisfaction (level 3)	-0.0245	0.0080	0.0165
Individual freedom of choice (level 2)	0.0105	-0.0035	-0.0070
Individual freedom of choice (level 3)	0.0148	-0.0048	-0.0100
Financial Satisfaction (level 2)	0.0221	-0.0072	-0.0149
Financial Satisfaction (level 3)	0.0356	-0.0124	-0.0232
Religiosity	-0.0783	0.0306	0.0477
Individual Autonomy	0.0072	-0.0023	-0.0049
Social Class (level 2)	0.0003	-0.0001	-0.0002
Social Class (level 3)	-0.0534	0.0132	0.0403
Income Level 2	0.0390	-0.0126	-0.0264
Income Level 3	0.1102	-0.0456	-0.0646
Education Level 2	0.2061	-0.1030	-0.1031
Education Level 3	0.3413	-0.1500	-0.01913
Education Level 4	0.3978	-0.2305	-0.1673
Feeling of Happiness	-0.0416	0.0130	0.0286
Age Interval 18-29	0.4567	-0.2175	-0.2391
Age Interval 50-98	-0.1473	0.0278	0.1196

Finally, the marginal effects of the age interval 18-29 and 50-98 for Y=0 are 0.46 and -0.15 respectively. The reference category is the age interval 30-49. Therefore, being younger increases the probability of having no child by 0.46 units and being older decreases the probability of having no child by 0.15 units when they compared to the middle aged people. The other marginal effects for the age interval 18-29 are negative and for the interval 50-98 are positive.

4. Discussion

The whole world keeps on experiencing fertility transition as the falls in fertility rates all over the world causing to change demographic structures of societies. In this work, we have searched the factors effecting on having children. As a proxy variable for the fertility level, we take the number of children as a dependent variable. We used the ordered propit model since more children imply higher level of fertility; the numerical value of the number of children has the ordering information. We split the independent variables into three categories; ideational, socio-economic and demographic factors. The derived results from the estimated model are consistent with the theoretical expectations. Among the ideational

factors, religion related variables and feeling of happiness turned out to be statistically significant variables; the signs of their estimated coefficients are as we expected. As theory of demographic change states, religious beliefs seem to effect the willingness of having children in a positive way in Turkey. On the other hand, there is no effect of individualistic levels on the dependent variable. Besides, to some extent feeling of happiness is positively effecting the dependent variable. The marginal effects of the significant socio-economic variables are stronger than the ones of ideational factors. While the variables of financial satisfaction level and social class are appearing as statistically insignificant variables, the variables of income level and education level resulted as significant ones. The upper level of income and education levels make the people to have less children. Supporting the theory, fertility rate decreases as the levels of income and education increase. Finally, the fertility rate is prone to be higher for the older people and lower for the younger ones.

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Enhancing Guidance Competencies of Pre-Service Preschool Teachers

Hülya Bilgin

1. Introduction

Some periods in human life are known to have a critical importance. The first of such periods is the pre-school education years between the ages of 0 and 6. During this time, personality development of children shapes up while they gain the basic information, skills, and habits that will provide them with foundations. All these processes will contribute to their later education life and socio-emotional development.

During pre-school education period, children are open to all stimuli from their environment. Thus, pre-school education is highly important for children.

Guidance and psychological counseling services support an individual's overall development and self-development (Gökçakan, 2008). When services covered by guidance are taken into consideration, it is very important for students to benefit from appropriate guidance services in line with the relevant level of development at every step of education. Education is a process and development being continuous, guidance services are required to undertake the duties of "making development easier and assisting achievement of development goals" at every stage of education. Developmental guidance adopted in this direction is based on the fact that individuals are continuously developing, that there are certain developmental duties that must be fulfilled as a requirement of age and developmental period, and that children who successfully complete a developmental stage would have a higher success in developmental duties of the following stage. This approach aims to provide systemic and programmed guidance services in order to support and facilitate children's successful accomplishment of their developmental duties (Gökçakan, 2008; Yeşilyaprak, 2003).

The period from preschool years when children meet with school for the first time to completion of junior high school is highly important for children to benefit from guidance services. Children must be provided with guidance and psychological counseling services at every stage of education institutions.

Developmental guidance services in this period must complement teaching services at school and must be a part of the whole (Yeşilyaprak, 2003).

Guidance is not just an assistance directed towards lonely children. Normal children or children that do not have any significant problems also need help in their development and adjustment. Education would be productive as much as problems, as well as special skills are determined early on and relevant precautions are taken. This also helps individuals find the best opportunity to develop and adjust and have a complete personality. The impression and experiences children have in primary school years would affect their entire education and in turn, their adult lives (Tan, 1992).

Because development is continuous and accumulative, developmental guidance must also be a continuous and accumulative assistance. That is to say, guidance services must be provided in all stages of life (Kuzgun, 1992). According to Dinkmayer and Zaccaric, developmental guidance evaluates human life as an ongoing change from the beginning to the end. The authors emphasize the significance and necessity of guidance in overcoming developmental crises that come up at different periods during this process. Depending on the developmental period they are in, students live different problems in every level of education. For this reason, studies in line with students' developmental period and level of education must be

planned accordingly. Students that have different educational, career or personal problems in different levels of education (pre-school, primary school, junior high school, and higher education) must be provided with guidance and psychological counseling services (student personality services) (Tuzcuoğlu, 1995).

Guidance services that would be planned for children in pre-school must be aimed at supporting their development, overcoming differences based on their living environments, preparing them for the next level of education, assisting them to form harmonious and necessary relations in personal and social life, and ensuring they function well such as by developing the skill and habit of studying systematically.

Playing games in the pre-school period meets needs such as using one's body, satisfying one's curiosity, revealing dreams and desires, and gaining one's independence. In this period various activities must be organized to develop children's interests, skills and abilities; children must be provided with opportunities to know and test themselves; they must be given feedback and correct behaviors must be reinforced. Guidance services comprise activities targeted at personal acceptance, developing self-confidence and self-respect, and ensuring socialization. In terms of education, main targets are adjusting to school and primary school readiness (Özabacı, 2010).

The initial phase of career development starts from the pre-school period and covers primary school (between the ages of 5 and 12). In this period children start to see and understand that people around them have different jobs and that there are various vocations. During the later years of primary school, children realize that there are differences and similarities between themselves and other people in terms of interests, skills, goals, and motivation. Vocational counseling to pre-school children at ages of 4-6 must use role-playing and mimes to present vocations in children's proximity starting with vocations of the people they contact with in their daily lives; increase importance ascribed to working by establishing relationships between values such as self-development or cooperation and working just like the relationship between working and earning money; underline importance of all vocations for human life without creating prejudice about individual vocations, teach values of work life that employees must have which ensure productivity such as time management, efficiency, completing a work, and honesty; organize trips to various business places to ensure children observe how certain vocational activities are conducted and to increase their curiosity (Arsoy, 2010).

According to Roe's theory, career development of individuals directly depends on their interest in childhood and how they meet those needs that lie at the heart of those interests. Accordingly, child-family relations, interests and needs, their level of development and satisfaction are considered to be the first determinants of career choice (Kepçeoğlu, 1998).

Thus, pre-school education period is too important and critical to leave to coincidences. Teachers have significant roles and duties.

When children start school in pre-school education period, the first adults they meet after their family members are their pre-school teachers. Teachers play a critical role during pre-school education period in ensuring children develop correct information, skills, habits, and behavior and increasing students' competences.

Developing correct behaviors and positively improving all developmental fields by children reveal significance of this period and competence of teachers that would educate children.

Performance of some guidance functions by teachers in addition to fulfilling their teaching duties facilitates learning and can protect children's mental health (Kuzgun, 1992).

According to Kottler (2007), if counseling skills of teachers are equipped with basic help strategies such as listening and replying to the teacher and a plan is followed to alter children's behavior, such behavior can be understood more easily and children's emotions can be clarified.

Pre-school teachers with a sense of guidance would work to create a free, relaxed, warm, and safe atmosphere in order to ensure children have a healthy overall development, adjust to school environment, and realize their potentials. They would primarily create the physical and social environment to ensure children's healthy development. In this environment children recognize themselves in their peer groups, develop strength and skills to survive, and learn rules of cohabitation. The group fills in children's lives and ensures social and psychological satisfaction. These institutions also meet basic needs such as using one's own body, playing games, satisfying curiosity, revealing dreams and desires, and gaining independence. Guidance functions also target meeting these needs. Only those children whose needs are met can be healthy and can adjust to their environments. Guidance services in this period include activities directed at self-acceptance, developing self-confidence and self-respect, and ensuring socialization. In terms of education, main targets are adjusting to school and primary school readiness. In this sense, the aim is to make children like school, gain motivation for education, and develop some basic skills. In order to assist self-development and adjustment of children, pre-school teachers with a sense of guidance have such responsibilities as ensuring children like and trust their schools/teachers, observing to learn more about children and keeping development files, closely monitoring children's development, cooperating with the parents, preparing children for important changes in their lives, establishing correct educational environments for children to evaluate themselves and to discover their skills, emphasizing children's success and improving their self-esteem, and assisting with their self-discovery (Yeşilyaprak, 2003).

Teachers are in a very significant place in terms of guidance and counseling services. They establish personal contact with students. Without their assistance and cooperation, a number of activities in the guidance and counseling program cannot be completed. Teachers observe students closely and are the first people to face the problems. They enter in many small guidance relationships without even realizing. For this reason, teachers must be able to use some guidance skills in addition to having basic ideas and attitudes about guidance and counseling. They must take precautions to prevent problems with students in their classes and have the understanding and sensibility to discover potential problems (Tan, 1992).

Teachers play a role in development of guidance and counseling program in addition to realizing the guidance functions they have in class. They monitor and direct to guidance service those students that require additional assistance beyond personal guidance functions they have in class. Teachers also meet with guidance teachers and other school staff about guidance needs of children. They determine needs of students and advise to guidance service (Kılıçaslan, 2010).

Pre-school teachers conduct educational activities with a small number of children throughout the day (even without recess). This enables teachers to have more information about children. Pre-school teachers, being the first adults outside the family children take as examples, have a significant influence on students.

Since demand for and expectations from guidance services increase in our day, guidance teachers at schools cannot load this burden on their own. With class teachers' participation, more students would benefit from guidance services. For this reason, teachers must actively participate in implementation of guidance activities in class (Ergin, 2010).

Among guidance services that teachers can give, one can cite creating a favorable environment in class to students' general development, accustoming students to new situations, giving information, observing and identifying students, giving career guidance, listening to students, assisting with their personal and social development, bringing students with special needs to attention, and cooperating with school counselors in application of guidance programs. In addition, teachers can establish a trust relationship by improving students' sense of belonging in class, respecting them unconditionally, treating students sincerely and honestly and most importantly, by forming effective communication with them (Ergin, 2010).

At school, teachers are those individuals that students form the deepest relations with. Because they are in a more intense and long-term relationship with the students, they know the students better, can identify problems early on, establish a direct relationship with their families, and identify risk factors more easily. This is the clearest identification of the role that teachers play in prevention (Demir, 2010).

The daily interaction between students and teacher creates a significant opportunity to protect students from risk. A major part of this protection lies in effective teaching strategies, because students who feel secure and successful are thought to stay clear of risk factors to a great extent. Only a competent and trustworthy student-teacher relationship and healthy communication is found to significantly decrease aggressive behavior (Demir, 2010).

It is very important in many ways for teachers to actively participate in guidance process. Guidance services at school are not sufficient on their own in determining students in risk group and identifying which interventions are required. Insufficient quantity of psychological advisors in guidance services leads to inability in determining and meeting needs of every school. Besides, contrary to teachers who spend the whole day with children and interact with families through parent-teacher meetings; psychological advisors cannot spend a similar amount of time with students and their families which is why they fall short of knowing all children and determining their needs. For this reason, teachers have a significant responsibility in determining problem areas, groups under risk and required interventions and in being a part of intervention programs developed in cooperation with guidance teachers (Demir, 2010).

In our country, observations of parents and teachers play a major role in identification of students with special needs. The most important factor that determines success of a special education program is the quality of cooperation between parents and specialists. This cooperation is between parents that live stress in the process of upbringing children with special needs and adjusting them to society and specialists such as therapists, doctors, psychologists, and teachers who try to collect sufficient information about children's problems. Effective communication is crucial in mitigating possible misunderstandings between parents and specialists. Especially communication of teachers with parents makes a major contribution. In case parents do not wish to play an active role in determining children's education program, effective elucidating by teachers would be useful (Eryenen, 2010).

Teachers who work with children with special needs must cooperate with other specializations in order to provide sufficient support to families and children. Positive and participatory approach of teachers towards this interaction is a significant factor in ensuring effectiveness of support by specialists from different fields. Cooperation between teachers and counselors is important for guidance services given to students with special needs (Eryenen, 2010).

Pre-school education guidance program developed by the Turkish Ministry of National Education lists expectations from teachers as such: Conducting research on subjects in the program and being prepared for class applications; coordinating with guidance teachers and requesting assistance from guidance services at school if necessary; considering the program as a process that would bring in experiences, attitudes, values, and skills; creating a class environment where children can express themselves; encouraging children to participate in activities; avoiding comparative and critical behaviors and expressions; having a non-judgmental attitude and behavior; being a good role model for skills presented to children; using the skills presented to children; giving children reinforcers if necessary; cooperating with parents and teachers to monitor children's development; and organizing the required studies to involve parents in program process (MEB, 2012).

Within the scope of school guidance program, teachers take part in orientation presented in the initial days of school and present facilities at school and its vicinity to students. Teachers are expected to spare time to introduce guidance program to students and inform them about how they can benefit from school guidance services. The fact that teachers inform students about school guidance service and program also demonstrates that teachers support the program (Can, 2004).

The most important role teachers would play in preparation of school guidance program is cooperating with the school psychological counselor. Without cooperation and support of teachers, program would have only a limited success. Teachers take part in the Team for Preparation and Evaluation of Guidance Program that would be formed in the body of school guidance board and actively participate in preparation of guidance program by cooperating with school psychological counselors. Besides, teachers have a supportive role in guidance program. The support that teachers would give to school psychological counselors in application of guidance program would have a motivating force for counselors (Can, 2004).

The key role teachers would play in application of guidance program would be applying this program in their own classes. Such activities that are termed class guidance activities and carried out by class guidance teacher, ensure more students benefit from guidance services at school. For this reason, teachers must actively participate especially in carrying out of class guidance activities. Thus, teachers are required to have a higher understanding and skills as executers of class guidance activities (Can, 2004).

As noted earlier, teachers have a major responsibility in guidance program. For this reason, they are required to have on the job training. The importance of frequently revisiting information gained in pre-service period and transmission of new developments to teachers cannot be exaggerated. Teachers can refresh their information on guidance by attending various seminars, conferences and practices. Guidance services require close cooperation of all school staff. For this reason school staff such as teachers, managers, attendants, and school doctors must be allowed to cooperate with each other (Tuzcuoğlu, 1995).

2. Discussion and Conclusion

In the literature in Turkey there are a limited number of program studies directed towards improving guidance competencies of pre-school teachers (Bilgin, 2015). Studies are mostly directed towards teachers working on the field. Almost all research underlines importance of guidance activities in education process and notes that guidance programs positively influence general development of children while being effective in improving their primary school readiness levels.

Studies on pre-school education conducted abroad are also directed towards teachers working on the field. Especially, it is established that programs targeted at developing guidance skills of teachers bring in information and experience in communication and counseling skills while creating awareness and enable teachers to understand their own limits and roles (Doikou and Diamandidou, 2011). This shows that such programs can be used as a significant tool in supporting career developments of teachers in early childhood period. Certain guidance competencies can be vital in this environment to influence change and positively direct teacher-children interaction (Virmani, 2013). It is observed that teachers have higher levels of self-confidence, thus have a positive influence on teacher-student relations (Massé, Couture, Levesque and Bégin, 2013). Teachers have improved skills of interacting with difficult children and their parents (Alkon, 2003). Effective counseling skills of teachers are improved (Green, 2012). It is also observed that there is a positive increase in approaching parents, interaction with coworkers, interaction with students and understanding student behavior (Askell-Williams and Murray-Harvey, 2003). Teachers' perception of problem behavior is positively changed and their concerns are decreased (Carter and Norman, 2010). It is revealed that teachers' awareness is increased, and relations with parents are improved (Berry, 1987). Class management became easier, directives have become meaningful and understood more fully by students, students gained teacher support, and teachers concerns regarding problem behavior such as aggressive and distracting behaviors are diminished (Barnett, 2006). Teachers have improved behavior control and preventing possible problems skills (Mcgoey, 2013). Teachers better grasp basic guidance skills and such guidance skills give them the opportunity to establish more effective teacher-student relations and positive relations between teachers. Teachers must be more conscious while using these counseling skills due to their positions (Al-Thanil and Nasser, 2012). It is determined that these programs bring in information and experience to teachers in communication and guidance skills and enable them to have a better understanding of their limits and roles.

Teachers believe that cooperation and communication between teachers and guides is one of the most important duties of guidance service. Developmental Guidance understanding reserves a major role for presentation of guidance services by teachers (Amatea, 2004). Teachers appreciate and value roles of school guides, however, they also believe that guidance services must be ameliorated and developed (Reiner, 2009).

Cooperation between teachers and guidance service and involving teachers in planning of guidance program would be a major step towards involving teachers in the process (Amatea, E. and Clark, M. A., 2004). One way of establishing cooperation between teachers and guidance service would be including a class on this topic in university guidance and psychological counseling programs.

In addition, it is noted that pre-school teachers lack sufficient information on guidance services for children and their families and child psychology and that they need on the job training on this issue. It is remarkable that the majority of teachers would like to take part in guidance services and that class guidance became a shared responsibility of teachers and psychological counselors. Besides, managers and guidance teachers on duty at pre-school education institutions express that they lack sufficient information and skills to present guidance services at pre-school and that they had limited relevant courses during their university education (Aliyev, 2012).

Almost all research emphasize the importance of guidance activities in education process and express that guidance programs improve children's general development while increasing their primary school readiness levels.

It is noted that Turkey needs 35.000 psychological consultants in addition to those currently employed. According to data from 2012 Ministry of National Education research, there are 2.700 students per consultant in Turkey (Halmatov, 2014).

The number of psychological counselors graduated from 21 separate “Psychological Guidance and Counseling” (or “Psychological Services at Education”) departments in universities falls short of meeting what schools need. Only 15% of our primary and junior high schools have guidance services that are carried out by experts. It can be argued that the current vacancy is around 45.000 and that it would take many years to fill those positions (Aydın, 2014).

According to this, teachers must be given guidance understanding and sufficient information and skills on this issue. Besides, even though guidance specialists are assigned to all schools, teachers would inevitably assume duties and responsibility in these services with “team work” understanding. This inevitability is as much a “legal” responsibility of teachers, as well as a “career” responsibility to ensure students have a healthy and harmonious development (Yeşilyaprak, 2003).

According to research, competency levels of pre-school pre-service teachers must be improved in order to ensure their support at guidance activities. Candidate pre-school teachers graduated with sufficient information and skills can provide children and their families with necessary guidance services in case there are no guidance teachers at their schools, or can cooperate with the guidance teacher employed at their school to perform more productively. As a consequence, it is possible to achieve significant educational gains by children, parents, and teachers while ensuring pre-school education gets widespread.

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Independent area toilet: The analysis of the writing the toilet door in distinction between men and women

Ozge Cengiz, Can Cengiz

1. Introduction

Alteration of the academic literature, which belongs to social sciences showed up end of the twentieth century, still continues on today. This alteration is about micro-places, cultural practices, reception studies, identity and sub-identities and finally daily life practices. It is observed that studies about daily life practices intensify in some fields but remain restricted in some fields. Toilet writings (latrinalia) are one of the subject of these restricted fields. There are some studies about latrinalia in USA, UK and Latin America. However in continental Europe and Turkey the literature related with this subject is undeveloped.

Researchers (Mathios, 2013), who contributed the literature about toilet writings, stated that researchers who want to study about this topic met with some obstacles. Academic foundations and academicians dignified some parts of daily life practices, on the other hand they thought that studies about toilets are trivial. Related tendency was evoked itself in Turkey. It was not encountered academic studies about toilet writings in Turkey, the topic were abandoned to humor. In fact toilet writings, which show both private and public features, are remarkable as a field where writers cite their messages faithfully.

In abroad studies toilet writings are included in graffiti and street art subjects and its esthetic value came into prominence. These studies are seemed to focus on just psychological factors or an area which we can define it as toilet folklore. In Turkey, very limited studies verged only compilation or description, and took the subject as a humorous fact.

When looking at the existing literature it has seen that studies about toilet writings (latrinalia) has a past goes back to 1920's. Generally these studies were about graffiti and street art. Academicians, who are interested in architecture, art history and fine arts, are solicitous about these topics. But toilet writings are just be a sub-branch of graffiti and street art.

To understand the differences between toilet writings and graffiti/street art, it is important to comprehend what graffiti and street art are.

Wolff (2011) defines the street art as a local, un-special, message basic movement. To him, the most important matter on street art is the job that has been made and the message that wanted to give. On the contrary to the other art branches, in street art artist disappear behind his/her work. Artist's signature is rarely located in street art. The work which had been made appropriate for the society.

Graffiti and street art show some differences in some ways. Primarily street art is open to interpretation with regard to shape and content. But it is hard to say that to graffiti. Besides that the materials that using in graffiti are limited with markers and spray paints. However, in street art materials varies like chalk, dye, airbrush, collage, sticker, wheat paste and et cetera (Çakır, 2015).

Borja (2014) defines the graffiti as a language which is consisted of the writings that is committed in the public spaces illegally. They are usually anonymous and rarely there can be some personal ones (Leong, 2015).

Kutal (1988:9) said that graffities appealed the society with unrecognized media vehicles. Actually, graffiti is poetry against to the aristocracy or dominant classes. The problems of the countries about political, economic, cultural issues can be analyzed on these graffities. In dictator countries you can encounter illegal graffities constantly. In the countries, which can be defined as liberal, graffities became a space that minorities registered their

feelings. Minority groups like homosexuals, pro-choice people, feminists, conscientious objectors, try to increase their visibility with these walls. Graffiti art began with hippie movement in 1970's and with 2000's it spread and improved.

Why we are writing on the toilet doors is an important problematic of latrinalia studies. Some answers are revealed about this subject. Dundes (1966) said as an answer that breaking taboos, leaving a mark and the other similar options. Mark Ferem (freelance writer) said that toilet writings were written with usually no motivation and they are a ritual. So they offer an option that thoughts can be expressed. Also he added that, like Dundes, leaving a mark is important too. Read likewise offers wish of leaving a mark, reveal strong feelings, obsessions, ideas, sexual fetishes, desires and using slang word answers (Borja, 2014).

Ferem defines the toilet walls as perfect places for people to express their thoughts about sport, religion, policy, racism, homophobe and other similar matters. The reason of it is that providing a safety place than a place wherever outsider. It is not possible that someone can find you out during you are writings something on the wall (Young, 2009).

Toilet walls are more reachable than the other places. Everybody use the toilets and it is unnecessary to have an artistic feature to write any toilet writings (Young, 2006).

People, who are studying the toilet writing, see latrinalia different from graffiti. Latrinalia has more privacy and less appearance fear (Young, 2009).

According to Kohn there are many differences between graffiti and toilet writings (latrinalia). An important difference among these that toilets are visited by more people than the walls outside and this situation shows that toilets are more public places than the walls (Young, 2009).

The most important difference between the graffiti and latrinalia is that toilet writings cannot control and observe. Despite the fact that the walls occupy in desolated places, there is a risk that the person who makes graffiti can be shown by other people and this situation exercise influence over the people.

Latrinalia is usually considered equally obscene writings. But the most important variation between them is latrinalia has being made anonym although the obscene writings have a writer and a publisher (Seffield, 2014).

Dundes (1966) called the toilet writings as "latrinalia" and separated the writings some variations like: 1-add/demand, 2- claim/request, 3- command, 4- interpretation, 5- personal complaining. He said that these categories could be raised.

The first study about toilet writings is Dr. Allen Walker Read's semantic study about toilets (Borja, 2014).

Latrinalia is usually thought as a way of acquisition of knowledge because it is learned informally and it includes some informal information, with some drawings and writings, about the world, us, society, beliefs, cultures, traditions. Latrinalia is an interactive, dynamic creation, communication and performance way. Every day toilet writings are making by women and men for lots of reasons. Moreover, latrinalia can be named as a traditional ritual. When the toilet writings are examined, it has seen that this activity is constantly repeating and it undertook a purpose and has happened again and again in time (Borja, 2014).

2. Method

This study is about toilet writings, which are known as latrinalia, for a communication setting. For this study, cafes, schools and pub toilets were visited just located in Ankara, Turkey. 43 places were visited and 126 (71 women, 55 men) toilet writings are photographed and compiled. Compiled data is analyzed with including some specific categories. While evaluating analyzes we benefited from the graphics and the categories which had made in previous studies.

Independent area toilet: The analysis of the writing the toilet door

With this study it is aimed that toilet writings must be viewed as a communication course. Previous studies in Turkey and abroad are unfortunately very limited; so this study will originally contribute the literature. Cause of the studies about this subject are limited is the general judgment. Toilet writings seem not to have an academic value (Mathios, 2013).

Latrinalia subject has been studied before. Leong (2015) studied ten toilets in America's northeast states. These toilets' five of them belong to men; five of them belong to women. The toilets which she viewed comprise of multiple restroom stalls. 202 toilet writings that she viewed, %29.2 of them were in men's restroom, %70.8 of them were in women's restroom. This situation refutes the argument that men are more vandal than women about writing on toilet's walls. In both men and women's restroom, she encountered some drawings and writings about sexuality, obscene and slang statements mainly.

Kinsey and his friends made a study about women's sexual behaviors in 1953. In this study Kinsey found more writings in men's restroom and most of the writings were about homophobia.

Farr and Gordon repeated the work by extending, that Kinsey had done before, in 1975. According to their study, it had seen that women's writings in restrooms were increased to 1953 results. In 1953 women's writing percentage was %25, but in 1975 this percentage increased to %44 (Trahan, 2011).

In 2004 Bartholome and Snyder made a study on Rochester-New York area and examined the men's and women's toilets to quality and quantity. According to the result there hadn't be seen any differences between the men's and women's toilet writings. 269 writings that had been examined, %52 of them were in women's restroom, %48 of them were in men's restroom (Trahan, 2011).

Young (2009) examined the toilet writings by separating them into categories like "art, fraternity/association, hetero-sexual, homo-sexual, racist and genderless". According to his study, %11 of the writings was in fraternity/association category. %2 of them were person's name, %2 of them were fine-art study and the rest of the %85 were sexual desires, racist and sexual group ideas, views about sport and policy and the other public views.

In the study that has been made in Philippines University 311 latrinalia examples were examined. The writings examined separated into five categories. These categories and their frequency percentage are like this: romanticism (%21.2), socio-politic issues (%14.8), mutual support and comfort (%13.2), provocation/anger (%12.5) and humor (%11.3). Beside, the main categories have been made two little categories. These names and frequency percentage are like this: thinking about the same subject/rumination (%4.5) and academic (%3.9). Rest of the %18.6 part varies like non-categories (Borja, 2014).

3. Findings

According to the findings that been obtained, some categories arise. These categories and their percentages are like this: state of mind (%23), political ideas (%21), literary/motto/poetry (%19), sexually explicit (%10), sport (%10), communication information (%10), painting/art (%4), request (%2), other (%1).

It will be wrong to evaluate these categories generally. Because toilet writings are very different from each other to woman and man gender. For this reason, evaluating the toilet writings separately to man and woman will cause more meaningful results.

In woman toilets categories range like this: state of mind (%28), literary/motto/poetry (%15), political ideas (%24), communication information (%9), painting/art (%7), sexually explicit (%7), request (%1). According to this result, it has seen that woman write on the toilet doors/walls about state of mind mostly. These writings are about person's unhappiness, anger and disappointment.

Secondly literate/motto/poetry category comes to the forefront. Most of the writings in this category are anonymous. Women usually write song lyrics from Bob Marley and Ahmet Kaya.

Thirdly, political writings are in majority. Despite the belief that women do not share their political ideas in public, in school and café toilets there are especially political writings. The reason of this situation can be about women's limited position in policy, social influence and etc.

After the political writings, there are usually writings about communication information, sexuality and some drawings which we can put them into painting/art category. Rather than to make a general analysis of women writings in toilets, it is more accurate to make the analysis to the places. Because the writings that examined are different from as to cafes, schools and pubs.

In school toilets, just two categories have been met. These categories and their frequency percentage are like this: political (%85), literary/motto/poetry (%15). The toilets that in schools, are limited with just political and literary/motto/poetry categories. In these toilets there are mostly political writings. Most of the writings consist of leftist ideas and their posters. Some slogans like "Only way is revolution", "Berkin Elvan is immortal" greatly repeated, beside those feminist writings were in common like "Woman is woman, flower is your father", "A restriction again, woman should go out streets everyday".

All of the political writings are anonymous; there is not any information about the person who writes them. It can be said that the writer may be afraid of to be known or supporting the marginal groups in society.

In most of the feminist writings there is anger to men and besides sexually explicit, slang terms can be met. At this point, the result can be reached that women thought that they should pretend like men to take what they want.

Besides the political writing, there are motto writings on the school's toilet walls like "Life's simple, you make choices and you don't look back" (from a character -Han Seoul Oh- of Fast and Furious movie) but they are very limited. All of these writings are anonymous too.

In pub toilets, the categories about toilet writings are more various than school toilets. The categories and their frequency percentage are like this: state of mind (%39), literary/motto/poetry (%29), communication information (%12), painting/art (%10), sexually explicit (%8), request (%2).

The people who come to pubs vary to their age average, professions, cultural setting and this situation can be learned from toilet writings. In pub toilets, different from school and café toilets, political writings are not encountered. There are mostly psychological writings in pub toilet walls. Usually they are anonymous and about romantic relationships, anger, unhappiness, concern and other negative feelings.

Secondly literal writings come to the forefront with the percentage of 29. These writings are anonymous too like the examples in cafes and schools. But different from them, these writings have some frames with heart, flowers or other drawings and they are more affirmative.

In pub toilets walls there are mostly song lyrics and anonymous poems. These poems usually used for to tell the person's psychological situation but because of their typeface they are accepted as poems.

Kind of cooperation and solidarity writings are encountered in examined toilets like "Be sure you are loved, do not think that you are alienated", "Do whatever you want, you live once". Besides them there are dialogues too like: "I cannot forget" – "You will beautiful sister!". This kind of writings show that women care about the people that they do not know and they like to help them in psychological, mental ways.

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In the studies that have been made in abroad, it is observed that sexually implicit statements mostly took part. But this situation changes in Ankara. Sexually implicit statements are rather low and they are usually been written to indicate anger. This anger is directed to personal targets beside political, cultural, religious ones.

It can be explained with sexuality is a repressed feeling for both man and woman gender with the writings that have been written more in men's restroom than women's. Men feel comfortable while they are writing about their feelings on the toilet's walls but women try to keep away from these kinds of statements as they have been watched by someone.

Like the example above, in abroad samples, racist and homophobic expressions were encountered but in examined places it is not encountered with that kind of statements.

In man toilets categories range like this: sport (%22), political ideas (%18), state of mind (%16), sexually explicit (%16), communication information (%11), literary/motto/poetry (%11), other (%6).

When looking at the general dispersion of the writings in men toilets, it is observed that sport topic and political writings are in majority. After those, sexually implicit writings and psychological statements are in common. If we look at the topics that men wrote on the toilet's walls, it can be said that they acted properly to their identities that are approved by the society.

Men transmit their manners and views in both sport and policy that can be said as aggressive language. Aforementioned aggression's background is being consisted of sexual urges. The language that they used featured marginalize. This attitude shows itself in the description of existing mental and physical situations. Male writers who define their situations, world perceptions with negative values, prefer an aggressive language to blame the readers and their identities.

When comparing men's writings with women writings in general, outstanding feature is that men apply hardly ever to poetic expressions, pictures or some drawings like graphic. Different from women toilets, in men toilets sharing phone numbers gain importance especially.

In school and cafe toilets, categories range like this: sport (%24), political ideas (%22), sexually explicit (%16), state of mind (%14), literary/motto/poetry (%14), communication information (%5), other (%5).

Men's writings are more varied than women's writings in cafes' and schools' toilets. Sport, political, sexual implicit, quote implicit and psychological implicit writings are nearly similar percentage. The most important difference between in women's and men's toilet is existence of sport category. Once more, different from pub's men toilets, writings related with sport are in majority.

The writings concerned with sport composed one quarter of total writings. Furthermore it can be said that sport main heading is misleading. It is not hard to say that all of the writings aimed at football, although fan clubs are active in lots of branches. It is observed that fan clubs come to the forefront as a symbol, although the writings about football include the club's sportive successes and competition each other. On this topic, Beşiktaş's fan group Çarşı and Ankaragücü's fan group Gecekondu shine out.

Policy category includes ideologies, meta-narrations, political views, abridgement of political parties, political signs, symbols and slogans. Anarchism star, some socialist leaders' names can be an example to these. There are also some anti-terror writings too.

As a third topic sexually implicit writings are very difficult factors to be categorized. They usually consist of slang words and it is uncertain that whom is written to. Generally other writers respond these kinds of statements with arrow marks and therefore toilet writings seem to be updated all the time. Writers use slang words and swearwords to insult homosexuals and these statements are very prevalent.

Some of the writings are in the shape of quotes or anonymous toilet writings. Besides, the popular movies' or series' dialogues, anonymous sentences, which can be encountered in the whole world and turn the toilet writings into folkloric factor, have been seen on the walls. The most famous phenomenon character "Tosun" continues its existence. The writings that we can see them as an outpouring of mental situations are charged with slang words and expose features that reflected pessimism.

Different from women toilets, it is not encountered any poetic form writings at schools' men toilets. Sharing phone numbers or twitter/facebook addresses is less than in pub toilets.

In pub toilets, categories range like this: communication information (%23), state of mind (%23), sport (%18), sexually explicit (%18), political ideas (%12), literary/motto/poetry (%6).

The writings in pub toilets are different from the writings in school/café toilets. The most important difference is the percentage of communication information category. A very significant part of relevant writings consists of making entries to the walls without any inscription. Some of the notes are aimed at the people who want homosexual relationships and writers usually add these notes that they are active on this relationship. Facebook, twitter and instagram addresses are shared in pubs too but they are very limited and it cannot be guessed that if they are belongs to the writers or not.

On the other hand the short inscriptions and sentences which summarize the writer's mental situation, life and his/her general world view are intensely found in pub toilets. More than half of the sentences are in English and almost all of them refer to the pessimist, negative mental situation of writer's world. Just as women toilets, there are also some dialogues, which consist of writings that tell to the writer not be upset very much, in these toilets too.

Writings about policy, sexually implicit and especially sport are very limited in pub toilets in comparison to school and café toilets. Although the quantitative decrease, released writings have not a critical difference in the way of qualitative. In parallel with assessments above, it is not encountered with any poetic texts in men's restrooms.

As Wolff (2011) indicates that, dialogue writings mostly take part in men's toilets. These writings demonstrate that writings on the toilets are an interactive type.

4. Conclusion and Consideration

We can say that there is a decrease in writing on the toilet's walls when we evaluate their quantitative alteration within history, by considering the interviews that being made with place owners. Causes of this decrease can be listed like that:

First of all, it is observed that place owners or institution managers are troubled with toilet writings and took precaution for them. Important part of toilet walls are covered with glazed ceramic tile or tile materials and toilet doors are chosen from dark materials to not be written on them. Nevertheless writers use little places between the tiles or water pipes as an obviation. As another reason of relevant quantitative decrease, becoming popular of social media devices where real identities hide easily can be shown (Güven Sak, 2013). Third reason is place owners' offer to the customers some post-its, napkins or similar materials to write on them.

Toilet writings are erased constantly by place owners, managers or other users and this is an obstacle for toilet writings in public places. This situation overshadows the historical alteration in toilet writing but on the other hand it reveals a feature of toilet writings what we can define as actuality.

In multiple flat building or the places that have over toilets, first floors are used for writing on the toilet walls greatly.

Another feature of the toilet writing's quantity is economical decisiveness of the place. In the study, toilet writings are encountered in the places where low-income's demand more than the places which provide service to people economically higher-up.

In Ankara, it has seen that women write on the toilet walls more than men and this situation are different from abroad too.

There are some similarities and differences between our study and foreign studies. First of all, some templates which compensate the toilet folklore in foreign literature are seen in this study too. For instance Kilroy character in English, confront in Turkish as "Tosun" character. "I was here" statement in English turns into "We were here" in Turkish.

Besides the similarities, there are also substantial differences between Turkey and abroad. An important example is commonness of writings in sport/football category in men toilets.

In foreign studies, there are limited writings about policy in women toilets but in our study it is detected that writings about policy play a part constantly in women toilets, especially in school and café toilets. On the contrary, homophobia subject is rarely found in men's toilets and there are not any writings about this subject in women's toilets different from foreign studies. Similarly, in abroad it is observed that racist writings in toilets are in common but in our study these kinds of writings are very measurable. Religious and nonreligious writings are very limited in our study again.

When looking at the differences between men's and women's toilet writings, first diversion is sport category which is found in men's toilets frequently but is not found any in women's toilets. On the other hand although poetic texts or drawings are in common in women's toilets, it is not encountered any poetic texts, drawings are used related with policy and sport limitedly in men's toilets. Men usually preferred to use slang words or sentences which involves insult and swearwords but it is observed that women did not go for it. Men wrote on school and café's toilets but women preferred pub toilets.

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Contributions of cemeteries to urban greenery: Case study of Tekirdağ

Burçin Ekici

1. Introduction

In our day, although the growth in urbanization and technological developments eases daily life, it drives people apart from nature and natural environments. However, people need the resting influence of these places for spiritual and physical renewal. Therefore, especially in recent years, the demand in green areas has started to increase in order to meet this recreation need.

Urban rural areas are important in terms of recreation as well as their aesthetical, ecological, and psychological effects. To summarize, rural areas;

- Enable air stream through the city,
- Prevent carbon emission,
- Improve soil,
- Create natural air conditioning effect,
- Form an aesthetical environment,
- Enable open air recreation,
- Build relationship between human and nature by enabling natural components in urban planning (Kuruppuarachchi, 2016).

Cemeteries, one of the land uses in the cities, are considerably important habitats among urban green areas due to their biotic and abiotic components, structures, and functions (Silc, 2009). Beside their historical, religious, and anthropological effects, these places are important materials for urban planners or sciences interested in ecology and botanic because of being ecological reserve areas and potential green areas (Aktan & Altan, 2011).

Cemeteries are among the oldest evidences of human civilization. These are important sources of information regarding prehistory and old cultures. As a result of the archeological excavation, it is found out that the first interments were not made consciously, and that they were isolated in caves and cobbled, for protection against wild animals (Berar, Silivăş, Fora & Toş, 2012).

Throughout history, people burned the dead, had them savaged by raptors, hung on trees, put in sacks, hung down in deep wells, or buried. Depending on religious beliefs, the most common practice is burying, which is still in use today. During the first years, people were buried with possessions they love or may need, in regard to the belief of resuscitation. Mongols, with Shaman influence, hide the cemeteries in order to protect themselves from evil spirits, and also the cemeteries are densely forested (Güçlü, Yılmaz S. & Yılmaz H, 1996). However in Turks, traditionally plant a tree on the graveside. Cypress tree, accepted as the “immortality symbol”, is the most common. The green zones that the cemeteries form by plants, especially the cypresses, contribute greatly to urban ecosystem. Therefore, cemeteries have always been places composing the important and irreplaceable texture of Turkish cities (Gönen, 1992).

In this research, the cemeteries in Tekirdağ city center are evaluated in terms of vegetation potential and their current status are put forth. Thus, by the ecological and technical criteria, it is aimed to set up a substructure for planning.

2. Method

2.1. Material

The materials of the research are the ornamentals within the cemeteries in Tekirdağ city center. Tekirdağ, which is located in northwest side of Turkey and became a metropolis in 2012, is one of the cities where natural and cultural landscapes are used unplanned and are commonly destructed (Korkut, Şişman, Yetim & Özyavuz, 2008). Therefore, existence and determination of green texture in the area matters in terms of ecological planning.

2.2. Method

Within the scope of this research, City Cemetery (Old), City Cemetery (New), and Old Jewish Cemetery are the ones examined. Field works to these cemeteries are conducted between 2015 and 2016 and ornamental plants are identified. Samples are collected from these plants, and notes are taken regarding them and the area. In plant identification, the works of, Brickell (1996), Hora (1981) Oğuz & Yayıntaş (1987), Symonds & Chelimsky (1958), and Symonds & Merwin (1963) are utilized.

At the final stage, evaluations are made in the light of the information gathered in the study field by observations. In this way, the place, importance, and added value of cemeteries within the historical texture are set forth.

3. Findings

In this research, 62 woody and 20 herbaceous ornamental plants are identified in the cemeteries (Table 1). The predominating types are *Cupressus sempervirens* and *Cupressus sempervirens* cv. “Pyramidalis” (Mediterranean Cypress). Other common trees are coniferous types such as *X Cupressocyparis leylandii* (Leyland Cypress), *X Cupressocyparis leylandii* cv. “Aurea” (Golden Leyland Cypress), and *Pinus nigra* (Black Pine).

Table 1. Ornamental Plants Identified in The Research Field

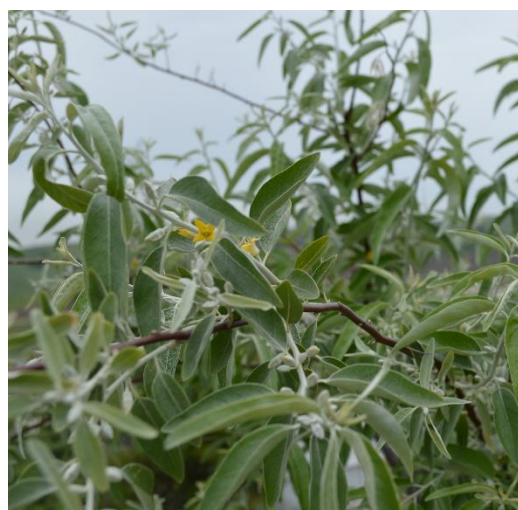
Plant no	Plant list (Latin name) Woody plants	City cemetery (Old)	City cemetery (New)	Old Jewish Cemetery
1	<i>Abies nordmanniana</i> ssp. <i>bornmuelleriana</i>	✓	✓	
2	<i>Acer negundo</i>	✓		
3	<i>Acer campestre</i> ssp. <i>campestre</i>			✓
4	<i>Ailanthus altissima</i>			✓
5	<i>Albizzia julibrissin</i>	✓		
6	<i>Amygdalus communis</i>	✓		
7	<i>Biota orientalis</i>	✓	✓	✓
8	<i>Biota orientalis</i> cv. “Aurea”	✓		
9	<i>Biota orientalis</i> cv. “Pyramidalis”		✓	
10	<i>Buxus sempervirens</i>	✓		
11	<i>Cedrus deodora</i>	✓		
12	<i>Cedrus libani</i>	✓		
13	<i>Celtis australis</i>			✓
14	<i>Cerasus avium</i>	✓		
15	<i>Cercis siliquastrum</i>		✓	

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16	<i>Chamaecyparis lawsoniana</i>	✓	✓	
17	<i>X Cupressocyparis leylandii</i>	✓	✓	
Plant no	Plant list (Latin name) Woody plants	City cemetery (Old)	City cemetery (New)	Old Jewish Cemetery
18	<i>X Cupressocyparis leylandii</i> cv. "Aurea"	✓	✓	
19	<i>Cupressus arizonica</i>	✓	✓	
20	<i>Cupressus macrocarpa</i>	✓	✓	
21	<i>Cupressus macrocarpa</i> cv. "Goldcrest"		✓	
22	<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i>	✓	✓	
23	<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i> cv. "Pyramidalis"	✓	✓	
24	<i>Cydonia oblonga</i>	✓		
25	<i>Elaeagnus angustifolia</i>		✓	
26	<i>Eriobotrya japonica</i>	✓		
27	<i>Euonymus japonica</i> cv. "Aurea"	✓	✓	
28	<i>Ficus carica</i>	✓		
29	<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i>	✓		
30	<i>Hibiscus syriacus</i>	✓		
31	<i>Jasminum officinale</i>	✓		
32	<i>Juglans regia</i>	✓	✓	
33	<i>Ligustrum japonica</i>	✓		
34	<i>Magnolia grandiflora</i>	✓		
35	<i>Morus alba</i>	✓		
36	<i>Nerium oleander</i>	✓		
37	<i>Philadelphus coronarius</i>	✓		
38	<i>Photinia serrulata</i>		✓	
39	<i>Pinus brutia</i>	✓	✓	
40	<i>Pinus nigra</i>	✓	✓	
41	<i>Pinus pinea</i>	✓	✓	
42	<i>Pittosporum tobira</i>	✓		
43	<i>Pittosporum tobira</i> cv. "Nana"	✓		
44	<i>Platanus orientalis</i>	✓	✓	
45	<i>Populus nigra</i>	✓	✓	
46	<i>Prunus armeniaca</i>	✓		
47	<i>Prunus x domestica</i>	✓	✓	
48	<i>Prunus persica</i>	✓		
49	<i>Prunus spinosa</i>	✓		
50	<i>Punica granatum</i>	✓		
51	<i>Pyrus communis</i>	✓		
52	<i>Robinia pseudoacacia</i>			✓
53	<i>Rosa canina</i>	✓	✓	
54	<i>Rosa</i> sp.	✓	✓	
55	<i>Rosmarinus officinalis</i>	✓	✓	
56	<i>Salix alba</i>		✓	
57	<i>Salix babylonica</i>	✓	✓	
58	<i>Syringa vulgaris</i>	✓		
59	<i>Tilia platyphyllos</i>	✓	✓	
60	<i>Tilia tomentosa</i>	✓		
61	<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	✓		
62	<i>Yucca filamentosa</i>	✓		

Plant no	Plant list (Latin name)	City cemetery (Old)	City cemetery (New)	Old Jewish Cemetery
	Woody plants			
	Herbaceous plants			
63	<i>Antirrhinum majus</i>	✓	✓	
64	<i>Begonia</i> sp.		✓	
65	<i>Calendula officinalis</i>	✓	✓	
66	<i>Campanula rapunculus</i>	✓		
67	<i>Cerastium tomentosum</i>	✓	✓	
68	<i>Chrysanthemum</i> sp.	✓	✓	
69	<i>Dianthus</i> sp.	✓	✓	
70	<i>Gazania hybrida</i>		✓	
71	<i>Hedera helix</i>	✓		
72	<i>Hedera helix</i> cv. "Variegata"	✓		
73	<i>Iris germanica</i>	✓	✓	✓
74	<i>Lilium</i> sp.	✓	✓	
75	<i>Matthiola incana</i>	✓	✓	
76	<i>Oxalis</i> sp.	✓		
77	<i>Ruta graveolens</i>	✓		
78	<i>288ulip</i> asp.		✓	
79	<i>Verbena</i> sp.		✓	
80	<i>Vinca major</i>	✓		
81	<i>Vinca major</i> cv. "Variegata"	✓	✓	
82	<i>Viola x wittrockiana</i>	✓	✓	

Besides, types with strong and aromatic odors such as *Elaeagnus angustifolia* (Oleaster), *Jasminum officinale* (Jasmine), *Magnolia grandiflora* (Southern Magnolia), *Philadelphus coronarius* (Mock Orange), *Photinia serrulata* (Red Robin), *Rosmarinus officinalis* (Rosemary) and *Syringa vulgaris* (Lilac) and fruit trees such as *Amygdalus communis* (Almond), *Cerasus avium* (Cherry), *Eriobotrya japonica* (Japanese Plum), *Ficus carica* (Fig), *Juglans regia* (Walnut), *Morus alba* (White Mulberry), *Prunus armeniaca* (Apricot), and *Prunus x domestica* (Plum) are commonly seen (Figure 1). It is observed that herbaceous ornamental plants are used less often. These plants are located on the tombs partially (Figure 2).



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1

2



3



4

Figure 1. Aromatic plants identified in the research field (1: *Philadelphus coronarius*, 2: *Elaeagnus angustifolia*, 3: *Rosmarinus officinalis*, 4: *Syringa vulgaris*)



Figure 2. Herbaceous ornamental plants identified in the research field

4. Discussion

Besides their religious and anthropological influences, cemeteries are an important type of land use in the city because of their green area potentials. Almost all cemeteries are green areas becoming more important each day, as they differ from their surroundings with their dense vegetation, and as the ratio of green areas continue decreasing. The landscapers of developed countries, who realized this fact many years ago, sought re-planning for these areas, and turned them into places providing recreation beside their main function. Therefore, it is a known fact that European countries take this more seriously than Turkey, and the status of cemeteries in Turkey are not so good (Güçlü, Yılmaz S. & Yılmaz H., 1996).

In Tekirdağ, the subject of our research, the cemeteries are found sufficient in terms of vegetation density. However, the plants' not being placed according to a plan and the lack of care create a chaos (Figure 3). This problem will be resolved with planting and maintenance. The number of equipment such as banks, litter bins, water fountains, lighting components etc., is currently insufficient and must be customized. Instead of circumvallating the cemeteries with high walls and isolating them, tall tree and bush combinations must be developed.



Figure 3. Old Jewish Cemetery

Coniferous plants are widely used in cemeteries as they are very suitable in terms of climate and soil requirement, they are easy to care, they absorb sunlight and create cooler places, and prevent malodor by the resin odor. It is determined that very old trees of this kind exist in the area and they may be monumental. Monumental trees connect the past and the future within greenery, and beside their scientific importance, they are a part of the natural heritage because of their sentimental characteristics (Alp, 2015). Moreover, aromatic scented types determined in the area, make a positive and relaxing influence on the visitors by their pleasant odors, and the fruit trees provide housing and nutrition potential for birds and others, thus, support wildlife (Figure 4). However, although these plants are widely distributed in the area, they are not planted according to a plan, and they are mostly located on the gravesides. For this reason, it is suggested to make planting according to modern planning principles.



1



2



Figure 4. Fruit trees identified in the research field (1: *Amygdalus communis*, 2: *Cerasus avium*)

Cemeteries are less exposed to human effect compared to other habitats, because of their cultural role (Rahman et al., 2008; Löki et.al, 2015). Therefore, they contribute in the development of natural vegetation and the conservation of biodiversity. Birdhouses and water areas must be included in the cemeteries in order to support their ecological function, and to maintain a habitat for birds, insects, and others. By this way, the progressively narrowing habitats of these living creatures will enlarge, and surprising places will have been created for the new generation raised in the cities, far from the nature. This will help the ecological approach to gain strength in planning.

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A Modern Actor in Trabzon: Beşikdüzü Village Institute

Derya Elmalı Şen, Emre Karadeniz, Beyza Karadeniz

1. Introduction

Modernization is a phenomenon, emerged in the 20th century by fed from many different sources such as great discoveries, industrialization, deep/essential demographic changes, rapid urbanization, media systems, increasingly powerful nation-states, mass social movements of people and the capitalist world market that combines all these elements (Berman, 1999). Modernization brought together the nations again which were separated from each other with the revolution under its universal identity. And it began to create individuals and communities with almost similar features who keep the mind at the forefront (Asiliskender, 2002).

Turkey, participated in this process with the declaration of the republic, sought to create its new identity under the roof of nation-state looking through the frame of modernism. The nation-building process of the Republic of Turkey has been realized from top to down on the contrary to the other societies. The new identity that produced individually and socially has been imposed to people with a political revolution. Although republic is read as an existence attempt of the people at international level who were suppressed and never regarded before, it is a movement of modernization in individual and social areas aiming at the economic development in the background (Asiliskender, 2002). Therefore the modernization efforts, began in the late Ottoman period, has been implemented as a radical modernization project with the declaration of the Republic by the ruling elite.

Political and judicial reforms made in the first stage, soon followed by economic and cultural modernization goals. Economic development is important to access the modern states level and participation of the people is necessary. The participation was provided with education. To this end, researches had been initiated into the training program of Turkey. In this context the British educator John Dewey (1924) and the German educator Dr. Kuhne (1925) were invited and requested to prepare report. Dr. Kuhne reported that switching the Arabic alphabet to Latin would be more useful. He also recommended opening technical schools, which would be held with local forces and factors to eliminate the deficit of skilled workers and technicians in his report. Dewey's report, affected the Turkish education system the most, argued that the village schools should be transformed into public service and social centre of the village in all its aspects. He proposed to legislate an education law that will sustain the system. In this perspective the education, thought to establish in the villages, will gain public awareness with a nationalist vision of historical information, teach modern farming methods and practices and also provide cultural heritage to improve rural areas (Altun, 2011).

2. The Aim of the Study

Village Institutes plays an important role, as a new educational organization and a fundamental part of developing a new identity through institutions. The scope of Village Institutes that employs a 'work in education for work' slogan and 'hands on learning' methods was not only training instructors to teach the public to read and write, but also teaching them modern agricultural techniques. Thus, the village-teacher engagement would contribute to the rural development. For this purpose, as a genuine Educational and cultural movement, Village Institutes project legislated in 1940 and 21 institutes had opened till 1948.

In this paper Beşikdüzü Village institute, located in Trabzon, is studied as one of the institutes. Beşikdüzü Village Institute, started as an instructor training facility in 1940, served as an regional education centre with 25 students from various cities; Giresun, Ordu, Gümüşhane, Rize, Hopa. The first aim of this study is to reveal the constitution process of Village Institutes with the ideology, foundation, educational policy and their architectural organization. The second aim is to examine the Beşikdüzü Village Institute with the same fiction and reveal whether it is a modernization symbol of the Republic for Trabzon or not. For these purposes, a comprehensive review of literature was examined.

3. The Modernization in Education and the Process of Village Institutes

80% of the population of Turkey was living in the rural areas in the early Republican Era and they lacked of the full benefits of modern society. 78% of primary school age population was illiterate in Anatolia in 1930-40s. This rate was nearly 90% due to the small number of schools in the villages. The few teachers, coming from the city, cannot hold in the villages. On the other hand skilled workers disconnected from the manufacturing process. In addition, training needs were not only limited with literacy in the villages. Villagers made production with the old methods and were not able to fight against infectious diseases (Aysal, 2005; Kartal, 2008; Doğan, 2008).

It was very difficult to carry services to the villages during these years. Services left uncompleted due to inability to respond the requests, needs and expectations of villagers. Rural areas of Turkey, the big amount of the population cannot be enlightened in this way. In order to achieve goals of the Republic, modernization had to be expanded to rural areas. To achieve this goal, there was a need for a new type of intellectual that speaks the language of the peasants. The problem can be solved with the villagers in the villages (Aysal, 2005). The Project of Village Institutes was born in such conditions.

3.1.The Establishment of Village Institutes

Saffet Arıkan, Minister of National Education of the period, nominated İsmail Hakkı Tonguç as the General Director of Primary Education. Tonguç has done a serious research about the villages first and evaluated the previous studies and numerical data. Following this assessment he has prepared a draft 20-year plan. According to the plan teachers, preventive health care and agriculture technicians will be reached to the all villages in 1954. For this purpose, Village Educator Project has been started first. Literate young people, completed their military service, have been educated in a 4-month course about the modern farming techniques and implements at State Breeding Farm in Eskişehir, Mahmudiye in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture. Then they were sent to the villages as educators. The aim is to provide both teacher and farming methods with modern production tools for villages and to alleviate the financial burden of education. Thus, the first Educator Course was opened in Eskişehir; Mahmudiye in 1936. The first Village Teacher Schools were opened in İzmir Kızılçullu and Eskişehir; Çifteler with Village Educators Act in 1937. With the success of this project, started in the management of Tonguç, village instructor training experience was expanded with the laws, which were enacted in 1937 and 1939. Then the Village Teacher Schools were opened in Trakya Kepirtepe (1938) and in Kastamonu Gököy (1939) (Boduroğlu, 2010).

This education implementation created the suitable conditions for Village Institutes that were established later. The name of the 'Village Institute' was given to the 'Village Educator School' with the Law of Village Institutes (Law No. 3803) on 17 April 1940.

According to this law, the task of the institutes was not only to educate teachers but also professional staff such as technicians, health officers and etc. These educators will educate the villagers with modern world-view; give practical and modern agricultural methods to them. Thus, the village-teacher engagement would contribute to the rural development and the balance between community and citizens would succeed.

Four Village Teacher Schools, established previously, were converted into the institute by the enacted law. It was decided to open 17 new schools: 10 of those were opened in 1940 (Sakarya Arifiye, Antalya Aksu, Balıkesir Savaştepe, Isparta Gönen, Adana Düziçi, Kayseri Pazarören, Samsun Akpınar, Trabzon Beşikdüzü, Kars Cıvavuz, Malatya Akçadağ). Remaining 7 institutes -Konya İvriz (1941), Ankara Hasanoğlu (1941), Sivas Pamukpınar (1941), Erzurum Pulur (1942), Diyarbakır Dicle (1944), Aydın Ortaklar (1944), Van Erciş (1947)- were opened with the help of other institutes (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Map of Village Institutes and activity areas

3.2. Education Philosophy and Working of Village Institutes

Village Institutes were institutions that were five years co-ed and educating village teachers. Lessons were three groups: 50% of those were general knowledge and culture courses (Turkish, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign language, teaching knowledge, music, painting, reading, discussion, play, travel, research, etc.), % 25 were agriculture (arable and horticultural agriculture, zoo technics, poultry, apiculture, sericulture, fishery, aquaculture, etc.) and 25% were technical subjects and applications (blacksmithing, tin smiting, carpet art, village builder etc. and home and crafts such as rip, embroidery and weaving). The essence of the methods that applied in the course is to give the information to the students through 'work in education for work' by directing them to work (Kartal, 2008). A student-centred education was intended 'by experiencing, seeing, making observations, studying, researching, learning through experimentation, making comparisons and using in its own place'. Students have learned the modern agricultural techniques in practice. They went to fields of institution with their tools on their shoulders singing the Agriculture March in the agriculture course. Moreover, this has been a productive course in the real sense; crop of fields, sown during training, was used as food then (Dündar, 2011).

In the program of Village Institute, adopted multi-faceted education, the activities such as music, sports, literature and art were seen as the natural right of all students as well as the general culture and skills. Students started to each new day with folk dancing or gymnastics, which was followed by breakfast and reading time. Movement, art and creativity were dominant to all of the training. Every student must read 25 classic reading in a year and play an instrument. All materials of folk culture were brought to the institutes and used (Boduroğlu, 2010). All topics were evaluated in full completeness. On one hand, students gained an education of agriculture, handicrafts and fine arts with the awareness of both

national and citizenship as well as an education of strong history. On the other hand, they met with the world worth by reading the classics of the world, listening to music and doing theatre (Dündar, 2011). Entertainment activities such as folk dances, shows, plays, music, games and etc. held every week and parents of students and residents of surrounding villages participated as well as the teachers and administrators of the institutes (Boduroğlu, 2010).

In general, the daily flow/programs of institutes were identified as the thought of ‘work in education for work’; according to the location of the institute, seasons and opportunities, in the framework of agricultural, technical and cultural areas and with the participation of all the people of institution. The general framework of the courses was certain and similar in all institutes. In addition to, an understanding was cared which reveals the qualities of the place and emphasizes different activities such as fishing, weaving, etc. Cultural lessons could be made anywhere without looking for a special space during the course. Students engaged in their own affairs due to keep a minimum level of paid staff and so they had influence and responsibility to regulate the flow. Teamwork named as cluster and individual activities of students were accepted as indispensable in terms of development of personalities of students. And the life was carried out in an order according to the identified program by the clusters (Yetkin, 2005, as cited in Baysal, 2006).

3.3.Architectural Organization of Village Institutes

Mission of village institutes were not limited to teaching how to read and write, they also served as a kind of regional development agencies for the surrounding areas. For this reason, each institute was responsible for a specific region that consists of 2 to 4 cities (Türkoğlu, 2013).

Site selection was based on some criteria so that the institutes could become an incentive focal point and serve to improve nearby areas. In order to ensure the connectivity to the city centres, institutes were located within the vehicle accessible areas. Apart from the physical conditions concerns such as water resources, elevation, wind, access to raw goods and crop fertility were considered during the site selection. Fertile vacant land around the villages with no living was considered as suitable for institutes. In addition, accessibility within the region, material availability and fulfilling the needs of approximately thousand people were other site selection principles (Baysal, 2006).

During the process development of a new world, Village Institutes consult with architects and architectural services were delivered for the spatial organizations. Out of 21 village institutes, authorities ran competitions for 15 Village institutes and all the developments made based on the winning plans.

In May 13th, 1940 Tebliğler Journal published the first rules and conditions for the architectural projects for 12 Village Institutes. In part I/2, local characteristics, view, vernacular architecture styles, physical conditions of forests and sea were listed as the measurements that site design should deliver and also site plans should respond to those principles (Anonymous, 1940). Additionally; the limited budget didn’t allow large cuttings and fills so topography became an important asset. Designing institutes would based on local and rural characteristics, protecting essential bridges and proper planning considered important. (Section 4/d) (Anonymous, 1940).

However the development process in almost all the Village Institutes were so fast that the constructions of the buildings started before the winning designs were announced. The reason for the rapid process is the lack of permanent workforce (students, teachers and builder) available. From the beginning, infrastructural improvements such as buildings, roads, electricity, and water were started as a part of the education. Buildings made phase by phase,

which allows the space to develop by the time. Even though each institute started the construction phase started earlier, once the site plans were delivered following buildings made based on the plans (Baysal, 2006).

Each building unit, assigned to different architectural program, designed to have a capacity of 50 to 100 people. This status is more practical and pragmatic than designing a unit that can hold up to 1000 people. Thus, instead of building large units that completion of which may take up to 2 to 3 years of work, village institutes preferred to build one or two story pavilions that require fewer workforces with limited budget (Gedikoğlu, 1971, as cited in Baysal, 2006).

Site plans for Village Institutes were consist of spread out buildings that form a cluster that were designed in a geometric order. Such spatial arrangement was suitable for daily life in the institute but show a different pattern layout. The grid pattern was developed based on the architectural program and activity timeline. The spaces between clusters then utilized as outdoor activity areas although, the layout of the buildings is not compatible with the village, in three dimension the buildings represent a similar formation (Baysal, 2006). This allows the outdoor spaces to be used for different activities by student groups.

Site design follows geometrical order considering functions of each building. The fragmented buildings compose a rural form. The scale of institute space was similar to village tradition, coincidental and spontaneous coherent topographical structure rural characteristics. With its small-scale, one story or low-rise buildings made with local materials, green areas, openings and open green spaces, settlement breaks monotony in three dimension and form coherent place (Baysal, 2006).

Local materials and building methods used were used in construction considering time and budget constraints. Stone, wood and brick were used as primary materials of the masonry buildings, but due to time limitations builders used adobe and concrete in larger buildings. Depending on the technique and available materials arched doors and windows and also stonework can be seen in some parts of the buildings. Paving and roof openings were also designed properly to fit the overall structure. Hipped or saddle roof generally used in the buildings constructed from wood materials and coated with roof tile. Facades of the buildings were generally designed in a symmetrical order with simple geometrical shaped windows and openings. Buildings were in cubic form open staircases, simple yet notifying entrances, horizontal windowsills and ribbons along the windows were some of the façade details of village institute buildings. Additionally, various symmetrical figurations, speech balconies as ribbons on the façade, arched windows can also be considered as symbols of the few buildings (Baysal, 2006).

4. Beşikdüzü Village Institute

The history of educational development of Beşikdüzü has started with the Beşikdüzü Educator Course on the west end of the Trabzon. In the beginning, school was planned to be located in Aksu, Sürmene, and another town on the east side of the Trabzon. With the help of the locals and town manager built a primary school building in Beşikdüzü, thus Educator Course opened in Beşikdüzü (Anonymous, 1939). Education has started in 4 May 1939 with 16 teachers and 100 students. Locals came from surrounding towns and villages, and authorities from government agencies also joined the grand opening (Arman, 1969) (Figure 2). In 1940, with Village Institutes Law article 3803 Village Institutes become legislated. Thus, Educator Course converted to Village Institute. Denizli National Education Director, Hürrem Arman brought in as the founder manager of the institute.

The site assigned to village institute was close to Black Sea coast however the soil was not proper for agricultural production so Arman decided to specialize in sea production (Arman, 1969). Newly developing institutes needed equipment and the budget paid by the ministry was so limited. The budget was not enough to answer the daily needs, new equipment and construction expenses. In order to fulfil its needs Institutes had to make money. One of the main problems was the lack of adequate land. Although village institutes planned to settle on fertile land, in most cases they were located on dry land. The locals couldn't pay the price of 4.5 decare site given to Beşikdüzü Village Institute, so the institute had to make the money to pay for it. To do that all the staff and students as well as locals infilled the sandy land by the coast to cultivate.



Figure 2. Beşikdüzü Educator Course and opening ceremony; Students start the days with folk dance

Beşikdüzü Village Institute started education on 8 June 1940 with 25 students coming from surrounding cities: Trabzon, Giresun, Ordu, Gümüşhane, Rize and Hopa. Incoming students were subjected to general cleaning (haircut, bath) and later they would get dressed with the clothes from the ministry.

The courses thought in the institute split into two categories as cultural and application. The classes would start early in the morning with folk dance performances (Figure 2). During the spring agricultural activities would take place and in the winter they concentrate on cultural and art studies (Erdem, 2001). Students that are not eligible to complete five year education was given a chance to complete three year course with an art certificate. After 3rd year male students that are willing to become village medical assistant and after the 4th year girls who want to become village midwife directed to health section (Erdem, 2001).

Farming education was mandatory for all the student body but for the art courses the students were given chance to try different classes to figure out their passion and after one month they would follow the courses that they are interested. In time, students and the teachers built several ateliers: shoemaking, wagon making, animal care, forge, fishing, construction, nursing, weaving, carpentry, forging and tailoring for various purposes (Figure 3). Even in the final years they bred silkworms and placed beehives in Çamlıküzü (Erdem, 2001).



Figure 3. Students were working at the several ateliers

Beşikdüzü is one of the two village institutes that were located on a coast besides Arifiye along Lake Sapanca to offer marine classes (Türkoğlu, 2013). By the time, Beşikdüzü become professional in fishery and marine productions and they started selling products between Hopa on the east and Sinop on the west (Figure 4). They sold the products below the market rates that increase their sales and they become popular in the region. In 1942, they made profit (14,500 Turkish Liras) to pay for the equipment and came back with four times as many left over money. The cruise would take up to 2 to 3 months. During that time students had their books and instruments with them to study and when they got back they caught up with others.



Figure 4. Band of Institute; Beşikdüzü Village Institute Sea Crew

The number of village institute buildings at the beginning was very few. Beşikdüzü only had the Leftover Government office, Educator Course building and the infirmary units (Kalay, 2010). The Architectural Project Competition of Beşikdüzü Village Institute was opened by the National Education Ministry with the on 15 August 1940 and ended up on 7 February 1941. Ahsen Yapanar won the competition (Anonymous, 1941) (Figure 5). In the Specification 1st, each building was defined with their numbers for 12 institutes. The total number of buildings of Beşikdüzü was 42; 6 of those were teacher houses and 10 were school buildings (Baysal, 2006).

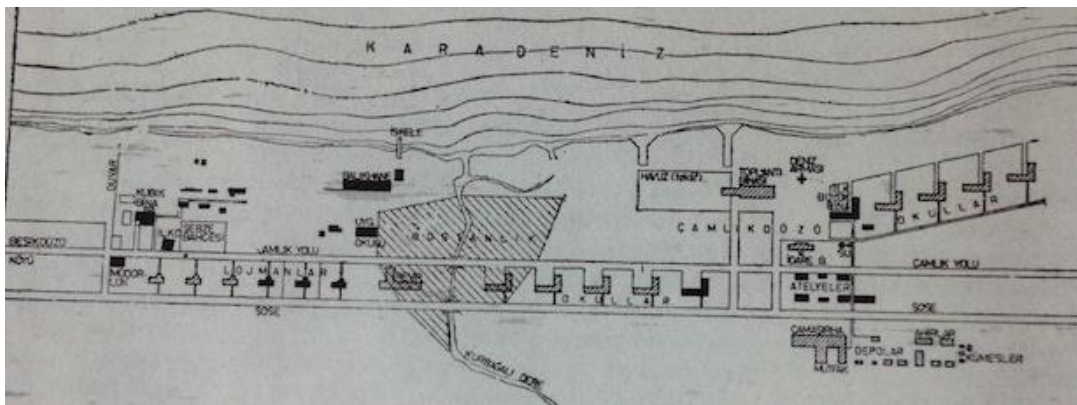


Figure 5. The Village Institute Site Plan (Architect Ahsen Yapanar)

The buildings was arranged parallel to the coast with a setback from the highway passing through the south of the site. Yapanar left open areas between the institute buildings and the coast for farming. The buildings positioned next to each other on a row in harmony with each other and form an identified garden space. Buildings with similar functions grouped together shaped their own outdoor space (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Beşikdüzü Village Institute in 1948

In general local materials used in the buildings, but lack of available stone made the construction process harder than any other Institutes in Beşikdüzü. Arman (2003) states that walls of the ground floor were made of cut stone, whole doors and window tops were made have arched stone. This building differs from other institute buildings with its great opening. In general small-scale buildings do not contain any balconies. However, one of the teacher houses had a balcony carried by stone columns that sit on wooden posts and sheltered by tiled shed (Baysal, 2006; Altun, 2011) (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Grand school building and teacher houses

In Turkey, the first multi-party election was held in 1946. There had been complaints about village institutes for many years and the once again become the focal point of criticisms. Hasan Ali Yücel resigned for several reasons in 5 August 1946. So-called the father of village institutes, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, was divested in 21 September 1946. At first application courses are removed from the schedule and after student participation in decision making process banned. Later on Village Institutes were closed in 27 January 1954 (Türkoğlu, 2013).

Beşikdüzü Village Institute was also affected by the changes. In 1951, co-education banned thus, girls were transferred to İzmir Kızılçullu Village Institute and Beşikdüzü become boy's institute. However less than a year, boys were sent to various institutes and this time the institute became Beşikdüzü Girls Village Institute in 1952 (Tokgöz, 1998). In total, 499 educators and 1572 teachers were raised in Beşikdüzü Village Institute until it was closed.

5. Discussion and Results

As it is stated at the beginning of the paper, the will of Turkey to create a modern Turkish Identity with establishment of Turkish Republic shouldn't be limited to political changes. The fundamental goals of Republican modernization were improve economy and to create a modern society by literate the countryman, a big amount of its population, advancing in agriculture to reveal its economic potential, making industrial investments with the products. For this reason, the modernization efforts first started as political and judicial regulations, later economic and cultural improvements targeted.

Village institutes project played a key role during modernization process as it provide both economic and cultural advancement. In this formation, each student considered as an independent individual. The student oriented teaching method kept students in centre and real. Life in the institutes was based on 'Togetherness, full commitment, power, and responsibility' rules. Decisions were made with the participation and confirmation of student- governor-teachers and students were able to discuss every matter with the governors. Students coming from villages put all their effort hands on education process; they built their own school units, herd sheep, hauled fish, played music and red classics. At the end of the process each student become versatile, responsible and self-esteemed, problem solver, talented, productive and free individuals. In other words, the youth raised in Village Institutes were the modern role models of the republic.

