

# **Contemporary Approaches in Social Science Researches**

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# Foreword

The more global disorder progresses, the more important it is to remember the initiatives, large and small, that contribute to fueling that public sphere of knowledge that is naturally inclusive and transnational. IASSR Congresses, the first source for the following essays, are part of these initiatives, and behind their apparent lack of structure, there is the opportunity to broaden the comparison between disciplines and especially between the looks that characterize them in sometimes very different national contexts. It is therefore with renewed pride that we present this rich collection of essays, and try to identify some of the possible paths to guide their reading.

A first major area of interest that unites several of the following essays is, not by chance, education. It is, in fact, one of the topics that mostly refers to the construction of new rules for civil living, even before than to the creation and reproduction of knowledge. The scholastic microcosm is therefore analyzed starting from its fundamental components: the figure of the teacher, at the center of the essays by Arslan, Ozdemir and Kuscu, Cortoni (with specific attention on the so-called digital skills), Yılmaz, Girgin and Şahin, Su and Tabancali, Kara and Demir, Aganbas and Batur. The second focus of attention is of course the students, a subject / object of study even more difficult to analyze, as it is less directly accessible and understandable to the researcher; in this field move the essays of Öngen Bilir (with specific attention on the issue of technology acceptance), Büyükceran, Yıldız and Pişken, Çevik Kiliç, Urhan (two essays on the importance of music education), Pişken, Yıldız and Büyükceran, Tasci and Arslan, İpek and Vargör Vural. Finally, cross-cutting issues such as public management of school (De Luca Picione, Fortini) and reverse mentoring (Małota).

A second focus of investigation identified by the study and research interests of the contributors is related to the different declinations of sociology. Here the focus is first of all on the theme of inequalities, with the essays by Antonini, Corallino (two perspectives on the neet phenomenon), Öngen Bilir, Karabulut, Ashkenazi and Machnes (three works differently working on family). Follows the analysis of political and social institutions, with the essays by D'Ambrosio and Pastori, Faggiano and Mingo, Iannone, Guarashi (two perspectives on sustainability). Lastly, the essays come to cover some classic themes of the discipline (Marcelletti on authoritarian personality), and others decidedly transversal (Gülel and Çağlar on fears of happiness). Strictly related to the sociological field, but gathering a number of contributions and a community of intent in research objectives and methods such as to merit a separate mention, the essays dealing with migration phenomenon (Laurano and Gianturco, Villa, Yiğit, Kart and Demiriz) and with urban studies. The latter demonstrate a particular variety and richness of themes and disciplinary points of view, ranging from the historical one (Sari, Elmali Şen and Yetim) to the participatory (Bellone, Trevisani, Colonna) and environmental one (Ünlü), without forgetting the well-established issue of smart city (Iannuzzi, Sessa), of recognised importance in public policies as well as in everyone's life.

A third area of interest deals with communication, another field, strictly related with that of sociology, that necessarily includes a wide range of themes and styles of research. Naturally, a huge number of the essays deal with "new" technologies of communication – is it still possible to call "new" technologies that are so widespread in use and impact on daily life? Among these, Antonutti, Celardi, Ciammella and Khaddar on dating apps, Ciofalo, Leonzi and Ugolini on transmedia as a solution for disinformation, Palermo on SNS in the service of university promotion, Oya Tekvar on SNS and health care organizations. Some authors have the undoubted merit of continuing to oversee the field of "old" communication technologies, from mainstream TV (Brancato) to connected TV (Quercia). Many of the essays deal with politics, a topic we decided to

put in the communication area not only because of the study and research methods (from content analysis to language analysis) characterizing the contributions you are about to read, but for the importance that every essay gives on the communicative dimension, whether they're dealing with social terrorism (Spalletta and Ferrigni), the use of data in political analysis (Antenore, Liuzzi, Trinca and Zagni and Garzonio on the juridical side), newsmedia coverage in European elections (Pranovi), Italian digital campaigns (Gallo, Sallusti), Obama and Trump (D'Ambrosio, De Marchis and Gallo) or Erdoğan (Yilmazli) communication styles. In the communication part finds its place also Di Ferrante, Ferrarotti and Pizziconi's work on the linguistic field theory, as a useful in-depth analysis of the linguistic theory underlying the approaches mentioned above. Lastly, an interesting group of essays mix the technological communication topics with those of gender issues (Aktuglu, Eginli, Cakir and Ozdem, Eginli and Tas), covering a field of neuralgic studies that can only see a fair and recognized increase in attention in the near future.

Great attention is paid in the essays that make up the volume to the themes of management, declined in a range of case studies so wide as to make difficult any operation of *reductio*: Warehouse Management System are at the centre of Uğurlu's reflection; Baraz and Vardar deal with factors affecting entrepreneurial intention; Blasetti gives us a glimpse of labour exploitation of the Indian Sikh community in Italy; Hacıköylü on the one side and Bay on the other reflect on tax policies; estimating the delivery time in apparel company is at the centre of Kaya's contribution; the loss of books and documents at the centre of Arıkan's.

Lastly, a number of essays deal with topics strictly referring to historical and political matters. It's the case of Bilgin's and Palczewska's attention on armed conflicts, of Arslan's reflection on the national struggle and of Spalińska's on the concept of empire in neo-medieval Europe, and of Millefiorini's essay on political irrationality. But in some of these very essays are the keys to understanding the political disorder that we mentioned in the opening. The reference to Ege's reflection on identity and populism in Turkey through foreign policy, and even more to the political multicultural model presented by Guliyeva and to the new geopolitical tendencies drafted by Mercan, is a must, and reports on the topicality of the interpretative categories of the most traditional disciplines in the reading of the ultra-modern trends of the contemporary world.

**Christian Ruggiero, Hasan Arslan, Giovanna Gianturco**



# Teachers' Perceptions Related to the Usability of Subliminal Messages in Education

Hasan Arslan, Muzaffer Ozdemir, Meltem Kuscü

## 1. Introduction

It was seen that the word "subliminal" is referred to with different words such as subconscious or subprime (Cetin, 2013; Izgoren, 2014). Therefore, in order to get a better grasp of this word, it is beneficial to know the factors affecting the subconscious. According to Psychoanalysis theory of Freud, the subconscious represents a big portion of our brains. In the iceberg example given on this subject, the subconscious is likened to the hidden part of the iceberg (Guler, 2008; Eldem, 2009; Yolcu, 2010; Ozturk, 2014; Solmaz, 2014; Erdem, 2015). Although our behaviors tend to be associated with conscious, in effect they are not only associated to the conscious but also to the subconscious. According to Izgoren (2014), the conscious has the ability to perceive, assess and eliminate whereas the subconscious does not. Our brain encounters approximately 2000 inputs every day. While very few of them are perceived by the conscious, the rest, which is the majority of it, is accepted by the subconscious as input. It is not possible to change the input placed in the subconscious. Moreover, when this information planted to the subconscious is primed with international propaganda purposes, it can be turned into a political tool which causes massive effects. For instance, Izgoren (2014) in his book "Esikalti Buyuculeri" (Magicians of Subthreshold) expresses that in the gulf crisis years, people only remembered the struggling cormorant covered in oil rather than dying babies and the embargo on medicines; because people believe in what they are shown. Violent scenes on television or computer screens can be examples to how the subconscious of our young ones is exposed to negative effects.

The first findings related to subconscious is influenced by visual perceptions emerged in the 1930's. In a movie shot in these years Marlon Brando did not wear a t-shirt under his shirt so a decrease in the sale of t-shirts occurred; and in his movie filmed in the 50's, Marlon Brando did wear a t-shirt and this lead to a boom in sales (Biskin, 2014). This turned out to be an opportunity to observe the influence of the film industry on people's choices. The subconscious has the ability to catch messages that are perceived by our sense organs and overlooked by our conscious. For example, in a study carried out on subconscious related to smells and sounds, it was seen that pregnant women who shop in restaurants where the aisles are sprayed with baby cologne and peaceful calm music is broadcasted, spend more time in these shopping malls and when their babies are born, they only calm down when taken to these particular malls (Biskin, 2014).

Korkmaz (2015) who comments on why subliminal content is prepared especially for children, while emphasizing that adult oriented products are tried to be sold by using sexual content, affirms that children are primed for this kind of content at an early age so that companies invest in the sale of their products for the future by creating an influence on children's minds in advance. Koccaz (2015) reviewed two videos related to the subconscious in his study. One of the videos is about how we think everything we see is all about our imagination but we are influenced by what we see around us. The researcher, who investigated the second video within the context of subliminal messages, interpreted the sunglasses scene on the American production movie titled "They Live" of the year 1988. In this scene, aliens invade the earth and send some secret messages and signals to people's brains through these sunglasses. When people put on the sunglasses they see messages like "I am your God", "Obey" and "Buy" on objects such as money, billboards etc. These movie scenes constitute a good example of subliminal messages.

In the study of Atas, Faivre, Timmermans, Cleeremans and Kouider (2014) which questions whether people can learn complicated information unconsciously, the participants were asked whether they could consciously perceive the differences between a series of symbols and it was concluded that sensitivity for successiveness could emerge with the help of the time-wise integration of unconsciously

perceived information. In this study, the researchers discovered that the participants could learn a series of stimuli they did not perceive consciously. Besides, the unconscious learning effect they found was potentially a combination of learning during perception (ex: binding together the successive stimuli) and operant conditioning (a behavior that both leads to a reward and to punishment avoidance).

There are some factors influencing the subconscious. These factors may vary from person to person or from society to society. However, there are two unchanging factors one of which is birth described with sexuality, meaning, the beginning of life; and the other is death described with fear, meaning, the end of life (Eldem, 2009; Solmaz, 2014).

### 1.1. Subliminal Message Techniques

The 25<sup>th</sup> Frame technique (Solmaz 2014; Erdem, 2015), subconscious symbols (Solmaz, 2014) and the backmasking technique (Biskin, 2014) can be given as examples to subliminal message techniques. The most common subliminal message technique among these is the 25<sup>th</sup> Frame technique. The 25<sup>th</sup> Frame technique is about a single frame given right after the 24 frames shown within one second and shown only on the 25<sup>th</sup> frame in order to obtain motion. Any message can be placed on this single frame area whether or not relevant to the plot of the movie. It is stated that this message is not received by the conscious mind but by the subconscious mind (Cetin, 2012; Erdem, 2015). The subconscious symbols may be checkered background, single eye or the number 666 (Solmaz, 2014). As for backmasking, it is prepared by showing a detail in the background which may not directly draw attention but can be noticed by the subconscious mind (Erdem, 2015). Apart from visual subliminal messages, auditory subliminal messages are used as well (Biskin, 2014). People are able to hear sounds between 20 Hertz and 20.000 Hertz (Solmaz, 2014). Subliminal messages can be sent to people's subconscious mind using frequencies distinct from these. For instance, according to a study carried out by Lindstrom (2008), it is claimed that the subliminal messages like "*don't worry about money*" or "*don't try to steal it or you'll get caught*" hidden in the lyrics of the songs at malls where jazz and Latin music are played reduces the rate of robbery at those malls. (Lindstrom, 2008, quoted by: Solmaz, 2014).

### 1.2. The Purpose and the Areas of Use of Subliminal Messages

It can be said that subliminal messages are generally used with the purpose of influencing people's mental instincts and directing them to the desired direction. It can be expressed that in this way the main purpose is to raise individuals who do not think, only consume and chase after pleasure. Moreover these messages are transmitted not only through hidden objects but also through dialogues that are against the cultural codes of society like slang words (Cetin, 2013).

Politics, advertising, cinema, music, cartoons and games can be mentioned among the areas of use of subliminal messages (Guler, 2008). According to Yolcu (2010), the most common areas of use of subliminal messages are movies, television series, sports competitions, novels and stories, computer games, songs and music videos, news programs, caricatures, animations and advertisements.

Subliminal messages can be used to influence the reaction of people towards a strange object (Murphy and Zajonc, 1993). Subliminal advertising is a technique of exposing consumers to product pictures, brand names, or other marketing stimuli without the consumers having conscious awareness (Trappey, 1996). Subliminal advertising has been a subject of controversy ever since the 1950's (Verwijmeren, Karremans, Bernritter, Stroebe and Wigboldus 2013). It has been unclear for the last decade whether a subliminally presenting a brand name has been effective in influencing consumer choice (Verwijmeren et al., 2013). However, the literature demonstrates that preparing subliminal messages can be very difficult (Strahan, Spencer and Zanna, 2002). In a study carried out by Karremans, Stroebe and Claus (2006), it was seen that a subliminally primed beverage brand positively influenced participants (but only the thirsty participants) to choose this brand. These findings look worrisome in terms of ethics of subconscious persuasion techniques (Nebenzhalve Jaffe, 1998). Subliminal advertising operates via an automatic process of which people are not aware, which fuels the idea that people may not be able to protect themselves against this type of persuasion (Verwijmeren et al., 2013).

In a meta-analysis study carried out by Trappey (1996), it was concluded that subliminal marketing stimuli have little effect in influencing customer choice. However, it was indicated that subliminal priming will only affect people's behavior if the subliminal prime is goal-relevant like quenching thirst (Strahan, Spencer and Zanna, 2002). However, it is thought that only conscious needs can create this effect. Subliminal messages become more effective when they are related to or can potentially satisfy a physical need (Milyavsky, HassinveSchul 2012).

There have been some regulations Turkey related to advertisements which are considered as the most convenient media to transmit subliminal messages to people. As indicated in law of Turkey subconscious methods cannot be used in commercial communication. Due to this reason, some restrictions were imposed on the use of subliminal messages in Turkey and subliminal messages were continued to be used on billboards or posters in magazines instead of television screens.

## **2. Method**

### **2.1. The Research Model**

The method used in the study is the case study method which is a qualitative research method. Case study is a research method that allows the researcher to thoroughly examine an event or fact which cannot be controlled by the researcher with reference to the questions "how" and "why" (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2011). CEIT teachers were selected for the study and by creating an analogous sampling with the study carried out by Arslan, Ozdemir and Kuscu (2017), the two studies were compared. In this manner, it was aimed to investigate whether similar or different results would be obtained in the two studies. Analogous sampling is defining a specific subgroup; for instance, choosing parents who have a lower level in terms of socioeconomic status and educational background for the parent-teacher association (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2011).

### **2.1. Data Collection Tools**

Semi-structured interview questions were prepared with the aim of finding out the participants' perception related to the use of subliminal messages in education and their opinion on the issue. The meeting questions were prepared by the researchers in line with the researches done related to the topic and two experts, one from the Department of Education Science and the other from the Department of CEIT were asked for their reviews on the questions. These questions were used by being asked to CEIT students in the study of Arslan, Ozdemir and Kuscu (2017).

The interview is referred to as an interview in some sources. According to Creswell (2014), interview is carried out face to face or on the telephone with participants and is used to obtain in-depth information about the participants' opinions or reviews about the issue. According to Johnson and Christensen (2014), interview data is obtained through asking participants questions. In the study it was aimed to obtain information related to the existence of similarities or differences between the participants' perspectives on the issue. It was assumed that the participants have given honest answers.

### **2.3. Participants**

The participants of the study comprise of 10 CEIT teachers employed at different universities as well as at positions of the National Education. Their technical competence on the subject has been a significant factor in choosing CEIT teachers. Besides, CEIT teachers were preferred in order to be able to make a healthy comparison with the study conducted on CEIT students. In order to have a first-hand and fast access to data, convenience sampling method was preferred. Convenience sampling is a preferable sampling method due to easy access to participants and its usefulness (Creswell, 2014).

Considering the demographic features, it is seen that the number of participants of both sexes is equal (N=10, 5 female, 5 male, age range: 25-39). As for the age range, it is seen that the study was carried out on a 25 – 39 age range, on a section between the generation X and the generation Y. The generation X comprises the interval 1965 – 1979 while the generation Y comprises the interval 1980 –

1999 (Keles, 2011). In this case, it can be said that the study was done with a technology generation called “migrant” in the literature. The participants were named as P (number).

### 3. Findings

Currently serving CEIT teachers were asked questions related to the topic with the purpose of evaluating the usability of subliminal messages in education. The data were thematized through content analysis and were presented as tables in accordance with the frequencies. Each opinion, particularly the expressions that were repeated the most in the answers given, was given place.

#### **Question 1: What is a subliminal message in your opinion?**

Table 2: Definition of Subliminal Message According to the Participants

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	Subconscious	7
2	Secret	4
3	Undercover	1

Seven participants used the expression “subconscious”, four used the expression “secret” related to subliminal messages. While one participant used the expression “undercover”, another participant described the word subliminal as a method of transmitting a message indirectly. One participant described it as a technique that influences our character.

The opinion of the participant P5 was: “*The real purpose which is not stated openly and is hidden under other concepts or expressions*”. The interpretation of the participant P10 was: “*I think they are messages that influence the subconscious in a positive or negative way.*”

As a result, it is possible to state that the revealed common themes were particularly described as subconscious and hidden messages. Besides, it was seen that the participants knew about the concept of subliminal message and they explained it with different interpretations. The most prominent definition was “the message that affects our subconscious”.

#### **Question 2: What are the subliminal message techniques?**

Table1: Subliminal Message Techniques According to the Participants

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	Hiding a message inside a video (auditory or visual)	5
2	25 <sup>th</sup> Frame Technique	2
3	Hiding a visual inside an object	1

When the participants’ comments were examined, expressions related to hiding inside a video were expressed by five participants in different manners. Two participants mentioned the 25<sup>th</sup> Frame technique. One participant described the subliminal message technique as a visual hidden inside an object. Two participants stated that they had no information about the topic.

The participant P1 explained the subliminal message technique as follows: “*Hiding two or three-dimensional figures into visual elements in a manner that cannot be noticed unless looked carefully. It can also be changing sound waves into deep frequencies that cannot be understood or sensed by people but can be perceived by the subconscious mind*”. The participant P4 who expressed a different opinion said: “*While 100 messages dealing with the main subject are being given in a text, giving one negative message in the opposite direction, related to another subject or refuting the main subject in a fashion that will not disrupt the cohesion of the text or it can be visuals, audio messages or sign language hidden in a video.*”

As a result, according to the answers given, it is possible to say that the participants have basic knowledge about visual and auditory techniques. The technique they concretely specified is the 25<sup>th</sup> Frame technique. They qualify the techniques as visual and auditory and they define them with a

superficial and generic expression. It can be said that the participants have basic knowledge about the techniques rather than detailed and clear information.

**Question 3: To what extent do subliminal messages influence the subconscious in your opinion?**

*Table 2: The Level of Influence of Subliminal Messages on Subconscious According to the Participants*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	High level	5
2	Effective and harmful on children	2
3	Medium level	1

While five participants stated that subliminal messages influence the subconscious at a high level, one participant expressed that they have a medium level effect. While one participant stated that their effect could emerge in the long run, two participants expressed that they could be effective at an early age. One participant asserted that their subconscious was affected by subliminal messages but they did not know to what extent.

The participant P3's comment on the topic was: *"Although they reveal their effects in the long run, they adapt themselves to our lives"*. The participant P46 stated the following related to the topic: *"This is where the individual's attention comes in, if the brain catches and receives the subliminal message, it can involuntarily develop a habit for its future behavior"*. The participant P7 gave an answer related to who is affected more by it and said: *"I think it can be very effective at early ages"*.

As a result, it was expressed that subliminal messages can have more effect on younger age groups. As far as understood from the expressions of the participants, it is thought that subliminal messages have the ability to cause a change in behavior especially on younger age groups. It can be concluded that the common opinion is that subliminal messages affect the subconscious mind at a high level.

**Question 4: In which subjects do you think subliminal messages would be more successful?**

*Table 3: Subjects in which subliminal messages can be successful according to the participants*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	Any subject	2
2	Verbal subjects	2
3	The computer subject	2

The participants gave a wide range of answers. Two participants indicated that subliminal messages could be used in any subject. Two participants said verbal subjects, two participants said computer, one participant said communication, one participant said education, one participant said visual arts and one participant said psychiatry. One participant had a different approach to the topic and said that they perceive it as a practice of imposing Christianity.

The participant P6's comment on the subjects in which subliminal messages can be effective was as follows: *"They can be used in any subject and they can be successful. However, I am of the opinion that it would be more effective in verbal classes rather than in numerical classes"*. P9 gave the following answer related to the topic: *"I think it can be effective by being employed in different ways in every subject. As for my subjects, I think it would be quite effective in information technologies"*. P10 who brought a different approach to the topic and drew attention to the abstract side of the topic: *"I think it would be more successful in subjects that require abstract thinking or subjects that deal with details; for instance, psychiatry"*.

As a result, there were different opinions. It can be thought that the participants are of the opinion that this technique may be more effective on verbal subjects. It was also stated that it can be a method which can be used in dealing with abstract subjects. In line with these answers, it can be said that the teachers think that subliminal messages may be more successful in verbal and abstract fields.

**Question 5: If you were to prepare a study for students, for students of which age group, in which subject and using which techniques would you prepare the subliminal message?**

*Table4: Age groups in which subliminal messages can be used according to the participants*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	High School	4
2	Middle School	4
3	Elementary School	1

*Table5: Subjects in which the participants want to use subliminal messages*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	Social Sciences	4
2	Technology	2
3	National Culture	1

*Table6: Subliminal message techniques that can be used according to the participants*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	Messages hidden in a video	5
2	25 <sup>th</sup> Frame technique	1
3	Cartoon	1

Four participants answered high school, four answered middle school and one answered elementary school related to the level of education. Two participants stated that they would not feel the need to prepare and use material with subliminal message content. As for subjects, it was mentioned that it can be used in history, social sciences, citizenship and national culture, educative videos, technology use, cyber bullying and adolescence. As for the method, five participants suggested messages hidden in a video. One participant mentioned the 25<sup>th</sup> Frame technique. One participant expressed that it can be used in the field of education through giving a message in cartoons.

The participant P6 answered: *"I could prepare a video or an animation using the images and verbal expressions used in social sciences, my own branch, for students between the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and the 6<sup>th</sup> grade".* P8 who emphasized the informatics field answered: *"I would hide messages about the conscious use of technology or cyber bullying into objects or videos in information technologies classes for middle school or high school students."*

As a result, from the point of view of the participants, the answers given were focused more on middle school and high school students. Verbal fields were mentioned more. It can be concluded that the common opinion is that messages hidden in videos could be more effective.

**Question 6: What would you like to say about the negative image of subliminal messages?**

*Table 7: Evaluation of the negative image of subliminal messages according to the participants*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	There are many negative examples	6
2	There are no negative examples	2
3	It affects the subconscious mind adversely	2

It was seen that subliminal messages have a negative image among the participant teachers due to affecting the subconscious, affecting the subconscious involuntarily and having almost no positive examples. It was suggested that the fact that subliminal messages contain violence, sexual drive or negative thoughts and because they are mostly preferred in advertisements leads to the

formation of prejudices about subliminal messages. It was also stated that contents that involve political messages cause people to make motivated choices instead of conscious ones.

The participant P4, speaking about social preferences, stated the following: "*Subliminal messages can usually be found in advertisements or political messages. And this may lead social preferences to change. Instead of making conscious choices, they may make motivated choices*". The participant P5 explained the notoriety of subliminal messages by saying: "*The act of hiding the main purpose under another element gives the impression that that purpose is a bad one and especially the fact that it has been used for advertising etc. purposes until today is the main reason which makes it look bad*".

As a result, all the participants expressed that the negative side of subliminal messages predominates. Participants who mentioned that they have not seen any positive examples of it expressed that people are exposed to the negative use of subliminal messages especially in advertising and politics. It can be said that there is the belief among the participants that social choices are affected by these messages which is why this is a matter which should be handled delicately.

#### **Question 7: Will you share your contributions related to the use of subliminal messages in education?**

*Table 8: Contributions of the participants*

Item No	Participant Comments	f
1	It can be used in positive fields (patriotism, high level and abstract thinking etc.)	6
2	It will only be effective in educative videos	2
3	It would not be a beneficial practice	2

Six participants were of the opinion that subliminal messages could be used in positive fields such as promoting patriotism and improving the ability to high level and abstract thinking. And two participants stated that they did not think that this would be useful and effective. It was seen that the positive perspective predominated.

The participant P2 made the following comment related to the use of subliminal messages: "*We can give this method a try to teach patriotism and being a citizen. Maybe this time we succeed*". P6 who suggested that subliminal messages should not be used on their own expressed the following: "*I think subliminal messages should not be used on their own. The teacher should also give their message openly. They may be more effective if used together*".

When the answers were examined in general, it was seen that the majority of the CEIT teachers has a positive point of view the matter. It was seen that, except for the two participants who defended that it was ethically objectionable to influence the subconscious, all the other participants were of the opinion that subliminal messages could be used particularly in verbal subjects. To sum up, from the point of view of CEIT teachers, it can be said that subliminal messages can be used for education purposes.

#### **4. Conclusion and Discussion**

In this study, the usability of subliminal messages in education was examined from the point of view of CEIT teachers. The result obtained is in line with the study of Arslan, Ozdemir and Kuscu (2017) and these two studies are consistent. It can be said that the only difference is the target audience. While CEIT students saw younger age groups as the target audience, CEIT teachers rather see middle and high school students as the target audience. Positive opinions were expressed related to the use of subliminal messages in the field of education. It was concluded that subliminal messages could be prepared especially in verbal and abstract fields. It was suggested that groups under the age of 18 could be educated with messages hidden in videos and this could yield positive results. It can be inferred that whether it can be adopted as an education method which makes learning easier at different levels of education depends on studies to be carried out in this field. Judging from the results of this study, it

can be said that subliminal messages which are a part of technology and exist with technology can be used in education environments.

Subliminal messages are not about consciousness, but about the perception of consciousness. It is expected that the trainings to be made for the subconscious perception will be reflected in their behavior without being aware of the person. It is envisaged that the subliminal messages to be given with the subliminal perception methods that have been proven to be effective in the field will be used as a part of the education and will provide faster learning and faster behavior development in the students. For example, the values we have recently lost can be given to students through educational videos with subliminal messages. It can be said that special studies for students who have learning difficulties will be beneficial for the development of these children. An education that can be done with subliminal messages can find its place in practice in order to minimize the crime rate of children in disadvantaged areas. Subliminal messages can be used to teach spiritual topics, such as not just teaching lessons, but respecting differences. In short, this study has revealed that subliminal messages, which can be found in every field of education, should be integrated into educational environments as a useful material.

It is seen that due to the fact that they affect the subconscious mind, subliminal messages can create controversy even when they are used only for education purposes. It was revealed that subliminal messages which could not yet find their place in the field of education due to discussions of ethics, is a method which should at least be tried as an education material. It could be said that it would be more appropriate to discuss the ethical dimension of it after the pilot tests; because it will never get past a hypothetical discussion unless its potential positive effects in the field of education are seen.

By increasing the number of studies related to the usability of conventionally notorious subliminal messages in the field of education, it is possible to raise awareness on the issue and achieve innovation in education. In an environment of education where technology is so involved in our lives, contribution of subliminal messages, which can be described as a field nourished by technology, could become a necessity in education in time. It could be possible to include it in education environments by determining the fields on which it is more successful (for example, numerical, verbal, psychological, abstract thinking, learning disability) through pilot schemes.

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# Digital culture at school. A survey on digital skills of Italian teacher

Ida Cortoni

## 1. Introduction

The integration of digital technologies in the school system has been the object of international public and scientific debate for some years now; it has been at the heart of educational policies as a formative goal to guarantee greater social inclusion with respect to the difficulties and social, cultural and economic inequalities that characterise students' daily life.