Village institutes differ from other schools from educational perspective. The responsibilities given to village institutes were heavy and meaningful. The scope of Village Institutes was to imply a 'Work in Education for Work' and 'Hands on Learning' methods into education process. Thus, students could advance both in theory and application with the available highest technology. Educators and students with government funds constructed even the buildings of the school. The techniques and methods used in Village Institutes can be related to Bauhaus's model that also taking its roots from atelier education and application.

The architectural styles of the Institutes were also compatible with the Modernism of its own era. Thus, like in every area architecture also followed Modernism. Bauhaus Ecole, influential in new and national architectural discourse, led western architecture of the time. 1930's were corresponding to Modern Architecture in Turkey, developed around the architectural products that were proposed by Bauhaus was simple, economic, rational and functional. Although, Modernism can be subject to various discussions and meanings, in the broader context it implies functionality and simplicity. At the time, as a developing country and lack of resources and the need of rapid development led architecture towards Modernism.

In general, architecture of Village institutes had similar features such as; one story, small scale, made with local stone, wood and brick, this buildings represent local and national attitude. However, some architectural characteristics of institutes, reasoning mainly from time and budget constraints, represent familiarities with Modern Architecture such as regular geometric forms and open areas which were settled with grid and linear paths in the scale of layout plan, right-angled, disconnected and plain buildings, the rhythm and the symmetry on the facades and etc.

In conclusion, considering all the statements above; each Village Institute were the new and modern representatives of the Republic in their regions and the youth raised in the institutes were the representatives of the modern individuals. Beşikdüzü Village Institute, with its intellectual background and education system as well as its architectural style carries the characteristics of Modernism of its era and in this context it symbolizes the Modern in Trabzon.

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An attempt to understand the workplace mobbing from michel foucault's point of view specific to universities

Assiye Aka

1. Introduction

Hobbes was probably underlining the unchangeable past and the future of humanity of the universal war state, when he said 'homo homini lupus'. History proceeds with continuities/ breaks. Humanity seems as if it has to live with a continuous war state. Peace times are short revival breaks after the at the end of the fatigue. It may seem not right painting a pessimistic picture, however, this is the reality throughout the history; ongoing wars, havocs, social disasters. Modern time prisons supersede the Middle Age dungeons/ torture places. Modern day world's reality is the same under different sights. Names are the only thing that is changing, content is the same. Deducing from the awareness of the situation, the issue of this article will assert that mobbing terror (workplace mobbing, emotional harassment, psycho-terror, intimidation), that is going on and has still been happening in the universities, still continues in every institution. This assertion will be supported by Foucault's power relations. The purpose of this article is to bring this type mobbing, which is defined by Foucault in the 'the Birth of the Prison' as hierarchical order, normalization (reward-punishment), examination, confession mechanisms, silence, standing by processes, up to discussion, and also propose solutions to preventing and coping with this type of mobbing.

2. Mobbing (Hazing, Emotional Harassment, Intimidation, Psycho-terror, Bullying)

Mobbing as an English originated term which was used for the first time in 19.th century by biologists to describe the behaviors of the birds flying around the perpetrator to protect their nests(Acar & Dündar 2008, p. 112). Mobbing (Eng. to mob, to surround, to wrap) is the battering and aggressive reaction of some generally not aggressive and not badly behaved types towards the common predatory enemies. Intimidation is a special kind of behavior that can be observed not only on the singing birds like starling, sparrow, but also on the combative kind like seagull; these birds gather around a place and they just attack the enemies (sparrow hawk, owl) they caught all together. Gathering around for intimidation starts with the special hues of the birds and aims to send away the enemy. The intimidation act, which recurs very often at a certain place, can cause the enemy to stay away from that certain place by building a habit on the predatory enemy (Great Larousse, 1986, p. 8240). The word mob means the disorganized crowd who practices unlawful violence. In Latin, the word mob comes from the term 'mobile vulgus' which means an unstable crowd. The verb mob is used as gathering around, attacking or disturbing.

Notion was implicated in the literature for the first time by an Australian scientist Konrad Lorenz in 1960's. Later on, it was put into the final form by Swedish Dr.Peter-Paul Heinemann and Dr. H. Leymann, who was doing researches in Sweden. Konrad Lorenz used the notion of intimidation for applying the behavior of animals to abduct a foreigner or a hunting enemy. Afterwards, Swedish Dr. Peter-Paul Heinemann researched the types of behaviors identified as bullying and indicated against other kids (Samırkaş & Çalışkan, 2011, p. 28). In business life, mobbing term expresses a psychosocial violence factor that is connected to the business life. For the last decade, mobbing has been analyzed as a problem which has deep effects on employees' physical and psychological states in modern societies (Acar & Dündar 2008, p. 112). Mobbing is gathering people around against oneself with/

without their consent; forcing someone to quit their jobs by creating an aggressive environment with constant acts of ill-willed behavior, implication and social discrediting (Davenport et al., 2003). For Tınaz (2006), mobbing can occur in different forms: vertical mobbing, horizontal mobbing or a mobbing from down to upwards (Altuntaş, 2010, p. 296).

It has been observed that simultaneous mobbing experience (psychological violence-intimidation- mobbing) in universities like many other business places ends up with shattering outcomes. As Leyman says, mobbing is a psycho-terror and amongst its primary causes are the factors like difference of opinion and belief, jealousy, gender gap. Estimates of prevalence vary from a few percent to as many as half of all workers, although most research suggests that 10 to 20 percent of workers are subjected to workplace bullying each year (Einarsen et al. 2003; Rayner, Hoel & Cooper 2002; Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1561). Shame and psychological despair often result, typically lasting long after the bullying episodes have ended (Lewis 2004; McCarthy & Mayhew 2004; Vaez, Ekberg & LaFlamme 2004; Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1561). In some cases mobbing can leave its victim/victims either with a permanent psychological damage or with a suicidal condition. It is reasonably hard for the victims to cope with this situation because the form of the attack is directed to the victims' self-respect and dignity.

In the early researches primarily the psychological characteristics of bullies and victims were emphasized. In recent years, and particularly since the early 1990s, attention has been drawn to the results of organizational structure (labor processes, organizational leadership and role conflict, professional controls, etc.).

It is quite surprising that this form of psychological violence-bullying is perceived as a necessity in terms of workplace, even though it is referred with different names such as workplace bullying-mobbing-psychological terrorism-psychological violence-tyranny. But from a functional paradigm point of view, it is a practice that is highly fruitful for an organization. Why is this type of bullying applied at workplaces? The first reasons that come to mind in this regard are: 1. Both processes internal and external to the workplace, 2. Topdown, lateral and bottom-up dynamics, and 3. Behaviors ranging from the most horrendous forms of physical violence to more subtle, ongoing psychological injuries (Roscigno et al., p. 1562). "Bullying by immediate supervisors and managers is, in our view, fundamental to the general study of workplace dynamics and stratification given both formalized, top-down power differentials and the many direct material and social-psychological costs emanating from hierarchical abuses of workplace power" (Roscigno et al., p. 1562).

It is possible to argue that M. Foucault, one of the intellectuals of our era who regarded as the archaeologist of the relations of power, in his piece "The Birth of the Prison" the hierarchical order, the normative sanction (punishment-reward) and the examination techniques of the classical power are very similar to the concept of mobbing- intimidation-hazing in scientific literature.

The Notion of mobbing in working life is described as "leaving the person helpless and defenseless by the form of hostile and unethical communication that is usually systematically applied by one or more people to a single person; constant mobbing behavior to keep the person in a condemned position" (Leymann, 1996). According to another definition, mobbing is an emotional attack. Mobbing is gathering people around against oneself with/ without their consent; forcing someone to quit their jobs by creating an aggressive environment with constant acts of ill-willed behavior, implication and social discrediting (Davenport et al., 2003). For Tınaz (2006), mobbing can occur in different forms: vertical mobbing, horizontal mobbing or a mobbing from down to upwards

Different terminology is used in English by different research groups, mainly in military organizations, schools, and workplaces. British and Australian researchers used the

An attempt to understand the workplace mobbing

term bullying (psychological violence-bullying) instead of intimidation in their work. Bullying (psychological violence-bullying) means the physical attack and threat (Yüçetürk, 2002b). Leymann considers the term bullying to be used for actions that harm children at school, and the term intimidation to be used for hostile behaviors among adults in their workplace (Yüçetürk, 2002b, p. 9).

When it came to the 80s, Leymann used the term of mobbing when he noticed similar group violence among adults in his workplace. He investigated this issue in Sweden and presented it to the public in Germany. In fact, at the outset, these behaviors, which are believed to originate from the behavior and characters of difficult people, are in fact not difficult and are not inherited (Davenport, 2003). Workplace structure and culture have influenced these people and have helped them to become difficult people. In 1976, the American Dr. Carroll Brodsky defined the harassed employee as being not able to work because of bad behavior of the colleagues/ clients or the too much work expected of them (Brodsky, 1976; Çalışkan, 2005, p. 10). Harassment is used to define the behavior as wearing someone off, tormenting, obstructing someone or the repeated and constant attempts to get a reaction from someone; constant provoking, oppressing, intimidating other people or discomforting them. The physical and mental harm of harassment is described as the tip of the iceberg compared to the actual events (Brodsky, 1976; Çalışkan 2005, p. 10).

In summary, there are three parties that play a role in this process (the process of raping the soul delicately and sneakily), which is used when naming is intimidation, emotional harassment, bullying and mobbing. **These parties are: Victims, Perpetrators and Guardians.**

2.1. Parties in the Mobbing: Victims, Perpetrators and Guardians

A perspective originally developed for studies of crime, generally referred to as the "routine activities" model, provides a useful starting point. This framework suggests, most generally, that in order for deviance (or, in our case, bullying) to occur, motivated offenders must converge with suitable targets in the absence of capable guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979, as cited in Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1563). They adapt it for the study of workplace bullying and offer an overview in Table 1.

Table 1: Workplace Bullying and the Victim-Perpetrator-Guardian Model

Victim: Those occupying structural positions in the workplace with little power will be at greater risk of being bullied. Such positions include workplace locations characterized as primarily minority or female, and those with low pay and/or job insecurity.

Perpetrator: Perpetrators are enabled by certain workplace organizational features, including systems of control based on direct personal supervision and organizational chaos.

Guardian: Certain organizational attributes and actors, by intent or default, may serve guardian roles, preventing potential perpetrators from bullying potential victims. Such features include unionization, bureaucratic systems of organization and control and accountability to employees

Bullies often attempt to socially isolate and ostracize their victims (Zapf et al. 2003). This may be easier in the case of minority workers since these workers already face significant social isolation in contemporary workplaces (Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1564).

2.1.1. Victims of Workplace Harassment Experience (Victims)

Factors influencing victim / victimization of workplace harassment experience include gender, religious, political, ethnic, race, social class-status and occupational positional differences, contractual working system, precarious working system, nepotism, etc. In terms of more general forms of bullying, there is some evidence that the proportion of men and women among the victims *oigeneral* {I.e., non-sexual) bullying is quite similar (Zapf et al. 2003; Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1564). Einarsen et al. (2003) also suggest that what appear to be gender differences in general bullying may actually be a product of underlying male-female occupational differences (Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1564). However, gender differences in psychological violence-bullying practice are not effective but only decisive factors.

On the other hand, both horizontal, vertical and parallel dynamics against those who expect to rise in the hierarchical order in the contracted working system are the determining factors in bullying practice. The characteristics of victims of workplace harassment experiences in experimental studies are as follows: talented, success oriented, creative, emotional intelligent, honest, trustworthy, compromising, professional careers of these committed people have many positive qualities. These non-political people are connected to their organizations. Creative individuals are more exposed because they develop new ideas (Baykal, 2005, p. 12; Davenport et al., 2003, p. 5; Samırkaş & Çalışkan, 2011, p. 30). In other words, victims who are aggrieved by bullying in the workplace are composed of the people who are affiliated to the institution's culture, successful, idealistic, honest, ethical and better educated. They are people who do not want to be in a state of conspiring behind someone's back. Working in precarious work places and nepotism are other factors that make it easier to be a victim.

2.1.2. Perpetrator of Workplace Harassment Experience (Perpetrators)

Institutional culture is an effective factor in the formation of bullying. The model of routine activities provides an effective framework for analyzing the institutional culture by emphasizing normal or routine activities in the creation of perpetrators in organizations. Two routine activities can be considered in institutions: Direct, personal (or "close") surveilling and the widespread use of chaotic / inconsistent institutional operations.

Direct personal supervision remains a widespread control strategy in workplace environments - an interpersonal control strategy that leaves managers and supervisors with few motivational tools besides threats and abuse (Edwards, 1992; Jacoby, 2004; Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1565). It also creates contradictions for managers who can only be sure of workers' performance when they are physically watching them, but who cannot physically watch everyone all the time (Gouldner, 1954; Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1565).

Supervisors and administrators use their employees' fear of job insecurity for suppressing and accusing them (Vaez et al., 2003; Rayner et al., 2002; Hoel ve Cooper 2000; Roscigno et al., 2009, p. 1565). By this, weak and vulnerable individuals and communities can become the possible targets of aggressive and abusive supervisors and administrators.

2.1.3. Protectors of Workplace Harassment Experiences (Guardians)

Potential victims in a normal working culture can be protected by "talented protective actors" from aggressive behavior. However, through the practice of psychological violence-bullying, protective actors are involved in politicians and other official social control agents, family members, friends and audiences.

As trade unionists have long known, there is power in numbers (Clawson, 2003, as cited in Roscigno et al., 2009, p.1567). Trade unions have helped to create a normative environment that is less tolerant of management abuse, nepotism, cronyism and capricious hiring and promotion practices (Edelman 1990; Dobbin et al. 1993, as cited in Roscigno et al., 2009, p.1567). A second potential guardian is the establishment of rule by law through *bureaucratic procedures* (Perrow, 1986; Vandekerckhove and Commers 2003, as cited in Roscigno et al., 2009, p.1567). Such procedures provide at least some safeguard against the tyranny of rule by fiat, which sometimes occurs in smaller, privately owned and operated enterprises (Peyton 2003, as cited in Roscigno et al., 2009, p.1567).

This type of aggression, which has been used since the 1980's onwards in the literature, is what Foucault characterizes as the means of upbringing/disciplining in the study of "The Birth of the Prison", can indeed be read as disciplinary techniques seen in contemporary educational institutions mechanisms such determined as the hierarchical surveillance normalizing sanctions (different forms of punishment and reward) and examinations.

3. Modern (Main) Disciplinary Techniques Applied in Higher Education Institutions (Universities): Ways to Manage Academic Identities

3.1. The Hierarchical Surveillance

The application of discipline is an arrangement through the looks; the techniques that are enabling to see are increasing the means of the power and the forms of suppression that emerge as its reflection are practiced on individuals (academic identities), which turn individuals into a transparent machine (Foucault, 2000, p. 256).

Modern universities, which discipline individuals, are structures that bring all the behavior and actions of individuals (academicians) to a desirable level. Hierarchical, continuous and functional supervision composes a form of power that fulfills the aims of this work. This form of power as a whole is an inherent part of the economic / political and social / cultural structure itself. At the same time, this form of power is organized as multiple, automatic and anonymous power; because it might be true that surveillance is based on and hierarchical in its operation, however, it is also true that it is up to a certain point up and down to the periphery; this network of power enables the whole (the university) to be held and protected. In other words, the observed (academic identities) are kept under constant supervision (Foucault, 2000, p. 256). Hierarchically supervised power is held like an object, transferred as a property, and working as the body of machines. Although it has a chairman (administrator-supervisor) of the pyramid-like organization, the entire device produces "power" and distributes the individual into a constant and permanent space. This discipline technique is both obvious (everywhere and awake) and secret (it is constantly processed and quite silent). This technique is supported by its own mechanisms and is produced in the form of a planned perspective. By this way, they completely surround the individuals (academic identities) and operate without any visible violence. And indeed, even if this power is barely bodily, it is quite physical; to put in different way, the effect of this power applied to the body is more on spatial violence.

3.2. Normalizing Sanction

At the heart of all disciplinary mechanisms is the punishment system. It is possible to summarize the major forms of punishment in universities that discipline individuals as follows.

Penalties are imposed on time (interruption on productivity), Activity (carelessness, irregularity, neglecting academic conventions, inefficiency, discouraging enthusiasm, disrupt motivation), attitude (rudeness and disobedience), discourse (chattering, stigmatization, gossip and reporting), body (rough and inappropriate behavior), moral codes (feelings of embarrassment). At the same time, the degree of punishment on the individual from mild to severe; insulting, obscenity, indifference, ignorance, humiliation, task assignment, assignment outside the field of expertise, not exercising competence, having tasks outside the scope of duty, organizing books in the library, creating artificial discussions, drawing individuals to this process, to open an investigation, to isolate it and to get a job, etc.

The apparent aim of punishment is to reduce deviations. In other words, it actually is for reforming the individuals. But by its very nature, punishment is manifested as a necessity. Namely, it reproduces by increasing the number of rules rather than the implementation of the violation of the law. The individuals are left vulnerable by the means of punishment. Regarding the punishment forms mentioned above, it is in fact a violation of the law again and again. There are parties in the punishment process. Those who implement the penalty, the victims of the penalty, and the spectators / observers during the implementation of the penalty. While the criminal practitioners are being rewarded in this process (getting a promotion, responding to each request positively, permission, hiring relatives, increasing additional courses, assigning more than one task at the same time, assigning tasks over their abilities, etc.), the punished academic identities gradually lose their self-esteem, get injured biologically, psychologically and socially, break away from the scientific production process, have their social relations networks weakened and try to live with anxiety and feelings of constant anxiety and excessive trauma and seek the ways to cope. The re-punishment of the victim-aggrieved that is represented in the Turkish Cinema amongst the classics like “Vurun Kahpeye”, “Yatık Emine” etc., which manifests in the form of neighborhood pressure of the themes in the films, have been added to this process.

3.3. Examination

The third technique that disciplines academic identities is the testing. The exam is a discipline technique that combines normative sanctioning techniques with supervisory hierarchy techniques. It takes place in the center of the disciplinary power. Foucault describes the two approaches of examination and disciplinary power - hierarchical supervision and normalization sanction - as "inadequate technique". The test technique has a normalizing gaze and surveillance. This makes it possible to qualify, classify and punish. It also judges individuals with a different perspective (Foucault, 1977, p. 184, as cited in Aka, 2004).

It is possible to discuss the test technique in socio-historical context. Hoskin (1982, p. 213-236, as cited in Aka, 2004) tries to show the date of the examination particularly as a technique of modern power in education. He sees the modern written examination as the most significant transformation in historical education practices. It is a special micro-power technology which, in the words of Foucault, combines "the placement of forces according to a certain plan and the establishment of truth." Written materials classify each individual according to a particular category and produce the story of each individual and place these categories into the "norms" (Hoskin, 1979, p. 137, as cited in Aka, 2004).

Individuals are defined, judged, evaluated and compared with others individually in these power relations. Examination as knowledge / power technology is the most insidious means of disciplinary power. The examination takes place at the center of these procedures that constitute the individual as the object and conclusion of power and knowledge (Foucault 1979, p. 192, as cited in Aka, 2004).

The exam fuses the hierarchical surveillance techniques and normalizing sanction (punishment). A normalizing look enables surveillance and inspection, qualification, classification and punishment. It shows the difference and knowledge of these individuals (Foucault, 1979, p. 175, as cited in Aka, 2004).

The test, which is an evaluation technique, is a formal application of power, and at the same time is an objectification in terms of its visibility (a concrete data). It connects the indicators of the power and the formation of the knowledge. The evaluation is known and recorded by the evaluator. Foucault describes the characteristics of the test as follows:

The exam transforms the economic visibility (for numerical data) into the application of power. The exam is "the field of dominance", "the supervision process", "the evaluation without prejudice" and "the mandatory objectification". Safe and appropriate evaluations are done to highlight the actions and personal tendencies of the individual in closed classes. Disciplinary practice is a challenging mechanism for observation; the examination technique leads to the application of power; coercion tempers power to the administrators (Foucault, 1977, p. 170-171).

The exam farther documents individuality. The exam creates a rigorous archive. The notes given in the register files are kept and recorded for making future corrections and additions, on the basis of other decisions. Along with progress, reward, competence and suitability, incapacity and weaknesses are also written on the files. For Foucault, the "art of punishment" includes reward, surveillance and punishment. Since norms are the forms of coercion required for success, the individual is exposed to identification and comparison.

The examination is framed by written techniques that create the individual situation. Progression or deterioration in a personal history, responsibility or foolishness, cooperation or difficulties are brought together. The accumulation of vital documents and the ordering of careers are the identification of each individual's own characteristics (Foucault, 1979, p.180, as cited in Aka, 2004).

The application of normalizing judgments is the evaluation of individuals in terms of measuring and documenting general and specific skills. The implementation of these mentioned three discipline techniques in universities, which are at the forefront of structures where hierarchical interaction and communication patterns are more dominant, leads to various damages in academic identity, and it is observed that these damages are gradually broken off from the academic production of aggrieved / victims by normalizing sanctions (different types of punishment and reward).

It is also possible to read the mobbing process with various disciplinary techniques as a project to transform individuals into economically and politically docile bodies.

It will be useful to emphasize the ways of coping with trauma in which Foucault's expression these processes of tormenting / disciplining and then the building bodies (academic identities) through these forms, which are treated with social and legal mechanisms.

4. Conclusion: Ways to Cope with Trauma and Various Suggestions

It is essential to think about the reasons of this violence before presenting prescriptions for treatment of psychological terrors-torture in universities. Why is this type of violence needed? Should we evaluate this process as a functional requirement? Or should we go for the normalization of this process by explaining this violence only with the sick spirits of the

administrators and the inspectors? As is known, a clear diagnosis of the presence of a problem is essential before any disease is treated. Different treatment methods can be recommended only after diagnosis. Recognizing that this violent pathway has continuously interrupted the scientific production process, it is important to lay weight on the fact that only one of the structural problems of the universities has become visible.

Higher education institutions in Turkey experienced a structural transformation before and after the 1980s. This process is probably still going on and unfortunately it is very hard to say exactly what prospect it will gain. We come live this ceaseless process again and again of which the silence spiral is in control and we are almost afraid of talking. We are passing through the period / periods in which the academic identity created / desired to be created as an ordinary result of this process has passed through / has been forced to pass through some processes in Turkey and created people who are ready to receive this identity.

It can be argued that higher education institutions in Turkey have undergone a structural transformation in this framework. Some higher education institutions that have organized and have a prestigious background have supported an image with colloquium or "holding" (Becher & Kogan, 1980, as cited in Henkel, 2005). They have made strategical connections and invested in at the institutional level. By way of illustration, a project for teaching members in Turkey and exchange programs for students and faculty members have been organized jointly by various universities abroad. Most of the higher education institutions are affected by this model. In terms of institutional organization, unifying modern structures and strategies have been adopted to achieve corporate objectives. Policy makers at the academics have consciously removed academicians, who cannot generate this system, from universities or departments as an effective method for efficient use of institutional resources. Institutional leaders have used them in instrumental change and have preferred adaptation (docility) rather than protecting academy from the external impacts.

Multiple correlations / relationships have been maintained to win rewards in universities for the need of maximizing the revenue. Rectors have gained extraordinary power in universities as "employers". Most of them have easily adapted to the new images or models of the universities. According to Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff (19979), this model is a relationship spiral amongst industry, university and government. Institutions and research centers use interdisciplinary, external relations networks, as well as financing motivation to develop free commercial ventures. Recommendation, support and external link networks have been set in motion in the production of new policies. The security of intellectual property rights and independent commercial enterprise with academic staff have been developed (Henkel, 2005, p. 163).

Some important results of these developments are: While academic development and academic strength are in the interests of industrial leaders, higher education institutions have become a multi-faceted professional organization. Academy has become a major battleground for academics and other interest groups in control issues that are not considered important as academic privilege. Academic study and academic relations have bureaucratized and visualized (Bleiklie et al., as cited in Henkel, 2005). Their performances have become clear to internal governance. Along with academic review and property ownership, quantitative increase due to performance has also taken place. The institution has become a force that is increasingly affecting academic life. In this case, the ancient academic identity has weakened and the source of academic identity has changed too.

The hierarchical relationship between universities, faculties and departments displays high resemblance to the military hierarchical model of the chain. Institutional loyalty and institutional hierarchical relations are expected to be maintained from the academicians in this relationship spiral. Discipline, the interaction between the individual and the institution has become more complex. Defending the current image of higher education institutions as an

activity of restricted and conservative areas seems considerably difficult since.

In the expression of Foucault, mobbing practice, which is the integrated version of the sanctification practices, exclusion, defense-investigation holy trinity, has also been effective in weakening academic identity in higher education institutions and drawing academic reputation. Academic identities, objects of the auditing and surveillance society, have laid the groundwork for academic identity and prestige to fall out of favor with adopting strategies such as silence in the name of individualization, acceptance of the existing situation and witnessing the insubstantial situation for another.

In order to cope with this type of violence, which is a natural consequence of this structural transformation process, it is necessary to underline a few important points. First of all, the existence of the problem must be clearly defined and legal measures must be taken. Medical assistance should be obtained with legal measures and the role of social control mechanisms should be actualized on those who are subjected to violence rather than on behalf of violence practitioners. Rewarding those who commit violence should be abandoned.

Lawmakers, psychologists and sociologists, as well as the people exposed to this violence must act jointly with drawing on from their experience before the treatment becomes impossible for the repair of the resulting biological, psychological and economic damages. In particular, the victims should not be left alone, and many acts (especially the unions) who frequently use the word "no" in their official statements but are in fact supporting this process in practice need to take a real protective role.

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How Do Young People React to the Phenomenon of Suicide, Marriage and Divorce?

Ruchan Gokdag

1. Introduction

People may end their lives for various reasons which most of us could regard as quite ordinary reasons. In his work titled “Man Against Himself”, Karl Menninger defines suicide as “the desire to kill oneself” as a result of directing “anger with others” towards himself or herself. In this way, by directing their aggression for others towards themselves, individuals punish themselves (Yalvaç, 2006). According to this definition, suicide occurs as a consequence of one’s desire to punish other people (he or she is angry at) by ending his or her life. Suicide involves a wide range of actions that result in threat, thought, attempt and death. Family structure, interaction and interpersonal problems have an important place in the scope of etiology of suicide. Suicide has deep influence on the family whether it is a thought, an attempt or action (Palabıyıkoglu, 1993). With the decrease in social gatherings caused by the decreasing rate of marriage and by the increasing number of separate couples, the rate of suicide increased between 1970 and 1985 in Ireland. The high number of separated couples, which is considered to be an indicator of social deterioration and social harmony, is among the risk factors that increase the rate of suicide (Bunney, Kleinman, Pellmar & Goldsmith, 2002). In USA, the rate of suicide, which started in 1960s and peaking in 1977, was found to increase in the age group of 15-24. In the country, for the last 25 years, suicides among adolescents have occurred as an important public health problem. This situation leads to the thought that lack of a father in the family and/or separated parents have a relationship with the increase in the number of suicides among adolescents (Mościcki, 2001). In this study, first, the phenomena of marriage, divorce and suicide were explained. Following this, based on the responses of 588 participants to these phenomena, the relationships between these three phenomena were identified. Thus, the present study revealed how university students viewed the phenomena of marriage, divorce and suicide and tried to shed light on future studies and to contribute to the field of communication.

1.1. Research Purpose

The purpose of the study was to reveal whether there was a relationship between the university students’ responses to the phenomena of marriage, divorce and suicide. In this respect, the following research questions were directed:

- Is there a relationship between the university students’ thoughts about marriage and divorce?
- Is there a relationship between the university students’ thoughts about marriage and suicide?
- Is there a relationship between the university students’ thoughts about divorce and suicide?
- How do the university students view the phenomena of marriage, divorce and suicide?

2. Method

2.1. Research Model

This study is one that tried to determine a certain situation. The study aimed at revealing how university students reacted to the phenomena of marriage, divorce and suicide and to determine whether there was a relationship between their reactions to these phenomena. In

this respect, the purpose was to demonstrate whether there were relationships between the variables. The study further aimed at explaining the associations between these variables.

2.2. Universe and Sample

Universe: The universe in the study included the students attending Anadolu University in the academic year of 2015-2016.

Sample: The research sample was made up of 588 students randomly selected from different faculties of Anadolu University.

2.3. Data Collection

The study was conducted with 588 students from different faculties of Anadolu University (Faculty of Communication Sciences, Science Faculty, Faculty of Literature, Education Faculty, Faculty of Sports Sciences, Faculty of Aviation and Space Sciences and Faculty of Pharmacy). The students were asked to respond briefly to open-ended questions regarding their reactions and thoughts about the phenomena of marriage, divorce and suicide, and they were allowed to feel free to write down their thoughts. Among all the participants, 276 university students who reported views and thoughts about at least one of the themes of marriage, divorce and suicide were gathered under certain groups, and the variables to be examined were obtained.

2.4. Data Analysis

In order to examine the relationships between the variables, correspondence analysis, which provides multivariate approach to the data, was used (Hoffman & Franke, 1986:213). Correspondence analysis is a method of multivariate analysis that Correspondence analysis is a method of multivariate analysis, which aims at demonstrating categorical lines and columns as well as changes via graphics with fewer dimensions (Özdamar, 2002). This technique allows revealing the relationships between variables and between the levels of the variables in detail and presenting the results visually. In the study, there is neither a hypothesis to test the model in correspondence analysis nor an assumption of possibilities for the probable values of the variables. Correspondence analysis has the capability of dimension reduction just like in factor analysis, and thanks to this, it allows conducting analysis with fewer data (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson & Tatham, 1998). Concepts used in correspondence analysis include profile, chi-square distance, contingency table, inertia and mass (Greenacre & Blasius, 1994). Correspondence analysis helps examine the relationships not only between line and column variables but also between the sub-categories of each variable for the data obtained categorically or transferred to a two-way table after being obtained. In addition, it is also a technique which allows visual evaluation of the results obtained via graphical demonstration of the relationships in a low-dimensional space. This technique is one related to Multiple Correspondence Analysis (Optimal scaling), Basic Components Analysis and Factor Analysis. With this technique, it is possible to reveal the relationships in detail between the variables as well as between the categories of variables and to present the results visually (Ture, Kurt & Akturk, 2007: 587). In simple correspondence analysis, each variable is represented in one dimension, while in multiple correspondence analysis, two or more variables are demonstrated in one dimension (Kılıç, 2016). In multiple correspondence analysis, more information is obtained with respect to the number of variables when compared to simple correspondence analysis, yet it is not graphically easy to determine which variable has a relationship with which categories of which variable. After the relationships between the

categories in dimensions are observed, these relationships are revised via simple correspondence analysis.

3. Discussion and Findings

3.1. Grouping and Analysis of Given Responses

Among the 588 university students who responded briefly to the open-ended questions directed in the study, the responses of 276 participants to at least one of the themes of marriage, divorce and suicide were combined under sub-themes, which allowed obtaining the qualitative variables. These combined themes and the general theme statements were as follows:

3.2. Viewpoints about Marriage

The groups formed under this theme and the main statements belonging to the scope of these groups were examined under the headings of Social Viewpoints, Emotional Viewpoints and Neutral Viewpoints.

Social Viewpoints: Compulsory; Compulsory to establish a family; Necessary and essential; Necessary and harmony is essential; A tool to continue the generation; Necessary to continue one's existence; to become a family.

It is just to legalize sex; A kind of registration; A connection which forms the family; Indispensable part of world order; Means being a spouse; Important for monogamy; It is because the society imposes; A social contract; Necessary to be satisfied; Beneficial and necessary for the society; A must for the development of the society; For social order.

It is for what it should be; Necessary; Necessary when it is time for marriage; just for heterosexuality; Dominance of social gender roles.

Emotional Viewpoints: It should occur if there is love; Love and respect bring loyalty; It should be with the right person; Correct spouse is necessary; If balanced then there can be marriage; If he is the right person, then there can be marriage; Associated with age and developmental phases.

Neutral Viewpoints: Possible but not compulsory; Not obligatory; Not essential; There should not be any obligation; Not necessary.

3.3. Viewpoints about Divorce

The groups formed under this theme and the main statements belonging to the scope of these groups were examined under the headings of Living Together After Divorce, Positive Viewpoints, Negative Viewpoints, Effects on Family Members, and Social Effects.

Living Together After Divorce: Probable; Possible; Natural; Possible/normal process; Why not?; Possible/increased; It may occur in every person's life; Possible after certain situations; Often.

Positive Viewpoints: A tool to solve problems in marriage; A way of Ending an Unhappy Marriage; a process more reasonable than marriage; It is normal though regarded as breaking up a family; Possible if it will be a solution; Possible/Not that bad as thought.

Negative Viewpoints: It should not happen/it is now quite easy to get divorced; Divorce should not happen; People divorce for no important reason.

Effects on Family Members: Damages marriage; A damaging experience for both parties; Saddening and disruptive; Breaking up of the family; A painful experience; A negative experience influential on children; A process with destructive effects on children; It has negative effects especially on adolescents.

Social Effects: It has negative effects on culture; Divorce occurs in a number of societies but it is regarded as a negative phenomenon; A phenomenon hated by the society; A phenomenon increasing in line with the economic freedom of the woman.

3.4. Viewpoints about Suicide

The groups formed under this theme and the main statements belonging to the scope of these groups were examined under the headings of Traumatic Reasons, Negative Viewpoints about Suicide, Positive Viewpoints about Suicide, and Statements Supporting Suicide.

Traumatic Reasons: It results from failure to avoid trauma, desperateness; Weakness; Saddening and disruptive; Hopelessness; Bad luck; Increases with social pressures; A result of problems; Defense mechanism; A traumatic situation; Psychological disorders; A result of psychological problems; It is a psychological problem; Psychological crisis; Giving up; Pathological addiction; Being coward; People without personality development choose suicide; Resistance is necessary; It should not be for religious reasons; A result of depression; Tried but regrets; Being weak and coward; It results from desperateness and regret; It is a failure; It is not normal; Meaningless and simple; A result of severe depression.

Positive Viewpoints About Suicide: Sometimes thinking about it; May think about it; Still thinking about it; Thought about it but did not attempt; Thought about it but gave it up; Just thought about it; Thought about it but did not do it; Thought about it but did not apply; Thought about it but did not take a step; Thought about it but do not think any longer.

Negative Viewpoints About Suicide: Never thought about it; Does not think about it/ regards it as impotence; Does not think about it; Does not think about it/considers it to be a weakness; Does not think about it/finds it nonsense; Does not think about it/regards it as being coward; Does not think about it/condemns it; Does not want it for religious reasons; Does not think about it/regards it was illness; Does not think about it/finds it unnecessary; Does not think about it for religious reasons; Does not think about it/finds it selfish; Does not think about it/finds it meaningless; Never thought about it/loves life; Never thought about it/finds it almost impossible; Did not think about it; It should not happen; It should not occur for religious reasons; Does not support it/regards it as weakness.

Statements Supporting Suicide: An indicator of courage; Taking the courage; Tried himself or herself; Existing throughout the world; A way of asking for help.

Table 1. Frequencies Marriage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2 Emotional Viewpoints	85	30.8	32.9	32.9
	3 Neutral Viewpoints	57	20.7	22.1	55.0
	4 Social Viewpoints	116	42.0	45.0	100.0
	Total	258	93.5	100.0	
Missing	System	18	6.5		
Total		276	100.0		

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When the frequency of the responses to marriage in the above Table 1 is examined, it is seen that most of the responses belonged to “Social Viewpoints”. It was found that the participants adopted the social culture in relation to marriage.

Table 2. Divorce

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2 Effects on Family Members	34	12.3	13.0	13.0
	3 Living Together After divorce	55	19.9	21.0	34.0
	4 Positive Viewpoints	49	17.8	18.7	52.7
	5 Negative Viewpoints	53	19.2	20.2	72.9
	6 Social Effects	71	25.7	27.1	100.0

Table 2. (Continued)

	Total	262	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	14	5.1		
Total		276	100.0		

When the frequency of the responses in relation to divorce was examined, it was seen that most of the responses focused on “Social Effects”, and interestingly, most of the participants did not have negative thoughts about “Living Together After Divorce” (Table 2). This finding demonstrates that there is a new cultural change in the society despite the current traditions, customs and beliefs.

Table 3. Suicide

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2 Positive viewpoints about suicide	59	21.4	24.1	24.1
	3 Negative viewpoints about suicide	53	19.2	21.6	45.7
	4 Statements Supporting Suicide	65	23.6	26.5	72.2
	5 Traumatic Reasons	68	24.6	27.8	100.0
	Total	245	88.8		
Missing	System	31	11.2		
Total		276	100.0		

When the frequency of responses regarding suicide was examined, it was seen that suicide occurred for “Traumatic Reasons” (Table 3). An important finding was that statements supporting “Suicide” were more than “Positive Thoughts about Suicide” and “Negative Thoughts about Suicide”. In our society, such problems as recent terrorist attacks, economic crisis and unemployment and other disruptive and traumatic events like interpersonal problems, child abuse and murders and violence involving women are all thought to trigger social crisis and to develop the above viewpoints about “suicide”.

3.5. Correspondence Analysis

There are two dimensions regarding the relationships between the sub-themes of Marriage and Divorce (Table 4). The first dimension explains 85,9% of the relationship, while 14,1% of the relationship between the themes is explained in the second dimension. Thus, there was a significant relationship between the participants’ responses to the theme of marriage and their responses to the theme of divorce.

Table 4. Determining the Relationship between Marriage and Divorce Summary

Summary						
Dimension	Singular Value	Inertia	Chi Square	Sig.	Proportion of Inertia	
					Accounted for	Cumulative
1	.329	.109			.859	.859
2	.134	.018			.141	1.000
Total		.126	31.095	.000 ^a	1.000	1.000

*Relationship was significant $p=0,00001 < 0,05$.

Figure 1 presents the graph formed as a result of the correspondence analysis applied to demonstrate the relationships.

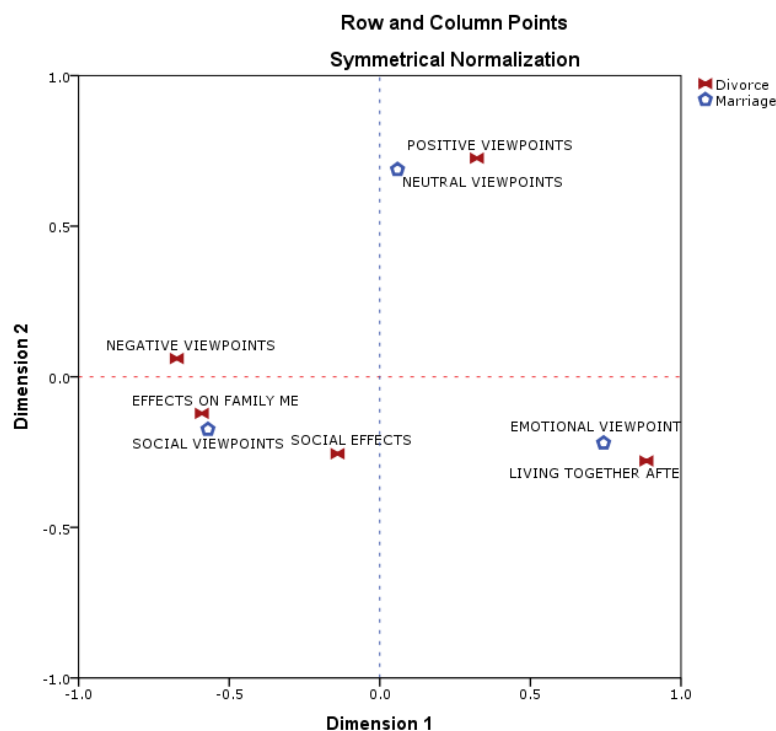


Figure 1. The graph formed as a result of the correspondence analysis applied to demonstrate the relationships

When Figure 1 is examined, it is seen that for individuals with negative viewpoints about divorce, there was a relationship between the themes of «Effects on Family Members», «Social Viewpoint» and «Social Effects». As for the individuals with «positive viewpoints» about divorce, they were neutral in terms of marriage. In addition, it was seen that those who reported positive views about «Living Together After Divorce» approached to marriage from an «emotional viewpoint».

Table 5. Determining the Relationship between the Themes of Divorce and Suicide

Summary						
Dimension	Singular Value	Inertia	Chi Square	Sig.	Proportion of Inertia	
					Accounted for	Cumulative
1	.445	.198			.476	.476
2	.427	.182			.438	.914
3	.189	.036			.086	1.000
Total		.416	96.867	.000 ^a	1.000	1.000

*The relationship was significant $p=0,00001 < 0,05$.

When the Table 5 above is examined, it is seen that there are three dimensions regarding the relationships between the sub-themes of suicide and divorce. The first dimension explains 47,6% of the relationship, while 43,8'% of the relationship between the themes in the second dimension was explained. As for the third dimension, 8,6% of the relationship was explained. Thus, there was a significant relationship between the participants' responses to the theme of suicide and their responses to the theme of divorce.

Figure 2 presents the graph formed as a result of the correspondence analysis applied to demonstrate the relationships.

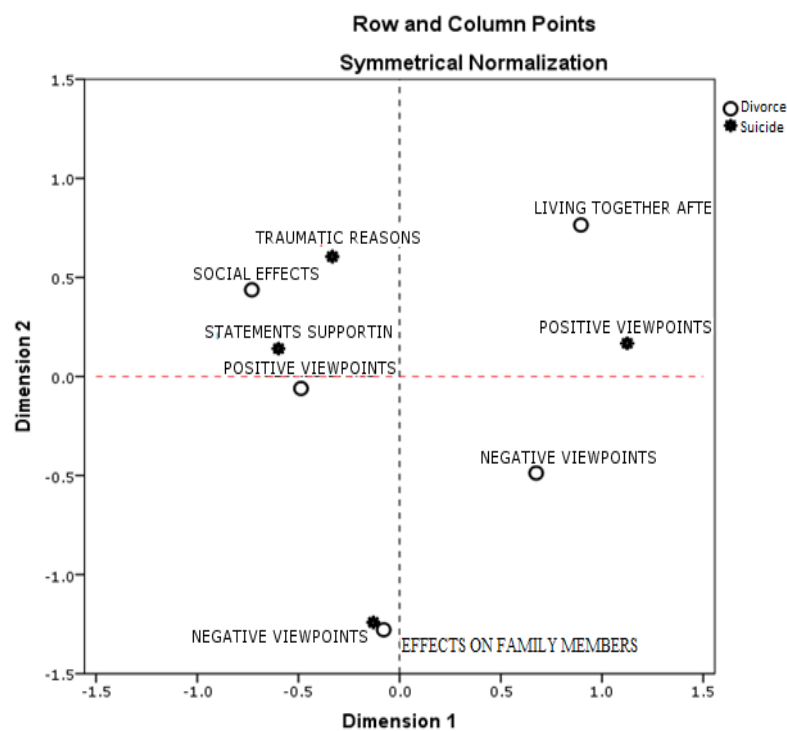


Figure 2. The graph formed as a result of the correspondence analysis applied to demonstrate the relationships

When Figure 2 is examined, it is seen that individuals with «negative viewpoints» about divorce had «positive viewpoints» about «suicide» and about «Living Together After Divorce». Individuals who had «positive viewpoints» about divorce and mentioned «traumatic reasons» regarding divorce reported views supporting suicide. Also, it was found that there was a relationship in terms of «Social effects» and divorce. In terms of the third dimension, in which 8,6% of the relationship between suicide and divorce was explained, individuals' «negative viewpoints» about suicide had a relationship with the theme of «effects on family members».

Table 6. Results of multiple correspondence analysis to determine the relationships between the themes of marriage, divorce and suicide

Correlations Transformed Variables			
Dimension: 1			
	Suicide	Divorce	Marriage
Suicide	1.000	.329	.067
Divorce	.329	1.000	.286
Marriage	.067	.286	1.000
Dimension	1	2	3
Eigenvalue	1.470	.934	.596

When the Table 6 above is examined, it is seen that the correlation between the theme of divorce and suicide was 0,329 ($p=0,001 < 0,05$) and that there was a significant positive relationship. There was quite a weak correlation between marriage and suicide (0,67), and it was not found significant ($p=0,121 > 0,05$). However, the correlation between the participants' responses to the themes of divorce and marriage (0,286 and $p=0,002 < 0,05$) was found statistically significant and positive. Their attitudes towards marriage and divorce were similar.

Table 7. Model Summary

Dimension	Cronbach's Alpha	Variance Accounted For	
		Total (Eigenvalue)	Inertia
1	.588	1.645	.548
2	.507	1.511	.504
Total		3.155	1.052
Mean	.549 ^a	1.578	.526

When the Table 7 above is examined, it is seen that there were two dimensions regarding the relationships between marriage, divorce and suicide and between the sub-themes. The first dimension explained 54,8% of the relationship, while in the second dimension, 0,4% of the relationship between the themes was explained. Thus, the relationship between the participants' responses to the themes of suicide, marriage and divorce can be examined in two dimensions.

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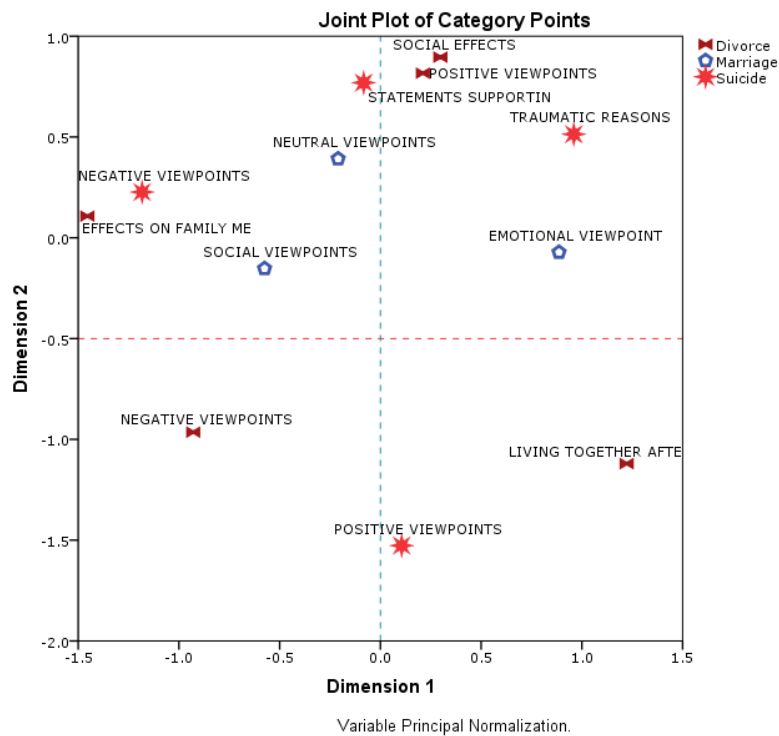


Figure 3. Multiple Correspondence Analysis Graph for the Relationship between the sub-themes of marriage, divorce and suicide.

When Figure 3 is examined, it could be stated that there was almost no relationship at all between the sub-themes formed via the divorce-related responses of the individuals who had positive viewpoints about suicide, yet these individuals were those who had negative viewpoints about divorce and who had positive views about living together after divorce. On the other hand, it was seen that those who believed divorce had social effects were individuals who had emotional viewpoints about marriage. These individuals were also those who mentioned traumatic reasons for suicide and made statements supporting suicide. As for those who had negative viewpoints about suicide, they were individuals who believed divorce to have effects on family members and who had social viewpoints about marriage. Table 8 shows the statistics of general situation related to Suicide, Divorce and Marriage.

Table 8. Statistics

		Suicide	Divorce	Marriage
N	Valid	245	262	258
	Missing	31	14	18
Median		4.00	4.00	3.00
Mode		5	6	4

4. Conclusion and Suggestions

The results obtained by a group of researchers in 2011 revealed that the rate of suicide in unwanted marriages was significantly higher than in wanted marriages. In addition, short durations of marriages resulting in divorce increase the thought and rate of suicide. It is reported that increasing durations of marriages decrease the thought of suicide significantly (Polatöz, Kuğu, Doğan & Akyüz, 2011). The results of another study demonstrated that as the age of marriage increases, the act and thought of suicide decreases. It is believed that the

protective influence of marriage on suicide depends on the social support system marriage creates (Reynolds, 1991) and that appropriate social and family support decreases the risk of suicide (Schwab, Warheit & Holser, 1972). In addition, one other study revealed that women's existence in social and economic arena, marriage at older ages and the changing social gender roles may have influence on individuals' viewpoints about marriage (Pinar, 2008). Economic effects caused by crisis and uncertainty caused by these effects might lead to psychological disorders, physical illnesses, stress, depression and hopelessness. All these reasons reveal the existence of an important relationship between economic crisis and suicide in Turkey. In post-crisis period, the rate of suicide increases a lot. In Turkey, just after the economic crisis in 2001, it was seen that there was a decrease in the rate of marriage and an increase in the rate of divorce. When spouses are influenced negatively by economic crisis, they experience problems and difficulties in their marriages. This process may even result in divorce (Kılıç, Savrul & Bayar, 2015).

It is important that counselling programs should be planned and organized by Youth Counselling Units prior to marriage. These programs should be executed by field experts within the scope of a multidisciplinary approach (sociologists, psychologists, doctors, nurses, social service specialists, communication experts and so on) (Pinar, 2008). Of course, there are and there should be related statements to be made and suggestions to be put forward by psychologists, sociologists and by other authorities like the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Müftüoğlu, 2002).

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An Evaluation in the Context of Gender: “The Given Value to Children” in Anatolia

Melike Kaplan

Introduction

This study was conducted to determine the value given to boys and girls when evaluated in the context of gender in the traditional cultural background.

Examples from the field studies throughout the Turkish history will be given in the study.

This study is focused on «children» evaluated in terms of gender, and investigates two subjects:

1. The expectations of the mother and father on their babies to be daughter/son, and the reasons of this,

2. After childbirth, the child's gender learning process,

This study will also focus on the reasons why families do/don't want to have son or daughter, and the traditional practices that have been made about it.

In Turkey, the concept of family is considered together with the concept of «child». The child has a symbolic value; The family is considered as a child-centered structure. It also has a central importance in terms of family values.

The study conducted with the name “Family Values in Turkey” by Prime Minister’s Office, Directorate General of Family and Social Research (2010). In this study, some of the answers given to the question of «What does child mean for you?» are as follows:

-A child is one of the most important element exists in a family.

-I believe that a couple should definitely have children in order to become a family, but it is difficult in our present time.

-Children are our future, when they grow up, we will depend on them.

-Children are a part of your soul.

-Children are the fruit of a family, they must exist in every family. They are the meaning of life.

-Children are *tabula rasa*, an empty voice recording band, a small human being that will direct and rule future.

Method and Findings

In social sciences, especially in Folklore, Anthropology and Sociology, field studies have been conducted throughout history on the value given to children on a social gender basis and on relevant practices. In these studies, the traditional practices of people who do not have children are also compiled.

The examples given in this study, the methods, practices and beliefs applied to determine the gender of the child to be born reveal that they refer to the underlying desire for a “male baby”.

The traditional/cultural reasons of the desire for a male baby, i.e. a son, are based on some reasons like sustaining the father’s home, continuing the name and generation, preventing the distribution of the inheritance.

In traditional cultures, the comments on whether a pregnant woman will give birth to a son or daughter are based on some rituals, practices, and spell-bound applications.

The practices that are used in determining the gender of the future child are as follows;

food craving, and the things the pregnant woman eats and drinks; the shape of the body/stomach area; «relative» beauty or ugliness of the pregnant woman; religious-spell

practices; processes about sexual intercourse, the tradition of giving a name to the baby, giving a boy's name to the baby with the desire of the next baby to be a son...

It is the whole of the components telling people how a person is perceived by society because of the gender issues; how a woman and man should look, think, feel, wear, act; and how the person should perceive the world (Helman, 1990).

The behaviors, attitudes, rights, duties and responsibilities expected from a woman or a man may be defined as the gender role or gender role. In time, gender, which is structured in a cultural manner, is not innate and can be changed. Although socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics vary, the behaviors patterns based on gender roles in almost every society are given to the girls and boys with the socializing process (Dökmen, 2010).

In constructing gender, the role of the family and social environment cannot be denied. Here, although the basic role belongs to the parents, family, peers, the media, school, books, songs, films, television channels and similar elements make the expectations become concrete, and prepares the media in which children may internalize these rules and behaviors (Connell, 1998; Driscoll and Nagel, 2008).

In this socialization process, family appears before us as a field in which gender identities and inequalities based on gender are re-produced (Narrated by: Aktaş, 2011). Tanenbaum and Leaper (2002) stated that families transfer gender structures to their children.

On the other hand, Cunningham (2001) conducted a study and determined that there is a relation between the gender patterns of mothers and the gender behaviors of their adult children.

It is possible to claim that families transfer their own gender role perceptions to their children directly or indirectly.

It was reported in previous studies in the literature that the behaviors and interests of parents vary according to the gender of the genders of their children and this situation affect the gender perception of children.

It was reported that parents have more scientific talks with their sons (Tanenbaum & Leaper, 2003; Tanenbaum, Snow, Roach, & Kurland, 2005), talk to their daughters about their emotions, and thus, daughters are inclined later to be interested more in similar emotions of others (Buckner & Fivush, 2000; Fivush, Brotman, Buckner & Goodman, 2000). According to Stewart and Friedman (1987), parents support their sons to succeed, compete, control their emotions, act in an independent manner and take individual responsibilities more than their daughters (Narrated by: Baran, 1995).

On the other hand, it was determined that children who have parents who have egalitarian viewpoints about gender show less gender-specific judgment behaviors than children who have parents traditionally-structured viewpoints (Fagot & Leinbach, 1995).

Murray (2004) examined the perceptions of children from egalitarian and traditional family structures on gender, and found results that supported the results of Fagot and Leinbach. It was determined in the study that although children from egalitarian family structures had stereotyped judgments, they had less stereotyped viewpoints about women and men when compared with children from traditional families.

In another study, it was reported that traditional labor division between parents may lead to the preference of male children for more *masculine* jobs, and female children prefer more feminine jobs (Fulcher et al., 2007). It was reported that parents and their children have major similarities in terms of stereotyped gender judgments (Epstein & Ward, 2011).

Similarly, Özdemir (2006) conducted a study and reported that the children in his study stated that being strong and hard was male characteristics. In another study, children defined women as weak and powerless; men as strong.

It is considered that the lack of the change in the thoughts of children according to their family structures may be associated with male-dominant system and patriarchal family structures, and with elevation of male characteristics by showing them in the forefront.

Violence: It was reported that children who see that their mothers are treated violently at home have more negative perceptions on women than the perceptions of children who have not seen or witnessed violence at home. Children who witness that their mothers receive violence at home consider women as weaker, more powerless and more helpless than men.

The World Health Organization defined the violence against women as any of the behaviors and attitudes that are based on gender, and that harm and damage them, that have the possibility of resulting in physical, spiritual, and sexual damage; and cause that pressures within the society or in private appear and freedom of them is limited arbitrarily. The terms used in this definition “pressures within the society or in private” constitute most probably the most influential dimension of emotional violence against women.

The thought that couples must definitely have children after they are married has been carried far to the point that “the child must definitely be a son”. This situation causes that psychological and physical diseases increase in women.

It was emphasized in previous studies that in women who live in constant violence environment, fear, anxiety, not feeling safe, weariness, exhaustions, insufficiency and similar emotions appear more frequently.

Studies conducted so far revealed that there is a relation between violence and depression, and anxiety, depression, decreased school performance, and similar negative social and health results develop in children who experience violence.

Emotional violence, which is a sub-group of violence towards women, is one of the most frequent situation that may leave effects that are deeper than physical violence.

A commission report was released by Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), Women-Men Equal Opportunities Commission in 2011 on “The Psychological Violence Formed on Women Due to the Gender of the Children, Bride Price, and Traditional Marriages”, and striking examples were given.

As it was mentioned in the report of this commission, the desire for male babies constitute a pressure on families in a manner that is independent from educational and cultural status, and the society encourages male babies. This process starts with the social structure and when the gender of the baby is learnt before it is born. The mother experiences violence even when she is pregnant, and the emotional sensitivity, which is brought by the pregnancy, increases this trauma even more. In such an environment, the care and accurate approach that is expected from a mother decreases and children may be ignored or abused.

In a previous study, it was reported that women were exposed to psychological violence when they learnt that they would have a female baby when they were pregnant by statements like “Again, a daughter?”, or “There are nobody left to leave the heritage” especially by the relatives of her husband.

The existence of psychological disorders in the mother or father are considered among the factors that increase the risk of negligence of children.

The desire for male babies are valid not only for Turkey but also for other traditional societies all over the world. According to the results of the study, male babies are given importance also by women because they bring a status for them within the society and reinforce their positions.

In our society, some parents may give male names to their daughters when the baby is born a female. It has been reported that these kinds of names may cause that the child will feel that s/he is unwanted in future, and may affect the self-confidence of the child.

In a study in which the role of the family in gender perceptions of preschool children was investigated;

The study group consisted of 8 children who were attending to the same classes and who were from low and middle socio-economic level families and their mothers. The data were collected with one-to-one interviews with children, observations and non-intervened activities. In addition, interviews were made with the mothers of the children on family structures and gender perceptions.

According to the results of the study, it was determined that the mothers being housewives, having experienced violence and children witnessing this, the responsibilities within the family being distributed in a traditional manner and similar factors were influential in the determination of the stereotyped judgments for women and men by children.

It was determined that the children whose fathers and mothers had more responsibilities in house works had less stereotyped judgments than the children whose fathers did not have responsibilities, and that the working status of the mothers did not affect the stereotyped judgments on women and men.

It was also determined that the children who did not have suppressive fathers, who had siblings from the other gender, and who received toys of the other gender had less stereotyped judgments in their preference for games and toys.

Based on the results of the study, family trainings should be organized for the purpose of increasing the sensitivity on gender equality, and preschool programs should be organized in a manner that would provide sensitivity to gender equation and include activities intended for this purpose.

Right at this point, it is necessary that the subject is also considered from the point of the view of children, in brief, it is necessary to mention the importance of gender roles in raising children.

One of the important stages of raising children is the formation of gender identity. Gender is the first social category that is learnt.

It was reported in previous studies that when children become 5 years old, they acquire gender stereotyped judgment sets; and use these stereotyped judgment sets to form his/her perceptions about others, guiding his/her own behaviors, attracting attention and organizing memories (Martin and Ruble, 2004).

The studies conducted so far show that the stereotyped judgment sets for gender roles are determined especially in the family and according to the gender-oriented behaviors of spouses (Signorella and Hanson Frieze, 2008).

With the adolescence, although stereotyped judgment sets on gender become to have some kind of flexibility with the awareness of individual differences or separate situations and with the increase in questioning, the social expectation on behaving in accordance with gender roles become effective on the behaviors of the teenagers. In this period, especially with the increase in sexuality and the relations with the opposite gender, the behaviors that are proper for existing stereotyped judgment sets are supported, and even in some situations, empowered (Bee and Boyd, 2007).

For this reason, children are exposed to the separatist organization of gender roles firstly in the family and then in the other areas where they socialize; and act with a “motive” to adopt to the social structure although it is not true for them and although they are opposite to their individuality and body, and acquire some characteristics that internalize and spread this separation.

Conclusion

Although family is a social institution, it is based on personal relations; and for this reason, has the potential of a faster and constant change and transformation than any other social

institution. As Bora and Üstün (2008:6) claims, family is the most basic formation areas of the practices that have the potential of being transferred to more egalitarian structure. In fact, the gender regime in the family is anti-democratic and exists in the daily lives of women and men. For this reason, the positions of the parents who have the responsibility of raising the children in the family, how they evaluate their positions in terms of gender, and where they shape their relations with each other and with their children according to gender roles, what kind of adults they want their children to be and what they do in order to ensure this are among important issues in this context.

“Project for Increasing the Enrolment Rates Especially for Girls” was developed and financed by European Union. It was planned that the Project would start in May 2011 and continue until May 2013 for the purpose of increasing the schooling rates of girls and decreasing the school leave status (Engin–Demir, Çobanoğlu, 2013).

The Project covered 12 regions and 16 pilot points. Ağrı, Adıyaman, Batman, Bayburt, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Gaziantep, Kars, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şanlıurfa, Şırnak and Van were selected as the pilot cities for the project applications.

The results that were obtained with the field studies conducted in 16 cities, and the obstacles in schooling of girls...

This study was conducted with a wide participant group and was conducted by using scientific research methods.

It provides important clues on what must be done on this issue.

In order to prevent that girls are taken from schools and married at earlier ages, families must be informed about the results of early marriages, and the legal sanctions on this subject must be organized especially for fathers and the other members of families (elder brothers, uncles, grandfathers, etc.) without extra conditions; and society leaders must be models by sending their daughters to schools. By doing so, the social pressure on families may be eliminated.

Teachers, local governors and religious staff must visit homes to convince families to send their daughters to schools; and in the *convincing committee*, there must definitely be female university students, nurses, teachers, engineers and similar role models.

The support of the media must be provided to raise an awareness in the society on schooling of the girls.

In order to change the existing negative attitude towards education in the society, religious leaders, clan leaders, political party representatives, local governors, muftis and imams, NGOs, the representative of official institutions, educators, and similar groups must undertake the responsibility, and for this reason, coordination works must be made, and new models must be developed and applied for this purpose.

As a conclusion, it is observed that the family factor is extremely important in the formation of gender perceptions of children. Although the role distribution in the family appear before us as a field in which inequalities based on gender are re-produced, it is expected that the family of the children and the environment in which children live guide children to behave in accordance with their genders and expect them to act in accordance.

In this context, families must be the role models for their children during preschool period in which learning occurs with modelling to ensure that their children are raised as individuals who are sensitive to gender equality, and trainings must be organized to raise awareness in families for this purpose.

Gender discrimination decreases the interest that must be shown to girls, and one of the most important obstacles that must be eliminated to form a healthy and social society.

In addition to these, the desire for male babies and the pressure of the environment on this may cause serious psychological problems. For this reason, policies must be developed to eliminate gender discrimination in order to protect the psychological health of families and to raise girls in a healthy family environment.

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Philosophy of Social Science Inquiry: A Discussion on Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Alican Kaptı

1. Introduction

We live in a complex world where uncertainty covers all around us. Going deeper into the meaning of the world, the degree of uncertainty becomes deeper and deeper. Scientific efforts attempt to make clear and understandable our world. We are able to understand to the extent that the science has discovered. How about the things that we do not know? And, are we sure that the truths that science has discovered are the facts in reality? How can we reach to the real facts? These questions are very beginning philosophical discussions to understand the science.

We are humans; so, we wonder and search to understand what is going on around us. However, human beings are not like a machine that can be standardized. So, we cannot standardize to understand this world. Also, human creativity is limited as Simon's bounded rationality talks about. We may think and act rationally but we are limited (Simon, 1991). In a nutshell, the social science inquiry attempts to systemize all these different philosophical arguments in order to better understand the world. Based on current knowledge, we cannot ensure that we will understand the world completely (Robson and McCartan, 2016; Robson, 2015; Christensen, Johnson, and Turner, 2015; Güler, Halıcıoğlu, Taşgın, 2013; Sönmez and Alacapınar, 2014).

Drawing a broad angle of the social science inquiry, this study focuses on the discussions of how we should reach to the facts via social science research which is also the main point of the question. King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) assert that the logic of good qualitative and quantitative research do not differ methodologically and substantively. The differences are only stylistic. All good research derives from the same underlying logic of inference. They propose that there are two styles of research but one logic of inference. The differences between two researches are only stylistic and the distinctions are not important methodologically and substantively.

Drawing a broad angle of the social science inquiry, this study focuses on the discussions of how we should reach to the facts via qualitative or quantitative instruments of social science. In doing so, the study reviews the underlying logic of qualitative and quantitative differences by focusing on theoretical backgrounds. What are the underlying assumptions of qualitative and quantitative researches? Why people think differently? The study attempts to answer these questions with the critical review of qualitative vs. quantitative argument and provides effective pathways to practice science.

2. The Nature of Science and Knowledge

It is important that we understand the underlying structure of social science in order to understand the debate of qualitative and quantitative research. Both qualitative and quantitative research derived their roots from the discussions of what is science. Chalmers (2013), in his study, tries to find an absolute definition for science by setting out different philosophical approaches in order to understand the science. Because of the diverse perception of the human creativity, it is difficult to agree with an absolute truth about the science (Chomsky, 1986). Different perspectives and perceptions brought several approaches to understand it (Chalmers, 2013).

Epistemology is a part of philosophy that investigates the foundations of knowledge and understanding. It basically focuses on the nature of knowledge examining its relationship with truths and beliefs (Stenmark, 2001). Belief is any assumption that is thought as true (Singleton, Straits, and Straits, 1993; Neuman, 2005). For instance, to believe that “the students have to memorize the concepts in order to be successful in the exam” is to think “the students have to memorize the concepts in order to be successful in the exam” is true. However, it may not be the fact in the reality. When a student memorizes the concepts and then fails in the exam, the perceived truth may be mistaken. The belief must be actually true for accounting as knowledge.

3. Philosophical Approaches About Science

Several main approaches have emerged to understand what is science. Karl Popper, leading proponent of falsification, assert that an assertion should be shown false by an observation and an experiment. Popper’s philosophy indicates that a theory or a hypothesis can be scientific if only it is falsifiable. The basic underlying logic is to prove the truth by disproving other elements. In this sense, the best theory is the theory that has the highest possibility of falsifiability with very wide claims about the world. (Chalmers, 2013).

On the other hand, paradigm is the key concept according to the Kuhn’s philosophy. He believes that a paradigm consists of general theoretical assumptions and laws of scientific community in any given time period. Paradigms are not changed until a crisis occurs and the paradigm is perceived as not problem solver for science. Kuhn remarkably claims that science needs paradigms. Without an existed scientific paradigm, it is impossible to distinguish science from non-science. Science is a kind of puzzle solving with the help of a particular paradigm, which is widely accepted and applied in scientific community (Kuhn, 2012).

Normally a scientific paradigm provides a good basis to solve problems. However, if the paradigm could not solve the puzzle, the failure belongs to the scientist not to the paradigm. Kuhn rejects all kinds of falsificationism. Therefore, scientists should not criticize any given paradigm. A new paradigm emerges to solve the potential problems of the previous one. For example, in Medieval, science is directed by religious rules; nevertheless, during renaissance and reform eras, it was questioned and abandoned due to increasing perception that religious-based paradigm of science has numerous anomalies. Then, a new paradigm emerged. After that, normal science is used to identify major elements of science (Chalmers, 2013). Conversely, Lakatos (1978) rejects the concept of the paradigms and he asserts that we do not have paradigms. According to the Lakatos, we need to do something what happened before in order to do something today (Chalmers, 2013).

Feyerabend (1978) displays an extreme approach towards scientific methods. His basic argument is that there is no such thing as method in science and attempts to undermine any scientific characterization in regard to the development of science. Eventually he says there is no such thing as specific scientific methods and procedures. For instance, when Galileo invented the telescope, he did not have any theory he referred to. What he basically did was trial and error developing a version that he could use to study space. Feyerabend also supports the idea that scientists must be freed from the methodological constraints, which ultimately enables the individuals to choose between the science and other kind of knowledge. (Chalmers, 2013).

Another approach of science is experimentalism. Ackerman is the leading name in experimentalism. His argument is that experiments take place without being exclusively based on theories. The new experimentalism argues that science learns from mistakes, not from

theories and paradigms. The actual basis of experiments or the progress of science is based on the previous experiments (Chalmers, 2013).

From the feminist standpoint perspective, Harding (1991) rejects the traditional views of epistemology because of subjective dominance on science by disregarding marginalized groups. Harding asserts that we cannot generalize the findings of the traditional science because they do not reflect the real truth. In order to understand the social world truly, we need to study from the point of standpoint theory. Standpoint theory views lots of different perspectives which are essential to understand the reality. In the social world, everything matters and scientists should consider all social situations to view the real world (Harding, 1991).

4. Social Science Inquiry

Social science research is “a creative process of insight and discovery taking place within a well-established structure of scientific inquiry” (King et al, 1994, p.12). The social world is so complex; therefore, social science aims to facilitate our understanding of social situations that we perceive as less or more complex. In other word, social science seeks answers to the questions that arise from the social world. To answer these questions, social scientists have formulated basic principles and techniques which are divided as qualitative and quantitative research (King et al, 1994).

Social science research formulizes how to pose questions and design research in order to make valid descriptive and causal inferences. Causality is the relationship between something with another which is the consequence of first. Scientific research characterizes the nature of this “cause – effect- result” relationship scientifically. The goal is to produce valid inferences about the social life (King et al, 1994).

The “inference” is the process of deriving conclusion based on what someone knows. In other words, “inference is the process of using the facts we do know to learn about the facts we do not know” (King et al, 1994, p.46). Actually, the facts that we do not know are exactly our research questions, hypothesis, and theories. Scientists derive those facts from the qualitative and qualitative data and observations. In descriptive inference, scientists derive conclusions by using observations from the world to learn about other unobserved facts. Similarly, scientists derive conclusions by learning about causal effects from the data observed in causal inferences.

Scientific research aims to make descriptive or explanatory inferences based on the empirical inferences. These inferences should also be based on the principles of logical reasoning. The logic provides the baseline in order to evaluate the correctness and validity of the reasoning. When there is a reason, we make inferences and derive conclusions based on evidence and information we have. There are two types of logical reasoning in order to reach to the truths which are inductive and deductive. In inductive reasoning, scientists try to reach to the facts by moving from specific instances to the general principle and the conclusion is absolutely certain if the evidence is true. On contrary, scientists move from general to specific in deductive reasoning and the conclusion is uncertain even if the evidence is true (Singleton and Straits, 1993).

5. Qualitative –Quantitative Basis

There are schools of thought that tried to formalize that scientific knowledge is derived from the facts. The first school of thought is the empiricists which assert that knowledge should come from the ideas placed in our minds through our sense of perceptions. This idea shapes

the underlying assumptions of the qualitative research. On the other hand, the second school of thought, the positivism, argues that knowledge should be derived from the facts of experience and not only from the ideas formed by our perceptions. Accordingly, the qualitative research derives its root from this school of thought. In the 1920, the logical positivists developed August Comte's positivist ideas and made it focus into the relationship between scientific knowledge and the facts. Eventually, both empiricism and positivism met at a common platform that knowledge should be derived from the facts during the observation (Chalmers, 2013)

Chalmers raises two concerns about deriving knowledge from the facts. The first is the nature of the facts and the access of the scientist to them. The second is that the theories that are a kind of the base of our current knowledge are derived from these facts. There are three components that suggest facts to be the basis of science. First, facts are derived by the observers in a careful and unbiased way. Second, facts emerge independently. Finally, facts are doubtless and reliable scientific knowledge (Chalmers, 2013).

All three claims face difficulties and that they are problematic. The visual experiences do not depend on only observation but also on previous knowledge and expectations of the observers. Chalmers illustrates that if Darwin did not describe his findings and made them reachable for other scientists, he would have done no significant contribution to the science of biology. Thus, Darwin's observations meant less unless he stated what they were.

From this perspective, if facts were to be a suitable basis for the science than there would be no need for description and or statements, because observers would be able to observe them straightforward via their senses, which is not case. To illustrate, a child is shown what an apple looks like. The child might see a tennis ball for an apple if her parents do not provide more information about an apple, such as apple being eatable etc. Thus, the child was not able to derive the facts from what she saw but rather from the earlier knowledge that came from her parents. Her parents were capable of formulating the statements in a proper way to make the child recognize the difference between an apple and a tennis ball (Chalmers, 2013).

The key point in the basis of qualitative and quantitative research is the observer's role. A number of scholars shaped their philosophy towards quantitative research indicating that observers' objectivity is possible only with quantitative direction. A group of other scholars, on the other hand, shaped their philosophy in the direction of qualitative way believing that objectivity is also possible in the qualitative method.

6. Critical Evaluation Logical Perspectives

A number of scholars state that qualitative and quantitative researches are completely different. Kerlinger (1964) asserts that there is no such thing as qualitative data, everything is 1 or 0. On the other hand, Chambel (1974) asserts that all researches ultimately have qualitative aspect. Bryman (1984) indicates that qualitative research is more flexible than quantitative research. Qualitative research emphasizes more on discovering anticipated or original findings. Also, qualitative research is based on inductive reasoning model, while quantitative research model is based on deductive.

Shortly, we understand that there are some similarities and differences between qualitative and quantitative research. The degree of the differences differs based on the perceptions that people have and people think differently which relates to the different philosophical approaches about the truths. The reason why people think differently can be understood from the theoretical backgrounds presented above. Different approaches bring different philosophy in people's mind.

In their approaches, Popper, Kuhn, Feyerabend, Lakatos, and Ackerman all present different views to understand this world. Also, Harding criticizes all of them and claims them as subjective. To analyze all different aspects of the science, it can be argued that being disagree is the nature of the world and it is impossible to find the real truth. Everybody has their truths and the world consists of those truths. Consequently, we need to agree with contemporary notion of “agreeing to disagree.”

Harding’s argument is very essential in terms of the objectivity of the science. The standpoint theory provides relevant objectivity in order to view the truth. However, it is doubtful that the nature of the world would appear by applying the Harding’s “strong objectivity” in science. Philosophically, it seems logical and doable. However, the complexity of the world makes it difficult to understand and implement throughout the science because of socially constructed obstacles. It seems that the “strong objectivity” would be possible with an overwhelming challenge in the world.

In terms of qualitative quantitative discussion, Popper’s falsification theory tends to advocate the qualitative research. There should be a theory to test whether it is true or not. On the other hand, Feyerabend does not accept any theory and methodology rejecting both qualitative and quantitative research.

Because quantitative research is based on numbers and statistics, the notions of positivist approach tends to feed to notions of quantitative research. The positivist approach is based on value-free observation which directs researchers to conduct quantitative data. On the other hand, qualitative research is based on definitions, case study, history analysis which directs researchers to use their minds which is the direction of the empiricist approaches. Even though advocates of the quantitative research assert that qualitative researchers are vulnerable to influence their perception, a number of scholars indicate that the systematic analysis is possible in both researches.

The debate on qualitative and quantitative research turns around the objectivity of the data used in the research. Like qualitative data, quantitative data also may have some subjective parts because it is generated by people with limited capacity. A researcher tends to behave subjective in qualitative data collection process; however, subjectivity may also be the case during the quantitative data analysis process. That is, there may not be a consensus on the methodology of the quantitative and qualitative research.

To illustrate, Gill and Meier (2000), in their studies, assert that the null hypothesis significance testing (NHST) is misused in public administration (PA) research. They argue that NHST is a crisis in the field and it should be abandoned. Instead, time series analysis, likelihood, and SWAT techniques are suggested to use in the PA research. However, DeLorenzo (2001) disagrees to Gill and Meier and he asserts that NHST should not be completely abandoned because of its misuse. Instead, she calls a need for developing a consensus on what kind of quantitative and qualitative basis PA students should learn.

King et al.’s assumption is that the main goal is creating logical inference about the world. Both techniques use different tools for particular observations collected, which differs in style. In both qualitative and quantitative research, their main assumption is that they have the same logic of inferences. Being quantitative or qualitative refers to the style of the research.

King et al (1994) indicate that these characteristics do not differ in qualitative and quantitative research. A scientific research has the following characteristics. First, the goal is inference. The scientific research proposes to create explanatory and descriptive inferences are based on empirical information about the world. This aim is the same in both qualitative and quantitative research. Second, the procedures are public. Explicit and public methods are used to generate the research. If there are some limitations, they should be stated in the research as limitations. Third, the conclusions are uncertain. It is impossible to reach to the

perfect certain conclusions by uncertain data. Finally, the content is the method. The methods and rules are the primary tools to study anything in the world scientifically. This shows that they are the same.

7. Conclusion

To conclude, both qualitative and quantitative researches do not differ substantively and methodologically. King et al.'s argument, "all good research derive from the same underlying logic of inference," is the key point for this conclusion. The underlying logic of inference is same in both qualitative and quantitative research because the aim of the social research is to facilitate our understanding of this complex world. The qualitative and quantitative research techniques are two different tools that are used to reach to the same goal. Their style differs but it does not affect their main goal. Each of them is a way of exploring the truths by using different instruments and tools. The important issue should be the way that these two tools are used. We should question both researches whether they are appropriate for the principles of the scientific research and they produce valid inferences about the social life.

In short, the critical issue is to discuss the quality of the design whether it is qualitative or quantitative. Satisfaction of basic principles of scientific research matters to reach the facts. The discussion on the superiority of qualitative or quantitative instrument seems a waste of time. A good scientific research uses well-established procedures of inquiry in its design. These procedures are the research components, which are crucial for good and reliable research. These basic principles of the research components are almost same in both qualitative and quantitative data.

Social science research first starts with research question. Something that is unknown or uncertain should be subject to the research. There is no rule for choosing research topic; however, there are rules where and how to conduct research. The place and the method should be chosen based on scientific methods to answer the research question. There are two main criteria that research question should meet in a research design. First, the research should pose a question that is very important in the world. Second, that question should make some contributions to the literature.

"A social science theory is a reasoned and precise speculation to a research question, including a statement about why the proposed answer is correct" King et al, 1994, p. 19). The theory creates causal relationship with the research question and the hypothesis. In order to develop a theory, we need to have knowledge of previous work on the subject and the collection of data. King et al suggest three ways of improving theory. First, we need to choose a theory that could be wrong. In other words, the theory should be falsifiable. The theory should be able to give a direct answer to the question. If theory does not provide relevant answers to our research question, then we do not have a right theory. Second, we should chose a theory which is "capable of generating as many observable implications as possible" in order to be sure that our theory is falsifiable. Third, we need to be concrete as much as possible in designing theories (King et al, 1994).

Furthermore, Aker presents six criteria to evaluate the theories. "Empirical validity" of the theory refers to how true is the theory when we test it empirically. The degree to which concepts in theory can be empirically measured and tested also related to the "testability". The "logical consistency" of the theory looks at all the components of the theory and seeks their logical consistency. Does it make sense? Does it flow? The "scope" of the theory refers to the influence area of the theory. Does it general wide or specific? "Parsimony" also related to the scope of the theory. The theory should be able to explain lots of things by using few concepts.

Finally, policy implication refers to how theories have consequences. If the theory is true, what do we do and what should we do? What are the outcomes? These issues are important in terms of the evaluation of the theories.

“Data are systematically collected elements of information about the world” (King et al, 1994, p.23). They are tools and evidences to understand the problem. A social science research can be both qualitative and quantitative, and mix of both. Data may be collected in order to evaluate our specific hypothesis. Or it can be collected for something to clarify that had not occurred previously. There are four basic methods to collect data. These are experiment, survey, field research, and the use of available data. In all data collection processes some certain rules and criteria should be guideline in order to improve the quality of the data. King et al suggests several ways to improve data quality. First, the process by which the data are generated must be reported and recorded. These information is needed to determine whether data has bias or not and will produce valid causal and descriptive inferences. Second, the data derived by observable processes in as many diverse contexts as will improve the quality of the data. Third, the researcher needs to maximize the validity of the measurement. Validity is “measuring what we think we are measuring” (King et al, p.25). Fourth, researcher needs to ensure that the methods that we are using data collection should be reliable. The researcher should always derive the same measure by applying the same procedures in the same way. Finally, the data should be replicable. Besides the replication of the data, other researchers also can replicate the methodology and the reasoning process.

Measurement is the process of coding our variables in the research as number or label for representing conceptual prosperities. We need to operationalize our variables according to our research hypothesis and question. There are different levels of measurement; The variables are categorized into groups such as gender and race in nominal level. There is a rank order in ordinal level of measurement. We do not derive exact point of the level; however, it gives a ranked value. We have no absolute zero but rank order in interval measurement and a value of absolute zero in ratio measurement. All variable in the research should be mutually exhaustive and exclusive, which means that all classifiers should fit only one category and there should be sufficient categories for all variables (Singleton and Straits, 1993).

The use of data is the most important part of the scientific research and it refers to data analysis. Data analysis is the process to compare the data and the theory of the research. Processing and analyzing data requires statistical and methodological knowledge for the researchers. The quantitative data are run by statistical methods that analyze the relationship between the data and the theory. Data analysis techniques include univariate analysis, bivariate analysis, and multivariate analysis (Singleton and Straits, 1993).

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Influence of Domestic Violence Density on Youth Population*****

Metin Kilic, Bahar Aykac

1.Introduction

In 1964, the world was shaken with Kitty Genovese incident in which there was 38 people witnesses at the moment she was stabbed, but nobody called the police in the middle of the New York City (Platt, 1973). This case was the first case of violence and violence related issues were taken attention in public. However, officially and globally violence against women began to be considered as an important problem in the 70's with the first conference of United Nations' about family issues (UN, 2016), and then a meeting to discuss children exposed to violence from their parents in the 80's. (Yıldırım, 1998). These subjects are intensely rich research areas informed by various disciplinary fields. It is also considered as a human rights issue.

All the data since then has shown that gender is an important factor in this issue and 95% (TC Başbakanlık, 1998) of the violence has been perpetrated by males on females. In order to reduce domestic violence education programmes, changes in law and awareness campaigns have been conducted all over the World (Walker, 1999). However, we still need to fight against domestic violence, because there are around 50% of married women who have experienced domestic violence at least once in their life time (Zwi et al., 2002)

The word violence easily reminds people of physical violence. However, the *World Health Organization defines domestic violence as* "Violent behaviours such as beating, pushing, slapping or throwing things by family members; sexual, emotional, economic violence against women in the home, within the family or in a relationship is considered as domestic violence" (WHO, 2005). In regards to specific type of violence, the numbers change for each type. In research conducted in Japan, of 10% of women exposed to physical violence, 57% experienced both psychological, sexual and physical violence (Yoshihama & Sorenson, 1994). Another study found 28% of women were killed by their current or former spouses in the United States (Bachman & Salzman, 1995). While there have been studies conducted in Turkey they are insufficient (Page & İnce, 2008), despite that in recent years more research has been undertaken in Turkey. In general, nearly half of the women and children experience physical violence (Arıkan, 1992). However, violence is not perceived as violence by many people unless it is physical (Kocadaş & Kılıç, 2012).

The causes, risk factors and consequences of domestic violence have been widely researched. The first risk factor is simply being a woman or a child. A lack of social support, previous experiences of violence in the family history, husband's over-power in the marriage have more influence on domestic violence compared to age, education level, economic status, and neighbourhood area (Walker, 1999) that have been considered as factors until present. Akar, Aksakal, Demirel, Durukan, & Özkan, (2010) argued that, the number of family members, poverty, different educational levels of husband and wife, wife's previous violence experiences and pre-marriage family experiences can be counted as risk factors for domestic violence. Another research points out that crowded families and alcohol substances increases the violence (TC. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu Baskanligi, 2000).

With regards to these risk factors Fawole, Aderonmu, & Fawole (2005) looked at how women perceive physical violence in working class families. Women justified violence by giving examples of where they were disrespectful to their husbands, or a meal was late. Hıdıroğlu, Topuzoğlu, Ay and Karavuş, (2006) undertook similar research in Turkey, and

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argued that women believed that if they did not take care of their children properly (42.5 %) or if they answered back to their husbands (41.8 %), their husbands would have right to beat them. İlhan (1992) highlighted that 44.9% of husbands believe that they have right to beat their disobedient wives. These finding might suggest that violence passes down through generations (Eron, Gentry, & Schlegel, 1994).

Hence, it is not wrong to say that violence is widely common, and there are many factors related with violence, which makes it hard to conceptualize this problem. There are some theories, which try to explain how violence occurs, justifies itself, and passes through generations. We will briefly mention biopsychosocial theory (McKenry, Julian, & Gavazzi, 1995) the widely discussed ecological view (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Heise, 1998) and social learning theory (Bandura, 1974, 1978).

Firstly the model which sees violence as combination of biological effects, psychological variables and social context factors is called a biopsychosocial model (McKenry et al., 1995). For example, this model suggests that testosterone level (Archer, 1991) are highly related to violence. They found that if the testosterone level is high, husbands beat their wife; adolescents are in trouble with their parents. This model can be useful when working with husbands and wives, however this paper focuses on how children perceive domestic violence at home and possible contributors of the issue; therefore, this model is not applicable for this study.

Secondly, Social learning theory suggests that violence is learnt in the family in childhood and in adulthood kept practiced and this theory focuses on psychological aspects of the issue. Social learning approaches highlight four levels of learning processes which are attentional process, retention process, motor production process and incentive and motivational processes. They argue that if one of them is missing, the violence is not learnt. According to this approach “violence against women is a learnt reaction.” In the childhood, a child learns that violence is a way of fighting stress and frustration (American Counselling Association, 1996). An example of this is the study carried out by Astin, Lawrence, & Foy (1993) in which %25-75 women expose violence, experienced violence in their childhood. Likewise males who witnessed their parents’ violence tend to use physical violence three times more than compared to children never witness violence (Heise, 1998; Fonagy, 1999) This interpretation overlooks much of the cultural aspects of the issue and memory process of human. For instance, people who beat their children or spouses might remember their parents’ violent behaviours more than non-violent people. This theory also do not cover neighbourhood and society’s approval of violence as a man’s right discipline to family.

Gender differences and men superiority is valid for everyone, but not all men use violence, and not every single man who witnessed violence in the childhood uses violence. Furthermore, the direction of violence can be shaped as man to man daily fights, but it does not. It is clear that this problem is so complex, and requires comprehensive explanation. Ecological model offers a nice framework to this issue. In order to understand human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) suggests that scientists need to consider human ecology (Heise, 1998) applied ecological framework to understand violence. According to this model, individual, situational and socio-cultural factors influence violent behaviour of men towards women. These factors also interact with each other. These factors are considered as inner to outer circles. The first circle includes personal factors such as family experiences and socialization of children. Social learning theory fits in this circle directly. The circle coming after the personal one is a microsystem that covers situational factors when violence occurs. For example, alcohol usage can be considered as an example in this circle. Exosystems which are the outer circle consist of socio-economic status of the family, and family’s connection with the outer world. The circle that covers all circles is a macrosystem factor. This circle refers to general attitudes toward gender, role of men and women within the culture. This

approach covers different findings from various studies in a logical order.

So far this paper has focused on mostly physical violence against women and perception towards it. The following section will discuss contribution of literature about children (Güler et al., 2002). points out that mostly mothers use violence against their children (around 80%) and when they experience violence at home, they use more violence against their children. They highlighted that even the education level, economical condition and age of mother is controlled, they still use emotional violence against their children. Another research showed that among men who batter his wife, 40-70% child battering exist (Wolfe, Crooks, Lee, McIntyre-Smith, & Jaffe, 2003). Altınay & Arat, (2007) add that witnessing of domestic violence affects children significantly. Witnessing domestic violence can cause behavioural problems, traumatic symptoms and affect education. Women who witness their mother's exposure to violence in their childhood tend to normalize violence (McCloskey & Lichter, 2003).

Turning now to the meta-analytic evidence from literature, the aim of this paper will be outlined. In a meta-analysis conducted by (Wolfe et al., 2003) they showed that domestic violence studies usually carried out with women rather than the direct question of children. Another limitation which they highlighted is that studies mostly do not differ children who witness abuse and children exposed to violence. Furthermore, they suggested that studies are not enough to draw enough conclusions. Therefore, in this study students are asked the prevalence of violence in the home.

As explained earlier, women accept it, internalize violence, and their reaction depends on the prevalence of the violence (Page & İnce, 2008). This study examines how children perceive this issue and their view of what should be done.

This study seeks to obtain data which will help to address these research gaps. First hypotheses are that

H1: Economical condition of the family influence prevalence of violence.

H2: Student's accepting of violence is related with the authority of the house.

H3: Prevalence of domestic violence have bad influence on children's personal life and school life.

2. Method

The research was conducted during 2014-2015 academic year. The high school age youth in Düzce city formed the main phase of the research. This study took place in a 12 month participation period. The sample of the researches was determined according to stratified sampling technique, compliant with the criteria of epitomizing phase. The research was limited to the high school age between 14-18. In the research in which survey technique was used, a pilot scheme took place for 30 different high school students in order to increase the validity of the research questions. After final adjustments were made as a result of the pilot scheme the survey was finalized. After the researchers prepared the survey questions, met the relevant agencies and got official permission (Düzce University, Governor's Office, Provincial Directorate of National Education, Provincial Directorate of Security) the survey was conducted by researchers in the company of the head or deputy head teacher in schools specified. Researchers gave clear information during the application process in order to conduct the research properly. Multiple choices and Likert type questions are designed according to research questions and hypothesis. 4 of them are categorical questions and 6 of them are Likert type questions. Since this research mainly focuses on the influence of prevalence of domestic violence on children 3 questions are chosen to measure this variable

and, they are scaled together. Cronbach-alpha reliability test score for this variable is .651. It means that, it is reliable enough to be used as a single variable.

3.Findings

The first set of questions aimed to obtain some demographic information about students and their families. 40 % of them are female and 60 % of them are male. 1,4 % are 14; 21,4 % are 15; 29,1% are 16; 29,7 % are 17 and 18,4 % are 18 year old. Students' mothers are 77% housewife, and 14 % are worker, Other occupations like teacher, police officer have around %1 each. Students' fathers are mostly worker (33,9 %), and followed by farmers (%14,2) and 14 % are shopkeeper. Retired fathers are 11, 2% and percentage of state officers are 10 %. Rest of the occupations have around %1.

Education level of the parents are asked. The tables are shown below.

Table 1: Education Level of Mothers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	57	5,1	5,1	5,1
	5year-primary school	657	58,6	58,6	63,7
	3 year middle school	234	20,9	20,9	84,6
	High school	133	11,9	11,9	96,4
	Undergraduate	34	3,0	3,0	99,5
	Graduate	6	,5	,5	100,0
	Total	1121	99,9	100,0	
Missing		1	,1		
	Total	1122	100,0		

Table 2: Education Level of Fathers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	12	1,1	1,1	1,1
	5year-primary school	463	41,3	41,3	42,4
	3 year middle school	289	25,8	25,8	68,2
	High school	268	23,9	23,9	92,1
	Undergraduate	73	6,5	6,5	98,7
	Graduate	15	1,3	1,3	100,0
	Total	1120	99,8	100,0	
Missing		2	,2		
	Total	1122	100,0		

Prevalence of family violence is affected by their sense of belonging to a social class (H (2)= 27,324, p= .000). Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that family

violence is more for children feel belonging to lower class compared to middle class ($p=.00$) and upper class ($p=.00$), also family violence is higher in middle classes compared to upper class ($p=.011$). Prevalence of family violence was significantly related with economic situations in the families ($r=-.062$, $p=.39$).

Students' beliefs about requirement of violence were significantly affected by the authority in their house ($H(4) = 46,028$). Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that when the father decides almost everything in the house, students believe requirement of the violence compared to when mother and father give decisions together ($p=.00$). Accordingly, when the children authority at home, that students believe that violence is more required to compared to father's authority ($p=.001$), mother's and father's equal authority ($p=.00$) and mother's authority ($p=.002$).

Students believe how a mother should react when violence is used against her is affected by their families economical situation ($H(6) = 22,092$). Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p values showed that economical situation of students who say "she should get divorce" is better than who say "something else" ($p=.026$) and say "she should bear it for the sake of children", ($p=.007$).

Male students (531.12) reported significantly less family violence than female students ($Mdn=531.12$). ($U = 130.926$, $z=3.783$, $p=.000$, $r=-.11$)

Prevalence of family violence in students who have exam anxiety ($Mdn=567,81$) differed significantly in students reported no exam anxiety ($Mdn=518,48$). The prevalence is higher in students who have anxiety ($U=102.404$, $z=-2.336$, $p=.019$, $r=-.234$)

Prevalence of family violence in students who hurt themselves ($Mdn=.652,29$) was significantly different than student who never hurt themselves ($Mdn=522, 60$). Students who hurt themselves witnesses more family violence ($U=83.841$, $z=-6.114$, $p=.000$, $r=-.18$)

Prevalence of family violence for students who beat someone ($Mdn=599,06$) differ significantly from students who never beat someone ($Mdn=498.86$). Prevalence is higher for students who used violence against someone ($U=124.076$, $z=-5.560$, $p=.000$, $r=-.17$).

4. Discussion

The first question in this study sought to determine how children are influenced by the domestic violence at home and what are the possible factors related with their perception. The most interesting finding is when the children are the authority of the house they believe requirement of the violence more than the other authority groups. The literature shows that when the father is the authority, there is more violence at home compared to both parents equal decision makings (Levinson, 1989; Bowker, 1983). These findings do not directly contrast with the Levinson (1989), because when the father is the authority of the house, students believe violence is more required compared to mother's and fathers equal authority. However, firstly since the previous studies usually conducted with parents, they did not raise the point that children is the authority in the house. Secondly, it is clear that this is a point which need to be considered. According to psychoanalytic approach violence might occur when there is no father (authority) figure in the family (Fonagy, Target, Steele and Steele, 1997; Fonagy, cited in Page & Ince, 2008). Tura, (2008) suggests that the new problem of the psychology will be the consequences of the lack of authority in the family. When there is no authority, children need to see themselves as the authority. This might be related with why children see themselves as the authority, believe that violence is required.

As discussed in the literature review, the outer circle, the values are similar to everyone, but their internalization or discursive appearance can change according to circumstances. In this study, economy seems to have played an important role of the

perception of violence related perceptions. First, when the marital violence increases in the family the income decreases. It is more objective finding, and people's own perception of their income depends on where they live and people around them. Therefore, their perceived class were also asked. This data showed that lower class students witness more violence at home, and middle class people witness more violence compared to upper class members. As social learning theory suggests children internalize gender roles, and accept violence when they are adults. In order to enlighten how this mechanism work, we add how economic situation of the family influence children's idea of right things to do against violence. "How should a mother react when she is exposed to violence?" was asked to students. The current study found that students who say "they should divorce." Live in better economic situation compared to "She should bear it for the sake of their children." A possible explanation for this might be that economical situation has a big influence on children's acceptance to violence. Even though, poorer students witness more violence, they think that women should bear it. This study has been unable to demonstrate that how internalizing gender role might take part in this process, but it might be said that children learn violence as solution to problems, but their attitudes depend on their conditions. A poor mother probably struggles with leaving her husband. Therefore, children internalize attitudes compatible with this fact (Kocadaş & Kılıç, 2012). showed that nearly half of the women claimed that they bear everything for the sake of their children. This slightly differs from the findings presented here. This difference might exist for two reasons, first Adiyaman can culturally accept violence more than Duzce, secondly they ask the questions to women, but this survey conducted with children. Due to the fact that women, showing family values can be more important than children, it seems to be consistent with other research which found (İçli, 1994) that women who reported that they are battered are 73%, but 46% of them said that if their daughter experiences violence, she should bear it. Overall, it seems that results of internalizing process are most likely to be seen in the adulthood.

Turning now to the evidence on the density of violence influence on children, there are three main findings. The first one is children who witness more violence, tend to hurt themselves. Secondly they have exam anxiety and lastly, they use violence against their peers. These results are in accord with recent studies indicating that children who are constantly exposed to violence have more depressive symptoms and anxious behaviours (Graham-Bermann, 1996). It seems that witnessing violence in the family also related with self-hurt. Emotional results of violence were stated in the literature lower self-esteem, substance abuse (Lynch & Cicchetti, 1998; Mathias, Mertin, & Murray, 1995). This results support previous research by showing that they have more exam anxiety which can be related with their psychological health self-esteem. The most interesting finding is they do not only hurt themselves they also use violence against someone else. Hurting someone can be explained by internalizing and role modelling of father and using violence as a way of problem solving, but hurting oneself and their interactions needs more research to be enlightened.

Finally, it can be seen that violence is rooted in the family and influence children's well-being and success in the school. This research showed that internalizing thought of violence should accepted by women can be seen young population, even among girls. The second points economy is an important contributor of the prevalence of the violence at home. Further research can be designed to control economic variable and authority variable in order to enlighten complication of the issue.

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Labor Life of Immigrant Workers: Visual Analysis on Germany Case*

Selen Koçak

1. Introduction

Majority of the immigration studies is composed of immigration wave starting with the labor demand from the Western Europe after the World War II. following the World War II, the Western European countries -Germany primarily- inclined towards new labor sources to make an economic move and started to demand labor initially from the south of Italy and then from Mediterranean countries like Spain and Greece (Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 55-56). However, this demand was varying according to the countries.

While the laborers from other Mediterranean countries going to West Europe had bilateral agreements, the laborers from Turkey went there first with internships thanks to their individual efforts, and then they went to work as welder and electrician in the shipyards in Hamburg and Bremen via private mediators. However, when the Constitution on 1961 recognized the right to travel as a fundamental right, the immigration from Turkey to Europe gained a new identity. On account of the unemployment in Turkey during this period, many people began to go to Western European countries -mainly Germany- within the context of the rotation rule to get higher wages. Nevertheless, the rotation rule could not be applied (Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 55-60) and the number of laborers especially in Germany increased excessively. Despite the increase in laborers, the crisis starting in German automobile sector in 1966-67 resulted in the dismissal of approximately 21,000 Turkish laborers. However, the crisis did not last long and the increase in the number of the immigrants kept on (Tuna, 1968, p. 354). In spite of the increase in the number of the migrants again, this incident demonstrated that the immigrant laborers could be dismissed in case of economic crises.

After overcoming the automobile crisis in 1966-67, the European countries were shaken with the petrol crisis, the impact of which was much greater, and they had to face economic problems like unemployment. As a consequence, although the European countries did not prevent the employment of the laborers already working, they decided to cease recruiting foreign laborers. Nonetheless, this decision caused the increase of illegal laborers and many laborers without working permit started to go Europe as a tourist and worked as an illegal laborer. The illegal laborers are not the only reason for the increase in the number of the immigrants in the Europe. Family reunification and child benefit policies were also put into action as a legal regulation and based on these policies, Turkish immigrants started to become permanent in those countries by taking their families in Turkey by their side (Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 64-67).

The laborers coming with economic reasons to make more money did not learn neither the local language sufficiently nor spared time to acquire an occupational formation to realize their objectives. Therefore, the immigrant workers worked in low profile works on account of their social status and personal interest of the employers (Abadan-Unat, 1972, p.191). In this context, the labor life of the immigrant workers became sociological study area as a significant social fact. Besides, it also influenced the art as the reflector of social facts and many movies were produced about the labor lives of the immigrant workers in the Turkish cinema. This article studies the labor lives of the immigrant workers in Germany via the movies "Almanya Acı Vatan" and "Gurbetçi Şaban" with visual analysis.

* This study is produced from the unpublished postgraduate thesis "Reflection of Labor Migration from Turkey to the Abroad to the Turkish Cinema: Sample of Analysis Through Germany" (Koçak, 2015).

2. Theoretical Background: Labour Life of the Immigrants

Migration is a significant study field in terms of its reasons, process and consequences as it contains several components. Within this context, many migration theories have been developed containing these components. This study uses dual labor market theory, one of the economy-based migration theories.

2.1. Dual Labor Market Theory

According to the dual labor market theory which attributes the immigration to the structural needs of the modern industrial countries, immigration is a consequence of the constant labor force demand of the stratified labor force markets of the developed countries (Toksöz, 2006, p.17). In line with this theory, the wages do not only reflect the demand and supply conditions but also the social status attributed to these jobs. However, the increase of the wages of the low-status jobs makes pressure on the increase of wages of the high-status jobs. Since this pressure could damage the social balance between status and wage, the employers prefer immigrant laborers accepting to work with low wages. Moreover, individuals do not only work to make money but also to raise their social status. Nevertheless, the laborers at the bottom of the hierarchy have very low chance to raise their status and therefore they face motivational problems. The immigrant laborers, on the other hand, accept the low wage jobs that are at the bottom of the hierarchy so as to gain money that will increase their wealth in their own country at least at the beginning of their immigration process. Furthermore, since the low wage earned in the immigrated country is rather higher when compared to the home country, the immigrant laborer is still proud despite the low status of the job (Massey et al., 1993, pp. 440-442).

In line with the dual labor market theory, the labor force market in the industrial societies is separated into two as capital-intensive primary sectors and labor force intensive secondary sectors. And the employees have been separated accordingly as well. The employees in the primary sectors are qualified workers who are more stable, have rather higher incomes, work with better tools and have opportunities to advance in their careers. On the other hand, the employees in the secondary sector are unqualified workers who are unstable, work with low wage and have no chance to advance. While it is costly for an employer to dismiss a worker from primary sector, there is no cost for dismissing a worker from secondary sector. Therefore, it is usually the workers in the secondary sector who are dismissed first in a crisis. The workers in the secondary sector are mostly composed of the immigrants (Massey et al., 1993, pp. 442-443). Consequently, dual force market theory is an economy based migration theory that studies the labor life of the immigrants in the immigrated country, the challenges they face in the labor life and the distinction between local and immigrant workers. This article uses dual labor market theory in the selected movies to analyze the workers' perspectives which are making production for the German, working with a low wage in inhuman conditions and the fear of being dismissed.

3. Methodology

This article analyzing the labor life in Germany from the Turkish immigrants' perspectives in the Turkish movies uses visual analysis method on the basis of qualitative research pattern. Visual analysis method has several variations. Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2001, pp. 1-2) indicate that one of these variations is the content analysis of any visual in a movie, series or

media as a visual material. In this study, two movies (“Almanya Acı Vatan” and “Gurbetçi Şaban”) were analyzed with visual analysis method.

3.1. Process of Data Collection

Movies about the labor immigration to the Western Europe in Turkey were made between 1960 and 2007. “Almanya Acı Vatan” and “Gurbetçi Şaban” addressing the labor life of the immigrant workers were selected from these movies. “Almanya Acı Vatan” is selected because it is the first Turkish movie addressing the working conditions of the immigrant workers for the first time in a realistic way (Karadoğan, 2005, p. 35). “Gurbetçi Şaban”, on the other hand, is selected because it demonstrates the working conditions of illegal workers and the immigrant workers who establish and grow their own business and rises.

General information about the movies are as below:

Almanya Acı Vatan

“Almanya Acı Vatan”, the first movie that is analyzed within the study, is directed by Şerif Gören in 1979. The majority of the shootings were made in Berlin (Germany). Selim Soydan is the producer and Zehra Tan is the scenarist of the movie. The lead actors are Hülya Koçyiğit and Rahmi Saltuk. Other characters were played by Mine Tokgöz, Suavi Eren, Fikriye Korkmaz, Bedri Uğur, Bigi Schöner, Orhan Alkan and Seda Sevinç. In the movie, Güldane works in Germany to save money. When she visits her village, she makes a marriage of convenience with Mahmut who also wants to go to Germany as a worker in an exchange of money. The movie focuses on their marriage and the incidents following. The movie also demonstrates how Güldane has turned into a kind of machine to save money, the working environment of the laborers in German factories and their fear of being dismissed.

Gurbetçi Şaban

The second movie analyzed within this study is “Gurbetçi Şaban” which is directed by Kartal Tibet in 1985, produced by Memduh Ün, written by Osman Seden and Halit Akçatepe. Almost all of the shootings were made in Germany. Kemal Sunal is the lead character in the movie. Müge Akyamaç, Yavuzer Çetinkaya, Ayten Erman, Baykal Kent, Akın Tunç, Ferhan Tanseli, Reha Yurdakul and Ertem Göreç are among other actors. The movie focuses on the Şaban’s adventures who goes to Germany with a tourist passport to become a “Mark Millionaire” and worked illegally. Şaban has to work in inhuman conditions as an illegal worker but afterward he finds out that German government gives child benefit to the immigrants and he gets this money by showing the children of his father –whose name and surname is Şaban Yıldız as well- as if his own children. Saving these child benefits, Şaban establishes and grows his own business and becomes an employer.

3.2. Data Analysis Methods

Besides choosing the movies for visual analysis in the study, the relative scenes should be determined as well. In the selection of the scenes, an approach making a theoretical explanation for the behaviors and ideas –similar to quantitative research in Creswell (2014: 64-65)’s quantitative research- is embraced. In this context, two research questions are created taking the original context of the movies and migration theories dealing with the labor life of the immigrant workers into consideration. Then the scenes that can be answers to these questions are selected. 20 scenes are determined in “Almanya Acı Vatan” and 38 scenes in “Gurbetçi Şaban”.

The dialogues are encoded by watching these scenes over and over. In order not to miss the original context of the movie and to take the data about the social circumstances of

that period and daily life into consideration, open encoding is also made within the scope of "constant comparison method" is used without depending on any theory of Strauss and Corbin (1998) to avoid data loss. Then, axial encoding is made to create subthemes by analyzing these codes. And finally, two themes are created with selective encodings: "The Process of Joining the Labor Life in Germany by the Turkish Immigrants" and "The Labor Life in Germany from Turkish Immigrants' Perspective". The subthemes determined related to these themes are as follow: "family reunification" and "illegal ways" are the subthemes for the theme one. "Making production for the German", "working in inhuman conditions with low wages", "fear of dismissal" and "immigrants establishing their own business" are the subthemes for theme two. These themes and subthemes are conceptualized within the original context of the movies.

3.3. Research Problems

1. What is the procedure followed by the Turkish immigrants to join the labor life in Germany?
2. How do the Turkish immigrants interpret the labor life in Germany?

4. Visual Analysis of the Movies About the Laborers in Foreign Countries³⁰

As a result of the analyses made on two movies using visual analysis method in the study, two themes are determined regarding the labor life of the Turkish immigrants, which are "the process of joining the labor life in Germany by the Turkish immigrants" and "the labor life in Germany from Turkish immigrants' perspective".

4.1. The Process of Joining the Labor Life in Germany by the Turkish Immigrants

The subthemes "family reunification" and "illegal ways" are presented in Table-1 within the scope of "the process of joining the labor life in Germany by the Turkish immigrants"

"The process of joining the labor life in Germany by the Turkish immigrants" happens on the basis of "family reunification" in the movie "Almanya Acı Vatan" while "illegal ways" are observed in "Gurbetçi Şaban". "Almanya Acı Vatan" was shot when although Germany ceased receiving immigrant laborers, the immigration still continued by means of family reunification law. In this context, Mahmut -the main character of the movie- makes a marriage of convenience with Güldane -who is already working in Germany and is also from the same village- so as to move to Germany.

(Mahmut is talking with Musa working in Germany. They are both from the same village.)

"Mahmut: Musa, I also want to be an Almancı³¹ like you. Help me. How can I make go there?

Musa: You cannot. Germany does not recruit laborers any longer.

Mahmut: There is no way?

...

³⁰ This study produced from the postgraduate thesis, and photos and visual data analysis in the thesis. On account of the page limitation in this study, the photos used in the thesis are excluded not affecting the analysis results.

² Translation note: Turkish term referring to Turkish immigrants working in Germany

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Musa: Mahmut you know what, there is a way actually. You know the daughter of Kırçalı from the other neighborhood?

Mahmut: Yes...

Musa: Her name was Güldane right? If you marry her, then you can go. But of course, then you would be her husband. She can get you in the country committing to taking care of you. You can find an illegal job and then work.

Mahmut: Thanks a lot.

Musa: And finally you can get your residence permit." (Almanya Acı Vatan, scene, 02:00 sec-02.56 sec.)

“Gurbetçi Şaban” was also shot when Germany ceased receiving laborers –just like “Almanya Acı Vatan” and illegal immigration was widely seen. In this context, Şaban –the main character of the movie- thinks about moving to Germany with a tourist passport and then starting working illegally.

“Şaban: So I won’t be able to find a job in Germany just because I came with a tourist passport?

Şaban’s cousin: To tell the truth it is very difficult. And then you don’t have a residence permit either.

The neighbor of Şaban’s cousin: You might stop by the subway construction anyway. There are Turkish people working there. You may be lucky and find something...” (Gurbetçi Şaban, movie scene, 08.11sec.-08.57sec.)

Table-1: Table of Theme about 'The Process Of Joining The Labor Life in Germany' by Turkish Immigrants in the Movies "Almanya Acı Vatan" and "Gurbetçi Şaban"

The Procedure Followed by the Turkish Immigrants to Join the Labor Life in Germany		
	Family Reunification	Illegal Ways
Almanya Acı Vatan	4	
Gurbetçi Şaban		1
Total Number of Scenes	4	1

4.2. The Labor Life in Germany from Turkish Immigrants’ Perspective

The subthemes “making production for the German”, “working in inhuman conditions with low wage”, “fear of dismissal” and “immigrant establishing his own business” determined within the theme of “the labor life in Germany from Turkish immigrants’ perspective” are demonstrated in Table 2.

Table-2: Table of Themes about the 'Labor Life in Germany from Turkish Immigrants' Perspective' in the Movies "Almanya Acı Vatan" and "Gurbetçi Şaban"

The Labor Life in Germany from the Turkish Immigrants' Perspective				
	Making Production for the German	Working in Inhuman Conditions with Low Wage	Fear of Dismissal	Immigrant Establishing His Own Business
Almanya Acı Vatan		14	2	
Gurbetçi Şaban	2	14		21
Total Number of Scenes	2	28	2	21

Making Production for the German

The first three subthemes determined under the theme of Labor Life in Germany from Turkish Immigrants' Perspective are correlated as they focus on the adverse working conditions of the immigrant laborers. The subtheme “making production for the German” is only observed in “Gurbetçi Şaban”. Şaban and Bahar -both immigrant laborers- consider their work in Germany as making production for the German.

“Şaban: How is the job in the factory? Is it ok?

Bahar: Well. Not bad, we make thread. For the German.

Şaban: Let's see what I will do for the German” (Gurbetçi Şaban, movie scene 17.06sec.-17.14sec.)

Working in Inhuman Conditions with Low Wage

Both movies contain many scenes where the immigrant laborers face much more difficulties compared to local laborers. In this context, “working in inhuman conditions in low wage” is the subtheme for both movies. The subtheme addressed in “Gurbetçi Şaban” starts when Fritz –who seeks for cheap labor force for Germany employers- deceives Şaban during the beginning of his life in Germany. The German employer takes the passport of Şaban under the pretext of issuing a working permit and pushes him to work in tough conditions with low pay. When Şaban realizes that he has been deceived, then they begin to threaten him that he can be displaced from Germany as he does not have the working permit.

“... ”

Fritz: You will work 8 hours here.

Şaban: No problem at all. How much will they pay me?

Fritz: 150 Mark per week.

Şaban: I'm out. Give me back my passport, I'm leaving.

Fritz: You cannot go anywhere. Otherwise, we'll go to the police and since you don't have the working permit you will be displaced. ...” (Gurbetçi Şaban, movie scene, 27.46sec.-28.52sec.)

Besides very tough working conditions applied on immigrant laborers in the factories, the labor of Şaban –as an immigrant worker- is exploited by his employer outside of the factory. The employer (Hans) wants Şaban and his girlfriend Bahar –who also works as a laborer in Germany just like Şaban- to work at his home without making an extra payment. When Şaban refuses to do it, Hans starts to threaten him saying he will dismiss all of the laborers without working permit. In this regard, the lack of working permit is emphasized as one of the most significant reasons for immigrant workers to accept to work in inhuman conditions with a low wage in “Gurbetçi Şaban”.

“... ”

Fritz: Şaban, this girl will immediately start working as the maid. If not, then Herr Hans will call the police. Turkish workers without working permit will be out of Germany...” (Gurbetçi Şaban, movie scene, 49.34 sec.-51.11sec.)

“Almanya Acı Vatan” is considered as the first Turkish movie reflecting the working conditions of the immigrant laborers (Karadoğan, 2005, p.35). Laborers' working with a high

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pace in the factories is one of the most striking points in the scenes of this movie within the scope “working in inhumane conditions with low wage”. The reason for having the laborers work at such a high pace is to make production in a shorter time and, thus, more profit. To that end, the workers are expected to make more production than what they should during their working hours. However, the employers do not pay for these extra products. The exploitation of the laborers in this sense is evaluated as an inhumane working condition within the scope of the analysis.

(Turkish workers in the factory talking among themselves)

“Hale: We are expected to make one telex in every 15 minutes. We were making one in 19 minutes. But you know what, that blond is actually making it.

Güldane: So?

Talat: Well... It means you will make 45 telex instead of 36 per day, which means 10 people will do the work of 12. He is trying to get 8 people to do the work of 12. And if you consider that there are 30 thousand people working in this factory, you can imagine the rest.” (Almanya Acı Vatan, movie scene, 67.37sec.-70.13sec.)

One another character of the movie –besides Güldane- is Veysel, who has been working as a garbage man in Germany for 15 years. Veysel is awarded as the best garbage collector by the mayor, upon which he is expected to deliver a speech. In his speech, Veysel underlines that the immigrant workers are doing the worst jobs with low wages and he concludes that such working rhythm would cause their death.

“Veysel: ... Moreover, they keep giving blue envelopes which mean we are fired. You never know what is waiting for us. It is difficult indeed... I have a flatmate who says “They give the filthiest jobs but pay very little.” I’m not that smart but he reads a lot and whatever he says actually comes true. He says we do not need to be a fortune teller to see the future...

(Mayor asks and the interpreter translates)

Interpreter: They ask what you will do when you go back to Turkey.

Veysel: What I will do? Die!

Interpreter: I cannot translate that. Say something nice.

Veysel: Why can’t you? And they didn’t ask you, they asked me. That is my answer. How can you bear working like that?” (Almanya Acı Vatan, movie scene, 79.32sec.-80.39sec.)

Fear of Dismissal

"Fear of dismissal" –addressed only in "Almanya Acı Vatan" is relevant to the fast production process and shift to machinery elaborated in the previous subtheme.

“Güldane: I think they fired many people this time.

Emine: He hands you a letter and that's it, you are fired!

Worker 1: There are still some who are not yet fired.

Worker 2: Who knows that it won’t happen to them as well? Do they have any contract?

Emine: What would happen to us you think? ...

Talat: ... I suppose the same that they did in the canned department. Each year one department becomes automated and...

Emine: What that means?

Talat: Only one machine doing the work for 300, 500 people.

Emine: If he buys 10 machines, then all those people will be unemployed! ”

(Almanya Acı Vatan, movie scene, 70.14sec.-71.01sec.)

Immigrant Establishing His Own Business

All of the subthemes determined until now regarding the labor life in Germany from the immigrant workers' perspective have negative aspects for the immigrant workers. Only the “immigrant establishing his own business” subtheme –observed in “Gurbetçi Şaban”- can be evaluated as an immigrant becoming successful in business life. In the movie, Şaban finds out that the German government was giving child benefit to the immigrants. So he declares the children that are not his children as if his own and start to save capital. With the capital saved, he first buys a cow and starts to sell milk. Then his business grows and he shifts to a professional milk delivery. Afterwards, he opens a slaughterhouse. Thus, his income level increases and he becomes an employer by being a partner to the factory where he used to work.

“Şaban: So you see, we get all the money.

Bahar: I'm surprised as well. But what will you do with all this money?

Şaban: I'll save capital and make a great business. (...)” (Gurbetçi Şaban, movie scene, 61.05sec.-61.39sec.)

5. Conclusion

The main objective of this article –studying the labor life of the immigrants in Western Europe from Turkey with the movies “Almanya Acı Vatan” and “Gurbetçi Şaban”- is analyzing the process for the immigrant labors to join the labor life and semantic worlds regarding the labor life with visual analysis method.

Both movies analyzed in this study were made when Germany ceased recruiting laborers but the immigration still continued with family reunification and illegal ways. In this context, Mahmut –who wants to join the labor life in Germany in “Almanya Acı Vatan”- makes a marriage of convenience of Güldane –who is already working in Germany- and thus he joins the labor life in Germany via family reunification law. We can claim that how Mahmut joined the labor life via the law was actually possible thanks to the relation network he owns. Şaban in the “Gurbetçi Şaban” goes to Germany with a tourist passport and works there illegally. Thus, how Şaban joined the labor life in Germany is illegal.

According to the dual labor market theory –one of the economy based migration theories- the immigration is a result of the continuous labor force demand of stratified labor force markets in the developed countries (Toksöz, 2006, p. 17). In this context, Germany demanded laborers from Turkey and other nearby countries because they would meet the needs of Germany in the industrialization. In “Gurbetçi Şaban”, Şaban and Bahar interpret what they do as “making production for the German” and they think that their labor is required for meeting the industrialization needs of Germany. Furthermore, according to the dual labor market theory, the labor market is separated into two groups as capital intense primary sector and labor force intense secondary sector. Those who work in the primary sector are qualified laborers who receive rather higher payment. Those who work in the secondary sector –on the other hand- are unqualified laborers who work in adverse conditions with a low wage. It is costly to dismiss a laborer from the primary sector while there is no cost firing the laborer in the second sector. Those who work in the secondary sector are usually immigrant workers (Massey et al., 1993, p.442-443). In the both movies, all immigrant

laborers in the factory are working in inhuman conditions with low wages, namely they are working in the secondary sector. In "Gurbetçi Şaban", the immigrants accept to work in these conditions because they do not have a working permit. The objective of the employers in the "Almanya Acı Vatan" is making more production with fewer worker and therefore, they always ask for a higher working rhythm from the workers. The scenes about the working conditions of the laborers in "Almanya Acı Vatan" can be evaluated within the frame of capitalist production relationship in Marxist theory concept. One another striking point in "Almanya Acı Vatan" is since the employers can dismiss the employees very fast, the immigrant workers have the fear of losing their job. Within the context of dual labor market theory, it is a clear indicator that the employers can dismiss the immigrant laborers in the secondary sector easily when compared to the laborers in the primary sector.

Although both movies show the challenges faced by the immigrants in labor life, only "Gurbetçi Şaban" goes around the immigrant establishing his own business. Child benefit –a significant immigrant policy during that period- is also addressed as it is the source of the capital required for the immigrant to establish a business. Şaban, however, uses this policy in parallel with his interests and shows the children of his father –who is also called Şaban Yıldız- as if his own children and establishes a business with the money he saved from the benefit. Afterwards, his business will grow and become an employer. The immigrant establishing his own business is exaggerated in the movie but still it makes an ironic reference to the working conditions of the immigrant laborers. Nevertheless, there are Turkish immigrants who have established their business and have become employers (and mostly hiring people from their nations) in Germany just like Şaban. This situation is conceptualized as "ethnic market" in the literature. As a result of especially using the social and cultural capital for the benefit of the same immigrant group, an ethnic market is established primarily to serve the people from the same ethnic group in the immigrated country and this market has a wide service range including the host country citizens. Today, the activities of Turkish people in the ethnic markets of European countries have developed strikingly. The important point is Turkish ethnic market as a good practice blossomed in the 1980s is reflected in "Gurbetçi Şaban". In this regard, the subtheme "the immigrant establishing his own business" is compatible both in terms of the statistical data and the studies providing details about the life of the Turkish people who are the business owners in the ethnic market (Gelekçi and Köse, 2011; Şen, 2007, Şahin 2010; Şahin Kütük, 2012).

Consequently, both movies elaborate on the challenges faced by the immigrants in the labor life. It is seen that the immigrants thought that they were making production for the German, worked in inhuman conditions with low wage and have the fear of being dismissed. The results from the movie analyzes are compatible with the dual labor market theory. "The immigrant establishing his own business" seen only in "Gurbetçi Şaban" is treated as a matter related to the immigrant policies and it coincides with the studies made on the ethnic market in the literature. The movies analyzed in this study reflects the labor life of the immigrants between the late 1970s and 1980s. The children of those who immigrated to Europe in this period have grown up and many of them have started to work in these countries. In this context, movies and documentaries about the labor life of these new generations and analyzing them with sociological studies will provide significant data in terms of migration sociology.

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A Case Study on the Social Service Activities of the Municipalities: An Evaluation with SWOT Analysis

Nilufer Negiz, Ahmet Uçar

1. Introduction

The concept of social service promotes understanding to improve the living standards of communities. It represents the social responsibility of the state and protected by the Constitution under the heading of social and economic rights which contain issues related to family, education, work, health, social security, etc. Social service activities signify the social aspects of the state as an institution and are mainly carried out by the central government and its branches. However, as with all services provided by central the state, the social service activities too at the local level are carried out by the help of municipal authorities. That is to say, the central government and local authorities work together in the realization of the social services at the local level.

2. Conceptual Framework

Historical roots of social services are found in the religious beliefs and values. The main indicator of this can be seen in the widespread social assistance for the poor on a voluntary basis. The professionalization of social services, on the other hand, developed especially after the Second World War with the emergence of the ‘welfare state’ ideology. Welfare State Ideology imposes significant tasks and responsibilities to the state in terms of social services. The welfare state can be defined as follows:

- It protects the weak, the poor, and the needy by directing socio-economic life,
- It provides institutions and programs for the realization of social services that help those in need,
- It attempts to resolve or prevents the social conflicts by implementing some protective measures,
- Compassionate and protectionist towards those individuals and groups who are under the pressure of social problems (Seyyar, 2002: 518).

Social services not only provide means to help those who are in need but also development of cooperation within the community. Social service can be defined as the sum of the activities and services provided either by the state or NGOs to those who fall into poverty or sickness (physically as well as mentally) due to the reasons beyond their control. By receiving these services those who are in need can have enough material means and spiritual resources to live an honorable and decent life in the society.

In 1990s we see emergence of a new concept known as ‘welfare municipality.’ Emergence of this concept has to do with the further emphasis and indeed expectations put on the municipalities with regard to realization of social services and fundraising activities. The concept of ‘welfare municipality’ gives local authorities permission and flexibility to plan and organize social issues, spends the fund for public expenditures to welfare of the community, makes investments for social and cultural events and finally set ups means to strengthen social justice and security. In this regard, welfare municipality provides means for:

- socialization, social control and rehabilitation,
- mobilization, guidance and mentoring,
- helping and overseeing the poor and needy,
- making investments (Akdoğan, 1999: 35).

Despite the fact that the scope of the activities provided by the welfare municipality is depended upon to the size of a municipality, its population and financial strength, the services it might provide can be summed up as follows (Toprak&Şataf, 2009:16-17):

- “Provide shelter for homeless, street children, destitute women, orphans and to build kindergartens and day care centers, nursing homes for the elderly,
- Build health centers, health clinics and provide mobile health buses,
- Build guest houses for relatives of patients around hospitals,
- Open culture, arts and sports facility centers,
- Open theatres, cinemas, libraries and cultural centers at the neighborhood level,
- Open soup kitchens and hospices for the poor, needy and sick,
- Take measures and implement policies for the disabled in order to ease their access to transportation, education facilities and socio-cultural environments take measures to ease the provider,
- Open vocational training courses,
- Spread the green areas such as public parks and picnic spots,
- Open cheap housing areas respective to environment,
- Open supermarkets to provide affordable products, bread and food banks as well as provide free coal, medicine and education materials,
- Guide Community groups, non-governmental organizations and mass organizations; promote solidarity and cooperation with them, and finally open centers to provide means of socializations for the youth, disabled and women.”

2. The Regulations on the Municipalities and Their Social Service Responsibilities in Turkey

There are some provisions in the first municipality law (1580) in 1930 about the Turkish municipalities’ social responsibility. Before the law 1580 in the classic era of Ottoman period, the social services were carried out by the foundations. In Reformation period and afterwards besides the leading role of foundations in social services, the government also made some legislative regulations. Both modern restructuring in municipality system and establishing of some social services took place during the Republican period. The article 15 of the law 1580 stipulates municipal affairs as a list and social services and social aid are seen among these affairs. On the other hand, when the law 1580 was in effective, social services and social aid were under the control of municipalities but in practice this was not functional. The law 1580 was in practice until 2005 when The Municipal Law 5393 came into force.

With the law 5393, the social responsibilities of the municipalities are regulated in two articles as this: According to the article 14, Municipality, on the condition that services are local and common need, “.... provides or gets them provided the social services and social aid, marriage services, providing people to gain new jobs and skills, developing the trade and economy...”

According to the law stated above, the provisions about the social services that the municipalities are held responsible could be summarized as this (Negiz, 2012:209-240; Yıldırım and Göktürk, 2009: 245):

- In the article 13 of the law; It is regulated that “municipalities should help to develop the social and cultural relations among the residents, every resident is the citizen of the municipalities in which they live, the residents have a right to benefit from the services, the services should be provided on the condition of not insulting the honor of the people.”

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- In the article 14. the statement in the paragraph (a); “It provides and gets them provided some services like cultural, art, social services and social aid, marriage services, having people acquire new jobs and skills and so on” means that municipalities could give some services to the children and women.
- In the same law, by regulating that the Metropolitan municipalities and the municipalities having more than 100.000 residents must open shelters for children and women, municipalities are held responsible for any important social service.
- In the article 15 of the law, it is regulated that “the pedlar prohibited for selling the non-food goods without permission and not paying the fine in 30 days, their goods are to be delivered to the poor.”
- The law requires the Mayor to take necessary precaution to provide peace, well-being, health, happiness, to spend the money in the budget for the poor and the ones in need, to provide the services for the handicapped, to open a center for the handicapped.
- The article 60 of the law regulating the expenses of the municipality states that municipalities should allocate money for the ones in need, the poor, and the orphans. That money is accepted as the expenses of the municipalities.
- The article 76 of the law regulating the city council states that “city council should implement the principles for social solidarity and help in city.”
- The article 77 of the law regulating voluntary participation in the services of municipality states that “there should be voluntary programs to be implemented to increase productivity, savings, effective services, solidarity in the city; and help the old, the women, the children, the handicapped, the miserable ones by the health, education, social service and social aid services of municipality.”

The law 5216 for The Metropolitan Municipalities and the law 6360 enacted in 2012 and came into force 2014 just after the municipality election stipulate that there should only two local administrations in metropolitan area. In this case, local administrative units which have the responsibilities are the metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities in the metropolitan area. According to the article 7 of the law 5216, the social duties of the municipalities are as this:

- Constructing or having them constructed the social facilities, parks, zoos, sanctuaries, library, museum, sport, recreating, entertainment places and etc. managing those places or having them managed; serving the amateur sports clubs, supplying them, arranging competitions among them, giving prize to the successful sportsmen in the country or abroad with the decision of the council when required.
- Contracting the buildings or complexes for health, education, cultural facilities when it is necessary, supplying for these governmental buildings, complexes, and facilities some maintaining and repairing services and supplying them some required materials.
- Protecting the cultural and natural texture of the city and the important historical places, maintaining and repairing them, and restoring and reconstructing them when it is necessary.
- Building health centers, hospitals, mobile health units, maintaining and developing social, cultural facilities for the adults, the old, the handicapped, the women, the young, the children; building social institutions, opening job courses, managing or having them managed, cooperating with the universities, colleges, vocational high schools, government institutions and civil societies organizations to reach these aims.

The services in the domain of the municipalities are getting diversified and becoming more complex. Of course, the local residents’ needs are the determining factors in developing and varying the services. The law 5393 provides a basis for the municipalities maintaining social and cultural services besides the conventional services. This law states that

municipalities are the first public service providers on the conditions that the services are local and common need; and the responsibility of providing qualified services locally and cooperatively is given to the municipalities. That is to say: in the article 14 of the law, the statement in the paragraph (a); states the municipalities' services as this: "the municipal infrastructure, the geographical and city information systems, environment and environmental health, hygiene, solid waste, municipal police force, fire brigade, emergent help, rescue, ambulance, inner city traffic, burial and cemetery services, forestation, parks, green areas, buildings, culture, art, tourism, displaying, youth and sport, social service and aid, marriage, providing people with the job skills, developing the trade and economy, opening shelters for the children and women (for the metropolitan municipalities and over 100.000 populated municipalities)."

Especially, these services which are provided by some metropolitan municipalities are also adopted by the other municipalities and common among them (Ersöz, 2006: 148-149) and the municipalities are now becoming active institutions to provide social policies, and social welfare services locally. The services: opening health centers, supporting educational institutions, environment and environmental health, cultural activities, providing job skills for the local residents, opening the shelters for the women and the children, providing land and house for the poor are stated in this context (Ersöz, 2009: 85).

3. A Case Study on the Social Service Activities of the Municipalities: Manisa Metropolitan Municipality and Isparta Municipality Cases

Under this heading, the social service activities of Manisa and Isparta Municipalities were discussed with the SWOT analysis. Interviews were made with the head of department of the Manisa Metropolitan Municipality Cultural and Social Affairs and director of the Isparta Metropolitan Municipality Cultural and Social Affairs, but not with the director of the Isparta Social Aid Affairs.

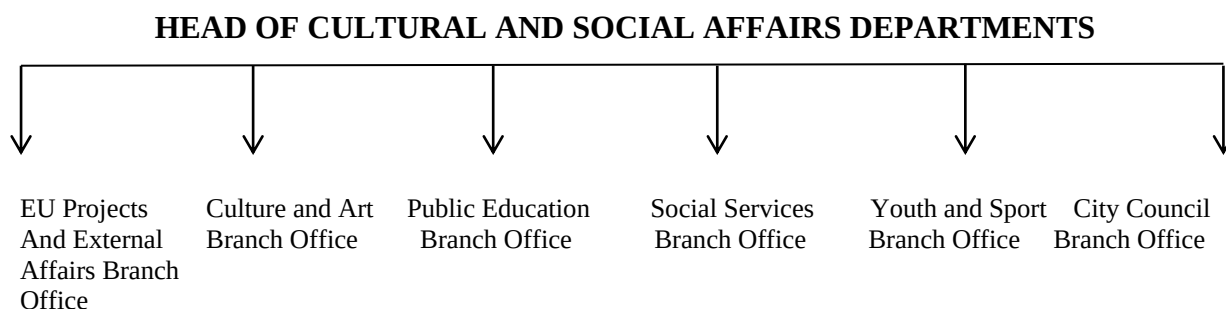
The questions to the unit supervisors in order to make SWOT analysis regarding social service activities based on voluntariness and they were about level of success, relations with the non-governmental organizations, projects and strategies to reach their aims. The answers were taken written and audio record.

Under this heading, the position of the social services in the two municipalities regarding organizational structure and then the evaluations of the findings were discussed.

3.1. Organizational Structure

The positioning of social service unit and cultural service unit under the "Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs" is the general organizational tendency of the Turkish municipalities. The metropolitan municipalities are structured as head of departments in terms of organizational structure. They give social, cultural and more social aid in a wider range because they have more authority than provincial and district municipalities, provide service to a more crowded population and have better financial resources. In the metropolitan municipalities, social services are generally constituted under four departments, namely youth and sport, cultural and social, health and social services.

The organizational structure of Manisa Metropolitan Municipality is shaped as head of departments. Social services in the city are provided by six branch offices as the Head of Cultural and Social Affairs Departments.



Isparta Municipality has a provincial municipality status as a medium scaled city. Required by the legislation, service units in the administrative organizational structure of the provincial municipalities are constituted as the “directorate”. There are two service units that can be examined under the heading of social services. Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs and Directorate of Social Aid Affairs.

3.2. Findings

1. Do you define your municipality as a “Social Municipality”?

We can really define Manisa Municipality as a social municipality in terms of social municipalism. Because, social municipalism contacts with people and provide services to them in a sense. Manisa Municipality can do these. Particularly, the sensitivity and individual efforts of the mayor strengthen the position of Manisa Municipality in the field of social municipalism (Manisa).

Social municipality should be understood as a municipality that provide social, cultural and sport activities which every municipality have to do legally. In this regard, Isparta is a municipality that makes effort to provide services in a wide range in the way of becoming a social municipality (Isparta).

It is understood that both municipalities fit the definition of social municipality. The units, which emphasize their administrations which have sensitivity towards the topics that have social content by the organization structure and wide range of services, exert willing and intensive efforts.

2. Could you evaluate your services that have social content and level of effectiveness regarding the activities-projects conducted by your municipality?

a. Services for Old

- There is a senior center that provides service within municipality. The old people in need are inhabited in here pursuant to the capacity of facility.
- The old in need inhabit for free and their financial needs are met by municipality.
- Besides, various activities are organized on special days in order to provide moral and motivation.
- In Atatürk Youth Center that operates within Manisa Metropolitan Municipality, courses are organized for the old in order to help them developing various hobbies.
- By giving various seminars, creating awareness are aimed to.

b. Services for Youth and Children

- Manisa Metropolitan Municipality provides the services for Youth and Children by child education and culture centers opened in 17 districts and daycare centers servicing in various places.
- Some educational and instructive activities are performed to contribute to the developments of the children in these centers.

- Also many sport facilities of municipality provide sport services for the youth. Sport activities such as archery, swimming, fitness can be practiced in these facilities.

c. Services for Women

- Manisa metropolitan municipality conducts its services for women in tandem with provincial directorate of family and social policies ministry (ASP).
- Women's shelters that are opened under responsibility of ASP get contributions from municipality such as some of the buildings owned by the municipality are used as women's shelters. The municipality covers the expenditures of those shelters including water and electricity bills.
- The municipality provides education for those women as well.
- Women living in these shelters are given vocational courses and are helped in coordination with İŞKUR (Turkish Employment Agency) to get into job market.

d. Services for Disabled

- Disabled citizens that apply to municipality can get medical care assistance.
- In special days for disabled people, the municipality arranges varying activities and programs in order to increase the self-confidence of disabled and to raise awareness among people regarding the situation of disabled.
- All units of the municipality are accessible to disabled people.
- The municipality makes facilitating arrangements for disabled in parks, buses and buildings.

e. Services for Poor

- Manisa Metropolitan Municipality established food banks in order to serve people in need. This service is provided not only within the metropolitan municipality but also in 17 different districts within the borders of Manisa. In these food banks, there is a monthly limit for every person in need and cash is not used.
- Isparta Municipality Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs explained the services it conducted in 2015 Strategic Plan and made some evaluations on the prominent and extensively provided services.

Table 1. Services Provided by Isparta Municipality Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs

• Festival, Exhibition and Fair	• To prepare and deliver books, magazines, brochures, and posters in order to contribute to cultural life
• Conference, Seminar, Paneling	• To arrange varying activities for elderly people
• Concert	• To create youth centers that will provide services such as library, internet access, and chess and so on.
• Cultural Tours	• To promote successful students
• Concert, Show, Theatres	• To cooperate with necessary institutions to establish museums
• Educational and vocational courses and courses on Turkish Folk Music and Turkish Classical Music	• To make rehabilitations activities for children, disabled, elderly and some other segments of the society.
• Activities related to Ramadan	• To promote sportive activities and help amateur teams.
• Education courses on Family Protection	• Educational, social and cultural courses

	for women, young people, and children
To publish documents in order to promote the historical identity of the city and to contribute to tourism.	

Municipality opens ISMEK courses (vocational courses) in several fields such as foreign language, speaking, theatre etc. for kids and teenagers. Especially the collaborative work, providing free private teaching institution service for the 8-10-11 and 12. class students who are preparing for the SBS-YGS and LYS exams, that is cooperated by Isparta Municipality, Public Education Directorship and Oğuzata Education and Culture Association points that they care and prioritize the education field. In Isparta municipality, within the context of cultural and art activities, educational and recreational activities such as theatres, concerts, panels and seminars are commonly performed for all the age groups.

For elderly people, there is a retirement home established by the collaboration of Health, Education Assistance Foundation, Isparta Retirement Home Charity and Isparta Municipality and there are several activities in this place performed for the old people. The important service given to the elderly people is the “home care service” given by the sanitation department that is newly created within the municipality and the target group of this service are generally older people and people requiring care.

The department stating that they review the requests of the handicapped citizens, perform support activities for them and help them to fit into society, also they add that they try to make initially the municipality and then the whole city “burdenless” for the handicapped citizens.

Even though social aid subject generally is represented under the social service frame, there is a separate department in the municipality that provides social services. However in this study, an interview couldn't be carried out with the executive in the department.

3 - How is your cooperation with non-governmental organizations, universities or other public institutions and organizations in terms of social service activities? Do you do projects and activities together? What are those if yes?

“Our municipality works with many units closely while planning and executing social service activities. The related units at the municipality work in coordination with non-governmental organizations in many issues. It is also tried to be in touch with mukhtars (village headmen) while on field. Manisa Metropolitan Municipality is in cooperation with many public institutions and organizations especially in medical field.” (Manisa)

“Our municipality has close relationships with Non-Governmental organizations. It has shared projects and research with associations for disabled and Cancer Research Foundation in particular. The most frequently cooperation with public organizations is formed with university. With the signed protocols, many services are provided cooperatively for young people of Isparta which has the property of being a “university city” as well as supporting each other. Also there are common projects with Directorship of Youth and Sport and Province Directorship of National Education.” (Isparta)

Collaborating with all stakeholders in the city on social projects and activities enables both municipalities to reach all social groups in their cities.

4- Can you give some information about the level to reach the targets in cultural services and social aid issues you foresee in your strategic plan?

“We can say that the targets in municipality's strategic plan have been almost totally reached. It can be said that Manisa whose metropolitan municipality experience is very limited yet needs some time to complete the required formation. When this formation achieved it won't be incorrect to say all the targets in the strategic plan could be reached.” (Manisa)

“Our units' level of reaching targets is affected by some issues and costs especially encountered because of estimation of target budget beforehand. Some examples can be the

imbalance in budget calculation when there cannot be an offer about an activity, seasonal increases in municipalities' expenses (such as fuel, electricity, natural gas). While having difficulties in budget in this sense, we have reached the targets in our plan by % 80 level, if not %100. Being a visionary municipality, we are trying to raise our targets." (Isparta)

Both administrative branches express that they form their strategic plans and targets according the cities' development capacity, growth rate and needs. The fact that the budgeting of this plan and activities in it is an estimation about future; the uncontrollable factors such as environment, economy, public policies and various unexpected situations also affect the success rate. Given all these constraints, it has been put that both examples are in good shape in reaching the targets.

There has been a table created for evaluation of Isparta and Manisa municipalities in social services using SWOT analysis. Weak and strong sides in this table correspond to intrinsic features of the institution/management, whereas opportunities and threats/obstacles are external criteria. Managements whether public or private, try to assess their weak and strong sides and try to survive/serve better in public service by their strong sides while trying to cut their weak sides. Opportunities and threats/obstacles on the other hand represent the external situations that can affect themselves. When opportunities are used they are positive whereas threats are things that when happened they can make management unsuccessful in giving public service. For this reason it is needed for managements to take advantage of opportunities and take precautions for threats/obstacles or convert them into opportunities. Self-evaluation which can be considered as important in this sense also plays a key role in making future plans.

Table 2: SWOT Evaluation for Manisa and Isparta Municipalities

	Strengths	Weaknesses	Opportunities	Threats-Obstacles
Manisa Metropolitan Municipality	*Increasing of economic and technical facilities due to the status of Metropolitan Municipality *Having qualified personnel *Investigations to determine the needs from grassroots on social services *Regarding social services by Mayor- Having a vision	*Sprawling service area with Metropolitan status *lacking of institutionalization *Emerging the need of personnel with the Sprawling service area	*Encourage the projects with cooperation inter institutions	*Adjustment disorders of socio-culture caused by immigration *Lacking of areas for socio-cultural activities *Weakness of coordination inter institutions
Isparta Municipality	* Regarding social services by Mayor- Having a vision	*Lack of public interest * Lack of publicity	*Ability of being Project partner with NGOs	*bureaucratic obstacles

A Case Study on the Social Service Activities of the Municipalities

	* Possessing sufficient budget for social services * Ability of a good communication with University, NGO's and other public institutions in city and being Project partner	* Lack of institutionalization * Lack of qualified personnel	* Converting the cooperation between University and Municipality into stakeholder delivering various projects and services	

It has been requested from managers of corresponding units at municipalities to assess weak/strong points and opportunities/threats of their municipalities and the table above has been created with the results. The strong prominent aspect in both units is the importance managers give to social services and their caring about this subject. Although being a metropolitan municipality is strength for Manisa, being relatively recent of it is seen as a weakness in terms of organization shortcomings and extending responsibility area. It can be thought that weaknesses of Isparta are related to its financial structure. Forming facilities and having qualified personnel is directly proportional to a municipality's financial strength. On the other hand, opportunities make us believe that the missing points are tried to be overcome by cooperation with the other parties of the city. Cooperation in projects and common responsibilities are noticed in the example of Isparta in particular. In this field the strongest partner is seen as the University that since they have common interest on young people and facilities they cooperate on many issues. Inter-institutions cooperation and executing common projects has become an opportunity for both parties. Finally, in point of obstacles, by putting emphasis on socio-cultural adaptation problem of immigrants, Manisa Metropolitan Municipality states that there has been limited cooperation with some certain institutions and this can be an obstacle for coordination problems although they can convert the project-based various cooperation into opportunities. Isparta municipality states that bureaucracy can be an obstacle in providing service sometimes by its related unit. As a conclusion, if the answers above are generally evaluated, the prominent and main points emphasized commonly can be put as below:

Strengths: -> Visionary municipality management

Weaknesses: -> Lack of organisation and facilities

Opportunities: -> Ability to overcome shortcomings and weaknesses by cooperation with partners

Threats/obstacles: -> Bureaucratic obstacles, coordination problems.

4. Conclusion

Among the local administrations, the municipalities that are in the forefront as local administration unit apparently take the responsibility of social services as well as all the municipal services. Both metropolitan municipalities and provincial municipalities provide several services in their area of responsibilities that vary up social aid to cultural activities,

educational activities to art activities. The groups in the society that can't reach some opportunities and have deprivation such as handicapped people, elderly people and women, are involved in the service areas that are considered important for both central and local administrations.

In the most general aspect, we can say that municipalities carry out services such as education, course, sports activities, youth center etc. services for kids and teenagers, education, consultation, rehabilitation, providing trading opportunities and the efforts to make the city burdenless for handicapped people, home care, satisfying their needs and health treatment services for elderly people, women's shelter, consultation center and family services for women.

Manisa is one of the newest metropolitan municipalities of the final period, as stated during the interview, it is obviously seen that there are several institutional problems occurred during the status transition and its additional responsibilities. However, they express that they can accomplish their objectives with their vision holder management and economical-technical opportunities. Isparta Municipality, as a provincial municipality, comes to the fore especially with educational and cultural activities in social and cultural services. Again, to pay attention to the social issues, enough budget and affiliation and corporation with the nongovernmental organizations in the city and especially with the university are seen as the strengths of Isparta Municipality.

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From Modern to Contemporary Art: Transformations of Art Market in Istanbul¹

Cem Özatalay, Senem Örnek

1. Introduction

The Artprice Contemporary Art Market Annual Report 2014 (Artprice.com, 2014) notices that Istanbul, with its art market volume of \$3.6 million, has become the first city of the Middle East and North Africa region and the 14th city of the world. Indeed, the period 2004–2014 has been significant in terms of the growth of the art market, during which most of contemporary art galleries and museums in Istanbul were inaugurated. In 2004, the first Contemporary Art Museum of the city, *Istanbul Modern*, was founded “as a win-win collaboration between the private promoters of Istanbul Modern and the political actors in the context of liberalization, urban planning and the Turkish membership into the European Union (EU)” (Polo, 2015, p. 1512). Besides *Istanbul Modern*, other contemporary art spaces were founded such as *Depo* founded in 2009, *Arter* in 2010, and *Salt* in 2011.