However, the study of this matter is not limited to a simple assessment of the impact of its infrastructural and technological implementation, which represents one of the primary investments in the school system of the Italian Government. Its goal, indeed, is to promote a critical reflection on the entrenchment and dissemination of a digital culture, as it is recognised in the practices of teachers and school principals, and which calls for new ways of planning, communicating, and relating to students and the other individuals involved in the school system, as well as organizing classroom activities. In what ways do *Digital Education* methods and strategies currently adopted in schools rest on a methodological and pedagogical approach derived from the digital integration process? Are they able to guide the school *vision*, objectives and educational methods to inspire the action of every single teacher?

This essay presents a reflection on the development of digital culture in the Italian education system after the first experimental years of the *Piano Nazionale della Scuola Digitale* (National Plan for a Digital School System) (2015), and it mainly focuses on testing the inclusion of digital skills into teachers' daily teaching practises. Through the presentation of the first results obtained by the national survey "Verso la scuola digitale"<sup>1</sup> (Towards a digital school), this essay offers a reflection on the digital skills gained by the interviewed teachers and on their ability to contextualise these skills and knowledge in their daily teaching activities.

### 1.1 Socio-Cultural Background

The challenge presented by the introduction of digital technologies in the school world cannot be seen and interpreted only as the education system's compliance to the pressures of a society increasingly projected towards digital technologies, considering such tools as an element of progress, growth and economic, political and social development, but also as a strategy which leads the educational world towards the new cultural paradigm that marked the transition from a modern to a post-modern position, regardless of the digital revolution.

The moral uncertainty<sup>2</sup> that has characterised the cultural crisis of contemporary society has progressively generated the so-called "insecurity syndrome" (Ferrari Occhionero, 2002), which underlies our daily actions. It has also caused a "rampant insufficiency pathology" (Galimberti, 2009) that explains the sense of continuous existential inadequacy felt by individuals, especially young people, resulting from the so-called "paradox of individual responsibilities" (Bauman, 2002). Moreover the difficulty in making individual choices in a context lacking in moral, cultural and educational parameters, has generated a state of social and identity precariousness over time.

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<sup>1</sup>The study was conducted as part of the *Osservatorio Mediamonitor Minori* within a project of the Sapienza University of Rome launched in 2016.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the collapse of collective identity values in pre-modern society and the awareness of the lack of substitute reference values to which individual life projects and socio-cultural perceptual processes can be linked.

Even major socialisation institutions, such as the school, have suffered from this cultural change, undergoing the progressive weakening of their cultural and social mediation role (Besozzi, 2006). These institutions have proved to be unprepared to provide adequate cognitive and metacognitive tools to help people face the permanent condition of contemporary socio-cultural crisis, globalisation cultural relativism and the deconstruction of past value models, being incapable of providing adequate interpretative frameworks to the surrounding context. This situation has further worsened by the *bottom up* domestication process (Silverstone, 1995) of communicative languages carried out by young people, who found in the media "new socialisation environments" that met their identification and socio-cultural inclusion needs (Morcellini, 1993; Morcellini, Cortoni, 2007).

How to face this condition of socio-cultural precariousness and individualised culture, in which even communication technologies have progressively acquired a socio-cultural dignity?

According to some scholars, educating to flexibility is undoubtedly one of the keywords to survive in today complex reality. Its application to education draws upon the ability of human beings to adapt to the diversity of emerging situations and to put in place, from time to time, appropriate cognitive and metacognitive strategies. To this effect, focusing on the strengthening of skills, especially cross-cutting ones, is an aspect of crucial importance in the contemporary education system (Benadusi, 2018, Perrenoud, 2010). During the last decades, there has actually been a progressive change in the educational paradigm of the Italian education system, also shown in school reforms, as from a knowledge transmission process it has progressively turned into a relational and constructivist one. In this contest, educational projects were created not only starting from individual learning needs, but also from the recognition of surrounding contextual and cultural variables, of equal educational value, that needed to be part of the task of forming free and socially integrated citizens.

Some of these contextual variables are inevitably linked to the complexity of the contemporary media system, above all because of their role of cultural, cognitive, and emotional mediation during the socialisation process.

## **2. Towards a Digital School. Research Planning and Methodology.**

To fulfil its role as a socio-cultural integration institution, considering new socio-cultural demands focused on the "knowledge economy" (Foray, 2000; Rullani, 2004; Ranieri, 2006) and the increasingly central role played by media technologies, the school system was called to create new school curricula, training programs and to organise new educational activities. That meant going beyond the *top down* transmission model to emphasise the network of relationships and the cultural complexity that prompted the creation of new competency-based learning pathways (Benadusi, 2018). However, this innovative process also entailed an organisational and management redesign of the education system, and new planning of communication modalities within and outside the school environment, enhancing the involvement and participation of all the concerned individuals (Cortoni 2009).

In the new education system, communication technologies have progressively begun to gain specific roles, responding to the new requirements for the implementation of individual competence and the updating of teaching methods. According to this new perspective, the media cannot be considered just simple tools, but environments and languages essential to the intergenerational cultural and cognitive sharing that is part of the educational process (Morcellini in Cortoni, 2009: pages 9-16).

In this sense, the relationship between education and communication presents a double aspect. On one hand it refers to the use of the media as stimulation environments providing notional skills, mostly cross-cutting ones (group work, *problem solving*, critical analysis, leadership, adequate communication, etc.) (*digital education*), while on the other hand it relates to the creative planning of innovative learning pathways that cannot be separated from a critical knowledge of the same media (*digital literacy*).

The 2015 *Piano Nazionale Scuola Digitale* (PNSD) (National Digital School Plan) represents today the main ministerial legislative tool that describes the positioning of the Italian school system with respect to digital innovation. The plan includes three macro areas of investment and work: "tools", "competences and contents" and "training and support". The first area deals with the updating of a

multi-year plan for infrastructural technological endowment started as early as 2007<sup>3</sup>. The second one refers to the implementation of students' digital skills, particularly the cross-cutting one, and starts from the theoretical framework of Digcomp 2.0. The third one relates to school staff and teachers' training to help them develop a creative and participatory digital approach (Aroldi in Scarcelli and Stella, 2017). Despite these institutional goals, there are still interpretation gaps between the *top down* proposals of the school system and the operators' difficulties in managing, coordinating and organising *bottom up* activities (Morcellini, Cortoni, 2007). In recent years, it has been difficult to frame and systematise digital tools and application strategies, as well as effective teaching methods and tools for assessing competence, thus creating an operational framework that meets teachers' concrete needs.

*Verso una scuola digitale* (Towards a Digital School) is a university project launched in 2016 at the national level to investigate the degree of digital knowledge integration in everyday teaching practices with a view to inclusion and educational innovation.

Therefore, one of the first goals of the research was to verify Italian teachers' type and level of digital skills, and the type and level of application of such skills in teaching practises and educational activities management within the school context. The second goal was to identify the innovative components achieved in the first three years of application and experimentation of the PNSD and identify critical issues on which invest material and cultural resources.

Specifically, a procedural, analytical model was designed and tested, starting from the theoretical, conceptual model of digital competence described in DIGCOMP framework. After having identified competence sectors and descriptors, indicators for each competence sector were defined and evaluative categories and tools were created (Cortoni, Lo Presti, 2018). The *expertise* gained over the last few years by the *Osservatorio Mediamonitor Minori* (Mediamonitor Minor Observatory) of the Sapienza University of Rome, was a starting point in designing more specific indicators for assessing teachers' skills during the survey, in view of the creation and testing of new tools for assessing teachers' digital skills.

Specifically, starting from this model, the research adopted a mixed methodological approach, characterised for the quantitative aspect by a semi-structured questionnaire on digital competence, with a mainly exploratory function, and for the qualitative one by the organization of qualitative brainstorming with teachers on the meaning of digital quality and innovation in the school context, as well as the use of the Delphi group (Dalkey, 1969) with stakeholders to discuss on the creation of a *Digital Education* curriculum in compliance with the learning level of children's developmental age. In this essay, our attention will mainly focus on the first results emerged in the quantitative survey.

### 3. Teachers' Digital Skills: Findings

The research involved a sample of 708 Italian teachers from 31 first-degree secondary schools, located in 15 capitals of Italian regions (15 institutions in Southern Italy and the islands, 9 in Northern Italy and 7 in Central Italy). More than 90% of the involved schools had already participated in educational projects on digital systems, and 97.2% of the teachers had engaged in digital training courses.

Most of these schools has the relevant technological resources to implement *Digital Education* pathways, specifically LIM (Lavagna Interattiva Multimediale=Interactive Multimedia Blackboard), multimedia laboratories (more than 1 out of 50% of cases), not to mention the use of tablets in the classroom, introduced by the Classi 2.0 Project that is carried out by at least 50% of the schools in the sample. The teachers interviewed seem to have a relatively short experience in education, to the extent that 39.1% have been teaching for less than 15 years, while 28.4% from 16 to 25 years. Finally, the majority of the interviewees teach humanities (28.5%), and artistic-musical subjects (18.2%).

A first observation relates to the use style. In order to analyse it the interviewed teachers were divided into four kinds of media users, according to the use frequency of each medium considered in the research:

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<sup>3</sup>In this regard it is possible to refer to various projects: Piano LIM, Classi 2.0 project, Scuol@2.0, Editoria Digitale and Impres@Scuola programs

- *No media users* are teachers who make little use of any communication media in daily life (42.3%);
- *Traditional media users* mainly use analogue media, such as newspapers, paper magazines and books, TV in different formats (digital, cable and dish) (18.3%);
- *Digital users* are the teachers who most frequently use digital media (PCs, tablets, smartphones, smart TV, Internet, etc.) (19.4%);
- *Multimedia users* are teachers who frequently use both analogue and digital media (20%).

The digital activities carried out by the interviewed teachers, regardless of their media use style, mainly concern the use of the electronic class register (92.2%) and the online search for teaching materials (84.3%). With regard to the interaction/communication aspect, electronic mail is still the most used service (77.3%), while the web seems to be used quite often by our interviewees especially for informational activities, as 45.1% of them read newspapers or watch TV news online, 47.6% access Wikipedia to search for information, while about 35-40% generally use search engines (37.9%) and attend on-line refresher courses (39%).

A creative-active use of digital tools is hardly entrenched in the habits of the interviewees: a few teachers download or upload online multimedia materials, comment on posts (except on social networks) or express opinions on social and political issues. Even fewer engage in activities that require more specialised skills, such as updating a website, writing on a blog, creating a web page, as well as participating in online voting or consultations or just make a phone call using the internet.

In brief, from this first picture it would seem that in the school context, teachers use digital devices mainly for matters related to their role as teachers, such as the management of educational and administrative activities, and for personal training/information. They are not very active and participatory when they have to express themselves on the web on personal, social and political issues or to produce content to be posted on web pages or blogs.

In the following paragraphs, we will specifically focus on their digital skill and try to paint a picture of the interviewed teachers' digital knowledge and skills; special attention will also be given to the access and use of such knowledge in the classroom.

### 3.1 Media System Access

Access competence refers to a set of communication skills that goes beyond the operational aspects related to the functioning of technological devices. The knowledge at the basis of *Digital Literacy* requires complex expertise as it involves different types of knowledge, ranging from the most basic on communicative languages to the more articulate on the effects of media communication, with in the middle the rules ordering the narrative structure of a media message, its production systems and consumption processes.

Starting from the definition of a competent person as not the one who knows or knows how to do things, but the one who use knowledge, skills, personal, social and/or methodological attitudes, in a working or educational contest, for professional and/or personal development, we can state that in our survey the most known and used access skills are those relating to browsers (96%), e-mail systems (91%) and search engines (80%). Consequently, the less widespread competences concern learning platforms (e.g. Moodle), the use of PowerPoint presentations, downloading systems, cloud storage and social sharing (Instagram, Picasa, etc.).

With respect to digital access and starting from the theoretical model on digital skills proposed by the *Osservatorio Mediamonitor Minori* of the Sapienza University of Rome (Cortoni, Lo Presti, 2018), digital knowledge has been divided in different subcategories: factual (or atomic), conceptual, procedural and metacognitive<sup>4</sup>. The first refers to the knowledge of communication codes or the basic elements of media grammar; the second one relates to the narrative structure of a text (media genre and the relevant principles and categorisation that help to identify the message meaning from a connotative-denotative perspective). Procedural knowledge refers to the syntax of the communication

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<sup>4</sup>This terminology was applied to the digital context, starting from the Taxonomy of Anderson and Kratwohl (2001).

text, to the techniques and methods of narrative representation, including the aesthetic signs chosen for one or more communication symbols. Finally, metacognitive knowledge is the most complex and refers to the different aspects of the communication process: production strategies (strategic knowledge), understanding of audience types, media domestication processes and the use context (contextual knowledge), as well as knowledge of the effects of use (probabilistic contextual knowledge). In the research "Verso una scuola digitale" (Towards a Digital School), the focus was mainly on atomic, procedural and probabilistic contextual knowledge, highlighting three types of skills: 1. those linked to digital services<sup>5</sup>; 2. those linked to the professional category closely connected to performing a communicative task<sup>6</sup>; 3. those linked to positive or negative effects directly deriving from a certain use of technology<sup>7</sup>.

With regard to teachers' digital atomic knowledge, theoretical knowledge was distinguished from applied knowledge, and their range was verified within a 3 level scale:

- low knowledge<sup>8</sup>
- medium knowledge
- high knowledge.

The first results of the research show that teachers have medium-high knowledge of digital services, both theoretical and applied, as indicated by the percentage values shown below:

**Table 1.** Levels of knowledge (theoretical and applied) of Italian teachers sample

<b>Levels of knowledge (%)</b>	<b>Theoretical knowledge</b>	<b>Applied knowledge</b>
<b>low</b>	21.6	23
<b>medium</b>	35	34
<b>high</b>	43.4	43
<b>total</b>	100	100

<sup>5</sup> The relevant question asked in the questionnaire was: "Which of the following digital services do you know and use?"

<sup>6</sup> The questionnaire question was: "Assume you need to deal with some problems and that to solve them you need the help of an expert. Indicate for each problem what kind of expert you would turn to for assistance."

<sup>7</sup> The questionnaire question was: "On-line communication produces a series of positive and negative effects, which also have repercussions on life outside the web. Choose among the words listed below those that, according to you, can be considered positive and negative effects of online communication. "

<sup>8</sup> To define this class range the following technique was used: higher value - lower value / n. of classes (Corbetta, 1994)

With regard to procedural knowledge, from the comparison of the theoretical model with the operational-statistical one<sup>9</sup>, the following information was obtained: about half of the interviewees (53.2%) do not have knowledge of the professional roles and skills relating to the different communication tasks, while the rest of the teachers possess only a low knowledge. Finally, about probabilistic contextual knowledge, the cognitive level of the interviewed teachers appears to improve. In fact, about 62.7% seems to be at a medium-high level, while 25.4% at a medium-low level<sup>10</sup>. Specifically, the most widespread knowledge on media effects seems to pertain to: fake news (87.3%), increased visibility (84.5), as well as the commercial investment, in terms of advertising, linked to publishing on the web (83.9%).

### 3.2 The Use of Media in the Classroom

About the use of media in the classroom, four types of teaching methods were distinguished:

1. **"no media teaching"** refers to those teachers who do not use any media teaching aid (23.6%). These subjects have relatively short teaching experience, i.e. they have been working in education for less than 15 years and compared to the other categories they mainly work in schools located in central Italy (21%) and in suburban areas;
2. **"traditional media teaching"** refers to teachers who mainly use analogue media (23.7%) and have more years of work in education (over 26 years); they practice their profession mostly in the northern Italian regions (38.1%) and work in suburban areas;
- **"digital teaching"** refers to teachers, who mainly use digital media (19.9%);
- **"multimedia teaching"** refers to those teachers who use all the available media, both traditional and digital (32.8%).

These last two categories include teachers who have less teaching experience (from 1 to 15 years), mainly working in southern regions and on the islands and in metropolitan areas. Generally, the teachers who use digital media have high (both theoretical and applied) knowledge of digital services compared to the others.

Among the *Digital Education* activities more used<sup>11</sup> in the classroom, the ones carried out regularly and with continuity by the interviewed teachers are mainly two:

1. video watching associated with the topic of current lessons followed by an open discussion with students (56.4%);
2. use of the media for in-depth research on lesson topics (46.5%)

In both cases, the greatest innovators are multimedia and digital teachers. The use is more sporadic<sup>12</sup> for educational activities including:

1. the use of interactive software (54.5%);
2. the use of the media to make students do research on the topics addressed during class (49.6%);
3. the involvement of students in the creation of a multimedia text on digital support in the classroom (41%);

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<sup>9</sup>Starting from the theoretical model of reference, the low level corresponds to a knowledge about communication professionals ranging from 0 to 3, the medium level to a knowledge about communication professionals between 4 and 5 and the high level to a knowledge about communication professionals between 6 and 7

<sup>10</sup>With regard to this question a 4-level scale was used in which to a low level corresponds a knowledge of at least 4 media effects, to a medium-low level corresponds a knowledge fluctuating from 5 to 8 media effects; to a medium-high level corresponds a knowledge ranging from 9 to 13 media effects and to a high level corresponds a knowledge ranging from 13 to 17 media effects

<sup>11</sup>The words "more used" means activities "often" carried out by teachers

<sup>12</sup>The adjective "sporadic" means an activity carried out only "sometimes."

4. the realisation of a digital lesson (newspaper, video, radio broadcast, blog, multimedia presentation, etc.) linked to one or more topics (36%).

In this second case, it is possible to divide the types of activities carried out by teaching style. So, for example, the use of interactive disciplinary software seems to be a prerogative mostly of the *no media teachers*. The involvement of students in the creation of a multimedia product is mainly a typical practice of *multimedia teachers*, but also of *digital teachers*, while *traditional media teachers* never perform this type of activity and, when they use the media for educational purposes, they mainly do it to make students research on the topics discussed in class.

However, regardless of the teaching style adopted, some *Digital Education* activities appear not to be used by teachers crosswise; they mainly refer to:

1. The use of social networks to communicate with students about teaching activities (54% of cases);
2. the use of social networks to organise group work with students/create virtual classes (55.9% of cases);
3. the simulation of an editorial team for a radio or television broadcast, or for a printed newspaper (65.3% of cases), mostly by digital teachers.

#### 4. Conclusions

From the first analysis of the research, it emerges how during the last years the kind of political investment made on digital tools conditions the modalities of digital integration in the classroom. In this regard, the significant political investment in infrastructure in schools is undoubtedly related to current teaching methods, as teachers use pre-defined digital packages rather than designing new, creative and innovative teaching pathways. It is true that the absence of activism and creativity in the lessons reflects the passive attitude and the lack of creativity when teachers use the media in their free time for personal purposes. The same reasoning applies to the limited use of newspapers as a teaching aid and a tool to stimulate critical thinking in the classroom, which inevitably reflects the lack of interest showed by the interviewed sample in reading them at home.

These first results of the research represent only a preliminary stimulus for reflection on the relationship between the media and education that, however, from a cultural point of view seems still far from being included and integrated into the educational context.

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# Application Of Technology Acceptance Model In E-Learning

Burcu Öngen Bilir

## 1. Introduction

E-learning can be defined as an abbreviation for electronic learning. Although there are many definitions of e-learning, in general, e-learning is defined as a way of learning on the network or on the internet. According to another explanation, e-learning is the way to reach the content that people want to learn whenever they want via the internet electronically (Zhang and Nunamaker, 2003). In other words, e-learning content is distributed via electronic media such as satellite broadcast, audio video, intranet, internet, tv and cd-rom (Urduan and Weggen, 2000). To create e-learning, educational statements; It uses the virtual world, the digital world and the Internet (Horton, 2001). According to Rosenberg (2001), e-learning is a network-based phenomenon that allows distribution and correction using the standard internet technology (Sanderson, 2002). In other words, e-learning is the use of network technology such as intranet and internet to inform people (Welsh et al. 2003).

In order to improve the knowledge and skills of people e-learning can be used as a supportive alternative for traditional one or it can be used as a separate education type for lifelong learning. Teachers and students are separated from each other in e-learning in case that it is more likely a student centered education and students should spend more effort on their own. There are important benefits of e-learning for people and students as mentioned above but there are still disadvantages and problems. For example self-motivated students, expenditure, technology dependence, soft-copied materials, lack of face-to face interaction.

In their study Wu et al. (2012) mentioned 9 that education suppliers were able to find opportunities to explore new ways of delivering educational program with the help of ICTs. It is a type of learning facilitated and supported by information and communication technologies (LTSN, 2003).

Sun et al. (2008) defines e-learning as delivery of information with the help of telecommunication technologies for education and training. According to Ozuorcun and Tabak (2012), e-learning is the delivery of teaching materials via electronic media like internet. Besides, according to some others e-learning is an online form of distance education.

Martins et al. (2012) mention that e-learning is used as a type of distance education, online only and sometimes support classroom activities. Santos (2000) claims that e-learning is conducted through internet and it is another form of distance education. As a result, traditional learning was transformed into an elearning which is more flexible for lifelong learning. Like other education types, it has a specific content to learn and it is designed to deliver specific knowledge, abilities and skills. In this type of education, students and teachers exchange information without meeting physically and they are separated from each other by time and location.

According to Pituch and Lee (2006), e-learning is becoming an inseparable part of teaching-learning processes because of the distance between teachers and students by time and space. Moreover, e-learning necessitates effective usage of software, technology and internet tools. E-learning can be performed with the effective use of software and internet tools (Nagi, 2008). E-learning is electronic form of learning delivery, training and education program. In order to provide training and material, it necessitates computer and some other electronic device usage (Maneschijn, 2005).

In this paper, structural equation modeling with TAM is thoroughly examined.

## Research hypotheses

In accordance with the previously stated objectives and consistent with related literature, this study tested the following hypotheses:

- H<sub>1</sub>: University students' behavioral intention to use e-learning is affected by their attitude (H<sub>11</sub>), perceived usefulness (H<sub>12</sub>), perceived ease of use (H<sub>13</sub>), e-learning self-efficacy (H<sub>14</sub>), subjective norm (H<sub>15</sub>), and system accessibility (H<sub>16</sub>).
- H<sub>2</sub>: University students' e-learning attitude is affected by their perceived usefulness (H<sub>21</sub>), perceived ease of use (H<sub>22</sub>), e-learning self-efficacy (H<sub>23</sub>), subjective norm (H<sub>24</sub>), and system accessibility (H<sub>25</sub>).
- H<sub>3</sub>: University students' perceived usefulness of e-learning is affected by their perceived ease of use (H<sub>31</sub>), e-learning self-efficacy (H<sub>32</sub>), subjective norm (H<sub>33</sub>), and system accessibility (H<sub>34</sub>).
- H<sub>4</sub>: University students' perceived ease of use of e-learning is affected by their e-learning self-efficacy (H<sub>41</sub>), subjective norm (H<sub>42</sub>), and system accessibility (H<sub>43</sub>).

## 2. Method

Survey method is used in this study in order to collect data from students related with e-learning because this is one of the effective methods used to gather data from a sample group process it and in the end describe the attributes of larger population with the help of this information. Questions of the questionnaire were arranged to gather information about experiences of students about e-learning, participation and success rates of students to the lessons, learning objectives and assessment methods of the courses taken at that semester, teacher attitudes towards students and student opinions about quality of e-learning courses.

The data was collected by university students. They answered the survey questions. The questionnaire of this study includes 23 questions and these questions were grouped according to the information that was aimed to gain from students. 1st, 2nd and 3rd questions were related with demographic information about the participants therefore age, gender and education level of them were gathered with the help of these questions.

The questions in Part II were not only made based on Davis's prior studies with modifications to fit the specific context of the e-learning but also mainly adapted from the three studies for the objectives of the study: Lee, Cheung, & Chen, (2005); Ndubisi (2006); and Malhotra & Galletta (1999). Part II consisted of four sub-sections, as follows: perceived ease of use (PE), perceived usefulness (PU), attitude (AT), and behavioral intention (BI).

The questions in Part III were developed by the researcher to measure e-learning self-efficacy (SE). It was measured by two indicators: confidence in finding information in the e-learning system and degree of necessary skills for using an elearning system. The questions in Part IV were divided into two sections: subjective norms (SN) and system accessibility (SA). Subjective norms as social influence factors were measured mainly by adapting the scales done by Malhotra and Galletta (1999). Since most students have computers with Internet at home, system accessibility as an organizational factor was measured by only one indicator in the study, which was the difficulty in accessing and using e-learning systems in the university. All constructs were measured on seven-point Likert-type scales, from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. All of the questionnaires were applied to students who had just taken an e-learning course during that semester because it was preferred that experiences of students were fresh and they were able to give more accurate and valuable information about the courses.

All of the questionnaire questions do not necessitate fresh information because they were asked to learn general opinions of students about e-learning courses but students needed fresh information about the course they have taken at that semester to answer detailed questions. If selected student sample did not have recent information their response rate and reliability of their answers might have decreased and as a result the study was not able to fulfill its objectives.

Objective of the study was to examine the problems, opinions and expectations of students from an e-learning course in a higher education institution in Turkey. The target society was e-learning course students in a higher education institution in Turkey and the collection method was questionnaire which was appropriate for this study.

### 3. Findings

The aim of this study is to investigate the factors affecting e-learning by adding perceived attitude and intention of use to Technology Acceptance Model (TAM). For this purpose, the data were collected by directing questionnaire questions to the students studying at Bursa Uludağ University. The data were collected through face-to-face interviews with 320 people. The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) is the most widely accepted model among researchers in the field of information technology. The relationship between university students' intention to use e-learning and their attitudes, perceived benefits, perceived ease of use, self-efficacy of e-learning, subjective norm and system accessibility were analyzed. 75% of the students participated in the survey were women and 25% were men. The mean age was  $21,71 \pm 2,04$  years. 60% of the students who can use the high-speed internet at home stated that they could not use 40% by saying yes. In the study, the reliability and validity of the scale and sub-dimensions were analyzed by looking at the cronbach's alpha values. The cronbach alpha value of the scale was 0.86. Table 1 shows the result of a confirmatory factor analysis and reliability test with some descriptive statistics, mean, and standard deviation. Figure 1 also describes graphically the relationships between constructs and observed indicators, presenting loadings and residuals.

**Table 1.** Summary of means, standard deviations, construct loadings, and reliabilities

Construct	Measurement instrument	Mean± (STD)	Loading	Cronbach $\alpha$
Perceived ease of use (PE)	I find e-learning system easy to use (E1).	3.90±1.05	0,84	0,77
	Learning how to use an e-learning system is easy for me (E2).	4.10±0.63	0,95	
	It is easy to become skillful at using an e-learning system (E3).	3.70±0.64	0,91	
Perceived usefulness (PU)	E-learning would improve my learning performance (U1).	3.50±0.98	0,91	0,70
	E-learning would increase academic productivity (U2).	3.27±0.87	0,93	
	E-learning could make it easier to study course content (U3)	3.65±0.62	0,72	
Attitude (AT)	Studying through e-learning is a good idea (A1).	3.57±0.87	0,87	0,87
	Studying through e-learning is a wise idea (A2).	3.55±0.84	0,89	
	I am positive toward e-learning (A3).	3.70±0.68	0,93	
Behavioral intention (BI)	I intend to check announcements from e-learning systems frequently (B1).	2.62±0.70	0,82	0,71
	I intend to be a heavy user of e-learning system (B2).	2.77±0.86	0,88	
E-learning selfefficacy (SE)	I feel confident finding information in the e-learning system (S1).	3.65±0.69	0,84	0,76

	I have the necessary skills for using an e-learning system (S2).	3.95±0.81	0,73	
<b>Subjective norm (SN)</b>	What e-learning stands for is important for me as a university student (N1).	3.72±0.81	0,85	0,73
	I like using e-learning based on the similarity of my values and society values underlying its use (N2).	3.42±0.87	0,82	
	In order for me to prepare for future job, it is necessary to take e-learning courses (N3).	2.45±0.84	0,85	
<b>System accessibility(SA)</b>	I have no difficulty accessing and using an e-learning system in the university (SA).	3.32±0.99	1,0	n/a

**Scale:** 1 = strongly disagree ~ 5= strongly agree. All loadings were significant based on t-values.

Factor loadings in table 1 changes between 0,73-0,93. It is also seen that each dimension is valid and reliable. Cronbach alpha value above 0,70. Indicates that the scale is valid and reliable.