While there has been a decline in art since 2013, due to the authoritarian political environment in Turkey following the Gezi Park protests (Christie-Miller, 2016; Jamgochian, 2015), Istanbul is still among contemporary art’s most influential cities of the world. For example, the 11th edition of the Contemporary Istanbul (CI) that ended on 6 November 2016, brought together 70 galleries from 20 countries and exhibited over 1500 artworks by 520 artists (Close, 2016).

The emerging character of the Istanbul art market has often been studied until now from various perspectives, such as a geographical perspective focusing on its territorialization process (Molho, 2014), or from a political perspective revealing the relationship that exists with Turkey’s EU membership process (Polo, 2015) or from a financial perspective, examining its performance in terms of the rate of return (Seçkin & Atukeren, 2006).

However, this is not the case from a sociological perspective, which centers attention on its social structure and its internal tensions and change dynamics. The most, so to speak, sociological debate about the growth of the art market in Turkey has centered on the relationship between art and money that has been enhanced with the development of contemporary art. Indeed, almost all the major banks and big conglomerates of Turkey have played key roles in the development of contemporary art, and this fact has been mostly understood as the contemporary art market operating due to the interests of big corporations (Artun, 2012). While analysing the impact of financial interests in aesthetics, this research agenda has not accorded specific attention to the social structure of the art market.

Indeed, this boom means that with the joining of new agents, the structure of the art field has dramatically changed and stratified. This change is not only about the domination relations between agents of the field, but also about the symbolic struggles between different genres of art. To use Nathalie Heinich’s terminology (Heinich, 2014), in the current art field, three art genres (classical art, modern art and contemporary art) coexist, but in the case of Istanbul, such as many art cities in the world, contemporary art has become increasingly dominant.

Provided above were the names of museums and spaces of contemporary art that were founded after the 2000s. To these can be added museums financed by banks and holdings, such as *Aksanat* (1993), *Borusan Sanat* (1997), *Is Sanat* (2000), *Elgiz Museum* (2001) 1990-2000 and attach significant priority to contemporary art. For example, the development of art galleries clearly shows the obvious dominance of new galleries in the field, most of which focus on contemporary art. In fact, there is no official data about regarding galleries in Istanbul, but according to the results of the study carried out by Ceyda Bakbaşı (2010) on the

weight of the visual arts in cultural economy of the city, there are approximately 139 commercial art galleries. Research conducted via the Internet about the founding date of 93 galleries operating in Istanbul shows that three quarters of all galleries have been established after the 2000s (See Figure 1).

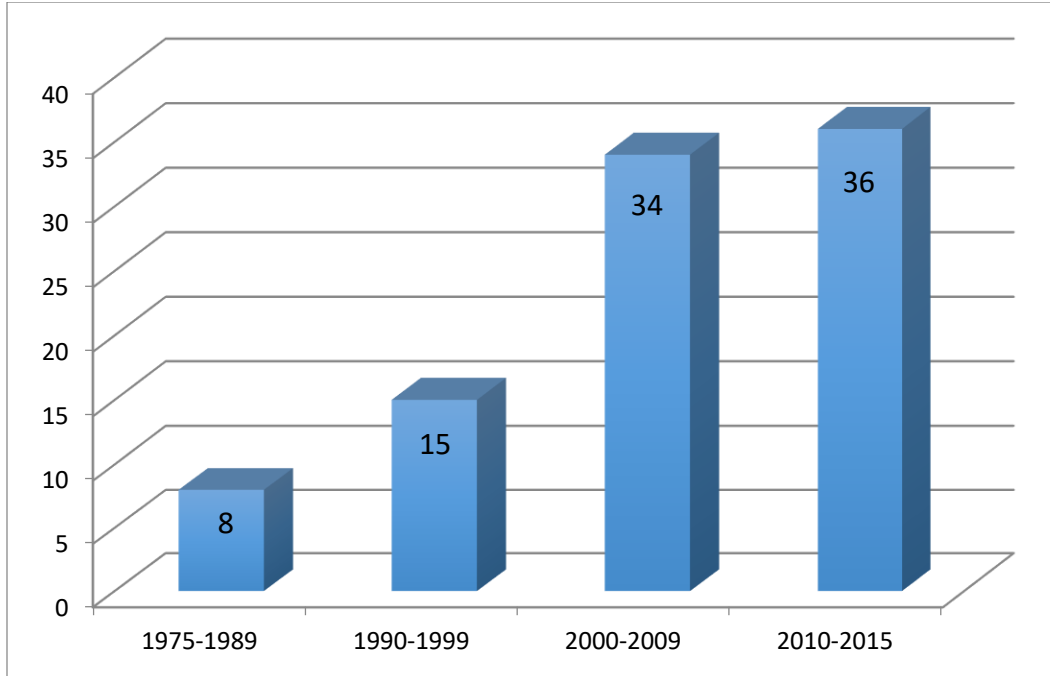


Figure 1. Distribution of 93 Art Galleries in Istanbul According to their Founding Date

As for these galleries, among which the weight of new entrants is remarkable, contemporary art holds a primordial place as the dominant genre of art, and this fast change in the structure of the art market needs to be studied further. This paper focuses on how the power shifts away from the classical art agents to contemporary art agents, and the effects produced by the conflicts between the old and new agents of the current art field.

2. Studying the Social Structure of Art Through Sociological Lenses

The notion of “art worlds,” coined by Howard Becker in 1982 (Becker, 2008) is the first sociological concept that allows to analyse the art as a collective and cooperative activity performed by individuals gathered within a specific art world. And also it emphasizes the coexistence of a plurality of the art worlds in a given time.

After citing Danto’s institutional definition of art world according to it; “to see something as art requires something the eye cannot descry-an atmosphere of artistic theory, the knowledge of the history of art: an art world. (Danto, 1964, p. 580) Becker emphasizes that this “atmosphere of artistic theory and the knowledge of the history of art” regulates a specific “way the things done” – in this case, a specific way the art done, and each different way of doing art and valuing art might be possible throughout the conventions. According to him, every specific convention dictates (1) what materials may be used, (2) what kinds of abstractions may be referred, and (3) what forms in which materials and abstractions will be combined may be chosen (Becker, 2008, p. 29). While Becker focuses on the interactions between individuals taking part in a socially constructed art world, and underlines the

simultaneous coexistence of more than one art world, he attributes relatively less importance to power relations within them.

While studying art, Pierre Bourdieu has accorded a particular priority to relations of domination, based in competition and conflict. Instead of Becker's notion of the "world", he preferred to use the notion of the "field" in order to analyse the structural dimensions of artistic production. He states in *Questions de Sociologie*:

The sociology of cultural works must take as its object the totality of relations (objective ones and also those effectuated in the form of interactions) between the artist and other artists, and beyond them, the totality of actors engaged in the production of the work or, at least, of the social value of the work (critics, gallery directors, patrons, etc.) (...) What people call 'creation' is the conjunction of socially constituted habitus and a certain position (status), either already constituted or possible in the division of labour of cultural production (and, moreover, at a second degree), in the division of labour of domination. (Cited in English by Zolberg, 1990, p. 125; Bourdieu, 1980, p. 210-211)

More precisely, according to Bourdieu, the artistic field, as any other field, has its own rules, stakes or forms of value (i.e., capital), and strategies for playing the game, and he states struggles in the artistic field occur not just within the rules, but over defining the rules themselves (Bathmaker, 2015). In the *Rules of Art* (1992), Bourdieu displays in addition how there is a homology between the hierarchy of artists and their genres of art, as well as their artworks and those of the art galleries. And the hierarchical structure of the artistic field synchronously generates symbolic struggles for defining the art – and for the recognition and legitimation of it – which consequently shapes the relations of domination between agents (artists, galleries, collectors, etc.) of the field.

As can be understood, Becker and Bourdieu agree that art is socially constructed. However, during this construction process, the first stresses the role of interactions, while the second emphasizes struggles of power. For an approach that places more importance on the internal dynamics of art, Nathalie Heinich's pragmatic approach seems to be more relevant.

By breaking with the domino-centric approach of Bourdieu, Nathalie Heinich adopts a research program that may be qualified as pragmatic:

This approach does not try to explain social behaviour with the help of theoretical notions, but tries to discover procedures people use in their social activities. (van Maanen, 2009, p. 85)

In this sense, Heinich's pragmatic sociology of art aims at

... describing the close intertwining of situated human actions and objects, in order to understand the whole set of frames (including symbolic frames such as representations and values) which constraint and organize actual relationships to art. (Heinich, 2012)

By carrying out research in the 1990s based on the pragmatic perspective, Nathalie Heinich rejects a historicist view of art and defends the coexistence of several genres of art in each given period. Heinich especially shows that every aesthetic genre has specific criteria of judgment. Classical works will be judged mostly on their beauty, modern works on their expressiveness, and contemporary works on their singularity (Angelini, 2016). Within actual art, three genres of art coexist: classical art, modern art and contemporary art. In her recent work, Heinich used the notion of "paradigm" to substitute "genre" (Heinich, 2014). Because

she points out that a paradigm of art has an aesthetic as well as political, institutional, economic and legal dimensions. More clearly, Heinrich coined the term by referring to Thomas Kuhn; for him a new paradigm does not occur as a result of linear evolution of the previous paradigm, but as a result of a more or less deep break with the past. Thus, each paradigm contains its own concepts and ideas as well as the institutional and economic environment in which these concepts and ideas emerge and reproduce.

This approach, which allows Nathalie Heinrich to consider the artistic field as containing in itself “logically contradictory value systems” (Danko, 2008, p. 245), seems relevant for examining the value and moral conflicts between the agents – from artists to curators, from dealers to gallery owners – of the Istanbul art market due to development of contemporary art during the last decades.

3. Method

Istanbul is a city with a growing art market, but this phenomenon and its structural dimensions have not been deeply studied until now, through a field study. Thus, we have chosen to conduct exploratory research using qualitative methods. The semi-structured format allowed us flexibility and discretion during the interviews, but we have followed a semi-structured interview guide for each in-depth interview.

The field study carried out in 2016 is based on a sample of 20 persons – composed of artists, gallery owners and curators from the Istanbul art market. In order to construct the sample, we tried to choose key informants who are supposed to follow various art paradigms as well as to occupy different positions in the artistic field. Such a sample allowed us to analyse the data collected in a comparative way.

In the first instance, the transcribed interviews have been analysed and categorized according to the statement's content with regard to value systems anchored in the contemporary art paradigm and also to its intermediary agents (curators, art critics, etc.) and tools (biennials, international art fairs, etc.). And in the second instance, priority has been accorded to detect the homologies between the opinion of interviewees and the position they occupy in the artistic field by taking into account the relationship between the transformation of social structure of the art market and that of the capitalist regime of accumulation and its institutions.

4. Findings

Within the past decades, due to flourishing of the contemporary art, a lot of new intermediary institutions have been introduced in the art scene, such as curatorship, biennials, international art fairs together with the change of the definition of the art and artwork. With the proliferation of biennials and museums of contemporary art in this period, the emergence of a new type of curator called the “Cultural Industry Curator” was fundamental. These curators are “defined as much by their competencies in art as by their communicative potential, and are becoming increasingly influential in the thriving cultural industry” (Ardenne, 2011).

Indeed, curatorship and the role played by curators were the first points of difference among the interviewees. In regards to biennials, there was a similar distinction between the stakeholders of the art market. And an analogous tension has existed between interviewees.

Thus, analysing debates around three subjects (namely curatorship, biennials and value of art) and its report with positions occupied by their authors in the field of art helped us have a better idea about the social structure of Istanbul's art market. .

4.1. On the Curatorship and Biennials

The first interviewee (Interviewee 6), who had very indignant statements about curators, was a 59 year-old art historian and art critic. His statements were remarkable and suggestive:

Curator thinks of artists as ‘supporting cast’. He or she becomes the main creator of the exhibition through artists’ work. I think they are parasites. (Interviewee 6, art historian and art critic, 59, male)

As seen in the statement above, his objection to curators to intervene in the production of artworks was based on the defense of principles such as creativity and individuality of work. Indeed, these principles are apparently compatible with the principles of classical and modern art paradigms, which are defined by Heinich as follows: “in the case of classic and modern art, it means framed paintings or sculptures standing on a socle, created by the artist’s hand, long-lasting, easily transportable, and supposed to convey either an aesthetical aim or, at least, an expression of the creator’s interiority” (Heinich, 2012). In order to enhance his argument, he does not refrain from referring to Marxist justice principles based on the contradiction between work and exploitation.

Belonged to the same generation, and to the same gender identity, an artist of 63 years old, argues:

I think the work of the curator has nothing to do with art. The art cannot be produced collectively! (Interviewee 8, Artist, 63, male).

The emphasis put on the individuality of the artist’s talent and his/her creativity, makes familiar this photography artist to the *Interviewee 6* mentioned above. At first glance, there is apparently a familiarity between these two interviewees in regard to their generation and gender identities.

But in order to go further in the analysis, we must examine the points of view of certain pro-curatorship interviewees. For example, a woman artist who is very integrated in the contemporary art networks and participated in certain prestigious international biennials has positive ideas about curators:

I never had a problem with a curator until now. In general, they understand me. We did good works together. If a curator’s proposition seems smart to me, I work around a particular concept. (Interviewee 16, Artist, 36, female)

A woman gallery owner who is relatively on the periphery of the art market, even if she distances herself from the contemporary art does not mask out her respect to curators:

A sociologist is better placed to feel the pulse of society than a painter who is preoccupied with the colours and canvases, and finally with the aesthetic. So if a sociologist becomes curator, he or she can produce brilliant works. (Interviewee 11, gallery owner and artist, 45, female)

We know that she also has a lot of interrogations about the development of contemporary art, because this woman gallery owner does not prefer to exhibit contemporary artwork because she does not believe in their originality:

During the First Biennial in 1987, professors of the Mimar Sinan Fine Art University had reacted against it. They claimed that the exhibited works were not art. Since then, conceptual works have flourished. However, it must be said that the majority of exhibited pieces are usually imitations. (Interviewee 11, Gallery owner, 45, female)

While she is not against curators, as they are the interviewee 6 and the interviewee 8, our woman gallery owner shares with them approximately the same approach on the value of the art and artwork. This case shows us that to follow the same paradigm of art is more important than the generation and/of the gender effect. Indeed, the opinion of the interviewee 6 enhances that of woman gallery owner:

Previously, Venice Biennial was setting the rules of actual art. But today, it loses its meaning because of market interventions. What we see today in biennials is garbage. (Interviewee 6, art historian and art critic, 59, male)

It can be said that a depreciatory interpretation toward the contemporary art and its intermediary institutions, such as biennials and curatorship, emerges among agents of the field who occupy marginal positions in the art market dominated by contemporary art.

For example, for a woman curator who is well integrated in the contemporary art networks and works in a contemporary art museum, the First International Biennial of Istanbul was a milestone.

If we can talk about the contemporary art in Turkey, it is thanks to the First International Biennial of Istanbul held in 1987. After that, sponsor support, maecenas, curators, all the contemporary art system has started to develop. (Interviewee 19, Curator, 44, female)

In a similar way, an artist of 39 years who has participated in an international biennial up to now, has positive impressions and ideas about biennials:

I have participated in an international biennial up to now. It was amazing and has positive influences on my production. Because I'm an artist nourished by international interactions. (Interviewee 20, artist, 39, male)

Therefore, we can firstly conclude that being well integrated in the contemporary art paradigm increases positive opinions for its institutions, and *vice versa*.

4.2. On the Value of Art and Art Funding Models

The value of art is primarily determined by its artistic value, which is constructed in the art world (Beckert & Rössel, 2013). But in the case of the contemporary artwork, since it is produced as a *transgression* (Heinich, 2005), agents who interact during the construction of the artistic value is bigger and various than ever. The contemporary artwork's dependence on the exterior references renders it more open to different disciplines' intervention, but this fact did not consider in the same way by all interviewees of our sample.

For example, a female curator who has working experience in one of the most prestigious museums of the world and after that worked the pioneer museum of Turkey appreciates positively this fact:

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Art is now nourished by philosophy, by social sciences, by different disciplines. But it expresses itself through different instruments. (Interviewee 17, curator, 40, female)

Furthermore, the contemporary artist mentioned in the previous section, being well integrated within the international art networks, is very satisfied with the principle of transgression as value judgment of contemporary art:

In the art, it is very important to transgress the established boundaries. (Interviewee 16, artist, 36, female)

The interviewee who knows best the rules of the game and who voluntarily adopts them is not only this contemporary artist above, but also the woman curator of 44 years is in favour of the transgression principle. She accentuates the importance or the role during the production of the artwork and she adds:

In the classical art, it is impossible to talk about the art without using the canvas, and artist produces his work individually. Whereas, in the contemporary art, there is a context revealed by curator. (Interviewee 19, curator, 44, female)

Unlike these artists and curators of the contemporary art paradigm, the woman gallery owner who prefers selling figurative artwork in her art gallery says the following:

Conceptual art has forestalled the picture. This is also the case abroad. I find it dangerous for art. (Interviewee 11, gallery owner, 45, female)

And the artist internalizing the modern art paradigm supports the gallery owner:

Installations and curatorial works eviscerate the meaning of the art. Real art is individualistic and the artist is the only creator. (Interviewee 8, artist, 63, male)

The statements cited above are consistent with the results of the previous section. There are differences in terms of artistic values between different agents who are in the artistic field, and these distinctions confirm Heinrich's different paradigms of art thesis (See Figure 2).

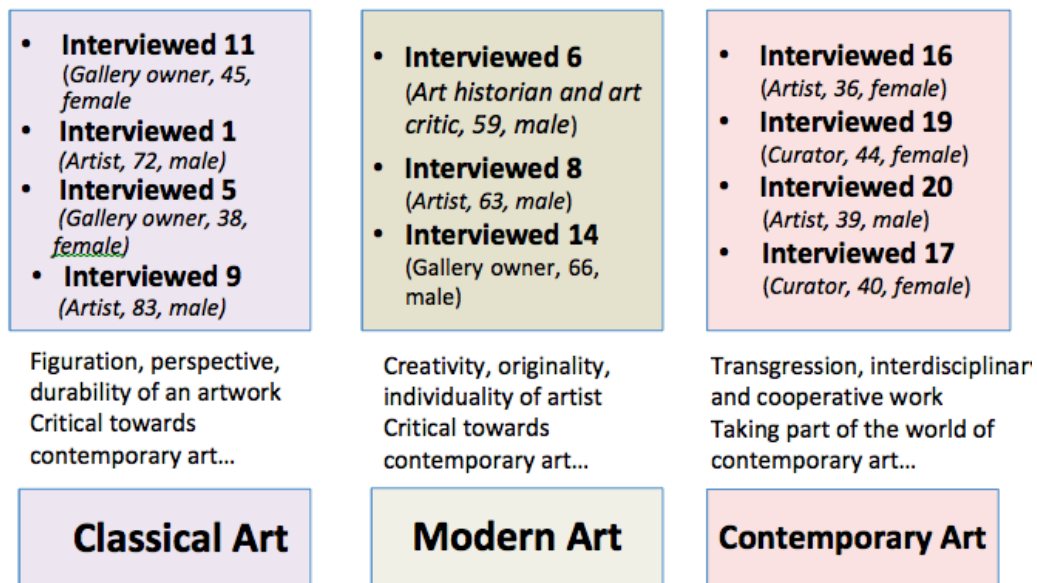


Figure 2. Conflictual Coexistence of Art Paradigms within Istanbul Art Market

When we take a closer look at the opinion divergence among interviewees about the art-funding model, this allows us to advance our analysis.

In the Classical Art Paradigm category of the Figure 2, interviewees emphasize the role of the state during the evolution of arts. Similarly, interviewees 5, 9 and 11 point out the importance of the academy in the progress of art. A painter of 76 years old summarizes his point of view about the art-funding model as follows:

Art may be developed at the state level institutions for the promotion of art-conscious generations. (Interviewee 10, artist, 76, male)

The second category differs from the first category, as being accorded importance to individual creativity and talent. The self-taught artists, critics and gallery owner are dominant in this category. And as the statement below of the 63 years old artist shows, the old age for them was the 1980s that were characterized by the start up the neo-liberalization process:

There were more art-conscious people during the Özal period. Today's riches are not of the same level. (Interviewee 8, artist, 63, male)

Patronage of art by wealthy class is privileged by the second category. Because these artists and art field agents have been largely supported in 1980s by rich families who were developed very rapidly due to the beginning of the neoliberal transition process and abandoning of state-led development model. During this period, art patronage was becoming, for the first time in Turkey, a widely accepted strategy of distinction among dominant class.

And finally, in the third category, a sponsorship system is adopted and defended (See Figure 3):

Sponsors are at unsatisfactory levels in Turkey, but they are still very important. I wish to say government support but in countries like Turkey,

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government support means censorship in art. (Interviewee 17, curator, 40, female)

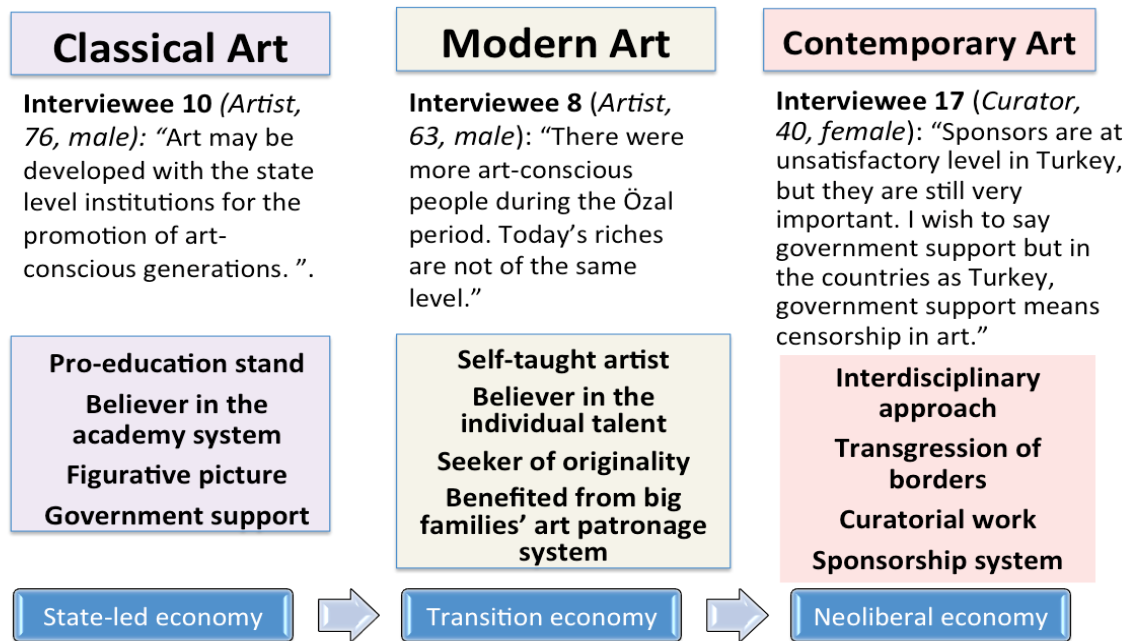


Figure 3. Disputes over the art-funding model

5. Conclusion

The field study conducted in the artistic field in Istanbul shows that while the contemporary art paradigm is relatively dominant in the art market, the classic art and the modern art paradigms survive and reproduce a lot of artists, gallery owners and collectors. This result confirms Nathalie Heinich's three art paradigms thesis, which supposes the coexistence of a variety of art conceptions.

But the interesting result of this study is that there is a homology between the art paradigm in which agents of artistic field believe and the capital accumulation regime in which they think that art would improve. Indeed, each artist or agent of the artistic field ties up with art in different contexts and these differences specify their manner of making art as well as their manner of having money and finally their manner of being as one's value and practice system in life. Therefore, it is not surprising to see homology between neo-liberal logic of action and the contemporary art paradigm, as well as between the logic of action proper to state-led capital accumulation regime and classical art paradigm under the hegemony of the academy.

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Gender Equality in Education in Turkey in the Perspective of Social Welfare State

Dr. Düriye Toprak

1. Introduction

Education is a crucial strength of a country for its economic, political, social and cultural development. In order Turkey to develop economically, politically, socially and culturally and to put democratic way of life into practice it is necessary and crucial to ensure gender equality in education. Therefore gender inequality in education is an important problem not only for girls or their families but also for the whole society as it is related to social justice.

The social state and social gender relationship arises differently in different countries. The place of women in social production and reproduction is affected significantly from the structure of social state and the prevalence of social services. The aim of the study is analyse and assess in what direction the policies applied in education in Turkey affect the equality in social gender within the scope of the transformation of social state.

1.1. Education, Equal opportunities and Social Gender in Social Welfare State

Throughout history the concepts of welfare state or social state have been defined diversely. These definitions vary from the one that confers minimum responsibility (only the minimum fulfilment of necessities, the procurement of minimum standards) to welfare state to the one that gives a large area of activity (education, housing, personal social services, minimum income guarantee, etc.) to welfare state (Özdemir, 2014: 1). In this context, it is possible to define social welfare state as a state that aims to supply certain standard of living that is contemporary and compatible with human dignity; that enables the access to services in the fields that are socio-economically important, such as employment; and that ensures equality of opportunities. The effect of welfare state of the society occurs in three ways: Firstly, welfare state ensures a minimum income level to individuals and families. Second, by being supportive to individuals and families for overcoming against certain social risks (illness, elderliness, unemployment, etc.) it secures them against such circumstances. Third, through social welfare services it supplies best standards of living to all the citizens without status and class distinction (Briggs, 1961, cited by Gough, 2003: 895).

Social welfare state's area of responsibility is quite wide and varies from one country to other. However, it is accepted that the duties of social welfare state are concentrated basically on social security, education, health, redistribution of income and social welfare services (Buğra and Adar, 2007; Esping-Andersen, 1990; George and Wilding, 1994; Mishra, 1990; Sallan Gül, 2006). The policies applied in and expenses on these fields are important indicators in the studies regarding welfare state. The policies applied and the expenses made in these fields are important indicators for the studies regarding welfare state.

In countries where socio-economic development and the perception of welfare state is low, such as Turkey, non-accessibility to education services causes inequality of opportunity, social exclusion and poverty. In these countries, besides being an education institution, a school act as a medium that gives opportunity to diagnose the various types of child poverty and that constitutes a "social welfare field" in order to fight against these kinds of poverty (Buğra and Adar, 2007: 16-18). Therefore, the basic responsibilities that social welfare state takes (free compulsory education, accessibility of higher education by extensive segments of the society, and the regulation of occupational and technical education) are accepted as

necessary as they ensure that everybody takes education, fully develop their potentials and become beneficial individuals for themselves and for the society (Levin, 1975: 303).

The procurement of equality of opportunity in education is possible by the development of 'fairness' and 'inclusion' dimensions in education (OECD, 2007: 29). While the procurement of fairness in education typically refers to that individual and social circumstances such as gender and socio-economic conditions would not constitute an obstacle in front of success; the procurement of inclusion in education refers to that minimum competences and skills that today's society makes essential should be gained by all the segments of society (Polat, 2009: 11).

The procurement of equal utilization of education by men and women is a constitutional duty of the state. The pre-condition of equal utilization of education by men and women is the procurement of social gender equality. Therefore, the procurement of social gender equality lies behind this state constitutional duty regarding education (ERG, 2008). "Equal dignification by the society to the similarities and discrepancies of women and men and to the different roles they play" ascertains social gender equality (USAID, 2008). Social gender equality can be defined as the equal inclusion of women and men to the whole fields of social life. In short, it is the situation where women and men have equal rights, opportunities and possibilities (Çabuk Kaya, 2015; USAID, 2008).

In this field, when defining the constitutional duty of the state, two basic questions stand out. The first of them is that "To what extent the education system ensures equal rights, opportunity and possibility for girls and boys to realise their full potentials?" and the second is that "To what extent the education process can transform the dominant values and dynamics in the society in order to support gender equality?" The answers of these two questions should be sought in the concepts of "social gender equality in education system" and "social gender equality through education" (ERG, 2008).

1.2. Social Gender Equality in Education in Turkey

The inequalities in Turkish education system generally arise as rich-poor inequality, inter-regional inequalities, rural-urban inequality and gender related inequalities (Maya, 2013; Sarpkaya, 2008; Adem, 1995). The gender related inequality mainly clarifies the differences in schooling rates and the level of the attainment of education opportunity and possibility between girls and boys. The gender related inequality problem in Turkish education system makes its presence felt in all the levels of education. Therefore, it could be claimed that in the whole system it is the most widespread and explicit type, and is the most effective type of inequality in terms of its consequences (Maya, 2013: 71).

The reforms of the republic constitute the ground of the social gender equality policies in Turkey. In this period, with the reforms made with the belief that there should be an exact equality between women and men, a substantial social transformation was achieved while a modern state structure was established (Maya, 2013: 71; Sayılan, 2012: 23; Tan, 1994; Çabuk Kaya, 2015). Despite the acquisitions attained during the republic period, when the current status of women in the society is examined, it is obviously seen through some indicators that there are social gender inequalities. Still there are crucial problems regarding some certain fields such as the schooling of girls, and the equal participation of women to employment and to authority – decision making processes (Çabuk Kaya, 2015).

The determinants of education inequality for women are nourished by the economy as much as the culture. The interaction between these two fields gives shape to the social gender regime and structuring of the education system. Because of the limited employment opportunities that underdeveloped capitalism supplies, no Western-type development has

been experienced that would have pull women collectively to employment. The structural factors that limit women employment have simultaneously played critical role in the formation of the relationship of women with education. This has formed a basis for the sexist education in occupational training and gender based disintegration. At the same time the reactions that resist on the schooling of girls and on the power hierarchy in patriarchal family have also catalysed the distinct breeding of girls and boys. Therefore the schooling of girls has become as much widespread as it overcome these obstacles and as much as the necessity of capital to women endeavour. Besides the right of women for education, the attainment of the rights to employment and political rights have paved the way for women to play roles in public arena (Sayılan, 2012: 26-27).

The lately policies that try to ensure the gender equality in education focus on the increase in the schooling rate of girls, in the decrease in school dropouts and in the increase in women literacy. In this field, various campaigns are conducted with cooperation with NGOs and UNICEF (Sayılan, 2012: 32); the subject of the procurement of gender equality in education stands out in international meetings and legal regulations as a global social justice problem (Maya, 2013: 71; Kavak, 2009; Unterhalter, 2008). In Turkey, till the beginning of republic period, both international documents have been signed and legal regulations have been made in order to provide education for women and men with an international perspective. For that reason the “Nobody can be excluded from education-training right” provision in Turkish Constitution and with the Basic Law of National Education no. 1739 the principles of “generality and equality” and “equal opportunity and possibility” were accepted. Furthermore, the problem of inequality in education due to gender difference have been one of the subjects in various government programs, development plans and National Education Councils and various solutions have been offered. Today, besides this legal framework, some international commitments and achievements have enlarged the right to education. Turkey signed the UN’s Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration, Convention on the Rights of the Children and in the framework of EU National Report she committed to take precautions for ensuring gender equality in education (Sayılan, 2012: 34).

In line with these, with the “Girls’ Education Project” carried in 1996, the 8-year compulsory primary education applied in 1997-1998 school year, the campaigns such as “Hey Girls Let’s Go to School”, “Dad, Send Me to School”, “Mother and Daughter at School”, “Schooling of Girls and Dissemination of Pre-School Education” that are recently performed, and “Conditional Cash Transfer” and “100% Support for Education” programs, transported education and regional boarding schools applications are the developments that may be assessed as positive for the schooling of girls (Maya, 2013: 71). Besides, the rate of public expenditures for education in overall capital budget has showed increases in recent years. Despite all these positive steps, the gender inequality in Turkey still exists and it is seen that girls can not sufficiently benefit from their right to education (Maya, 2013: 71; TÜSİAD-KAGİDER, 2008).

2. The Method

The study is based on literature review and data analysis based on secondary data. In this perspective, firstly, through a literature review on the subject, the education and social gender relationship in social welfare state is examined. Then, how this relationship follow a course in Turkey is tried to be revealed in the light of some certain indicators (through data particularly on the procurement of equality in education and the access to it, literacy rate and participation

to labour force). Finally in the light of the findings some assessments some suggestions are made.

3. Findings

3.1. Ensuring Equality in Education: Reflections in terms of Access to Education

Some studies on the access to education in Turkey explore the obstacles in front of the access to primary education. According to Bakış et al. (2009), the possibility of girls to participate in education is 21% lower than the boys. They also claim that in those families that the only parent is the mother, the possibility of girls to participate in education is 38% lower. Only mother parenting is caused either by the death of husband or by divorce and is a fact that increases the risk of poverty. Besides the risk of poverty, the holding of girls at home in order them to help housework and hesitation of mother to send girls to school if the girl does not have father are the other factors that decrease the participation. Besides that, in those houses whose more than 50% of income comes from agriculture the possibility of the participation of girls in education is 19% lower. For most of these houses located in rural areas the transportation to school is a crucial problem. The fact that this factor is determinant only for girls reveals that those problems partly solved for boys cannot be overcome for girls, and thus the social gender inequality is reproduced through education (ERG, 2009: 11-12; EİR, 2007:40-41). In another study made by Polat (2009) it is shown that most of those children who do not participate in compulsory education girls lead. Besides, when the education background of the 23+ population in Turkey is examined according to 2003 Household Budget Research, it is seen that there is a distinction between genders that is disadvantageous for girls. Concordantly, various factors that constitute obstacles for girls in the primary education are not determinant of the education of boys. For instance, the factors such as living in the South Eastern Anatolia Region, single parenting of mother, uneducated parents and living in rural areas that negatively affect the participation of girls to education are not determinant on boys' participation. This also reinforces many findings that claim social gender equality in education has not been ensured yet (ERG, 2009: 11-12; EİR, 2007: 40-41). In Turkey a comprehensive transformation has been experienced recently as the result of the increase in funds allocated to education for increasing the quality of and the access to education, the development in physical infrastructure, the renewal of curriculum in primary education, the increase in schooling rate. For the attainment of the access to education net schooling rate is an important indicator. In Table 1, net schooling rates in Turkey according to school year and level of education are given.

Table 1. Net Schooling Rate According to School Year and Level of Education (2000-2015)

Year		Primary Education			Secondary Education			Higher Education		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2000/2001		95.28	99.58	90.79	43.95	48.49	39.18	12.27	13.12	11.38
2005/2006		89.77	92.29	87.16	56.63	61.13	51.95	18.85	20.22	17.41
2010/2011		98.41	98.59	98.22	66.07	68.17	63.86	33.06	33.44	32.65
2014/2015	Primary School	96.30	96.00	96.60	79.40	79.50	79.30	39.50	38.00	41.1
	Secondary School	94.40	94.40	94.30						

Source: Statistics of the Ministry of National Education, 2016: 1.

Note: From 1997/98 education year on 8-year compulsory primary education had been applied; from 2012/13 education year on 12-year compulsory primary education has been applying.

When the net schooling rate in Turkey is examined for the period 2000 – 2015, it is seen that the policies and applications applied in order to increase the access to education have gained crucial accomplishments in all the levels of education (Table 1). In recent years, the low differences between girls and boys in terms of schooling rates is a positive development. Beside these, in the 2012 – 13 school year secondary education was included into compulsory education. In Turkey-wide, it is observed that a crucial increase in the schooling rate in secondary education is attained. The schooling rate that was 45% in 2000 – 01 school year has been increased to 80% till 2014 – 15 (Table 1). However, the schooling rates are not equal in all regions and among provinces there are considerable differences. For instance, the net schooling rate in secondary education in the provinces of Ağrı and Muş are below 50% (Statistics of the Ministry of National Education, 2016).

Table 2. Gender Rates According to School Year and Level of Education (2000-2015)

	<i>Primary Education</i>		<i>Secondary Education</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>
<i>2000/2001</i>	89.64		74.41	73.56
<i>2005/2006</i>	93.33		78.76	77.2
<i>2011/2012</i>	100.41		93.29	87.38
	Primary School	Secondary School	Secondary Education	Higher Education
<i>2012/2013</i>	100.59	102.94	94.15	88.05
<i>2013/2014</i>	100.82	103.69	94.59	89.24
<i>2014/2015</i>	100.57	101.1	95.4	90.15

Source: Statistics of the Ministry of National Education, 2016: 8.

As can be seen from Table 2 above, the gender rate particularly in primary education has changed from 89.64% in 2000 – 2001 school year to 100.4% in 2010. One of the reasons of this positive development is the transformation to 8-year compulsory education in 1997 -1998 school year. The same rate was 93.2% in 2011 – 2012 school year and 95.4% in 2014 – 2015 school year for secondary education (Table 2). The procurement of the gender equality in secondary education is a crucial problem and it is important to achieve a rate of 100%. With the transition to 12-year (4+4+4) compulsory education, it is estimated that this rate will be 100% in the coming years.

If the schooling rates are examined in the regional scale, it can be seen that there is crucial differences among some regions in terms of the participation of girls and boys to secondary education. As of 2012 – 13, the difference between girls and boys in schooling rates in West Marmara, Mediterranean and Central Anatolia regions is below 1%. The same figure for North-eastern Anatolia, South-eastern Anatolia and Middle Eastern Anatolia regions is about 6 – 7%. At the same time, these three regions have the least schooling rates in Turkey (EİR, 2013: 49).

3.2. Literacy and Participation to Labour Force According to Education Level

In Table 3 some selected indicators of gender in Turkey are seen. According to the data in Table 3, it is observed that women are more disadvantageous than men and there is much to do in terms of gender equality. In Turkey, as of 2014, the rate of illiteracy among 25+ population is 5.6% for the whole population and 1.8% for men while it is 9.2% for women (Turkish Statistics Institute, 2016). Therefore illiterate women are 5 times more than illiterate men and the difference between women and men still exists in terms of literacy.

Table 3. Selected Indicators According to Gender in Turkey, 2014

<i>Selected Indicators</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>First Marriage Age</i>	27	24
<i>Illiteracy Rate (%)</i>	1.8	9.2
<i>High School or Faculty Graduation Rate in the Population (%)</i>	16.2	11.7
<i>Employment Rate (%)</i>	64.8	26.7
<i>Labour Force Participation Rate (%)</i>	71.3	30.3
<i>Youth Unemployment Rate (%)</i>	16.6	20.4

Source: Turkish Statistics Institute, 2016.

In terms of social gender equality labour force participation and employment rates are important indicators. When the EU member countries' employment rates are examined, it is seen that the highest women employment rate is 72.5% and belongs to Sweden while the lowest is 39.9% and belongs to Greece. Average women employment rate for EU-29 is 58.8%. On the other hand the same figure is 69.4% for men

In Turkey labour force participation rate of 15+ population in 2014 is 50.5%, while it is 71.3% for men and 30.3% for women. When the labour participation rates according to the level of education, it is observed that the labour force participation of women increases with the level of education. While the labour force participation rate of illiterate women is 16%, 25.8% for primary and secondary school graduate women, 31.9% for high school graduate women, 39.8% for vocational or technical high school graduate women; it is 71.3% for university graduates (Turkish Statistics Institute, 2016).

One of the most basic areas for transforming social values and dynamics through public policies is the education system. Some related basic indicators reveal that education in Turkey can energise this transformative potential only to some extent. For instance, if the statistics for family violence that is a basic indicator for social gender equality is analysed, it is seen that one high school graduate man out of three apply physical violence to his wife. In this context, it is seen that there is no significant difference between high school graduate and primary school graduate men (ERG, 2008).

These data on the violence against women and labour force participation reveals that the education process could not provide a sufficient transformation in the social gender related values, attitudes and behaviours of individuals. Consequently, in the society the domestic role of women generally remain in the forefront; education is perceived as a medium for them to play their motherhood roles more successfully. Correspondingly, even if more and more women take education for longer periods, no radical transformation in the social gender roles could be attained (ERG, 2008). Hence, according to 2012 Social Gender Equality Index, in the gender based discrimination Turkey ranks 68th among 148 countries. Social gender inequality index reflects gender based inequalities in three categories. These categories are reproductive health, strengthening of women and economic activities. Reproductive health is measured by maternal mortality and adult breeding ratio. Strengthening of women is measured by the number of women deputies and the rate of women and men having secondary and higher education. Economic activities on the other hand is assessed through the participation of both genders in the market. With three different indicators, social gender

inequality index exhibits the loss in human development created by the inequality between women and men (UNDP, 2015: 10).

Table 4. Comparison of the Social Gender Inequality Index (SGII) of Turkey with Certain Countries and Blocs (2014)

	<i>SGII Value</i>	<i>SGII Rank</i>	<i>Maternal Mortality Rate</i>	<i>Adult Breeding Rate</i>	<i>Female Parliamentary Rate (%)</i>	<i>The Rate of Population Having at Least Secondary Education (%)</i>			
						Female	Male	Female	Male
<i>Turkey</i>	0.359	71	20	30.9	14.4	39.0	60.0	29.4	70.8
<i>Europe and Central Asia</i>	0.300	-	28	30.8	19.0	70.8	80.6	45.6	70
<i>High iGE</i>	0.310	-	41	28.8	20.6	60.6	69.5	57.0	77.2

Source: UNDP, 2015: 10.

As can be seen in Table 4, in Turkey the rate of women deputies in the Parliament is 14.4%. Among adult women the rate of those who have secondary and high education is 39%. On the other hand the same figure for men is 60%. These rates are below the rates not only the ones in Europe and Central Asia but also below the rates experienced in those countries having high human development indices. While the labour force participation rate of men is 70.8%, it is 29.4% for women. The women labour force participation rate in Turkey is below the average of developed countries.

4. Conclusion

Recently, the problem of social gender equality in education has attained global interest and become the focal point of policies. Particularly, international discourse and action plans till the mid-1990s emphasizes that primary education should be given to everybody and the social gender discrimination in the schools should be eliminated. Furthermore, the problem of social gender equality problem in education could not be only solved by increasing the schooling rate but it is seen that it should be dealt with multi-dimensional solutions.

In Turkey developments in the schooling rates in terms of gender equality are experienced. When the basic indicators that are used to follow the equality in the access to schools are examined, it is observed that organising local and national persuasion campaigns and financial supports such as education grants and conditional cash transfers have positive effects on the access to education. Hence the schooling rate of girls has increased in terms of both primary and secondary education enrolment, attendance and graduation. However in order to attain the goal of the “procurement of social gender equality in all levels of education” that, like all the countries in the world, is recognised by Turkey in the scope of the “Millennium Development Goals” that is announced in 2000, particularly special attention should be given to the level of secondary education.

In addition, in Turkey in terms of the access to schools there is dramatic differences among provinces, urban and rural areas and socio-economically different segments of the society. While there are increases in the schooling rates in formal education in Turkey, the gender

inequalities still exist. Especially in rural areas, although the level of education increases, abandonments from schools still last and these are experienced mostly by girls.

A comprehensive perspective is necessary for the elimination of structural and application related obstacles that cause social gender inequality in the school environment and in learning processes. In this context some steps that can be taken are as follows:

- The social gender sensitivity should be one of the goals of educators, on-the-job training programs, and the administration and supervision in education,
- A comprehensive scanning of text books for eliminating the sexist items, organising social equality related training for those specialists who prepare the text books,
- Development of efficient policies for the procurement of gender equality at the administrative levels of central and field services of the Ministry of National Education (MNE) and of education institutions,
- Development and application of facilitator mechanisms for the quick registration of children whose families have no registry in a short span of time after their birth, even if they are born outside hospitals,
- To increase in conditional cash transfers, especially for the girls in primary and secondary education and to access those families who do not benefit the support,
- To apply a quote system in order girls to benefit more from MNE grants,
- To develop policies that aims to teach social gender equality to the children at the school environment and make them internalize it.

It is crucial that the state should execute its political will and determination in a net and consistent manner and legal changes should be supported by social policies. Apart from the fact that social gender equality could not be provided in all the levels of education, the socio-economic structures of the families may play important roles, as much as public policies, for the access of girls to education. Another indicators of social gender equality are the low levels of labour force participation and employment rates in Turkey. Furthermore, increasing violence incidences against women create another field of inequality.

If the gender equality policies and the perception of women in Turkey are assessed with existing social state and education structure, it is seen that the education system is far from the ideal case that provide full equality to women. Some basic indicators regarding the subject reveal that the education system in Turkey can partly energise this transformative potential. In this respect, it is important to assess education policies and education environments in terms of social gender equality, to transform the perception of women in a manner that would support the equality, and to change the problematic components.

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Urban Poverty and Homelessness

Meryem Küçük

1. Introduction

Developments experienced during and after the Industrial Revolution where societies started to improve their economies changed the appearance and semantic dimension of poverty. Old poverty which was a livable and acceptable situation disappeared with the arrival of new poverty, and misery and hunger took its place. Disintegration and rupture which were not seen in old social segments, have become more apparent with the presence of modern poverty (Açıkgöz and Yusufoglu, 2012, p. 81). Additionally, the poor who experience income insufficiency are not able to afford what the market charges. Also, because the market returns more profit from housing, the chance of finding a low-priced house has decreased. Basic structural foundations of the poor such as irregular work or unemployment, insufficient social benefits, insufficient income and being unable to afford the budget of high-priced housing have caused “homelessness.” Today, homelessness, for various reasons, has become widespread and is an important burning issue. According to United Nations (UN) Reports, there are 100 million homeless people worldwide (Özdemir, 2010, p. 77). According to the data of the ŞefkatDer Organization, which regularly carries out studies about homeless people, between 7,000 and 10,000 homeless people live in Istanbul, and there are more than 100,000 homeless people across Turkey (<http://www.sefkatder.org>). It can be said that the rate of homeless people in Turkey is significant. And socio-demographic characteristics found by various studies are densely similar to each other.

Homelessness emerged as an important social problem in the 1980s when individualism came into prominence and capitalism was handling all the institutions, especially in developed countries. In Turkey, it had started to increase due to poverty, insufficient income, migration, unemployment, urban transformation, a person being unable to realize him/herself, mental disease and substance dependence and changes in family structure (Işıkhan, 2002, p. 13). It can be said in other words that these characteristics and the homelessness phenomenon have identified with urban areas, and in some way, it emerged when urbanization went wrong.

The homelessness phenomenon identified within urban areas is a social problem which has drawn the attention of the social sciences more and more each day, and it is obvious that Turkey has literature that social scientists are not in agreement on regarding the conception of the problem. Languages, cultures and social and economic structures of societies can be considered as some of the most important reasons that social scientists are not in agreement on.

The “*Home/Homeless*” concepts should be thought of together in terms of their relationships with the subject. This togetherness gives information about what the concept is not and provides the convenience to build the conceptual framework. Although the concept of home is defined according to various meanings, it is a socially commonly used term. In its strictest sense, “*home*” (Ravehill, 2008, p. 12) expresses the sense of safety, continuity and persistence which are necessary to experience familial affairs or friendship and allow physical, emotional and psychological wellness. In addition to this, home is the only place/space where people can identify themselves, can really be themselves, can compare themselves to other people in society, can perform the routines of their lives and can manage their neighborhood and social affairs (Arnold, 2004, p. 60).

According to the socially perceived and scientifically framed definition, “*home*” (Smith and Ravenhill, 2007) is not only a place that ensures safety and protection, but it is

also described as the only personal space that enables people to identify themselves, a comfortable place that people can be themselves. This means that home is a place where people organize their lives, organize their activities and which builds their status and defines them. Moreover, it is necessary to pay attention to the difference between home and house. While house defines the physical environment, home includes social relations (Rossi, 1989). In short, while home provides people with both social and physical opportunities, homelessness expresses people who are deprived of these opportunities.

“*Homeless*” can be defined as a person or groups of people who do not have a suitable and regular place to stay for the night, who live under bridges and in terminals, stations, subways, ATM booths, parks and the outskirts of society (Işıkhani, 2006, p. 39). It has been seen that sometimes the term “*bimekân*” is also used rather than “*evsiz (homeless)*” in Turkish. The word “*bimekân*,” meaning placeless, is not Turkish. The prefix “*bi*” is Persian, and the word “*mekân*” is Arabic. The meaning of *bimekân* is not only homeless, but it has also a broader meaning of placeless (NND Dictionary). If it is necessary to have to a broader definition, homeless can be described in the literature as people who live on their own in isolation, have somatic and mental disorders, spent the previous night outside on the street or in shelters, motels, subways, tunnels, parks, underground and overpass stations, abandoned and unused buildings, their friends' homes or different homes. These people are described as having spent at least 60 days in unknown places, not having their own places to stay permanently (Acar and Erbay, 2013, p. 9).

According to Robertson, Roper and Boyer (1984), homelessness expresses “*the absence of a residence in which to sleep and receive mail.*” This definition has been commonly used in the studies of specialists who have done research in this area. However, physically-based definitions contain several contradictions within themselves. For example, according to some, the fact that people live in a one-room flat or stay with their one friend or relative means that, in appearance, they live in a home. Yet, because staying in such places contains inadequate home conditions, it leads people to face the situation of continuous homelessness and the absence of a permanent shelter (Wolch, Dear and Akita, 1988, p. 442). The literature has attempted to describe this situation by using the term “*hidden homelessness*” (Hombs, 1994, p. 28).

In conclusion, current definitions in the literature did not only bring some information about homelessness to light, but have also led people to face the fact that studies conducted in this area and the conceptual/theoretical structure are still missing. Moreover, homelessness, which is one of the remarkable features of urban poverty, is one of today's most important problem areas waiting for a solution and a developed service policy as well as relevant literature studies.

This study was grounded on this problem and aimed to analyze the relationship of homelessness with urban poverty, variables revealing homelessness with new period change and transformations. Based on the method and technique determined within this framework, between the dates of 02.24.2014 and 02.29.2014, the researcher held in-depth interviews with homeless people in the Istanbul Zeytinburnu Sport Complex Shelter which was opened by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Almshouse to protect homeless people from cold weather conditions in the winter.

2. Method

This study adopted a phenomenology-interpretivist approach and used the methods of literature review, participating observation, and in-depth interviewing, one of the qualitative research data collection techniques. This study used the non-accidental sampling method to

select participants to be interviewed. A total of 80 homeless people were interviewed. Of them, 68 were male and 12 were female. To analyze the qualitative research data, not only the descriptive and systematic analysis approach but also the interpretation method were used.

4. Findings

3.1 Qualitative Analysis of Homeless People's Socio-demographic Characteristics

Between the dates of 02.24.2014 and 02.29.2014, the researcher interviewed 80 homeless people in the Istanbul Zeytinburnu Sport Complex Shelter.

- ✓ Of them, 68 were male and 12 were female. The general mean age of the interviewees was 39.97. While the mean age of male homeless people was 39.35, the mean age of females was 43.5.
- ✓ The hometown distribution of homeless people interviewed in this study by regions is as follows: There were 22, 15, 11, 5, 3 and 7 people from the Marmara, Black Sea, Eastern Anatolia, Mediterranean and Aegean regions of Turkey and abroad, respectively.
- ✓ Of the homeless interviewees, 13 (2 females, 11 males) were married, 35 (9 females, 26 males) were widows/widowers and 32 (1 female, 31 males) were single.
- ✓ A total of 50 (8 females, 42 males) homeless interviewees were primary school graduates, 13 (1 female, 12 males) were secondary school graduates, 6 (1 female, 5 males) were high school graduates and 4 (2 females, 2 males) were university graduates. And 7 male homeless interviewees reported that they were illiterates.
- ✓ The researcher asked the interviewees their occupations and received responses that they work in sectors defined as marginal or informal sector. Of them, 10 had carried insurance while they were working and then they retired.
- ✓ It was asked of the interviewees whether or not they had social insurance, and it was determined that 19 (3 females, 16 males) had social insurance and 59 did not. Of these 19 people, 9 (1 female, 8 males) had a green card as public insurance.
- ✓ Of the interviewees, 19 males had a criminal record.
- ✓ A total of 54 of the homeless people said “yes” to the question of “Do you suffer from any disease?” It was reported by 19 of the homeless people that they were alcohol- or drug-addicted.
- ✓ In this study, the interviewees were asked where they live and why they prefer these places. The interviewees stated that they were commonly living in the Aksaray, Taksim, Zeytinburnu, Istiklal, Tarlabasi, Kadikoy, Eminonu, Beyoglu, Sultanahmet and Fatih districts of Istanbul. They responded to the question of “Why do you prefer these places?” that they preferred these places because they were crowded, they could easily meet their food requirements, they were known by the shopkeepers and the shopkeepers helped them.

3.2 Why are they homeless?

3.2.1 Changes in Family Structure, Domestic Violence and Divorce

One of the structural factors that reveals homelessness is *changes in family structure*. Today, it is in question that family structures have changed from the pattern of big families in which familial relationships are strong to the nuclear family pattern. Ruptures of affinity or familial relationships not only damage the sense of belonging in the affective meaning but also, it can be stated, cause economic rout for the family members. Another change in family structure is

the fact that females started working which began a new process for the relationship between female and male. There is also another problem regarding this issue: *domestic violence and divorce*. According to many worldwide studies, domestic violence is among the reasons for homelessness. Because of domestic violence, people are physically, psychologically, socially and economically damaged. Domestic violence can lead people to leave home, to become a drug addict and thus, to live a life which they do not want to live. It also causes the appearance of the homelessness phenomenon to increase.

As a result of the interviews conducted for this study, factors of domestic violence, divorce and changes in family structure causing homelessness were assessed as follows:

- ✓ Some homeless interviewees (15 people) indicated that their homelessness mainly started after their parents had died. Sometimes the death of a person's mother and father, or just one of them, leads this person to experience both financial and emotional collapse.
- ✓ A total of 8 homeless interviewees stated that one of their parents got married for the second time after their mother or father had died, and because of this situation they were placed in an orphanage. Children raised in an orphanage often react emotionally to their surroundings and their adaptation period is painful. The fact that, after getting out of the orphanage, they have to start a new life without having any social insurance causes them to struggle with many problems. The most important problems among them are homelessness and unemployment.
- ✓ About half of the homeless interviewees (35 people [9 females, 26 males]) stated that they were divorced, and 14 people (6 females, 8 males) reported that they were homeless because of domestic violence and divorce.
 - ✓ In this study, it was found that background reasons of the divorce phenomenon were different for males and females. Therefore, processes experienced after divorce also differ. Females mostly became homeless because of violence, being cheated on by their husbands and being excluded from their families. For male homeless interviewees (8 people), the background of the divorce process was widely associated with their families forcing them to get married, being cheated on by their wives and the sense of jealousy.

3.2.2 Poverty, Unemployment, Having Less Chance to Access Low-Cost Home Conditions

Researchers examining the structural base of homelessness widely focus on two main factors (Koegel, 2007, p. 249-250). These are an increase in poverty and unemployment and having less chance to access low-cost home conditions. After the interviews, these main factors were assessed as follows:

- ✓ Depending on various factors that the homeless interviewees experienced, they do not find opportunity for education and cannot be employed with today's demands of having the necessary skills gained during education. Therefore, homeless people have to look for a job in the informal or marginal sectors. This keeps people from living a socio-economically good life and causes the poverty to become permanent.
- ✓ Only 19 of the homeless interviewees expressed that they had social insurance. Some of them had a green card as social insurance.
- ✓ Some homeless interviewees (43 people) reported that they were not able to pay their rent on time and had to leave their house because of insufficient income. The main reasons for this is permanent unemployment and not having social insurance.
- ✓ Some homeless interviewees (15 people) stated that they had adult children, but they did not morally and materially support their parents. This situation is also an indicator

of dissociation in the family structure.

3.2.3 Urban Disintegration and Differentiation, Being Unable to Socially Integrate into Society

Urban disintegration and differentiation defined as urban polarity brought about social inequality. The disintegration observed in the urban class structure based on the increasing income inequalities, the place in the production system, depends on the distribution of product among social groups. The most important example of disintegration observed in the urban class structure is homeless people. The fact that homeless people are the disadvantaged group in social distribution has made poverty an indispensable part of their lives. Homeless people who fall into poverty have experienced various problems which lead to being unable to economically integrate into society as well as economical, cultural and spatial exclusion (McNaughton, 2008, p. 141).

- ✓ Some homeless people interviewed (15 people) were willing to conceal their current situation, even to the point of being completely abstracted from society, because they know that their situation of deep poverty will be met with exclusion in the social circle.
- ✓ Another reason why the homeless interviewees are dissociated from society is that some of them use alcohol and drugs. In this addiction, people not only damage themselves, but can also damage others around them.
- ✓ There is not enough awareness about homeless people in Turkey. It can be stated that services and help for homeless people in terms of both social and governmental institutions are inadequate, even that there are no services or help for them. Therefore, homeless people are abandoned to their fate, and they are left on their own with their poverty.
- ✓ Homeless people need mechanisms to become socially integrated and take a step in life again. However, the absence of these mechanisms lead them to feel inadequate, insecure and in danger. One fourth of homeless people interviewed during this study (19 people) reported that they received support only from non-governmental organizations or governmental organizations. On the other hand, it is another problem that this support is not permanent and even not enough for homeless people to meet their basic needs.

3.2.4 Alcohol and Substance Dependence

In Turkey, the age of drug use has gradually decreased. It is known that factors such as population increase, industrialization, urbanization, technology, education, evaluating spare time, systems of belief and values, etc. have an effect on drug addiction. However, available studies which have determined to what extent these factors have an effect are not adequate. After the interviews, alcohol and substance dependence was assessed as follows:

- ✓ One fourth of the homeless people interviewed during this study (19 people) reported that they were alcohol or drug addicts. Of the alcohol- or drug-addicted interviewees, 6 associated this situation with homelessness. It was also revealed that there are various social reasons in the background of this individual-based problem.
- ✓ With drug use, physically, psychologically and socially negative results emerge. For example, being rejected by society, being subjected to violence, using violence, work failures and work loss, behaviors displayed while under the influence of a substance, and crimes committed to obtain such substance are its social results (Meneviş, 2006 p. 50).

4. Result

It can be stated that factors revealing homelessness, a subtype of urban poverty, can be explained with both socio-economic factors and individual processes. Also, these two processes can be interrelatedly explained. On the other hand, the fact that the homelessness of some people become permanent can be associated with their permanent *poverty* and the absence of *social insurance*. To solve this problem, firstly, it is required to develop an awareness in a social aspect. It is necessary to recognize that homeless people are a citizen of the society in which we live, and they have a right to live just like everyone else. It is known that there is a lack of legislation regarding this problem, and the current legislation should be run by local administrations. Moreover, a new legislation should be developed for deficiencies. Non-governmental organizations and governmental institutions should create a preventive, therapeutical, supportive and reformative service network. Awareness for reintegration of homeless people into society should be the bottom line of all services developed for homeless people.

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The Place of the Hare in Alevism Belief

Mehmet Yazıcı

1. Introduction

Anatolian Alevism is a belief system which has emerged and continued its existence in Anatolia until today. There are some morphological properties of the communities that are the members of Alevism belief system. Cemevi³², Cem ceremony³³, locating of women in the Cem ceremony as well as males, religious leaders, the leadership of sayyid/dede³⁴, males' having long mustache and not eating hare meat are some of morphological properties of Alevism. One of prominent properties of Alevis is not to eat hare meat.

The hare is not the only animal that Anatolian Alevis do not like and not eat. There are also some animals which not only do they like and believe in bringing luck but there are also some animals that they hate and specify as inauspicious as well. While deer, crane, stork, fish and horse are the main lucky animals for Alevis, hare, crow, owl, partridge and bear are the main animals that they dislike. Beside all these, their best known characteristic is not to eat the hare meat and accept it as a dirty, vicious and contaminating animal. Therefore, Alevis are stated as "no the hare eaters" in Anatolia. Moreover, this is one of the most distinctive formal properties and the most obvious indicators of Alevis.

The characterization relevant to the hare is not only pertained to Alevis. In fact, the hare has been one of the most popular beliefs among many folks, and for this reason, it has a common myth in different cultures (Boyle, 2005, p. 332). Furthermore, the characterization forms regarding the hare have presented differences because myths, stories and beliefs which the hare is the subject are not restricted in a specific geography, religion, culture and term. Because of this characteristic of the hare, there is a literature that seeks answers from different aspects for the question of "why does the hare arouse myths' and stories' interest worldwide?" (Boyle, 2005, p. 332). The studies, regarding the hare, of John Layard who concerns with the hare in myths and legend and Ewart Evans and David Thomson who concentrate in the zoological facts of the hare are significant scientific works. Additionally, John Andrew Boyle's article about "the hare in myth and reality", which was translated to Turkish language, has presented an extensive knowledge about the hare. Yet another important study is the article of Jean-Paul Roux which is "the hare in the belief of Turks". In the article, he has dealt with the understanding sources which punish the hare and he has pointed out that "the repressive mindset that punishes the hare is not universal but a very common fact" (Roux, 1992, p. 43).

As for Turkish literature about the hare belief, there are some books, postgraduate and PhD dissertations with regard to the topic of Alevism-Bektashism that refer to the hare belief implicitly. Mehmet Yazıcı's postgraduate dissertation about "the social sub dynamics of the Ottoman-Turkish society, p. Anatolian Alevism" could be given as one of the first dissertations about Alevism studies. In the mentioned study, the questions of why Alevis hate the hare and not to eat its meat have been given answers based on gained data from the field in the chapter of "animals in Alevism faith". As for books, "Responses to the Slanders to Alevism" which was published by Baki Öz in 1997 might be given as an example regarding Alevi studies. There is a detailed explanation about "why the hare meat is not eaten" in the book.

³² The religious house in Alevism

³³ The religious ritual of Alevism

³⁴ Dede is an important socio-religious leader in Alevism faith

The topic of this notice is the attitudes about the hare in different cultures in general, and as for particular, the place of the hare and reasons of eating ban in Alevi belief. The aim of notice is to deal with eating hare ban in Alevism by connecting to approaches to hare in the world. In doing so, it has been aimed to understand both the general approaches about hare and discuss the place of hare in Alevism faith and contribute to know Alevism.

The topic, intrinsically, is considered by social anthropology, sociology, folk and theology. Therefore, this study has the characteristics of interdisciplinary dimension.

2. Method

Although there are some studies regarding Alevism (such as, Bozkurt, 1990, Öz, 1997, Bulut, 1997, Ergun, 2011 etc.) in Turkish literature, there is not any study that specifically, considers the hare ban in Alevism and understand it within the integrity of Alevism faith. However, firstly, it has been drawn and made analogies about the place of the hare in Alevism with the hare belief in other cultures, and then, by being based upon this, it has been attempted to be found out an origin for the hare ban in Alevism through cursory generalizations so far. Thus, such an approach has ignored that attitudes related to the hare might be included in Alevism belief, too, as they could be included in myths, legends, stories and beliefs worldwide. Therefore, the researchers who are interested in this issue has preferred to seek a root towards the hare ban instead of handling it in Alevi faith's holistic structure, and deliberately or unwittingly, they, accordingly, claim that Alevis have neither the knowledge of this fact to interpret nor contribute thoughts about it adequately.

As for this notice, despite using only cause-effect concepts, the hare ban in Alevism faith has been clarified by benefitting from the basic orientations and the notions of dichotomy, cultural interaction, mediation of structuralism approach which uses transformation laws (Yavuz, 1997, p. 69). The method Structuralism has been chosen for this study because it, firstly, carries out the complete analysis towards the diachronic problems such as, root, development, interaction etc., and then it provides to develop the methods which address those like synchronical facts as systematic (Yücel, 1982, p. 10). The main aim of preferred structural approach is "the thought that the myths of distant societies, in geographical and cultural sense, can be explained as part of common structure. The common structure emphasizes the human consciousness process style" (Lévi-Strauss, 1974, p. 20).

3. Theoretical Discussion

In western understanding, it is concluded two different categories between "primitive man" and "modern man" which are non-overlapping with each other about "human nature" in philosophical anthropology debates. However, Lévi-Strauss objects to such a differentiation. In the societies, which he calls wild instead of primitive, he argues that as far as human understands nature in terms of satisfying his concrete and practical needs, human receives in terms of cognitive systems as well as formalized scientific problems. According to Levi-Strauss, these are the systems that show the stable and essential structure of human consciousness (Yavuz, 1997, p. 76). Briefly, the imaginations, thought styles, logic categories and cultural classifications of human who is called "primate" are not primitive. It was just different from the Western civilization that shows itself as the destiny of humankind and inevitable universal civilization (Demir, 2013, p. 9).

According to this approach, the basis of human consciousness and its stable structure which are the common in all people consciousness (primitive/wild-modern) practice with the principle of dichotomy. Cultural life that makes social life possible and sensible, essentially,

has depended on contrasts as well ((Lêvi-Strauss, 200, p.62). Lêvi-Strauss always emphasizes a set of rules and the basics of structure of social life, for example, animal/man, nature/society, wet/dry, noisy/silent, raw/done etc., that he claims to be originated from dichotomies. These shape social relations and the interaction of cultural forms (Demir, 2013, p. 16). Lêvi-Strauss has exhibited his views in this direction by answering to the question of “why are harelippeds and twins accepted as similar from some aspects in the compiled different myths in the South and North America? According to him, in these myths, each of twins is regarded as the contrast of another one (Lêvi-Strauss, 2013, p. 59-66).

Accordingly, he claims that understood of harelippeds and hares as similar to twins can be explained through the principle of dichotomy. The hare is not twin but in the beginning of being twin stage. It is still an exact member but has hare lips and has completed the half of being twin (Lêvi-Strauss, 2013, p. 66). As understood from this, the hare does not adapt to dichotomy principle because of its physical appearance. Consequently, the hare is seen as a species that mediates two different characters in one structure because its lips and nose are separated from each other (Lêvi-Strauss, 1992, p. 205). Mediation, on the other hand, is related to dichotomy directly. Leach expresses the situation that created the notion so; human consciousness processes as the part of dichotomies (just as computer) although it does not like the certainty of those dichotomies (at unconscious level), and it ascertains a new concept which is betwixt and between but at the same time both it and the other one (Aycock - Leach, 1983, p. 14- 15). As is seen, the new notion is said the dichotomy that mediates (Leach, 1985, p. 25-27)” (Parladır, 2002, p. 7).

The qualities of twins which represent in different bodies and opposed to each other have shown to be believed in mediating of the hares in the same body. This belief explains that the hare which arises as a mythological God has ambiguous characteristics. More clearly, the hare is sometime a liable wise God that regulates the universe while sometime is a ridiculous jester that faces with misfortunes. It would be more understandable if the status of the hare is expressed from the two points of view of Algonquians, -which are (a) the unique God that is beneficial for mankind and (b) preferring as a member the good one and bad one between the twins. Opposite characters splitting in half, yet, may remain in a single person and a different one intimately (Lêvi-Strauss, 2013, p. 66).

The cultures which emerged as a result of contrasts are involved in a constant interaction. Both some cultural elements have been interpreted differently and cultural elements which are common essentially have developed by means of cross cultural interaction. Common cultural elements have created common heritage of humanity and may be elucidated within the context of a common structure (Lêvi-Strauss, 1974, p. 20). Therefore, our any behavior is not incidental and it has produced a structural feature (Lêvi-Strauss, 1963, p. 225). In the emergence process of behaviors producing structural feature, it is clear that large communities have contacted to each other and each community has been acquainted with another community in terms of beliefs, custom and traditions. Any nearby tribe always becomes aware of another tribe’s affairs considerably (Lêvi-Strauss, 2013, p. 60), and there is an interaction among those tribes’ cultures. As a conclusion, cultural elements consist of dichotomy and spread through interaction.

The qualifications related to the hare that emerged as one each cultural element can be grounded in this term. The position finding in the popular beliefs of many people and having a rich mythology of hare can only be stated through the factors of dichotomy and interaction etc. which can be valid for different cultures. Dichotomy has provided the general direction of cultural elements while cultural interaction has provided the same cultural element to be similar to the nearby culture. For instance, around the world, having different mythological elements from each other related to hare and having similar prejudices regarding the hare’s physiology could be clarified through dichotomy principle, on the other hand, having similar

approach to the animal of Shiites and Alevis could be clarified through cultural interaction as well.

According to structuralist approach, structure can connect with simultaneous relations from the separation of reality and appearance, and the relations can be reduced to dichotomy due to the fact that it is impossible to comprehend the evolution of a system without knowing its simultaneous nature (structure) (Yavuz, 1997, p. 69). That means that if there were a sense of the actions or products of man, then there would be a conventional system that makes possible the sense. Social and cultural phenomena do not have an inherent sense apart from the conventional system. Because of not having an inherent sense of the system's symbols (being its sense conventional), if it is said via philosophical terms, their gists are not existed but they become meaningful through the relations that build the system they take place (Yavuz, 1997, p. 67-68). For example, evaluating the hare as "inauspicious" and "uneatable" or exact opposite of these propositions do not emerge because of their inherent characteristics; however, they emerge from the relations that separate this orientation from their contrasts. This orientation could be explained in terms of its recognition in a society while getting reaction in another society.

For the hare's being out of dichotomy principle and from this point of view, accepting it as mediation on that sense, and understood it as different from other animals have led to come out attributions that contradict to each other about hare. For that reason, the cultures which the hare takes place could be classified as two different groups which accept the hare holy/lucky and dirty, contaminating/inauspicious.

4. Universal Fact: the Hare in Different Cultures

Attitudes, attributions and evaluations related to the hare can be evaluated as a universal fact owing to being unlimited in a specific geography, religion, belief, culture and age. As much as becoming widespread of attitudes and beliefs about hare, as to remark another point is about the contradictions of these attitudes, characterization and beliefs with each other. While the hare is enshrined in some cultures, it is admitted as a dirty/contaminating animal in the others. Alevism faith figures in the second group in this classification.

4. a. Cultures That Enshrines the Hare

The cultures that enshrine hare have a wide area geographically. Red-Indian, Buddhist, Chinese, Turkish, Zarathustra, Hittite and ancient Britain cultures are some of those cultures that enshrine the hare and no ban to eat its meat.

The tribes speaking Algonquian language and Ojibwa Indians have admitted the hare as the most divine God (Lêvi-Strauss, 2013, p. 64-65). Various explanations have been propounded why they enshrined the hare so. Some of those; even if the hare was not essential, it was important as nourishment. The hare runs very fast and therefore, it is an example for red-Indians in terms of having such ability so on. However, any of those examples are not convincing. On the other hand, it would be more convincing to assert those claims; 1. The hare is one of more salient, important and bigger of gnawing animals' family, therefore, it has been chosen as the representative of gnawing animals' family. 2. All gnawing animals have an anatomic feature that is seen like the beginning of twinned because of, partially, being divided to two parts (Lêvi-Strauss, 2013, p. 65).

Buddhism is one of cultures/beliefs that enshrine the hare, too. The hare was a symbol related to Buddha or Buddhist gods in Buddhist mythology. In a Buddhist story, Buddha shaped like the hare has lived with a monkey, beaver and wildcat. Animals living with the Buddha have

taken on the task of bringing food because the hare Buddha has given information about morals. One day, the Buddha thinks of presenting his body as meal because of the sacrifice of his friends. For trying Buddha's decision, God Indra descends to the earth as a hungry Brahman. Other three animals bring food quickly and give the Brahman. As for the Hare Buddha, he roasts his meat and offer to the guest. Indra who is fond of situation takes his bones to the sky (Ruben 1947, p. 16; see Müller-Gaban, p. 64-87), (Çoruhlu, 1999, p. 183-184).