### Structural Equation Modelling

Table 2 shows a summary of the overall model fit measures. Except for the  $\chi^2$  test result, all absolute measures were significant and considered acceptable. Since  $\chi^2$  statistics are sensitive to the number of subjects and require assumption of multivariate normal distribution, other measures are better to consider as criteria for model fitting. In addition to absolute values which are the root mean squared residual (RMR), the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), the goodness-of-fit index (GFI), and the adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) and NFI as comparative fit measures were examined. NFI ranges from 0 to 1, with values exceeding .9 indicating a good fit (Bentler & Bonnet, 1980). The full general structural model was accepted and believed to be good enough to analyze the parameter estimates.

**Table 2.** Goodness-of-fit measures for SEM

Fit measures	Values
$\chi^2$	196,0
RMR	0,04
RMSEA	0,06
GFI	0,90
AGFI	0,92
NFI	0,90

Behavioral intention is concerned, attitude, e-learning self-efficacy, and subjective norms were identified to be significant. In terms of attitude, perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, and subjective norms turned out to be significant. System accessibility had no effect on perceived usefulness. On the other hand, subjective norm had no significant relationship with perceived ease of use.

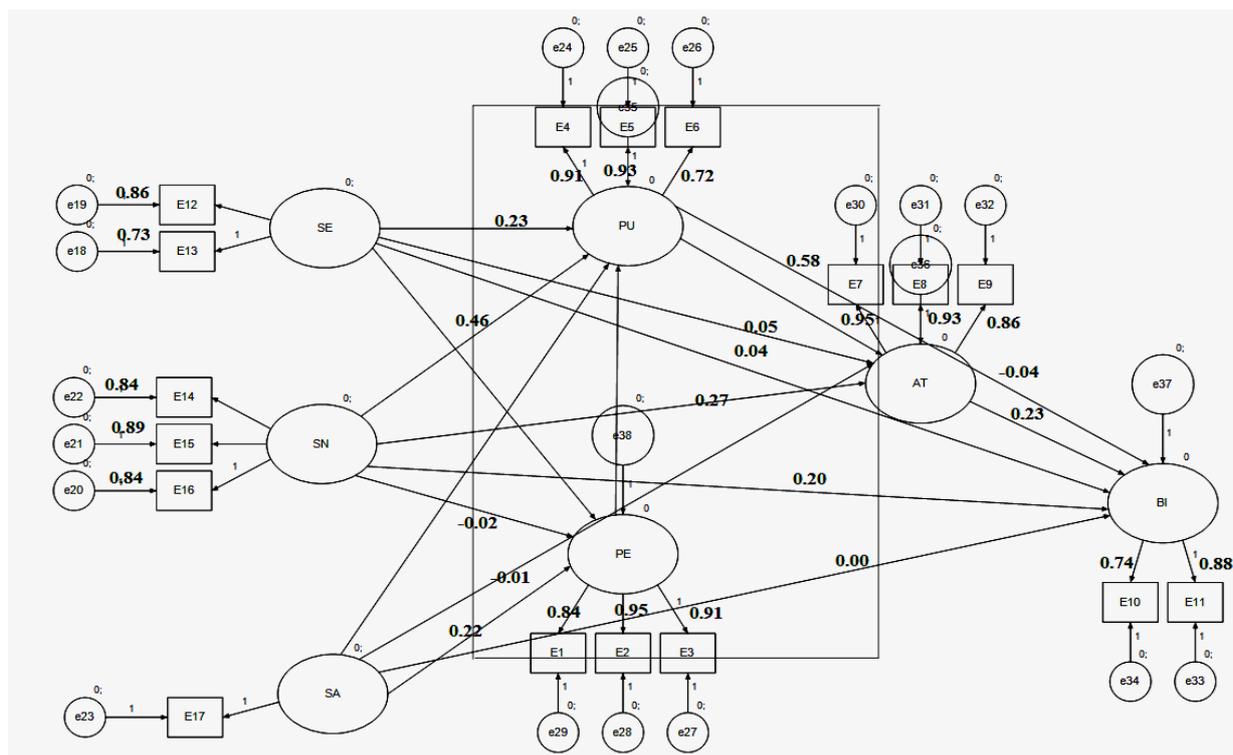


Figure 1. Parameter estimates of general structural model

#### 4. Discussion

This study confirmed that TAM is a useful theoretical model that helps to understand and explain the behavioral intent of using e-learning. The results of the study concluded that the model represents the data collected according to the results of the conformity test. One of the interesting results of the study is that both e-learning self-efficacy and subjective norms play an important role in influencing the behavioral intention of using e-learning and e-learning attitude. E-learning self-efficacy can be considered as an internal motivational factor, and the subjective norm may be an external motivation factor that can help university students to regulate their motivation for e-learning.

According to Bandura's social motivation theory, high self-efficacy results in a more active learning process. On the other hand, the subjective norm under the social impact factor is related to the behaviors given in response to the recognition of other people. As a result of the findings; university students need to increase their e-learning self-efficacy.

The subjective norm is the second most important structure that affects both behavioral intention and attitude towards e-learning. Third, although the perceived benefit and ease of use do not directly affect the intention of university students to use e-learning, these structures are related to attitudes towards e-learning.

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# Using literature in the language classroom: Voices of pre-service EFL teachers

Cevdet Yilmaz

## 1. Introduction

It has been commonly acknowledged that the use of literature is beneficial in the process of language teaching and learning. Research suggests that literature in foreign language teaching has a long history. It was fundamental part of foreign language teaching in the classical humanist paradigm (Maley, 2001). Hill (1994, p.7) argues that “In the sixties and seventies, in fact, there was a distinct reaction against the use of any literary English at all in the classroom, but now the pendulum has swung the other way and there is a renewed interest in literature teaching.” In spite of its apparent contribution to the field of second language acquisition, there has been a fairly prolonged debate on whether literature can be used to enhance the efficiency of language programs (Cook, 1994; Lazar, 1993; Carter & Long, 1991). Consequently, the central role of literature, though limited, was carried over to into TEFL/TESL in the early part of the twentieth century (Maley, 2001).

Turning to the place of literature in Turkish context, we find that as with many parts of the world, literature remains integral to the teaching of the foreign language. As far as the use of literature in the departments of English Language Teaching (ELT) in Turkey is concerned, literature as a subject matter has been seen as an important supplementary source in the ELT curriculum in recent years. Many educators as well as stakeholders in the ELT circles have come to recognize the academic, cultural, intellectual and linguistic advantages of making a greater use of literature in the language classroom. Taking several steps in this direction, attempts were made to revise and develop the available literature courses to some degree.

Considering the current courses involving literature in Turkish ELT programs, we find that there are mainly two courses entitled ‘Literature’ and ‘Literature and Language Teaching’. While the first course is focused on the detailed study of literary texts mostly from English literature for the sake of literature only, the latter aims to integrate well-known literary texts as a resource into the process of foreign language teaching. However, practical benefits likely to be gained from literature teaching in Turkish ELT context partly fall short of the ultimate purpose for developing a tangible approach to teaching literature in the language classes.

## 2. Why is literature helpful in the language learning process?

This interest to the literature inevitably leads to the question of why we should integrate literary texts into the second language process. Many reasons for using literature in ELT suggest that literature might serve as valuable resource for language teaching. In support of this, McKay (2001) points out that the use of literature in the language classroom supplies three benefits for learners:

- it demonstrates the importance of authors’ choice of form to achieve specific communicative goals
- it is an ideal resource for integrating the four skills
- it raises cross-cultural awareness

To this end, Ur (1996, p. 201) provides a list of advantages to the teaching of the literature in the language classroom as the following:

- literature can be very enjoyable to read
- it provides examples of different styles of writing, and representations of various authentic uses of the language
- it is a good basis for vocabulary expansion
- it fosters reading skills
- it can supply an excellent jump-off point for discussion or writing

- it involves emotions as well as intellect, which adds to motivation and may contribute to personal development
- it is a part of the target culture and has value as part of the learners' general education
- it encourages empathetic, critical and creative thinking
- it contributes to world knowledge
- it raises awareness of different human situations and conflicts

### 3. Review of Literature

There is a growing bulk of research centered on the use of literature in the process of language teaching and learning, which stresses the educational value of literature in the language classroom in a practical sense. A great number of studies have underscored the great value of using literature in ELT classes. Accordingly, incorporating literary texts into the foreign language teaching can promote the development of language proficiency (Inan, 2009; Yılmaz, 2012; McKay, 1982; Widdowson, 1984; Çıraklı & Kılıçkaya, 2011), cultural awareness (Akyel & Yalcin, 1990; Ghosn, 2002; Parkinson & Thomas, 2000; Shanahan, 1997), and motivation (Akyel & Yalcin, 1990; Parkinson & Thomas, 2000) in a foreign/second language classroom.

Ghosn (2002), as cited in Tuncer and Kızıldağ (2014), argued that teachers of English can make use of authentic literature in the primary school EFL class due to its following benefits:

1. Literature presents motivating and meaningful context for language learning.
2. Literature enhances language learning; that is, via literature the learners find an opportunity to see the best uses of language thus leading to an improvement in their language.
3. It enhances academic literacy and thinking skill.
4. Literature develops the children emotionally and helps them promote interpersonal and intercultural attitudes.

With regard to the more recent literature on the place of literature in the ELT classes, for example, Inan (2009) claims that students will benefit from the communicative value of literary works since they will be exposed to some authentic materials. Similarly, Bretz (1990, p. 335) defines the role of literature in foreign language teaching as “a springboard for the development of critical thinking and appreciation”. A good deal of research has been conducted on the use of literature in ELT in the many parts of the world like Turkey. In a recent study, Tehan, Yüksel and İnan (2015) aimed to examine the attitudes and opinions of students towards the use and place of literature course in language teaching. The study was carried out in the in the English Language Teaching Department of Kocaeli University, Faculty of Education, in Turkey, in the Spring Term of the 2011-2012 academic year. Twenty students majoring in English Language Teaching (ELT) participated in the study. A questionnaire about the place and significance of literature was developed by the researchers. The results of the study demonstrated that the students had mixed views about the use of literature and had some concerns about its inclusion in the mandatory course catalogue. However, it was also found that many students, particularly those who are currently enrolled in a literature class, understood the logic behind the importance of its use in language teaching. From the findings of the study, the researchers drew significant conclusions as to how educators can approach the use of literature as a learning tool in the light of such diverse student preconceptions.

As the relevant literature suggests, one of the advantages of using literary texts in ELT concerns its creative aspect. In this respect, Ritlyova (2014) aimed to explore the creative use of literature in language teaching. She argued that a literary text has the potential to uncover the readers' creative sides by means of meaningful, thought-provoking and engaging literary activities. She added that working with these literary activities, teachers must foster students' motivation to read in a critical manner. According to Ritlyova (2014), motivated students put much more effort into their learning in teaching literature to students of English. “it is also true that where student motivation is high, where the text has a particular interest for them due either to its exciting story or relevance to their way of life, they will be prepared to expend more effort on understanding it” (Hill, 1994, p.31). In teaching all the four skills, that is, reading, listening, writing and speaking, she proposes a variety of practical activities that can be of much help for teachers of English when working with literary texts.

#### 4. Statement of the problem

It is important to note that eliciting teachers' conceptions of the teaching process in classroom research are highly important for understanding and improving educational process. For this reason, the present study is intended to examine pre-service teachers' attitudes towards the use of literary texts in ELT in an attempt to propose practical approaches to integrating literature into ELT classes. It aims to find out how literature courses taught in the departments of ELT are perceived by the teacher trainees and discuss the emerging findings in the light of their views and educational concerns. To this end, the current study addressed the following research question:

- What are EFL pre-service teachers' attitudes towards the use of literature in the process of language teaching and learning?

#### 5. Methodology

##### 5.1. Participants

The present study was undertaken in the English Language Teaching Department of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Faculty of Education, in Turkey, in the Fall Term of the 2018-2019 academic year. The participants were seventy students (45 females, 25 males) majoring in English Language Teaching (ELT). They were pre-service EFL teachers enrolled in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year course entitled 'Literature and Language Teaching I' at the time. The participants' age ranged from 21 to 23, with an average of 22. The whole students taking this course voluntarily accepted to participate in the research. They were all Turkish students and almost had the same education background.

##### 5.2. Instrument

A mixed methods design was employed by the researcher in the data collection process. For this purpose a survey adopted from Çıraklı and Kılıçkaya (2011) and Yılmaz (2012) was used as the quantitative data. It consists of 13 statements (Table 1). The participants were asked to respond on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 showing "strongly disagree" to 5 showing "strongly agree". In order to analyze the emerging data, descriptive statistics were applied. In addition to the quantitative measures in the study, as the qualitative data source, semi-structured interview forms were employed by the researcher. For this purpose, the teacher trainees were interviewed when the process of teaching the subjects in the course 'Literature and Language Teaching I' was completed. This allowed for in-depth analysis of the participants' perceptions. As Yildirim & Simsek (2006) pointed out, semi-structured interviews also allow for the systematic analysis of the data collected. During the interview process, the following research question was addressed:

- What are your perceived attitudes towards using literature in the second language classroom?

#### 6. Findings and Discussion

Table 1.

*Descriptive statistics on the data gathered from the survey*

Statements	N	M	SD
1. Literature courses are necessary for my occupation as an English language teacher.	70	4.42	.672
2. As a prospective English teacher, I think I can benefit from literature courses in my future career.	70	4.50	.580
3. My reading skill has improved in the literature courses.	70	4.10	.788
4. My speaking skill has improved in the literature courses	70	3.64	.920
5. My writing skill and lexical knowledge have improved in the literature courses.	70	4.22	.763
6. My listening skill has improved in the literature courses.	70	3.46	1.146

7. Specific courses on the use of literary texts in ELT classes should be offered.	70	4.42	.702
8. I can use the literary activities introduced in literature course for my future English teaching.	70	4.60	.606
9. I like to read novels.	70	4.30	.863
10. I like to read short stories.	70	4.42	.609
11. I like to read plays.	70	3.84	.997
12. I like to read poems.	70	3.50	1.164
13. I like to be introduced to more literary works.	70	4.44	.611

As seen in Table 1 above, the participants totally agree that literature courses are necessary for their occupation as an English language teacher ( $M= 4.42$ ) and further acknowledge that they, as prospective English teachers, can benefit from literature courses in their future career ( $M= 4.50$ ). The item 8 in the survey had the highest mean, supporting the positive attitudes of the participants ( $M= 4.60$ ). It revealed that pre-service teachers had the ability to use the literary activities introduced in literature courses for their future English teaching. As a whole, the findings from the three items make it clear that the participants value literature in foreign language teaching. This finding is in alignment with Çıraklı and Kılıçkaya (2011) and Yılmaz (2012). The participants agree that specific courses on the use of literary texts in ELT classes should be offered ( $M= 4.42$ ). Moreover, these findings are crucial in the sense that they help to back up the claim that literature still remains integral to the teaching skills in foreign language teaching.

With regard to the language skills pre-service teachers have used in the literature courses which they have taken, the results suggested that their reading ( $M=4.10$ ) and writing skills ( $M= 4.22$ ) improved, whereas, relatively, they made less progress in listening ( $M= 3.46$ ) and speaking ( $M= 3.64$ ) skills. This result showed that the methodology rooted in the literature courses largely covered activities fostering reading and writing skills. Importantly, this finding is also compatible with Çıraklı and Kılıçkaya (2011) and Türker (1991). Both studies concluded that literature courses were by nature intended to provide an authentic platform for discussion, speaking and listening although the participants claimed that literature did not greatly benefit them improving these skills. Türker (1991) contended that literary texts should provide the students with an opportunity to give creative responses.

The quantitative data revealed that pre-service teachers found the use of four literary genres equally important in studying literature. These genres involve novel, poetry, short story and play. They liked studying short stories most ( $M= 4.42$ ), followed by novels ( $M= 4.30$ ), plays ( $M= 3.84$ ) and finally poems ( $M= 3.50$ ).

In addition, the interview data demonstrated that this line of thought reflected in the survey was voiced by pre-service teachers in the study. One of the pre-service teachers referred to literature as one of the most distinctive ways to teach English. His account of the literary gains in the second language classroom involved the following:

It is really important to apply different ways and to have knowledge about these ways in terms of language teaching. I would say that literature is one of these ways or even the most important. I learned very useful techniques and methods from the beginning of the course. I consider it a very useful lesson.

The data collected from pre-service ELT teachers made it clear that literature was an asset in the process of language teaching and learning. How these language skills embedded in literary texts are perceived to function was voiced by one of the respondents as follows:

The contribution of using literary texts in the language classroom is obvious so as to teach the four basic skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking) which are key to the foreign language teaching properly.

## 7. Conclusion

The current study yielded valuable pedagogical insights into the important role which literature plays in the process of second language acquisition. Most importantly, what the emerging data suggested that the idea strongly proposing the integration of literary texts into the language teaching was justified by pre-service teachers' perceived attitudes held in the course of teacher training. In conclusion, identifying pre-service teachers' perceived beliefs towards making greater use of carefully selected literary texts in ELT setting could be an important step in ELT curriculum planning and syllabus design.

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# Professional Identity of Primary Teacher

Derya Girgin, Cavus Sahin

## Introduction

Identity has a complex structure. Some theories contradict or conflict with each other on the concept of identity. For instance, there are different approaches towards the concept of identity in the fields of psychology, sociology, philosophy and psychotherapy (Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006). Beijaard (1995) defines identity as who or what someone is, the various meanings people can attach to themselves, or the meanings attributed by others. Some researchers argue that identity is structured in the context of a complex social interaction of language, gesture, bodily significations, desires etc.

The active construction of identity affected by individual and social aspects has a dynamic, mysterious, complex and multifaceted structure. Cooper and Olson (1996) reported that identity formation is continuously being reformed due to the interactions with others and from different positions (historical, sociological and cultural). Addressing the fact that identity is both situational and substantive, Woods & Jeffrey (2002) attempted to explain the situational concepts of what it meant to be a teacher and emphasized that it is a substantive and descriptive concept for teachers. An identity is an independent structure. In this regard, identity can change over time and is measurable so that individuals can idealize themselves in a more concrete way.

Every individual is unique and presents his or her identity in different contexts. There are multiple constituent parts of identity in an identity. Individuals are not same; the roles and responsibilities of every individual in his or her life are different. For instance, a female teacher may also be a mother, also a doctoral student. Therefore, identity is affected by personal and social factors and actively established. Each identity that an individual has (teacher, mother and doctoral student) would affect both his or her personal identity and social identity. That being said, the female teacher will perform teaching tasks as a teacher in classroom, demonstrate her care skills for her child as a mother and write an article as a doctoral student. Each role assumed by her will help her define the concept of self-identity and use it as a tool to evaluate her own situational structure.

Recent studies in the field of education have focused on the concept of teacher identity (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Danielewicz, 2001; Marsh, 2002; Moore, Edwards, Halpin, & George, 2002; Weber & Mitchell, 1995; Zembylas, 2005). Teacher identity has been examined with a focus on personal self and social roles in the literature (Day, et al., 2006; James-Wilson, 2001; Richards, 2006; Sutton, 2000; Zembylas, 2003). In this regard, there are many studies on the professional identity of teachers in the area of teacher training (Anspal, Eisenschmidt & Löfström, 2012; Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop 2004; Cohen, 2008; Weber & Mitchell, 1999). Most of the studies in the literature have probed into how teachers build their self-identities and how they describe themselves as a teacher (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Clandinin, Downey & Huber, 2009).

Day, et al. (2006) stated that self-identity will change and evolve over time. This process, called “the identity architecture of teachers”, is not always stable and constant in specific periods, in different career and organizational phases. Teacher identity can be consolidated and reshaped over time through interactions and the experiences gained by the teacher (Cooper & Olson, 1996; Luehmann, 2007). The image of a teacher in the personal and social context, his or her involvement in the community, sharing, interaction, experiences gained from in-class practices, beliefs, values are the main elements shaping his or her professional identity process. Teachers need to re-establish their professional identities in changing education system.

## Purpose of the Study

The study seeks to explore and to examine the beliefs, professional roles, teaching performances and behaviors of classroom teachers in teaching activities with regard to his or her own learning and teaching process. In other words, the study focuses on the concept of professional identity, which defines the classroom teachers themselves and their roles and is shaped by their actions, thoughts and

feelings. It is of great importance to explore the professional identities of classroom teachers and to identify the way that teachers are engaged in a process of professional development. This study analyzes the professional qualifications of the classroom teachers and probes into how they establish and reconstruct their identities. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine “the basic elements of a teacher’s identity, the nature of this identity, the identity formation process” within the context of the professional identity of classroom teachers.

### **Significance of the Study**

There are numerous studies discussing teacher professional identity in different contexts and with different focuses, both in Turkey and worldwide. Among these studies, most of them have focused on the professional identity of pre-service teachers rather than the professional identity of teachers. These studies interviewed with pre-service teachers, analyzed their discourses and metaphors on teacher identity (Dilci & Gür, 2013; Yaşar, Karabay & Bilaloğlu, 2013). The findings from these studies concluded that pre-service teachers do not internalize their profession during their undergraduate education and that they are not equipped to construct their professional identities. However, a pre-service teacher should internalize and adopt his or her profession through undergraduate education, but the profiles, socio-cultural and socio-economic levels of the practice schools that teachers are assigned to are very different from those of the institutions where teachers first begin their profession. As it is, the main qualification that a teacher should gain regarding teacher identity is “*the ability to reshape his or her identity formation*”, that is, “*the ability to construct his or her identity.*” Only then, it would be possible to have a dynamic teacher identity open to change and to improvement.

The international studies on teacher identity have discussed identity formation from different theoretical perspectives and analyzed teacher identity only in one context or within a small number of contexts. The existing studies have failed to discuss teacher identity with a holistic perspective. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the professional identities of teachers, the main factors and qualifications constructing the professional identity, and identity formation process with regards to the professional identities of classroom teachers by following a holistic approach. Since the study discusses both the way that classroom teachers conceptualize their professional identities and the way that they reconstruct these identities, it is a unique study that will potentially add to the literature through its suggestions.

### **Methodology**

This study, which examines the professional identities of classroom teachers, adopted general survey model, which is one of the survey models, and performed a literature review (Karasar, 2013). Survey models are the research approaches to describe a situation as it is, and to gather data with the intent of determining the specific characteristics of a group (Büyüköztürk, 2010; Karasar, 2013; Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006). The purpose of general survey models is to describe the phenomena, people or objects, which are the subject of the study, as they are, and without any intervention.

### **Literature Review**

#### **Teacher identity**

It is of critical importance to establish a professional teacher identity that evolves and improves to ensure an effective teaching. The identities demonstrated by teachers conceptualize their basic characteristics, values and actions in a personal and professional sense.

Teacher identity has been defined in the literature as follows:

Teacher identity is;

- focuses on the influence on teachers, how individuals see themselves and how they enact their profession (Varghese, 2006: 212).
- is instantiations of discourse, systems of knowledge that regulate teachers’ social values (Morgan, 2004: 173).

### Professional Identity of Primary Teacher

- is relational, constructed by how the teacher sees others and how they see the teacher in shared experiences (Johnson, 2003: 788).
- discusses “who we are” and “who we think other people are” by encompassing other people’s understanding of themselves and other (Danielewicz, 2001: 10).
- is to be recognized as a certain kind of person and is an analytical tool for understanding schools in the society (Gee, 2000-2001: 99).

James-Wilson (2001) defined teacher identity as “the process where teachers describe themselves as a teacher and how they feel about as a teacher and construct their professional identities”. Zembylas (2005) discussed teacher identity by focusing on the emotions of teachers in understanding meanings of teacher and teaching. Zembylas (2005) highlighted that emotions should not be merely considered as psychological manifestations, underlined the concepts such as how a teacher feels about himself or herself as a teacher and his or her internal satisfaction and argued that they are influenced and shaped by the social context as well.

Beijaard (1995) reported that the professional identity of a teacher is a part of his or her self-image and emphasized that teacher identity is an important concept encountered in the community, while teachers lecture, interact with students, define their professional roles and reconstruct the concepts related to these roles. The development of the professional identity of a teacher is linked to the concept of self-identity and self-evaluation. Teachers’ perceptions of themselves as teachers are affected by the social context they live in. Therefore, their teacher identity is a product of both professional and personal identity.

The studies on teacher identity in the literature are divided into three main categories:

- 1) Teacher identity
- 2) Characteristics/properties of teacher identity
- 3) Teacher identity formation/ teacher identity representation (Beijaard et al., 2004).

Teacher identity is affected by the experiences, interactions of teachers in their institutions as well as the values and beliefs of teachers about what it meant to be a teacher. In this context, the schools with an organizational structure, which provide interactions for teachers, are effective in the development of “professional nature of the teacher” and “professional identity of the teacher”, thus enabling teachers to specialize in their profession. Carter & Doyle (1996) reported that becoming a teacher means:

- transforming an identity,
- adapting personal understandings and ideals to institutional realities,
- deciding how to express one’s self in classroom activity.

Teacher identity formation involves the interaction of psychological and social aspects of teacher identity. The factors affecting teacher identity can be divide into psychological factors, which have an impact on the personal aspect of teacher identity, and social factors, which have an impact on the social aspect of teacher identity. The psychological factors affecting the personal aspect of teacher identity are listed as follows: knowledge, experiences, life history, personal background, personality, emotions, concerns, distress, behaviors, passion, motivation, satisfaction, commitment, trust, dreams and hopes. These factors can be mainly divided into three groups: experience, emotions, skills and competences, reason for choosing to become a teacher. Among these factors, life history, personal background, learning experience, academic success, class and school memories and personal experience including role models, skills and competences, teacher education programs are the foremost factors identified in various studies (Brilhart, 2007; Dale, 1999; Dust, 2006; Etheridge, 2005; Larson, 2006; Musanti, 2005; Newman, 1997; Sloan, 2006; Travers, 2000).

In the conceptualization of teacher identity, “personal aspect” is the way a person thinks of himself or herself as a teacher while “social aspect” is the way others think of himself or herself as a teacher. Both these aspects are related to the construction of teacher identity. In this conceptual and practical qualification, teacher identity can be defined as a teacher’s feeling of personal and social self as a teacher (e.g. professional knowledge and skills, in-class behaviors, professional belief, etc.), which

indicates an identity that is individually internalized in a self and present in social relations and social structure in the society.

The conscious decision to become a teacher is a factor effective in teacher identity formation. Therefore, the achievement of a desired goal, that is the goal to become teacher, shapes the interactions in teaching process and plays a crucial role in teacher identity formation and construction over time. studies in the literature have argued that the control and regulation of the negative emotions such as concern, fear, disappointment and distress determine teacher identity and teaching actions. The negative factors effective in teacher identity formation, teaching interactions shaping the identity formation, personal goals have a considerable effect on the construction of the professional identity by teachers in teaching process (Baderstscher, 2007; Brown, 2006; Day et al., 2006; Jarvis-Selinger, 2002; Malderez, Hobson, Tracey, Kerr, 2007; O'Connor, 2008; Poulou, 2007; Song & Wei, 2007; Zembylas, 2005).

Korthagen (2004) put forward that the following questions are essential for teachers to develop their own identities:

- (a) Who am I as a teacher?
- (b) What kind of teacher do I want to be?
- (c) What role should I assume as a teacher? How do I see my role as a teacher?

In sum, teacher identity is a relational, progressive, dynamic construct, which is also open to change. Teacher identity is not stable. It is reinforced and shaped by the experiences of teacher. The image of a teacher in the personal and social context, his or her involvement in the community, sharing, interaction, experiences gained from in-class practices, beliefs, values are the main elements shaping his or her professional identity process (Miller, 2008).

### **Professional Teacher Identity**

It is important to define the nature of a profession for a professional identity. In that sense, the teacher should first describe his or her professional identity, then evaluate and reflect on it (Markauskaite, Sutherland & Howard, 2008).

Each teacher initiates his or her own professional identity formation as a teacher in different times; for instance, some teachers establish their identity based on the experiences, qualifications and characteristics that they obtain in their formal education whilst others construct their identity based on their undergraduate education (Walkington, 2005).

Considering the concept of professional identity in the occupation of teaching in the context of professional knowledge and consequently in the context of curricula, it is notable that professional identity process evolves through affective and cognitive processes. This evolution process takes place in a consistent, stable, time-varying and dynamic structure within a specific culture and context. There are many and different lenses on professional teacher identity. A group of studies on professional identity examined the completely personal factors in the formation of professional identity (O'Connor, 2008; Shapiro, 2009). Another group of studies on professional identity generally focused on teacher training programs in the construction of professional identity and determination of identity aspects. The third group of studies on professional identity concentrated upon the relationship between the aspects of professional identity and environment. This third context involves, so to say, the importance of learning environments on professional development (Cohen, 2008; Hung, 2008).

All these studies have explored the identity formation process from different perspectives on professional teacher identity (Flores & Day, 2006). Teachers' perceptions of professionalization are evaluated by standard test and concretized in a meaningful way.

In brief, the sources for professional teacher identity are:

- Experiences in school years/pre-professional experiences
- Professional practices/internship in school years
- In-class practices as a teacher (active construction of professional teacher identity)

When professional teacher identity is derived from these three main sources and constructed, the teacher would be qualified to perform the profession.

### Identity of Classroom Teachers

Teacher identity is differently characterized for each subject matter. The subject matters in teaching profession require the teacher to have deeper knowledge and skills in a more specific area to teach the subject. The subject matter affects the self-perception of teachers about how they feel as a teacher, rather than an expert. For instance, how deep the knowledge of teachers about the content of their subject matters, how effective and self-confident they are while teaching their subject matters and how frequently they interact with students during the course (Baderstcher, 2007; Chedzoy & Burden, 2007; Hallman, 2007; Isbell, 2006; Williams, 2007). Studies show that the teachers of English as a second language have more difficulties with the cultural context than the teachers of other subjects do (Choi, 2007; Nguyen, 2004).

In general, terms the identity of classroom teachers is different from teacher identity or the identity of teachers of other subjects. In this sense, the key difference between classroom teaching and other subjects is the provision of basic education for all disciplines in classroom teaching. Furthermore, classroom teaching includes reading and writing instruction, four modes of operations, which underlie mathematical operations, problem-solving methods, and essential social, educational skills, which differentiates classroom teaching in terms of the teaching practices performed by the teachers of other subjects, and the knowledge in teacher identity formation. This study focuses on the professional identity of classroom teachers. The “teaching selves”, “the teaching roles”, “perceptions, beliefs, values in teaching” of teachers have an impact on their educational practices. It is also remarkable that teaching decisions predict teaching behaviors (Vartuli, 2005).

Welmond (2002) schematized the identity map in the cultural scheme for the identity of classroom teachers along two important axes. The identity of classroom teachers is divided into two as teaching as doing and teaching as being. Teaching as being involves the qualifications of teaching and the types and nature of knowledge in the professionalization of teachers while teacher as doing involves refers to the interaction of the skills and knowledge in the classroom. As seen in the schemata of Welmond (2002), the concept of sacrifice, dedication is prominent in the relational context for teacher professionalism, whereas the concept of efficient teacher is notable in the relational context for teacher practice. In the same schemata, the concept of teacher as an administrative or public civil servant is discussed in the instrumental context for teacher professionalism. The success of teachers is schematized based on their exam results in the instrumental context for teacher practice. Table 2 presents the “Relational and Instrumental Perspective for Teaching of Classroom Teachers” by Welmond (2002).

Table 9

*Relational and Instrumental Perspective for Teaching of Classroom Teachers*

	<b><u>Relational</u></b>	<b><u>Instrumental</u></b>
<b><u>Professionalism-specialization</u></b>	Vocation Relations Intrinsic rewards Self-sacrifice	Contract Resources Employment Terms Performance
<b><u>Practice</u></b>	Participative or child-centered approach Whole child development	Knowledge transfer Examination results Control Mechanism Structure

Table 2 shows the main elements in the professionalization of a teacher in his or her subject matter are:

- Pre-service trainings, job experiences, career biography, educational background,

- The lecturing process in teaching - description of a lesson taught recently
- The description of relations with students, parents and other colleagues,
- The effect of administrative approaches on education (perception of school administration, the political understanding of national administration on education)
- The evaluation of the perception of oneself as a teacher, including teaching style.

With the key values and changing focuses in curricula, the roles of classroom teachers in teaching process have changed. It is critical to be a teacher who can adapt his or her skills and knowledge to these changing situations, integrate his or her professional values and beliefs into these new perspectives, and represent his or her teacher identity. The effects of teachers' pre-teaching beliefs, life stories, feelings, personal narratives on their professional identity cannot be overlooked.

The professional identity of classroom teachers consists of the community, information systems, beliefs, interactions and practices in the classrooms, and professional expectations for the future. In broad terms, identity is affected by many observed and unobserved factors in the professional life of a teacher. Classroom teachers undertake professionally important roles in the society due to their subject matters. Classroom teachers teach the subjects in primary schools on the grade basis. They spend more time with the students in the classroom they are responsible for than the teachers of other subjects do. Besides, they are assigned to a class starting from the first grade of the class, which is critical given the effect of classroom teachers on the formation of student identities. The qualifications of teacher identities affect the students the teacher is responsible for in the process of their personality development (Saban, 2000).

From the perspective of teachers, the observed area includes classroom interactions, assessments, material designs and task descriptions. This area is usually considered as the technical and functional dimension of teacher training in the literature. On the other hand, the unobserved area includes personal aspects, including cognition, beliefs, expectations and feelings. When these two areas are integrally interactive, a classroom teacher establishes his or her own identity in way that is more effective.

### **Conceptualization of the Professional Identities of Classroom Teachers**

There are several elements in the identity model by Helms (1998), the elements put forward by Starr, Haley, Mazor, Ferguson, Philbin, & Quirk (2006) and the findings of other studies on teacher identity. For instance, the identity model by Helms is characterized by a context consisting of society, culture and experiences in four dimensions: (a) actions, (b) institutional, cultural and social expectations or people's thoughts about the expectations of others (c) values and beliefs (d) where people see themselves going or who they want to become. Starr et al. (2006) put forward seven elements for physician teacher identity: (a) feeling intrinsic satisfaction from teaching, (b) having knowledge and skill about teaching, (c) belonging to a group of teachers, (d) feeling a responsibility to teach, (e) sharing clinical expertise with learners, (f) receiving rewards for teaching and (g) believing that being a physician means being a teacher. Later, two elements were included: (h) global teacher identity and (i) desired outcomes. In this sense, the following theoretical perspectives are used to put forth the components for the professional identity of classroom teachers: Gee (2000-2001), Beijaard, Verloop & Vermunt (2000), Moje & Luke (2009), Danielwicz's ten principles (2001) on teacher identity, Helm's model of identity (1998) and Starr et al.'s instrument of physician teacher identity (2006). Accordingly, the components of the professional identity of classroom teachers are as follows:

- Personal experiences: experiences, personal backgrounds, biography, life history, academic accomplishments, memories, teachers and role models, school memories,
- Process of classroom teaching and process of de facto teaching,
- The decision-making process to become a classroom teacher,
- The qualifications/characteristics as a classroom teacher,
- Expectations and goals as a classroom teacher,
- Reflection and construction as a classroom teacher,
- The formation and construction of the professional identity as a classroom teacher.

## Professional Identity of Primary Teacher

The personal context of teacher identity is composed of experiences in school years, the reasons to become a classroom teacher, the knowledge, skills and competences required to become a classroom teacher, the qualifications of a classroom teacher. The social context of teacher identity refers to experiences in teaching years, communication with colleagues, interactions in teaching process, personal goals in classroom, problems in teaching process, problems in social circle, interactions with students, social respect, social reputation, the definition and perception of classroom teaching. The constructive context of teacher identity is characterized by the process of professional identity formation, the difference between classroom teaching and teaching of other subjects, the process of first professional identity, the factors shaping professional identity and negative factors on professional identity.

### Discussion

In general terms, the identity of classroom teachers is different from teacher identity or the identity of teachers of other subjects. Since the identities of teachers of other subjects have a specific characteristic, qualification. For instance, the qualifications, characteristics and knowledge that create the teacher identity of a teacher, a music teacher or an art teacher are related to the subject matter. Studies conducted abroad present a new discipline regarding the teacher identity of primary school mathematics teachers or primary school science teachers and discuss their teacher identity in the framework of this discipline.

The professional identity of classroom teachers consists of the community, information systems, beliefs, interactions and practices in the classrooms, and professional expectations for the future. In broad terms, identity is affected by many observed and unobserved factors in the professional life of a teacher. From the perspective of teachers, the observed area includes classroom interactions, assessments, material designs, task descriptions. This area is usually considered as the technical and functional dimension of teacher training in the literature. On the other hand, the unobserved area includes personal aspects, including cognition, beliefs, expectations and feelings. When these two areas are integrally interactive, a classroom teacher establishes his or her own identity in more effective way. That said, following a holistic approach, this study seeks to explore the professional identities of classroom teachers, which have a dynamic, relational, gradual and unstable nature.

Based on the literature review, the study presents the following suggestions:

1. Classroom teachers should be provided with qualified in-service trainings to gain better experiences.
2. The content of the curricula on teacher training should be prepared to ensure the internalization of teaching profession and the development of a professional identity among teachers.
3. There should be online educational environments based on social cooperation for an online learning community so that teachers can share their professional experiences with pre-service teachers. The use of experiences can be a constructive method to examine and reflect on professional identity and to explore the concept of identity.
4. Further studies may focus on the process of professional identity formation by analyzing the discourse and discursive narratives of classroom teachers regarding their professional identities.

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# Teacher Performance Evaluation System in Educational Organizations

Yasemin Su, Erkan Tabançali

## 1. Introduction

As a social being, a human being is in a continuous interaction with his/her environment near and far. In their social relations, people, by nature, need to experience processes in an interactive way. The organizations, which are built as a social system with certain aims, use similar tools in the process of achieving their goals (Özdemir, 2014). Organizational institutions ensure that the working people perform effectively and efficiently with the approach of human resource management. While the organization compares the existing and the anticipated situation, performance management which is a part of human resources management, is the definition of the target to be achieved (Göksel, 2013). Performance evaluation that is recognized as a means of performance management system is “considering a person as a whole with all his/her aspects and giving chance to award successes and eliminating the failures (Fındıkcı, 2009). It is advocated in the educational institutions and in making the organization outcomes better quality and in activities directed towards increasing effectiveness and efficiency that the teacher performance evaluation system is essential. Good performance of teachers is based on feedbacks such as determining their present positions, their development and transformations and guidance directed to their performance (Bostancı and Kayaalp 2011). The most important responsibility in realizing the aims falls on the teachers delivering the educational services. As a consequence of teacher performance evaluation system is on the wrong way, it is considered that educational, organizational, managerial, legal and ethical problems in Turkish Educational system would arise. While making the organizations efficient shows organizational effectiveness in terms of the employers, the organizations that cannot be made efficient become ineffective in the sense of input and so this causes the quality of the outcomes to decrease (Başaran, 1992). This research aims at exploring the reflections in the interpretation processes through participants’ experience and the expectations towards the existing situation and teacher performance evaluation in the Turkish Educational System in line with the teachers, school principals and educational inspectors in the context of teacher performance evaluation system within the educational institutions. For this purpose, based on the opinions of the school principals and inspectors, responses for the following questions have been sought. The basic research sentence directed to the general aim of this study is this: What are the views of the teachers, school principals and educational supervisors in the educational organizations about the teacher performance evaluation system? The sub research questions which are formed based on the basic problem in the context of explaining the responses to be answered in the sense of the research subject are as the following:

1. What are the general views of the teacher, school principal and educational inspector on the concept of “performance evaluation”?
2. What are expectations of the teacher, school principal and the educational inspector on what the teacher performance evaluation system should be like?

## 2. Method

It has been considered important that qualitative method to be the most proper one for this research. It is also planned that the conceptual frame of the research and the content and the perceptual state within the individual frame to be determined, examined and searched deeply in the educational organizations depending on the situation based on the views of the teacher, school principal and the school inspector. The formation of the questioning process from the point of quality has been handled with an interpretative paradigm. Reality as a factor is recreated by experience, knowledge, interaction and communication channels. Multi faceted perspectives have been used to

examine the phenomenon and the answers of different people displayed spiral results (Özden and Saban, 2017).

### **2.1 Phenomenology**

In this study phenomenology has been used. The reason why phenomenology with social reality which is focused on human experience has been preferred in this research is that the researches about the tendencies for the phenomenon, experience, perception, coding, situation or the events can be assumed to be realized by different perspectives.

### **2.2 Work Group**

The participants of the research to be selected in phenomenology must have experience in the context of phenomenon which is the subject of research (Creswell, 2018). For this reason, subjective data were primarily collected on the phenomenon with the experience of the participants in mind (Baş and Akturan, 2017). In this qualitative research, maximum variety sampling form is used among the purposeful sampling methods. The basic aim in creating sampling with maximum variety sampling is to demonstrate the common phenomena showing variety and to express different dimensions of the existing problem (Yıldırım and Şimşek 2016). The fact that the participants reflected this situation in interpretations at the maximum level with varieties among themselves was stated in the choice of the phenomenology design. By considering the teacher performance evaluation phenomenon in the educational organizations, four teachers, four school principals and four educational inspectors with different demographic features and experience are included in the sampling.

### **2.3 The Tool for Collecting Data and Data Collecting Process**

Face to face interview technique is used in accordance with the aim of the research. Within the phenomenon context of the research proper face to face meetings are needed in order to express the experimental processes in a multi faceted way and to interpret them (Saban and Ersoy, 2017). The aim of the meeting is to enter the inner world of the participant and to understand the person's view point (Patton, 1987), Akt, Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016). From the point of explaining their experience processes by using interview technique in terms of the interpretations of the participants related to their experimentation, a half structured interview was performed in their researches. In the preparation period of the research, some trials were carried out with open ended questions based on the flexible principles of the qualitative research. Five basic interview questions and sub interview questions were created to be asked in accordance with the answers given by the participants. Interview questions were rearranged in two question forms after the expert opinion. In the performed face to face interview process data were collected irrespective of the participant row. Face to face interviews were completed in about 40-75 minutes. In the course of the research all interviews were recorded on a sound recording device with the permission of the participants. The recorded interviews were transformed into written documents by the researcher in a short time.

### **2.4 Validity and Reliability**

In the research the elements of validity and reliability are expressed as internal validity or credibility, reliability or consistency or external validity or transmissibility. In order to ensure internal validity or credibility in the research, triangulation, long term interaction, peer review, expert view and external control strategies were used (Cresswell, 2018). To ensure external validity or transmissibility, the methods of "detailed description" and purposeful sampling were used (Erlandson and the others, 1993, Akt; Yıldırım and Şimşek). In the consistency check of this research, all stages during the process of research were examined in detail and checked if they were aligned and consistent with the qualitative research principles. Besides, handling of triangulation in supplying the consistency of the research supports the study in terms of being consistent.

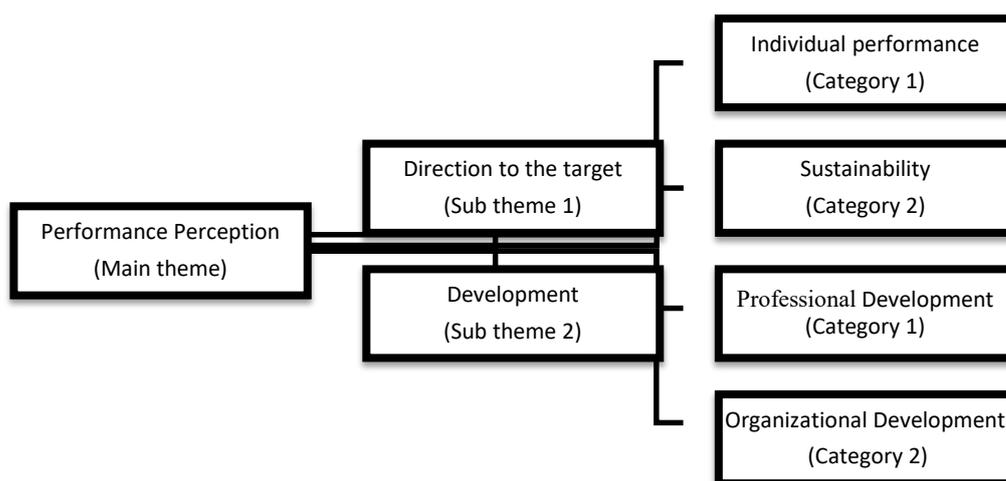
## 2.5. Data Analysis

A content analysis was found to be proper to analyze the data based on the goal of the research. In the analysis of the data a four stage process was maintained. These are the following: 1) Collecting data, 2) Finding the themes, 3) Arranging of the codes and themes, 4) Defining and interpreting the findings (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016). The list of codes which was created on the data obtained in the research was examined by an unbiased expert and the final stage was achieved at the end of some arrangements in coding with the required feedbacks. In the second stage where the process of finding themes was performed, the list of codes was examined and the common aspects were gathered together. The list of codes formed of the data obtained through the data was checked and care was taken on the compliance of the themes created on the interview data with the teacher performance evaluation in the educational organizations. When the final form was achieved after the checks, the relations among the themes were determined. The obtained data were organized by combining the themes under the cover of research questions.

## 3. Findings

At the end of the content analysis made in relation to the research data, two themes as “performance perception” and “performance standards” were achieved. These themes were presented in a successive order in line with the research questions.

### 3.1. Theme 1 Performance Perception

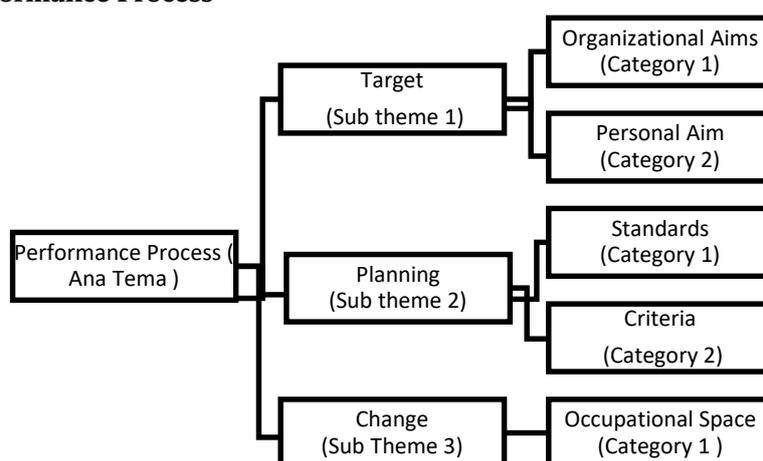


**Figure 1 : The sub themes of Performance Perception and the Categories**

In the categories of individual performance and the professional development, the participant teachers expressed their views as *“the increasing the quality in education”*. The school principals, on the other hand, emphasized the reflections of *“efficiency, feedback and self control”* in the categories of performance and professional development in terms of performance perceptions. The views of the educational inspectors included the interpretations in line with **performance determination, efficiency, feedback and performance definition** on the performance perception in the individual performance and professional development categories. The views of the school principals and the educational inspectors proved to be in parallel with the definitions in terms of efficiency and feedback on the performance perception in the professional development categories. The reflections of individual performance in the theme of performance perception of the school principals in professional development categories are formed with the interpretations related to **“feedback, efficiency and a self controlled activity”**. In the theme of performance perception of the educational inspectors and in the individual performance and professional development categories definitions are found such as

*“the determination and definition about the employee, efficiency and feedback on the present situation.”* As an example, the views of a school principal on the teacher performance perception evaluation in the context of “individual perception” are as follows: **K<sub>5</sub> (OM,K): In general terms, performance perception is the evaluation of the teachers and the employees, their efficiency, job skills in a certain period in accord with the criteria determined within a certain time scale. It is the measurement of work efficiency, work principles, the features of working standards within a certain period in terms with the work criteria.** Within the category of sustainability of the performance evaluation practices, perception theme on the teacher, school principal and educational inspectors, “Coordinated works” drew attention. The views of the school principals concentrated on the category of sustainability category are in the direction of the need of continuous follow up and the evaluation of the results. The views of the educational inspectors concentrated on the sustainability category of the subtheme were reflected in terms of inspection and control. As an example, the expressions of a school principal on reflecting sustainability in performance perception in terms of the importance of follow up are as follows: **K<sub>5</sub> (OM, K) : The potential of the efficiency of the employee, how he/she work for the task – observing if the person really spend effort on the job – and taking action if there are negative aspects and motivating more if there are positive aspects through better evaluation.** The views of the school principal and educational inspector on the performance perception and development subtheme were reflected from the point of **“ensuring organizational development of the institutions”**. The opinions of the teachers collected in the organizational category are reflected in the context of “activities” and “objectives”. School principals drew attention in terms of the importance in the **“criteria objectives”** of the performance evaluation. Educational inspectors handled the category of organizational development within the frame of general and private objectives of the Ministry of National Education and they emphasized the interpretations in the context of organizational development with a view to achieving social targets. As an example, the views of the participant educational inspector in the category of “professional development” in the context of feedback are a follows: **K<sub>11</sub> (MF,E): The question why teacher performance is carried out should be regarded in two dimensions. Teacher performance should be considered in terms of its benefits to an individual, in line with making arrangements in order to create possibility for development. The performance of the employee must be defined for improving on behalf of the employee.**

### 3.2. Theme 2 Performance Process



**Figure 2: The sub themes of Performance Perception and the Categories**

The views of the teacher, school principal and the educational inspector are collected in the categories of “target” subtheme; “organizational aims”, “personal aim”, “planning” subtheme; “standards” and “criteria”; but the “change” subtheme is collected in the category of “occupational space”. The teachers in the “organizational target”, expressed their views by **“correlating the organizational climate with efficiency”** by drawing attention to the importance of the organizational climate in the process of

reaching organizational targets. School principals emphasized the performance results in the teacher evaluations depending on the efficiency in the organizational category. Another view of the school principals in the organizational target category of teacher performance evaluation process is the necessity of **“determining the special aims in accordance with the kind of the school”**. One another view of the school principals collected in the category of organizational target was on the **“effectiveness of the strategic plans”** in achieving organizational targets. From the point of the opinions of the educational inspectors collected in the category of organizational target unlike the participant teacher and the school principals expressed their views on **“the necessity of sustaining contemporary control strategies in the context of organizational target, and the importance of compliance and the requirement of the control standards which are compatible with the age of knowledge.”** The statements of the educational inspectors over the **“need for creating organizational development by proving feedback with the contemporary control strategies”** were also obtained. As an example, a participant teacher expressed views collected in the category of “organizational targets” by finding relations in the context of climate as follows K<sub>2</sub> (OG, K): ***School climate determines its own performance, it affects the coordination and the competitive performance level. The school administration and teacher coordination should maintain their responsibilities so that the these evaluation criteria could achieve its objective. Another one of the school principals stated views collected in the category of “organizational targets” by associating them with the special aims related to the kind of school as follows.*** According to the common views of the teacher, school principal and the educational inspectors in the teacher performance evaluation system of the educational organizations around the individual aim category, they agreed on the importance of **“the teacher motivation”**. It was also expressed that the **“reliance on the organization”** could influence the motivation. They also addressed their views on the necessity of considering the “career goals and the intellectual developments of the teachers” as the individual goals. As an example, one of the participating teachers by drawing attention to the teacher expectations and associating this matter with the welfare level said that, K<sub>1</sub> (OG, E): ***What are the expectations of the person called a teacher? To be respected in society, to have the economic power, not to be interfered with the social rights that is to have a high welfare level. The higher the well being of a teacher, the higher the quality of the education.*** The views of the teacher and the educational inspectors drew attention to the importance of follow up in implementing teacher performance evaluation system and stated that it was essential to **“ensure sustainability in planning”**. In their views, the school principals and the educational inspectors emphasized “the basic need for training qualified teachers in the direction of building standards” in the teacher performance evaluation system planning. It was also achieved that the common views of the school principals and the educational inspectors in the context of **“domain expertise, leadership in education, scope of effectiveness, role conscience and class management”** were basically connected with **“the functional situation of the teacher training policies”**. Unlike the school principals, teachers and the educational inspectors, among the views collected in the standards category, an opinion on the necessity of **“creating portfolio standards”** was put forward. In the planning of the teacher performance evaluation system practices, the teacher participants expressed that **“psychological tests must be available”** among the collected views in the category of standards unlike the school principals and the educational inspectors. Unlike the teacher and school principals, educational inspectors said that the standards to be formed in the teacher performance evaluation system **“must take the characteristics into consideration which differentiate the educational organizations from the others”**. Educational inspectors also expressed that differentiation in the teacher performance evaluation standards was important. Among the principles said to be applied in the performance evaluation system were the findings “being scientific, sustainability, objectivity, transparency and purposefulness”. Besides emphasizing these facts, they also reflected the ideas directed to the prevention of the possible problems about planning occurring in the lack of these principles. For example, the view of an educational inspector is as follows K<sub>11</sub> (MF, E): ***Performance evaluation doesn’t merely start at the same time a teacher starts work in a school. A system like this should be continuing since the time in the educational faculties. We are still giving examinations or listening in the courses etc. as students in the educational faculties. But are we really training our***

*students? Some habits should start at these schools. That is the planning for this task should start not after the educational faculties but even before service training. The teacher must certainly be prepared to get these habits to be acquired and the criteria for performance evaluation must be recognized... Basic headlines; objectivity, work definition and the clear criteria should have been explained. Primarily, the person who will measure these performances should know and have the competences for all these criteria.* Under the “change” subtheme of “performance process”, the participant teacher, school principal and the educational inspector put forward the statements on material and sentimental awards and punishment in career steps in the category of “domain usage”. Unlike the common views, the teachers expressed opinions in the sense that *the teachers should be given priority in adding service point and in the appointments.* The school principals said that the results of the teacher performance evaluations must have “*a differentiating feature*” and that there must be a kind of “*development threat*” in this context. Unlike the teachers, school principals and the educational inspectors expressed common views that within the domains of usage of the results of teacher performance evaluations “*a punishment system should be implemented besides the award system*”.