The hare is a substance in the shamanist Turkish communities such as, Altais and Yakuts. The hare is one of the assister souls of shaman (Çoruhlu, 1999, p. 183). Altais believed that the moon was in the 6th sky while the sun was in the 7th and they worshipped to the fullmoon. The sun was considered "mom" whereas the moon was "father" (İnan, 1976, p.29). Hence, the hare was considered a holy animal that belongs to the moon, and it must only be hunted in the 6th sky (Öznur ve Sadrazam, 2015, p. 7).

Eating the hare meat of Turks has clearly been understood from Orkhon inscriptions. On the south side of Tonyukuk inscription; the expression of "we were living by eating deer, hare" (Ergin, 1970, p. 37) shows that hare was an important nutritional source for Turks. There are some of legends regarding the hare were holy for Turkish society that has been forgotten today. For example, the hare is the symbol of the hunter, Satuq Bughra Khan, who was the first Muslim among Turks, converted to Islam because of hunting a hare that turned to an elder wise man. These stories begin from Persian geography to the Balkans. Another different source of beliefs related to hare bears trace of Manichaeism and Buddhism (Roux 1997, 65-76)"(Önal, 2013, p. 360-361).

As a result, it would be said that the beliefs of pre Islamic Turks regarding the hare was shaped under the effects of Buddhism. For it is not seen any negative idea or forbidding about the hare in central Asians and Siberians (Roux, 1991, p. 44).

In the literature, there is some information that contradicts with each other regarding the place of the hare in Zoroastrianism. For instance, in a source, it claims that the hare is holy in the religious texts of Zoroastrianism because the hare knows where water is, and it shows water to other animals by running. In doing so, other animals follow the hare and find water (Naskalı ve Altun, 2008, p. XIV). As for in another source, it has been stated that Zarathustra was the source of ban the hare meat; Zarathustra banned to be eaten the meat of the hares which are in menstruation periods. It is known that Alevis and Shiites have not eaten the hare, yet (Faik Bulut, 1997, p. 35). Contradictory determinations about the place of the hare in Zoroastrianism are valid for the place of the hare in the Hittites, too. In a source, while the hare is seen as totem in the Hittites and not eating its meat (Armutak, 2002, p. 419), it is eaten like beef or mutton in a different source. One of the most important points is always the looking of the hare and eagle together in archeological artifacts and descriptive god texts (Küsmesz, 2009, p. 28).

The hare is seen as holy in the ancient Britain (Armutak, 2002, p. 419). On conducted archaeological excavations, it was investigated that there was hare, too, among the animals that were consumed in the chalcolithic period and early Bronze Age (Küsmesz, 2009, p. 22).

4. b. Cultures That See the Hare as a Dirty/Contaminating Animal

In the groups of religions, beliefs and cultures that include Jews, Christians, Shiites Muslims, Alevi, Bektashi, Nusayris, negative attitudes related to the hare are common and its meat is not eaten.

It has been assumed that not eating the hare meat is Indo-European origin; however, it is possible to see that the tradition of both communities reach up to Moses' orders (Boyle, 2005, p. 336). In the Torah (Deuteronomy 14, p. 3), the ban related to the hare meat is clearly uttered as follows; do not eat any detestable thing... However, of those that chew the cud or

that have a divided hoof you may not eat the camel, the rabbit or the hyrax. Although they chew the cud, they do not have a divided hoof; they are ceremonially unclean for you. The pig is also unclean; although it has a divided hoof, it does not chew the cud. You are not to eat their meat or touch their carcasses (Old and New Testament, 2001, p. 198).

On the other hand, in the Bible, there is not any statement which bans to eat the hare meat like the Torah directly. Nevertheless, in the letter dated November 4, 751 of pope Zachariai, there was the hare, too, among the animals whose meat were unclean that the church announced (Boyle, 2005, p. 335).

It has been remarked that hares had significant roles in the religious ceremonies organized in the ancient Rome and not eaten their meats by the public (Armutak, 2002, p. 419). Moreover, in Britain, Wales and Ireland, the sources show to appear the prejudice about eating the hare meat until modern times (Boyle, 2005, p. 335).

As for Islam, there is not any verse that ban to be eaten the hare meat. However, Muslims have had two different views by being based on hadiths³⁵. While Shiites maintain not to be eaten because the hare meat is forbidden by religion, (www.ehlibeytalimleri.com), other Muslim groups (for instance, Shafii, Hanafi etc.) have not agreed with Shiites' views regarding this issue (Boyle, 2005, p. 336).

4. c. The Place of the Hare in Alevism Belief and the Ban of the Hare Meat

When the hare is discussed in Alevism, it has been known that Alevis do not eat the hare meat. It has been indicated in all sources regarding this matter and there is not any finding that has a different view about it. Alevis' not eating the hare meat has been remarked as one of their main features in sources (Çubukçu, 1982, p. 66; Yazıcı, 1996, p. 113). A person, who was not an Alevi, identified Alevis in Malatya in 1981 so; they believe in Allah, the holy book and Muhammad (peace be upon him). They respect Ali³⁶ so much, too. They have Dedes and care about their words. They do not eat the hare meat. They condemn their people, who are guilty or sinning, among themselves (Çubukçu, 1982, p. 66). According to these findings, not eating the hare meat is seen to be reflected as one of characteristics of Alevis.

One of findings which shows how the ban of the hare meat is a strong belief among Alevis is; even if when they have to engage in deception because of facing with some specific problems, it has been highlighted that they renounced deception when it was the matter of eating the hare meat (Yazıcı, 1996, p. 113).

When Alevis, Bektashis and Nusayris meet some non-Alevis, one of the main questions that they face with is that "do you eat the hare meat?" In the interviews that were performed with Nusayris, while the questions are determined, it was asked to them whether they ate the hare meat or not. For example, one of the questions that place in a study that; do you believe that the hare meat is forbidden by religion or is the hare meat eaten in your belief system? As for the received reply; "the hare meat is not eaten" (Erdem, 2010, p. 156-157).

It has generally been asked two questions to Alevis that "do you eat the hare meat?" and "why do not you eat the hare meat?" although they gave clear and certain answers the first question, they answered the second question differently. Its answers can be specified so;

1. Eating the hare meat is forbidden in other religions, too. That answer has been grounded by being referred to Moses so; "even he banned to eat the hare for Jews"
2. The opinions leaders of Alevis did not eat the hare meat, either.
3. The most known and repeated answer of this question is; the hare menstruates, so its meat is not eaten.
4. The meat of hare is not eaten because of being too much bloody

³⁵ the prophet Muhammad's sayings and deeds

³⁶ The fourth khalif in Islam, and accepted as a very important leader for Alevis

5. The hare does not have meat. It consists of cruor blood is forbidden to eat, and therefore, the hare that completely consists of blood is not eaten (Turan, 1992, p. 58; Yazıcı, 1996, p. 113).
6. The animals that do not chew the cud or not have a divided hoof are seen filthy. Hence, the hare is not eaten because of both not having a divided hoof and not chewing the cud (<http://w3.gazi.edu.tr>).
7. The hare is a very novel animal due to its biological/anatomic and physiological structure (<http://aleviliknedirmi.tr.gg/>) and it has resembled many animals. In this sense, in some sources and Alevism, some findings that clearly present that the hare is perceived as the sample of dichotomy that mediates are there;
 - a. The head of the hare resembles cat while its tail is similar to the pig, its ears look like donkey and feet resemble dog (Oytam, 1988, p. 275).
8. The hare meat is not eaten because there are some peculiarities in terms of its mating and birth styles (Oytam, 1988, p. 275). One of examples that grounds this answer is the claim that the hare mates with cat (<http://aleviliknedirmi.tr.gg/>).
9. The hare meat is not eaten because it was human before transforming into an animal. Caferis claims the hare to be one of anointed animals. It has been seen that the hare is a different living creature or carries the spirit of somebody in the public beliefs that were determined. Folk expressions regarding the hare have been related to rebirth and come into the world in a different form (Önal, 2013, p.343-366, Roux, 1991, p.44)

5. Conclusion

When the gained data as a result of literature review is analyzed, the characterizations, attitudes, beliefs and evaluations regarding the hare have not only been limited in a specific society, region, belief system, religion, culture or a term, on the contrary, it has been seen it is so common that can be evaluated as universal.

It has been understood through the anatomic and physiological features of the hare why it has been interesting for such large geography and perceived distinctly. From the point of view of hare's features, attitudes regarding it has been categorized as incompatible the two different groups. While the hare is enshrined in the first group, it is seen as a dirty/contaminating animal in the second group, p. In the first group, eating the hare meat is not forbidden whilst in another one, it is forbidden. Whereas the first source of the ban about the hare meat is Buddhism, second one is Torah. As seen in the example of Indians above, there are some attitudes that ban the hare meat, too, as well as Buddhism and Torah. However, the system of those beliefs makes these attitudes meaningful, otherwise, out of their systems; they do not have any meaning or substance. For, there should be a system that makes a man's products meaningful. Therefore, these attitudes have only had meanings with the relations that build the system that include them.

The Attitudes that the hare is common subject and in the cultural system that each one has meanings have been explained in terms of a common structure that emphasize the process type of human consciousness as structuralist approach has argued. According to the approach, human consciousness has processed based on dichotomy. The hare has been incompatible to the principle of dichotomy because of its appearance and has arisen as an example of mediation. Because of this characteristic, it has contradicted with the identity principle which is the principles of logic that are the principles of consistent and true thinking. According to the identity principle; "being self means being anything apart from being self". Namely, A is A. For example, man is man. However, the hare is seen as an animal which has the appearance to be perceived neither it nor another one but simultaneously, it is both it and another one. The hare is marginal by means of this characteristic, and has been the center subject of different perceptions and attitudes.

The aim of this notice is to understand and elucidate the ban of the hare in Alevism by using the notions of mediation, cultural interaction, dichotomy and the basic orientations of structuralist approach. The most important result of the notice is to point out that Alevis have approached to the ban of the hare through a broad and distinctive aspect, and they have enriched this understanding with different beliefs that they have produced. While the place of the hare has been shaped with the interaction of cultures, the hare understanding of Alevism has been seen to go beyond this interaction. The produced attitudes regarding the hare in Alevism have included both the ban of the hare in Torah and transformation feature of Buddhism. Moreover, some produced attitudes regarding the hare in Alevism have overlapped with American Indians that are impossible to interact with Alevis. For example, the hare is the combination of multi-animals. As to American Indians, from the point view of being cleft lips of the hares, they consider a hare as not only one hare but undivided twins. According to them, a hare is not pure a hare. Therefore, it is canny and not trustworthy. As for Alevis, the hare is unlucky and unreliable; therefore, it is an animal that should be avoided from its living and dead one. Another result of this study shows the possibility to confirm that structuralist approach has explained the idea of communities' mythos that is far away from geographically and culturally.

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Roles and Role Changes in Family within the Terms of Psycho-Social Effects

Neşide Yıldırım

1. Introduction

The family is defined as a most important social institution (Yıldırım, 2006) which is connected with the path marriage, blood and adoption, created by two or more individuals and established familial relationship with each other according to their roles (Eserpek, 1970, 65'ten, Malinowski, 1918, 65); the most powerful institution which is ruled by law and a social impact comes from out of biological merger and kinship ties, ensures the continuity of society, and instills the customs and traditions (Kurtkan Bilgiseven, 1982, 263); as old as humanity (Zimmerman, 1964, 262-263); despite initially with shaping the marriage contract, later sets with motifs such as possessiveness, jealousy, selfishness, property acquisition and limiting the individual will (Celkan, 1990, 362); fulfilled the functions of population renewal, adopting national culture, posting social heritage, socialization of children, biological and psychological satisfaction (Erkal, 1987, 380); within the human species produced in a certain format, first and effective place for the individuals' process of preparing for the society, sexual relations are organized in certain ways, among mother-father-child and other blood relatives, intimate, warm, reassuring relationship formed to a certain extent, within an economic activity group takes place consisting of according to the characteristics of the social order (Ozankaya, 1976, 233); transporting culture from generation to generation (Özgüven, 2001).

Family is a system that its functions and roles have been constantly changing, evolving, and restructured in the historical process. At the same time, it always interacts with the wider social systems. The family system consists of the forms of relationship between family members, power relations, family members' attitudes, feelings, values, and behaviors. It consists of two subsystems that are in interaction with each other: Socialization values and family interaction. Socialization values consists of dependence-independence, with the emphasis on the individual or the group, economic or psychological values of the child. Family interaction includes mother-father attitude and the development of the self occurs as a result of this (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1998).

Today, the institution of the family represents multi-dimensional structure such as single-parent families, divorced (fragmented) families, re-married families and different types that vary in some societies. There are various roles of family members such as parenting, marriage community and being a son or daughter. At the same time, the family is an institution that has fulfilled these roles and the members manage their own lives individually (Minuchin, 1988).

The concept of role in family relations has a value according to individuals and interpersonal status and their position. Status is a concept that expresses people's place in the community, determines who they are, and provides them certain rights and installs liabilities. Role is action, behavior and attitude expected from the person who occupy a social position (status). When Patterns of behavior that are associated with each other gathered in the framework of the social function the resulting composition is referred to as the social role (Fictor, 1996, 94). Social role is a kind of the person playing himself. There are several roles of the person according to the each status carried by him. Each role will have and makes sense according to the degree of its relationship with other roles. Roles consist of rights and duties, represent certain and mutual relations between individuals. Within the family, husband-wife and parent-child always possess the role of reciprocal rights and duties. Role emerges within the process of social interaction. The relationships of individuals with specific roles will vary according to status owned. Role-playing can be understood both people's fulfillment their duties expected

of them in the family or in a group and pass instead of other people, imitate other people's behaviors. Family members who have the responsibility to fulfill their roles in the family have to learn and do behaviors that are required by roles. For this, perhaps they may spend monitoring and review period for a while. After this stage, they start to apply the tasks and responsibilities that are required by their roles within the family.

2- Roles and Role Conflicts within the Family

Converting the roles within the family to communication and interaction means the fulfillment of individuals' expectations. In the interaction between husband and wife, it is expected that men and women should learn their roles and duties expected from them because of their roles within the family. For example, woman is both spouse and mother in the family. If a woman as wife or mother; doesn't decide on her own, but transferring all the problems to her husband, we like to think of this behavior regarding with her role expectations, or she decides in consultation with her husband in the family or we can interpret that she transfers the decision process to her husband. Man detects the behavior of his wife in the form of a commitment to himself as well as a woman/wife. In this approach, the husband's role is determined as a "decision maker" and he always thinks she should behave this way. In a word, the woman, as a mother or a wife avoids deciding alone in the face of challenges. Two reasons can be mentioned for this; firstly, the woman has to perform such a role because she is afraid from her husband; secondly, in consultation with her husband, she also wishes her husband to incorporate into the decision process, and abstains from taking the responsibility alone.

Adams (1974, 281) examined the attitudes of middle and lower class families on the children and had revealed that the middle and lower class families are more emotional, friendly and generating openness, compassion pointer toward their children and in general in a supportive way their self-esteem feelings. According to him, middle-class mothers want from their husbands to be supportive in the imposition of liability of their children (especially boys). Many middle-class fathers participate in this idea of their wives and enjoy acting in accordance with their wishes. On the contrary, lower class mothers want their husbands to be the administrator, the legislator of the rules and the router of their children's lives. But their husbands are often reluctant to play such a role. Because they consider their wives could do these roles themselves up. Nowadays, expectations of the role of society are detected in the form of the husband and the wife's decision together. However, this may not always occur. For example, the traditional family structure, especially in the countryside, the Turkish community mostly has given the role of decision-making to the man within the family or outside.

If husband and wife are satisfied with their roles they have, in other words, if they complied with the role around dependent-independent relationships it means there's complementarity role among them. Whether man/woman decides together or alone, unless there is a problem in this regard, it means that there is harmony between husband and wife. If the woman is transferring everything to her husband and if she is happy with that, despite the asymmetrical relationship that is not equal, this couple is able to act in ways that are compatible based on the similarity of the roles.

If husband and wife do not agree with the behaviors they have related to their roles, are not associated with roles, their relationships may be different. For example, if the husband waits his wife to transfer the problems to himself to decide about all the problems in the family, and if his wife refuses to transfer everything to her husband because she wants to share the role of decision-making, in this case, the role conflict will reveal. Despite the woman is ready to

transfer and also transfers issues; if her husband doesn't listen to her, doesn't take time to his wife, doesn't give value to his wife, or doesn't produce a solution, this means there is a role mismatch. However, "disagreement does not mean always lack of harmony" (Heiss, 1976). A person can assume many roles during the process of winning self-improvement and personality.

The shortcomings of harmony in the family sometimes may not come from the role of the person; the source of incompatibilities may be personality mismatch or a disorder. This condition is observed in the case of interacting with a superior character. When the harmony needs equal and unequal behavior at the same time, disputes arise concerning about roles appropriate behavior. Kâğıtçıbaşı (1990, 157) says "the socio - economic development, which includes the rise of the levels of urbanization and education, has democratized the hierarchical structure in the family, and the democratic family structure also supports social socio-economic development. According to her, on the one hand, the women who have received training can contribute to economic development by joining the workforce; on the other hand she can raise a child more successfully thanks to the confidence that gave her an equal status with her husband.

3. The Relationships of Roles with Learning and Its Effects

Since the role of parents in the family is held responsible for the family system, a logical process that will continue with the decision of children is starting in the family. As far as to adapt to the role of the child, to adapt to the role of parents also arise in the learning process. Being a parent is started with the unification of two people who are husband and wife. These roles carry different responsibilities. Role-playing for parents requires a specific authority to be used while gave way to the development of devotion. The preferred behaviors for parental roles are acquired through learning because they contribute to family interaction. Nevertheless, the first and perhaps most important role behavior can be achieved through observation and role-making. The shape of role defining should be effective in deciding the appropriate strategies related to family interaction; role identification or social roles will help to a large extent to social workers and other experts during the family problems.

In that case, children learn the behaviors that require being a parent within the framework of their own lives. Many of the behaviors exhibited by parents who interact with their children takes the shape of behaviors that will show themselves when the child becomes a parent. For example; there is a common opinion that the individuals who experience violence from their parents when they are child apply violence to their children after they become parents. In the same way, the positive qualities also will be transferred to the parenting role. The role of childhood will occur with the birth of the baby and most of early role behaviors develop instinctively and dependent on parents. However, the baby's behavior is shaped by the sensitivity and competence which his parents show about meeting his needs.

If appropriate physical and spiritual comfort is provided to the child by the parents, for example, if her belly is saturated when he's hungry, he will meet this with joy. The child's happiness will delight the parents and will reinforce more the behavior created by the role of parents. Thus, the role behaviors expected from parents and children is defined. The role of parent means to provide appropriate care for the child's happiness and satisfaction and would be met their spiritual needs. As the child grows, he will develop the role behaviors which contain experiences with adults and relationships with friends. For example, when he starts to school and takes charge of the role of the student, the information he has learned from other adults will allow him to be independent and to acquire new roles rather than his parents. The new roles he acquired will make it easier for him to adapt to the various stages of life.

Roles are achieved through observation and learning. One of the important roles that childhood requires is observations and experiences which is the primary tool of communication. Parents in the family and the teachers at the school must provide to facilitate learning the information commensurate with the developmental level of the child. In providing information, especially the teacher may use different methods; sometimes observing, sometimes experimental, sometimes reading, and sometimes practical methods. During learning, the teacher provides information for the child and gives support to the child to seek information. Thus, the task of taking his role will become progressively easier. This interaction taught the child how to behave as a student as well as how to reach that the knowledge under the supervision of the teacher. Children in fulfilling these tasks will exhibit his success and relationship with others.

4. The Role Changes for the Re-Participating Members to the Family

The changing roles of people give rise to a change in their movement and behavior, mental structures and psychology. As part of the role definition; dreams and emotions reflect the behaviors of the individual. The roles they have are evolving and changing depending on of the roles of others in (e.g., mother/father/child) that is, roles within the family develops while family members are editing each other's behavior. Role changes, both cause and result of the open behaviors between family members.

The participation of a new member to the family both requires the redefinition of existing roles and the identification of the role of the new member. Individually; it is necessary to be ready to open a place and to communicate with the new or attending members. Participants may be infants, children, the elderly, and own or adopted, new or returning. Here the role definition will be expanded or replaced for family or families. If both families are living in the same home, role definition adopted by family A should have the permission or the decision of the family B. Similarly; the roles and responsibilities of the members of the participating children should be appropriated according to his needs and age not only by adults but also taking the decision of the other children of the family too. In the expanded system, role change or new roles can be developed by satisfying family members and preventing the inappropriate tension of role concepts (Janzen & Harris, 1986).

The difficulty of new participation varies depending on the position of the individual. Jackson (1956) examined in detail the difficulties when alcoholics enter into the family system again after losing their participation in the family, their positions and their dignity. Mc Cubin, Dahl, Lester, Benson and Robertson (1976) pointed out that the families of prisoners of war made service, compliance and role expectations easy for returning members who continued to carry the hope to return back and knows clearly what the role of being a father and a husband is.

The people who have re-married (second/third marriage) are another example of the proliferation of human family members. When two-generation families coupled, this does not mean joining of a member to the family; on the contrary it means two families are living together. Initially, each member will hear the sadness of a lost relationship and remain separate from them to be involved in successful new relationships. Two adults in the family, remains separate from the old spouses and establishing their relationship as new spouses and a family, and reflect their own status to their new families, and their new spouses. The size of the departure and the solidarity between them depends on the skills in bonding with each other and each other's children (Duberman, 1975).

There are two points about role relationships: one; changes in role relationships that occurring in different family systems which affects different sub-system of the family, both the relations in the family and intergenerational relations. It affects both hierarchical and intergenerational

relations between parents and children and separately parent sub-system and child sub-system. The second point is the communication process that changes their role relationship. If the family has effective ability and skill to communicate; new changes in the family structure can be successful in spite of tension and chaos. If there is no ability of successful communication, the new role relationships are not clearly defined and may be problematic (Janzen & Harris, 1986).

5. The Loss of a Member, Breakups, Divorces, and Role Changes

Family members are also affected by the loss of one of the family members, in the presence of temporary breakups or divorces. When reduced into individuals; elements of sadness and loss as well as emotional results outcomes. In general, it is believed that the remaining members would fill in the remaining gap from the outgoing member in a manner. But at the same time, the degree order of the role is set according to the position and status of the outgoing members. For example, fathers in the traditional family structure want their elder daughters to take the responsibility of the house when their mother got sick. Mothers believe that their adult sons could do the job being a father of the house in the family life. The child's absence will lead to different feelings and effects for parents. The lack of parents may be affected the child's sense of responsibility in different ways. In the absence of the father, child's sense of responsibility is more according to the absence of the mother. Here, the gender difference shows itself so, man's protectionism and ownership role stands out and it is stated that the responsibility of male children is higher than girls (Yıldırım, 2007).

If the child does not carry a significant responsibility for the family, the child's departure from home may not cause problems generally. Rosenberg (1975) examined about the situation how a girl's, who provides peace between mother and father, leaving home for boarding school created problem by the family.

None of the new habits can easily develop. The remaining family members may be lack of the necessary skills for the roles or reluctant to take on new responsibility. In the separation of various types, it is possible to live for the sorrow of those left behind because there is a missing element. If the results of losses happen in cases of death or a long separation, the size of sadness increased. The challenges of adjusting which develops after departure of a family member may continue. Family members can be set their individual reactions in the form of re-acclimation to loss or break-ups. Survivors are forced to mourn not only the departure of family members but also the family orders they had earlier (Fulmer, 1983).

Diseases that require treatment for a long time in the institution is a kind of departure. The family is faced with the contradiction between the patient's previous (healthy) and diseased state even before going to bed in the hospital. Family members they may not be prepared for this and when their emotional needs are not met, they will be disappointed. This reaction can be seen in every individual of the family as the spouses and children as well as close relatives. If wife/husband has an incurable disease; this can lead to a change which could influence all family relationships and a deterioration of the characteristic family balance among the patient and with his/her wife/husband or relatives and patient (Deykin et al., 1971).

Because of the long-term gap, role changes are also observed among family members in the countries where military service is compulsory. The effects of this is different in rural and urban life.

The role change, in case of divorce, is to leave almost all financial and moral duties and responsibilities shared in the period when couples were living together to a single person (male/female). If there are children in divorced families; child care, education, upbringing is

largely the parent that holds custody. The person in the role of the mother/father is forced to fulfill the duties and responsibilities of the other parent that is missing.

6. Moral Disorder, Moral Deviation and Role Changes.

During the problems related to such as moral disorder (dismissal, a change of business or venue, bankruptcy, becoming disabled, suicide, incarceration, etc.) and moral deviation (betrayal, infidelity, prostitution, fraud/con, deception, etc.), role and task adaptation is also required such as the same position the involvement or the departure of family members. The important point of the role re-distribution is the need shown in the change of the performance of the duties and responsibilities in the family due to moral disorder or moral deviation. If one of the family members is an alcoholic and he/she fails to fulfill role expectations and his/her failure to take responsibility for the family, cause them to experience feelings such as frustration, condemnation, self-doubt, feel abandoned and loss and so role-taking in the family is influenced. As a result of failure to fulfill adequately the duties of such a person, the other members of the family are forced to undertake his/her duties.

To give an example of the family of a suicide reaction, it is possible to see the intensity of different emotions and how it brought the conflict with it. Hajal (1977) revealed how a ten-year-old girl performs the role of the father after his suicide and wants to maintain the presence in the family. Her constant denial disrupts the association with her mother who is aware of the loss and living in tension, and affects the lives of herself and her family. The girl's unique solution is not effective in the family.

When the intensity of emotion is experienced because of the deviation and moral disorder problems, many factors are involved. One of them is fear; that is, the fear such as to prevent the survival and physical vitality of the family that will lead to lack of support or the fear of someone from adults going to jail. The problem may have a major impact on the values of the family or society. Illegitimate relationships can be given as an example. Such relationships mean a violation of the rules of society and the family and fiercely contested. Because breaking the rules means to disregard for the family or the society that make the rules. It is believed that such a problem undermines the credibility of the family or members individually in the society in the form of (Janzen & Harris, 1986).

7. New Roles, Status Changes, and Children Deprived In Education

The changes around here is caused by domestic conditions such as a new country, city or neighborhood, changes in the professional field, the changing role of women in the world, rather than the external environment. The increase or decrease of members does not constitute a problem. Family is not obliged to meet diversity or innovation. Upward (vertically) mobility is more effective rather than downward mobility; but in either case, changing circumstances requires the renewal of his family and him and take on new roles on the name of to regulate changing status (Janzen & Harris, 1986).

When the impact of the new settlement on children and young people examined, it is important to mention that it has created serious problems in their development. The effort to adapt to the newly settled in place have been added to the problems of the child's adolescence. For example, the teenager is confronted with prejudice and exclusion in the cities where he is devoid of the social support network in the village, given the struggle for survival, adapt to the new cultural environment and different urban environments that are

experiencing problems. The value system in the house collides with the life on the streets. As a result of this, some negative effects can lead to such as behavioral problems, violence, depression and school failure. If these drawbacks continues for a long period, they become the young people who are increasingly starting to develop hostile feelings, insecure against their relatives and the world, living with a sense of constant threat and alienated to the social environment. These Pushed and digested youth, affected by poverty, may create major problems especially in big cities. For example, we can indicate that some incidents such as mugging and purse snatching which are discussed too much in the media some period before in Turkey, are due to economic inefficiencies and harmony. Especially some parents who want to continue their rural habits in the city, want their children to peddle on the streets and try to provide the family's livelihood. However, the street is cruel; street children, being away from education, may become ready to all kinds of abuse, kidnapping, and murder, injury, and crime strain, physical and psychological disorders of development, substance abuse and violence. The solution of educational problems of children largely depends on the solution of economic problems and social cohesion of the family. Because the role of the child and expectations from the children in the rural family varies according to the structure of the family that lived in the city¹. In the countryside, children who are used to working on tasks with economic value have been forced to work for the same purpose but in different jobs in the new environment they immigrate. Because father's low income creates the need for the child to get a job and help to raise the family income as soon as possible (Kurtkan Bilgiseven, 1982, 314). In rural areas, schools and education is often in the second place. If an educational tradition has not occurred at the places where they newly settled, children have difficulty in understanding the importance of the education. Incompatibility, poverty, deprivation and educational failure also moves away children from education.

Family members, as they occupy the most appropriate place for themselves in the social structure, acquire a social environment with their honor, respected personalities and different contacts within the community. For example, all family members may move to establish new communications like when they move into a new neighborhood. Because they separated from the old neighborhood or the district and entered into a new environment. In this environment, they may experience fear to a certain stage until thoroughly met the environment. If the place they moved in is far away from the old place, this situation separates all family members from their old friends and social environment; they may experience loneliness until they make new friendships, new bonds, relationships and communication. Also the individual's getting away from the family or the environment and gaining new status by showing success in education can lead to make new friends with different people. This situation may reflect different to each member while family members' are at the acclimation stage to their new social environment. While some of the family members having the sadness of losing their old relationship for a long time, some of them can be more easily adapted to the new situation. Especially the adaptation process can be problematic for the school-aged adolescent boys.

8. The Role Changes as a Result of Migration and Domestic Violence

There are various theories such as social exclusion (isolation), cultural shock and cultural change that explain the impact of the experience of migration on the health and psychology of the individual. According to this theory, migration means not only individuals physical departure but also the separation from a series of rights, rules, and patterns of social interaction which he is used to. The person's remaining separate from usual environment may cause him to experience feelings such as loneliness, alienation and devaluing himself (Kuo, 1976; Akt: Doğan 1988). Binder (1978) suggest that individuals have been restricted in terms

of communication and interaction in the society that migrated in, and therefore they get stressed while fulfilling their social role (Akt: Esentürk-Ercan 1998). Stress may also directly or indirectly lead to the deterioration of the state of his mental health.

Cultural differences lead to compliance difficulties in individual's life. If their culture is similar to the new environment that was entered into; they will be faced with less compliance problems, if not, they will be faced with more compliance issues (Garcia 1985; Akt: Esentürk-Ercan 1998). This view advocates that the shock is larger after migration so mental illness will decrease as long as they are accustomed to the culture of the society they came in (Kuo 1976; akt: Doğan, 1988). This view suggests that the person's separation from family and culture plays the role in the formation of health problems of immigrants rather than displacement factors. According to Fresse (1977), the migrants who come from rural areas are experiencing more cultural shock than immigrants from the cities (akt: Esentürk-Ercan 1998). Considering the psychological size of migration, family came under more pressure of the community whose cultural and traditional ties in a defense mechanism developed for the stranger environment. One of the most important drawbacks is the increase of domestic violence. Any action, that an individual within the family applies to another person in the family, such as threat, containing coercion or control and causes him suffering from physical, sexual, economic or psychological damage, is defined as domestic violence (The Prime Minister General Directorate on the Status of Women-BK SGM, n.d.).

Violence is a behavior that is learned through imitation. The possibility of application of violence of the people who are exposed to violence before is increasing. Parents that they have been exposed to violence in their childhood can lead to violence to their own children (WHO, 2006). Violence is all of the actions, done by individually or collectively, that caused damage to people physically and mentally, injury and remain crippled. Domestic violence is refers to the status of the realization of such a movement within the family. The most common form of domestic violence is violence husband uses against to his wife and parents use against to their children (Yıldırım, 2005).

Discussion/Conclusion

The institution of family begins with the relationships pre-established marriage; ends with old age and death. There are some roles and responsibilities that family members must fulfill at every stage of this process, and these affects the happiness of both individual and family system. While the role of the family in society has being changing, the role of the family in daily life is changing too. These roles may vary in each family or may be different in the same family according to changing needs. Roles and tasks varies because of the mandatory relations within the family or from outside. These changes may bring problems. The family can resolve these problems with their own efforts and success or with the professional support you can resolve with. In either case, it is expected for the family to adapt to change the role and mission.

If roles and tasks are openly and regularly being determined and discussed, no one gets hurt emotionally. For example, today in Turkey, in the minds of married couples, the roles and responsibilities of men and women are perceived as different and different expectations are been deducted in relation to these roles and responsibilities. In case expectations are not met when emotions such as frustration and anger arise who suffer the most are children and women. Especially the children, they are in such a vulnerable state that when parents' anger look for a way out, kids inevitably creates the target. There are different expectations in the minds of both parents and children about the roles and responsibilities relating to children within the family. For example, in the traditional Turkish family structure, still, big brothers

and sisters are obliged to protect their little brothers or sisters; little brothers or sisters are obliged to obey their big brothers and sisters. The reflection of this kind of obligation in the present-day is mutual respect and love.

Individuals must be healthy personally before taking their wife-husband or parenting role. Otherwise, they will constantly seek existing problems other than their own. Roles and tasks within the family and the changes about the roles and tasks with the changes coming from outside or inside inevitably will bring new effects, interactions and problems. Family members who have the responsibility of fulfilling their respective roles have to learn and perform the behaviors and roles that are required by them. Otherwise, problems in the family inevitably exist.

As a result, in the families who are not aware of or comprehend their roles and responsibilities, who can't fulfill them in a good way and composed of individuals who do not use open communication language, negative situations such as dissolution, degradation, dispersion, divorce, infidelity and cheating, escaping or moving away from home, domestic violence, and drift into crime/delinquency, etc. are increasing.

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¹ Kagıtcıbaşı (2010) refers to three different values given to a child in the family. These are; utilitarian/economic, psychological, and social values. The families that have utilitarian value, value their male children to secure their old age period. In the families that have psychological value, the pleasure and happiness get from the children is important. The families that have social value returns the value more to male children because the important thing for them is the continuity of the family name (surname).

The Concept of Decision in Nietzsche's Theory of Drives

İbrahim Eylem Doğan

Introduction

The subject of this paper is the significance of the concept of decision and the decisional process in Nietzsche's theory of drives. Although Nietzsche acknowledges that humans' decisions result from the configuration of their drives, debates on this subject do not specifically address the mathematics of the decision process with reference to Nietzsche's so-called "new psychology." In order to analyse this specific issue, I will firstly focus on the nature, historicity, and hereditary transmission of the drives with special attention to the notion of "spiritual *fatum*." This analysis will be followed by the discussion on the functions of both education and breeding in the formation of human drives. Based on Nietzsche's evaluations especially in *The Gay Science* and *Beyond Good and Evil*, I will then discuss how Nietzsche regards the communication between the reason and the drives in relation with the twofold function of the reason in human thinking and in decisional process. On the basis of these inquiries, I will finally try to reveal a general structure of the human decisions by establishing its connection to Nietzsche's theory of drives.

The nature of the drives

In *Beyond Good and Evil*, based on the assumption that our world of desires and passions is the only thing "given" as real, Nietzsche states that it is not possible to get down or up to any "reality" except the reality of our drives. He grounds this argument upon his conception of "thinking" as being nothing but the relations between these drives (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §36). This essential view on the nature of human thinking reveals that the analysis of the concept of decision entails, above all, an inquiry about the attributes of the drives.

Nietzsche regards the drives as being distinct unconscious instances that are theoretically apt to undergo qualitative changes: an inherited drive can learn to cower and submit, and also to keep itself clean or sharp (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §189). These are not some changes happening spontaneously or *causa sui*; on the contrary, they result from all types of relations that the human has with the external world, including breeding [*Züchtung*], education [*Erziehung*], and also the relations that a particular drive has with other drives. Hence, Nietzsche considers a human as a war of drives. Each single drive wants to dominate and to play the master "by its nature." In this way, the mutual relations between the drives are dynamic and violent. These relations determine the individual's configuration of the drives where his/her decisions at different levels originate.

The formation of the drives

In order to clarify the roles of heredity and breeding in the configuration of the drives, we shall take a closer look at paragraph §200 of *Beyond Good and Evil* (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §200) where Nietzsche examines the particular case of man of late cultures having the legacy of multiple lineages in his body, which means man inherits conflicting drives and value standards. There, he states that this man would typically be a weaker person whose fundamental desire would be nothing but ending "the war that he is." He will consider happiness as that of rest, lack of disturbance, repletion, and unity at last. However, it could also be otherwise:

– But if conflict and war affect such a nature as one more stimulus and goad to life –, and if genuine proficiency and finesse in waging war with himself (which is to say: the ability to control and outwit himself) are inherited and cultivated along with his most powerful and irreconcilable drives, then what emerge are those amazing, incomprehensible, and unthinkable ones, those human riddles destined for victory and for seduction; [...](Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §200)

So, we are faced with two types of man, the weaker man and the man destined to victory. They both result from the same causes (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §200). There exist two conditions in order that the man in question is not a weaker man but a man destined to victory. Firstly, the conflicting drives should affect the man in a certain way, namely as one more stimulus and goad to life. Secondly, this man should be capable to control and outwit himself. As stated above, heredity and breeding have an essential role in the achievement of the second condition. It is by means of the proficiency acquired by inheritance and through breeding that one can compel the drives to cower, submit, keep itself clean or sharp, which means that he could control and outwit himself. As for the fulfillment of the first condition, Nietzsche does not provide any details in this passage. In other words, he does not give an answer to the question on “how to explain the fact that the conflicting drives affect different men in various ways?” The reason might be that he does not want to speculate on the logics behind those determinations. Nevertheless, the notion of “spiritual *fatum*” (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §231) in *Beyond Good and Evil* may help us to grasp Nietzsche’s point of view in this matter, which in turn, may lead us to the formulation of a legitimate answer to the aforementioned question.

The spiritual *fatum* and heredity

Nietzsche resorts to the notion of “spiritual *fatum*” when he wants to describe something firmly established in the human mind whose structure and logic are obscure to us: “Learning transforms us [...] But at our foundation, ‘at the very bottom,’ there is clearly something that will not learn, a brick wall of spiritual *fatum*, of predetermined decisions [*Entscheidung*] and answers to selected, predetermined questions” (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §231). The intervention of that notion is certainly not an affirmation of a religious or mystical view. There is no doubt that such a view is out of Nietzsche’s context. So, what does incite Nietzsche to make use of such a term? It is possible to answer this question with reference to certain attributes that could be associated with the notion of *fatum*. The choice of that term firstly confirms that Nietzsche presupposes a core immutable of character in the individual; secondly, this core can be neither explained nor described in a comprehensive manner. In accordance with Nietzsche’s affirmations, it follows that this brick wall of spiritual *fatum* constitutes a first level of decisions; more precisely, it is a level composed of pre-decisions, which is the most solid but also the most obscure one in terms of its functioning. However, given that the knowledge is not able to transform us effectively enough as long as it does not get instinctive, one can argue that Nietzsche considers the spiritual *fatum* as something delimiting the spiritual transformation of the individual – in the sense that it constitutes the level where the limits for the incorporation of newly acquired knowledge and consequently those of the potential for internalisation of values are determined.

However, using the expression of “immutable core of character” in order to describe Nietzsche’s concept of spiritual *fatum* includes a considerable risk, because it might appeal to another philosophical term which would definitely be problematic within Nietzschean context, that of “innate idea.” Thus, it is convenient here to avoid any confusion.

First of all, we need to underline that Nietzsche uses the concept of *Entscheidung* (which is generally translated to English as “decision”) and not that of idea when he describes the ingredients of “the wall of spiritual *fatum*.” If Nietzsche’s emphasis on the historicity is taken into consideration, it is convenient to claim that the decisions presupposed by Nietzsche are “formed” in the course of history. Therefore it is a question of historical formation of decisions and not that of “given” or spontaneous ideas. On the other hand, due to the fact that each individual is with and within the history, the ego of each individual is also part of the history which is in the course of becoming. Hence, we all are a limited segment or branch within the limitless becoming of the history; and the historicity of our decisions goes beyond the history of this limited segment. While one particular individual is taken into account, the decisions forming his spiritual *fatum* may remain immutable in the course of the limited time he lives. This does not signify that the decisions in question are identical for all individuals in history. However, it signifies something else: it is highly probable that the decisions predetermined of the individual, in other words, his spiritual *fatum* can not be reformed even through breeding. This presupposition conducts us to evaluate the breeding in a broad perspective; that is to say as a process which is supposed to exceed generations. Even if it might not be possible to interfere with an individuals’ spiritual *fatum* through breeding, it will still be the primary factor on the emergence of a certain type of man. The reason is that the breeding of a generation which aims for the incorporation of certain values into that generation means at the same time the preparation of a certain inheritance for the succeeding generations. This indicates that the breeding of a generation will eventually have an influence on the spiritual *fatum* of humans – if not in that generation then in the succeeding ones.

In consideration of our above evaluation regarding the logics of the breeding, Nietzsche’s following statement about the transmission of qualities between generations makes us consider the spiritual *fatum* as a part of the heredity that is impossible to escape from:

What a man’s forefathers liked doing the most, and the most often cannot be wiped from his soul [...] It is utterly impossible that a person might fail to have the qualities and propensities of his elders and ancestors in his body: however much appearances might speak against it. This is problem of race. If you know anything about your ancestors, you can draw conclusions about the child (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §264).

It follows that Nietzsche tends to conceive the spiritual *fatum* almost as an inherited substratum, a consequence of the intergenerational or transgenerational transmission, which is impossible to influence through education and even through breeding. The metaphors that Nietzsche uses in *The Gay Science* in order to describe humans may further enlighten us on the idea of spiritual *fatum* and its relation to the knowledge. Nietzsche expresses that all men conceal in themselves hidden gardens and plantations, that they are all growing volcanoes approaching their hour of eruption and nobody knows how near or distant this hour is (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §9). Furthermore, while he speaks of the extraordinary men, he often underlines the transgenerational transmission of forces and drives interpreted as a kind of atavism of people and their mores (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §10).

An answer can now be formulated to the question we asked at the end of the previous section, namely, “how to explain the fact that the conflicting drives affect different men in various ways?” Based on our recent interpretations, we could presuppose that the spiritual *fatum* that contains the pre-decisions, also designates a certain spiritual structure whose characteristics are impenetrable to us. On the other hand, this spiritual structure constitutes the battlefield for the drives; and consequently, it has a decisive influence in that battle. The fact remains that, presupposing a spiritual structure distinct from the unconscious instances and their communication is possible in the logical level only. These two should be considered as two entities intertwined, having reciprocal relations in between them. Thus, our evaluation is

an interpretative exercise based on Nietzschean descriptions in order to draw the functioning of the drives.

Education and breeding

Although we have underlined the preeminence of the heredity in the “world of drives,” one should avoid presuming its “absolute autocracy” in the determination of the relations between the drives. Heredity has an influence of diverse degrees at the different levels of the battle of drives. Nietzsche does not underestimate the environmental and social factors in the “formation of the character” and especially the role of breeding. Even though he severely criticises the status of education, he does not deny its influence on the organisation of the drives. Indeed, what he criticises is nothing but its influence itself.

When compared to heredity, the education can only have a limited influence on the drives. In addition to that, this influence is superficial according to Nietzsche, because with the help of the best education and formation one can do nothing but deceive his inherited values (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §264). The objective of education is to further strengthen a certain manner of thinking and behaving (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §21) that has already become habit or even a drive in the individual. It aims reinforcing the unconscious instances that are against the individual’s ultimate advantage but for the common good. In this way, it aims to make human more “common” (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §21). That is the reason why education praises certain virtues. Through the instrumental nature of the virtues it praises at the same time the drives that deprives a human from his most noble egoism and his highest force of self-protection. Consequently, it excites the drives that are personally harmful (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §21) and it eradicates the drives of the individual that are considered egoist. As Nietzsche states, “every ordered society puts the passions to sleep” (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §4) and the education is the most efficient tool of it.

Nietzsche opposes the notion of breeding against that of education whose rationality requires the paralysis of the “noble” drives of the individual. As it would be understood from the expression of “noble drive,” Nietzsche is not neutral towards the valuation of the drives. Accordingly, it can be argued that Nietzschean discourse on the drives has two dimensions that could be named as “descriptive” and “prescriptive.” The identification of the attributes and characteristics of the drives constitutes the descriptive dimension. This gives important clues about the internal structure of the unconscious and the communication’s logics of all unconscious instances. On the other hand, Nietzsche gives prescriptions about the principles that “should” be decisive in the determination of the value hierarchy of the drives. In this respect, breeding indicates a long process of cultivation of the drives that correspond to the appropriate hierarchy of values. In order to achieve this goal, breeding attempts to incorporate the necessary knowledge into the individual and make it instinctive (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §11).

The hierarchical structure of human spirit and the status of the reason

Once human is defined as “war of drives,” the expression of the configuration of the drives evokes the notion of hierarchy. The organisation of the drives is a hierarchical one. There are one or more drives that dominate, and consequently there are drives that are subjugated. This hierarchical structure manifests not only in the organisation of the drives but also in the relation between the drives, the reason, and the conscience: “Our strongest drives, the tyrants in us, subjugate not only our reason but our conscience as well” (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §158). What does exactly signify the subjugation of the reason to the drives in general? In

order to clarify this issue, we first need to examine the two different roles of the reason in the whole process of thinking.

In *Twilight of the Idols*, Nietzsche exposes a psychological explanation of the causality problem (Nietzsche, 1888/2005, P. 179, ff.). He argues that the causal drive is initially conditioned by the feeling of fear. So, the error of causality originates from a first instinct that is to abolish the “unknown” which evokes the feelings of fear and anxiety. In order to eliminate those feelings men wish to extract something familiar from the unknown. Hence, such a state of feeling provides the causal drive with necessary conditions for dominating the whole process of thinking. This state pushes the causal drive to establish causal relations between phenomena.

However, according to Nietzsche, the duality of cause-effect is non-existent since we are faced to a continuum (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §112). What we call cause and effect are “some” isolated elements of this continuum. Thus, they reflect an incomplete, fragmentary, and arbitrary aspect of the reality. Therefore, to distinguish the cause and effect means to ignore the continuum. Nonetheless, we are in a way compelled to “use” the causality at least for describing the phenomena or for providing comprehensible interpretations of the reality that are necessary for us to survive – even if it is a certain fact that the causal interpretations do not reflect the reality as it is. The reason is that human intellect is not capable to comprehend the complexity and the historicity of the relations within the flux of becoming: “An intellect that saw cause and effect as continuum, not, as we do, as arbitrary division and dismemberment – that saw the stream of the event – would reject the concept of cause and effect and deny all determinedness” (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §112). Hence, one needs to distinguish the causality as an interpretative instrument and as an ontological principal – since causality is not a principal for the ontology of becoming. It is nothing but an instrument that performs an operation of simplification. By means of this instrument, human reduces the “becoming” world into a much simpler one, specifically, into a world of “beings.” Through doing that, he renders the world more comprehensible for himself, therefore becomes less fearful and less anxious. It follows that a specific combination in the organisation of the drives, which is determined by the domination of the causal drive, incites the reason to construct the causality as a fictive reality. This demonstrates that the reason functions as an instrument of deliberation in the direction determined by the state of the drives.

In addition to this role, the reason has the potential to influence the organisation of the drives by trying to counterbalance the drives dominating too violently and covetously by means of other drives (Nietzsche, 1882/2001, §21). This implies that Nietzsche presumes a certain type of communication between reason and drives, by means of which the reason is capable to excite the drives to a certain extent. So, this ability of communication ensures the reason to play its regulator role in the war of drives. This might clarify us on what a “reasonable” decision signifies; it indicates the intervention of reason as stimulator of the dominated drives against the dominating ones. In this context, a reasonable decision is not a decision originally determined by reason, because, like all decisions a reasonable decision too arises from a certain configuration of the drives. However, in that case, the reason intervenes the decisional process in a very efficient manner so that it can modify this configuration by stimulating one or several drives. This role of the reason differs from that of instrument of deliberation resulted from a particular configuration of drives. Yet, Nietzsche affirms the accidental status of reason in both cases. It is not a question of antagonism between reason and drives but rather of a hierarchical difference regarding their function. This difference reveals that the drives direct the activities of the reason; that the reason has a secondary role in the whole process of thinking. This shows why Nietzsche formulates the human and the human thinking as war of drives and not as war between reason and drives.

The decision in Nietzschean sense

The mastery of the unconscious instances in the whole process of thinking is underlined in a clearer and stronger way in *Beyond Good and Evil* (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §3) where Nietzsche argues that the greatest part of conscious thought is secretly directed and forced into determinate channels by the instincts. Therefore, he suggests that the greatest part of the conscious thought should be attributed to instinctive activity. He further claims that “[e]ven behind all logic and its autocratic posturings stand valuations or, stated more clearly, physiological requirements for the preservation of a particular type of life” (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §3). It follows that Nietzsche supposes the mastery of unconscious instances not only behind the valuations or spontaneous choices but also behind the logic that determines the algorithm of the valuations and so-called “deliberative” choices. Accordingly, choosing to make a deliberation in order to take a decision is something instinctive; similarly, acting rationally is a choice determined by the drives. This also implies that, within Nietzschean context, each particular decision refers to a plurality of decisions of different levels. That is to say, particular decisions are subordinated to more inclusive decisions as being general intentions. The following passage of *Beyond Good and Evil* that is based upon the connection between sensations, values and decision distinctly explains this mechanism:

What a group of sensations in a soul will be the first to wake up, start speaking, and making demands is decisive [*entscheidet*] for the whole rank order of its values, and will ultimately determine its table of goods. A person’s valuations reveal something about the structure of his soul and what the soul sees as its conditions of life, its genuine needs (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §268).

The following passage from the same work constitutes another example for such a usage of the verb “to decide” [*entscheiden*]:

It is not works, it is faith that is decisive [*entscheidet*] here, faith that establishes rank order (this old, religious formula now acquires a new and deeper meaning): some fundamental certainty that a noble soul has about itself, something that cannot be looked for, cannot be found, and perhaps cannot be lost either (Nietzsche, 1886/2002, §278).

As a result, Nietzsche considers the value judgments which direct the decisions as being themselves decisions too. While we take into consideration the enlargement of the sense of that notion, it follows that each particular decision which is bounded by a value judgment is in fact a stratified decision; or i.e., each particular decision is nothing but the final element of a sequence of decisions. In most of the cases, we are only conscious of the final element of this sequence.

Conclusion

Nietzsche’s direct and indirect evaluations on the psychology of decision demonstrate that analysing a particular decision is to perform an archeological study. This argument has two meanings. First of all, the historicity of a single decision goes beyond that of the individual who decide. This means that one should go beyond the individual and dig further in order to unveil as much as possible the historical formation of the decision. Secondly, each single decision indicates a plurality of decisions in different levels; in other words, each single decision is a stratified decision. Consequently, analysing the formation of a single decision signifies the identification and unveiling of a long chain of decisions. Yet, such an analysis will certainly be not more than an approximation realised by means of the simplification of

becoming, because human intellect is not yet capable of comprehending the world in the course of becoming without simplifying it.

The historicity of a particular decision which goes beyond that of the individual who is supposed to decide, the idea of spiritual *fatum*, and its strong relation to heredity demonstrate that in Nietzsche's view, human decisions are impersonal. So, an answer to the question "do we really make decisions?" would not be positive in a Nietzschean context. However an answer to the question "can we make decisions?" is not that straightforward and requires an analysis of the prescriptive dimension in Nietzsche's discourse.

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Olive Cultivation in Ayvalık in the Early Republic Period

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Introduction

The developing growing economic relations with the industrial revolution created new cities. There is such a beginning in the emergence of Ayvalık in the modern sense. Olive cultivation and olive oil production has been the absolute determinant of each term both in terms of socio-cultural development and economic indicators. Therefore, to understand the role of the olive which is an industrial product in Ayvalık, one needs to look back to the pre-republic periods.

Ayvalık³⁷, whose foundation goes back to the Greek colonies went under the domination of Seljuk Empire after the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods and at the beginning of 14th century it was under the sovereignty of Karesi Seignior and later Ottoman Empire (Çobancaoğlu & Büken Cantimur, 2007, p. 206).

The area around the Ayvalık, upon entry to the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand was begun to be controlled from Istanbul through the manorial system, on the other hand, it began to gain importance in international trade. With the growing of capitalism in Europe in 17th and 18th centuries and emergence of new forms of foreign trade, before Ayvalık, the city of Izmir developed rapidly and had become the most important export centre of Anatolia. The developments also affected the agriculture sector, too. In order to solve the problem of agriculture labour, the poor Greek population of the Aegean islands and mora was brought here (Tekeli, 1992, p.78-79). The percentage of the Greek population placed around Izmir and the Harbor increased gradually against the local population. This increase was not only limited to İzmir, but spread to other centres like Ayvalık, Çeşme and Alaçatı in which commercial activities were intensifying (Tekeli, 1992, p. 82).

Beginning from the second period of the 18th century, Ayvalık obtained an exclusive position amongst the other cities that were ruled by the Ottoman as a result of concessions obtained by the Greek bourgeoisie in Istanbul (Tekeli ve İlkin, 1993, p. 32). Ayvalık has also developed as the cultural and intellectual as a result of developments in commercial life. Ayvalık was referred to as the Boston of the East with its wealth, academy, libraries, and life standards (Doğan, 2007, p. 27). The city was severely damaged in the Greek uprising that occurred on June 3 1821. People departed from Ayvalık with the Treaty of Edirne of 1829 and the end of the Greek revolt rapidly began to return by the impact of government support like tax reductions (Arıkan, 2011, p. 162).

The administrative arrangements after the riot and tax reductions for international trading and providing of different ways for trading that came with trading agreements between Ottoman Empire and European countries in 1838 and 1856 had a positive effect on the economic structure of Ayvalık. While being a settlement that functions as a basic storage place at the end of 18th century, following a great development in 19th century, it turned into a commercial and industrial city (Cantimur, 2011, p. 144).

West Anatolia in general, especially Ayvalık could not succeed to produce good quality cooking oil or oil used for industrial purposes until the 1880s even though it was very

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³⁷There is a lot of different information on the foundation of Ayvalık. According to the Greek Nakracas, Greeks of Ayvalık are not the descendants of the Antic Ionians, but immigrants that came to work from the islands and Greek mainland. Again, in Greek history sources, the region where Ayvalık is in was called "Eolya" (Turan, 2008, p.4.).

convenient for olive cultivation and despite the development of the extractive industry workshop-type oil. The most obvious proof of this was exportation of olives to France and Italy but in return importing of olive oil from Europe to West Anatolia (Kurmuş, 2008, p. 192-193).

In the development of the oil industry in Ayvalık and the region around it, the English entrepreneurs had a leading role. An English Consulate Bureau was opened in Mytilene Island after several applications by the English traders demanding a Bureau to be opened to protect the English profits in the coastal stretch beginning from the Gulf of Izmir to the Gulf of Edremit in north. In the ensuing years, on the coastal strip, English traders opened factories for production of oil and soap. The most successful man of those English people was R. Hadkinson. He started an oil production business after he had closed his trade centre. Selling everything he had and borrowing some extra money from his uncle, Hadkinson³⁸ imported 1500 sterlins worth of machines and established an oil production factory in 1891. He developed a system that allows him to produce more olive oil than it would be with the conventional methods using the same amount of olive. This newly developed system was also capable of production of five different type of oil of which three were for cooking. From the pulps that were obtained in the second period of oil production, a very high quality soap was being produced. While Hadkinson became the biggest oil producer owing to the successful transition from traditional olive oil production to the factory-assembled system, the olive oil of Ayvalık became a well-known and favoured product (Kurmuş, 2008, p. 194-196). According to an inventory carried out in 1894, there were 78 oil mills and seven olive oil and flour factories in Ayvalık, she was called the "olive region." While this number increased to 22 after 30 years, the number of traditional producing mills went down gradually (Doğan, 2007, p. 31-32).

The secret political activities of Greeks in Ayvalık began to be carried out openly with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 (Aka, 1944, p. 30-31). The problems emerged again depending on developments in the First World War.(Nakracas, 2005, p. 112-116). Ayvalık that was under Greek invasion, went under the Turkish government in September 15th, 1922 (Bayraktar, 1998, p. 256-257; Ayhan, 1990, p. 33; Yılmaz, 2011, p. 164). Due to the facts that the factories were highly damaged as a result of lack of use and maintenance in the last years of Greek occupation, agriculture and the economy of the City declined..

Republic Period

After the victorious ending of the National Defense, with the "Turkish-Greek exchange of population protocol" signed in Lozan, January 30th, 1923, while the Greeks moved to the coast islands, (Arı, 1995, p. 180-181) because of having the specifications needed to do their work and the area having a similiar climate to those that they were coming from, 1340 families from various cities and towns of the Crete Island, Greece, and Mytilene Island were settled in Ayvalık, and 4583 more families were settled in the following years according to the current housing records (Akbiç, 1950, p. 161; Uyanık, 2013, p. 439). Also, in Küçükköy 325 families from Rumelia and Taşlıca immigrants were settled, and in 1939 eleven households from Eastern Anatolia Region were settled. Seven out of these eleven families were back to their original cities due to code 5098, four stayed in Ayvalık. After the Balcanic wars, 98 households (Akbiç, 1950, p. 161) from various cities of Rumelia and in the following

³⁸ (Kurmuş, 2008, p. 193.); R. Hadkinson owned a lot more of the factories on the coast with in a few years Geyikdağı, 2008, p. 190.).

periods four more families from Frankurt camps and Crimean refugees were settled in the centre of Altınova burg.

Some troubles occurred during the settlement and distribution of olive groves because of the reasons of the population exchange was executed in a very short of time and due to an approaching winter (Ayvalık, 10 November 1924, p. 1.). Also, some cheaters took double olive trees pretending to live with some of their relatives living in another district besides their own district. Official correction of this situation or revealing did not happen (Ayvalık, 15 December 1924, p.1).

Worries grew as the distribution was not completed yet, the time of harvest was up and trees were not taken care of, which would cause an economical loss. Because the time line for the harvesting and delivery of bottom olives to factories were passing (Ayvalık, 3 November 1924, p. 1.). Olives which were dropped on the ground were rotting, lowering the quality of the oil, which was good for the rivals. Another problem happened about the soap. Buyers warned the Chamber of Commerce and Municipality about the quality of soaps getting lower even though the soap factories in Ayvalık were not closed, saying that the kind of soaps that would dry the skin and would not clear up the clothes were being produced, and moreover, that these poor quality soaps were sold with high quality Ayvalık soap tags on them, which was to be harmful for Ayvalık soaps in the long run (Ayvalık, 10 November 1924, p. 1.).

Territorial distribution also had a role in economic problems. Ayvalık was separated from the other counties. As there were no towns left for Ayvalık because of some governing and political concerns³⁹. This idea, which might have been good for that period could not be changed immediately after the proclamation of the Republic. This situation had negative effects on the townsfolk who wanted to do their official acts (Ayvalık, 15 December 1924, p. 1.). In those years, it was seen that the associations in the county had more effects on social and political life in terms of overcoming the economical problems. For any activity in the county, managers of Tayyare Cemiyeti (administrative committee), managers of Chamber of Commerce (administrative committee), traders and factory owners in the county were gathering together in the command of county governor and deciding what to do or acting together (Ayvalık, 23 January 1935, p. 1.). For example, in the opening ceremony of the first factory which was run only by Turkish funds – Şevket Osman Bey's, factory in seaboard, who is one of the traders from Ayvalık – county governor Ragıp Bey, Regiment Commander, mayor Ramiz Bey, manager of the Ayvalık newspaper, notables and traders of Ayvalık were present and had a tour in factory (Ayvalık, 10 November 1924, p. 2.).

We can separate the people working in the olive fields in Ayvalık in two groups as; those who came before the population exchange and those who came with it and owned olive oil factories by declaring equivalent property. Sezai Ömer Bey can be shown as an example for the families who came to Ayvalık from Mytilene before the population exchange and who started the olive and olive trade business. Sezai Ömer Bey who had a soap business in İstanbul after moving from Mytilene in 1917 settled in Ayvalık in 1920. The Komili family, on the other hand, continued olive oil production in Ayvalık which they started in Mytilene in 1878. So, Komili, Madra and Sönmez families were recognised as the pioneers of this field (Efe et al, 2013, p. 14).

The economic structure did not show a similar balanced situation as it did in terms of security. People in Ayvalık would mention it was safe to go to İzmir without locking their doors, and there was no crime in the social structure. Settlement of originally rural people to

³⁹ Even in a further date like 1950, Ayvalık was divided into ten neighbourhoods in the county centre. It had two burgs; Alibey and Altunova and 17 towns; six under the center and eleven under Altunova burg. While the Altunova burg centre was divided into two neighbourhoods, Alibey burg had no towns but three neighbourhoods (Akbil, 1950, p. 160).

centrals or to places without favourable conditions for them to produce what they were producers of, bartering of the small olive groves by the people who were not able to succeed in Ayvalık while they were leaving, groves that held 20 trees each which were given to them as right of occupancy delegation, caused olive groves to be gathered by certain owners.⁴⁰

The population who bartered off their olive groves was working in olive processing. These workers who worked three or three and a half months most in harvesting of oil which occur once in two years had very hard times. Even though it was mentioned in various places for productive new fields like canned fish factories, brick factories to be opened by the state or free enterprise so that inhabitants could make a living, no results were obtained (BCA. 490.01. 624.52.1.109). As a result of problems not being solved, a lot of refugees sold their belongings and left the county to settle in other cities or even abroad (http://Bizimayvalik.Com.Tr/?İslem=Paket/Sayfap/Sayfa_Detay.Php&Sayfa_Id=101 (Date accessed: 21.09.2015). The great famine in 1927-28 was also influential in domestic migration. A lot of families moved to the İzmir, Manisa, and Aydın regions because of the famine (Yılmaz, 2011, p. 176-177).

What happened in Ayvalık, in fact, was a reflection of the world's economic crisis to Turkey. In the country where the economy was dependent on agriculture -dependent on the climate-, apart from a very small number of towns and counties who could supply basic consumption goods, all the needs of the community was supplied by imports. With the addition of the economic suffering in the world to these problems, the Turkish agriculture, which was recently recuperating, had a huge impact and was badly affected (Tural, 2010, p.409).

Olive production in the city was decreased notably. One of the reasons of this economic decline is of using conventional methods for production instead of scientific methods. Even though the government sent experts to olive production areas to educate the producers about the diseases, it was not enough. It was asked to illuminate the producers about pruning and plowing of the oil groves also (Ayvalık, 11 October 1934, p. 1.). One had to wait many years for the implementation of this request.

There was a decrease in olive oil production because the olive groves were not being taken care of for eleven to twelve years until properties were registered with a title deed in 1934. Nonetheless, the olive oil factories in Ayvalık were one of the few industrial organisations that continued to work during the early Republic period.

Ayvalık was an active import and export centre before the Second World War. Especially, products like olive oil, livestock, prina, bonito, and pulse were exported directly to the west. Numerous foreign flagged ships were also able to come directly and ship the goods as it was a coastal town. So, products of nearby counties that were to be exported were brought to Ayvalık (Akbil, 1950, p.166). But after the War, exports and imports with foreign countries were almost stopped. Before the Second World War, Italy and France were importing olive oil in its raw form, processing it and exporting to markets and the United States of American (USA). This shipment was not feasible during the long years of war. Because of this, while the users in USA got used to solid vegetable oils, on the other hand, as Argentina, Mexico and South American countries were able to supply their olive needs on their own olive groves, olive exportation to America continental had a major decrease after the years of war. Another problem in addition to export deficit was the need of long term industry loans in order to support the soap and olive industry with the technological tools

⁴⁰ The number of families that benefited from an estimated one and a half million olive trees were identified as 5467 in a late year like 1969 when a lot of problems were solved. The number of families who had trees between the minimum and 250 were 4620, those who had 500 and more were 854 (Tarihi, Coğrafyası, Ekonomisi ve Turizmi ile Ayvalık, 1969, p. 12.).

suitable for the period. Also, a lot of materials such as mordacious and macaroon yarn were not being imported as much as they were used to. In addition to these, currency troubles and limitation of exportations had also a negative effect on exportation and brought it to the point where it was almost stopped (Akbiç, 1950, p. 166-167; T.C. Ayvalık Ticaret Odası, 1955, page not numbered).

There were 28 olive oil factories and 24 olive oil mills in Ayvalık in 1950, whose economy was dependent on olive cultivation. When these factories were active, an average of 600-650 workers were working in one shift. They had the capacity of squashing 75-80 tons of olive and producing 15-20 tons of olive oil. There was two pomace oil factories, one producing refinement factory which was also producing glycerin, 32 soap houses, four tin factories, three bag factories used in olive inhibition, and two printing houses (Akbiç, 1950, p. 165).

About the olive oil income: 35.000.000 Liras of income was made via miscellaneous sales and olive oil, soap, pomace oil, and tobacco produced in the county, excluding the expenses. However, approximately 20.000.000 Liras was paid for the imported oil for soap production, groceries, iron, cement, lumber, tinplate, sodium hydroxide, fuel, sanitary ware, nails, and miscellaneous goods. From the amount of 15 million, about seven to eight million was being left for the county after deducting expenses for the maintenance of the olive trees and production materials of soap, pomace oil, and tobacco (T.C. Ayvalık Ticaret Odası, 1955, page not numbered).

Another indicator of oil's importance in the economic structure in Ayvalık is the records of Chamber of Commerce. The firms registered to the Chamber of Commerce were rated as 5,4,3,2,1 degrees depending on their endorsements, and also those which had above these were rated as a magnificent degree (Ayvalık Ticaret Odası Arşiv Belgeleri, 1952, page not numbered). The firms listed as magnificent in 1942 in the Ayvalık Chamber of Commerce (according to the commerce's order): *İş Bankası, Osmanlı Bankası, Sezai Ömer Marda, Sabuncugil Company, Bekir Cömert Oğulları, Hulusi Nuri Zarplı, İzzet Ferit Basmacılar, İzzet Yılmaz, Mehmet Ergenç, Kaptanlar Company, Mehmet Tevfik Süner and Fazıl Doğan*.⁴¹ Except for the three banks in the magnificent degree firms list, the rest of the firms were olive and olive oil trading firms, and was the indicator of importance of the olive for Ayvalık.

In the olive cultivation business, together with olive and oil, products like soaps made of olive and pomace oil was also produced. Soap production, which was just as important as olive oil production in Ayvalık's economy, increased its importance with the decrease in refugees settlement and specialisation on olive production. Ayvalık soaps which was produced with high quality refined oil had gained a well-deserved reputation. The new entrepreneurial younger generation kept on producing soap increasing their older generation's reputation in this regard. The reputation reached to the point where Ayvalık olive oil soap was the first thing that comes to mind when one think of soaps. Sezai Ömer, Mustafa Family Company, Basmacı Family Company, and Ömer Muharrem had managed to make their names known in all markets in the early Republic years (Ayvalık, 21 March 1927, p. 1.).

Together with all these economical incomes, there were two pomace factories which contributed to the economy of Ayvalık. According to the report dated November 20th, 1950, one of these factories belonged to Mustafa Doğrular⁴² and the other to Fazıl Doğan Open Co.⁴³ An average

⁴¹ After the first 13 firms, the firms in 14-72th places were rated first class, 73-123 was second class, 124-154 was third class, 155-185 was fourth class, and 186-206 was fifth class firms. The magnificent class would pay 50, first class 18, second class 11, third class 7, fourth class 3,50 and fifth class 1,50 kuruş to the chamber. **Ayvalık Ticaret Odası Karar Defteri (Ayvalık Chamber of Commerce Minute Book)**, page not numbered.

⁴² Mustafa Doğrular Pomace Factory, work duration was eight hours, 36 permanent workers and 15 permanent monthly paid, total 51 workers. The jobs and positions of the 15 permanent workers: Greaser: three, Mechanic: three, apprentice: four, weigher: one, writer: one, grocer: one, baker: one, responsible manager: one.

of ten to twelve tons were obtained from oil pomace pulp. Considering the oil provided from external, almost two thousand tons of pomace oil was being produced. Most of the drained pomace was used as fuel in the factories (Akbi, 1950, p. 165).

Conclusion

Ayvalık turned into a trade and industry centre thanks to the olive and olive oil production beginning from the second period of 19th century. The city became one of the largest settlement of the region after the city of İzmir. Even though there were major changes mainly in the population structure and in the socio-economical structure because of the national defense years and population exchange, olive and olive oil production/trade remained the main factor of the county's economic structure.

Although, old olive plants are still standing today, particularly in Ayvalık including Edremit Burhaniye and Havran, most of the old factory buildings are not in-service or are used for other purposes. The olive oil, soap and pomace factories of Komili, Sabuncugil, Eminzade (Gümüslü), Kantarcı, Cömert, Madra in Ayvalık, served for years as the most modern facilities of their period. The Gulf of Edremit and its surroundings from where once upon a time Ottoman Sultans were ordering olive and olive oil are now hosting various factories of olive, oil, and soap and shampoo, etc. There are a variety of factories in terms of production techniques from traditional tools and methods to the modern ones to convert olive into a secondary product.

Works of the past that continue to exist today are the indication of the wealth and prosperity levels of which Ayvalık had reached in the past. Ayvalık has today not only the touristic places of Alibey Island (Yund/Cunda) and Şeytan Sofrası but also it has created a heritage and continues to preserve it with olive, olive oil, and shampoo products.

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⁴³ Fazıl Doğan Collective Company: Pomace factory: 32 workers in miscellaneous jobs. While 65 kgs of pomace oil was obtained from a ton of pomace, 2,5 - 3 tons of pomace oil produced as wage.

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Urban Culture and Urban Consciousness: A Study of Zonguldak Alaplı Example

H.Burçin Henden Şolt

1. Introduction

The city is a settlement that people live in including many social and cultural aspects that they shape according to their own ways of living. In addition physical spaces that are formed over time, cities are also the whole set of traditions, customs, and various behavioural norms.

Urbanising is defined as the process during which the population migrating from rural areas to the city leaves behind the attributes of rural life and takes on the qualities of city-dwellers. Accordingly, urbanisation reflects the economic and demographic, whereas urbanising reflects the socio-cultural dimension. The contributions made by demographic, political, and cultural processes to the economic and social areas form the urban culture which is a dynamic concept. Whereas the concept of urban consciousness is located at the intersection of urbanisation, urbanising, and urban culture (Bayındırlık ve İskân Bakanlığı, 2009).

The aim of the study is to observe the awareness of people who live in Zonguldak Alaplı district on urbanisation. A survey has been given to 520 people living in the region. People who participated in the survey have been questioned about their age, sex, education, how long they have been in this city, and there were also questions about how they described the urban dweller.

2. Urban Culture and Urban Consciousness

People can take on an existence only by truly adapting to and internalising a culture. Culture is a concept that the society and people learn or acquire which encompasses knowledge, art, traditions, customs, skills, abilities, and habits. The general properties of societies are formed with their cultures. The future of culture depends on the society (Altıntaş & Eliri, 2012). Cities are the sources of the cultural development that has enabled societies to reach the level of modern civilisation and throughout the historical process they have been able to put forth various accumulations that are specific to themselves. These accumulations have started as a result of the interaction of the city with its surrounding natural environment after which it has been shaped with cultural accumulation. Accordingly, each city has a culture of its own (Koçak, 2011).