#### 4. Discussion

The phenomenon and the subtheme of the teacher performance evaluation concept was defined as a practice carried out in the way of increasing quality in education by the participant teachers. The school principals and the educational inspectors stated common views in terms of efficiency and feedback. In addition to the phenomenon definitions, the school principals reflected on self control and the educational inspectors emphasized achievement determination and performance definition. The main objective of the performance evaluations is the task definitions and the task analyses in the organization and provide feedback at the end of the established measurements (Palmer, 1993). With their definitions on efficiency and feedbacks for the performance perception, the school principals and the educational inspectors in the categories of individual performance and professional development showed parallelism. The participants expressed their views collected around performance evaluation concept through a developmental perspective at the point of directing towards the target. In a research which points out that the teachers have a complex process in terms of professional development and learning, teachers who are in the centre of the development process maintain to be both the subject and the object learning and development (Avanos, 2011). On the other hand, in the education reform, which was carried out by Bill&Melinda Gates Foundation (2009) in the selected schools of three states in the USA, aimed at improving the success of the students who have low socio-economic levels by applying usages such as awarding, career step, in service training etc. measured in accordance with the student achievement. This reform attempt showed that students who were at low socio-economic levels didn't have access to more effective education and the reform couldn't be effective in the student success. As a result, the performance perception of the teachers, individual performance and the views gathered around the professional development categories can be said to arise based on the aims of the performance during making the educational feedbacks of high quality. It can be said that the concepts and the relations between the concepts explain the situation brought about as the evaluating and the evaluated at the forefront during the different interpretations of the participants in the performance perception theme. The participant teachers expressed views directed to the implementation process by drawing attention to the sustainability and coordinated work in the theme of performance perception. In order to provide communication and coordination in the educational organizations practices of control are necessary in the context of developing the process (Memduoğlu, 2012). The school principals made statements in the way of evaluating the follow ups and results of the follow ups in the sense of sustainability of the perception of performance evaluating theme. The organizations need to follow the extent of realizing their aims continuously at the point of maintaining their existence (Gündüz, 2012). The results of the performance evaluation include aims such as determining the requirements of education, the career planning and wage-salary management (Sabuncuoğlu, 2016). The educational inspectors made interpretations directed to inspections and controlling in terms of sustainability. The tendency in the statements of the educational inspectors can be thought to stem

from the concepts of inspection and control taking place in the task definitions of professional experience. The extent the organizations can use the available resources shows their ability to reach their goals. The organizational development concept that is known as maintaining their continuous renovation and improvement in this context can be said to aim at sustaining its effectiveness within certain standards from the most general aim to the most particular one. As a consequence, the views of the participant teachers, school principals and the educational inspectors in the context of performance perception include interpretations based on the experiences and the expectations about improving continuously the input of the educational organizations, process and the output in line with the predetermined standards and objectives. In the research, the views of the teacher, school principal and the educational inspectors on how the teacher performance evaluation system should be in the educational organizations are reflected in the context of performance process. The participant teachers who could be reached in the categories of organizational and individual goals, standards, criteria and domains of usage drew attention to the importance of organizational climate and explained their views by correlating organizational climate with efficiency. In the “organizational objective category” the school principals pointed out the performance results based on efficiency. Another view of the school principals collected in the organizational category of teacher performance evaluation process is the necessity of establishing private objectives in accord with the kind of school. It can be said that the implementations of the teacher performance evaluation system change according to the variant of the kind of school by getting differentiated. The views suggesting that these implementations should be handled within frame of the private aims of the organization can be said to have been formed in the direction of the difficulties when the school principals were on the evaluating side. According to a research result, the development of the evaluation process special to a school could be carried out based on the results of the self evaluation of the school principal and the teachers (Sayın and Arslan, 2017). Another view of the school principals collected in the organizational objective category in achieving the objectives was expressed by relating the effectiveness of the strategic plans with their ineffectiveness. Unlike the views of the participant teachers and the school principals, the views of the educational inspectors collected in the category of organizational objective were based on the need of maintaining contemporary control strategies in the context of organizational objective and of the importance of the compliance with the basic aims and the policies of the National Education and with the need of control standards of the information age in performance implementations. The statements of the educational inspectors were found to be in the direction of ensuring development by supplying feedback with the contemporary control strategies. For this reason, contemporary control strategies must be established to the extent of achieving organizational objectives by handling human resources policies in line with the nature of the educational organizations. Being an update concept, education necessitates these strategies. On the other hand, the views of another educational inspector framing his ideas on contemporary control activity, emphasized the importance of the teacher performance to the extent of achieving organizational objectives depending on the features of the information age through implementing the basic objectives and policies of the National Education. It can be said that in order to realize their objectives, educational organizations need to comprehend the characteristics of the information age in the perspective of teacher performance. Together with the changing features of the age, the society and the features of the structures and the expectations of the society are also changing. In the views of the participants, the importance of the teacher motivation was pointed out and it was stated that the reliance for the organization affected the motivation. The teachers also reflected their ideas on the requirement of their career objectives and intellectual developments were to be considered as individual objectives. In this context, in the practices of the process of teacher performance evaluation system should feed the teacher in terms of development. The developmental reflections of the participants in evaluating teacher performance explain the expectation in this regard. Educational organizations ensures the efficient activities of the teachers directed to individual and organizational objectives in teacher performance evaluations by providing a basis for performance management and by forming human relations policies. The views of the teacher and educational inspectors brought forward the need for sustainability in planning by emphasizing the importance of follow up in the implementations of teacher performance evaluations. The views of the school

principals and school inspectors basically gave weight to the necessity of training qualified teachers in a way to building standards in the teacher performance evaluation system. Underlying the views of the school principals and the school inspectors in the context of domain expertise, educational leadership, role consciousness and the class management were concluded to be related to the functional situation of the teacher training policies. Unlike the school principals and the educational inspectors, the participant teachers, among the views collected in the category of standards, stated that psychological tests should be included in the teacher performance evaluation system applications. These views of the participant teachers can be interpreted as a factor ensuring the expected competency in terms of the required role consciousness. Unlike the teachers and the school principals, the views of the school inspectors were in the direction of drawing attention to the differentiating features of the standards from the other organizations. The educational inspectors also expressed views that in the teacher performance evaluation system standards the distinguishable feature was essential. Among the principles of performance evaluation system, the ideas of being scientific, sustainability, objectivity, transparency and purposefulness were put forward. While elaborating on the necessity of these on one hand, the views on planning in the way of possible problems in the lack of these principles were expressed on the other. The reflection of the educational achievements of the teachers in the various courses and practices in which they are trained on the class and school management explain the relationship between teacher training, school performance and the student success (Yıldırım, 2013). As a consequence, the previous and the present researches must be carried out within the framework of the predetermined standards in the teacher performance evaluation system planning of the educational organizations in accordance with the teacher, school principal and the educational inspectors. Building performance evaluation standards requires performing analyses on the task (Palmer, 1993). In this connection, it can be said that prior to the establishing the performance standards in the educational organizations task analyses and definitions need to be done. The participants brought forward a common view that in planning the criteria he differences should be taken into consideration. It was found that in these differences the variants such as the kind of the school, branch difference and rank difference were emphasized. Not only did the school inspectors express their ideas related to the rank difference in terms of taking care of these variant differences. While the teachers didn't express views on determining the common or individual criteria, the school principals made statements on the possibility of common and individual evaluations. Another common view collected around the criterion category reflects the expectations related to the need for using different techniques in teacher performance evaluation. Although in the views of the school principal and educational inspectors concrete criteria were expressed, the teachers didn't make any statements at this point. In parallel to the opinion of a teacher who says that the criteria directed to the teacher performance evaluation must have a scientific preparation, school principal views were found expressing same thing; the views of the school inspectors were also found to be correlated with the contemporary control concept. As the result of another research, it was concluded that the criteria determined in the teacher performance evaluation system must be objective and that if they were implemented objectively, successful consequences could be achieved (Altun and Memişoğlu, 2008). Finally, the teacher, the school principal whose statements gathered in the category of performance process theme and domain of usage of the subtheme of change, the educational inspector expressed that positive aspects of the performance must be developed by encouraging with material and sentimental prizes and the negative aspects must face the material and sentimental consequences and performance development needed to be acquired in achieving personal objectives. As it is brought forward in the expectation theory, when the working person perceives that there is a positive relation between the effort spent and the performance, the expected effort from the working person will increase (Barutçugil, 2002). As a consequence, teacher evaluation in the educational organizations seems to be important for improving education and training outputs. For this reason, control and evaluation activities are essential in the educational organizations.

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# New public management for Adult School Centers

Giuseppe Luca De Luca Picione, Lucia Fortini

## Introduction

Thinking sociologically through education is a preparatory part in the constitution of an interdisciplinary approach capable of making discussions on the geographies of globalization and knowledge society meaningful (Thiem, 2009). This work presents the perspective in which those interventions can be understood - the evolution of Adult Education in the “social investment welfare state” (Giddens, 2014) - through a case of study that analyses the new public management of educational institutions in South Italy. Given both the globalization of the economy and the transition from “welfare” to “learnfare” registered in the “European Social Model” as a matter of fact, if it is true that higher educational levels will not guarantee higher salary levels, it is undeniable – almost trivial – that a higher investment in education can reduce the hardship experienced in the contemporary labour market (De Luca Picione, 2014).

The practices of lifelong learning for the social inclusion of European citizens have a number of specific characteristics descending from the different institutional contexts (Appleby, Bathmaker, 2006). The different national guidelines (Bradbury, Frost, Kilminster, Zukas, 2012), and organizational structures at the local level, where most decisions are made in order to combine efficiency and flexibility of intervention (Guidicini, Landuzzi, 2006) should be taken into account for the implementation of any theoretical-operating model between social services and structures institutions. The institutional dimension of Italian lifelong learning policies has the new feature of the CPIA (Adult School Centers), link between the education system entrusted to the state and the training system entrusted to the Regions. The Adult School Centers as heterotopic space? Although Foucault describes heterotopia as an actually existent utopia (1984), the conception is not tied to a space that promotes any promise, or any form of change.

## The Critical outlook to the related literature and the methodological map

The analysis of the labour market indicators prompts some important considerations. First, data would confirm the typical Italian familist welfare state model especially in the southern Italy. In this model the family has the main role in the protection of its own members against social risks as well as unemployment (Gallie, Paugam, 2000). This fact, in a territory where young people have lower chances in the labour market, would explain the more mature people higher employment rate – that is those around 60 years old who entered the labour market in «the golden years of the “imported Fordism” based on the special intervention policies for the Mezzogiorno, the public employment and the income transfer to the enterprises and the families who took place between the end of '50 and mid '70» (Maddaloni, 2006, 27). In other words where young people conditions are harder, their families act as a safety net so that, if their older members can, they stay longer in the labour market to maximize the family income. This implies the familist model of welfare state, in the attempt to ease the harsh condition of the young people, has the effect to reproduce a specific unemployment pattern in which the job security of the more mature male breadwinners lowers the young people chances of both sexes to enter the labour market (Fortini, 2016).

The analysis on discouragement effects is not as easy as it could seem at first. First, it is important to consider the gender based differences. If female population face more difficulties entering the labour market, it is also true that data analysis on this point must consider the complex interaction between productive and reproductive processes (Mingione, 1998), such as more family care duties women have to do. So it is also important to analyse the role of support of the public social service system in lowering that burden. This system is not very efficient in southern part of Italy and later we are going to see what are the effects of the lack of this kind of services in terms of women's participation in the labour market. In short, there is a big difference between a man, discouraged by many pointless job searching attempts and a woman that, in the same situation, has to care about family members. Second, age is an

important factor too. If it sounds reasonable to consider the discouragement of older people who faced countless rejections in their attempts of job applications, what about young people? The effect of the ex-ample given by older people – that is the image of their possible working future – is an answer that perhaps does explain why young people do try to develop their educational skill to improve their competitiveness.

Another important corollary is the idea that undeclared work is the “natural” and possible alternative to the “unpaid idleness” of the exclusionary and punitive Italian welfare state system (Therborne, 1986), for all the people not participating in the primary segment of the labour market. As a matter of fact that is the only option people of some areas would expect to find during their working careers. But even if the number of “total unemployed” – that is those people without any income, not even from undeclared work – is smaller than official data results, that does not mean social and work policies should not be concerned to find solutions to this problem. But that is exactly what happened in Italy during the last years due to the more favourable scenery shown by official ISTAT data. But let us now shift the focus for a moment from data to real young men and women, discussing their everyday life in areas of the country where undeclared work is the «only option” and where the competition for job search is very hard. In such areas as Mezzogiorno where the labour market is ruled by the demand, and the work supply is forced to adapt running a race to the bottom that means a diminution of their rights concerning job security, remuneration, working time, job health and safety, security guarantees. A market where the simultaneous presence of “white” and “black” market creates a “grey job” area, where formally declared job contracts actually hide little or no respect even for the most basic rules of workers protection. It is possible that the actual commodification of the labour market and the diffusion of temporary and flexible work reinforce this state of affairs (Gallino, 2007).

Is it clear this conditions radicalized over time, together with the constant disadvantage of the older people that represent not only the available resources young people have to develop their educational and working skills but, somehow, they also exemplify the social destiny young people expect to meet. In other words in such difficult conditions, so generalized over time and space, is it possible to assert that young people activity rate of both sexes (and this is true for older people too) it is biased by a strong discouragement effect, that is the strong conviction of the insurmountable difficulties encountered. In a region characterized by higher levels of poverty, lower scholastic performances and more disadvantageous labour market conditions of the young people and the “young adult” people (as well as their higher number among population) than the Italian average, the socio-demographic data forces us to pay attention to the hardship experienced by the inhabitants of Campania. New generations have to face a more critical labour market conditions, with less working opportunities and less job security (Sen, 1997). A labour market in which the introduction of flexible works did not have any positive effects, due to the chronic lack of job’s opportunities (Morlicchio & Pirone, 2015). That is true whatever the contract is, so the Italian *Job’s Act* will not have any different results. This leaves women and younger people more vulnerable to the risk of social exclusion (Agodi, 2009). All the more, if we consider them as the part of the socio-economic structure less protected by the Italian welfare system (Fortini, 2013). About this group it is important to notice it represent, partially at least, those who decided to extend the length of their course of study and, at the same time, those who can still be referred as “young”, especially given the upward shifting – in the sense of chronological age – characterizing the beginning of adulthood (Buozzi, Cavalli, de Lillo, 2007). They would still be occupied in the educational path to raise their credentials and competitiveness, using school as a stand-by (Barbagli, 1974).

National and regional governments "have recognized that a more prosperous future depends on the development of the human and social capital in their midst" (Longworth, 2006, 1), acknowledged that human and social capital development brings a better future. In this perspective, the case study is placed: the empirical research refers to the direct actions of some italian universities in the design and implementation of evaluation programs for adult education, to provide actors with tools to facilitate relationships making the exercise of active citizenship operational. Through the design and the implementation of action-research and teaching activities, an “Adult Education Permanent Observatory” was built in Campania, with the objective to become a “Learning community” involving

networks of citizens and academic researchers in a cumulative process aiming to increase both the human and social capital (Field, 2005).

The research design has proposed an analysis of the mechanisms and of the processes that led the Campanian institutions' activities to build an integrated education and lifelong learning system. The legal and institutional dimension has highlighted the contextual conditions and the survey tools. Starting with the interviews to "preferential witnesses" about the implementation of administrative procedures, used both as categorical overall framework as well as specific *medium of communication* (De Luca Picione, 2017). From the methodological point of view, compared to traditional methods of evaluation of social investment, we have chosen an innovative way of integrating reading "standard" data with a "qualitative approach" (Cipolla, De Lillo, 1996), and we place the centre of the analysis directly on the managers teachers and learners. Under the so-called "biographical approach" (Bertaux, 1980), "tales" and "life stories" allowed the identification of success not so much in terms of professional training, but as the turning points and the factors that have set in motion the social actors (Bonica & Cardano, 2008).

### Findings

The empirical results present the role played by the institutional actors and the learners of the adult evening classes to understand what kind of people reenters in educational processes (Formenti, West & Horsdal, 2014). Effectively, we started from the building of a general database with information on users' characteristics, collected in each school and training agency, by analyzing their distributions for gender, age, nationality, place of residence, education level and working condition. What kind of "offer" (course typology, teaching methods and performance evaluations) can determine more possibilities of formative success?

The adult education *social base* in Campania, and also the characteristics and motivations outline that have driven learners to participate in the *Adult evening classes* emerge from the "quantitative data" analysis, and from the users' interviews. Moreover the variety of targets and the hopes to obtain some results from this experience will be also put into evidence (Fortini, 2017). The distribution of learners by gender shows a strong prevalence of women among the attendees of the *lower secondary level* (67%). On the contrary men are the majority in the *upper secondary level* (70%). As regards the learners' average age, lower-aged are more often observed in the *upper secondary level* (29%), while ages of learners are higher in the *lower secondary level* (37%). Also single territorial areas, characterized by deep socio-economic lack of homogeneity and belonging to a particular social network, affect the different users' typology. In fact, most of the interviewed people in the *lower secondary level* classes embody their own participation in courses with the willingness to call upon themselves through socializing experiences, in particular in those areas where the associationism tissue is more developed. Instead, many of the members of the *upper secondary level* classes declare to begin their studies again essentially to improve their own employability, and only indirectly their own social and human capital. To synthesize, therefore, on one hand, we can place women, most of them with a low education level, willing to use the formative opportunities of *lower secondary level*, in order to enter social networks, and with the hope of possible employment. On the other hand, we can find men, younger than women and with a higher education level, motivated to obtain a diploma with the aim to improve their own working situation through the *upper secondary level*, or old and retired people that, once lost their working identity, look for a new way to relate with their social context with the *lower secondary level*.

On the whole, it seems clear that the variety of educational paths, have determined the participation of people belonging to different social categories. Even categories that are far from some social vulnerability stereotypes regarding old people. Through dialogue and relationship, teachers and operators have the objective of strengthening the empowerment (Griffin, 2002), enhance the agency and the level of autonomy (Giddens, 1991). This approach redefines the role of work within schools and centers, focusing on the relationship between the actors and the social structure (Campanini, 2002). Scope of lifelong learning becomes the group. The goal of the operator is to enhance functioning and capabilities (Nussbaum, 2001) to define the objectives of the action based on the mutual interactions of the members. The perspective is to achieve the development of a holistic model of adult education,

to enhance the dialogue with users and to enable them to grasp the meaning of events to build up together with them the situation analysis and intervention strategies.

### Conclusion

From the analysis we were able to extract a picture of the Adult Education *social base* in Campania, focussing on the trajectories and motivational backgrounds that have driven learners to participate in the *Adult evening classes*, and also the variety of goals and expectations channelling toward this experience is emerging as a difference making element. Also single territorial areas, characterized by deep socio-economic lack of homogeneity and belonging to a particular social network, affect the different users' typology. In fact, most of the interviewed people in the *lower secondary level* classes embody their own participation in courses with the willingness to call upon themselves through socializing experiences, in particular in those areas where the associationism tissue is more developed. Instead, many of the members of the *upper secondary level* classes declare to begin their studies again essentially to improve their own employability, and only indirectly their own social and human capital. Each learning institution is able to readjust their own governance strategies, in response to systemic changes, through "double loop learning" governance (Argyris, Shon, 1978). Thus learning from their own mistakes and thus adopting substitute strategies up to question their own "governmental variables". The central theme is the need to emphasize the right to education through a "political approach to learning" (Van Der Zee, 2006), and to deeply redefine adult education (Selwyn, Gorard, Furlong, 2006) starting from the new "lifelong learning" paradigm (Field, 2005; Walters, 2009).

We live in the information, knowledge and advanced technology society where relations within the global village take place according to the logic of the lattice, thereby called the network society (Castells, 1996). For this reason, the network is a necessary element to develop an offer of value, to improve governance processes, to generate projects that can only be achieved together, to obtain the financial resources that would otherwise not be available. Therefore, aggregating and building a network represents a real strategic opportunity to be put in place in order to grow while maintaining and enhancing one's own individuality. Considering this, the CPIA (Centri Provinciali per l'Istruzione degli adulti), as part of the new regulation, in addition to the network agreements with upper secondary school institutions, are invited to stipulate specific protocols with public and private institutions and, above all with training agencies accredited by the region, so that at the end learners can receive professional qualification.

This allows for a greater appeal: the CPIA is already characterized not only as an institution aimed at obtaining certifications for the achievement of the first and second level programs and for literacy and knowledge of the Italian language, but as a system that offers training opportunities in line with the territorial needs to the full advantage of a more conscious choice by the individual users of the CPIA, with the result of a more effective active citizenship. In this way, one can envision a downstream path towards the fulfillment of the education requirements, which starts from the elaboration of an integrated approach between the institutional competences attested by the CPIA and those mainly of a technical-professional nature, necessary for the acquisition of different Qualifications, either normally provided by the regional and national Repertory in their different formulations of the IeFP programs (Istruzione e Formazione Professionale). The network must anticipate the involvement of all those players who, thanks to their different role, participate in the strategic and operational implementation of the post-compulsory education, which has to equip itself with an organization plan that starting from activities can recognize the necessary professional skills needed to use rationally the existing pool.

The participation of people belonging to very different social categories – including those very far from some social vulnerability stereotypes – shows Adult Education becoming meaningful also in the perspective of an investment in active citizenship and not just as a means of individual empowerment in the labor market, and defines some possible action models on the territory in order to encourage to return adults to training. The target is to contribute to the discussion about the results of the policies in the public sphere, by sharing the elements of the produced analysis with the scientific community.

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# The Problems Of Foreign Students that are Including the Language Problems from the Solution to the Education Boards

Deniz Buyukceran; Kaya Yildiz; Mustafa Tolga Pisken

## 1. Introduction

Humanity has encountered the immigration fact continuously throughout history and this fact will go on occurring like this (Ergin, 2016; Koçak & Terzi, 2012). Immigration phenomenon is defined as the universal event which people change their living place because of political, cultural, social, economic etc. (Koçak & Terzi, 2012).

Immigration movements to our country have been increasing rapidly in this period since the war broke out in our neighbor, Syria in 2010. Due to life assurance, the people who started to immigrate have been taking refuge in some countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan. Among these countries Turkey has become the country houses most rated Syrians. According to data of United Nations High Commissioner for Multicast in December 2017 5.379.644 Syrians are in the refugee positions. 3 millions refugees lead a life in Turkey, 2 million refugees are in Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt and the small part of them live in North Africa.

One of the most important problem faced by our country and Syrians, which must be settled is education. It is understood how important the subject is when we consider that the rate of children is %54 of these refugees (UNICEF, 2016).

The policies and approaches of Turkey about Syrian refugees education have changed dramatically since 2011, the first their entrance to our country. Between 2011 and 2012, the policies were produced by assuming Syrians returned their country. However violence of war increasing and the war didn't end up, the numbers of Syrians taking refuge in our country increasingly continued. For this reason, more persistent and permanent policies are started to produce (Seydi, 2014).

Some problems have occurred in education policies for foreign students. For example, foreign national students have adaptation problem due to their culture, different ethnic backgrounds. The students often have faced problems about language and communication in their social educational settings (Şimşir & Dilmaç , 2018).

The target of this research is to examine when foreign national students are in included into mainstream school without solving their language problem according to the views of teachers. The answers of the following questions have been sought for this purpose.

1. What do you think about problems of foreign students due to lack communication in your school?
2. What should be for including foreign students in the school except for equivalence certificate?
3. What do you think psychological problems of foreign students due to lack of communication in your school?
4. What are your recommendations to solve the problem of foreign students caused by lack of communication?

## 2. Method

In this part model of research working group, data collection tool, implementation of data collection tool, the methods of analysis obtained data and the application of interview form are discussed.

## Research Model

In this research phenomenology pattern from qualitative research methods is used to determine the problems based on foreign students including mainstream schools without solving their language problems. Qualitative research is a research method, which allows in depth and detailed information

gathering on any subject, is carried out by limited number participation (Patton, 2014 and Yıldırım & Simsek, 2013).

In phenomenological studies, it is generally aimed to reveal and interpret individual perceptions or perspectives about a particular phenomenon (Yıldırım & Simsek, 2005). The main data collection tool in phenomenological method is interview. In these interviews, the validity and reliability of the research increases as the researcher has the opportunity to confirm the explanations and meanings reached by the interviewer (Yıldırım & Simsek, 2008).

### **Study Group**

The study group consisted of 24 teachers working in primary school in Esenyurt district in second term 2018 – 2019 academic year. There is foreign national student in their class of each teacher in this research group.

### **Data Collection**

Research data are collected from the students with interview forms were developed as a draft by the teachers at first. Then this draft form was finalized with the expert views. (A lecturer and 2 teachers) In order to obtain the personal information questions added to the interview questions. Demographic questions were primarily placed among the other more important and more serious questions. Because they created friendly relationship between the participant and the interviewer.

### **Data Collection Instrument**

The interview form was distributed and collected by hand by researchers to the teachers working in primary school in Esenyurt district in second term of 2018 – 2019 academic year. 24 observation forms were distributed and analyzed.

### **Data Analysis**

In this research, data were analyzed by content analysis method. Content analysis method is a scientific method approach that allows the objective and systematic investigation of verbal, written and other materials. These questions were asked to participant in this research. These questions are;

1. What do you think about problems of foreign students due to lack communication in your school?
2. What should be for including foreign students in the school except for equivalence certificate?
3. What do you think psychological problems of foreign students due to lack of communication in your school?
4. What are your recommendations to solve the problem of foreign students caused by lack of communication?

In this context it was decided to collect the data under 4 themes according to the research questions. These themes are;

1. Communication issues
2. Required official documents
3. Occurring psychological problems
4. Solution offers

After the themes were determined in this way, the data obtaining according to research were collected logically and meaningfully under this theme. In data analysis students view were determined by coding.

Example: T2 (T: Teacher, 2: Number of teachers)

### **3. Findings**

In this part 4 themes created according to the information obtained during the interviews with the 24 teachers working in a primary school in Esenyurt district. These themes which form the findings of the research are listed as follows;

1. Communication issues
2. Required official documents

## The Problems Of Foreign Students that are Including the Language Problems

3. Occuring psychological problems
4. Solution offers

### Theme 1: Communication Issues

The question “What do you think about problems of foreign students due to lack communication in your school?” was asked to the teachers then the views of teachers about this question were given in table 1.

**Table 1. Communication Issues**

Subtheme	f
Violence	11
Academic Failure	7
Discipline	6
Lack of self expressions	8
Apathy	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>

When the table 1 was examined the teachers determined the problems with the foreign students due to inability communicate. This problems are listed as follows. Violence , academic failure, discipline, lack of self expressions, apathy.

The teacher 7 expressed his opinions about topic; The can not understand their friends, teachers and the other people around them.

They can not communicate . They can not catch the programmed so they generally fail.

Because of the fact that they can not express themselves. They can be aggressive, unrelated to the course, inability perception, tendencies of undisciplined.

### Theme 2: Required Official Documents

The question “What should be for including foreign students in the school except for equivalence certificate?” was asked to teacher and their views about this question were given in table 2.

**Table 2. Required Official Documents**

Subtheme	f
Language proficiency certificate	14
Course	10
Age and physical condition research	3
Culture and school adaptation	4
Psychological support	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>

When the table 2 was examined, the teachers expressed their opinions about asked question. Teachers stated that there should be language proficiency certificate, course, age and physical condition research, culture and school adaptation, psychological support except for equivalence certificate. The teacher 16 presented his thoughts that they definitely need to take a language course. It is provided that foreign students should become suitable fort he school with some trainings such as courses before starting school. There must be psychological specialist to take care of them in the school.

### Theme 3: Occurring Psychological Problems

The question “What do you think psychological problems of foreign students due to lack of communication in your school?” was asked to teachers and the views of teacher were given in table 3.

**Table 3. Occurring Psychological Problems**

<b>Subtheme</b>	<b>f</b>
Violence	14
Loneliness and outsiderdom	12
Self confident – shyness	8
Behavior disorder	4
Psychological trauma	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>

When the table 3 was examined, it is seen that the foreign students have problems with their classmates and teachers in school because of lack of communication. And the main problems are violence, loneliness and outsiderdom, self confident-shyness, behavior disorder, psychological trauma. The teacher 3 expressed that the students could be combative and they could be aggressive because they could not express themselves against Turkish students. The teacher 8 said that the students felt psychologically lonely as they could not communicate, they thought they could not be understood and they did not participate in verbal lessons.

#### **Theme 4 : Solution Offers**

The question “What are your recommendations to solve the problem of foreign students caused by lack of communication?” was asked to teachers. And their views about the question were given in table 4.

**Table 4. Solution Offers**

<b>Subtheme</b>	<b>f</b>
Course	20
Parents information training	3
Orientation	3
Psychological support	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>

When the table 4 was examined the teachers have had some solutions for problems caused by foreign students ,who cannot communicate, such as joining the Turkish language courses, parents information training, orientation, psychological support. The teacher 23 expressed her thoughts about topic that foreign students should join the Turkish language course at least six month before they are included in the schools.

#### **Result And Recommendation**

In this study when the views of 24 teachers working in primary school in Esenyurt district in İstanbul about the problems raising foreign national students including in schools without solving their language problems are examined. It has been revealed by the teacher’s views that they are prone to violence, academic success is low, disciplinary problems and psychological and adaptation problems are experienced.

The main reason underlying this failed table is language. Moreover, as well as the language problem, it is seemed that student’s academic readiness was low.

The language problems of foreign students can be solved by improving studies on the qualification and adequacy of Turkish education given the foreign national students can be done. It is not possible that the students who don’t speak Turkish can understand anything written and described in this language.

In adequate use of Turkish and economic problems make the students difficult to adapt to their school and environment.

Güçlü (1996) stated that language problem and financial problems, which were most affecting for foreign national students, became first among the research findings.

Çelik (2008) explained that the academic failure of the foreign national students was their adaptation problems.

Most foreign national student complained that they can not find anyone to express themselves and they can not find any answer to their questions.

It would be beneficial to develop an appropriate system that will be able to deal with the problems, solve their adaptation problems, provide material and moral support to these students who are invited to our country. A component and effective unit that will be able to help fort he students who say “We don’t find any authority for our questions.” can be established to provide guidance and consoling to students who are seeking the answer for their question. Thanks to these unit, the solution of the problems of foreign national students can be sustained more effectively.

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# Problems of Newly Recruited Classroom Teachers

Nisa Kara, Mehmet Kaan Demir

## Introduction

In the 21st century, teaching has become a profession with many responsibilities. Today's conditions are becoming increasingly difficult and in this case to raise qualified and challenging individuals, the role of teachers has become increasingly aggravated. At the same time, these conditions made it compulsory for teachers to constantly improve themselves. (McNamara, Jones and Murray, 2014) Adapting to the innovations made in order to keep up with the age in education has also caused inevitable problems for teachers. (Brock and Grady, 2006).

Expectations and motivations of individuals in the professional dimension may vary during the period from the undergraduate education to the commencement of work. The differences between the expectations in the first year of the profession and the current situation have become the most important factor affecting the individual's attitude towards the profession and motivation rate. (Uras and Kunt, 2004) During the preparation process for the profession, teachers go through various stages within the scope of field knowledge courses in undergraduate programs, formation courses and general culture courses. However, these experiences are inadequate in facilitating the adaptation process of teachers when they begin their work. (Feiman-Nemser, 2001) The fact that teachers receive education incompatible with real life in undergraduate education causes many difficulties when they start to work.

Every teacher faces many challenges in the first year of their profession. Therefore, these challenges experienced by the new teachers are not seen as a current problem in the literature. The difficulties faced by each new teacher in their adaptation processes regarding their environment and educational environment are similar. Classroom management, communication, guidance from colleagues and school administration, pre-service education competencies are among these difficulties. (Sarı and Altun, 2015) Most teachers start to work in regions with unconventional customs, climate and socio-economic conditions. Living in these regions outside their own living standards brings with them many adaptation problems such as health, social activities, communication and security. The sudden entry of teachers into an unfamiliar social environment also causes them to be concerned about the professional and individual dimensions (Güçlü, 2004).

## Purpose of the research

This research was carried out to investigate the problems of adaptation to the environment and profession of the classroom teachers who started to work in 2018. For this purpose, in this study, "What are the problems that newly recruited classroom teachers face in their adaptation process to their environment and profession?" was searched for. In 2018, it is aimed to reach the following sub-objectives in order to examine the problems of adaptation to the environment and profession of the classroom teachers who started to work in Şanlıurfa, Van, Ağrı, Şırnak and Mardin.

- 1- What are the problems faced by the newly recruited classroom teachers during the adaptation process to the environment they live in?
- 2- What are the problems faced by the newly recruited classroom teachers regarding the educational environment they work?
- 3- What are the suggestions of the newly recruited classroom teachers to the administrators in the faculty of education based on the problems they face?

## Model of the research

In this study, the phenomenology design was used as one of the qualitative research designs, since it was aimed to comprehensively examine the opinions of the newly started classroom teachers about the adaptation process to the environment and profession based on their experiences. Phenomenology is expressed as focusing on cases that individuals are aware of but not having in-depth knowledge of.

(Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2015). Accordingly, the phenomenon identified in the study was “the adaptation of the newly recruited classroom teachers to the environment they live in and profession.”

### **Study group**

The study group of this study was determined through criterion sampling which is a sub-dimension of purposive sampling method which is one of the non-random sampling approaches. In the study, one of the purposive sample types, criterion sampling was used in order to examine a subject in detail according to the criteria determined by the researcher. (Neuman, 2006).

In this context, the criterion determined to form the study group of the research is to be the newly started classroom teacher in 5 provinces where the most classroom teachers are appointed in the teacher appointments made in July 2018. In 2018, the top 5 provinces where most classroom teachers were appointed were; Şanlıurfa, Van, Ağrı, Şırnak and Mardin. Accordingly, the study group of this study consists of 40 newly recruited classroom teachers in Şanlıurfa, Van, Ağrı, Şırnak and Mardin, where the highest number of appointments were made in the Classroom Teaching branch in July 2018.

### **Data collection tool**

The data were obtained through a semi-structured interview form developed by the researcher and consisting of 6 questions. The semi-structured interview refers to getting answers to the previously prepared questions through mutual communication. The most important advantage of this technique is that the questions are ready in advance. The purpose of using this technique in the research is to examine in depth the lives of the individuals involved. (Creswell, 2007).

The relevant literature was first searched in the process of preparing the semi-structured interview form. As a result of the research, a form was prepared and pilot application was made with 4 new classroom teachers. After the application, the questions were examined one by one with the consultant instructor and arrangements were made in accordance with the suggestions. In order to finalize the form, two expert opinions about the field were used and the semi-structured interview form was made ready for implementation. In the interviews conducted on a voluntary basis, each teacher was interviewed on average for 25-30 minutes and their interviews were recorded with their permission. Finally, the answers given after the interview were transcribed on computer.

### **Analysis of the data**

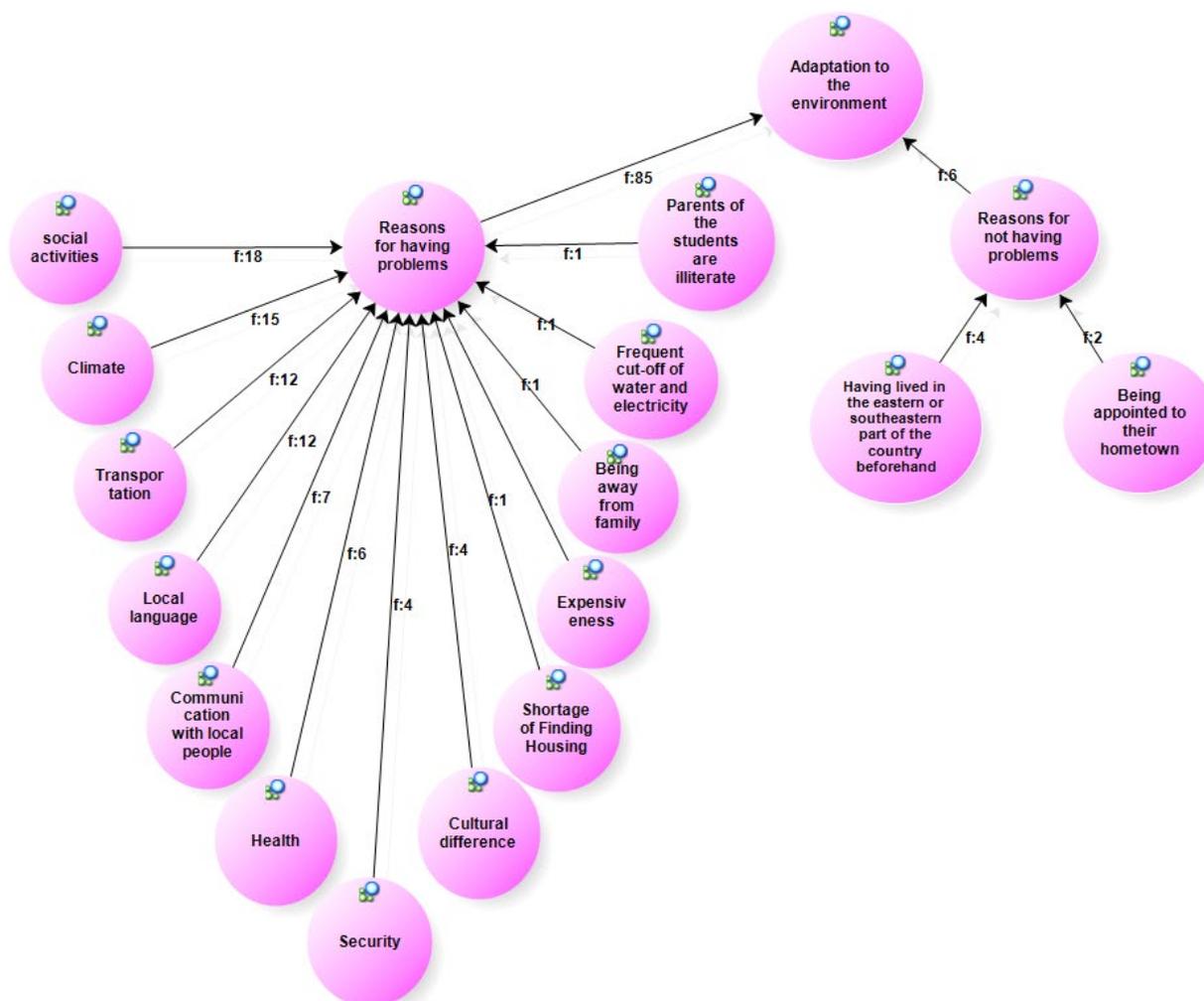
In the study, content analysis method was used considering the possibility of reaching new codes and themes that were not previously seen in the literature. (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2015). According to Patton (2014), content analysis is a process that involves categorizing data to emphasize what is important in the main theme.

During the content analysis, firstly the data obtained by sound recording was transcribed. The names of the teachers in the study group were not used and each teacher was coded as T1, T2, T3,... ..T40. Afterwards, in the content analysis aimed to reveal previously unclear themes, the collected data were first conceptualized and coded independently by the researcher and a field expert, then arrangements were according to the concepts that emerged, the themes explaining the data were created and finally the findings of the analysis were evaluated. The parallelism of the analysis results of the field expert and the researcher was determined by using the “Consensus/(Consensus + Disagreement)x100” formula of Miles and Huberman (1994) and the reliability of the research was determined as 88%. The concept of validity in qualitative research is included in the literature as an objective reflection of the researched phenomenon as it is. (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Akt. Yıldırım ve Şimşek 2015). In order to ensure the validity of the research, the opinions of the newly recruited classroom teachers who participated in the study were expressed with direct references. In order to visualize the content analysis results, firstly the analysis tables were created and the results were expressed as frequency. The findings obtained from the content analysis were modeled with NVivo package program.

## Findings

### Findings for the First Sub-Objective

The first sub-objective of the study was expressed with the question “What kind of problems did you experience during your adaptation process to your environment?” The answers of the newly recruited classroom teachers were divided into 2 themes as "reasons for having problems" and "reasons for not having problems" and the opinions of teachers were presented in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Modeling the adaptation process of the new classroom teachers to their environment

In Figure 1, it is seen that the opinions of the newly recruited classroom teachers about the environmental adaptation processes are divided into two themes as “reasons for having problems”(f:85) and “reasons for not having problems” (f:6) and in this context, it is seen that classroom teachers have problems in adaptation process to environment.

Newly recruited classroom teachers mostly have problems with “social activities” (f:18), “climate” (f:15), “transportation” (f:12) and “local language” (f:12) during the adaptation process to the environment.

Newly recruited classroom teachers do not have any problems because of the reasons “being appointed to their hometown”(f:4) and “having lived in the eastern or southeastern part of the country beforehand”(f:2) during the adaptation process to environment. In this regard, the opinions of T27 and T5 are as follows:

T27 (Male, 26 years old, single, who has never lived in the east or southeast of the country, works in Mardin):

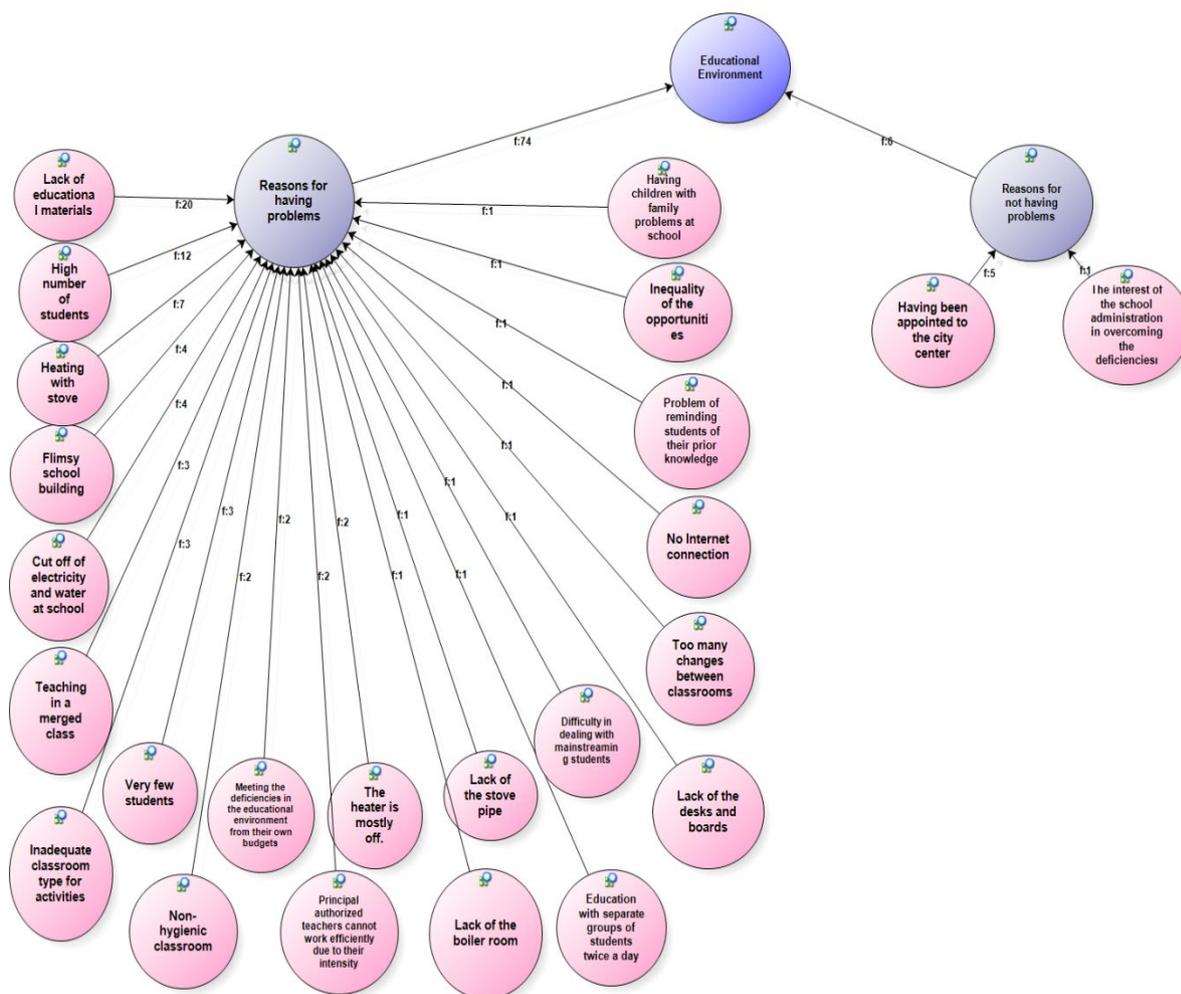
*“Since the place where I work is a village far from the center, I have great problems in transportation. Sometimes in cold and snowy weather I have to walk for many kilometers. Sometimes my colleagues who work in neighboring villages with cars come and pick me up. I can't find any social activities, but I can socialize if I can go to the city center on weekends or public holidays. This situation affects my psychology negatively and because of this I do not find myself enough for my job. In addition, the weather is very cold and the school building does not heat up because it is too old. My students and I always get sick. Therefore, students can not attend the course and disruptions in the education occur.”*

T5 (male, 25 years old, single, previously lived in eastern or southeastern of the country, works in Ağrı):

*“Since I lived in the southeast for about a year before, I didn't have any problems with adaptation. But it is an undeniable fact that I suffered from lack of social activity because of the fact that I live in a small province.”*

**Findings for the Second Sub-objective**

The second sub-objective of the study was expressed with the question “What kind of problems did you experience regarding your educational environment? The answers of the newly recruited classroom teachers were divided into 2 themes as "reasons for having problems" and "reasons for not having problems" and the opinions of teachers were presented in Figure 2.



## Problems of Newly Recruited Classroom Teachers

**Figure 2.** Modeling the opinions of the newly recruited classroom teachers about the educational environment

In Figure 2, it is seen that the opinions of the newly recruited classroom teachers about the educational environment are divided into two themes as “reasons for having problems”(f:74) and “reasons for not having problems” (f:6) and in this context, it is seen that classroom teachers have problems in the educational environment.

Newly recruited classroom teachers mostly have problems with “lack of educational materials” (f:20), “high number of students” (f:12), “heating with stove” (f:7) in the educational environment they work. Newly recruited classroom teachers do not have any problems because of the reasons “having been appointed to the city center”(f:5) and “the interest of the school administration in overcoming the deficiencies f:1) in the educational environment. In this regard, the opinions of T7 and T20 are as follows:

T7 (male, 25 years old, single, who has never lived in the east or in the middle, works in Ağrı):

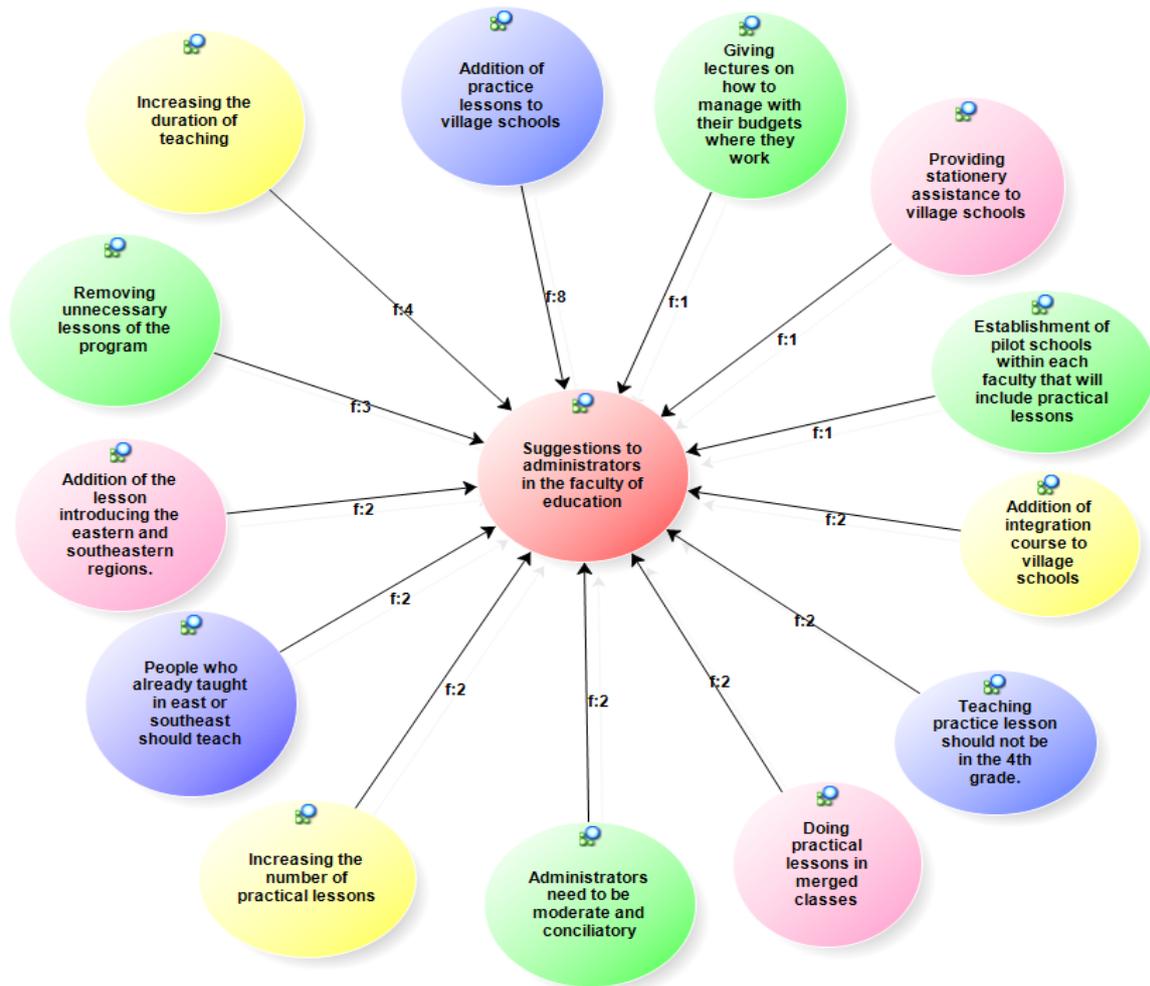
*“The school I work is a village school that is even far from the district center. In the village, the power outage is very frequent and sometimes it doesn't come back for 3-4 days. There is no water in the village. The villagers do not send the children to school to help them if they carry water from the creek passing through the village to their homes or to herd the sheep. I have no difficulty about the number of students, but my students have difficulty understanding me, and I have difficulty understanding them from time to time due to the language problem. The educational materials are just cardboard activities that I do. I taught merged classes, but I didn't have any trouble educating the curriculum after having set the time well. “*

T20 (female, 23 years old, married, lived in the east or southeast of the country for 19 years, works in Şırnak):

*“There were no major problems. Since the school administrators were very interested, there were no problems such as materials or heating. My class size was sufficient.”*

### Findings for the Third Sub-Objective

The third sub-objective of the study was expressed with the question “What suggestions would you like to convey to the administrators of the faculty of education based on your problems?” The suggestions that the newly recruited classroom teachers convey to the administrators in the faculty of education based on the problems they have experienced are presented in Figure 3.



**Figure 3.** Modeling the suggestions of the newly recruited classroom teachers to the administrators in the faculty of education based on the problems they face.

In Figure 3, based on the problems experienced by the new classroom teachers, they suggested mostly “addition of practice lessons to village schools” (f:8), “increasing the duration of teaching practice” (f:4) and “removing unnecessary lessons of the program”(f:3) to the administrators in the faculty of education. T17's views on this issue are as follows:

T17 (female, 24 years old, single, did not previously lived in the east or southeast of the country, works in Şırnak):

*“In the universities, especially theoretic courses are given too much. The number of theoretical courses should be reduced and the number of applied courses should be increased. Most teachers in the faculties of education say they learned the profession during their internship. This issue should be addressed more. Each faculty should have pilot schools in which teachers can practice and observe. There should be commissions in which permanent and creative solutions can be produced for educational problems and the solutions produced in these commissions should be compared with other universities and the successful ones should be chosen and implemented.”*

## Result

The results of the study can be listed as follows:

It has been determined that the newly recruited classroom teachers have problems in the adaptation process to their environment. The most experienced problems are; the social activities in the province where they are located are limited, the climate is unfavourable enough to affect their health negatively, the city opportunities are limited in terms of transportation and they lack of knowledge of the local language of the region.

## Problems of Newly Recruited Classroom Teachers

In the educational environment where the newly recruited classroom teachers are working, they have problems and the most common problems are; lack of educational materials, high number of students, and attempts to meet heating needs with stoves.

Based on the problems experienced by the newly recruited classroom teachers, they suggested mostly; addition of practice lessons to village schools, increasing the duration of teaching practice and removing unnecessary lessons of the program to the administrators in the faculty of education.

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# **An Investigation on the Level of Different Learning Strategies Applied by Music Teacher Candidates in a Piano Course**

Deniz Beste Cevik Kilic

## **1. Introduction**

Piano lessons are compulsory courses in the Music Education Departments at the Education Faculties. The aims of piano education in the music teacher education program are to gain basic technical and musical skills, to have knowledge about musical periods, to have a specific repertoire and to be able to sing accompaniments of national works and school songs (YOK, 2007).

The piano is an important instrument for a music teacher to use in lessons because it is a polyphonic instrument. Piano education is an area where the individual uses the entire cognitive, affective and psychomotor skill set. Therefore, piano education has many features such as understanding technical knowledge, musical interpretation and technical skills. Montparker (1998) states, "Even in the smallest musical instrument, the musical elements and artistic ideas of the great works are the same. Therefore, to introduce students to the concepts and expressions of music art; it will be the key to enriching their musical experience and transforming a hard work into an enjoyable artistic activity, such as typing notes on a keyboard."

Piano education is an extremely complicated and difficult process. A lot of information is used in different forms when working on a piece (McCormick and McPherson, 2003; Santos and Gerling, 2011). The difficulties encountered during the study of a work and/or etude include difficulties in reading the notes, using finger numbers, establishing two hand coordination, playing legato and staccato, showing dynamics and specifying the period features of the work (Çevik, 2007). Aydiner-Uygun and Kılınçer (2012) state that students have difficulty in establishing relationships between tempos, tone changes and part-whole in the course of a work and/or study. It is therefore important to know effective learning strategies that are easier and lasting to learn and/or overcome these difficulties. Because working with an instrument involves physical orientation, learning strategies need to be used effectively (Nielsen, 1999). According to Sönmez (2010), learning strategies include activities facilitating the learning of the learners in the workplace (p.281). Weinstein and Mayer (1986) emphasize that learners need to be aware of learning strategies in order to learn more effectively, to remember stored information and for motivation.

Researchers have classified learning strategies in different ways. In this study, sub-dimensions of learning strategy classification by Weinstein and Mayer (1986) were included in the sub-dimensions of Gagne and Driscoll's (1988) classification of learning strategies. These learning strategies are attention, repetition, meaning-organizing, monitoring meaning and affective strategies. Tactics of attention strategies include underlining key words and basic ideas, taking notes at the edge of the text, circling unknown words and putting question marks near unclear text (Senemoğlu, 1997, p.562). Repetition strategies involve tactics based on the repetition of knowledge in the mind or voice (Senemoğlu, 1997, p.300). Understanding-organizing strategies include tactics such as narrating, simulating, summarizing, associating and taking notes using other words (Özer, 1998). Understanding tracking strategies (Arends, 1997) direct individuals to organize, conduct and supervise their own learning. Affective strategies are strategies that help to remove motivational and emotional barriers to learning. Although students learn to use appropriate cognitive strategies, it is sometimes difficult to reach teaching goals due to emotional factors. Strategies that are used to remove the obstacles of emotional or motivational factors from learning are called affective strategies (Subasi, 2000).