Being a citizen is being a part of an ongoing culture. This culture is effective on the spatial developments within the city as well as the changes in living habits. When one enters a city, the structures reflecting the history and culture of that city, resting and leisure areas, historical areas, architectural properties along with the clothes of the people living there give clues about the culture of the city (Uçkaç, 2006). The definition of urbanising from a socio-cultural perspective is the adaptation of both those who have migrated to the city and those who live in the city to the value-norm system of the city community, the ways of thinking and behaviour of the citizen as well as their ways of living (Bal, 2002). Urban space is a space of perception formed by the nature and the structured environment; it is an architectural product. It is clear that the areas we live in shape our ways of life and human behaviour (Hasol, 2008). Thus, a city does not mean structures populating a certain area or humans. It is the whole set of culture and standards of judgment which are the invisible but sensed properties of cities (Kaya, 2007).

The reflection of the cultures of cities is directly related with the methods of service presentation used by local governments. Because interaction in the space-human relation is bi-directional, the behavioural norms of individuals in different environments vary. Urban spaces socialise communities and diversify social relations. “Urban consciousness” is the concept that is formed by the combination of various emotions, thoughts, and attitudes such as understanding your city, knowing it, observing, protecting, adopting to it which are indicators of the understanding resulting from the culture of common living. The love of the individuals towards their cities, following up information related with their city, participating in various activities, putting forth their own opinions, and feeling that they also have a say in such matters are all indicators of the concept of urban consciousness. Consciousness by definition is the state of being aware of one’s own self and what takes place around them. Urban consciousness means that the individuals living in the city behave according to the attitudes and behaviours of their city, that they are aware of being an individual citizen and that they behave accordingly. The primary condition for the formation of urban consciousness is the individuals establishing meaningful and strong bonds with the city and the individuals feeling as if they are a part of the city they live in.

Urban consciousness is quite important with regard to modern understanding of local government since it is related with staking out one’s claim with regard to the city that one lives in (Birol, 2008). Today, it can be said that the efforts for establishing an urban consciousness which is one of the subject areas given priority by local governments can be accelerated only by developing a “sense of belonging” in those living in that area (Potur, 2009).

One of the most important subjects in urban culture is that the individual sees himself/herself as an active participant and perceives the city as his/her home. The media takes on the role of a trigger in forming the urban consciousness. Formal education along with mass non-formal education should be used together in order to urbanise the people living in the city and to raise their awareness (Fidan, 2008). The cultural environment made up of the physical and socio-economic properties of cities is also the birth centres as well as the interaction area of mass culture. Protecting the structures built in the past, handing them down to future generations, placing them in their proper space within the cultural history of the city are among the important properties of urban consciousness (Erder, 1975). It should be important to protect the urban and environmental values in order to establish quality cities which enable the healthy mental, spiritual, and physical development of people. The attitude of the local governments that provide these services will reflect on the behavioural norms of the citizens living there and thus having an urban consciousness will be the culture of that city. Enhancement of both the physical and social environment in cities is a must for the common welfare of the city population as well as their sense of belonging. Therefore, urban consciousness can be defined as the mutual awareness of the citizens as well as their perception of differences as diversities (Attar, 2014).

3. Aims and Methods

The aim of the study is to observe the awareness of people who live in Zonguldak Alaplı district on urbanisation. First, information is gathered from various sources about Alaplı. This information is important data for the evaluation of survey findings. In this study, the sampling unit is the household and the unit of analysis is the household head. The Alaplı district household size is 3.65 (TUIK, 2013). Total average household in the district centre is 5188. The minimum number of samples is 10% in descriptive research (Arlı&Nazik, 2001; Karasar, 2005). Therefore, 520 surveys were implemented. There are four neighbourhoods in Alaplı

(Karşıkaya, Merkez, Tepeköy, and Yenisiteler). The sample group was formed of 520 people with 130 surveys in each neighbourhood. The participants were chosen randomly.

There were seven questions in the survey. Together with the questions asking their gender, age, educational background, the duration of their being in this city, there were also questions about their definition of urbanisation, and about how much they follow the developments about their city. Research is of a descriptive type.

4. Results

Alaplı, it is one of the coastal districts of Zonguldak Province. Hazelnut is the most important source of livelihood and country's economy. As shown in Table 1, the total population is 44.668 including the villages.

Table 1: Alaplı Population Information

	Women	Men	Total
District Centre	955	9.388	18.938
District of Gümeli	1.019	109	2.109
Villages	11.970	11.651	23.621
Total	22.539	22.129	44.668

Source: Statistical Institute of Turkey Internet page,

Retrieved: 15/03/2014, from: www.tuik.gov.tr



Figure 1: Overview of the Alaplı

The advantage is the proximity to large cities like Istanbul, Ankara. Distance between Alaplı-Istanbul is 271km.; distance between Alaplı-Ankara is 290km. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry was established in 1995. The number of members of the establishment were 125. Now it is about 750 (Alaplı Governorship, 2014).

**Figure 2: Alaplı map**

Source: Zonguldak Governorship Internet page, Retrieved: 15/03/2014, from: www.zonguldak.gov.tr

County livelihoods are in agriculture, livestock, and forest products. Alaplı became subdistricts in 1927. Alaplı Municipality was established in 1966 (Alaplı Municipality, 2014). The findings of the survey are as follows:

Table 2: Gender Distribution

	n	%
Men	418	80,38%
Women	102	19,62%
Total	520	100,00%

418 (80,38 %) of the participants were men. 102 (19,62%) of them were women.

Table 3: Age Distribution

	n	%
18-34	68	13,08%
35-54	208	40,00%
55-74	162	31,15%
75 and over	82	15,77%
Total	520	100,00%

208 of the participants (40,00%) were between 35-54 years old. 162 of them (31,15%) were 55-74 years old and the smallest group was the ones who were 18-34. It seems that the largest group is the working age group.

Table 4: Educational Background

	n	%
Primary School	95	18,27%

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Secondary School	78	15,00%
High School	173	33,27%
Two-Years Degree Graduate	115	22,12%
University Graduate	57	10,96%
M.S.- Phd.	2	0,38%
Total	520	100,00%

As for the educational backgrounds of the participants the largest group consists of 173 (33,27%) high school graduates. 115 (22,12%) of them were two-year degree graduates and 95 (18,27%) of them are primary school graduates. The number of M.S. and Phd. graduates is only 2two. The fact that the two years degree graduate education level of the region is high is related to the existence of Bulent Ecevit University Alaplı Vocational School.

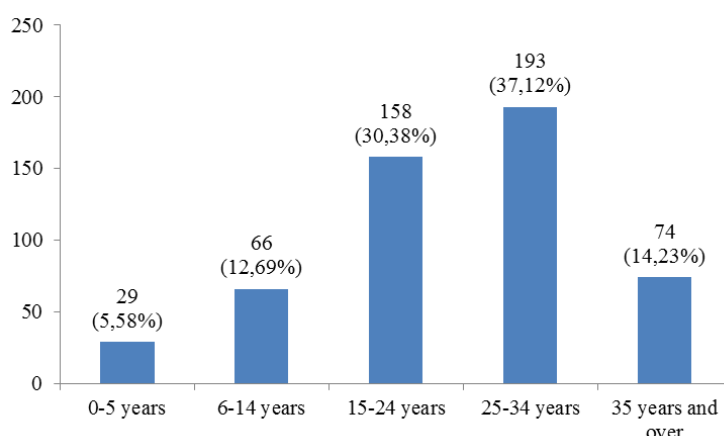


Figure 3: Living Duration in the City

For the duration of living in Alaplı, 193 people have lived there for 25-34 years. 74 people lived for more than 35 years and 158 between 15-24 years. As it is clearly seen people tend to live in Alaplı for a long time. In other words, the natives of the city have settled.

Table 5: Awareness of Urban Awareness Concept

	n	%
Yes I heard	136	26,15%
No, I have not heard	384	73,85%
Total	520	100,00%

Starting point of the research is the existence of the urban awareness concept in Alaplı. Therefore other questions of the survey are, "Have you heard of the concept of urban

consciousness?" 384 of the participants (73,85%) said that "No, I have not heard." 136 (26,15%) of them had heard of the urban awareness concept.

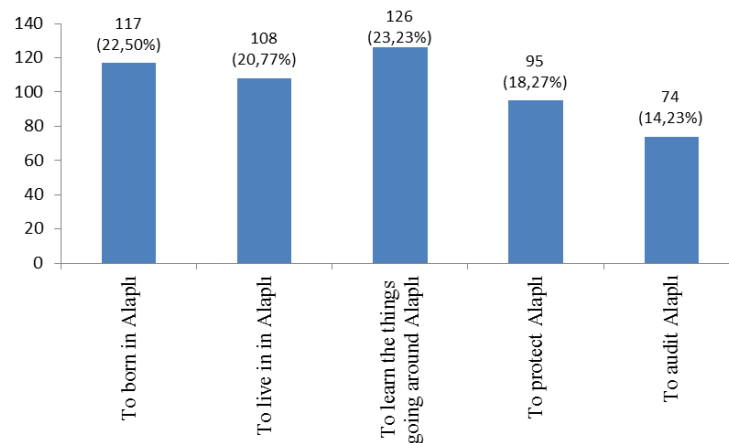


Figure 4: Define Being a Dweller of Alaplı

The most common answer to the question: "How can you define being a dweller of Alaplı?" was "to learn the things going around Alaplı." This is a positive result, because one of the most important indicators of urban awareness is the desire to obtain information about the city.

In the last question of the survey some judgments were made about the city and the participants were asked to mark the relevant answers. As you can see in Graph, 8,520 people stated that they knew the location of the official institutions. The local media and television are followed by the public. People are informed about the decisions taken by the Alaplı Municipality. This is a positive result in terms of participation. All these signs indicate that there is urban awareness in the city.

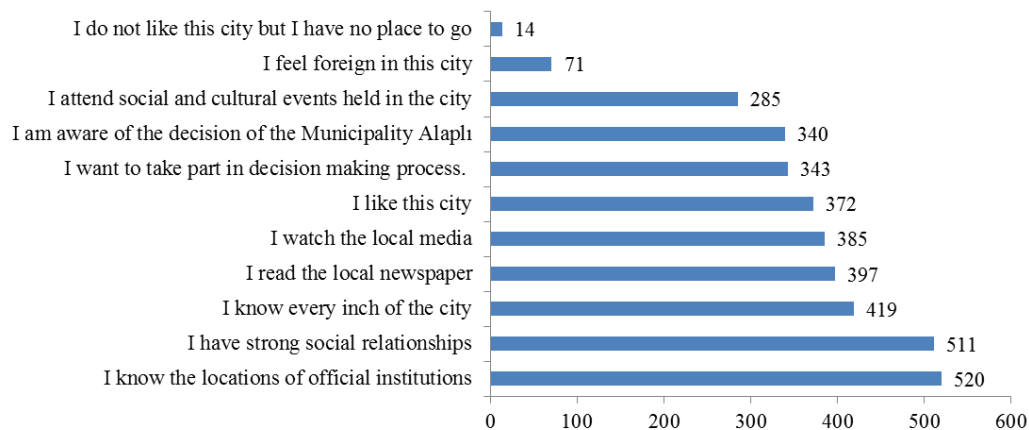


Figure 5: Judgments about Alaplı

5. Discussion and Conclusion

A city is the name given to the structure formed by the common sincerity and brotherhood of the same rock and soil, the same governance and culture which are concepts that appeared when people became permanent settlers. The city is an ensemble of structures formed by the combination of emotions as well as spiritual values. First and foremost, urbanity is participating in the common consciousness (Bahreyn, 2010).

It will be important for local governments and educational institutions to carry out activities that will strengthen the sustainability of our cultural norms forming the foundation of our own culture such as neighbourhood, neighbourhood order, keeping the environment clean, helping each other, greeting one another, being a good person, cooperation, protecting the people around us, following up what is taking place around us, presenting our ideas, etc. Various activities such as interviews, conferences, courses, workshop studies and organisations that will strengthen community awareness can be further developed with the contribution of non-governmental organisations. The increase of urban consciousness might have positive effects on the cultural, social, and even economic lives starting from the local grounds and moving up towards the country level. Because bringing together communities made up of people who love the city, the society, its people, with their sense of belonging, who protects and inspects and most of all who feel they have a say in such matters will be easier and will result in success.

It was observed as a result of the evaluations of the surveys carried out that the period of living in the city is long for the Alaplı community. This is an important factor with regard to loving the city, adapting to it, and getting to know it. In addition, the strengthening of social relations will give power to the common urban attitude and thus might result in positive reflections on urban consciousness. It was observed that the Alaplı public is willing to participate in the local decision making processes and that they follow the media closely. This might be considered to be a significant reflection of the urban consciousness of the public.

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Why did the Vietnam War not decrease the tension of the Sino-Soviet Dispute? *

Umut Bekcan**

Introduction

The Vietnam War (Second Indochina War) was a national liberation struggle including two revolutionary wars. One of them lasted from December 1946 to July 1954 and resulted in the defeat of the French by the Viet Minh (League for the Independence of Vietnam). In the same year, it was agreed on the division of Vietnam from the 17th parallel line in Geneva conference held by the call of the Soviet Union (USSR), the United States of America (USA), England, and France. In the north, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in the south pro-Western government under the presidency of Ngo Dinh Diem were established. The second revolutionary war began with South Vietnam's asking for support from the USA because of the increasing revolutionary activities in the south. In 1962, the number of the U.S. forces under the name of the consultant reached 14.000. 250.000 South Vietnamese armed forces were supported by 300.000 regional and village militias. The USA in conjunction with the allies dispatched 1.200.000 soldiers to the region to defeat the Viet Cong (National Liberation Front) in the long-running war. In addition to more than half a million U.S. troops, soldiers came from South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand to block the unification of Vietnam under a socialist republic (Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi, 1988). In this context, The Vietnam War was an anti-imperialist independence war of socialist North Vietnam against the southern pro-Western regime and the USA from the mid-1960s. The USSR and the People's Republic of China (PRC/China) however, fought over Vietnam during the war so to say.

The main problem of the study is that the Vietnam War was not a factor of easing the tension between the two countries. Conversely, it increased the tension and created a new dispute. In this context, in this study, the reasons of this problem related to bilateral relations and the Vietnam issue will be examined. The study will be discussed in the traditional approach of International Relations by the notion that the subject of history is unique.

In this point, first of all, it is necessary to state the Sino-Soviet dispute. With the 1949 Chinese Revolution, the close relationship based on socialism fraternity began to develop between the two countries. The USSR gave political, economic, and military support to the PRC and became a model in all matters. But close relations gradually began to deteriorate from the second half of the 1950s and in the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1961), the Sino-Soviet split was officially cemented. The main reasons that caused the deterioration of the relations were as follows: The PRC was uncomfortable with the de-Stalinization process and the principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful transition to socialism formalised in the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The PRC thought that these peaceful principles were injuring the revolution and historical class struggle of the workers of all countries. As a society of peasants, it wanted to carry out different development program from the USSR's program (dictatorship of the proletariat) based on industrialisation. It was the Great Leap Forward program (1958-60) based on the people's commune and failed. Apart from this, China thought that the USSR did not give sufficient support during the 1958 Taiwan Strait Crisis and in the same period, perceived the USSR's joint navy proposal as a hegemonic movement. In the following year, the USSR took

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a neutral position in the Sino-Indian border conflict and also did not want to provide nuclear weapons technology. The recall of the Soviet experts who served in China in 1960 was added to these developments. This overall was a great disappointment for China (Li, 2007; Gittings, 1968). The PRC was an unrecognised state in international politics, it was not included in the United Nations (UN) system, and was in favour of taking a more aggressive stance against the West. As one of the two superpowers of the system, the USSR; however, worried the world might be dragged into a nuclear war and based its policy on the principle of peaceful coexistence. Both countries regarded themselves as the real representative of Marxist-Leninist theory. The main problem was that China, following the Soviet path after 1949, wanted to walk its own path citing its own country-specific conditions and took an independent stand from the USSR from then on. Accordingly, the Chinese perspective to domestic, foreign and international politics naturally differed from the Soviets.

In normal circumstances, any two socialist countries' interests are supposed to be compatible in supporting a socialist country which struggles against an imperialist country. In this case, even if the split between the two socialist countries was certain, in view of the growing U.S. presence in Vietnam from the beginning of the 1960s and their involvement in the war in 1965, the USSR and the PRC could be expected to put aside their disagreements and move together against the capitalist bloc's leader. But they did not do so. It is possible to examine the reasons for this in two titles: the reasons related to bilateral relations and the reasons related to Vietnam. Naturally, the reasons related to the Vietnam issue are not independent from the influence of the bilateral relations.

The Reasons Related to the Bilateral Relations: The Newly Added Issues to the Dispute

In order to block the unification of Vietnam, the USA, and the South Vietnam caused a war against the Viet Cong and North Vietnam between 1965 and 1973. Three main issues that occupied the main agenda of the Sino-Soviet relations were the greatest obstacles to provide joint support to the North Vietnam. The first was the border dispute between the two countries, the second was the Cultural Revolution in China, and the third was the normalisation of Sino-U.S. relations. First of all, after the split was cemented in 1961, new emerging problems had kept the tension at a high level. For example, for China, ballistic missile deployment of the USSR in Cuba was adventurism but removing them by the agreement with the USA was submissiveness. According to the USSR, China wanted an outbreak of war so that the peaceful coexistence policy would fall to the ground (Lunev, 2009; Ivanov, 1979). In October and November 1962, in view of the Sino-Indian border conflict, the USSR took a neutral position like in 1959 and then signed the military aid agreement with India. This event was criticised obviously with this expression in *Jenmin Jibao* (the newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party) on February 27, 1963:

“At the time when Nehru government carried out a provocative attack on the socialist fraternal country, it was very interesting that the people who called themselves as Marxist-Leninist violated the principles of proletarian internationalism and took a neutral position” (Çem Vızvanı Raznoglasiya?, 1963).

The USSR; however, did not want to get the enmity of one of the leaders of the Non-Alignment Movement, India. In addition, China did not sign the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which was signed by the USSR and USA on August 5, 1963. In accordance with the treaty, nuclear weapons tests were banned in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. China claimed that this treaty was an obstacle to develop its nuclear and military capacity but worked to the advantage of the superpowers (Gittings, 1968). China considered having nuclear weapons necessary for its national security.

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These new disagreements formed the basis of the above mentioned three fundamental issues. In other words, new disagreements triggered the new issues. For example, the borderline previously had not been seen as a problem. The first sign that the border would pose a problem was given in an article in *Jenmin Jibao* on March 8, 1963. In the article, the treaty of Aigun (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860) were mentioned among the treaties which were signed between China and imperialist states causing the loss of territory of China (O Zayavlenii Kommunisticheskoy Partii SŞA, 1963). Moreover, in July 1964, in a meeting with the Japanese socialist delegation Mao said that one hundred years ago the Russian Empire gained the east of Baikal Lake, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and Kamchatka with unequal treaties. Similarly after World War II, the USSR gained some regions both in Eastern Europe and Eastern Asia. He also added that the returning of Kuril Islands to Japan, would not be a problem for China (Goncharov & Danhuey, 2004). The Chinese side claimed that unequal treaties were imposed by Russia's diplomatic blackmail, military pressure, and aggression and wanted the USSR to recognise the inequality of the treaties. The Soviet side however, thought that the treaties were not unequal. For example, the negotiations of the Convention of Peking were carried out by Manchu dynasty in Beijing and there was no military threat. Conversely, Russian ambassador Nikolai Ignatiev mediated between China and British-French military forces and the international political environment had made Russia and China closer to each other (Kireev, 2006).

On January 26, 1967 the Embassy of the Soviet Union were blockaded by Chinese youth who wanted back their territory under the rule of the USSR. During the 18 days of the blockade, the families of the Soviet embassy officials had to leave China (Bogaturov, 2009). The border dispute reached its peak when armed conflict happened between two sides on the Damansky/Zhenbao Island on the Ussuri River on March 1-2, 1969. The second conflict took place again on the same island and around. Then on July 20, on Kirkinsky Island located three km north of the Damansky and on August 13, around the Lake Zhalanashkol located in the border between Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic and Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region (Ryabushkin, 2007; Shirokorad, 2004).

Another newly added issue to the dispute was the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China on May 1966. The revolution with the slogan 'bomb the headquarters' meant Mao was carrying the fight with bureaucracy to the streets and taking the masses back. He wanted to secure the worker-peasant alliance and challenged bureaucracy and the party dominating over people. The Chinese Defence Minister Lin Biao said that they had to achieve this revolution in order to prevent capitalist restoration, domination of the imperialists, and reactionary bourgeoisie on the people (Biao, 1966). During this period, unfavourable weather had grown too much for the Soviets in China. Like Biao, Mao also said that the revolution had a purpose of preventing revisionism. In case of a possible Soviet attack, he asked from the peasants to stock their products and from the cityfolks to dig underground bunkers as a precaution (Mei, 1985). According to him, those who opposed the Cultural Revolution were the American imperialists, Soviet and Japanese revisionists and reactionaries (Zedung, 2000). The Cultural Revolution not only aimed at splitting off China from the world capitalist system and moving it to different socialism from the Soviet model but also emphasised the principle of self-sufficiency. It also focused on the matter of creating a new culture and required the elimination of institutional factors which were obstacles to form a more equitable and just society (Dirlik, 2006).

The Soviet Union however, was describing the cultural revolution as the most essential part of the socialist revolution but thought that happenings in China could not be considered as a cultural revolution. The Cultural Revolution was a long process of grasping and embracing the socialist ideology and culture by masses of people. New and higher level culture and socialist consciousness would be formed in this complicated process. Socialist

culture could only be formed on the basis of embracing of the spritual heritage of the past and a critical examination of all the values of world culture and the defeat of the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes and the blind faith of the past. The Cultural Revolution in China (destruction of people's national feelings, denial of the experience of the world culture, the destruction of cultural monuments, hostile reception to the intelligentsia, terror in the revolutionary process) was in contradiction with the essence of a socialist culture in terms of its goals and tools (Ashukin et. al., 1979). The Soviet government had the idea that China was hiding the mistakes and failures realised in economy, domestic and foreign policy, and directing people's attention to the foreign relations rather than domestic issues. Mao adopted an anti-Soviet policy in order to justify his military and bureaucratic dictatorship. The efforts of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states in construction of socialism and raising the living standards of the workers were disparaged with the terms of 'bourgeois,' 'revisionist,' and this was deemed as a 'return to capitalism.' To remove the increasing opposition against Mao's government and silence Chinese communists who supported the Soviet Leninist line, party organisations were devastated and militants were punished and thrown out of the party. According to the Soviet Union, all of them were made under the name of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the help of the army and the law-enforcement officers (Madra, 1971).

At the time of the Vietnam War, the third issue in the Sino-Soviet dispute, the normalisation of Sino-U.S. relations was realised. The purpose and content of the normalisation was against the Soviet Union (for China) and the Sino-Soviet relations (for the USA). The USA wanted to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet dispute. On March 21, 1966 an article signed by 198 researchers and scientists was published in the New York Times. Normalisation of the USA's China policy, China's unconditional acceptance of the UN membership, removal of trade embargo and obstacles to communication and information exchange were the main subjects mentioned in the article. China did not join the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at that time (29 March-8 April 1966). It was on the Cultural Revolution eve. The Chinese government weakened by the Cultural Revolution radicalism was looking to the world more pragmatic and perceived the Soviet threat more realistic than the U.S. threat. Although it took a stand away from Moscow, China did not rush to negotiate with the USA. China's UN membership was on the agenda in the period of Lyndon Johnson's presidency. The next president Richard Nixon's period the 'relations with China' issue gained great momentum, because Nixon was a politician with the idea that China should be included in the international system. He wrote the article titled 'Asia after Vietnam' in a Foreign Affairs journal and argued pulling China back into the world community (Shirokov, 2009).

The main reason for China's demand to be the part of the international community was not the desire of good relations with the USA. It was the perception of threat from the Soviet Union (Kissinger, 1994). In August 1968 the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in an effort to stop liberalisation reforms. A few months later Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev declared the theory of 'limited sovereignty' which was called the Brezhnev doctrine in the West. China reacted seriously to this intervention. The Chinese News Agency described it as brutal. Brezhnev and Kosygin's real thoughts on internationalism, friendship, and cooperation had emerged (Jones, 1990). Beijing claimed that the theory of limited sovereignty was the fascist, imperialist ideological residue of the Russian Empire. On April 1, 1969, in the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Defence Minister Lin Biao said that:

"What does all this stuff mean? It means that your sovereignty is limited, while his is unlimited. You won't obey him? He will exercise international dictatorship over you, over the people of the countries, in order to form the socialist community ruled by the new tsars, that is colonies of social-imperialism, just like the New Order of Europe of Hitler, the Greater East

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Asia Co-prosperity Sphere of Japanese militarism and the Free World Community of the United States” (Biao, 1969).

According to Mao, because of the Cultural Revolution and the border issue, the Soviet Union could intervene with China. This concern was peaked by the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and border clashes which occurred in 1969 were added to this. These two developments played an important and indisputable role in Mao’s approach to Washington. It was a pragmatic attitude (Zagoria, 1974). In his speech, in the congress, Biao described the USA and the USSR as posing equal danger to China; this made the situation in favour of the USA. They started to implement the strategy of transforming the bipolar world into a strategic triangle, by announcing a series of unilateral initiatives to indicate the change in attitude. The ban for Americans travelling to China was abolished. Chinese let Americans bring \$100 worth of Chinese-made goods into the USA (Kissinger, 1994). The representatives of the parties met on January 20 and February 20, 1970. The latter marked a major turning point, as the PRC issued an invitation for the USA to dispatch an envoy to Beijing for talks (Foreign Relations 1969-1976, 2015). The clearest indicator of the softening of the Sino-US relations was the PRC’s becoming a member of the UN and Security Council and removal of the membership of Taiwan. The US President Richard Nixon paid a visit to China. The two countries issued a joint communique in Shanghai on February 28, 1972. Both sides stated that the normalisation of the bilateral relations between China and the USA was consistent with the interest of all nations. They wished to reduce the danger of international military conflict. They agreed not to seek hegemony in the Pacific region and to oppose efforts by any other country to establish such hegemony. In other words, in the case of a possible threat from the USSR, the USA would support China and China would be frosty and cautious towards the USSR (30 Years of Sino-US Relations (2), 2015; Bogaturov, 2009; Kissinger, 1994). Thus, anti-American imperialism was no longer a factor that held the USSR and China together, because the normalisation of Sino-US relations had an anti-Soviet basis for China. The Sino-Soviet relations in the early 1970s were in a worse situation than the situation in the early 1960s.

The Reasons Related to Vietnam: “The Vietnam War between the USSR and the PRC”

In the second half of the 1950s, the USSR was having excessive tension with the West. The Syrian Crisis of 1957, the Berlin Crisis which began in 1958 with the USSR’s demand from the USA and its allies to leave Berlin and resulted in the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the U2 Incident (1960) were the events that carried risk of a nuclear war between the two blocs. In 1962, in Cuba, two superpowers came very close to the brink of war. The USSR did not want to harden the relations with the USA again and avoided a new crisis. In September 1960, the 3rd Congress of the Workers’ Party of Vietnam, the way of military struggle was decided to unite the country. Moscow was in favour of creating a neutral zone consisting of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and gathered an international conference for this. In April 1962, the Soviet, North Vietnamese, and Western diplomats discussed this matter. The USA opposed this idea. North Vietnam and the PRC considered this initiative as a propaganda method by claiming that it did not provide the goal of a real deal (Tikhonov, 2008).

The Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh wanted to get the support of both the USSR and the PRC. Although the USSR gave economic support in agriculture and industry fields, it was seeking a peaceful resolution for Vietnam. On the other hand, in May 1963, in Hanoi, the president of the PRC Liu Shaoqi argued that the struggle of Marxist-Leninists against the revisionist (the USSR) did not disturb the people all over the world who fought for the

revolution. He gave Vietnam the message of if the war broke out, we would support you. This also naturally pushed Vietnam towards the PRC (Tikhonov, 2008).

The Chinese Communist Party was already in collaboration with the Vietnamese communists in the 1946-1954 colonial war and was the chief political and economic partner of them in the early 1960s. Beijing actively supported North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front which had taken great support from the villagers to overthrow the pro-Western regime. In December 1963, in the 9th General Plenum of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, party leaders claimed that Soviet foreign policy was defensive and revisionist. In the same year, North Vietnam punished ten Soviet sympathiser soldiers accused of revisionism. The Soviet Union; however, reduced economic aid by 30% and wanted the debts to be paid arising from the aid. This gave a reason to the PRC to accuse the USSR of not preferring to support the national liberation movement (Ivanov, 2010). The Former Soviet Ambassador in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1964-1974), Ilya Sherbakov, summed up the Soviet Union's view of Vietnam in recent years of Khrushchev:

"During the Vietnam node, the interests of the USSR, the USA and China were entangled. The atmosphere was very tense. We did not want to get involved. The conflict had a risk of reaching a worldwide size. Khrushchev wanted to be cautious but his ruling days were also counted" (Ivanov, 2010:69).

After Khrushchev, the Soviet Union's Vietnam policy was amended. In December 1964, the Permanent Mission of National Liberation Front was opened in Moscow. The USA's invasion of South Vietnam strengthened policy change and made it noticeable. In the same month, Prime Minister Kosygin and party-government representatives visited Hanoi. A great amount of economic assistance began to be provided in March. With the involvement of the USA, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong needed effective weapons. The Soviet Union provided military-economic aid worth \$1 billion annually. In August 1965, Chinese leaders rejected the proposal to establish a centre for Soviet specialists for Vietnam in the Yunnan province. In the most patient period of the Cultural Revolution, the Soviet aid to Vietnam were frequently cut off in China. Even the Soviet ship, *Svirsk*, dispatched to Vietnam was confiscated in China's port of Dalian on August 8, 1967. The captain of the ship was arrested. The crisis was overcome a few days later by the attempt of Kosygin. The Soviet Union's military economic aid to Hanoi outpaced the aid of the PRC which was in the chaos of the Cultural Revolution and this strengthened the Soviet's position in Indochina. The PRC continued to be an ally and military and economic supporter of Vietnam but it was annoyed by the improvement of the USSR-Vietnam relations. According to Valeriy Ivanov even quoted from Vietnamese sources, yet in August 1964, Deng Xiaoping had gone to Hanoi with the secret assignment of the Chinese Communist Party and had offered financial aid to North Vietnam with the amount of 1 billion yuan to reject Soviet aid (Ivanov, 2010).

Moscow called all socialists for the defense of the Vietnam against American imperialism. Even so, the PRC was sure that the Soviet Union appeared to be supporting Vietnam but made it surrender. It described the Soviet's assistance as constrained and argued that Vietnam was duped by the Kremlin. This was because the Soviet Union did not aim for a proletarian revolution. It was defending the principle of peaceful coexistence. Generally, the Soviet Union did not presume the USA would completely be defeated. Therefore, to avoid the danger of a thermonuclear world war, the war should be ended with an appropriate compromise. Conversely the PRC had the idea that the war in Vietnam should be continued until the final defeat of the USA. There was no other resolution. After the USA's involvement, North Vietnam preferred to remain neutral in the Sino-Soviet split and take the advantage of this split and get the support from both sides (Madra, 1971; Rosser, 1969; Ivanov, 2010; Tikhonov, 2008). When the USSR's involvement in Vietnam increased, the Chinese inflamed their campaign against them. The Chinese had the fear of a 'Soviet plot' to

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consolidate Soviet effect and claim dominance in South East Asia. As China was emerging as a rival regional power, interests were bound to clash. The defamation campaigns between the USSR and the PRC promoted a further deterioration of the relation. The strengthened ties between Vietnam and the Soviets paved the way of substantial aid by causing tensions on the relation between the PRC and North Vietnam (Kokshoorn, 2013).

As it was declared in the 23rd Congress, the Soviet Union, along with the other socialist countries would support national liberation movements and new established countries in convenient international conditions. Without leaving the principle of peaceful coexistence, it would show a determined resistance against the aggressive powers of the imperialism and would protect humanity from a new world war. Thus, the support towards North Vietnam became official (XXIII Syezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuz, 1966).

In January 1966, the Politburo member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Alexander Shelepin, visited Hanoi and made an aid agreement between the two countries. Also in the same month, the USSR and Mongolia signed a friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance treaty during Brezhnev's visit to Ulaanbaatar. These developments made the PRC worried. In the end of 1967, the number of the Soviet troops on the border with Mongolia and the PRC increased from 250.000 to 350.000 (Lunev, 2009). In addition, after the conflict between India and Pakistan in 1965, by the initiative of the Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin, negotiations were held between the two countries in Tashkent. Thereby the USSR increased its prestige in the region. In July 1966, the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko visited Tokyo and signed a trade agreement with Japan. The PRC saw these visits and Soviet's interest to Vietnam against itself. It was considered to be a holy alliance between the USSR, the USA, and Japan. According to the Chinese government, the Soviet Union in cooperation with the USA were containing the PRC together with the surrounding countries of the PRC (Sander, 1966). Besides, in May, the Cultural Revolution including the elimination of the Soviet sympathisers and increasing the Soviet hostility to its peak level began. From this moment on, it could not be expected that the Vietnam War would decrease the tension of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Then the border issue grew to have an armed conflict between the two countries. The PRC accused the USSR of being an ally with the USA and to maintain its national security, started the process of normalisation of the relations with the USA.

North Vietnam won the war by the support of the two hostile socialist countries. The Vietnams united in 1975 but the Vietnam experience contributed to the deepening of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Conclusion

The Vietnam War did not decrease the tension of the Sino-Soviet dispute. These two socialist countries did not put aside their disagreements and moved together against the USA. The main reason for not moving in this way was the addition of new issues to the existing disputes between the two countries after 1961. That is to say while the presence of the USA in Vietnam was increasing, the tension in Sino-Soviet relations had continued to escalate. When the USA became involved in the war, as well as the border issue, the PRC began to fight against the USSR or the influence of the USSR in its country so to speak. Moreover, the reason for the normalisation process of the Sino-US relations for the PRC was its threat perception from the USSR. The bilateral relations were in totally an opposite situation from the friendly and fraternal relations established in the first half of the 1950s. As if they were two neighbouring countries having opposite political regimes and being the members of the

hostile military blocs. Also such an atmosphere, naturally, had brought not cooperation for Vietnam but competition through Vietnam. The Vietnam War had become a new disputed matter.

As a matter of fact, when the two socialist countries split up on the principles and method of Marxism-Leninism, they did not come back together in the same point anymore and began to think and move differently in almost every respect. The Vietnam issue was only one of them.

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The Other Figures and Body in the Context of Social Bonding: Whose body, whose decision?

Özge Soysal, Ceylin Özcan

Social Bonding, Subjectivity, and the Discourse of the Other

The factors determining social bonding i.e. how people in a society build relationships with each other in their daily and institutional habitats are varied, and differ according to any period or social transformations of a society. Individuals express their subjective complaints as a part of the social structure they are in, or as a stance against such structure, changing therefore, social structures also change and transform the manner of expressing subjective complaints. When we remember the close association established by Freud (1930) between the individual superego and collective superego, we can underline that we cannot think of the psychology of an individual apart from social psychology.

So, the conditions and methods of individuals bonding between each other in a society can be considered both with the locally dominant structure of social discourse types in that society and with the structure of universally valid and dominant social discourse in which that society is included. Again, as a continuation of Freud's (1921) *self and mass psychology* studies, J. Lacan (1970) asserted his discourse types theory, and described the positioning of the subject differing according to the deficiency, establishing the information and subjectivity of the subject, which are references for the subject, since the four discourses he distinguishes from each other (Discourse of the Master, Discourse of the Hysteric, Discourse of the University, Discourse of the Analyst). Here, without entering into the details of all these discourses, we can assert that the complaints and behaviours of the subject are contained within the logic of the discourse that activates him.

In this context, the subject is represented by the basic signifiers which name him and determine his identity in the Discourse of the Master, and the subject disturbs the authority of these main/principal signifiers which determine his identity, with the complaints of a suffering body, in the Discourse of the Hysteric. The Discourse of the University is regulated by non-faltering, universally valid, objective information and this regulation is at the expense of the researcher's or scientist's subjectivity being out of the discourse. The Analytic Discourse owes its birth to the return of the subjectivity in the discourse of the hysterics, the subjectivity having been repressed in the Discourse of the University. The elements that give the Analytic Discourse its dynamics are *meaninglessness* and *nothingness*. Although these four discourse types differ in terms of subject's positioning in the context of information, object and truth; each of them are included in the basics of the linguistic structure for their representing *difference* (subject-the Other, speaker-correspondent), *loss* and *real* in their regulations. This is also a regulation in which the discourse is established and determined by the location of the truth, if not the truth itself. Yet, what forms the basis of the linguistic structure is that the speaking entity speaks as of a location where he/she cannot intentionally reach. In other words, there are unconscious wording dynamics that accompany the words of the speaker, even though they do not surface very often.

The social bonding between individuals is regulated according to this latent location of the linguistic regulation. Bonding is, in its simplest meaning, an exchange in symbolic plane and is only possible from an impossible where the lack is exchanged, i.e. from the location of truth as impossible. Individuals' not being stunned or awed by the images of any action or utterance depends on recognising this location, which is an *other* to the structure of the discourse, as the inaccessible of the structure. Social discourse allows bonding if it can symbolically handle the thing at the plane of the real that is asemantic and impossible to it.

subject, his/her body and alterity

Occurrence of *alterity* in subjective language and life is associated with the linguistic structure, which surrounds human babies in various stages of their development since they are born, and where the first correspondents of their requests are established. The Other, although it is a symbolic address where the subject directs its requests and complaints because it cannot be thought independently from the linguistic structure, a call to this address has to pass through imaginary mediations, exactly due to the loss caused by linguistic representations. In this context, the plurality of “the other” figures are various incarnations taken by a symbolic address in subjective life. These figures are first externalised in the life of children by their parents, and during puberty and adulthood, parents are replaced by social Others. So, the Other is both the peers of the subject found near or next to him/her, such as his/her neighbours, friends, and also a symbolic reference regulating his/her relation with them according to differences and deficiencies. Subject can express requests such as love, justice, happiness through this symbolic address beyond his/her peers, and on the other hand searches to answers to existential puzzles such as gender, sexuality, life, and death.

Another function that has to be fulfilled by the Other is to ensure that the impulses seeking satisfaction “*right here, right now*” are expressed by symbolic mediations, by opening the way of repression. Nevertheless, the impulse’s ceasing to be a chaotic bodily-physiologic energy and transforming to a psychic configuration subjectified by the unconscious fantasy, depends on the condition that the Other can represent the structure of the utterance. This is also a function that makes the priority of utterance dominate instinctive satisfaction. In other words, it establishes the body as an “other” from a biological materiality formed of just flesh, bone, skin, and organs or from a substantiality where the existence found life. So, we can ask the question “what is the body?” exactly in this context. In its psychoanalytic meaning, the body is an *alien* formed and covered by words, beyond the image which it presents us and in which we know ourselves. Despite all bodily experiences of the subject and the control he/she exerts on his/her body, the body shows that it is different from and is not the subject, through a series of signs, discomfort and pain because it shows every time that it tries to escape from subjective cognition. This not only means that the body is separate from the subject but it also means that it does not belong to the subject, and that it is not familiar. Body, rather than a familiarity, whose codes we know, makes the subject reorganise as an “other” to itself. In this context, the other is neither a symbolic address that is a treasure of signifiers, nor only a linguistic structure. The Other, was asserted in Lacan’s (1969) particularly late-period studies as the embodiment of the body, which is an *alterity*. Then, the body is not only an imaginary or fantastic construct, and again in Lacan’s (1969) words, is also “*this real calling to symbolic formation.*”

Social discourse, as we have mentioned above, allows bonding if it can symbolically handle the thing at the plane of the real that is asemantic and impossible to it. The postmodern discourse of today, progressing with its neo-liberal discourse, brings new meanings and forms to the body being handled by individuals exactly in this context. These differences occur as an effect of this discourse type’s not being established in the same linguistic structure as in the four discourses we mentioned above. Lacan (1972), in addition to the four discourses regulating social bonding, describes a capitalist discourse as a fifth, defining modern community as a metonymy of utterances where lack, difference and loss are not represented. This exactly causes a perception and experience of a body, where the body, which is an other to the subject, and which is on the plane of real, cannot be formed by the symbolic. We can easily remember that the body has become the centre and object of all kinds of care and treatment as a result of advanced medical-technical-scientific developments. The aim of protecting the youth and effectiveness of the body in all these treatment and care models

“despite everything” inevitably turns the body into a provable performance. So, the body, being the location of subjectivity and alterity, is reduced to an ideal image where the traces and effects (time, maturity, experiences, age, etc.) of subjectivity are erased.

In a discourse where loss, lack, and difference are not represented, the Other cannot continue its functions in a lack, incomplete, and divided state. In this sense, the Other figures, who take the linguistic structure as reference, lead to a current postmodern pathology, where symbolic borders cannot be built between subject and the others. Lacan (1957) bases the incompleteness of the Other in the loss of the falling object that is separated from the body. Breast, feces, look, voice will be lost objects, which can easily get a value of -object a-, an object of reason for desire in this context. Phallus, as defined in psychoanalysis, is a signifier that channels this enjoyment –*Jouissance*- (body enjoyment) thrown out of the body, equips its surroundings with linguistic signifiers, and transforms it into a bearable enjoyment (phallic enjoyment). What gives consistency to this psychic instrumentalism of phallus, and to the incompleteness of the Other, is the Name-of-the-Father metaphor.

The Name-of-the-Father, phallus, divided Other... The conclusion we would derive from this trio is that the consistency in the incompleteness of the Other is necessary and vital for the subject. The Other's being inconsistent and unpredictable has the danger of transforming the body into an omnipotence where it is used as the single and absolute border. Yet, the real of the body, presented as an answer to any ideal of happiness or disappointment of the subject, marks a reality that enjoyment cannot be established *outside the body*, that loss object cannot be transformed to lack, which we can exactly hear from the statement “my body belongs to me.” As we can frequently witness in the current discourse of Turkey; his/her body remains as the only address that the Other can call the subject to continue its subjectivity in the structural and discursive inconsistency of the Other, and in the unpredictable structure of the social bonding. Divided, reduced, dismembered, consumed body...

Particularly, the puberty transition, where the enjoyment of the body returns, reveals that there are no consistent Others who convey incompleteness, in actions experienced by the body as borders. Postmodern pathologies, which transform the body to an imaginary show and consumption, paradoxically assign the body as the principal location where subjective agony is expressed in its fatal and restrictive characteristics. In such a social bonding, where alterity cannot be symbolically represented; what remains in the hands of subjects, who cannot get support from the unconscious utterance dynamics of enunciation, is expressing the impossible in the real of the body. Such expressions appear as resistances that often astonish and surprise those who witness it, as in *acting-outs*, and that questions the Other in its symbolic functions in its being dependent of the structure of enunciation.

Based on the close relationship established by psychoanalytic theory between the body, the Other, and discourse; through citational dynamics of clinical practices, we can assert that verbalising the impossible allows the reconstruction of only partially possible truth as the symbolic location of lack.

a clinical example.

The clinical case section we will present aims to open for discussion how the body problem, the unconscious subject as an effect of consistency on symbolic plane, expressed in clinical encounters based on the hypothesis we asserted, can be disposed of for the sake of the identity perception established on an imaginary plane. Arranging individual clinical interviews, which are methodologically semi-constructed, we took discourse analysis as the basis in this frame. In this analysis, we focused on the relation between the body and discourse in our case presentation. Is the body here, the speaking symbolic body of the hysteric? Or, is it the real plane of body, resorting to expel its driving burden through acting-outs rather as a border experience, as we mentioned before? In other words, can the symptom of the subject we will study be heard as a metaphor of the lack of being situation, or does it

refer to an excess that cannot be represented? We will try to look for answers to these questions.

J. is a 24 year-old woman, who has been having difficulties to direct her life during the period after her graduation from university training. She tells that she has been intensely using cannabis and alcohol, tried synthetic narcotics such as Bonsai and Jamaica a few times, never used them again because they made her lose her self-control and that she still received her livelihood from her mother. She opened her first session by saying “my mother is too much like me,” and expressed her tendency to “bad things.” She says “Whatever I want happens; I create my own weakness,” and after a short while, she says “Life is very beautiful when you do not put the seatbelts on.” In this first encounter, we hear that J’s life is going out of its way and substance abuse coincides with the period in which she met a man and separated from him. According to her, “falling in love is terrifying.” Whenever she realises that she is in the position of a lover, her relationship ends with the appearance of her aggression and jealousy.

After a short while, she learns that the man she loved was to marry another woman. She describes a dramatic scene where she went with a friend of hers to the wedding she was not invited and had to stay outside, as her first action she did not tell her mother. This cinematographic drama is experienced from a place that gives her the opportunity to play the tragedy of her history. It can be said that the most important sounding tale in this break-up is that this man went away with J’s words, and she expresses that she was, in a sense, *out of words*. Based on the place, where writing has a bonding with her, and considering that her sessions will be paid by her mother, she is asked to bring one page of writing to each session, in which she can write whatever is on her mind as she likes, in order to have her make a psychological investment on and own this area of speech. Calling her to a more symbolic area from the position she assumed by manipulating by using, by belittling the consuming/depletion; exploiting/exploitation duality and the Other, becomes the first step in this encounter.

Of course, the preliminary interviews that cover this first encounter revealed that it was not easy to approach J, and that she tested the areas and borders of the Other before she bonded with him/her. Getting close with her had the risk of her ignoring any distances, attaching to another, and making her worthless. She complained about her life and herself but it was thought that she needed an area of speech to record these grievances, which did not transform into a subjective demand, and to move her in a desire to subjectively know. Therefore, she was forbidden to use cannabis before coming to the session, and she said “no” when she said she came with the substance again and she would use it after the session. The first writing she brought was a love letter she scribbled during heavy alcohol (mostly Absinthe) use, and in which she wrote about the loss of her grandfather. The first function of the therapist was to preserve for her this verbal area, and the mediation provided with the verbalism.

At this point, she had to be told that the object that gave her enjoyment would not be provided and the lack of that object had to be monitored so that an utterance on her subjective position could appear. In other words, her mouth had to stay empty so that she could speak. Although she did not formulate and express to the Other, it was heard from her expressions that her request was having someone to tell her to “stop,” defining her place and making the borders apparent to internalise them in her life. Nevertheless, it was obvious that J tested borders over the form of enjoyment (*jouissance*) directed to her body and consumed her and this has become her way of expressing herself. Her question was “What gives me enjoyment?” rather than the questions of “who am I?” or “What do I want?” addressed to the Other, as in a neurotic construction. The question of the subject was “which enjoyment defined her” rather than a reference of how the Other defined her and sending the lack in the answer she received, to the lack and the incompleteness of the Other. In this frame, our

clinical study began to take shape over studying the break-up. Of course, this seemed to be based on the loss of object.

It is thought that the problem of symbolisation of the separation is marked by the tattoo on her arm. Here, the relation between the body and the signifiers, which are elements of discourse, is obvious. This tattoo is an adjacent signifier (holophrase) that marks three names in continuity with each other: She combines the name of her previous partner, the name of her unborn child, and the name of her grandfather in a single word. This recalls another statement of hers, related to her break-up. "He is the only story that begins and ends with the same letter." This story displays her tragedy that causes her to feed from pain, and her going after this man overwhelms her mother. Maybe, even though disorganised, this can be heard as a desire to separate. She adds "The meta that were left in me has begun to go away." Obviously, having a hard time to hold the ideal as a symbolic area, J. begins to follow the ideal of a more narcissistic image. In therapy, we can say that her expressing that the key, which would help her get out of this story, is lost, reveals an element of transference. Although she establishes a relation as a mirror reflection of her, and tries to get rid of the therapist, can the therapist be appearing here in the position of a subject, which she is supposed to know as an "Other" figure?

It is known that the most basic operation of language is difference, as told by Ferdinand de Saussure (1971). The space between two signifiers refers to the operation of repression and to the loss of object, which is the first separation. This is a symbolic process where the Other's arbitration is limited, subject's omnipotence is divided, and enters desire dynamics. J's name, in addition to its meaning "dry and falling autumn leaves," can, through a play of words, become two words, one of which is a verb, suggesting the command "take enjoyment." We think that the command coming from this superego is related to the fact that nothing has ever been made missing in her life. On the other hand, this is emphasised in J's discourse: "I abuse. I prefer my own enjoyment." However, the course of the sessions begins to shape, as how this preference surrendered to a melancholic psychological world, with the fantasy of a suicidal acting-out. Being identified with her style of enjoyment is an experience of a destructive dimension that pushes the subject to the edge of speech.

We can exemplify this with a dream of hers: "I am at the edge of a cliff with him. He pushes when my back is turned towards him. He jumps down. He catches me mid-air turns me around and he gets downside. We fall. His underside is shattered, he is dead. He leaves me alone with his own death." When we assess this dream, she says "he is like he cannot get out of me, how can you take him out. I have no ending. There is nothing cut like a bone with a knife. We are in eternity." A bit later, she expresses as: "I do not take responsibility against anything" (...) "My mother is the only thing that keeps me alive. If she dies, I would comfortably die. I do not have any desire to live at all." These statements are added by her writings, in which she is lost at sea, and fell off to the beach in blood from the security point.

Discussion

Weakness of the feeling of security, and the belief that everybody is fake and wearing masks, describes an important problem of bonding in one aspect. In another aspect, it reveals the importance of repairing and redefining the references of phallic bases. The destructive dimension of the enjoyment that pushes her to the edge makes her search for love absolute. Her saying "a little more" all the time, in one aspect, points to an enjoyment beyond desire that cannot be satisfied, and in another aspect, reveals the solution of taking action to expel this excess by taking risk. We can say that opting for her enjoyment, which seems like a more

conformist solution for the subject, emphasises a ravage that can be created by being pulled to a void at the edge of a cliff as in her dream.

We should also note that, during this process, J. changed cities, and has quit using substances for four months although she resorted to using alcohol in certain periods. In a way, her psychic process, which seemed more lackluster at first, regarding the separation problem has become more active. In this process, we started to handle the symbolic insufficiency of the father figure, which she called “my broken side” and her fusional relationship with her mother. Just as her tattoo revealing the problem in the function of repressing the fact of enjoyment, which the father metaphor sends to the impulsiveness of the body. There are three names and there are no spaces between them. Their being written as the continuation of each other (means an uninterrupted continuity) seems to point to the difficulty of the transmission of difference between generations. We can say that both her opening a place for writing in her psychic process, and the writing on her body, gets important for creating a limit to her bodily enjoyment. Maybe this can be the first element that marks J’s own subjective solutions.

Of course, studying the difference between persevering a distance in a relationship, and breaking-up and being destroyed requires a long-term psychotherapeutic work, considering the narcissistic sensitivity of J’s nature. Such that, an expression appearing in relation to herself in the discourse of the mother, who is one of the first “Other” figures, is that she married the father to give birth to J. In a way, she gave birth to J because of herself. J approves this by saying “it is her right to be very close and know everything.” This seems extremely automatic to her. According to her, being loved requires such intervention and lack of distance. Her mother calls her everyday at the time she was born. J’s difficulty in expressing her request may be considered exactly in this context. She cannot call. In order to turn the scream to a call, an “Other,” who hears, encounters, interprets, and takes responsibility for answers is necessary. J plays her disappearance by terminating herself. In a context, her searching for a border is being constructed around the desire to be born as a subject of desire. It seems that the mother, as the “Other” figure, who makes calls instead of the Subject, plays a role in this destruction. She seems she does not want to lose her and let her go. In this frame, we can say that her love affair, which replaces the relationship between J and her mother, can be perceived as an imaginary charm, fascination, drifting into eternity with another, an dependency that overwhelms or makes her lose herself.

As a result, are we facing a subject today, who has not appeared in her desire yet, rather than a divided subject? The gap between the body and speech reveals the alterity of the body to the subject. When considered from this point, according to our facts, we can say that what the subject cannot express in words, what she cannot handle in affective and relational context, she experiences them over the borders of her body as a body enjoyment. Again, the Other’s not being symbolically constructed in psychology, activates the body, which is an “other” to the subject but this time, on the plane of real, not symbolic. The attempt to appear on her own discourse, as a subject of desire with the fall of a destructive and conformist enjoyment, is individual’s attempt to accept that her identity and the enjoyment she seeks is not enough to define who she is, in the body she accommodates. The participation of social discourse in this driving rise (replacement of originally lost objects are under the hand or before the eyes of the individual at all times in surplus enjoyment⁴⁴ (*plus de jouir*) forms) paves the way for the subject to express her agony over body enjoyment and its borders. Image of the body becoming prominent is still not a solution for subject’s either search for love or the symbolic assignment of her place. This is only possible by a transference relationship established with the Other, which goes through positioning her as a subject who

⁴⁴ Here, it must be highlighted that Lacan reached the concept of “object *a*” based on K. Marx’s surplus value concept, and that restructured it as a remaining surplus enjoyment returning from this lost object.

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is assumed to know her in social bonding. When considered in this context, we can assert that the psychotherapeutic relationship is a way of establishing social bonding through transference.

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Social Science Or Social Engineering? Some Criticisms On Doxological Social Science Practices In TURKEY

Ali Esgin⁴⁵

Introduction: Do Social Sciences Aim for Social Engineering?

In this study, I intend to provide critical evaluations for the idea of science that considers social sciences as a type of social engineering and for certain scientific practices that recreate this perception every time. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's "doxa" concept and his view of social sciences, I define the idea of science that equalises social sciences with social engineering as *doxalogical engineering* and I call the types of practice which continuously recreate this perception, *doxalogical practices*. Yet, I must express that with these definitions I do not intend to restrict the social sciences practices in Turkey to a particular classification or to blame all social scientists in general. My basic intention is to make critical evaluations on particular social scientific practices in Turkey that have become common-sensory automatism, i.e., that are surrounded with essential tendencies, that are isolated from reflexivity, and that perceive social sciences exclusively as social engineering. In other words, the focus of my criticism is on certain academic tendencies which make use of social sciences practices I call as doxalogical engineering or doxalogical practices that materialise this concept, as reasonable and acceptable social sciences and which continuously recreates these. I claim that the scientific perception that equalises social sciences with social engineering is the underlying reason for the tendencies and problems in question.

The perception of science viewed through the definitions and differences mentioned here with respect to the perception and practices of social sciences is directly related to social scientists' perception of science. Shall we perceive science exclusively as an activity intended for acquiring data through various techniques, or shall we consider that as a complex and challenging activity that aims to reveal all aspects of the reality in an objective way? Is science done in order to share the generally superficial data acquired from the field with the society or in order to disclose the reality to the individuals who are not actually aware of the reality due to their social positions? Shall science serve for the intention to legitimise, or shall science at all times aim to reveal out the reality irrespective of the consequences? Does science mean to provide the politicians or rulers with new tools to empower their positions or to disclose the inaccurate information on which the power mechanisms are based? Such questions regarding science can be certainly augmented; however, the main problem here is not about the definition of science preferred by a scientist, but it is about the perception of science, the deep-rooted misperceptions, and tendencies. These tendencies and misperceptions are directly related with the dominant ontological and epistemological recognitions or with the lack of the reflexivity that withholds the scientists from questioning themselves and their practices. Now we can clarify these claims in a specific order based on conceptual justifications.

The Essence of Social Engineering or Technicians of Opinion

Social engineering is defined as the architecture of mind in simple terms or as the architecture of social psychological consciousness in complex terms. The implementations can be on the entire society, on communities, or individuals. In more comprehensive terms, social

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engineering is related with the efforts that several corporate, private, or other types of organisations and particularly the authorities in social life, influence large segments of the society or with the perception management initiatives that legitimise their influence on such. Social engineering intends to provide the unaware social actors with superficial data through scientific discourses and to inform them about what is happening in the social arena (Esgin, 2015). The aim here is not to disclose but to manipulate the individuals through the misuse of science and to make them feel content with the face value. Bourdieu defines this as the rationalisation of the semi-wise knowledge. According to him, a considerable amount of the persons who consider themselves as sociologists are social engineers that prescribe for the managers of private or administrative organisations. These sociologists rationalise the practical and semi-wise knowledge that the ruling class possess about the social world (Bourdieu, 1993: 13). That the sociologists equalise sociology with social engineering has transformed it into a science that is supportive of the status-quo and made sociologic information superficial.

Technician of opinion is not different from social engineering actually, but it gives more emphasis to the media-related aspect of the issue. So just like the social engineering, the technician of opinion which is focused on the creation of consent, is evaluated within the framework of the government-media relationship. For example Bourdieu (1998) focuses on the technician of opinion as the centre of the government-media relationship and explains it by emphasising all conscious-unconscious attitudes that aim to influence human behaviours through the media. In this regard, he explains the reason not to attend a proposed TV program with the fear that he could transform into a technician of opinion as a result of the combination of his significant words with simple visuals for which even himself can give consent and thus, his words could become insignificant, worthless, or ordinary. Visibility is the aspect that gives life to a technician of opinion, indeed. Speed is an essential rule in the world of a technician of opinion built on the visibility myth. It is necessary to evaluate the things and reach results in a fast way. It is impossible to observe a technician of opinion feeling the anxiety of ‘reaching at immediate conclusions,’ which Adorno even feels in his dream. A technician of opinion wishes to reach conclusions and present their own opinions to the others immediately. For this he does not refrain from interrupting, speaking loudly or breaking the rules of politeness freely. The passion for unlimited power, unlimited self-confidence, and the unlimited freedom to say something about everything are the essentials for the technicians of opinion. When a technician of opinion is in question, it becomes impossible to know the limits for sure. You can never know where a technician of opinion acts as a businessman, as a journalist, as a tool for knowledge perversion, or as a source of information (Türk, 2012). In this regard, the technicians of opinion appear as the ‘wise of the already known’ - in any issue - in a community where the ‘generation of information has become worthless, even regarded as a ‘dirty, totalitarian, modernist’ business’ and as a coterie that is quite skilled at making anything superficial.”

In terms of the practices in Turkey, social sciences are observed to be functioning as social engineering and sometimes as a technician of opinion practice and as a source for the technician of opinion of the semi-wise knowledge created by combining the social sciences practices with the perception of social sciences. As also expressed by Türk (2012), the Turkish society has long been witnessing the rise of technician of opinion. As particularly claimed by Bourdieu, the intellectual world seems to have become “an arena of war where it is aimed to create ‘new intellectuals’ and to have them adopted by the others.” These new experts who consider themselves as wise men and who express the problems of the political life as if like businessmen, politicians, or as political journalists, or the “so-called-experts”

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class has become quite functional to evaluate not only the media-government relationship but also the transformation of the entire intellectual area and the general position of the intellectuals. To put in other words, social sciences have transformed into social engineering and the scientific practices performed through social engineering perspective have transformed into an essential source of technician of opinion.

The most fundamental issue here is related with the perception and practices of science which legitimise the semi-wise knowledge and which make the scientific practices performed as social engineering acceptable. When science becomes ordinary, scientific products are made superficial and the most significant of all, such perception and practices are continuously recreated under the excuse of science, this means the foundation of a ground which legitimises downgrading of social science to social engineering. The doxalogical engineering logic which comes to the forefront among the social science practices and the doxalogical practices generated by this logic have become the source for a substantial vicious cycle within the framework of the features describing themselves.

Social Engineering in Turkey: Doxalogical Engineering and Doxalogical Practices

As it can be comprehended, I use the concepts of doxalogical practices and doxalogical engineering to define a logic which neglects an essential term for science, that is, the reflexivity, which never tries to objectivise its own practices and position and which has become captivated by fixed ideas (doxas) particularly in terms of ontological and epistemological acceptances. Common features of such kinds of social science practices I define as the lack of self-reflexive conscience or the reflexivity concept can be summarised as the following; to adopt a definition of science based on a common sensory character (i.e., based on doxa or the world of opinions), to build the social science practices through the shallow tendencies such definition is based on, and to be close to any type of intervention (Esgin, 2015). The reflexivity issue functions as a key determinant here.

Social sciences' claim of the generation of accurate information about the social area is related to the scientific position of the social scientists and their characteristic combined with reflexivity, which supports this position. Otherwise, the social scientist would come under the influence of automatism, doxas, or misconceptions and would become an actor in recreating of doxas. However, instead of becoming the actor of such recreation or serving for the legitimacy of those, the social scientist shall struggle against the doxas or the common misconceptions, indeed. In brief, reflexivity keeps the social scientific information from generalisations in the world and makes it superior over the opinions of ordinary people in society. As emphasised by Bourdieu (Koytak, 2014), the reflexivity principle aims to get purged from the prejudices, ideologies, and generalisations forced by the social world.

In this regard, reflexivity is a prerequisite for any serious scientific information. When this prerequisite is underestimated, the social scientists will become ordinary, actually. They will drift from a conscience that tends towards the social reality but become open to the influence of misconceptions just like ordinary people. Reflexivity would fail the social scientist in revealing out the negative results of the dilemma created by misconceptions or doxas (fixed ideas that are deemed as legitimate) and in recovering from deprivation. Therefore, reflexivity is what makes us discover the social aspect of the individual; the unpersonal concealed under the confidential and the universal buried deep inside the private and thus, relieves us from such illusions (Bourdieu&Wacquant, 1992).

With regards to the practices in Turkey, the studies made on this topic (Esgin, 2013, 2014, 2015; Göker, 2011, Türk, 2012) show that social science practices in Turkey have become social engineering practices due to the lack of reflexivity, and social scientists have become so much skilled at acting as a technician of opinion through these practices via the media. The lack of reflexivity makes scientific products superficial and more significantly, it downgrades and blurs the reality. In that case, we observe superficiality as the natural result of the perception of social engineering, and thus, doxalogical practices and doxalogical engineering. However, having concepts turn superficial is also an attempt to transform daily recognitions and common sense into scientific definitions, i.e., it is an attempt to justify these. As such initiative would nurture ideological prejudices and opinions that are based on daily information it makes it possible to serve as a legitimising tool all the time. “Researches that transform ordinary recognition into scientific definitions and that simply justify the products of daily discourse have the opportunity to be approved by the scientific society and its audience all the time, especially when they definitely obey the more superficial rules of the scientific discipline; on the other hand, a research that breaks away from the inaccurate obvious and the so-called objectivity of the foresighted products – including the scientific common sense – is always under the risk of appearing as a result of an arbitrary enforcement or ideological prejudices and being blamed for consciously generating data that would justify such prejudices” (Bourdieu, 2007). In brief, social engineering includes making use of doxalogical practices to justify daily recognition, the common sense knowledge, or doxas through the misuse of science to conceal the reality by making it superficial within the framework of this effort and the initiatives to legitimise the activities of the power elites. These initiatives, which area of influence through the misuse of science, that is, through doxalogical practices manifest in three different ways: Conspirational statements, prophecy-based statements and ideology-based statements. All of these forms of statements materialise the perception of social engineering and the weaknesses of doxalogical practices as common-sensory automatism. In this respect, the idea of sociology constructed as social engineering mainly corresponds to the idea of sociology that enables the descriptions of doxalogical practices and doxalogical engineering and thus, it does not focus on what is behind the visible but it focuses on the visible itself or on what is desired to be made visible (Esgin, 2015).

Scientific practices that emerge as common sensory automatism due to the lack of reflexivity have a significant role in the perception of the science which is defined as doxalogical practices and doxalogical engineering and which equalises social sciences with social engineering. In other words, the problem is directly shaped through our scientific perceptions and practices and particularly through the ontological and epistemological weaknesses that materialise in practices I have defined as doxalogical practices. In terms of these weaknesses, the isolated empiricism which equalises social science practices with solely surveying and which considers the implementation of surveys to be sufficient on its own for generating ideas in any issue. The scientific logic that defines social science practices as telling about a randomly chosen (or chosen according to the current trend) topic with the information compiled as a desk work can be given as examples to doxalogical practices and doxalogical engineering. In this category we can also count the practices which restrict themselves as unilateral essential understanding in society-related statements among all theoretical varieties and methodological options and which every time recreate the perception of science possessing a common sensory characteristic.

In this regard, the findings of Göker (2011) in his study support the conclusions I reached in my previous studies (Esgin, 2013, 2014). The first and the most significant finding of the study is that the articles have not aimed for data structuring to a large extent (52.8%). Social

scientists that structure data and prefer getting into contact with the society have never worried about structuring data about the “disadvantaged” groups. Only eleven of the 3114 articles were about the poor, prisoners, street children, the disabled, or prostitutes, etc. As can be seen in the above graphic, literature scanning, experiment/survey and encyclopaedic writing methods were preferred in the articles. The articles where both the qualitative and quantitative types of data are employed together and which make use of one or more method in investigating the same topic have a share of 1.2% only. Another finding is that there is a general problem of “explaining oneself” in the articles. Though not contributing to the accumulation of knowledge, the widely covered literature analysis and encyclopaedic style articles were not observed to include any “proper explanation,” anyway. While certain external data was used for descriptive purposes in these articles, it was found that data that was not structured or definable evidences were not used. As in most of the articles, the introduction and conclusion sections summarised the opinions reached based on the discourses of the others on the topic and as sometimes, the opinion of the author on these opinions are simply patched these articles remained as explanations lacking a brainteaser or a clear design.

Conclusion: Social Science is not Social Engineering but an Arena for Struggling against the Doxosoph

The first thing to say in conclusion is that the mission of social sciences is not attempting for social engineering in order to write prescriptions for the social problems, either equalising social sciences with social engineering means emptying and impairing it. Social sciences intend to comprehend and explain the social world in its own distinctiveness. Therefore, it would not be right to evaluate social sciences through a restricted perception as such. This is because, social sciences are scientific expertise and they possess powerful theoretical and methodological orientations for the description of the social (Waters, 2000). While the theoretical and methodological grounds of social sciences carry those to the limits of science, they also differentiate the information it has generated from the ordinary daily information. In this regard, through establishing accurate concepts, social sciences intend to make comprehensible the social problems and the changes which everybody presumes to be understanding or which are built on misconceptions. In other words, social sciences seek to benefit from science in probing and revealing the reasons underlying the visible and apparent. On the contrary to the social engineering concept, the mission of social sciences is to reveal out the realities of the social life within the framework of scientific criticism and evaluation measures without making any phenomenon absolute and thus, to struggle against the common social misconceptions (doxas) as a responsible and intervening science. On the contrary to the missions undertaken by social engineering and enforced to social sciences, the most essential and unique function of social sciences is to critically unsettle the manoeuvres and manipulations imposed on the citizens and consumers through the perverted use of science (Bourdieu, 2014:15). Certainly this requires preventing social sciences from falling into the trap of the missions that are defined through the dominant traditions and perceptions, in order to disclose the misuses of science and to ever empower the social sciences.

As reasonably defined by Bourdieu (1998), “the intellectual world is now the site of a struggle aimed at producing and imposing ‘new intellectuals’ and therefore a new definition of the intellectual and the intellectual’s political role, a new definition of philosophy and the philosopher, henceforward engaged in the vague debates of a political philosophy without technical content, a social science reduced to journalistic commentary for election nights, and uncritical glossing of unscientific opinion polls. Plato had a wonderful word for all these

people: *doxosophers*. These ‘technicians of opinion who think themselves wise’ pose the problems of politics in the very same terms in which they are posed by businessmen, politicians and political journalists... [But] the sociologist is opposed to the doxosopher, like the philosopher, in that she questions the things that are self-evident, in particular those that present themselves in the form of questions, her own as much as other people’s. This profoundly shocks the doxosopher, who sees a political bias in the refusal to grant the profoundly political submission implied in the unconscious acceptance of commonplaces.” The first thing to do against this approach is to set forth the reflexivity concept, which will disclose the misuses of science, as an essential condition for the academic field. Another issue is to create the opportunity and requirement of the critical intellectual who mainly intends to criticise the intellectual *doxa* hoarded by doxosophers.

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Sociological Context of Juvenile Delinquency: Are Juvenile Delinquents “Offenders” or “Victims?”

Esma Esgin G nder

Introduction

A person, who is under the age of eighteen and who violates the norm of criminal law is considered as legally a “delinquent child” in Turkey. In this respect, juvenile delinquency as a social issue has not only a legal feature but also a psycho-pedagogical feature. In principle, the child is innocent. Therefore, the concepts of “crime” and “malignity” are learned from the adults in the social environment. In other words, it will not be a rational and humanist approach to regard the children who have no self-concept and who are forced to commit crime or who commit crime as “criminals.” The child who has a tendency to commit crime is the child who pays the bill for the confusion in a family or society and then makes the society pay it. Accordingly, the punishment to be given/imposed related to the crime committed by the child has heavy attributions in terms of the offender and the society.

Although it does not sound nice when concepts of child and crime are used together, in recent years, juvenile delinquency has become one of the significant social problems in the world. Crime is “the act punished by the law” (Bayındır,  zel & K ksal, 2007, p.96), or includes the actions or behaviours acknowledged of clearly defined by the legislators as damaging or being dangerous for the society. Juvenile Delinquency can be defined as the fact that a legally minor person, namely a person under age eighteen, commits a crime. This case is defined as “juvenile delinquency” in English and in Turkish, it means “the guiltiness of the minor;” however it is used as juvenile crime ( cel, 2002, p.375). In Turkey, as in the developed countries, one takes pains to use the term “child pushed into crime” instead of the term “delinquent child.” This approach exposes that one should behave considering that, “Each child pushed into crime is a victim at the same time” (Solak, 2011). Whatever crime it is, the loser is always the children; child abuse is always observed to be in consideration in juvenile delinquency (I ık, 2006).

Actually, the term juvenile delinquency includes a prejudgement in it, because committing a crime is realised through a certain will, it is not rational that an individual commits a crime without his/her own will. Children are creatures to be protected; adults or other individuals draw them into crime and as such, they become criminals or are set down (Semerci,  opuro lu, Semerci & Yılmaz, 2006). Thus juvenile delinquency, in the first place, departs from the crimes committed by the adults in terms of characteristics and structural properties. This situation obliges that different reactions and criminal administrations should be given to juvenile and adult delinquency. This obligation can be seen in the “*protective*” and “*supportive*” aims of Turkish Child Protection Law in the frame of the principle, which is “the best interests of the child.”

In this study, the results obtained were discussed by analysing the sociological aspects and structural features of juvenile delinquency in Turkey with the data related to “confidential delinquency” researches by considering the reaction theory of Cohen.

Juvenile Delinquency

Turkey is a country with a dense child population. The population between ages 0-18 is approximately twenty four million. As far as the basic indexes related to children are examined problems such as poverty, reach of education, social gender inequality, juvenile

labour, delinquency, violence and sexual abuse seem to surround children. From the 1990s, although children and problems related to children has been more apparent in the social structure and legal-corporate changes specific to children has accelerated, juveniles pushed to crime phenomenon has been a significant place in public opinion agenda in Turkey since the 2000s (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kalkınma Bakanlığı [Turkish Republic Ministry of Development], 2014, p.1). Current statistics and projections indicate that the number of children under the risk of being pushed to crime has rapidly increased. As the current indexes are examined, it will be seen that the number of judged children has doubled in about fifteen years. This increase has been seen to be accelerated especially after the 2000s and has reached the top point in 2006 and has started to decrease since then. 46,3 percent of the cases in juvenile courts and juvenile high criminal courts in 2008 has been brought into action due to the assets and 21 percent has been brought into action due to the offences against physical integrity.

The shares of other crimes are less and are as follows:

- crimes against public health 7,9 percent;
- offences against liberty 6,4 percent;
- crimes against firearms and knives 3,0 percent;
- offences against sexual impunity 2,4 percent;
- law of intellectual property 2,2 percent;
- offences against honour 2,1 percent (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2014, p.14-15).