It is evident that it is important to examine the levels of learning strategies that music teacher candidates use in their piano lessons. The purpose of this study is to examine the level of learning

strategies that music teacher candidates use in piano lessons. In the study, the following questions were assessed:

- Is there a significant difference between the learning strategies used by the music teacher candidates in piano lessons?
- Do the learning strategies used by the music teacher candidates in piano lessons differ significantly according to gender?
- In terms of the gender of the music teacher candidates, is there a meaningful difference between the attention, repetition, meaning-organizing and monitoring meaning learning strategies used in piano lessons and affective dimensions?

## **2. Methodology**

The screening model was used in the study. According to Karasar (2011), “screening models are a research approach that aims to describe the past or present as it exists. It tries to define an event, an individual, or an object under investigation within its own conditions” (p.77). In addition, the screening model is a working model aimed at collecting data to identify specific characteristics of a group (Büyüköztürk, Kılıç-Çakmak, Akgün, Karadeniz and Demirel, 2014).

### **2.1. Study Sample**

The sample population included 360 teacher candidates studying at Balıkesir University, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University and Dokuz Eylül University Fine Arts Education Department Music Education Branches.

### **2.2. Data Collection Tools**

In this study, data on the level of learning strategies used by music teacher candidates were collected using the “Learning Strategies Used in Piano Lessons” survey developed by Kılınçer and Aydıner Uygun (2013). The scale consists of 5 dimensions including attention, repetition, meaning-organizing, meaning monitoring and emotional strategies and consists of 66 items in total. The reliability coefficient for the whole scale is 0.96. The reliability coefficients for the sub-dimensions were 0.88 for attention strategies, 0.87 for repeat strategies, 0.94 for meaning-organizing strategies, 0.89 for meaningful monitoring strategies and 0.86 for affective strategies. In this study, the reliability coefficient of the scale was 0.91. The reliability coefficients for the sub-dimensions were 0.84 for the attention strategy, 0.92 for the repeat strategy, 0.89 for the meaning-organizing strategy, 0.81 for the meaning monitoring strategy and 0.84 for the affective strategy.

### **2.3. Data Analysis**

In this study, descriptive statistical calculations were used to evaluate the data. In order to determine the levels of learning strategies used by music teacher candidates, the mean and standard deviation scores were calculated on both a general and individual factor basis. A t-test was conducted to determine whether participants' scores significantly changed according to gender.

## **3. Findings**

The first sub-goal of the research was expressed as, “Is there a significant difference between the learning strategies used by the music teacher candidates in piano lessons?” The distribution of the scores of the learning strategies of the prospective teachers is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Learning strategies used by music teacher candidates in the piano lesson

Dimension	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Attention	360	2.81	0.91
Repeat	360	3.78	0.66
Sense-organizing	360	2.94	0.66
Tracking meaning	360	3.46	0.66
Affective	360	3.12	0.84

$\bar{X}$  = arithmetic mean; SD = standard deviation

As shown in Table 1, when the learning strategies are assessed on a factor basis, attention ( $\bar{X}$  = 2.81, SD = 0.91) had the lowest score, whereas recall ( $\bar{X}$  = 3.78, SD = 0.66) had the highest score.

The second sub-goal of the research was expressed as, "Do the learning strategies used by the music teacher candidates in piano lessons differ significantly according to gender?" The distribution of teacher candidates' learning strategies according to gender is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Learning strategies used by the music teacher candidates in piano lessons by gender

Gender	N	$\bar{X}$	SD	sd	t	p
Female	232	3.56	0.58	358	2.31	0.022
Male	128	3.24	0.65			

$\bar{X}$  = arithmetic mean; SD = standard deviation; t = t test score

Table 2 shows there was a statistically significant difference between the learning strategies used by the students in the piano lessons according to gender ( $t = 2.31$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). In other words, the women's learning strategies scores are statistically higher ( $\bar{X} = 3.56$ , SD = 0.58) than men's scores ( $\bar{X} = 3.24$ , SD = 0.65).

The third sub-objective of the research was "In terms of the gender of the music teacher candidates, is there a meaningful difference between attention, repetition, meaning-organizing and monitoring meaning learning strategies used in piano lessons and affective dimensions?" Six different t-tests were conducted to answer this question. A statistical difference was observed between all factors, except factor 5 (affective) and between total points for women and men (see Table 3). In other words, the results of this study generally showed that the scores for the learning strategies used by women in piano lessons are higher than for men.

Table 3. Factors of learning strategies used in the piano lesson

Dimension	Gender	N	$\bar{X}$	SD	sd	t	p																																																								
Attention	Female	232	3.11	0.67	1-358	2.04	0.04																																																								
	Male	128	2.86	0.73				Repeat	Female	232	3.34	0.79	1-358	1.04	0.03	Male	128	3.23	0.71	Sense-organizing	Female	232	4.22	0.56	1-358	2.16	0.02	Male	128	3.96	0.81	Tracking meaning	Female	232	4.03	0.65	1-358	2.24	0.02	Male	128	3.72	0.87	Affective	Female	232	4.02	0.53	1-358	2.18	0.38	Male	128	3.86	0.71	Total	Female	232	3.56	0.58	1-358	2.31	0.022
Repeat	Female	232	3.34	0.79	1-358	1.04	0.03																																																								
	Male	128	3.23	0.71				Sense-organizing	Female	232	4.22	0.56	1-358	2.16	0.02	Male	128	3.96	0.81	Tracking meaning	Female	232	4.03	0.65	1-358	2.24	0.02	Male	128	3.72	0.87	Affective	Female	232	4.02	0.53	1-358	2.18	0.38	Male	128	3.86	0.71	Total	Female	232	3.56	0.58	1-358	2.31	0.022	Male	128	3.24	0.65								
Sense-organizing	Female	232	4.22	0.56	1-358	2.16	0.02																																																								
	Male	128	3.96	0.81				Tracking meaning	Female	232	4.03	0.65	1-358	2.24	0.02	Male	128	3.72	0.87	Affective	Female	232	4.02	0.53	1-358	2.18	0.38	Male	128	3.86	0.71	Total	Female	232	3.56	0.58	1-358	2.31	0.022	Male	128	3.24	0.65																				
Tracking meaning	Female	232	4.03	0.65	1-358	2.24	0.02																																																								
	Male	128	3.72	0.87				Affective	Female	232	4.02	0.53	1-358	2.18	0.38	Male	128	3.86	0.71	Total	Female	232	3.56	0.58	1-358	2.31	0.022	Male	128	3.24	0.65																																
Affective	Female	232	4.02	0.53	1-358	2.18	0.38																																																								
	Male	128	3.86	0.71				Total	Female	232	3.56	0.58	1-358	2.31	0.022	Male	128	3.24	0.65																																												
Total	Female	232	3.56	0.58	1-358	2.31	0.022																																																								
	Male	128	3.24	0.65																																																											

$\bar{X}$  = arithmetic mean; SD = standard deviation; t = t test score

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusion

Music teacher candidates use "repeat" strategies at the highest level and "attention" strategies at the lowest level when learning about works and/or studies in the piano lesson. Replication strategies include tactics such as working at a slow tempo, recalling newly learned behaviors in the mind, memorizing the piece and changing the rhythm patterns (Renwick, 2008). Similarly, students use recurrence strategies that include repetition of an entire work/study as a whole and visual or auditory repetition of the notes. Various investigations parallel this finding (Aslan, 2008; Hamurcu, 2002; Kuzu, Canpolat and Balaman, 2014).

In order for a piano work to be performed well, it is important to understand the reasons for any difficulties and develop a set of solutions (Fenmen, 1947, p.107). The ability to play piano involves the correct implementation of psychomotor behaviors by engaging the mind. Playing piano is an activity that requires both high level motor and high level perception skills (Senemoğlu, 1997, p.549-550). Another finding from the study is students use attention strategies at a lower level than other learning strategies. Attention strategies include marking the tempo changes in the study/work and watching the tone of the study/work. Other research supports this finding (Aydiner-Uygun and Kılınçer, 2012; Gagne and Driscoll, 1988; Tay and Yang, 2008).

Finally, the study revealed that the students differed by gender when using the "attention," "repetition," "meaning-organizing" and "monitoring the meaning" strategies. Female students were more likely to use "attention", "replication", "meaning-organizing" and "monitoring the meaning" strategies than male students. There is no significant difference in the level of use of "affective"

learning strategies in terms of students' genders. Other studies in the literature report significant differences in favor of female students between learning strategies and gender (Aydın, 2011; Çelikkaya, 2010; Yokuş, 2010). In Güngör's (2005) study, the level of use of "meaning-organizing" strategies of students was significantly different for women. Duman (2008) states all subscales of learning strategies differ significantly in favor of female students. Güven (2004) emphasizes that female students use learning strategies more than male students. Some studies do not support some dimensions of these research findings. Şahin and Çakar (2011) point out that students use intensive emotional strategies such as meaning, monitoring the meaning, replicating and organizing. Gündoğmuş (2013) emphasizes the strategies most used by teacher candidates were emotional strategies.

Based on the results of the research, the following suggestions can be made:

- Attention can be drawn to these topics by providing information about various learning strategies for increasing the level of students' use of learning strategies in piano lessons.
- Increasing the level of success in the piano class can be achieved by teaching students the use of learning strategies.

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# Analysis of the Effect of Concert Activities on the Relationship of Piano Students with Their Instruments

Gulbahar Urhan

## 1. Introduction

Piano courses are offered as auxiliary instrument study for students who attend to music teaching departments in faculties of education. It has become a must course as an auxiliary instrument for music teaching departments because it has a fixed tuning, and it is convenient to play both as solo and as accompanying instrument (Özer, 2010).

Assessment of this course involves a recital at midterm and final exams consisting of the etudes and works practised during the semester. The final exam, unlike the midterm exam, is usually performed before a commission of piano teachers.

Students rehearse these works during the semester, which takes 14 weeks. They may often lose motivation in the middle of this long period and may grow away from the instrument. Musical instrument training is a long period involving a meticulous, and well-planned study as well as high motivation (Parasız, 2009). If the student fails to persevere in this long period, the goals of the piano training cannot be achieved. Therefore, it should be an important matter for instrument teachers what measures can be taken to keep student's motivation at a high level during a long period (Özmenteş, 2012).

Many studies concluded that concerts may affect the relationship of students with their instruments in a positive way. Tufan (2000, p.3) emphasized that piano concerts are important as they provide an environment where students may influence each other in a positive competition, and consequently may increase their confidence and motivation.

Yücetoker (2009, p.50) stated that regular concert activities in school are necessary because they would lead students to rehearse more as they will need to perform before audience and both students and instructors will enjoy an increase in their confidence and motivation with the appreciation of their individual efforts and success. Also in the same study, the instructors composing the research group expressed that lack of concert activities eventually lead to a decrease in rehearsal concentration and motivation of the student

Student concert is an important activity complementing the music education. Through individually performing before audience the students learn how to control their stage frights, to share a musical piece with others and how to interact musically with the audience along with the stage performance rules. Performing on a stage motivates the student better to rehearse more mentally on his/her instrument. In addition, after a successful performance, students enjoy more of their instruments and have an increase in their confidence (Çimen, 2008).

This study aims to analyse the effects of concert activities on such cases as the author had observed that Ist - IInd - IIIrd class piano students in Aksaray University are losing their interest towards the end of semester, absenteeism rate is increased and their final exam performance is highly below the average of their class performance during the year.

Student concert in music education departments is usually an activity rather organized at the end of every year, not every semester, and with the participation of selected students who are deemed to be successful. As a result, some students are graduated without any stage performance experience. Those students are not able to establish a bond with their instruments as they do not understand why they are rehearsing these many works and in what way these etudes are important in their personal improvement.

During the interviews with the students who are in the research set, some have expressed that they had got bored rehearsing the same works over and over for the whole semester and sometimes

they didn't want to play piano at all, and cannot concentrate on the final exam. On the grounds of these facts, answers are sought for the following sub problems concerning "how extracurricular concert activities affect the relationship of piano students with their instruments?"

How extracurricular concert activities affect...

1. ... the student's absenteeism
2. ... the student's daily rehearsal time during semester
3. ... the student's final grade at the end of the year
4. ... the student's performance on piano at the final exam

## 2. Method

This study was planned as an action research covering the fourteen weeks which comprises the 2017-2018 Fall Semester, with only 10 of author's undergraduate freshman students who were attending to Aksaray University, Faculty of Education, Department of Fine Arts Education, Music Education Department. Action research is basically a method that systematically deals with the way that teachers handle the problems that they have encountered during the courses. Main objective of this method is to provide a problem-solving tool and thus to increase the overall quality of educational environment (Özden & Durdu, 2016, p.20). Only 10 of total 30 undergraduate students (from Ist, IInd, IIIrd classes) of the author, all being in freshman year, attending to Aksaray University, Faculty of Education, Department of Fine Arts Education, Music Education Department are included in the study. The research set was consisted of those students who failed the piano course in the previous semester, who are repeating the semester, and those who are found out to have lost interest in the course during interviews. The students were interviewed before the study and were informed about the performances they will participate during the study. These extracurricular concert activities involved solo piano recitals, accompanying other instruments, choirs and singers.

A repertoire consisting of works in the exam program and also some easier works at a lower technical and musical level that can be read faster by the students compared to the exam program have been determined for the study with these 10 students. This repertoire included some solo and four-hand works as well as some instrumental accompaniments. All activities were performed during 11<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> weeks of the semester. These activities were planned respectively as follows:

- Piano concert at Aksaray Science Center
- Student concert at Aksaray Fine Arts High School
- Aksaray University Year-End Concert of the Department

Observation and interviewing techniques are used for data collection. Interviews were conducted once before every activity and then once after the activity for probing their sensual conditions separately. Also at the end of the year, their piano performances and absenteeism rates were observed. Interviews are summarized in detail below.

- a) Interview at the beginning of the semester (before the activities) (At this interview students were asked how many hours a day they used to spend for rehearsing in the previous semester. They are informed about the activity and their opinions were asked.)
- b) Interview after the activities (Students were asked how did they feel before and after the activity. Their opinions were asked for the next activity)
- c) Interview after the final exam (Students were asked how anxious were they about the exam and they were asked to compare it with the previous semester)

Content analysis method was used for analysing the data, that is, interview records were rendered as written records. The basic process in the content analysis method involves grouping similar data together using a certain concept or a theme and, organizing and interpreting them in a way that readers can understand easily. Internal validity is about checking the relationship between the studied variables whether it is actually existing or not (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016, p.270). In order to maintain

the internal validity of the coding used in the study, the data collected through interviews are interpreted after they are presented in the “Findings” section. On the other hand, direct quotations from the findings were given in the text. In order to ensure the external validity of the study, a detailed information about data collection tools, analysis and the study group are presented in the “Method” section.

### 3. Findings

In this section, interviews with the students about the activities they have participated are presented through qualitative analysis method. Rehearsals are attended by the students every week.

**Table 1. Absenteeism rates and final grades of the students participated in the study.**

Student	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10
Final Grade	DD	DVZ	DC	DVZ	DVZ	DVZ	CC	DVZ	DVZ	DVZ
Days of Absence	4	5	4	9	5	5	8	8	5	6

**Table 2. Answers to the questions asked to the students that how many hours they used to spend for studying piano the previous semester, and what was their opinion on the approaching concert activity.**

S1	<i>I had started to study every day as the exam date came closer. But during the semester, some weeks, I hadn't study at all. I'd like to perform at the concert, but I'm lacking self-confidence.</i>
S2/S4/S6	<i>I used to study regularly at the beginning of the semester, but then the works eventually became more difficult; I didn't want to attend the course when I hadn't studied enough. So I failed due to absence. I'd like to appear on the stage, but I find it difficult to play piano.</i>
S3/S7	<i>During the semester I used to study at the school after every class, but I'd got bored. The idea of a concert sounds exciting though but I don't want to take part.</i>
S5/S8/S9/S10	<i>While studying piano, I used to go out of the room often to chat with friends. I used to study one hour per week.</i>

#### I. Opinions of the students after the activity (Concert at Aksaray Science Center)

When the students are asked about their feelings about the activity;

*“It is a great feeling to be appreciated. I could also feel that for other concerts but it made me happy to see that I have succeeded this with the piano.” S1,S2*

*“..... I want to start rehearsing for the next concert immediately and be more prepared for it.” S3-S4*

*“I do not often perform on stage, so I'm nervous. I know that I need to rehearse more for the next concert ..... We played before an audience of younger students; many of them asked questions about the instrument. I was pleased to be able to answer them. I want to learn more...” S5-S6-S7-S8*

#### II. Opinions of the students after the activity (Concert at Aksaray Fine Arts High School)

S1-S4 *“I repeated the works less than the first concert, but I was less nervous on stage.”*

S5-S9 *“... I could play continuously without any mistake unlike the first concert. I enjoyed it so much.”*

S6 *“I don't want to come to the classes unprepared anymore. Because we now have a calendar to perform these works we study. And since I'm going to play the same pieces at the final exam, I need to repeat them*

more.”

S8 “We congratulated each other with my friends when we left the stage. We are also listening to our performances at the school. Previously it was boring to study at the school, but now I’m enjoying it.”

Before beginning this study, it was discussed with the students what were missing and what were wrong about the concert performances. Unlike the previous concert, one of the works they would perform at the final exam was also included in the repertoire. Also some works performed by one of their friends that they would accompany with the piano are added to the concert program. Those students who are not yet able to accompany with the piano were given four-hand pieces. Students were requested to compare this situation with the previous one. Besides these works, the students also performed the same pieces as the previous concert.

### III. Opinions of the students after the activity (Year-End School Concert)

In the final activity, another piece of their final exam works was also added to the program. Also, accompaniment was available for the students.

Students’ feelings about the activity were as follows:

S1 “The previous concerts that we had with my teacher was smaller than this one. But I still could play confidently before a larger number of audience.”

S2 “I had to rehearse more for this concert than the other concerts. It is difficult to get prepared for this activity, but I rehearsed without getting tired since I knew I would be happy in the end.”

S5-S6 “I feel that I’m going to be more successful if I perform on stage that often in the coming years. Now I am less anxious and more confident.”

S8 “I could not stop my hands trembling in the past. This time I could have concentrated on the music.”

### 4. Conclusion

1. After the first concert, it was observed that students had more interest in the course and concentrated better on their teachers’ instructions. It can be said that the concert plan provided a goal for the course. Thus the students have got excited and their motivation has increased.

2. Those students with absenteeism problem observed to have overcome this problem at the end of the year. Also, their final grades got proportionally higher. We can say that this is related to the fact that students started to value this course higher since it now has a specific goal.

3. Students expressed that their anxiety about the final exam has diminished considerably and they could have listened themselves during the exam. As they had to perform often before an audience during the semester, they could have gained a stage experience which made them able to control their emotions better on stage.

4. It is observed that they could have established a better relationship with the piano as they were being appreciated for their concert performances. This had also helped to diminish their levels of anxiety for the final exam and thus could concentrate on and enjoy the pieces they played at the exam.

5. It can be concluded that it is useful in many ways for students to often perform their assigned works before audience during the semester. We can say that teachers should encourage their students to perform before audience several times during the semester, and thus their interest in the piano will grow, and they will want to use their time more efficiently when rehearsing on their assigned works as these works would also serve another purpose.

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# Investigation of the Problems of Roman Students in the Schools

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## 1. Introduction

Social inclusion is to ensure the integration of individuals or groups who have been exposed to social exclusion into society by eliminating factors that may prevent them from taking part in socioeconomic life and bringing life standards to an acceptable level in society. Social inclusion is a change in attitude and behaviour and a meeting in a common identity (Genç, 2012). In our society, the integration of disadvantaged individuals into society is a desired, supported and even funded by the state. Roman people, mostly living in eastern European countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey, are considered as disadvantaged groups in our country. Our Roman citizens have contributed to the cultural mosaics of Thrace especially with their traditions and social structures. Romans organized in Europe in the 1990s, many Roman NGOs have established. For the first time in our country in 2004, EDROM (Edirne Roman Culture Research, Development, Cooperation and solidarity association) was established and the process of becoming NGO started. The integration works within the framework of the "Roman Initiative" initiated by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2010 continued with the Siroma Project (operation to support Social Inclusion where Roman live heavily) in 2016. The Roman living in 12 provinces with the Siroma project were subject to integration with the joint work of the Ministry of family and Social Policy, Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Health. Within the scope of the project that lasted until 2018, the main problems identified by Roman citizens were the Coordination of Ministry employees and the solution was sought. The strategy document for Roman citizens, published in the official gazette in 2016, envisages solution studies in the fields of Education, Employment, Housing, Health, Social Services and social assistance. The results of both the experiences of the Roman and the studies related to the Roma show that housing, employment and education are the three main issues of discrimination and exclusion that this group is experiencing (Ariyici, 1993; Aksu, 2003; Kolukirik, 2005). The right to education and access to basic public services are guaranteed in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey. It was expressed from the high screen that Roman citizens had problems during the implementation of these rights by NGOs. Non-governmental organizations point to education as one of the most important problem areas of disadvantaged groups. "Strategy document for Roman citizens (2016-2021) " published in official gazette number 29699 dated 30.04.2016 Step by step action plan (2016-2018) has taken steps to resolve the problems in state education area. For Roman citizens, it is not difficult to observe that the integration has not been fully achieved despite the fact that many projects, strategic documents, Action Plan studies have been carried out, and despite the positive work of NGOs. It is important to examine the problems encountered by the students in schools in order to determine the problems of Roman citizens in schools, which are the smallest units in which education is carried out.

The Problem Statement of this study is; what are the opinions of teachers working in the education institution where Roman students are intensive?

### *Purpose of The Research*

The aim of this study is to determine the teacher's views on the problems faced by Roman students in their intensive educational institutions.

1. What are the problems that Roman students face in schools?
2. What are the deficiencies that lead to the problems that Roman students experience in schools?
3. What are the deficiencies in your district that lead to the problems of Roman students living in schools?
4. What are the solutions to the problems of Roman students?

To achieve this goal, the following questions are sought to answer;

1. As an educator, what are the problems of Roman students in your school?

2. What are the deficiencies you see in your school regarding the solution of the problems that Roman students have experienced?
3. What are the deficiencies you see in your district regarding the solution of the problems of Roman students?
4. What are your suggestions for solving the problems of Roman students in your school?

## 2. Method

This section focuses on the model of the research, working group, data collection tool, data collection tool, analysis methods of the data obtained, validity and reliability issues and explanations related to the implementation of the interview form.

### Model of Research

In this study, a phenomenon pattern from qualitative research models was used to determine the views of teachers working in educational institutions where Roman students are intensive. Qualitative research is a form of research aimed at determining perceptions and events in a realistic and totalitarian way using a variety of methods of data collection.

### Study Group

The study group consists of 51 teachers working in two official schools in the town of Esenyurt in Istanbul during the second semester of 2018-2019 academic year. The data were collected from 51 teachers who participated in the study with a semi-structured interview form by the researchers. The information about the Working Group is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Shift

School Type	<i>f</i>	%	GENDER	<i>f</i>	%
Elementary school	36		Women	36	70,59
Middle School	15	29,41	Man	15	29,41
TOTAL	51	100	TOTAL	51	100
Seniority	<i>f</i>	%		<i>f</i>	%
1-5 Years	17	33,33	16-20 Years	6	11,76
6-10 Years	15	29,41	21 Years and Above	5	9,80
11-15 Years	8	15,68	TOTAL	51	100

When Table 1 is examined; 70.59% of the teachers who participated in the study were primary school teachers and 29.41% were secondary school teachers. 29,41% of the teachers involved in the study are male teachers and 70,59% are female teachers. The seniority of the teachers who participated in the study was 33.33% between 1-5 years, 29.41% between 6-10 years, 15.68% between 11-15 years, 11.76% between 16-20 years, 9.80% of 21 years and above.

### Data Collection

Research data were collected with interview form from teachers. Interview forms were first developed by researchers as a draft. Later, this draft form was given the final form with expert opinion (1 lecturer and 3 teachers). Demographic information questions were added to the interview questions in order to obtain the personal information of the students. "Demographic questions have been taken over prior to more serious and important questions in order to provide a friendly relationship between the interviewer and the participant" (Çakır,2017:22).

### **Data Collection Tools**

The interview form was distributed and collected by the researchers at 2 official schools in the District of Esenyurt in Istanbul during the fall period 2018-2019. 51 observation forms were distributed and analyzed.

### **Analysis Of The Data**

The data were analyzed using content analysis method. "Content analysis is a scientific approach that allows objective and systematic analysis of verbal, written and other materials (Çakır, 2017:26). The data obtained from qualitative research is divided into themes, encoded or analyzed by the researchers on the basis of similar features. The researcher can develop new concepts and produce formulas. After the researcher obtains the data, he / she decides which data he / she will use. Code and themes are created by shaping the decision-making data. The new process is analyzed, comparisons are made, interpreted and results are achieved (Kızıldeniz, 2017). "As an educator, what are the problems of Roman students in your school?", "What are the shortcomings you see in your school regarding the solution of problems faced by Roman students?", "What are the deficiencies you see in your district regarding the solution of the problems faced by Roman students? ", "What are your suggestions for solving the problems of Roman students in your school?" questions are addressed. In this context, according to the research questions, it was decided to collect the data under 4 themes. These themes; 1. Student Problems, 2. Deficiencies in educational institutions, 3. Shortages in the experienced district, 4. Solution suggestions for problems. After themes have been identified, the resulting data is brought together in a meaningful way under this set of themes. The opinions of the participating teachers were interpreted by taking the frequency values into consideration and supported by direct quotations. In data analysis, teachers' opinions were expressed through coding.

Example:

Ö1, Ö: teacher, I: Primary School, 1: number of teachers,

ÖÖ2, Ö: teacher, O: Middle School, 2: number of teachers.

To ensure the reliability of the research, the researcher and an experienced educational science expert in qualitative research have coded written data. For reliability, the reliability formula developed by Miles and Huberman (1994) was used for reliability = unity of opinion + separation of opinion x 100. The alignment between the researchers and the expert was calculated as 89%. Since the percentage of numbness is 70% or higher (miles and Huberman,1994), it is believed that reliability is ensured for data analysis.

### **Validity and reliability study:**

Teachers volunteered to study. Teachers are assured that the information they share will be used only for scientific purposes and that they will not be shared with third parties and institutions. The studies to ensure validity and reliability of the research are stated below.

### **Validity**

The concept of validity includes studies on the accuracy of the research results. 'Although it is possible to present a holistic picture of the investigated phenomenon or event, some additional methods, such as variation, participatory confirmations, that will help the researcher verify the data he has acquired and the results he has achieved, are important elements in the validity of qualitative research'(Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2011: 256). It is essential for the researcher to observe the subject objectively. Increasing the validity of a survey is also closely related to measuring the case where the measurement tool aims to measure. In the research design of the study there are some factors that affect the internal and external validity (Büyüköztürk, 2014). In a research, internal validity must be integrated with external validity. External validity is the generalization of the results of the measurement in which the result relations are established to other persons, places, planes and times, and internal validity affects the results of the measurement (Şencan, 2005). In order to increase the internal validity of the survey, participants were informed that the results of Interview forms would be used only in this survey and that their identities would not be revealed. During the content

analysis, the data has been repeatedly checked, and the relationships between the sub-themes and the main themes have been checked. For foreign validity, the research process was explained in detail.