“Juvenile Delinquency” is defined as a case arising from the fact that the person commits any act considered as a crime by the society or laws at an age admitted as childhood. The reasons driving children to crime can have psychological, social, economic, and educational roots. As far as the literature related to the risk factors effective in delinquency is observed, a wide fund of knowledge seems to be available. Işık (2006), has listed the social risk factors concerning juvenile delinquency as follows:

- Confrontation with violence at home or in society,
- Being subjected to domestic violence,
- Narcotic habit,
- Bad friend relationships,
- Cognitive inabilities to use skills
- Being distant to express abilities as approved by the society,
- Being the victim of violence,
- Lack of family care and families with just one parent.

Sociologists and criminologists have observed juvenile delinquency in several sights. Juvenile delinquency is generally concerned as an expression of child's social maladaptation and has a social and psycho-pedagogic qualification rather than being a question of law. Therefore, it is not reasonable and humane to regard child only as a “criminal” by dissociating the crime committed by the child and young from his/her critical development periods. The child who has a tendency to commit crime is the child who pays the bill for the confusion in a family or society and then makes the society pay it. Thus there is no children committing crimes but child pushed into crime (Yıldız, 2009).

Researches on juveniles pushed into crime has revealed that the factors causing children to be tied into crime also defines a child becoming socialised. Accordingly, Giddens (2000, p.186) draws attention to the necessity of sociological theories in order to successfully analyse the crime phenomenon on the grounds that it requires the analyses of social foundations. Likewise, İçli (2002, p.651) defends that among the theories analysing the nature and reasons

of crime, the theories presenting the widest and most systematic point of view are sociological theories.

Sociological View Towards Juvenile Delinquency:

The variety of delinquency variability and differences between the profiles of guilty individuals as well as the complication of crime phenomenon and the fact that there are many sorts of crime requires crime phenomenon to be explained with a multiple point of view. Sociological theories put characteristics of individual formed by the social environment on the grounds of guilty acts. The Sub-cultural Theory suggests that certain groups in the society approve or, at least, have values causing crime. Thereby individuals taking place in such groups learn that guilty behaviours (such as robbery, fraud) are permissible, and they exhibit such behaviours (İçli, 2007, p.77).

The sub-cultural theoretician *Cohen* stated that crime subculture popularises violence by creating an alternative statute source and unsuccessfulness of children at school and obstacles against statute pushes them into crime (Demirbaş,2005,p.135 as cited in Kılıç,2007,p.56). Albert Cohen has brought a new viewpoint to the explanation of the juvenile delinquency phenomenon through subculture with his study titled "*Delinquent Boys.*" In this new viewpoint, making a synthesis of Sutherland's Differential Association Theory and Merton's Strain Theory, Cohen has tried to explain how delinquency appears and which characteristics of social structure causes crime. According to Cohen, the guilty subculture being contrary to the dominant culture is caused by school standards, differences in child rearing, and desires of parents and is a conscious response to the members of this culture (Thompson, 2013). In the expression of Reid (1982, p.119 as cited in İçli,2007), the epicentrum (the most sensitive point) in the arousal of crime is the interaction of the "actors" having similar adaptation problems and their responses towards the "other" who is not one of them.

Cohen states that crime subculture arouses as a result of the conflict between low class and middle class. The relative position of the child's family in the social structure defines the problems that the children will face. For instance, low class parents cannot socialise their children to the middle class. These children being a member of a gang cannot gain middle class status through legal ways, so they create an alternative statue system in which they can successfully compete. Their hostility towards the middle class motivates them to create an opposite subculture. They evaluate that the middle class is aimed at goods and exactly against violent crimes, and they deal with illegal business in order to damn all values of the middle class (Ritzer,1990, p.166 as cited in İçli,2007). These children being members of the lower class grow as individuals who do not attach importance to education and do not know how to delay satisfaction because their parents do not know middle class values at all.

The ones desperate about improving through legal ways may form the delinquent subculture by joining the individuals having similar opinions. Group support helps them conquer their feelings of shame, fear or guilt which develops after attending illegal activities. Their attendance to the guilty subculture also provides them to have individual success and to have satisfaction with the approval of their acts by their friends (Kocadaş,2007, p.168). Thus children join the guilty gangs as a preparatory to the delinquent career.

According to Cohen, the social position of a family forms the resource of the basic problems with which the children will confront for their lives. Family forming the basics of society can be the hidden source of the reasons pushing children into crime or making him/her commit a crime. Namely, children being members of the lower class try to realise the aims and lifestyles of middle class children as statute seeking. However, it is rather difficult for the children of lower class families to realise this target through a way socially accepted, because their class and economical position do not allow for this. This difficulty causes a statute obstacle for individuals. This fact is effective in delinquency subculture to arouse by causing

children to lose their self-confidence and develop reaction formation. As the interaction of children being a member of this class increases, it becomes easier for children to interiorise these behavioural patterns. Thereby Cohen states that delinquency subculture arouses as a reaction formation (Kızmaz,2005, p.158-159).

As far as the Subculture Theory is evaluated in general, the fact that one or more groups among the groups forming society creates a new system of values by isolating themselves from the rest of society, getting disconnected from that culture and system of values and therefore the arising culture conflicts with the culture, norms and values considered superior by the society is seen as the reason for crime (Dolu, 2010, p.342).

Structural Characteristics of Juvenile Delinquency

Crimes committed by children differs from the ones by adults in terms of both sorts and reasons. As juvenile delinquency is profoundly evaluated, it is clearly seen that the problem is not only a legal one but also a psycho-pedagogical and social phenomena. The most significant property separating the crime committed in that period from the one in adulthood is that such a crime involves the formation of personality. A child whose personality is not enough matured in terms of social development is in an apparent imbalance. Both the factors from a child's own personal situation and environmental factors are seen as important factors in the child's maladaptive behaviour. These factors are in a very close relationship with each other and crime appears as an intersection of the negative effect of these factors (Tüzün,1995). The second distinguishing property in this matter is actually the fact that the child is directing his/her life through anti-social urges and being satisfied in this way. All children commit little crimes at early ages. Even according to some experts, "each child has the urges to defeat himself/herself; actually there is no one who has not committed little crimes considered unimportant despite being in the guilt category." How many persons are there who did not steal the forbidden fruit from the garden of a neighbour? However this does not mean that children will commit a crime in the future or become delinquent. Most of children can equilibrate in socialising during the development process. However, some among them cannot reach that balance during their development process and find themselves as criminals in the eye of society (Sürücü & Arslan, 2002).

As juvenile delinquency is observed, it separates from adult delinquency in terms of characteristic and structural properties. In a study in 2011, Toprak touches on the question of whether juvenile delinquency should be regarded as oppositions to normal law appearing in a certain period (episode) or as the first step of a criminal career, and suggests that juvenile delinquency is a temporary period namely an "episode" in general because the crimes committed in childhood reduces during the transition to adulthood. Children's behaviours have their own rules and search of game, sports, and adventure leave a mark on juvenile delinquency, at most. Guilty acts are seen in childhood and in every child independently of the social class in which the child is a member. The fact that committing petty crimes during childhood is not an unusual case and it can be considered normal in this sense can be explained in the literature as such (Toprak, 2011, p. 317-324): Depending on development period, children may disregard the legal rules earlier. Likewise children may violate legal rules due to certain reasons (such as not being mature, search of adventure, behaving thoughtlessly, etc.). However this case is not in question for adults. For instance, it does not sound believable that an adult thoughtlessly steals in the supermarket in order not to miss the opportunity, or involves in a fight in order to prove him/herself, or dyes a public bus due to peer pressure. It is also proved by criminological researches that juvenile delinquency is normal namely a case seen nearly in every child's development stage.

In summary, as the structural properties are scrutinised, juvenile delinquency differs from adult delinquency in terms of children's – throughout this stage - search for adventure and pleasure, passion to gain new experiences, desire to play games and make friends and the fact that they just make use of the opportunity encountered without planning the crime act in advance. However this case may not be an episode and may become the first step of the criminal career for children due to the shift towards indictable offences as well as the increase in the frequency and continuity of petty crimes. Children may be pushed to commit indictable offences such as wilful homicide (blood revenge), forgery, smuggling, and robbery because of the thought by their family and social environment that they will be given less punishment due to being under age. Thus family can be the hidden source of the reasons pushing child into crime. Similarly, because mother, father, or other relatives are labelled as delinquent, children are labelled likewise (son of the thief, daughter of the murderer, etc.). Moreover, because committing a crime is a source of prestige in some subcultures, some individuals are encouraged to illegal acts (Giddens, 2000, p.187), and family and immediate surroundings transfer formations and rules concerning delinquency to the child. From this aspect criminal behaviour can be thought of as a behaviour learned during socialisation.

Structural Properties of Juvenile Delinquency in Turkey

The ages between 0-18 are regarded as an important period of human development that doubtlessly have peculiar bio-psychic problems. When the negativities due to child's social environment is added to these problems, some out of the box acts can be seen as a response. Many studies show children tend towards guilty acts in certain age ranges. Especially adolescence which is during childhood and regarded as an important term of human life is seen as the period when children tended to guilt more. Along with the bio-psychic distress peculiar to this period, the gathering of one or more of the factors such as miseducation, urbanisation, migration, economic problems, etc., makes it easy for guilty behaviours to arouse many more children (Avcı, 2008, p.50).

Statistical data related to juvenile delinquency in Turkey generally depends on the data of juvenile prisoners published by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK). However because these numeric data are the ones stated only by judicial bodies and are related to the punishment decisions for the children proved to be guilty and because the number of children whose crime form is unfilled for some reason, who are not caught and/or are cleaned, the accurate number of delinquent children in Turkey is not involved in the statistics.

In the studies, especially in a postgraduate thesis, in Turkey, it is found that mostly children over the age of 15 tend towards crime mostly, and at ages 15-17 number of children turn into crime is also much more, the least rates of juvenile delinquency is at ages 0-11. According to the TÜİK's Statistics on Child, 2013 data, in a year, while 70% of about 115.500 children brought to the security units because of delinquency were between ages 15-17, 4% of them were age 11 and under (TÜİK, 2014).

As evaluated according to education levels, it has been found that most of the children that tend towards guilt are literate, in high school, and underachieve at school (Ayar & Öztürk, 2015, p.19). It is thought that especially when the negativities due to the school environment merge with academic unsuccessfulness, behaviours out of the norm such as truancy, leaving school, and tending towards guilty acts appears. As the families of delinquent children are observed, it is seen that the income and education levels of parents are low, number of siblings is high, the family are immigrants, and there are individuals acting guilty among family members. Unskilled labour force in the family affects family economy negatively and unemployment afflicts family structure. Hence the educational level of family

members and children remain inadequate and lack of education turns into a crime event. Economical problems in family affects negativities in family such as life conditions, malnutrition, inability of sheltering, etc., and marital conflict, lack of communication, violence towards children, and lack of care and love give ground to delinquency (Yağbasan,2010, p.53).

When the delinquency conditions are observed according to gender, most studies show that boys commit crime more than girls. As T İK's Statistics on Child, 2013 data are examined, it is seen that approximately 89% of 115.500 children brought to the security units due to delinquency were boys, 11% were girls (T İK,2014). This case may be explained by the fact that traditional social structure and classical family structure as well as physical and psychological reasons protect girls from the crime phenomena (Germeç, 2002, p.25).

When the sorts of crime complained to be committed by children are examined, it is seen that crimes committed against property, such as theft and robbery, are followed by personal crimes such as injury and wilful murder which are followed by sexual abuse (Ayar &  zt rk, 2015, p.19). When the fact that the juvenile delinquency rate in Turkey is higher in industrial regions where urbanisation is dense than country side is considered, the reasons why crimes against assets are more than others can be explained with rapid migrations, increasing unemployment rates, urbanisation, and the Gecekond  problem. Another notable case is the ages of children committing economy related crimes such as theft, robbery, and forgery. As the ages of suspects of crimes such as theft, robbery, and snatching are studied, it will be seen that most of them are under eighteen. This situation suggests that gangs consciously choose juveniles under the age of eighteen. In other words, plea bargain foreseen for the ones under age eighteen actually accelerates the conscious abuse of these children. Thus laws should be reorganised considering all these facts, which will be a very significant step for the future of these children.

In Turkey, just as all over the world, juvenile delinquency is one of the major social problems. As the juvenile delinquencies in the world are considered, an analogy can be seen in terms of reasons, rates, and sorts of juvenile delinquency in Turkey. This analogy reminds the subculture factor sharing the similar lifestyles and value systems which are effective in forming this group because of the similarities in the delinquent children group.

Conclusion

The researches reveal that among the children intensely committing crimes or committing felonies are the ones having serious social problems, and confronting serious difficulties in family or school life. With the new approach brought with the Child Protection Law no 5395 of Turkish Criminal Law, it is accepted that child do not commit a crime but is pushed into the crime. This approach does not consider the child as a criminal but approves that she/he is pushed into crime and as such considers the offender child as a victim of crime. As a natural result of this fact this approach aims at protecting but not punishing the juvenile pushed to crime. Even if the aim of arrest or prison sentences is not punishing the child but moving him/her away from the environment pushing him/her into crime, as the scientific studies suggests, neither the education nor protection of children is provided with the precautions or sentences foreseen in the scope of criminal law. Moreover precautions of penal law create just an opposite effect as the juvenile tend to commit a crime, namely push them into more crimes (Toprak, 2011). Along with these factors, incuriousness of family, witnessing violence events in society, confronting with images and messages including violence in media, and negative school environment are regarded as significant risk factors involving juvenile delinquency (Işık, 2006).

In conclusion, the child who has a tendency to commit crime is the child who pays the bill for the disorders in a family or society and then makes the society pay it. The children called as criminal is the one who is divest of many indispensable rights just at the beginning and thus tries to achieve his rights through illegal ways. She/he is the child unconsciously responding his/her being oppressed and jabbed. Actually a child committing a crime is punished two times: Firstly she/he is punished because of being a victim of situations out of his/her will; secondly because she/he is pushed out of society by labelled as guilty (Yörükoğlu, 2007). Supporting and strengthening the family can eliminate this situation. One of the most important steps taken in this matter in Turkey is the Family Social Support Project (ASDEP) carried out by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. It is planned to bring out a service process in the scope emphasised in the Children's Rights Contract and reproduce preventive studies. Thus it can be expected for the child protection system to focus on "child in his/her environment" rather than only child him/herself and the family become one of the intervention focuses.

As is known, children are the future of a country. In this scope, in order to prevent children from committing suicide, every precaution needs to be taken. It is of great importance to remove the causes of delinquency of juvenile by strengthening the factors preventing children wandering along the crime to commit a crime. Only through this way it will be possible to reach a healthy society.

The most effective and permanent method of fighting against crime is preventative activities before the crime is committed. Even though the preventative activities requires a long time, expenses and a wide attendance in terms of application, they are much more valid for the children who are the most fragile members of society. The major responsibility and duty in preventing juvenile delinquency fall to families then social service organisations and local governments. In reintroducing juveniles pushed into crime to society, it may be suggested to increase the number of rehabilitation centres intended for children through the corporation of local governments with the nongovernmental organisations and universities.

The general economic conditions in the country affects children as well as adults. The negative situation in economic structure (low salary, unemployment, etc.) causes pessimism and hopelessness for the future in the juvenile. Such a psychology creates children and youth hindering and being absent from school, without targets for the future, and with lack of self-confidence. Therefore a good education process for all sides depends on a stable economic structure. Social governors must take this matter into consideration (Avcı, 2008).

A national child policy formed through an integrative sight to the needs of children on the sense of the "modern child" would be the first step for bringing up children as the subjects of social life and active citizens. Thanks to this step, a sustainable social peace and coexistence culture can be realised.

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Sociological Context of Juvenile Delinquency

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The Sociological Context Of Post-Modern Social Movements

Vehbi Bayhan

Introduction

Today capitalism and especially neo-liberalism is the only socio-economic policy and this creates new social movements within the context of the sociology of globalised capitalist cities. The crisis of neo-liberalism and its problems lead to the outburst of the crowds in the globalised capitalist cities. New social movements are defined as the 'post-modern social movements' as it works by means of the internet and social media in postmodern times. Not only do these movements not come to an end where they first started but they also affect other countries. In the globalised village, people get to know about the protests easily by means of the internet and social movements become globalised. The protests turn into global social movements by means of social media.

In this paper, the sociological perspective of the postmodern social movements are analyzed in terms of the characteristics of the individuals who live in globalised capitalist cities. Within the framework of the fact that individuals and society produce and construct each other, the subject and structure should be analyzed together in order to fully understand postmodern social movements.

Sociology Of Postmodern Social Movements

According to the new social movements theory that is European-centred, the movements do not contain a pecuniary advantage like environmental and antiwar issues but they concentrate on the sustainability of a specific lifestyle (Uysal, 2013: 31). The new social movements paradigm puts the emphasis on the cultural sides of the movements (Gürakar, 2014: 237). Most of the new social movements are international. These movements deal mainly with the global ecology, the social standing of women and homosexuals, animal rights, and they are against war. The new social movements that focus on the issues which are not economic are generally supported by middle and upper social classes (Macdonis, 2012: 616).

The new or postmodern social movements are an output of a social and cultural structure. The basic system of the postmodern social structure is the neo-liberal political economy. The effects of the global neo-liberal system on social structure are the main reasons for the postmodern social movements. In this context, according to the analysis of Hardt ve Negri'nin (2012), the victory and the crisis of neo-liberalism has changed the conditions of economic and political life, but at the same time of creating new "subjectivity figures," it has started a social and an anthropological transformation. Hardt ve Negri classifies the subjectivity figures of this crisis into four groups: The indebted, the mediatised, the securitised and the represented.

a) *The indebted*: The hegemony of finance and banks has created the *indebted*. Today being in debt has been becoming a general condition of social life. It is nearly impossible to live without being in debt: students get scholarships, people get a long-term bank loan for a house or a car, they borrow money to buy medicine and this list goes on and on. Our subjectivity is formed on the basis of debt. We survive by being indebted and we live under the burden of those debts. The debt takes control of you. The debt disciplines your consumption and forces you to stretch your money and often it downgrades you to the strategies of survival but apart from those things, it also imposes you working rhythm and some choices. If you graduate from university indebted, you have to accept the first job opportunity that is offered to you in order to pay the debt. If you got a long-term bank loan to buy a house, you do not have the

luxury of going on a holiday, improving yourself or losing your job. You are responsible for your own debts and feel guilty for the obstacles you face in life just because of the debt. The indebted is an unhappy conscious which turns the guilt to a way of life. Today exploitation is mainly based on a debt not on the exchange, that means that one percent of the population rides on the 99 percent of it like those that job-debted, money-debted, and obedience-debted. A new poor figure is born and this does not involve in only the unemployed or the irregular, insecure, unsecured or part-time working people but it also involves full-time workers and the impoverished part of the middle-class. Their poverty is mainly based on their debt-chain. The slavery relation is reproduced (Hardt ve Negri, 2012: 18-21). Postmodern captive individuals are accustomed to living in debt by being happy in consumption cathedrals or malls to shop by using credit cards that are distributed irresponsibly by the banks and when they do not have enough money to pay for the credit card loan, they withdraw money from another bank's credit card to pay for it (Bayhan, 2012:164).

- b) *The mediatised:* The control over informatics and communication networks has created the mediatised. Today's mediatised subjects suffer from information, communication and the abundancy of expression. Especially for most of the workers in dominant countries, social media both liberalises and enchains them to their jobs. Not only can you go anywhere with your smart phone and wifi but you can go on working at the same time by means of these tools. That is no matter where you go, you are working at the same time! To be mediatised is the main factor of indistinctiveness of difference between work and life. Therefore it is more correct to talk about the mediatised of those workers rather than their alienation. While the alienated worker's conscious is segregated and divided, the mediatised worker's conscious is subjected to network environment or assimilated. In reality the mediatised worker's conscious is not fractured but rather it is fragmentised and dispersed. That is why the subjectivity of the mediatised is paradoxically neither active nor passive, it always awaits in an alert position. Human being are masked in a figure of indebted reproductivity and likewise the mediatised figure reserves the mysterious and eviscerated human brain. The media operates more deeply into our lives every day. Our life experiences and the sophisticated narratives of our aspirations and longings left their place to the typical questions in social media: Where are you now? What are you doing? Friendship habits and practices are degraded to an "online friendship" process. The young are always in need of following the texts or messages that they get from their mobile phones or social media. They satisfy their narcissist identities by counting their followers in Facebook and how many "likes" they get for their posts. Everybody aims to be a "micro celebrity" on Instagram, Youtube, Twitter and Facebook. Internet addiction lowers the young person's creativity and empathy levels due to the fact that they always like the sharings in social media, the vibration of the mobile phones, and suffer from the syndrome to check e-mails or messages constantly (Stein ve Sanburn, 2013). By sharing all their privacy in social media, "cyber friends" are in a position of both 'exhibitionist' and 'peeper' and besides they consume their privacy by being a subject or object of a "pornographic" show (Bayhan, 2012:165).
- c) *The securitised:* The security regime and generalised exceptions created the securitised ones, the state as a figure fell into the clutches of fear, pleading for protection. Passing through airport security, your body and belongings are scanned by devices. You give fingerprints and your retina is scanned when entering certain countries. In case you are unemployed and you begin to receive social security benefits, you are subjected to different type of controls. Your efforts, intentions and progress in your life are recorded. Hospitals, government offices, schools have all their own specific inspection regimes and data collection systems. However, you do not

come across these only when you enter to a special place. Your walk on the street is probably being recorded by security cameras, your spending by credit card, searches on the internet are monitored, and mobile phone calls are easily recorded. Security technologies have penetrated into society, our lives, and even deeply into our bodies by making great progress in recent history. You would rather live in a prison society as it appears you are in more danger to live outside.

Humans are not only the objects of security but also he is the subject of it too. You respond to the call of keeping your eyes open; you constantly observe suspicious behaviours on the subway; you think that the man sitting next to you on the aircraft has diabolical plans and your neighbour has bad intentions. Seemingly, fear is the rightful justification of the voluntary service of your eyes to the universal safety device and your ears constantly being on the alert. You play the role of the prisoner as well as the guardian in the securitised society (Hardt and Negri, 2012: 26-27). This situation bears the risk of causing schizophrenic fragmentations in the personality of an individual. The postmodern individual experiences the chaos of being "both that and that."

Surveillance, monitoring and tagging forms in security regimes actually fulfill the role of "bloody legislation" which was put into practice for the poor and leisure classes in Marx's pre-capitalist England. In addition to forcing the rural population to accept permanent jobs in urban centres, at the same time these laws were used to create discipline too. Through this discipline, proletarians of the future would have agreed to be paid-wage labourers as if it were their own will and fate. Likewise, our participation to a surveillance society acts as a kind of training or trainer of our desires and our hopes, but most importantly our fears. Now, the prison is a store of the population in a sense, but also it is a frightening lesson for the "free" population. Moreover, the current economic and financial crisis also raises another fear. In many cases; the biggest fear is losing your job and thus being deprived of the means of survival. You have to be a good worker, loyal to the employer, you must not go on strike; otherwise you will be unemployed and you cannot pay your debts. Securitised individuals live with the fear of a number of punishment and external dangers (Hardt and Negri, 2012: 29-30). Fear and anxiety, paradoxically brings the voluntary surveillance of the individual. A "surveillance society" causes the individual to give up or delay his freedom for the sake of security. Inspection by means of surveillance produces a paranoid society structure (Bayhan, 2012:166).

(d) The Represented: The corruption of democracy revealed the figure of depoliticised and strange represented ones. Representation is not actually a device of democracy; on the contrary it is an obstacle against to the realisation of democracy. The represented figure bringing the debited, securitised and publicised figures together shows that they remain in their natural position and get rotten. The richest ones are involved in politics. When they are in government, elected representatives add wealth to their richness. Also, if you are not controlling a strong media, what can you express as a political truth? The lobbies and campaigns financed by the capitalists are extremely influential in bringing the ruling political class to task and herding them.

Fear of the ones living in security society is insidiously and relentlessly produced by the dominant media's scaring tactics. Even watching the evening news is enough to make one afraid of going outside; you see many things such as kidnapped children from the supermarket, terrorist bombing attacks and psychopathic killers in the neighbouring district. With Hobbes's words "Homo homini lupus est" (Man is a wolf to man). The represented one who is not an active attendee of the political life has found himself in poverty. He is lonely and in fear in the wild forest of this social life. Therefore, the represented one cannot enter into effective political action just like the publicised ones betraying their minds, emotional capacities and linguistic discovery power; just like the securitised ones, living in a world

reduced to fear and terror, are deprived of the possibility of associative, fair and affectionate social exchange. The solution is through rebellion to impoverished and discharged subjective figures. Democracy will only actualise when it occurs as a competent subject who can grasp and put it into practice (Hardt and Negri, 2012: 31-35). According to Chomsky, for a longtime elections have turned into public relations fantasias; people are called to get excited to press a button every four years, then they are expected to return to their homes and forget about everything (Chomsky, 2013: 61). However, democracy does not mean a government that comes to power with the votes of the majority. If the one came to power by the votes of the majority creates his own tyranny and usurps the rights of the minority, with the words of Karl Popper's this situation turns into the "democracy paradox." With Alain Touraine's definition, democracy is a regime in which the rights of the minorities are protected. On behalf of democracy neither an absolute domination of the majority nor the minority to another is unacceptable. The main problem is, without fetishisation of the democracy, raising individuals who are empathic and tolerant; respect to the rights of each other. It is the projection of archaic culture that those who held power in the state with the illusion of "state is mine" share all the resources of the state to their own supporters.

Democratic culture is matured in an individual's identity formation. Castells who developed the concept and theory of "Network Society" indicates that identity construction occurs in three forms based on the relations with the power (Castells, 2006:14-16):

- (a) Legitimising identity: It is constructed by the dominant institutions of the society to expand their sovereignty and rationalise in the face of social actors. That is a theme which fits with theories of nationalism and authority.
- (b) Resistance Identity: It is developed by the actors having positions/conditions which are seen as worthless or stigmatised by the logic of the dominant one. It means to build trenches of resistance on the basis of principles different from the principles that penetrate into the institutions of the society or against them. Resistance identity brings the creation of communes or communities. This identity also refers to the exclusion of those who are excluded by the excluded ones.
- (c) Project Identity: It is an identity type that social actors construct a new identity on the basis of cultural material available to them; also they redefine their position in society; in doing so they aim to change the entire social structure.

New social movements when discussed within the context of "resistance identity" involve the risk of "we" and "them" differentiation and conflict in the context of producing new communes and communities. Of all these types of identity construction, being an individual and subject may be possible only through project identity.

The post-modern reality which we live in has led to the seriously questioning of the mega discourses blessed by the modernity on a global scale. An important reality in this world is the presence of large crowds hating the mentioned discourses but not expressing this in the context of the political rules of the modernity. However, since the demands of this crowd are expressed in different ways which is not liked by the modern politics, it is impossible to assume these crowds as absent. In the final analysis, demands of this challenging crowd that is difficult to stereotype is political; therefore it cannot be ignored by the politics.

This crowd of people questions the big discourses satisfying all kinds of needs such as "civilisation," "order," etc., which are the products of the modernity. They believe that politics made on the basis of such discourses are responsible for the problems from the balance of the nature to the quality of food, from wars to economic crises. The development of social media made it possible for this crowd, seeing itself as nonpolitical, to concentrate its scattered energy on specific targets. The slogan of the Occupy Wall Street movement of "We are the 99%" is maybe an exaggeration. However, this energy can take large crowds into the streets

as it happened in the Movimiento 15-M in Spain. In Turkey this crowd reached to a width that cannot be underestimated (Hanioglu, 2013).

According to Zizek, global capitalism is a complex process affecting different countries in different ways. Despite all the differentiations, what combines all the protests against capitalist globalisation stems from the reactions to different aspects of capitalism. The general trend of current global capitalism is expanding the market to a further level, attempting to close the public space by surrounding it, cutting down on the expenses of public services such as health, education, culture and maintaining the political power by becoming increasingly authoritarian. The reason why the Greeks protest their own corrupted and inefficient state management which cannot provide international financial capital and basic social services arises from this reality. The reason why the people living in Turkey protest the commercialisation of public space and authoritarian religiosity should be understood in this context too. The Egyptian regime supported by the Western powers, Iranians protesting against corruption and fundamentalism are in this context too. Therefore, none of these protests can be reduced to a single subject (Zizek, 2013). Post-modern social movements can vary according to the causes of each country's own sociological context. However, the common reason of the demonstrations emerging in the global cities of the global capitalism is because of global predatory neo-liberalism.

Youth protests started in 2011 are still continuing in some cities in the world and it is predictable that they will continue. Why are the youth actions so-called the Arab Spring resulted in the displacement of the powers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and actions like Wall Street occupations in the U.S., youth actions in London, Madrid, Athens experienced now? The answer to this question lies in three major social changes: changes of rebellion demographics, technology, and human behaviour. There is a new sociological type in the focus of protest movements: They are university graduates having no future. The financial crisis in 2008 created a generation whose progress curves in their 20s suddenly changing from progress to regression. They had been recommended in this way: "Graduate from the university, make your getaway to a big company, eventually you will have a better standard of living than your family." But this recommendation immediately turned into: "Do it if easy, you will be poorer than your family." Either in Cairo or in Madrid it is possible to find a number of common points in riots led by the educated youth.

First, is the space, globalised cities which is a sine qua non for the riot; these places are the harbours for three discontented groups, namely young people, the working class and the ones living in slum areas.

Second, the members of the "graduates having no future" generation know each other as their behaviours, clothing styles and desires easily exceed the boundaries and are not different from one another, as part of an international sub-culture.

The third social impact is that the student population is extremely dense; this situation plays a major role in the dissemination of the restlessness and confusion on a bigger part of the population than ever before (Mason, 2012).

According to Castells, the new social movements include rebellions against the new global order. According to the supporters of anti-globalisation, the enemy is the non-democratic institutions supporting the interests of global capitalism, global governance, and the companies. There is no single identity of the anti-globalisation movement; it has a plural identity. The reason for the strong influence of the new social movements is their presence in media and efficient use of information technology. New social movements spread across the world brought the end of the neo-liberal fantasy aimed to create a new global economy by taking refuge in computer networks independent of society. Concentrating the information, production and markets for the minority elite population led inequality to be noticed by the others and objections to inequality (Castells, 2006: 208-215). According to Harvey, the real

problem of the society we live in is the wild state of capitalism itself. Wild politicians make irregularities in spending; wild bank employers plunder whatever is left in the treasure box; company executives loot the wealth of the world; phone and credit card companies charge us with a range of nondescript bills; wbig corporations and wealthy people do not pay taxes, they also graze on the pasture of the public finance; craft overcharges everyone; swindlers and masters of eyewash swindle in the upper echelons of the companies and political realm. Is there anyone left who still believes that there can be found an honest investor, banker, politician, craft or police chief? Yes, there are such people. But they are a minority and they are a fool in everyone else's eyes. According to Harvey, the mottos of wild neo-liberalism are: "Use your head. Make money by using the easy way. Swindle, steal! You have low probability of being caught." Most of us do not see these, because they do not want to see it (Harvey, 2013: 218-219). The new subject produced by neo-liberalism is a man of competition and performance. A creature that was formed to "succeed" and "win" and he is the entrepreneur of himself. Television shows like *Survivor* are the examples of "fight for survival" where only the most cunning ones and frequently the most cynical ones could manage to "survive." The neo-liberal subject is a product of the "performance/pleasure" mechanism. "We are the champions" is the anthem of the new entrepreneurial subject (Dardot & Laval, 2012: 389-391). From popular culture to education and family these values are taught in the neo-liberal order; the motto of postmodernism is valid as "anything goes."

Conclusion

The crisis of global neo-liberalism produces the social, cultural and economic risks of the risk society. Paranoid-schizoid individuals of the "surveillance society" are kept under control at any moment through the internet, the icon of globalisation. These individuals constitute makeshift subjective figures of neoliberalism owing to the neurotic mood arising from anxiety and insecurity. Makeshift employment, instability, insecurity, uncertainty, lack of protection, economic and social vulnerability, poor working conditions created by neo-liberalism contains high physical and mental risks. Individuals who got used to insecurity and instability suffer from "learned helplessness;" either they will be insensitive and introverted passive individuals as the objects of neo-liberalism or they will rebel by getting rid of being a herd. Experienced economic, social and cultural crises starting from the year 2011 have led to "new social movements" by silenced and daunted subjective figures. "Arab Spring," "Wall Street Occupations," riots and reactions in England, Spain and Greece, Gezi Park Actions occurred in June 2013 in Turkey have taken their place in the stage of history. In an anachronistic context, even if these actions occurring in different countries of the world are imitations and romantic like the movements in 1968, the "postmodern social movements" are a rebellion against makeshift conditions produced by the crisis of neoliberalism (Bayhan, 2014:130-131). Differentiations in terms of class and culture in global capitalist cities have caused everyone to knit his own habitat. While the ones coming to the city as a result of migration, live in ghettos or urban centres abandoned by wealthy ones; wealthy ones staying in secure sites have created their own castles. Spatial and cultural differentiation generates "we" and the "other." This situation contains the risk of producing a paranoid-schizoid social structure. There are some things to be done in order to prevent society from experiencing an anomic situation and gradually drifting into anarchy. Priority should be given to taming global capitalism. Instead of neo-liberal education educating hedonistic individuals and in which everything is built on materialism, it is a must to restructure education by means of social and ethical altruism. Education should not only include teaching in schools but also should contain the codes valid for all generations and last a lifetime.

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Demographic Transformation And New Senility

Ünal Şentürk

1.Introduction

The most attention-grabbing feature of the demographic transformation seen in the world and Turkey is that the elderly ratio in the total population has increased distinguishably. This fact, as a result of the decrease in mortality possibility depending on the decrease of fertility rate and improvement of living conditions has caught the attention of all experts on almost every subject. Along with the development of living conditions thanks to the industrial revolution, advances in medical and technology fields, incensement of knowledge about healthy life, population of people over the age of 65 has multiplied in nearly every country. Thus, in many countries' demographics, the elderly population has become as much as the younger population.

This demographic transformation, which has marked the 21st century, has created new aspects in social structure and relations. The increase in public expenses, transformation in social and health policies, and local settlements for the elderly are some of these aspects. However, the elderly's lifestyle and profiles have been altered as well. A type of senility has been forming, which is energetic and lively, different from previous generations, has a spending culture, not attaching much importance to society's expectations, desiring to cherish the moment, is urban and more educated. The circumstances which only the upper class and privileged elderly in the past could have and realise have become widespread. More and more elderly have reached living conditions which were once engrossed by only a specific group of people. This type of senility is called "**the elderly of the future**" or "**new senility,**" by the experts.

2. A Historical And Universal Fact: Senile

In general, senility that expresses the changes happening gradually in the body and soul of human being is a universal and social fact. Since the primitive man up until today, the elderly population has been in existence in almost all parts of the world and in every social period; however, the definition, features and lifestyle of senility differ according to time and place.

In the hunter and collector tribes, hardships of living conditions and lack of manufacturing forced people to migrate frequently. In addition, the difficulty of manufacturing based on physical strength and lack of food resulted in early senility and migration caused the consideration of the elderly as a burden as well. In the agricultural period, in which people moved to settle life and the agriculture economy developed, the elderly who manufactured and had experience were given importance. The elderly started to be seen as the most privileged among all the age categories, and took more roles in the economy and administration. The agricultural society period distinguishes itself in terms of the importance and acceptance that the elderly received. Now industrialization has increased life standards and developments in medical technology has extended lifetime expectancy. While industrialization has extended one's lifetime and increased the rate of elderly population, it has created a negative perception towards the elderly. Advanced age and experience lost importance in this period, and mostly the young were employed at industrial organisations and companies. At rapidly changing sectors of the economy in the periods in which industry develops fast, especially in the advanced technological fields, many key positions belong to the young. The knowledge and training demanded in the fast conversion of market is limited with the elderly; therefore, they only receive a low participation

opportunity in this economy. The only exception to this point is Japan. In the conventional lifestyle of Japan, the elderly is always privileged. Industrialisation has not affected this situation much (Macionis, 2012: 392).

Whereas the terms ‘obsolescence’ or ‘corrosion’ are used to define the progress of non-livings, the term ‘ageing’ is preferred for organisms. Although organisms’ ageing process includes corrosion and degeneration, still their reconstruction mechanism is active. As a result of this, ‘ageing’ is the progress of every organism’s life in the world that ends up with death. On the other hand, ‘senility’ is defined as being old and showing signs of aging. For living organisms it is the process of conversion and transformation after becoming adults in terms of biological functions, that is to say from the end of reproduction period until their death. The most important of these alterations is the decrease of fertility and increase of mortality. There is little difference between the term ‘elderly,’ which is used to define a specific period of life and ‘ageing’ which means an increase of age. For example, a child who completes the age of four and becomes five has aged a little bit but is not necessarily in the senility period. While ‘senility’ is mostly related to biological and physiological alterations in living organisms except for human beings; in addition social and cultural meanings are given to this process in human beings’ senility period. ‘Decrepitude,’ which is usually used as a synonym of senility, means the psychological, social and cultural relations and process which come with old age (Beğner ve Yavuzer, 2012: 3).

In many countries, ageing is considered the equivalent of retirement or departing from work life (Canatan, 2011: 329), states the process between death and biological, psychological and physiological regression period as connected with an individual’s strength to adapt to surroundings depending on time factor and decrease of an organism’s strength and capacity to balance internal and external factors (Çekal, 2006: 44). Ageing, a fact which is inevitable and has biological, chronological and social aspects and issues, has been observed demographically from the past to the present day almost in every era and society.

Harris (2000), states that when the conversion of the elderly’s social circumstances from the past to present is considered both significant periods and continuations are observed. When historical continuation is considered (1) First of all although senility is a desired status, that no one really wants to become old is an unchanging valid situation from the past to present. (2) From the ancient times to the present people approximately over 60 are accepted as the elderly. (3) Although the caring needs of the elderly have shown differences in different periods they are usually met by the family or society in which the elderly live.

When the historical periods are evaluated (1) since the spread of capitalism the most important transformation has been the fact that the rate of elderly in the total population has been increasing as never before. (2) Considering the elderly’s living conditions and health states in especially developed countries, it is seen that they have obtained a better situation as never seen in history. (3) Public healthcare and social expenses for the elderly has reached the highest level throughout history (Baran, 2011:140-141).

At this point, when demographic figures from the past to today are considered, it is observed that the elderly population rate of societies in different geographies tend to increase in general population. Since 2000 to 2013, the elderly ratio has gone up to 16.3% to 21.1% in Germany in 2013; from 15.8% to 17.5% in England; from 12.4% to 14% in the United States (US); from 18.3% to 21.1% in Italy; from 16% to 17.9% in France; from 15.5% to 18.4% in Austria; from 14.9% to 19% in Finland; from 6.7% to 7.6% in Turkey; from 4.4% to 5.3% in India; and from 4.2% to 5.3% in Iran (www.tuik.org.tr).

3. Approaches Related To Senility

There are several points of views about senility and ageing which meet the process from birth to death. These views evaluate senility by taking into account its different features.

3.1. Ageing From The Perspective of Biology

Görgün Baran describes biological ageing as the physiological conversion of the organism that starts with impregnation in the uterus and continues until death. Biological ageing, which expresses the decline occurring, without diseases and pathology, as a result of natural processes in effective functions of an organism is a difficult inevitable process for human beings. An individual in his middle age not only faces the regression in terms of appearance such as gray hair, face wrinkles, tightening of the vertebral bones but also experiences lack of possibility to have energy and mobility of the youth (2011:138). As human beings get older, veins, tendons, skin, and connective tissues lose flexibility. Veins and joints start to harden. The slowing down of the digestion system and blood circulation follows this. This period, in which physical and biological transformations such as bones becoming fragile and thinner, late healing or close up of wounds, weakening of circulation systems, decrease of mental sharpness due to the decline of blood produced in the body, increase of the risk of apoplexy and heart attack, slowing down of reflexes and hormonal activities (Zastrow, 2013:641) become frequent, is the focus of this perspective.

The decline in the functional reservoir in many organs and systems because of old age and although it is not specifically related to senility, is generally believed to be related to the increase in the frequency of a chronic disease typical for senility and are called “geriatric syndromes.” Dementia, depression, self-induced bone fractures depending on osteoporosis, vertigo, negligence and abuse can be given as examples of frequently encountered geriatric syndromes (Beğer and Yavuzer, 2022: 2).

3.2. Ageing From The Perspective Psychology

The psychological approach defines ageing by putting the terms of character, mental functions, personality and identity in the centre. According to this perception, an individual experiences alterations about adoption between features of gaining characteristics and memory capacity such as problem solving, learning, and perception connected with ageing (Baran, 1996:40). Psychological ageing manifests itself as mental stillness, confusion, inefficiency in comprehending what the individual is going through, simultaneous with frequent pains and vague weakness. These symptoms are followed by withdrawal or even isolation from society, and becoming introverted (Çekal, 2006:4). Rejecting, not accepting, not being able to cope with these situations, and even considering suicide emerge as the psychological reactions of this period.

At the other extreme of psychological ageing, such as difficulty in perceiving and comprehending what the individual is going through, becoming introverted and withdrawing from life is a different case which is “one is as how old one feels.” A person, who feels strong and active despite being at a middle age, may not accept becoming old. An elderly person who is biologically strong, has no health problems, has dominant positive opinions in terms of life and himself can see/feel himself as being younger than he really is and his peers.

3.3. Ageing From The Perspective of Economy

Several experts, particularly economists generally consider the senility period as a troubled period for low-income individuals due to not having saved enough money for accommodation, food, and health care. Thus, senility expresses a period in which the economic hardships are overwhelming because of the increase in healthcare expenses depending on income loss (Özmete, 2008: 10). The economic approach emphasises the loss occurring in income of an individual due to ageing. Especially with the start of the retirement period, the income of an individual decreases and in this regard the status of the person in society also declines. Low-income results in financial difficulty, unhealthy diet, lack of social activities, and decline of prestige.

3.4. Ageing From The Perspective of Sociology and Gerontology

Since the recent history up until today not only the elderly population rate in total population of the world has been increasing day by day but also an increase in the problems of the elderly due to socio-economic developments has been recorded. Therefore, many disciplines have become more and more interested in senility. Recent studies about the health of the elderly and quality ageing point out that senility is a process that should be evaluated in terms of physical, psychological, and sociological aspects and come to an agreement that symptoms seen in senility may differ in every society and individual. Moreover, in terms of social aspects, senility should be evaluated according to the social structure in which the individual lives and how the senility is positioned in this very society (Beğer and Yavuzer, 2012: 3). A sub-branch of sociology, “senility sociology,” which is directly interested in this field or this aspect of senility has become increasingly dominant.

4. The Elderly Of Future: The New Senility

Before making any evaluation about new senility it is better to indicate some facts of it. The basic fact about ageing is that the obligation of rapid regression exists neither at the age of 65 nor at any age whatsoever. As a living organism we, as human beings, are bound to age gradually from the moment we were born, throughout our life. How much we will age depends on several causes/ factors. Whereas many elderly can feel fit physically, some young people may feel exhausted both physically and mentally. Thus, another fact about senility comes to light, that is to say each and every person has a different ageing process and pace (Zastrow, 2013: 641-642). Chronological ageing can cause varied effects and results in different people.

Human being is not a creature that carries out his manners and behaviours randomly. There is a mutual interaction between the person's thoughts, behaviours and time and place in which the person lives. An individual living in a society changes, advances and sets himself and his life in accordance with his environment. In this respect, the communal process and its conditions have a decisive position on behaviours. A big proportion of today's individuals lives in modern cities and earns their income from industry and service sector excluding agriculture. The importance of urban life makes education an obligation, while the information society makes higher education an obligation. The traditional family life, which is very functional for human life, has left its place to elementary family and new organisations that fulfill these functions have emerged. Educated women can express themselves more freely in public as well as in professional life. Sincere, warm, emotional relationships have

been replaced by rationalist and formal relationships; acquired status has taken place of ascribed status; social activity speed has increased; in short, a closed community-like lifestyle has lost its validity and as a result an urban lifestyle shaped by modern values has become widespread. The human being who previously gave importance to society, environment and “us” considering his aim, target, and expectations, has taken an attitude which mostly put himself in the centre today. The senility that has been increasing in total population has received its share from the above mentioned conversion and transformations. Technological advances, developments in the field of healthcare, and comfortable urban lifestyle have created an elderly profile different from the past.

The lifestyle and habits of an individual are quite decisive in remaining fit and living a quality senility period. People who have had healthy diet and exercised since their youth, stayed away from heavy working conditions or left depressing working order and found some relaxation options, are able to reach a better senility than others. The elderly population who have had the chance to live and experience this kind of life and socialising in the modernisation process have become noticeable. This elderly population that has different priorities and life expectations in comparison to previous peers has gadgets to make them feel fit and dynamic, compared to the traditional elderly, has been increasing fast in accordance with the countries’ structural properties.

The new elderly that Macionis describes as “the elderly of the future,” has a low tendency of smoking; is more experienced and knowledgeable about quality diet and healthy life. These elderly people are more dynamic and fit due to their knowledge of diet and wellness and make use of the opportunities of constantly advancing technology. The savings they make for the future enables their living, too (2012:405). In this new kind of senility, which Tews describes as the concept of “*rejuvenation of senility*,” the people traditionally accepted as elderly tend to feel themselves younger. As already known, for the human being the most disturbing aspect of ageing is the biological alterations occurring in the ageing process. However, advances and developments in almost every field thanks to the effect of modernisation increases the distinctive aspect of sociologic and psychological senility.

The statement that an individual is as old as he feels has become a lot more meaningful today. If this statement is true, today’s elderly feels himself younger and stronger. A few decades earlier people at the age of 70 considered themselves old, recent surveys have shown that today only one third of people aged 60-75 accept themselves as old. That today’s new elderly feels himself young and strong is because of the considerable developments in health and technology fields and comfortable life conditions that modernisation has provided. As today’s elderly feels himself younger, his diet, clothing style and the way he expresses himself have also become different from the peers of the past. The new elderly as a huge difference from the past do not take societal norms into much consideration in his decisions. He does not feel obliged to practice the decisions that the society makes for him. Today’s urban, educated, and upper class elderly spares a lot more time to himself, travels more and spends more, and are in many different environments. From this point of view, not only women but also men too put effort into gaining youth in terms of appearance. Due to remarkable changes in the elderly fashion, their clothing style has become in as colourful and various designs and styles as today’s youths. With his accessories such as his haircut, trousers and t-shirts, glasses, ties, earrings and tattoos (Tufan, 2003:46-47), today’s new elderly has added a new form into the perception of the old.

A new type of senility with low expectations, less addiction, a good job and income has been increasing in almost every society. This population has chosen to work for living instead of to live for working. Exercising, being careful about diet, regular health check-ups have become newly adopted behaviours that should be carried out. Saving money has lost its importance, instead as a result of the experienced process, “consumption culture” has been

kept and the tendency to consume more than necessary in every possible area increased. Birthday parties, international trips, joining entertainment which were considered a luxury and even abnormal have become the routines of today's elderly. In this respect mass communication tools have had a significant influence. Indeed, the media often displays an elderly lifestyle, in which some retired people constantly travel, sunbathe in tropical climates in winter, are in good health, and without financial problems (Zastrow, 2013: 641). A young male and a young female model are considered as the ideal person model not only by adults but also by the elderly and they exposed their body to various modifications to achieve this ideal. It has been observed that in order to be fit and obtain the desired body figure they go to fitness clubs and plastic surgery clinics (Canatan, 2011: 327). With the influence of the mass communication tools and the consumption culture, the young can see the elderly in streets, parks, shopping malls, gyms, stadiums, entertainment centres more than ever before. Housings, shops, stadiums and even universities feel obliged to construct buildings and designs for this new kind of elderly person (Macionis, 2012: 388).

Some outputs of a survey conducted in Turkey are important in terms of defining the transformation occurring in the life of the elderly. According to the results of the survey conducted with 167 elderly by Temel and his friends, 20.4% of the elderly have responded to the question "What do you do differently from your parents to stay healthy?" as they do not do anything different to improve their health while the remaining big proportion of the subjects have been observed that they do different things. Of those who act differently in practice have stated that 17.4% goes to a doctor, 13.8% is careful about their diet, 5.4% lives in healthier housing conditions, 4.8% walks and exercises regularly and 3% have a social life (2009: 99-100). The elderly in the previous generations saw diseases, pains and weakness as the destiny of senility and did not feel obliged to change it. On the contrary, today's elderly has changed these by utilising the opportunity that the process provided and take all the necessary precautions for his health.

In the industrialised societies the elderly as "the employer" is the individual whose value has increased as far as the community is concerned. As a consumer, patient, and the customer of care services their value has been increasing gradually. The concept and power of a market defined by the elderly have been rising. Therefore, a "new senility" profile which makes itself felt not only in numbers but also with its economic power gets attention. In his theory of "strata of senility," Tews points out that today with "the new senility," senility with multiple strata, whose education, income and expectations are very different from each other, has been shaping beyond the sole featured senility as it was in the past. What has created and shaped this is the alterations occurring and advancing in social structure. The alterations in social structure result in three different states with the elderly. Firstly, the extension of regular ageing phase. Secondly, critical events are changing directions. In terms of individuals and society, some developments have been experienced, whose meaning have changed and gained different functions. The event of leaving professional life can be given as an example. In professional life of both men and women frequent transformations have been noticed. People used to work throughout their life in the past; however, today after a certain age (retirement) "profession" is discarded from their life. This shows us that in the future many women will have a post-professional life. In the present day, more women have social security than they had in the past. On the other hand, because of the lifestyle alterations, transformations have been experienced in typical events related to children, living and residing together. The rate of marriage and duration of it have declined; divorces, the number of single people, and people who live alone have increased (Tufan, 2003: 85,93-94). The services provided for this elderly population of today are much more different from the services in the past. Various services are provided for the elderly in different geographies, economically and socially developing countries of the world. Hospice services, sub-acute tending services, day care centres, elderly

guest houses, rest homes, daily social care centres, home care services, home care assistance providing services, and resting centres for care takers are the leading services mentioned above (Koçer and Uysal, 2008: 123). The psychosocial needs of the relative or caretaker of elderly too are taken into consideration along with almost all requirements of the elderly. Hence, a sophisticated care and service has come to light.

5. Conclusion

Senility, for every human being, which is natural and inevitable just like the other phases of life, has been increasing especially in modern western countries. The factors such as the increase of comfortable life conditions attained due to industrialisation, the developments in health and technology fields have become effective, the decline of the fertility rate and that the people have become conscious about health, have resulted in the increase of the elderly population in total population. Along with the advance of the elderly population depending on the extension of lifetime expectancy, among elderly population the number of people over 80 which is considered as old has been increasing. Thus, a state which is described by experts as “double senility” has come to light.

This demographic transformation seen in the world has resulted in changes in economical, social, and cultural structures and the lives of societies one of which is a senility profile with features very different from that of the past has been shaping. In this kind of senility which is called “the new senility,” the features that one feels younger in terms of psychology, is dynamic, exercises, spends time in shopping and entertainment centres, lives an active life, travels often, saves for the old age, urban, educated, dresses up similar to the young, gives no importance to society expectations as before, has low expectations from his children and immediate environment, has come to light.

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A Historical Example of Solidarity which must be remembered in Russo-Turkish Relations: The Compulsory Stay of White Russians Abroad in Gallipoli (1920-1923)

Vedat Çalışkan

Introduction

Turkey and Russia are two neighbouring countries in the part of the world which has geopolitically sensitive equilibriums and which is also politically turbulent. In the historical process between 1677 and 1918, the Ottoman Empire and Czarist Russia fought 13 times. The Crimean War, the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78 (known as ‘93 Harbi’ [War 93] among the people), the Naval Battles of Çeşme, Navarin (Navarino), and İnebahtı (Lepanto) and, finally, World War I are some examples among them. The relations with the Soviet Union were kept at a specific level from the Turkish War of Independence to the end of World War II. The signing of “the Turkish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality” in Moscow on March 16, 1921 was also influential on this process. As Turkey joined NATO in 1952, the two countries took part in two different poles of “the cold war.” They mutually endeavoured to develop their relations after 1991. Between 2008 and 2014, a virtually golden age was experienced in Turkish-Russian relations and promising economic and political cooperation examples for the future were declared.

However, the events which developed in Ukraine in 2014 and the events resulting in the annexation of the Crimea by Russia created a deep split in the political relations between Turkey and Russia. The positions that the political powers of the two countries adopted in foreign policy in the following process regarding the Syrian Civil War turned into a tension which would make the two countries come up against each other. Finally, a military Russian plane which took off from Latakia (Syria) on November 24, 2015 was shot down by Turkey on the grounds that it violated the Turkish airspace. Afterwards, the Turkish-Russian relations broke off completely and the tension escalated to the highest level.

The tensions in the political relations of Russia and Turkey, which acquired different positions in the world political pacts, essentially appear unavoidable because the main axis of the Russian geopolitics has been based on the objectives of gaining access to the warm waters and of dominating Eurasia for a long while. Hence, the Russians have been interested in the straits since they existed on the stage of history. The Ukrainian, Crimean and Syrian crises are the outcomes which took place in this context. Likewise, these crises involve a large number of important outcomes which concern the foreign policies and national security of Russia and Turkey. Essentially, the geopolitical approaches of Turkey particularly concerning the Middle East, which have gained a new character in the recent years, have intersected with the historical geopolitical objectives of Russia. The political relations between Turkey and Russia rapidly disintegrated as a consequence of the great breaks experienced in these fault lines on the geopolitical ground. Therefore, despite all developments and achievements obtained, a return to the 19th century geopolitics from the 21st century geopolitics was made in the Turkish-Russian relations.

Nevertheless, there are historical experiences that Russia and Turkey must always keep in mind. One of the most impressive examples among them was doubtlessly experienced in the process when the White Russians⁴⁶ defeated at the civil war which broke out in Russia at the

⁴⁶ The definition of “White Russian” addressed here does not represent any race, nation, or ethnic group. This definition is concerned with the designation of the Bolsheviks as “the Red Army” and of the Czarist forces as “the White Army” at the civil war which broke out due to the Revolution of 1917. Those Russians who

end of the Bolshevik Revolution took refuge in Turkey. As it is known, the White Russians who dispersed all around the world in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1917 chose Turkey first of all as the first stop and then as the bridge extending to freedom. This choice was logical for two reasons: the most nearby and (at the same time as it was overseas) secure country for the majority who escaped via the Crimea was Turkey. The second reason was the vast tolerance and historical hospitality of the Ottoman Empire. A Russian migrant said the following on this matter: "While escaping from Russia, we always thought that Turkey, the only country which opened its doors to the Jews escaping from the Spanish Inquisition in 1492, would not reject us in the 1920s" (Deleon, 2003:11). In addition, the White Russians considered this city a springboard to be able to access the cities in Europe (Baran, 2005:59).

It is known that when the White Russians began to work at such establishments as patisseries, restaurants, and nightclubs particularly around Beyoğlu, they enlivened the night life of İstanbul and perceivably influenced the social life. However, the lives of the First Corps of the White Army and of many White Russian families that had a compulsory stay as guests in Gallipoli between 1920 and 1923 are not known much in detail. This difference has several reasons. Before all, the socio-economic profiles and lifestyles of those Russians who were placed in İstanbul and who were sent to Gallipoli varied substantially. The guests of İstanbul also included well-to-do people of aristocratic origin who had any kind of luxury at the palace. Among those who went to İstanbul were also people who settled there, for there was a need for such skilled workers as pharmacists, drivers, car repairmen, accountants, stenographers, and gardeners in İstanbul (Deleon, 2003:36). However, Gallipoli was not promising for social, cultural, and economic lives of the White Russians. Likewise, upon the access of the White Russians to Gallipoli, it soon virtually turned into a Russian place; however, the cultural traces in Gallipoli disappeared quickly as the Russians departed from it. There is no doubt that an important detail should also be underlined here: those who were put up as guests in Gallipoli constituted the most disciplined and combat-ready corps of the White Army (Çalışkan and Ibrahimov, 2006: 426). This corps essentially intended to maintain its military power and to carry on war by returning to the Crimea until the very last minute.

The present study deals with the period of stay of the White Russians as guests in Gallipoli and determines the reasons for the special meaning of Gallipoli for Russians. The examples of solidarity displayed in Gallipoli by Turkish and Russian societies open the attitudes of the present civilization towards refugees for questioning. The struggle of a nation for survival in foreign territories at a historical section makes it necessary to once more review the issues of the Turkish-Russian relations, the competition and problems of geopolitical origin between Turkey and Russia, the issue of refugees who escape abroad from war, and aid and solidarity among international societies today. The revealing of what has been experienced in this period will also help elucidate the historical and cultural ties between Turkish and Russian societies.

Access of the White Russians to Gallipoli

The pro-Czarist forces (the White Army) defeated by the Bolsheviks (the Red Army) at the end of the civil war which broke out in the aftermath of the October Revolution of 1917 lost the Crimea – their last castle – in November 1920. The dragging of hundreds of thousands of

crossed the Black Sea and took refuge in Turkey in the aftermath of the revolution were called the White Russians afterwards (Deleon, 2003:13).

Russians towards foreign territories in panic that began upon the approaching of the Red Army therefore commenced. In a few months, the number of Russians who reached Turkey by means of 138 vessels exceeded 150 thousand. Some of the vessels which reached İstanbul were directed to Bulgaria and Cyprus, while those who were going to stay in Turkey were divided into two groups in order to be placed in İstanbul and Gallipoli. First of all, the First Corps of the White Army, which was famous for its discipline and which was commanded by General Kutepov, set off for Gallipoli on November 21st by means of vessels.

The two Russian vessels called Herson and Saratov, which set off from İstanbul, anchored off the coast of Gallipoli on November 22, 1920. In this way, the first group of refugees arrived in Gallipoli, which fell into ruins under the influence of the Çanakkale Wars (1914-1918) and the 1912 Mürefte Earthquake, by means of the vessels in question. Vladimir Mayakovski, a famous Russian poet, wrote about them as follows: "...the people of Gallipoli of tomorrow and the Russians of yesterday arrived at the narrow strait Dardanelles" (İbrahimov, 2009).

In this period, İstanbul was under occupation by the Allies under the conditions in the Armistice of Moudros, whereas Gallipoli was under occupation by Greece. The presence of a military force other than England, France, and Greece in the region was impossible according to international law. Thus, the occupying forces did not desire the arrival of the White Army in Turkey. France continually forced the White Russian Army in Gallipoli to surrender their weapons.

The Life of Russians and their Formation of a Russian Place in Gallipoli

One-third of the Russians brought to Gallipoli were placed at the Mevlevihane, at various mosques, masjids, and schools and in houses in the city. On the other hand, the remaining units settled in the tents that they pitched on the open land at a distance of six km from the city of Gallipoli (Goncarov, 1998:133). The Russians named this land "Göloye Pole" (bare land) due to its deserted state and as it phonetically resembled the word 'Gallipoli.' It became the settlement area of the military units. On the other hand, the headquarters of the corps, the regiment of engineers, military high schools and officer schools were placed in the city (İbrahimov, 2009). On January 1, 1921, the population of the First Corps in Gallipoli, which was composed of officers, privates, civil servants, physicians, and health officials, reached 25,868 people. Apart from this, some 1,444 women with a civilian refugee status and 314 children younger than twelve years arrived too. The Russians were guests in the city, but their population was many times more than the population of the host society⁴⁷ (Sürer, 1987).

The Turks tolerantly accepted those Russians who first arrived. The Turkish women dealt with the Russian women and children. They provided them with the household belongings required. The initiatives of the Greek municipality remained too weak and failed to solve the problem of accommodation. The regiment of Kornilov settled at the semi-ruinous Mevlevihane. The small military units stayed in abandoned houses. There was very dense settlement. Those who arrived later settled in the entrances and staircases of the houses. The people stayed on dirty grounds, and there was neither any table nor any bed or chair. Cans were used as food plates. Lice, typhoid fever, and pneumonia were common. The people spent months in this way. When the weather conditions were good, the dishes were cooked outside. No stove was available, and braziers were used for heating and cooking. The holes in the windows were closed, and quilts were hung as doors. The people lay on the floor. The refugees brought to Gallipoli included families too. There were two to four families in each room (Bakar, 2012: 66). There were no convenient conditions for resting. They witnessed the

⁴⁷ There were 2,537 Turks, 3,941 Rums, 608 Armenians, 908 Jews, and 800 Senegalese soldiers in Gallipoli then.

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private lives of others. This was unbearable for most of them. Such events always led to quarrels and conflicts but sometimes ended in a duel. Initially, 100 people stayed in the tents with a capacity of 60 people at the camp which was in mud (Süer, 1987:347).

Doubtlessly, this was the case on the early days. They could neither rest nor eat properly. They were tired, hungry, and quick-tempered. After long efforts, these houses became suitable for a normal way of life. They built their own houses by themselves. Such simple houses began to mushroom everywhere. Furthermore, streets formed from these houses. The exterior façades of the houses began to change as well. The Russians painted the walls of the houses they inhabited with lime, drew the scenes of the homeland on the walls (e.g. the Kremlin Palace), and shaped the spaces they lived in. Another feature of the Russians was that they named everywhere and even houses, e.g. 'Longing for the motherland,' 'lonely person,' and 'hope.' Some aircraft officers settled in the caves located on the shore. An officer settled in a boat with his family. Another officer lived in the old water tank constructed with stones at the Turkish cemetery (Commission, 1923: 78-83). Russian songs and talks now began to be heard from the houses in the city. Russian signs and posters drew attention everywhere in the city.

The Russians immediately began the activities required to lead everyday life. By working quickly, they built the narrow-gauge railroad line which extended from the camp to the city port; constructed a port, a bath, a kitchen, and a bakery; and repaired the water supply network of the city. They sustained military life through training, ceremonies, and inspections with great discipline. Besides this, sporting tournaments were organised, periodicals were issued, and "an oral newspaper" was broadcast by the help of loudspeakers in the corps. In the city, the space of the everyday life in Russia was virtually recreated. Gymnastics and fencing schools were opened, and a library with a capacity of 800 books and a reading hall began to operate too. More than 80 plays also including the plays by such well-known authors as Ostrovskij, Chekhov, Gogol, and Leonid Andreev were staged at the theatre with a capacity of a thousand people and at the camp theatre with a capacity of 2,500 people in the city. Two theatres were also set up each at the camp and in the city. Although amateurs generally took part in the plays, professional theatre players like Plevitskaya sometimes stopped by Gallipoli too (Bakar, 2012: 67). A music group often organised tours to the surrounding villages and small towns. In general, foreigners came to the three restaurants opened in the city. The Russian vodka and cabaret-type music were available in these places (Süer, 1987: 315-355). The wife of a Russian officer sang old Russian Romances at Olimpiyum cafeteria by the shore. The walls of all Turkish coffee houses at the port were full of the paintings by Russian painters (Lukaş, 2009:285).

The command and the civilian leaders of the Russian society attached great importance to the regular life of children and civilians and opened crèches and high schools for them. The Russians also revived the cultural, artistic, and sporting lives in Gallipoli through the courses they opened in various fields of fine arts and through the activities they exhibited. Many other things like these activities appeared quite new for the local society. Sea baths and the strolls performed on the road leading to the lighthouse at the evening hours were also among them (Rayevski, 2009: 118). At the schools where the curricula in Russia were implemented, the whole day of the children elapsed with education. Slogans were written everywhere: "Children! You are the hope of Russia" and "Russia has been ruined. You will found the new Russia" (Commission, 1923: 212-218). In the diary by Rayevski, a Russian officer, where he wrote his memories in Gallipoli, he conveys that "It was as if we had been here for a decade and they gave the impression that they were going to stay for another decade" (Rayevski, 2009: 86). Truly, Gallipoli almost turned into a small Russian place in a few months.

After they had abandoned the Crimea, all White Russians paid attention to the White Army in Gallipoli. In this army and in the life in Gallipoli, they saw not only the Russian army but also

the Russian state. Under these conditions, the Russians both survived by trying to preserve their army form and formed the prototype of the state practices as a legal institution of the anti-Bolshevik forces (Commission, 1923: 78-83).

Gallipoli, where the White Russians established a life again in great poverty at a very long distance from their homeland, in this sense has a crucial place in Russian history. Likewise, in a speech by General Kutepov, he expressed that the Russian lineage would be sustained by protecting the army here; otherwise, only dust would remain from the migration through the remarks “there will be discipline so that there will be an army and there will be an Army so that there will be Russia” (Miller, 1934: 269). As a space where it was intended to carry on the movement of the White Army outside Russia, Gallipoli is of special significance to Russians in historical, political, and cultural terms. The White Russians who got out of the devastating enervation after they had reached Gallipoli re-formed the idea of “Russia” here by re-establishing their social life here. It is also a known fact that the White Russians in Gallipoli mentioned the life in Gallipoli with such factoids as “the Regime of Kutep” and “the Country of Kutep” due to the rule by General Kutepov. In a sense, Gallipoli became the birthplace of the White Russian culture, and it spread to the world from here (Çalışkan and Ibrahimov, 2006: 426).

Relationships between Turkish and Russian Societies in Gallipoli

The Turkish families housed many Russian families in their own houses. Five of the 13 dormitories arranged as communal life centres consisted of mosques. The Turkish mufti gave the mosques in order to be used as dormitories. The mufti talked to the Turkish citizens and tried to solve the accommodation problem of the Russians. Only for the purpose of worshipping in the Ramadan month, one of the mosques was temporarily vacated upon the request of the mufti. Russian and Turkish words soon entered the everyday talks of both societies too (Süer, 1987:347). It is understood that the Russians formed the functional relationships predominantly with Turks then. Perhaps, one needs to search for the cause of this in the cultural characteristics of both nations. The traditions of Turks which attached importance to putting up people as guests and the successful relationships of the Russians with the local people in the period of opening of new lands for settlement and their ability to make contacts particularly with the Turkish-Islamic communities helped with this convergence. The Russians predominantly communicated with the Turks during their stay in Gallipoli. Perhaps, one needs to search for the cause of this in the similarity of the cultural values and in the resemblance of their historical fates then, for both nations were experiencing the collapse of their respective state then. One of them abandoned their homeland, whereas the other one led a life under the control of the occupying forces. Moreover, both parties were quite willing to communicate with each other.

Turks and Russians were at the same time two societies which felt for each other and whose national pride was hurt due to what had been experienced in their homelands. The White Russians had problems with the French people as of their arrival in Gallipoli. Whilst they had aloof relationships with the Armenians, they could hardly have any relationship with the Jews (Süer, 1987:354). The Bishop of the Navy of the White Army expressed his feelings for those days as follows: “Even though the Turks took sides with Germans at the war (World War I), they never bore any grudge against us. However, they behaved in a friendly and polite manner. When I remember the past now, I do not remember any event by the Turks which hurt or demoralized us” (Goncarov, 136).

What Officer Rayevski, who wrote his memories in Gallipoli, conveys for those days explicitly shows the very close relationship of the Russians with the Turks in everyday life:

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“In general, the approach of the Turkish people towards the Russians is very very good. It seems that they regard us as secret Kemalists” (Rayevski, 2009:140). “I had a conversation with Efendizade Süreyya – a considerably cultured Turkish reserve officer. He spoke English very well” (Rayevski, 2009:23). “Last evening, I was invited to the trip that the Association of Archaeology would make to Lapseki. I sat with the Turks next to a coffee house at the waterfront of the inner cove. The very civilized-looking and well-dressed police commissioner Mustafa, who was getting information about the arrival of the Russians, welcomed us immediately next to the pier. He was accompanying the trip of Father Kriakov for the second time and greeted him as if he had been an old acquaintance. A doctor who attended the trip took a photograph of us with the Turkish people. We placed the old private who was a ghazi of 1877 in the middle. He was taken prisoner in Russia and still remembers Russian” (Rayevski, 2009:137).

What has been conveyed in various sources demonstrates that the Turks also learned Russian quickly. This is a piece of evidence that reveals the density of communication:

“The Russian language became the common spoken language in Gallipoli. Little Turkish girls sang Russian songs while playing games in the streets” (Lukaş, 2009:285). “The ivy-covered fountains added color to the grey streets. Our Russian women with various vessels they obtained and the Turkish women with jugs in their hands waited for their turn in the queue at these fountains. They spent time by joking with each other in this queue” (Commission, 1923: 289-290). “Now the Turkish young men are not only singing ‘Mom, Mom, What will we do now?’ and ‘My Miserable Karapet’ in Russian but also trying to speak Russian with the Senegalese soldiers” (Rayevski, 2009:89). “The Turks are gradually worried about our departure. When the corps goes, Gallipoli will turn into a lifeless city again. Today we were chatting with the retired captain – one of the school directors – and with an old Turk. The old Turk – in great naivety – got angry as the Russian officers had to work. He said that somebody should pay them salaries” (Rayevski, 2009:133). “Virtually most of the people are Turkish, and they are a healthy and beautiful people. In order to be able to feel completely free, I left our group, passed behind the mosque, and crouched down so as to watch the dancing Turks there. The boys encircled me with the slogans ‘Kemal Paşa Koroş’. It seems that it has become a kind of remark to salute the Russians. Of the children, a slightly older one insistently said ‘Vrangel Paşa koroş, Kemal Paşa koroş’ and made the sign of equality by rubbing his index fingers together...In Turkey, the simple people thought that the Russian soldiers were the friends of Kemalists” (Rayevski, 2009:138-139).

The respect of those people who belonged to different religions for the faiths of each other reached such an advanced level that they mutually visited their religious ceremonies. In the memories of Rayevski, he described a visit to a mosque. According to the description, it is very likely that the religious community is performing the namaz inside and the Russian soldiers are accompanying this worship of Muslims:

“I went to the mosque during the worship at night. Since the Turks were very polite, they did not make it obligatory for the Russians to take off their shoes inside. The children on the step invited us inside by saying padjalsta (indicating that they pronounced the Russian word pojaluysta-please in an impaired fashion). The imam made long remarks which were definitely unfamiliar to us. The men standing side by side sometimes upset the harmony of the community and bent down. A quite large number of Russians were modestly lined up in front of the entrance. The privates were watching what was happening with great interest. It is not surprising that they felt the spirit of worship, although in the house of a foreign god. To tell the truth, I was worried that one of them would cross himself while the Turks were squatting down” (Rayevski, 2009:54).

The Turkish local authorities tried to contribute to the procurement of water and other basic needs. Likewise, with a letter dated December 27, 1920, the Gallipoli Peninsula Occupying

Command thanked Kala-i Sultaniyye Mutasarrıflığı for the convenience shown to this end (Bakar, 2012: 69). Even though the Turks failed to provide the White Russians with special services owing to poverty and as Gallipoli was under occupation, they sometimes did significant favours. For instance, when Commander-in-chief General Vrangel arrived in Gallipoli, the Turks offered him Turkish dishes with trays (Commission, 1923: 70-73).

Departure of Russians from Gallipoli: Things left behind and things which have survived to date

The last group was sent to Bulgaria from Gallipoli by a vessel on December 14, 1921. The remaining small group of soldiers left Gallipoli under the command of General Martinev on May 5, 1923 in order to go to Serbia. So, the adventure of Russians in Gallipoli ended. Nevertheless, in a previous study, we also determined that a few soldiers had stayed in Gallipoli and continued their lives. Furthermore, in the fieldwork covering the villages, we also met very old people of Gallipoli who remembered the White Army in Gallipoli. Some of these people also remembered Russian words. Those who conveyed their memories did not say anything negative about the Russians; moreover, the expressions of most of them were common as follows: "From them, we learned that..." (Ibrahimov et al. 2009). The White Russians made significant contributions to the Turkish people not only about the points they had not known but also regarding the matters that they had known and even on which they had been masters (Karadoğan, 2011:152).

The departure of the Russians, with whom the Turks formed close friendships, from the city was truly a great event. The people of Gallipoli saw General Vrangel and his soldiers off in accompany with the military marches played, as if they had been their closest people. In his diary, Rayevski tells: "saying farewell to Gallipoli, about which they felt as close as a relative, caused great distress." Besides the urban people who ran to the pier, the ladies were also saying farewell to the Russians by waving their handkerchiefs and sheets from the windows (Rayevsky, 2009: 168-169).

The Russians departed from Gallipoli by leaving a few monuments and cemeteries behind them. Of them, the Great Russian Cemetery and the Great Russian Memorial were located in an area close to the city. Containing expressions of respect in French, Russian, Greek, and Turkish on its pedestal, this memorial was opened with a ceremony on July 16, 1921 (Goncarov, 1998:133). In his speech, the Turkish mufti, who attended the ceremony, stated: "Every cemetery is sacred for a Muslim person, but the cemeteries of those soldiers who fought for their homeland are particularly sacred regardless of which religion they belonged to." Some 255 people were buried at the cemetery where the memorial was located. In addition, there was a memorial at the cemetery of the Infantry Company out of the cemeteries located at the camp, and some 24 people were buried there, while some 14 people were buried at the Cavalry Cemetery (Süer, 1987: 333).

What has now remained from those days of the Russians is a part of the narrow-gauge railroad line and a tombstone found at the French Cemetery. Unfortunately, the other monuments, structures, and cemeteries disintegrated without leaving any trace behind.

The non-existent Russian mausoleum in Gallipoli was reconstructed in agreement with its original in 2008. This process commenced with the initiatives by Geographer Professor Yuri Vedenin – the Director of the Russian Cultural Heritage Institute. After the issue had been conveyed to the Turkish government by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, the reconstruction of the monument was allowed. The Gelibolu Municipality also helped with the procurement of the land required. The monument is one of the few monuments materialised in the short history of the White Russian movement. Today it is a place which is visited by those

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Russians whose origin dates back to Gallipoli and which symbolises good neighbourly relations and the solidarity of different civilizations in hard times.

Implications of the White Army for the National Security of Turkey

Although the members of the Turkish and Russian people displayed solidarity in goodwill and fellowship, some intentions of the high-ranking commanders of the White Army always remained dubious. Such examples as the intentions of the high-ranking commanders to share roles with the occupying forces, their implications for geopolitical objectives, and even the secret plan for the occupation of İstanbul show that some hazards were overcome. The Allies and Greece explicitly wanted to use the White Army, which arrived in İstanbul and had gained experience at the civil war for several years, against the Turkish National Struggle movement. Nevertheless, after some short hesitation, General Vrangel and the other commanders of the White Army told the government in Ankara that they would not fight against the Turks and maintained this decision of theirs till the end. A great hazard was overcome as the White Army with seventy thousand people did not fight on the side of Greece against the government in Ankara (Bakar, 2012: 311).

The periods when the White Russians were guests in these territories were at the same time the years when the new Republic of Turkey was about to be born. It is known that General Vrangel sent a telegraph to the representatives of the occupying forces and proposed that the White Army be assigned to work as an occupier with the same status as theirs in the zone of the straits. Another proposal of his was to send the soldiers under his command to Anatolia against the Government of Mustafa Kemal, who cooperated with Soviet Russia. As far as it is known, both proposals remained unanswered. These initiatives must have resulted in the fact that neither party trusted the White Army but that both parties felt worried. Nevertheless, the commanders of the White Army were undoubtedly not pleased with the cooperation of the government of Mustafa Kemal with the Bolsheviks. In his memories, Rayevski also writes that in Gallipoli, General Kutepov beat those officers who were discovered to have intended to side with Kemal Pasha with his own hands and pulled off their epaulets (Rayevski, 2009:22).

“Dominating the straits and gaining access to the warm waters” have been of unchanged importance in the former and new geopolitics of Russia. Likewise, the generals of the White Army could not help but plan the initiatives which let their intentions to this end. From the memories of the Russian generals then, we learn that the preparations for the march to capture İstanbul, supported by General Vrangel and planned by Generals Kutepov and Şteyfon, were conducted secretly in Gallipoli. In his memories, General Şteyfon tells that the Rum officers and the Rum municipalities were also going to support the marches of the Russians to Constantinople (Şteyfon, 2009:117). Again, there is an interesting implication that Rayevski mentions in his diary: “Old General Kartsev delivered a very interesting presentation on the past of Gallipoli. Ultimately, on that day, he expressed his hopes by saying “I hope ‘the doors of the house (the straits)’ will belong to the owner of the house.” No matter how far it is from our current situation, the speech of this clever old man was welcomed with applause” (Rayevski, 2009: 115).

There is no doubt that the protection of those members of the White Army who took refuge in Turkey and their being respected by the Turkish society are closely related to the fact that the Russians had no mission for occupation and colonisation in Gallipoli. It is not difficult to guess that the White Army’s giving support to the Occupying forces or Greece would have changed this picture completely.

Conclusion

Having opened its doors to those Russians who escaped from the Revolution of 1917, Turkey saved the lives of 200 thousand migrants and found houses and jobs, according to some sources. The following views are contained in the section entitled “Senin İçin Türkiye” (For You Turkey) in the book entitled “Spasibo” – meaning ‘gratitude’ in the Russian language – and printed in three languages in İstanbul in 1924: “We are in our second homeland. We encountered a warm friendship in Turkey, on whose shores we arrived with tears and hopelessness. Our Turkish friends did their best in order for our grief to cease. The Russian migrants who lost everything of theirs about 10 years ago live in Turkey as healthy, safe, and happy individuals today. As Russians, we had never seen so much kindness and generosity” (Deleon, 2003:16).

The life of the Russian Army in Gallipoli is an essential phenomenon of the history of the 20th century. This experience has profound impacts in terms of the human civilization, along with its social importance to Russian and Turkish people. However, this phenomenon, before all, constitutes a proud part of the history of the two countries concerned. Truly, the examples of humanitarian solidarity experienced between the White Russians, dragged to Turkey by the catastrophe caused by a war, and the Turkish society need to be remembered today.

For a long while, the territories where Turkey is located have been a place which has embraced the societies escaping from wars and violence, namely Jews, the Balkan Migrations, White Russians, Afghans, Pesmergas, and, currently, Syrians. The civil war experienced in Syria resulted in the departure of about four million Syrians from their country. As of January 2016, the number of Syrian refugees registered in Turkey has exceeded two million and 560 thousand. About 300 thousand non-Syrian refugees are also in Turkey. It is estimated that there are also unrecorded and irregular migrants amounting to about one-third of this figure. Turkey, a developing country, rather has difficulty in coping with the Syrian refugee burden. Nevertheless, the developed welfare countries have a passive attitude towards this tragedy, which has dispersed to the world from Syria. For instance, the EU (European Union) is making considerable efforts to keep them outside the European Union member countries apart from the very low quotas it has determined for the refugees. Although the news about the drowning of the refugees trying to cross the Aegean Sea by means of primitive means is distributed to the whole world almost every day, the indifference of the developed countries to the issue is worrisome. There is no doubt that civilisation cannot be a concept which is isolated from human values. The European civilisation and values appear to be confronted with a new test of history in the post-World War II period with the occasion of the Syrian refugees.

The clashing of the geostrategic goals of Turkey with those of Russia, which it has not regarded as an enemy for long years, at the Syrian civil war has given rise to a great tension in political terms. The political relations of Russia and Turkey have experienced a sharp turnabout for reasons of geopolitical origin. However, it should be borne in mind that good neighbourly relations are of special importance owing to the frequently changing global conditions. When making critical political decisions, the political powers representing the countries should be based on not only the current interests but also the common historical past. If we wrap up on the basis of the Turkish-Russian relations: the development of commercial relationships or the good relationships of the political leaders come to the forefront at peaceable times. Nevertheless, the convergence with no strong political basis does not mean that the search of the leaders of both countries for an alliance may provide strong long-term relations. The most important basis that determines strong and reliable political relations depends on the commonality of the geopolitical interests and on cooperation in line with this objective.

Acknowledgment:

I extend my great thanks to Professor Aydın İbrahimov (Ege University-Izmir), who provided the translation of the Russian texts and who gave his invaluable ideas about the subject.

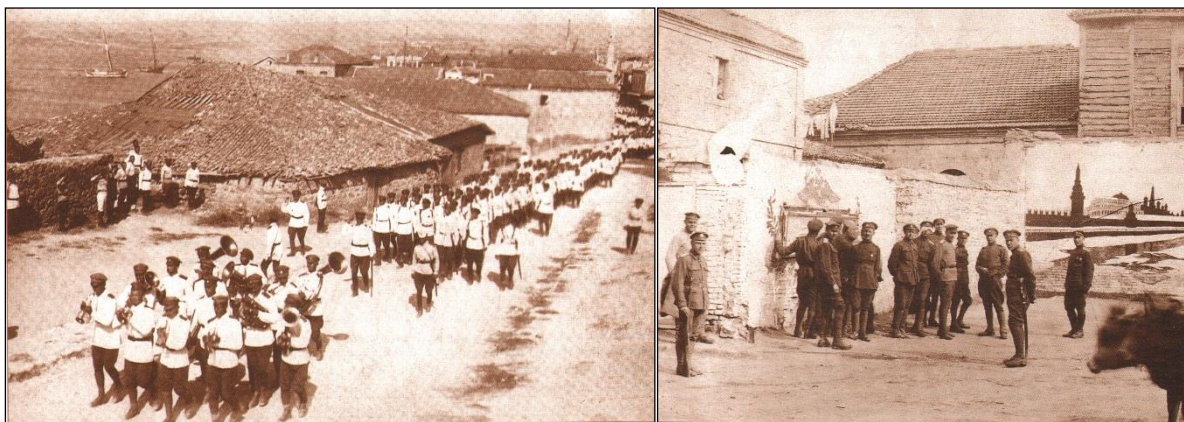


Photo 1 and 2. The soldiers of the White Russian Army on the streets in Gallipoli. The drawings and decorations reflected from Russia are seen on the walls of the houses (right). (Source: Gallipoliyskiy Krest Russkoy Armii, Sibirskaya Blagozvonitsa Press, pp.162, 192).

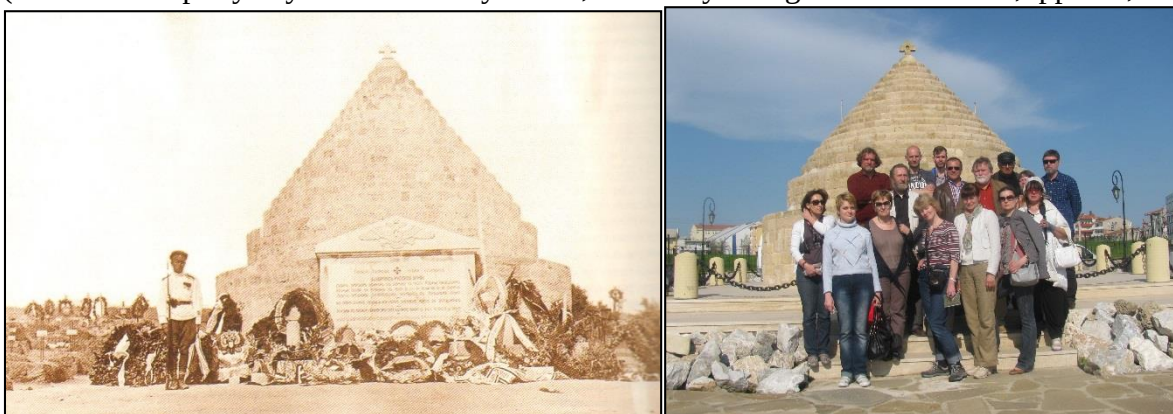


Photo 3 and 4. After the opening of the mausoleum (July 16, 1921). As Rayevski stated in his memories, there are a large number of wreaths (left) (Rayevski, 2009:94). The Russian tourist group that arrived to pay a visit to the memorial reconstructed in agreement with its original (right).

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Transformation of the Identity of Craftsmanship: The Case of Leatherwork in İzmir.

Seçil Özdemir Metlioğlu

Introduction

Craftsmanship is described as a work which is carried out for meeting the material-based requirements of people and which needs experience, skill and expertise, and manual dexterity along with education while performing the work or as a small-scaled production type which needs manual labour and depends on skill and experience along with mostly education (TDK, 1988: 1663). Craft means ‘zanaat’ in Turkish. The word ‘zanaat’ in Turkish is originated from the Arabic word ‘ṣanā’a(t)’ which represents a production based on manual labour. The concept also has some other meanings such as labour, profession, expertness, handcraft, manual dexterity and manufacturing. Nişanyan states that the reason of writing the craftsmanship (zanaat) concept with the letter “z” since 1930 may be for the purpose of differentiating the word from “craft” (sanat in Turkish) (Nişanyan, 2003: 500).

Today, it can be said that the craftsman concept fits more to the artisan concept of the past years. Just like in the concepts of carpentry or navigation, also in painting and sculpture, a Greek or Roman artisan/artist should have combined the intellectual comprehension regarding his/her principals with practical understanding, skill and grace. The only general classification concerning art, which reminded of modern thoughts in the old world, was the branching of art into two as liberal and ordinary arts in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Ordinary arts were the arts which were being performed with physical effort and/or for a certain sum of money, where liberal or free arts were intellectual arts which were suitable for noble and educated classes. Aristotle has established an influential opposition between productive art (techne) and moral wisdom (phronesis). This situation formed a basis for discrimination between the art and artisan which will be sharpened more in the future. Aristotle was describing the producer, that is, techne as “the ability of producing anything under the guidance of rational thought and the education taken.” However techne, in the Greek culture, was not only pointing to a narrow rational or a technical meaning as Aristotle described, but also covering spontaneity and grace aspects. In the previous periods, people, who were performing various arts from medicine and military strategy to pottery and poetry, were neither artisans nor artists in the sense of modernism, but were artisan/artists, that is, they were skilful and graceful performers (Shiner, 2010: 48-49). When talking about craftsman, it is possible to speak of a training period besides the existence of manual labour. Additionally, the need for an experience of approximately ten thousand hours for mastership, which is obtained by a training period, is based on the measurements carried out (Sennett, 2009: 33). Cognitive psychologists state that in order to do a work, which is based on qualifications at the highest level of performance, the education period should be ten years (Epstein and Prak, 2008: 6).

Sennett places the craftsman in a more comprehensive category than the artist. Craftsman means the desire to perform something properly and tangibly. Developments in high technology are the reflections of an antique model of craftsmanship. Ignoring and putting pressure on people, who want to be good craftsman, by the social institutions are realities not to be passed over. The greatest merit that formed a harbour for the craftsman in the past was being busy with the “things that we touch with our hands during the day.” However, the spell between the craftsman and the object that he was producing started to get broken when the machines started to touch the products. Touching was the height of ambition for the craftsman (Sennett, 2009: 192).

Arendt states that there are two images of working people and state of humanity: Animal Laborens (working animal) and Homo Faber (human that produces tool). Animal Laborens (working animal) is similar to a labourer doing ordinary works and is a human similar to a creature carrying loads. The work itself is the aim of Animal Laborens and he closes himself up against the outer world in order to carry out his mission. On the other hand, Homo Faber is the symbol of women and men who make a common life and do different works other than that of Animal Laborens. Simply, Homo Faber means “a producer human.” Homo Faber is the human dominating material effort and practice and he/she is not a colleague of Animal Labores and precedes him/her. Sennett objects to this discrimination of Arendt and states that Arendt underestimates and trivialises the working women and men. According to Sennett, the human-animal that is an Animal Laborens has a thinking skill and the discussions, which are made by Homo Faber that is glorified by Arendt, are about the mentally used materials rather than other people (Sennett, 2009: 17). According to Arendt, devices and tools that exist in every era have become the unchanged part of our existences. People adapted themselves to the devices that they use or adapted themselves according to their hands. As for the machines, the situation is different. The machines, which are at the service of the hands in every field during the operation period, being contrary to the labour tools, want the labourer to adapt him/her self to the machines. But this never means that people adapt themselves to the machines or they are the servants of the machines; but as the machines carry out the work, it means that the mechanical process takes the place of the human body. Where even the most refined device stays as a servant as it is incapable of directing the hand or taking the place of hand; even the most primitive machine directs the body and takes the place of it (Arendt, 2012: 220). According to Arendt, when the work is done, the mind also settles down. Thinking and affectivity are also included in the working process. Sennett stated that people could have an idea about themselves because of the things they did. This shows that material culture also has a meaning. If we understand the production of the goods more, then we can create a more humanitarian material life (Sennett, 2009: 19).

The craftsman is frequently remembered together with the qualifications such as holism, perfection and uniqueness of the work. So within this frame, some authors describe craftsmanship as a small-scaled build to order production with no separate parts for the work, where the whole work is done at the same unit of work and which is organised with the use of qualified labour in the form of mastership, apprenticeship, and assistant mastership (Emiroğlu et al., 2006: 1005). On the other hand, there are studies which establish a direct bond between the craftsmanship and human nature and culture. Veblen, who discusses human nature and the relation between human nature and the culture, states that human is curious by nature and makes productions by using public knowledge obtained via culture which accompanies his production / endeavouring / “mastership instincts” (Veblen, 2005: 17). In the narrow definition of craftsmanship, it is possible to see that hands work more than the mind; however, if the craftsmanship is described broadly as making the object for the object itself, then intellectual craftsmanship will be included in this (Kergoat, 2009: 366). Within this frame, writing texts in an understandable manner comes in front of us as a good example of craftsmanship (Sennett, 2009: 75).

A person having any kind of craftsmanship is assumed to have features expressed with the words such as ability, talent, skill, stunt, mastership, and expertness. So a person, who has any kind of craftsmanship or is a craftsman, can be described as an individual who had training and developed his/her hand skills and who can dexterously produce what is required. After completing a long term education, the craftsman can easily solve the problems that he/she faces during the production in a short time. So, craftsmanship is at the same time problem solving. Designing and producing the products, which will meet the requirements, form wholeness. But here, it should be indicated that, while carrying out the production, it is not

mandatory to use hands only. In Ancient Greece, poets were also accepted as craftsman just like farmers, sculptors, and ceramic masters. The expertness of the poet reflects his skill in the relation that he establishes with the language, but here, the working act of the hands is only seen when writing the poem. Because of this reason, when defining the craftsman, it will be more correct to emphasise the importance of skill and the education period, rather than hand skill only. It is estimated that a good work can be done with skill and after the education period. On the other hand today, the good state of any product manufactured in a factory with machinery is not because of the switching of that machine, but because of the good design. Craftsmanship becomes meaningful by managing the processes such as designing the product, choosing the materials, production and finding solutions for possible problems (Sennett, 2009: 120-130).

After the definitions regarding craftsmanship are made, general features of craftsmanship can be stated as follows:

- Manual labour is dominant in production. Devices are auxiliary components in the production instead of machines.
- Production is carried out in small shops.
- Master and apprentice make the production together in the shop.
- Traditional training methods are used in the period during which apprentice becomes expert and gains qualification.
- Products can be produced per order and also produced according to the master's designs which come out with his creative effort.
- Even if the product has a general style, it does not have a certain standard as it is produced with manual labour.
- The production tools belong to the craftsman.
- The master has the power of control during the production process.
- The production requires high qualification.
- Number of workers is limited.
- Production technology is simple.
- Production and sales are carried out in the same place. There is a direct relation with the market (Meyer, 1975: 5).

Ergür states that craftsmanship is produced in a field, which is not open to universal cultural values, within the frame of the relationship between the master and apprentice depending on knowledge and skills transferred to this day and he also thinks that these products, which are formed by the influences of traditions, beliefs, habits, old fancies and value measurements, are encircled by the concept of craftsmanship rather than the concept of craft. The culture of craftsmanship is the pattern of all the ideas and behaviours which the craftsman acquired related to their professions. The relations of apprentice, assistant master and master and processes of enculturation and acculturation are again the two important processes of this culture. The culture of craftsmanship, as part of the cultural structure, is transferred from master to assistant master and apprentice by the processes of enculturation and acculturation, and is obtained by assistant master and apprentice. Craftsmanship is taught by the master-apprentice relation just like it is realised by education and therefore it is transferred to the next generations by this way. Craftsmanship has stages which aim to reach information and experience that form the basis of the work. The individual starts with apprenticeship, gains experience with assistant mastership and in his period of maturation, reaches the level of mastership (Ergür, 1997: 172).

Method

In this study, the qualitative research method is used. It is thought that it would be more satisfactory to examine the aesthetics and the products manufactured during the production process by using the qualitative research method, while carrying out a study regarding leather labour. In order to obtain detailed information about the subject, the in-depth interview method is used.

In this study, interviews have been made with three leather masters, sometimes by letting them freely speak without interrupting and sometimes with semi-structured question forms. The first interviewee (Ertan) is a head workman in a leather shop in a large commercial building, the other master (Kemal) works in his shop producing leather products and the third master (Bülent) uses some sections of his house as a shop and produces there. During the interviews, notes were taken and tape recorders and cameras were used. The questions that are asked in the interview are generally like this: working period, the reason of choosing this field of work, knowing the raw material, product design period, working discipline, distribution of work, creative labour, production process and period, product marketing and sales, working conditions, assessment.

Findings

In this section, the significance that the craftsman attach to their works and how this craftsmanship is transformed and exists today, are assessed within the frame of the interviews, in the example of leather labour, which depends on production with hand work and machinery.

Regarding the working period, Ertan stated that he has been doing leather work for 38 years, Kemal for 25 years and Bülent for 30 years. Ertan explained his reason of choosing leather work as follows:

I started working with my relatives in Yeşilköy in 1978. In the 70s, downstairs there was a tannery and upstairs, there were apartments. People, who moved to the district, were first getting annoyed of foul smell and continuously cleaning their houses.

Then, after they got used to this smell, they were thinking that the bad smell was eliminated because of the cleaning process. I did not have a specific master; I learned the work by observing my relatives.

Kemal: First, this work was a hobby for me. After I started to work in this field, I decided to be educated in the department of sculpture. I get pleasure in touching and forming the things. I learned the work by myself. Now I am producing leather masks in my own shop. In my first days in this work, it took me three days to produce a mask.

Bülent: I was very interested, so I started to work in this field. At the beginning it was only a hobby for me, but then it began to turn into a work. First, I had a small shop of my own but I had to close it because of the financial difficulties. Now I reserved a section of the saloon of my house as a small shop. My son, my wife and I work and produce together.

The responses given related to acknowledgement of raw material are as follows:

Kemal: Cattle skins are used as raw materials. This has to be processed by primitive methods. As far as I know, only a few tanneries produce leathers using primitive methods. There are also tanneries in Balıkesir and Isparta, but I have never been there.

Ertan: I was working in a tannery before opening my own shop. I know all the stages of this work. The important thing is the condition of the skin of the animal when it is alive. Tanning with ammonium, arsenic and lime is a traditional method. In the modern method case, chemicals are used in order to clean the skin. The animal skins are fermented in the cabinets

in tanneries. I am already a leather expert and the reason for this is that I was trained from the cradle. If I did not start working in the tannery, now I would not be good enough for this job. Regarding the designing of the products, the interviewees emphasised that they produce in a way to fulfill the expectations of the customers and the market. Kemal and Bülent stated that they produce leather masks, notebooks and cellular phone covers, where Ertan said he produces leather clothes.

Regarding the use of machines, Ertan said that machines make the production much easier. Kemal and Bülent said that as they were producing hand-made products, they rarely use machines.

Regarding the working discipline, Kemal stated that the working discipline is secured by the head workman. Being a head workman needs skill and ability of reconciliation. The important thing for me is the case that my team works happily and efficiently. Ertan, working in a larger shop than the other two shops, states that working discipline is secured by the head workman and there are 30 workers in the shop. He also says, "Cutting and measurement and sewing units are separate. Head workman decides to which unit the product will be given. The worker responsible for sewing sews with the machine and as lining unit is in a separate section, master delivers this to the said unit and finally the finished product comes. Delivery time varies from 1 day to 1 hour due to the ordered product. If we tried to make these products in the past, it would take at least 1 week." Bülent indicates that as he turned a section of his house into a shop, they all together secure the discipline of work.

The assessments of the interviewees regarding leather trade in the past and today are as follows:

Kemal: In the days that I started to work in this field, I was buying an animal skin for 10 liras, but now 10 skins cost 10 liras. This is because of fashion and consumption habits. Raw materials are not as strong as before. The quality got poorer, together with the decrease in the price of the product. In the past, at least one member of the family was wearing a leather jacket and people were wearing these jackets for many years. I got ahead financially and now I am sending my products to foreign countries. In the past, raw material was expensive and today it is cheaper. This situation satisfies me financially.

Ertan: Leather market let people earn more money in 1990s. I also trained a few people. Afterwards, they quitted but I continued to work in this field. They quitted after the crises which were faced in 1998, 2001 and 2005. Many tanneries were closed because of these crises. The competition increased when China and India entered the market and our businesses took a turn for the worse.

Bülent: As in other businesses, leather market is also suffering. We are making productions in a small-scale. We only have some certain customers, so nothing is getting better.

Conclusion

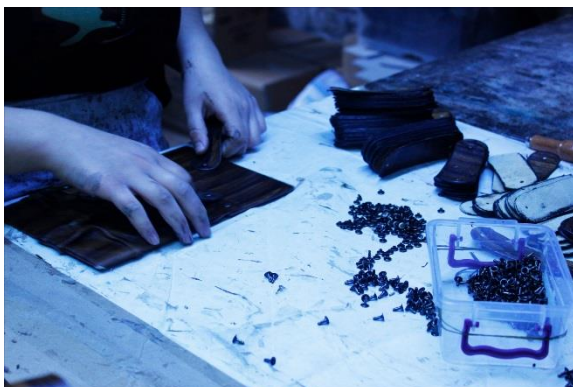
Sennett states that a craftsman, who has training for a certain period of time, mostly develops his/her hand skills and has ability to solve problems that he/she faces. All of the three masters, with who the interviews are made, meet the craftsman description of Sennett. Though Kemal and Bülent have considered this work as a hobby at the beginning, they turned this job into craftsmanship by adding some qualifications to the works they carry out, such as manual labour and imagination, dexterity. Sennett emphasises that the craftsman starts to lose his/her own power of imagination by intensive use of machines. Kemal and Bülent, by indicating that they make use of machines not too much while designing their products, are able to introduce creative imagination. So by this way, they sign their products. On the other hand, Ertan says that the use of machines is essential for the market and as the competition is increased with

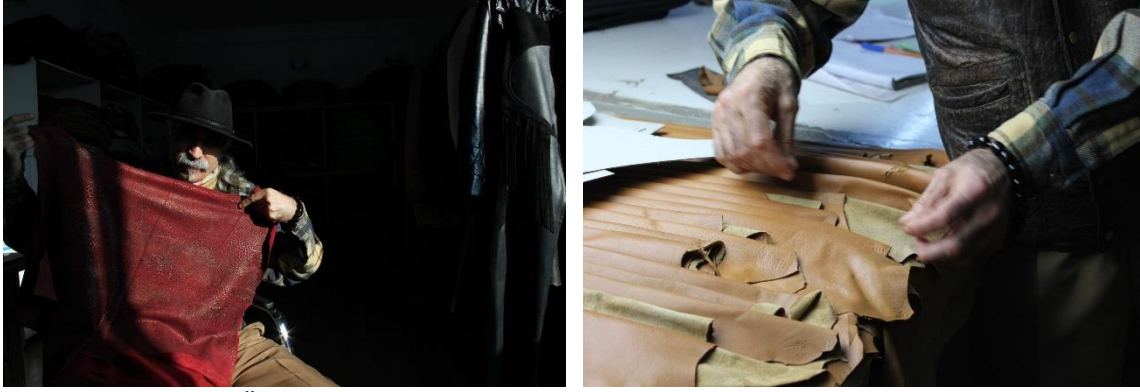
market penetration of the countries such as China and India and because of the market expectations, using the machines is unavoidable. He also states that in the times when machines are not used so much, he had more knowledge about the products and could solve the problems easier than he does now. Ertan indicates that his skills of knowing raw materials, being in all the stages of production process, solving the problems in a short time as compared to the others were all gained in the times when machines were not being used too much.

Adam Smith, when describing industrial labour, interprets routine works as fatuity. He states that someone who does the same thing many times will lose his/her mind and be monotonous. Smith attributes the same meaning to being routine and boringness but Sennett indicates that the situation is not like this for the people who are complex and who develop fine hand skills. Doing something repeatedly is encouraging and eye-opening when arranged by foreseeing the future. The origin of routine can change, vary and develop. Sennett explains this as “rhythm.” Just like how a spasm of the human heart makes a rhythm, dexterous craftsman transfers this rhythm to his/her hands and eyes (Sennett, 2009: 230). In the interviews, craftsmen, who do the same work for many years, stated that they never fell into repetition and they did not consider themselves as masters carrying out monotonous works.

Our awareness about objects is not independent from these objects. We should focus on the thing which makes the object interesting. All the effort of a craftsman in doing a qualified work is based on his interest in the material that he takes in hand (Sennett, 2009: 160). Interviewees stated that they are all committed to their works by passion. Bülent says that when he takes the leather in his hands, his imagination is limitless and this passion will continue till his death. He also indicates that when producing a new product, all his creativity is only focused on that object and he imagines the finished product until the design of the product is completed and he gets pleasure out of this situation. Sennett emphasises that the craftsmanship of producing material things enables an approach to experience techniques which will also form the relations between the others and both the problems and possibilities, which are faced while doing a good work, also exist in establishing relations with people (Sennett, 2009: 378). Bülent indicates that after starting to work in this field, he began to think deeply about his relations with the friends and other people and as he is doing this job with his family, he says they understand each other better.

In this study, craftsmanship is also considered as a production that covers creative labour, besides being based on manual labour. With its traditional form, leather labour is a branch of craftsmanship which needs control during the whole production process. This craftsmanship branch continues its existence in order to meet a certain demand in the market that is specific for the capitalist consumption system. Leather labour, which is based on manual labour, is perceived positively by the interviewees. The fact that craftsman consider what they produce as works of craft, will bring about a mental development which will lead to produce better products in the production process which is carried out everyday.





Fotoęraflar: Osman zkan

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Ethnic Community Football Integration Policy: Case Of Turkish Football Leagues In London

K. Onur Unutulmaz⁴⁸

Introduction

Sports have long been considered as marginal issues, if not altogether irrelevant, for social sciences. In recent decades, however, there have been an increasing number of studies which either analyse sports as their subject or situate and contextualise their subjects inside various sporting fields. When we look at the general picture of the Turkish-speaking community in London, we see that football has become one of the biggest, most effective, most dynamic and most inclusive arenas for organising the very diverse Turkish-speaking community⁴⁹ almost four decades after it was established in 1976. This arena hosts two football federations (the Turkish Community Football Federation [1976] and the Turkish Kurdish Football Federation [1992]). over 50 football clubs; many community associations, including mosques, owning and managing clubs which represent their respective identities in the regular competitions; significant local and transnational media attention; and many companies from the Turkish-speaking community offering financial sponsorships.

This chapter presents findings of an ethnographic research study that was conducted on Turkish-community football which was conceptualised as a field, in the sense that Pierre Bourdieu used the term, and argues that autonomous community leagues provide a number of significant opportunities which could be used by national or local actors as part of integration policies. It is particularly argued that football as a common passion could provide a common ground for different communities and marginalised groups to come together and interact in a constructive way thereby tackling marginalisation. It is also suggested that football by virtue of its very design and history is well equipped to act as a medium of communication and a teaching tool especially in reaching out to young people.

To make and substantiate its arguments, the chapter will begin by presenting a selective review of the burgeoning literature on sport in social sciences particularly in relation to identities and social integration of immigrants. It will then provide a description of the methodology used to generate the ethnographic data that is presented here. A brief historical context is then presented in relation to the establishment process of the Turkish Community Football Federation back in the mid-1970s at the peak of the Cyprus Crisis to be able to better understand the political and diasporic legacy of the institution. In the last part, the findings of the research are presented together with some other examples of football being used in integration-related objectives. The chapter closes with some concluding remarks.

Sports, Identities, and Immigrant Integration in the Literature: A Selective Review

As suggested earlier, the social analyses of and through sports have recently multiplied in volume and significance. A significant part of such studies are devoted to researching and analysing the implications of sports on various collective and individual identities. For

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⁴⁹ Turkish-speaking community in London, which comprises three significant ethnic communities; Turkish-Cypriots, Turks from Turkey, and Kurds from Turkey. The Turkish-Cypriots call themselves, and are called by others, either Kıbrıslı (Cypriot) or Kıbrıs Türkü (Cypriot Turk) depending on the context and on which aspect of their identity they wish to emphasise. Many later generation Turkish-Cypriots also call themselves British on occasion. The Turks from Turkey usually call themselves so, i.e. Türk. Occasionally, they are also called Türkiyeli (one from Turkey). The Kurds from Turkey call themselves Kürt (Kurd), Türkiye Kürdü (Turkey Kurd), or Türk/Türkiyeli (Turkish/ one from Turkey) referring to their country of origin.

instance, Back et al. (2001, p. 270) show through their fieldwork on English football that football “provides one of the few spheres in which ideas about identity, ethnicity and race can be expressed, embodied and performed.” Their ethnographic work on the English national team has searched for these forms of expressions, embodiments, and performances in and through the body languages of players during national anthems, the songs chanted by the fans, and the institutional and personal manifestations of, overt and covert, racism inside the game (Back et al. 2001).

Obviously, similar analyses exist on the relationship between national identity and other sports. For example, Ward’s (2009) is one such study on cricket as a key symbol of Australian national identity. As should already be obvious, there is a widely acknowledged and quite complex link between various identities and sports. In most cases, it is not beneficial, even if possible, to analyse only one type of collective identity as they are usually fused with one another in very context-specific and complex ways. Archetti in his chapter on the Argentinian national identity, for example, claims that the constructed national identity is deliberately masculine as “Argentinian football ‘functioned’ as an efficient ‘rite of institution’: the creation of a separate arena in which the main difference is the one established between the accepted participants and those who will never participate, i.e. the women” (Archetti 1994, p. 236). National identity is just one of the identities that is considered in connection with sport: “Behind the façade of its obvious entertainment aspect, it [football] has proved to be a perpetuating reflector of nationalism, race, ethnicity, religion, community and communal identity, gender and cultural specificity” (Bandyopadhyay 2009, p. 697).

An increasing number of studies are interested in this aspect of identities and identity politics which attempt to go beyond the generalising and reifying tendencies within the sociology of collective identities. A starting point is to treat cultural identity formation as an ongoing process, and culture as a process of production, instead of as a product (da Cunha 1995). Therefore, cultural identity formation is inherently a political process subject to much negotiation and conflict. One good example of this is Hall’s (1995) study on the British-Sikh youth in Leeds, in which she shows how these young people ‘act English’ in some contexts and ‘Indian’ in others. Daniel Burdsey (2004, 2006, 2007) has written extensively on this subject through sport. He has shown how British Asians strategically shift across their ‘dual ethnicities’ and ‘act white’ when necessary to prove (to themselves as much as to others) that they are ‘one of the lads’ in and out of the football field (Burdsey 2004, 2007). This process, it should be noted, is not always an easy and straightforward one where the immigrant individual has the great advantage of having two ethnic and cultural identities to choose from. Instead, they are usually confronted with exclusion and racism. In one of his studies, Burdsey (2006) shows that the processes of negotiation not only involves ethnic and cultural identities, but often also includes national and diasporic identities when one child asks his father “If I ever play football, Dad, can I play for England or India?”

Sports have been widely seen as an ideological site where the construction of national and other collective identities takes place and thereby it is seen as a significant mechanism for social integration. Armstrong suggests that sport could even be considered to be “the broadest cultural denomination in many nations, capable of creating and sustaining a sense of identity and belonging crucial to national integration” (Armstrong 2002, p. 471). Archetti (1994, p. 225) shows how football has been strategically used in Argentina by the governments to build a masculine national identity during the process of its modernisation in 1900-1930. Accordingly, this has been done by using football to create a “collective memory with shared symbols that emphasized particular (public) events and ceremonies as the initial moments of tradition” (Archetti 1994, p. 235-236).

In terms of the integration of immigrants, however, the number of studies is much smaller. It is suggested that football, and other sports, could lead to inclusion and exclusion

both as cultural practices and social institutions depending on the patterns of manifestation and articulation of social categories such as religion, gender, class, or community (Bandyopadhyay 2009, p. 697). One of the pioneering studies looks at Celtic FC as the most important medium of Irish and Catholic cultural expression in Scotland which has, accordingly, a very anti-Catholic mainstream culture (Bradley 1996). In that context, the author argues, supporting Celtic FC has become a significant way of resisting assimilation. A similar account is provided in Sweden about various ‘immigrant clubs.’ Here, too, the immigrant communities, and particularly the Assyrians, resist assimilation and uphold their sense of a distinct and proud ethnic and cultural identity through their professional football clubs, the most successful of which being Assyriska FF (Andersson 2009). In both studies, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, on the basis of class, race, and ethnicity, simultaneously exist. Therefore an easy formula between sports and inclusion or exclusion of ethnic minorities seems rather unfeasible.

Using football as a means to sustain a distinctive ethnic and cultural identity is one of the patterns that emerge in the literature. Another significant pattern is how immigrant and diasporic communities are using sports as a way into mainstream society. One such study, for instance, looks at how young ethnic minority individuals consider football as a way of realising the dream of upward social mobility in Danish society (Agergaard and Sorensen 2009). Burdsey (2004) similarly looks at how British Asians play football in such a way to be ‘one of the lads.’ The former analysis looks at how economic and social capital influences the chances of such young players ‘making it into’ the professional leagues, while the latter study examines the ‘de-ethnicisation’ of the British Asian football players by ‘downplaying’ their, say, Bangladeshi identity and prioritising a British one (Agergaard and Sorensen 2009; Burdsey 2004, p. 16-17). Another study, similarly, investigates whether sports provide Black and Asian athletes in different branches in Britain a chance for social upward mobility, and seems to provide a cautious yet affirming answer (Ismond 2003).

The obvious potential of managing diversity through popular sports has not remained unnoticed by immigration country governments. The famous Parekh Report, for instance, identifies sport as one of the key areas which could potentially contribute to the attempt of building social and community cohesion into everyday life (Spracklen 2003, p. 41), which is defined in the following way:

cohesion ... derives from widespread commitment to certain core values, both between communities and within them; equality and fairness; dialogue and consultation; toleration, compromise, and accommodation; recognition of and respect for diversity; and -by no means least- determination to confront and eliminate racism and xenophobia (RunnymedeTrust 2000, p. 56).

So, the potential of sports is acknowledged while the danger of sports leading just to the opposite of inclusion is also highlighted (Spracklen 2003). An increasing number of studies on policies and projects adopted by national and local administrations aim to utilise this potential, some of which are described below. Such projects and organisations aiming integration are increasing throughout the Western world. Such outreach and empowerment projects that utilise the popularity and potential of sports have also notably been increasingly used to address other issues and social groups. For example the London Playing Fields Foundation is running a number of projects targeting such diverse social groups as the ‘long-term mentally ill’ (Coping through Football), 14-16 year-old girls (Active Angels), and adult females (Female Coach Development) as well as diasporic communities (All Nations Football Festival). For the analysis of another example from an Australian context, see Sherry and Strybosch’s (2012) work on the ‘Australian Community Street Soccer Program’ targeting homeless and disadvantaged adults.

Methodology

The analysis and arguments presented in this chapter are derived from a doctoral research project on Turkish-Cypriot, Turkish, and Kurdish communities in London and their football leagues (Unutulmaz 2014b)⁵⁰. It employed a number of qualitative and quantitative research tools mostly in the framework of 1.5 years of fieldwork in London. The quantitative data was largely taken from various official statistics, reports produced by the national and local government bodies as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the released national census results. The fieldwork was conducted between July 2010 and January 2012 with Haringey as its centre. The timing of the fieldwork was arranged so as to cover a full season of the Turkish and Kurdish leagues in London. As part of participant observation, football matches, training sessions, social events, and formal institutional meetings were regularly attended. The observations, impressions and all social interaction with research subjects were recorded either on the spot or immediately afterwards as field-notes. To complement these notes, a range of visual and audio recordings, such as pictures, video footage and voice recordings, were taken where possible. The participant observation of the social life of the Turkish and Kurdish communities has been complemented with 72 tape-recorded in-depth interviews with key people from the field which were also crucial for the purposes of this research, especially in getting the individual perspectives and narratives into the picture. These subjective narratives and individual histories of the actors were fundamental in connecting the many dots that have emerged during the observations. In addition, a daily review of the local and transnational Turkish and Kurdish media, and a detailed review of the personal and institutional archives on the history of ethnic community football in London. In addition to the London fieldwork, three international research trips were conducted (two trips to Northern Cyprus and the third to Turkey). As a result of rigorous ethnographic fieldwork, a rich data set has been created which involves a wealth of field notes, visual and voice recordings, and archival documents. With respect to research ethics, the highest possible standards were demanded to satisfy the university ethics review. All key informants as well as interviewed individuals gave their informed consents to be included in the research and cited by name in any publications.

Football as a Field: Pierre Bourdieu, an influential French sociologist and thinker, has suggested that social research should focus on hierarchically organised yet homologously structured ‘fields’ in which ‘agents’ -and not passive subjects- interact with one another in their attempt of maximising specific forms of ‘capital’ - not necessarily reducible to economic or political capital, instead of focusing on a predetermined set of subjects. This, he suggested, was because one can “observe and understand everything that human practices reveal only when they are seen in their mutual relationships ... as a totality” (Bourdieu 1984, p. xiv). Therefore, any meaningful social aspect of human life should be studied in relation to other cultural practices and social influences in the view of a more ‘integrated analytical approach, overlapping the historical, the anthropological and the sociological in the cultural analysis’ (Tomlinson 2004, p. 163). According to Bourdieu, a field is a structured space of ‘positions and position-takings’ where:

each position ... (i) is subjectively defined by the system of distinctive properties by which it can be situated relative to other positions; (ii) that every position, even the dominant one, depends for its very existence, and for the determinations it imposes on its occupants, on the other positions constituting the field; (iii) and that the structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than

⁵⁰ The dissertation is available at the library of University of Oxford.

the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits which are at stake in the field (Bourdieu 1993, p. 30).

Of course, there is a constant complex interplay between the changing state of the field which is reflected on the structure of positions, agents' certain specific characteristics, the level of specific capital available to each agent and/or position in the field, and agents' strategies to improve their positions in relation to the relevant stakes in a given field. Therefore, a definitive and static field cannot be possibly identified. In fact:

The boundary of the field is a stake of struggles, and the social scientist's task is not to draw a dividing line between the agents involved in it by imposing a so-called operational definition, which is most likely to be imposed on him by his own prejudices or presuppositions, but to describe a state (long-lasting or temporary) of these struggles and therefore of the frontier delimiting the territory held by competing agents (Bourdieu 1993, p. 42).

The field of 'Turkish-Speaking amateur football' similarly includes a structured system of social relations between various agents. It should be noted that, each of these agents and/or positions may include other sub-fields within themselves, and most of them do. Each of these sub-fields, then, could have their own structure and dynamics. The most significant institution in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London is the TCFF. Sanctioned and supervised by the London Football Association (LFA), the TCFF was established in 1976 and today runs five regular leagues (two adult, two youth, and one veteran). There are 40 clubs registered to the TCFF which compete in its leagues and cup competitions. Most of these clubs have been established by certain local neighbourhood origin associations and hence are named after them. Particularly the vast majority of the clubs established by the Turkish-Cypriot immigrants have the names of villages in Cyprus such as Yeni Boğaziçi, Akıncılar, and Yalova. Although it is no longer a strict condition, if it ever was at all for the players to be from the namesake villages, some clubs still proudly announce that 90 per cent of the players in the team are the 'boys of the village' despite the fact that most of those boys have never set foot in those villages. In any case, it has been a general pattern for the Turkish-Cypriots to organise around neighbourhoods of origin identities from the start and for the clubs to have a significant role in reproducing these identities among the youth in London. Although this is also the case for some Turkish clubs, for example Trabzonspor and Adanaspor, there is a greater diversity with respect to the collective identities they suggest their clubs represent. These include religious (sectarian) and ethnic (Turkish vs. Kurdish) as well as fan identities of major Turkish clubs.

Another football federation was established under the name of the Turkish and Kurdish Football Federation (TKFF) in 1992. Although some of the founders of this federation suggest that the TKFF was born out of the need of the growing Kurdish community, there are also claims that it was rather because Kurdish individuals and clubs faced significant degrees of discrimination in the TCFF leagues in the preceding years. Whatever the case is, the establishment of the TKFF as another major sub-field with 16 clubs regularly competing in its two adult leagues is very noteworthy. Very significantly, the federation was not called a Kurdish Football Federation, but a Turkish-Kurdish one.

Also very significantly, the field of Turkish-speaking football in London includes some national institutions. The Turkish Embassy and the Turkish-Cypriot Representation in London have long been in constant contact with the TCFF and many individual football clubs. For a range of political, diplomatic and sporting reasons, the Turkish Football Federation (TFF) and the Turkish Cypriot government through its various institutions as a whole, have very close relations with the London TCFF. The English Football Association (FA) and the LFA are the major British institutions that are in continuous contact with the Turkish-speaking football in

London. Apart from them, some London Boroughs and the Home Office also become active agents within this field on occasion through various projects and programs. We should also add the various media institutions that closely follow Turkish-speaking football in London. Some of them are London-based such as the four local newspapers that are published in Turkish and some local radio stations; while some of them are Turkey- or Cyprus-based. Very interestingly, Genc TV, a Cyprus-based satellite TV channel, has been regularly broadcasting some of the big matches live. Other institutional actors include the sponsors and community organisations that are represented in the field of Turkish-speaking football.

A Reflective Note on My Position in the Field as a Researcher: It is now a widely accepted view that an anthropologist is not an ‘objective detached observer recording pre-existing facts’ (Haraway 1991), but he/she must be seen as an ‘active, situated, participant in the construction of accounts and representations’ (Turner 2000, p. 51). It has been further suggested that, the social relationships that are developed in the context of an ethnographic fieldwork between the anthropologist and a set of diverse people should not be seen as fixed but rather as shifting ones ‘that have constantly to be negotiated’ (A. Turner 2000, p. 53). The anthropologist is someone who is primarily participating in the very social context he/she is researching and is a significant author of events with significant outcomes for everyone in that social context. It is therefore, necessary to reflect on my own position, physical and symbolic, in the field. My position within the field, though varied in time and depending on the context, has been predominantly that of a respectable Oxford researcher investigating Turkish-speaking football leagues in London. In fact, the day after my very first visit to London Turgut Esendağlı, who was working for the Sports section of a local Turkish newspaper as well as being the President of the TCFF, ran a news report on my visit with the title “Sport and Immigrants are a subject for Research” with a photo of myself. The text described how a ‘young academician,’ who contacted Esendağlı for his doctoral research on Turkish-speaking immigrants in London and football, ‘inspected’ the football fields on Sunday. It later presents a rather sizable part of my academic resume to the readers. What was even more effective in establishing my position as the ‘respectable Oxford researcher’ particularly amongst the club managers and administrators was the way in which I was introduced during the 2010 annual general meeting (AGM) of the TCFF in June. Towards the end of this meeting, the newly re-elected President of the Federation announced that a researcher from Oxford University was interested in their leagues and asked me to introduce myself. I briefly introduced myself and my research trying to look as sympathetic as I could and finished by asking the attendants, the representatives from every single club registered in the leagues, as well as media members and some players, to help me with my research by not getting very annoyed by my questions and constant presence. I became ‘Onur Hoca’ (*hoca* means teacher) in the field and most people in the field treated me as ‘someone who was writing a book on themselves.’ I have very often been ‘requested’ to write about issues that they felt were important. During our interviews as well as informal conversations, people would say to me frequently ‘write this too’ or ‘you must mention that.’ I have welcomed this attitude as a principle as in many cases it encouraged my subjects of analysis to share as much information with me as they could, sometimes even without my prompting.

A Brief History of Turkish Community Ethnic Football in London: Historical Context

Cyprus Conflict and Importance of London for Cypriot Diasporas: The emergence of organised Turkish-speaking football in London could only be understood in its historical context, particularly in relation to the international political context created by the conflict over Cyprus. This post-colonial struggle, which had started as an inter-communal one before

quickly turning into a full-fledged international conflict, had a major influence on the Turkish and Greek-Cypriot communities in London, and had definitely affected these communities' efforts for organisation and mobilisation in support of their respective national political claims. As we shall see in the following brief account, the creation of the TCFF was, to a significant degree, a result of this wider political context.

Since Cyprus was a former British colony and as a result of the liberal immigration policies concerning the colonies (Hansen 2000), the vast majority of emigration from Cyprus has been directed to Britain. While these migration flows from Cyprus had already started in the aftermath of World War Two (WWII) (Bhatti 1981), it consistently intensified in the processes following the declaration of independence, political problems, inter-communal conflict, and the Turkish military intervention in 1974. As a result, a significant number of Cypriot immigrants from both sides ended up in Britain, and are mostly concentrated in London (Aydin 2001; Bhatti 1981).

In the first couple of decades following WWII, the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot communities in London seem to have gotten along well. Not only did they settle in similar regions of London, mostly in the North Boroughs including Hackney and Enfield; they were involved in the similar economic sectors, most notably textiles, with very positive neighbourly relations (Aydin 2001; Bhatti 1981; GLA 2009; Robins and Aksoy 2001). However, the deteriorating political climate back in Cyprus and an increasing number of newly arriving immigrants who were uprooted, and hence politicised, by the conflict, had an unavoidably negative impact on relations in London when the mid-1970s arrived. While a number of Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots actively tried to keep the relations positive, blaming either Turkey, Greece, the British colonial legacy, or ethnic nationalism as the reasons for this conflict, a greater number of people in each community was drawn into the language of conflict (Bhatti 1981).

London, it must be noted, is remarkably significant for the Cyprus conflict and for the Cypriot diasporas. The United Kingdom (UK) has been involved in this conflict as a primary actor for many decades and was declared a Guarantor State of the independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960. As such, it was not only capable but also responsible to act in the context of this conflict. Therefore, London as its capital carried a remarkable degree of symbolic importance. As important as the political and legal involvement of the UK had been throughout the conflict, London has also been the 'global capital of Cypriot diasporas.' As explained, the vast majority of both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot immigrants have settled in London due to historical links of colonialism. This was even more important for the minority Turkish-Cypriots as tremendous emigration from Cyprus has further shrunk the size of the Turkish-Cypriot community on the island, so much so that you will repeatedly hear the argument, as I have in so many occasions, that 'today, there are more Turkish-Cypriots living in London than there are in Cyprus.' This history of migration between Cyprus and London has also meant that a vast majority of Turkish-Cypriots in London, if not all, have very close familial links to people still living in Cyprus.

Foundation of a Turkish Sport Federation: In the face of the international context created by the Cyprus conflict where London occupied an extremely central place for Turkey and Greece to constantly try to justify and propagate their respective positions in this conflict, it is no coincidence that the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot diasporic communities in London also increased their efforts of communal mobilisation and representation of their ethnic identities in the London public space. The establishment of the Greek-Cypriot Football Federation (KOPA) in 1975, the year following Turkish military intervention, should be seen as part of such increased efforts. The official logo of KOPA in London has a Cypriot flag which depicts a picture of the island representing the refusal of partition and the claim of the whole island being under a single legitimate rule. That the establishment of the Turkish

Community Football Federation (originally as England Turkish Sport Federation) took place in 1976 is also not a coincidence.

It was July, 1976. It all started then. Why? We wanted to let everybody know that Turks lived and were still living in Cyprus. Because for a long time, when someone talks about Cyprus, people only thought Greeks lived there. We wanted everybody in London to know we were also there. And football seemed to be the only medium around which all of us could unite and make that statement” (Interview Y. Huseyin, 31.01.2011).

The foundation of the TCFF in 1976 was a transnational political project. The idea of establishing a football federation emerged as part of organisation efforts of Turkish Cypriot Foundation (TCF) in London. It was very quickly and enthusiastically supported by the Turkish Cypriot special envoy in London as well as a Turkish national newspaper, *Hürriyet*, which at the time was the most popular Turkish-language media available in London. The process started with the organisation of a tournament to celebrate July 20th, which is the date of Turkey’s military intervention in Cyprus, and a national holiday in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The tournament had four teams participating and was called the “Peace and Freedom Cup.” There was a striking level of interest and participation in this tournament, and according to the *Hürriyet* newspaper of the next day, it was attended by thousands of people. The England Turkish Sport Federation (ETSF), which later became today’s Turkish Community Football Federation, was established and registered with the London Football Association (LFA) in September 1976. The choice of the name was very much illustrative of the political nature of the whole process. While around 90% of the Turkish-speaking community was Turkish-Cypriot at the time, the newly founded Federation was called ‘Turkish,’ instead of Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot. This way, the community leaders chose to emphasise the ethnic or national aspect of their identity (defined in a certain way), over their country of origin. This was partly because they did not wish to exclude the small number of Turkish immigrants from Turkey, but also because, in the political climate of the time, they felt the need to emphasise their Turkish identity over their Cypriot identity. I also would argue that they anticipated the growing presence of Turkish immigrants in London for the future and wished to attract more support from the Turkish state and its institutions in London. In the founding bylaws of the Federation, the *raison d’etre* of this organisation was spelled out in the following way: “Our purpose is to make our existence, unity and sportsmanship known in a manner best fit to our nation” (available at personal archive). The nation to which this statement refers is clearly the Turkish nation, and the Turkish-Cypriot nation, which was thought to be included in the former.

In such a context and with the KOPA having been established in 1975, similar concerns about the identity to be represented by the new federation can be seen in the design of the TCFF logo. Although different logos have been designed and used in the history of TCFF, the basic design and the elements involved in the logo have never changed. These include the ‘twin olive branches’ that come from the flag of Cyprus and represent the Turkish-Cypriot community. The olive branches also traditionally symbolise peace. A crescent and star, also present, come from the national flags of Turkey and the TRNC. Lastly, there is a football around the star symbolising the central place of the sport for the nation and the community. Here, it is also significant that the founders and administrators of the TCFF sought to accommodate symbols from both the Turkish-Cypriot and the Turkish national identities.

Ethnic Community Football Leagues in Integration Policy: Findings and Discussion

I have presented the findings of this same research project on the relationship between active involvement in ethnic community football and integration elsewhere where I suggested that ethnic community football, while carrying risks for ethnic segregation, overall has more positive implications for the integration of individual immigrants, whether new-comers, long-standing first generation immigrants or those born in the UK to immigrant parents or grandparents (Unutulmaz 2014a). Without much repetition, my argument suggests that ethnic community football leagues have various positive implications including (i) providing a familiar, inclusive and relatively open field for the new immigrants to join and translate their various forms of human capital (e.g. talent in football, coaching experience, knowledge in event promotion, and so on) into valuable social capital as well as psychological benefits in the early stages of relocation (*ibid*: 62); (ii) helping young second and further generation immigrants by assisting their personal and psychological development as individuals, giving them a sense of rootedness, achievement and aspirations for upward social mobility (*ibid*: 73); (iii) providing a secure environment to meet and interact with a diverse set of other groups (*ibid*: 81).

How would it be possible to use these positive implications of engaging in ethnic community football in the diaspora to better facilitate integration of immigrant and minority communities? The ethnographic evidence suggests that ethnic community football leagues offer unique opportunities to be used in this endeavour. Of course, integration is quite a contested concept as well as being context-dependent and subjective (Castles et al. 2002; Favell 2001; Unutulmaz 2012). Therefore, it is necessary to specify what one means by integration before starting any meaningful discussion on what would the policy objectives be as well as what policy tools could be used. Instead of offering a narrow and specific

Football and Integration Policy: In a recent report by the Department for Communities and Local Government of the UK Government the five key factors for integration are identified to be creating a common ground, giving communities responsibility, ensuring their participation, creating opportunities for social mobility, and tackling extremism and intolerance (CLG 2012, p. 4). Using this framework, football provides a number of remarkable advantages. First of all, football as a nearly-universal common⁵¹ passion, creates a perfect common ground for any migrant community to come together with other minority communities as well as the majority society at large. There is no need to discuss the global nature of football anymore, which is abundantly documented and analysed (Blain and O'Donnell 1994; Giulianotti and Williams 1994; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009). Depending on an extensive data collection conducted on their behalf, FIFA (2011) reports that the global following of football is at historical heights and growing. The Chairman of London Football Association at the time, David Hawkes, suggests that not only does football provide a common ground to come together and interact; it also functions as a common language of communication.

There are some 300 different communities in the capital, which is one of the nicest bits of the job. Because when people come to England they don't necessarily like tennis, they don't necessarily like rugby, they don't necessarily like hockey or cricket... Well some do, especially the Asians are infinitely better at it than the English, so they love it. But everybody wants to play football. So we realise that that's strength of us being able to communicate with those communities (Interview, 09.06.2011).

⁵¹ It needs to be noted while the field of football is consistently characterised by people as an open and inclusive field appealing to all with no respect to their ethnic, cultural, religious or socio-economic background, the field is a decisively male site where women participate only in smaller numbers and in predetermined limited roles and capacities. The same applies to understanding of football as a nearly universal common passion. This applies, apparently, more to men than to women.

Similarly, 'Football Unites, Racism Divides' (FURD) which is a Sheffield-based NGO that organises local and national projects through football justifies their interest in the sport in the following way:

We aim to combat racism and increase understanding between different communities. Fundamental to these aims has been a belief that football, as the world's most popular sport, can help break down barriers created by ignorance or prejudice and bring together people from different backgrounds to play, watch and enjoy the game (Stone 2013, p. 8).

There is more to football's suitability for being used in integration policies than its popularity. What makes football a perfect tool to use in this regard also concerns its fundamental structure which has been designed from the emergence of this sport as a teaching tool:

Some of the games of the Middle Ages were thus reconstituted and new ones devised so that sport (or controlled masculinity) could be taught to schoolboys in an organised and systematic manner.

Hence, headmasters in privileged schools in Britain instigated sport not for the mere pleasure of physical exercise, but for the inculcation of ideological values. Through sport, unruly males were taught social control and deference to authority. Through sport nationalism and social class status were reinforced.

In Britain and across the Atlantic, sport became heralded as character building, as instilling moral virtues into boys and turning them into men (Burgess et al. 2003, p. 200).

My fieldwork manifests that this understanding of football as an effective teaching tool has been consolidated both among the local government institutions and the community itself. The LFA Chairman also acknowledges the value of football as a teaching tool for educating various ethnic communities who come to England in 'just how you run things here.' The communities themselves also bought this perspective of football as an effective tool for teaching young boys values about life and their ethnic and cultural identities. People (usually the fathers, but occasionally other family members including mothers) bring their kids to the Turkish-speaking football clubs so that they 'learn' certain values like hard-work, competition, companionship and loyalty, self-discipline, toughness and persistence in the face of hardships, and so on, as well as learning their language and culture. The former set of values is usually emphasised as being the same necessary ones in life. So, through football, the dominant logic goes, the kids learn how to be successful in life. This is usually done as a claim for an ethnically customised manhood:

I brought my son to the Turkish league not so that he could learn how to play football or so that one day he could become a star player who earns millions. No, if I wanted that, I would have brought him to English clubs. I brought him to the Turkish league so that he could learn how to become a man! You know, a man like a man (*adam gibi adam*)! So that he learns respecting his elders and superiors, he fights for himself but also for his teammates, the value of friendship and loyalty (Metin, from field-notes).

It is, then, not surprising to see football increasingly being used for integration-related objectives, either by national/local governments as parts of integration strategies or by NGOs trying to reach out to marginalised communities. Some notable examples include the Amsterdam World Cup which has annually been organised in the Netherlands since 2001 amongst immigrant communities where each team represents a 'nation,' so the names of the teams are Turkey, Afghanistan, Brazil, and so on (Burdsey 2008). The tournament's business plan states that:

Historically soccer has been THE instrument to connect different cultures. Through the love for the ball, many nationalities living in the Netherlands are

brought together on the Amsterdam World Cup While retaining their own identity, visitors and participants of the Amsterdam World Cup gain understanding and respect for other countries (cited in Burdsey 2008, p. 270).

The UK also has been using football in this manner through a number of similar tournaments and more recently regular league competitions in the recent years. All Nations Football Festival, for instance, has been organised through a cooperation between the LFA, Home Office, Refugee Council, and an NGO, the London Playing Field Association (LPFF). The project involved a one-day tournament plus an eight-week Summer League in London aiming to engage ‘refugees and other disenfranchised groups in London.’ This project has immediately received praise as well as support from the LFA, the Home Office, and the Refugee Council. The success of this project has further encouraged the organisers and paved the way for a more comprehensive project. While the festival has continued to be organised every summer annually from 2001 until 2009, the organisers have channelled more ambitious teams who wish to play regular competitive football to the London Communities League, which was established in 2004. This league, which is still active to this day, involve teams that can be named after various communities such as the Real Kurds Sport Association, Asianos FC, or the Ummah United; or after certain localities where the organisers of the team live such as North London United, Eastside Rangers, or East London Leisure Trust.

According to the website⁵² of the LPFF, the initial project of the ‘All Nations Football Festival’ began “as a means of using sport to help refugee communities to assimilate into life in the capital.” The other goal behind establishing such a league as this one seems to be concerned with the creation of a controllable social space in which different community members could easily get involved to represent their communities. This is the point at which autonomous ethnic community leagues such as Turkish Community Football Leagues or Turkish Kurdish Football Federation Leagues diverge. In the following I shall argue that these leagues, autonomous in their internal management and regulations, would also provide valuable opportunities for integration policies.

Autonomous Ethnic Community Football Leagues and Integration Policy: It is possible to see policy-makers and various governing bodies struggling with the two opposing views on ethnic community football and integration. On the one hand, there are the arguments, more implicit and commonsensical than their counterparts on the other side, that engagement in organised sports is a form of active participation in the society and as such, automatically and necessarily, offers a bundle of positive implications for the integration of an individual including psychological relief, intensified cultural interaction, and protection against social marginalisation. On the other hand, there are the arguments that suggest that the nature of activity and participation is more important. Such arguments suggest that, if and as long as the activity takes place only in a single ethnicity social field, then it is not possible to expect that it would help integration. To the contrary, since they are excluding the participation of individuals from other ethnic and cultural groups and leading to ethnic segregation, these leagues, if anything, are counter-productive for integration.

The London Football Association (LFA), for example, first welcomed the establishment of ethnic community leagues, then tried to destroy them, and finally decided to accommodate these ethnic (or ‘cultural’) leagues in London. It is possible to see the change in the LFA’s attitude as motivated, and perhaps conditioned, by the transformations of the dominant discourses on diversity and its management from ‘good race relations’ to ‘multiculturalism’ and to the most recent ‘integration and cohesion.’ The LFA is a vast organisation that was established in 1882. Its authority stretches over 31 of the 33 London boroughs and its activities cover leagues, clubs, referees, coaching courses, development

⁵² <http://lpff.org.uk/About/Our-Projects/All-Nations-Football>

programmes, and so on. Therefore, all the major ethnic leagues in London, including the TCFF, the TKFF, the KOPA, and Maccabi Jewish League are registered and sanctioned by the LFA. Therefore, there has been a long and direct relationship between these leagues and the LFA ever since they were established. As stated earlier, the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities established their football organisations, the KOPA in 1975 and the TCFF in 1976, respectively. The LFA seems to have welcomed both initiatives at the time. The current and former administrators of either league never mentioned any difficulty they had experienced. It is also noteworthy that the mid-70s were a time when multiculturalist policies had started to gain prominence and it became increasingly easier for minority communities to establish and manage their own cultural institutions. In this view, these leagues were granted permission to manage their own affairs and regulate their leagues as long as they abided by the general rules and sanctions of the LFA. The limit on the number of players from different ethnicities has been one of the most significant examples of this autonomy.

Although this permissive approach has had its ebbs and flows through time, the LFA has never exerted any significant degree of pressure on these leagues to change their rules. A few years ago, the situation has changed. Some members of the LFA Council expressed their dismay about these ethnic leagues in London. The current CEO of LFA, David Hawkes, explains why:

The members of the Council have read the FA's equality guide on how everything has to be inclusive, and said we've got to stop these ethnic leagues. Because legally we have to. Because they are not inclusive. They should not be allowed to exclude other individuals from participating based on their ethnic or cultural identity (David Hawkes, interview on 09.06.2011).

To be sure, neither the illegality of excluding individuals based on ethnic identity, nor the fact that these leagues have been routinely imposing such exclusion was a recent discovery. What has changed must have to do with the political debates over integration and cohesion, and the demanded changes to the dominant multiculturalist framework in Britain. The Commission on Integration and Cohesion was announced in 2006 and published their final report in 2007. This report called for a heightened emphasis on the need for a sense of 'shared futures' as well as mutual respect and civility (CIC 2007). The LFA's suggestion to lift all ethnic restrictions on participation is dated from 2008. The pressure has made a significant effect on the field of community football in London and some of the smaller and less-established community leagues were closed down. However, it also created a fierce opposition and resistance and as such, the bigger leagues fought back. These ethnic leagues, their arguments went on, were in fact greatly helping integration:

...take the LFA for example last few years. They have been saying 'no, we don't agree there are cultural leagues. We don't accept that. You don't have the right to restrict the number of non-Italians or non-Turks or non-Cypriots'. And that was a rule that was trying to be brought in 3 years ago. We fought it. In fact, I wrote in to the LFA, I said you are going to close down a lot of leagues which are doing a very worthwhile job of getting youth involved. So lots of different leagues were closed down. The Italian league was closed. There is now the Turkish, Cypriot, Jewish league. All the rest are based on smaller places and not on communities. And we've been struggling to maintain that for the last few years (Interview with KOPA President, Markos Chrysostomou, on 28.01.2011).

This determination and commitment on the part of the administrators of the community leagues seemed to have caused the LFA to reconsider their position. They had to have a closer look at what was going on in these leagues and whether they were in fact helpful or harmful

in terms of integration. The current administration of the LFA seems to have come around. Their CEO explains their revised perspective on these leagues:

Well, the starting point is these leagues are created for the community they serve. And the strength of it is that they all know each other. And especially with the TCFF league. They have a tendency to replicate the league in Turkey- so you have Fenerbahce, Galatasaray and Besiktas here in London. I think that is a tremendous boost to the community to belong to what is understood to be a worldwide club. But you are doing it in your own environment in England. And the players thrive in that environment. When you look at the list of winners, they are all there. And I am sure this is because they believe they are representing their country. Most of the kids are born in London but it connects them, doesn't it, to their roots (interview with David Hawkes on 09.06.2011).

Overall, it appears that the local governing body of football in London considers the ethnic community leagues as secure spaces for their respective communities where they are brought together with their co-ethnics in a structured way under rules and regulations which are sanctioned by the LFA, get empowered by having a connection to 'their roots,' identify with possibly a global identity, and very importantly, do so in their own environment. The communal empowerment is significantly encoded in the autonomy of the leagues. Although the LFA and other local and national governing bodies have their own specific authorities concerning different aspects of the community leagues, their executive committees remain largely in control of regulating what happens inside. When I asked to what extent the LFA has the right and/or inclination to intervene in the day-to-day governing of these leagues, the LFA Chairman says the autonomy is very strong and he is often required to remind individuals or clubs from the community leagues of this when they ask them to intervene in their cases:

Whenever there is a complaint or appeal, we try to assess it on the evidence put forward. The league would have a reason why they did what they did. The player and the club have a reason to want what they want. But even in those cases, as I often say at the Board of Appeals, if the rules say Christmas can be in July, it is not for us to say it's got to be in December. If the rules say it can be in July then... It is their rules and it's their Christmas.

Conclusion

It has been argued in this study that ethnic community football as a field brings a significant number of implications that prevent social marginalisation which is a strong way of tackling extremism and perception of intolerance. It has also been argued that involvement in ethnic football has an empowering function through enabling individuals to participate in the communal life, have a sense of achievement and esteem as well as future aspirations. It has also been proposed that the field of football offers a number of opportunities for social mobility, either through accumulating new forms of human and social capital that would be useful in other fields of the social life or through upward mobility from one position to another within the field itself.

Perhaps the most significant contribution football could bring into the integration policies and programmes is its status of being an uncontested common ground. Football provides for a common passion that serves as an effective channel for communication. Overall, the analysis and evidence provided in this study suggest that ethnic community leagues provide a convenient social space that could be used to help integration through (i) communal mobilisation and representation, (ii) empowerment of communities as well as individuals, and (iii) intercultural contact and dialogue.

I argued that particularly the ethnic community leagues are extremely effective fields in which communal mobilisation can be achieved whereby individual members of communities could come together in solidarity and help each other deal with the difficulties of living in the diaspora. What is more, through involvement in ethnic amateur football, immigrants could have a sense of rootedness and belonging to a recognised ethnic identity. Lastly, ethnic community leagues provide a perfect public space for the representation of various collective identities which contribute in the sense of security these communities have. Organised amateur football could offer empowerment to individuals as well as communities. For the communities, it provides a space that belongs to themselves and that can be regulated autonomously. To use the analogy offered by the LFA Chairman, the ability to self-determine when the community's 'Christmas' will take place is a significantly empowering experience. The final report of the FURD research project on the role of football in the lives of refugees and asylum seekers also highlights the empowering function of football for such communities:

Belonging is about the ownership of and right of access to certain spaces. Asylum seekers and refugees are able to claim the same right to a footballing space more easily than other places which may be symbolic of belonging: the neighbourhood, your own home, place of work, meeting places such as pubs, cafés and other leisure facilities. There should be spaces beyond the boundaries of the pitch that are similar sources of sanctuary, to socialise after playing or for watching football in a comfortably communal atmosphere (Stone 2013, p. 74,).

It appears that football did and still does provide an alternative social space where young individuals feel and nurture a sense of belonging. This is particularly the case for the children of first-generation immigrants who are struggling with the new system and language while being highly motivated to make a comfortable living plus some savings if possible. What is particularly remarkable is that this social space is placed quite conveniently in between the two cultural worlds: the Turkish home and the British/Londoner outside. Football is a Turkish site in the public which is also shared with all sorts of non-Turkish others, a site where it is all right to speak either Turkish or English, or even, a personalised mixture of both. In addition to the often observed sentences starting in Turkish and finishing in English, the players switch across languages strategically. The language of complaining about the non-Turkish referee for unpopular decisions, which usually takes the form of curses and swears, is mostly Turkish, for instance. On the other hand, the in-team pep-talks are in English. The same strategic language switching observations can be made in other contexts.

For the majority of Turkish-speaking individuals in the younger generation, the Turkish-speaking football leagues provide this space that is based on an unchallenged ethnic identity, which not only constitutes a safe third dimension of belonging, but also nurtures their hybrid and multiple identities.

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