### Reliability

"Reliability, repeatability or consistency of measurement results, it is defined as' (Çakır, 2017:28). Validity of qualitative research relates to the level of accuracy of research results and compliance with the overall framework of research; reliability means that research results are free from bias and errors, and results can be repeated by different researchers (Aydemir and Çam 2015). In order to increase the reliability of the research, the following are. In order to increase the internal reliability of the study, findings were given without any comments, spelling, expression disorder etc. written by the participating teachers. Two researchers independently examined the data. He explained in detail what was done to increase the external reliability of the research. The raw data obtained during the research are preserved.

### 3. Findings

As a result of the information obtained from interviews with 51 teachers participating in the study, four themes were formed. The themes that form as a result of the research findings are as follows: 1. Student Problems, 2. Deficiencies in educational institutions, 3. Shortages in the experienced district, 4. Solution suggestions for problems

#### Theme 1: Findings On Student Problems

Teachers asked, "What are the problems of Roman students in your school as an educator?" the teacher's views on the question are given in Table-2.

Table 2. Findings On Student Problems

Themes	Sub-Themes	<i>f</i>
1	Absenteeism	30
2	Behavioral Disorders	14
3	Excluded	11
4	Indifference To Lessons	10
5	Academic Failure	8
6	Financial Incapacity	8
7	Reluctance	5
8	Non-targeting	5
9	Discipline	3
10	Other	3
Total		97

Table-2 when examined, teachers expressed the most about student problems as "absenteeism" (N=30). "There are difficulties in attending school. She doesn't want to read-learn in the ones that go on." (Ö11) in the form stated. Teachers stated that the second most frequent behavior disorder (N=14) related to Student Problems. Teacher secondary school 11 views on the subject " excessive mobility and speech disorder, students between clothing and hair to be treated outside the

normal student.' (OO11) in the form stated. Again, the third sub-theme that came to the fore when teachers wrote about Student Problems was excluded (N=11). Teacher Primary School views on 18 issues "the absence of children in school, minority groups, the problem of adaptation with other children (exclusion)." (Öİ18) in the form stated. The fourth sub-theme that attracted attention when teachers wrote about Student Problems was indifference to the Class (N=10). Teacher Secondary School 1 views on the subject, " Roma students are more irrelevant to the lessons because there are problems. I have never seen a battle against the course." (ÖO1) in the form stated.

**Theme 2: Shortcomings in the educational institution**

Table 3. Findings On Deficiencies In Educational Institutions

Theme 2. Deficiencies In The Educational Institution		f
Sub-themes		
1	Poor Communication With Parents	13
2	Unable To Provide Discipline	9
3	Guidance Service Insufficient	8
4	Social-Cultural Activity Less Than	6
5	Physical Deficiency Present	4
6	Other	7
Total		47

When Table-3 was examined, the teachers expressed their views on the deficiencies in the educational institution in the form of poor communication with the parent at most (n=13). The teacher expressed his opinion on the subject of Secondary School 4 in the form of "private meetings with the parents of the students or home visits" (ÖO4). Again, the teachers who participated in the study stated that the lack of discipline was not achieved (N=9) in their view of the deficiencies in the educational institution. "Roma parents come to the garden every recess and stop their children from playing with their friends." (Öİ19) stated his opinion in the form of. The teachers who participated in the study stated that guidance service is insufficient (N=8), social-cultural activities are low (n=6), physical deficiency (n=4) is present.

**Theme 3: Deficiencies in the district experienced**

Table 4. Deficiencies In The District Experienced

Sub-themes		f
1	Inability To Support Social Inclusion	33
2	Not Prioritized Among Disadvantaged Groups	5
TOTAL		38

Table-4 examined the first of the sub-themes formed by the comprehensive assessment of the views of the teachers who participated in the study regarding the missing persons in the district was "lack of support for social inclusion" (n=33). Teacher's view on the subject of Secondary School 5 "the

Roma cultural association needs to be supported more broadly by the municipality, it needs to become of interest for the scope of courses in the association to be expanded. The Ministry of National Education and the municipality must act jointly to ensure that children are not further cut off from education."(Ö05)stated in the form of. Again, the teachers who participated in the study expressed their opinion on the deficiencies in the district; the priority was not recognized among the disadvantaged groups (n=5). His view of this sub-theme is that "since the care shown for Syrian students in the district is not shown for Roma students, it may cause us to lose them."(Ö03)stated in the form of.

**Theme 4: Solutions for problems**

Table 5. Findings On Solution Suggestions For Problems

Sub-themes	f
1 Studies In The Field Of Guidance Should Be Increased	27
2 Parents Should Be Given Widespread Education	14
3 Increasing Social Activities	13
4 Other	9
Total	63

Table-5 when examined, most of the teachers responded to the solution of the problems of Roma students by saying "Studies in the field of guidance should be increased" (n=27). The teacher stated the opinion of Primary School 25 as "problems with Roma students and Roma parents more guidance can be made about school rules and discipline"(Ö125). Teachers stated that the second most "parents should be given widespread education" (n=14) regarding the solution of Student Problems. Teacher Primary School 16's opinion on the subject "families should be given literacy education, child-rearing education should be given. It has been in the form of " (Ö116).

Again, the third sub-theme of teachers ' writing about the solution of Student Problems was "increasing social activities" (n=13). Teacher Primary School 24's view on the subject was that "activities can be organized with the aim of destroying students ' attitudes towards Roma students'(Ö118).

**Result and Recommendation**

The following conclusions were reached by analyzing the views of the teachers involved in the study.

1. "Absenteeism' was among the most common problems observed and mentioned by teachers working in schools where Roma students are concentrated. Other than that, "behavioural disorder' and "ostracism" have been remarkably involved.

Education can be defined as" the process of creating the desired behavior change in the individual through landscaping". According to this definition, the individual does not have enough status in him or her, and he or she wants to be equipped with the desired behavior. The desired behaviors are gained through the learning process. The learning process focuses on the students (Sönmez, 1986, p.49). School absenteeism presents problems such as low academic achievement, school adjustment and school dropout, and Roma remain outside the education system or fail in the education process (Akkan, Deniz and Ertan, 2011). There are serious problems of absenteeism in schools with Roma students, lack of pre-school education due to financial impossibility, education of children in families

It was found that they were not sufficiently interested in their situation and did not attend school due to the belief that the child could not make a good point by studying (Long, Whole, 2015). Given the importance of education in human life, it is stated by our teachers who participated in the research that Roma citizens who are accepted among disadvantaged groups are absent from school for various reasons.

The decrease in school satisfaction expressed as a subjective and cognitive assessment of the perceived quality of school life may lead to increased extra-curricular behavior in students, decreased academic achievement, and a shift away from school life (Telef, 2014; King, Huebner, Suldo, and Valois, 2006). The teachers involved in the study stated that Roma students often had illegal behavior and that this situation, which could be called indiscipline, had a holistic effect on each other.

Social exclusion is one of the major problems of today (Çakır, 2002), which refers to the fact that people are deprived of material and spiritual resources to move away from social life and lack of institutions and social support to protect their rights and lives. The majority of Roma, identified as one of the important cultural identities in Turkey, are experiencing a vicious cycle that began when they were not registered at birth and had no personal documents and continued when their children were excluded from the education system (Genç, Taylan ve Barış, 2015). The teachers who participated in the study stated that the majority of Roma students were excluded by the circle of friends, and that the reason for this was mutual, and that Roma students were excluded.

2-among the problems observed and mentioned by teachers working in schools where Roma students are concentrated about the deficiencies in educational institutions was the most "poor communication with parents". Other than that, lack of discipline "and" inability to provide guidance " were remarkably involved.

The purpose of the school and the family is the same (Olmsted, Lockhart, 1995). Teachers' perspectives on the contribution of parents to education can often be explained by the analogy "student-teacher-parent hair foot". Between teachers and students, teachers and parents to the education of patients an integral whole, any one of these three cases, reduces the quality of the work of making incomplete is spoken. The teachers who participated in the study mentioned that communication with Roma student parents is weak due to both the school and the teacher and the parent.

Understanding the reasons for the formation of disciplinary problems, determining strategies for solving problems, taking action and reversing the results obtained are of great importance for the quality of the learning and teaching process. The opinion of the teachers who participated in the study that there is no discipline for the deficiencies in the educational institutions is a fact that the discipline can be provided as a community. Individuals in society exhibit different patterns of behavior due to their very different personality traits (Şimşek, Ö. F., 2004).

Guidance services to be provided at primary level should be aimed at helping the student to become aware of their interests and abilities, to develop and maintain a positive attitude towards his / her environment, to develop a healthy, realistic and rich self design, and to gain confidence in himself / herself (Raven, Y. 2006). Among the problems observed and mentioned by teachers regarding the deficiencies in educational institutions is the elimination of the lack of guidance services which will contribute to the solution of all the problems that remain in existence in total, and the answers given by the teachers are mentioned.

3-among the problems observed and mentioned by teachers working in schools where Roma students are busy, regarding the deficiencies in the district, most were the "lack of support for social inclusion". Other than that, "not being given priority among disadvantaged groups" has taken place.

Social inclusion policies emerged in the early 1990s in the context of combating social exclusion (Sapancalı, 2007: 58). Poverty has now come to be seen not only as an economic deprivation, but as a broader pattern of disadvantage that can be called "social exclusion" (Çetin, 2017). In this context, the elimination of the deficiencies experienced in all service branches for disadvantaged groups will undoubtedly contribute to the improvement of the problems experienced in the field of Education.

The significant media coverage of social benefits and recognized rights for Syrian refugees, which are among the disadvantaged groups in our country, and the processing of social perception in this direction has created a perception of second-hand involvement in other disadvantaged groups and societies. In this context, the teachers who participated in the research also reported opinions.

Based on the results obtained for the purpose of the research, the following recommendations have been developed.

\*Guidance activities within the school should be increased for problems such as absenteeism, behavioural disorder, exclusion, class apathy and reluctance, academic failure and non-targeting, indiscipline, etc.in Roma students, and attempts should be made towards a solution.

\*Within the school, activities should be increased to ensure communication with the parent, to ensure discipline, to increase guidance services and to increase social and cultural activities.

\* In disadvantaged groups, all should be considered as one without discrimination, without prioritizing any group.

\* Public institutions and local governments should collaborate in cooperation with local projects to promote social inclusion.

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# **Classroom Management Capabilities of University Lecturers from the Perspective of Undergraduates**

Sukran Aganbas, Ozgur Batur

## **Introduction**

A classroom is a place where educational activities and mutual interactions between teachers and students take place. The place, where individual's behaviours that are changed regarding to a plan and a program is the classroom (Demirtas, 2005). In order to help the student gain the desired behaviours, the classroom environment must be controlled effectively by the teacher (Arslan, 2012). One of the leading qualifications for a teacher is the capability in classroom management (Senturk & Oral, 2008). The fundamental aim in effective classroom management is to set up a positive learning environment in which students are encouraged, given the chance to express themselves and must be directed to find the right answer by discarding the wrong ones (Basar, 2005).

## **1. Classroom Management**

The classroom is a special place structured in order to reach planned aims in which a specific age group of students with different individual characteristics that get affected by various variables during the process of learning (Karšli, 2009). In the teaching-learning process, the classroom activities need to be directed effectively by the teacher. It is important to create a positive environment during the teaching process in order to enable the students to gain the required outcomes of the subjects that are taught by the teacher. The organizational climate of the school and the classroom, motivation status of the students and their learning styles have a holistic effect on the quality and the level of the learning directly (Batur, 2016). The first definition that comes up to mind related to classroom management is discipline. This definition narrows down the meaning of classroom management (Celik, 2008). Classroom management does not mean to discipline the student as a quiet and passive listener. It is to design the required order for an effective learning (Basar, 2005) and to design practical applications that enable a suitable learning environment with an effective time management (Celik, 2013).

### **1.1. Special Characteristics of Classroom Management**

Classroom management requires some multi-dimensional relations. The mutual relations between the teacher-student and teacher-parent, force the teacher to create a close relationship (Celik, 2013). The elements of classroom management involve six different activities as; the physical setting of the classroom, the activities related to instructional plans and programs, time management, arrangement of inclass relations and student behavior arrangement (Karšli, 2009). The physical setting of the classroom involves arranging the classroom considering the educational aims, the amount of the students, temperature, illumination, cleanliness, furniture settings, air conditioning, additional instruments and other relevant issues that can enable a comfortable instructional design (Karzu, 2009). The second element is the plans and programs related to instructional design, useful resources to be used during instruction, methods and techniques of instruction related to the weekly and daily topics (Ada & Dilekmen, 2005).

Time management, as the third element, is the procedures to be arranged related to the topics that can help an effective instructional design, aiming to increase the outcomes of learning set by the teacher. The aims of the subject is pre-planned and with the time management success and desired behavioral outcome levels can increase (Efil, 2003).

Another important element of classroom management is teacher-student interaction which is the source of permanent and effective learning. Teachers need to be sincere, friendly, positive and

understanding in order to supply comfortable instructional settings and effective learning (Jones & Jones, 1998 as cited in Celik, 2013).

The fifth element of classroom management is the behavior design, which involves creating a positive climate in the classroom in order to help students gain the desired behaviors and outcomes related to the subject, preventing undesired behaviors and taking precautions before they happen that can affect the learning negatively and setting the classroom rules with the participation of the students (Ada & Dilekmen, 2005, p. 5). Teachers at every level of the national educational system are responsible for designing instructional activities backed up by appropriate physical settings in the classroom, promoting participation, being sensitive during the interactions with the students placing them at the center of the educational process (Batur, 2013).

According to Rinn (1997), classroom management affects students' behaviors in three ways. The first two are directly related to instruction that can increase students' motivation and desire to learn the subject. The other one is to create the sense of self-control that can affect the learning positively (As cited in Celik, 2008). Students who have a considerable degree of self-control are able to interact within the instructional process in the classroom and increase the amount of gaining the desired values.

### **1.2. Classroom Management As a Course**

The Faculty of Education, almost at every campus of a university has the responsibility to educate students, whom are regarded as pre-service teachers, in order to gain fundamental characteristics of the teaching profession as well as the necessary field knowledge helping them to succeed in their lives as teachers. One of the leading courses that help the pre-service teachers to gain the required teaching qualifications is the Classroom Management Course, designed as two hours of theoretical and practical instructional processes. Pre-service teachers whom are enrolled in this course are able to learn to control the mutual communication processes, how to increase the motivation of students, time management, preventing misbehavior and strategies that are created in order to overcome these attention disturbing acts, detailed and applied techniques of classroom management theories in general (Cakmak, Kayabası & Ercan, 2008).

## **2. Method**

This research is the Master's Thesis of the first author and designed in a quantitative manner within the survey technique (Karasar, 2015) in order to gather relevant data to assess the classroom management capabilities of the university lecturers from undergraduates' perspectives, who teach at the Faculty of Education, Girne American University, during 2016-2017 Academic Year, in Turkish Republic of North Cyprus. In order to gather data, Classroom Management Capability Scale, developed by Çetin (2009) involving demographic informations, 5 point Likert with 5 dimensions and 47 items. The dimensions of the scale are; *Physical Settings (1-7)*, *Instructional Management (8-17)*, *Time Management (18-22)*, *In Class Relations (23-38)*, *Behavior Development and Settings (38-47)*. The 5 point Likert degrees are; (1) *Never*, (2) *Rarely*, (3) *Sometimes*, (4) *Often* and (5) *Always*. The Cronbach Alpha degree of the scale is 0.94 for total scale score, 0.88 for Physical Setting, 0.82 for Instructional Management, 0.87 for Time Management, 0.95 for In Class Relations and 0.92 for Behavior Development and Settings.

### **2.1. Universe and Sample**

The universe consists of 1778 undergraduates that are enrolled at the Faculty of Education, Girne American University, during 2016-2017 Academic Year and the sample consists of 502 undergraduates stated in Table 1.

## Classroom Management Capabilities of University Lecturers

Table 10. Demographic Information of the Participants

Info.	Variables	f	%
Gender	Women	336	66.9
	Men	166	33.1
Level of study	Freshman	192	38.2
	Junior	82	16.3
	Sophomore	97	19.3
	Senior	131	26.1
Classroom size	20 and less	45	9.2
	21-30	49	9.8
	31-40	58	11.6
	41-50	85	16.9
	50 and more	265	52.8
CGPA	0.00-1.99	49	9.8
	2.00-2.99	351	69.9
	3.00-4.00	102	20.3
Weekly course hours	10 hours and less	69	13.7
	11-20	279	55.6
	21-30	148	29.5
	31 hours and more	6	1.2
Attendance	Less than 70%	40	8.0
	70% - 79%	119	23.7
	80% - 89%	157	31.3
	90% - 100%	186	37.1

As stated in Table 1, 66% of the participants are female and 33% are male, which can be regarded as teaching profession is largely preferred by females. The participants' level of study is 38.2% Freshman, 16.3% Junior, 19.3% Sophomore and 26.1% Senior, stating that the highest amount of participants is Freshman. The class size of the participants is 9% 20 students and less, 9.3% 21-30 students, 11.6% 31-40 students, 16.9% 41-50 students, 52.8% 51 and more students, stating that they are educated in crowded classes. Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA) status of the participants; 9.8% between 0.00-1.99, 69.9% 2.00-2.99, 20.3% 3.00-4.00, stating that the highest amount of the participants can be regarded as having 'an average level of success'. Weekly course hours of the participants; 13.7% 10 hours and less, 55.6% 11-20 hours, 29.5% 21-30 hours and 1.2% 31 hours and more, stating that the majority of the participants have a course load of 11 to 30 hours a week. Attendance level of the participants to these course hours; 8% less than 70% attendance, which is 2-3 days, 23.7% have 70-79% attendance, which is 3-4 days, 31.3% have 80-89%, which is 4-5 days and 37.1% have 90-100% attendance which is more than 6-7 days, stating that a considerable amount of students have attendance problems.

### 3. Findings

This section of the research involves the results of non-parametric tests that are applied since the data is not normally distributed according to the Kolmogorov Smirnov test result which is  $p < 0.05$ , ( $p = .013$ ). Table 2 reflects the perception degrees of undergraduates within the dimension of the scale.

Table 2. Classroom Management Dimention Perceptions of Undergraduates

Management Processes	$\bar{X}$	sd
Physical Settings	3,04	,798
Instructional Management	3,53	,761
Time Management	3,47	,815
In Class Relations	3,35	,831
Behavior Development and Settings	3,30	,845
<b>Scale Mean</b>	<b>3,35</b>	<b>,715</b>

When the table is examined, it is possible to mention that university lecturers' classroom capabilities are at a medium level ( $\bar{X}=3.35$ ). Lecturers' 'Instructional Management' ( $\bar{X}=3.53$ ) and 'Time Management' capabilities ( $\bar{X}=3.47$ ), are measured as 'Often' stating that they are regarded as capable in time and instructional management by the undergraduates. 'Physical Setting' capabilities ( $\bar{X}=3.04$ ), 'In Class Relations' ( $\bar{X}=3.35$ ), and 'Behavior Development and Settings' ( $\bar{X}=3.30$ ) are measured as 'Rarely', stating that the lecturers are in need of developing new skills to brush up their capabilities for a better interaction and instruction at university level.

The highest and lowest degrees of the scale items that are measured related to the perceptions of undergraduates' are stated at Table 3.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of the Undergraduates' Perceptions of Classroom Management Capabilities of University Lecturers

Scale Items	$\bar{X}$	sd
Highest Level of Undergraduate Perceptions		
19. Get into class well prepared.	3,88	1,006
23. Use the language effectively.	3,84	1,000
16. Sustain order in class.	3,79	1,011
8. Run the course depending on a plan and systematically.	3,77	,986
18. Use the time effectively.	3,75	,992
25. Use body language effectively.	3,60	,990
Lowest Level of Undergraduate Perceptions		
47. Focus on the negative behavior rather than the student.	2,99	1,174
4. Operate all physical settings with the students.	2,78	1,183
28. Know the individual characteristics of the students and considers during mutal relations.	2,75	1,255
5. Use every space in classroom for an instructional aim.	2,64	1,141
27. Set the classroom rules with students.	2,45	1,246

According to Table 3, the highest level of the lecturers' classroom capabilities regarding the scale items are measured as 'Often' with the degrees; 'Get into class well prepared' ( $\bar{X}=3.88$ ), 'Use the language effectively' ( $\bar{X}=3.84$ ), 'Sustain order in class' (Hata! Yer işaretli tanımlanmamış.=3.79), 'Run the course depending on a plan and systematically' ( $\bar{X}=3.77$ ), 'Use the time effectively' ( $\bar{X}=3.75$ ) and 'Use body language effectively' ( $\bar{X}=3.60$ ). On the other hand, 'Focus on the negative behavior rather than the student' ( $\bar{X}=2.99$ ), 'Operate all physical settings with the students' ( $\bar{X}=2.78$ ), 'Know the individual characteristics of the students and consider during mutal relations' ( $\bar{X}=2.75$ ), 'Use every space in classroom for an instructional aim' ( $\bar{X}=2.65$ ) and 'Set the classroom rules with students' ( $\bar{X}=2.45$ ) are found out to be 'Rarely', underlining that lecturers need to develop better skills regarding these capabilities.

Since the data is not normally distributed, Mann-Whitney U Test is applied instead of t-test for gender variable as stated at Table 4. And other non-parametric tests accordingly.

## Classroom Management Capabilities of University Lecturers

Table 4. Mann-Whitney U Test Results of Gender

Variable	Category	N	$\bar{X}$	Mean Rank	Z	p
Gender	Women	336	3,37	254,68	-,699	0.485
	Men	166	3,30	245,07		

Table 4 states that university lecturers' classroom management capabilities do not reflect a significant difference according to gender variable [ $U_{(502)} = 26820,000$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ] measured for female and male participants of the research. This finding can possibly mean that lecturers at the university approach equally to undergraduates, in terms of classroom management measured by the scale items.

Table 5. Kruskal Wallis-H Results of Level of Study

Level of Study	N	$\bar{X}$	Mean Rank	Chi Square	df	p	Differences in
Freshman (1)	192	3,29	246,04	27,992	3	.00	1-3
Junior (2)	82	3,43	264,80				2-3
Sophomore (3)	97	3,10	193,27				2-4
Senior (4)	131	3,56	294,29				3-4

Table 5 underlines the significant difference [ $X^2=27,992$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ] that is measured by means of the scale regarding the level of study. The findings state that there is a significant difference between every level as Freshmen ( $\bar{X}=3.29$ ), Juniors ( $\bar{X}=3.43$ ), Sophomores ( $\bar{X}=3.10$ ) and Seniors ( $\bar{X}=3.56$ ). The differences are found between Freshmen and Sophomores, Juniors and Sophomores, Juniors and Seniors, Sophomores and Seniors. No difference between Freshmen and Juniors are found in terms of the classroom capabilities of the lecturers possibly stating that depending on the class level increase, the perceptions of classroom management levels are also increased depending on the academic conscious and capacities gained in time. On the contrary, classroom management perceptions for Sophomores are interestingly decreased.

Table 6. Kruskal Wallis- H Results of Class Size

Class Size	N	$\bar{X}$	Mean Rank	Chi-Square	df	p	Differences in
less than 20	45	3,77	346,73	42,490	4	,00	1-2
21-30	49	3,15	209,33				1-3
31-40	58	3,39	263,16				1-5
41-50	85	3,56	300,39				2-3
51 and more	265	3,23	224,89				2-4
51 and more	265	3,23	224,89				4-5

Table 6 states the significant difference between the class size [ $X^2=42.490$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ]. It is found out that when the class size increases, classroom management capability of the lecturers decreases according to the perceptions of the participants. On the contrary, it is measured that classroom management capabilities are higher in classes with 20 and less populated classes.

Table 7. Kruskal Wallis-H Results of CGPA

CGPA	N	$\bar{X}$	Mean Rank	Chi-Square	df	p	Difference
0.00-1.99	49	3,35	252,23	5,712	2	,058	
2.00-2.99	351	3,39	260,20				-
3.00-4.00	102	3,20	221,21				

As stated in Table 7, no significant differences related to CGPA are found out [ $X^2=5.712$ ,  $p>0.05$ ] according to the participants' perceptions. This finding also underlines that there is not a significant difference amongst the CGPA groups, possibly because the majority of the participants are grouped between 2.00-2.99 CGPA.

*Table 8. Kruskal Wallis-H Results of Weekly Course Load*

Weekly Course Load	N	$\bar{X}$	Mean Rank	Chi Square	df	p	Differences in
10 hours and less (1)	69	3,39	263.60	31,882	3	,00	1-3
11-20 hours (2)	279	3,43	271.50				1-4
21-30 hours (3)	148	3,15	201.23				2-3
31 hours and more (4)	6	4,09	422.33				3-4

Table 8 reflects the significant difference depending on the weekly course load of the participants [ $X^2=31.882$ ,  $p<0.05$ ]. Findings state that the significant difference exist between the participants with 10 hours and less weekly course load ( $\bar{X}=3.39$ ), 11-20 hours ( $\bar{X}=3.43$ ), 21-30 hours ( $\bar{X}=3.15$ ), 31 hours and more ( $\bar{X}=4.09$ ). The differences between groups are; 10 hours and less with 21-0 hours, 10 hours and less with 31 hours and more; 11-20 hours with 21-30 hours, 31-30 hours and 31 hours and more. The groups with 21-30 hours have the less average rather than 31 hours and more group, possibly explaining that the participants who have more course hours interact with the lecturers more and reflect a positive perception regarding the lecturers' classroom management capabilities.

*Table 9. Kruskal Wallis-H Results of Attendance*

Attendance Status	N	$\bar{X}$	Mean Rank	Chi-Square	df	p
70% less than	40	3,19	219.54	5.125	3	,163
70-79%	119	3,31	242.20			
80-89%	157	3,31	246.69			
90-100%	186	3,43	268.38			

Table 9 presents the Kruskal Wallis-H test applied in order to find the possible difference between the student groups regarding their attendance status, evaluating the classroom a management capability of the lecturers of the Girne American University, The Faculty of Education. According to the test results no significant difference is found [ $X^2= 5.125$ ,  $p>, 163$ ].

## 5. Results

This research was conducted at the Girne American Univerisy, the Faculty of Eduation during 2016-2017 Academic Year aiming to find out classroom capabilities of the lecturers who teach at the same faculty form undergraduates' perceptions. The findings state that;

1. Lecturers' 'Instructional Management' and 'Time Management' capabilities are at a moderate level, underlining that they are regarded as 'capable' in time and instructional management by the undergraduates whereas; 'Physical Setting' capabilities, 'In Class Relations' and 'Behavior Development and Settings' are at a low level underlining that the lecturers fall behind the expectations of undergraduates in order to organize the classroom for better instructional outcomes, are not effective in mutual relations and behavioral developments which can be regarded as 'vital' for educational aspects and supply the needs of the students at the university level.

2. When the results are examined according to the scale average scores, it is found out that instructional and time management are measured 'often' (degree 4 in the 5 Likert scale) and physical settings, in

class relations and behavior development setting are found to be 'rarely' (degree 3) stating that lecturers have the lack to sustain mutual relations with the undergraduates.

3. No significant difference found within the research considering the gender, CGPA and attendance variables.

4. Lecturers' classroom management capability perceptions change depending on the study, level of the participants, which can be regarded as a 'moderate finding' so that the academic awareness is likely to increase in time.

5. It is found that class size has a considerable effect on the success of the students so that the level of interaction in the teaching environment and the competency of the lecturers is likely to decrease in crowded classes.

6. The final finding is the effect of the course load which stated a significant difference according to the participants' perceptions. Even if the result was somehow positive on behalf of the lecturers, heavy course loads are likely to decrease the motivation of the participants and the lecturers.

## 6. Recommendations

1. The findings of this research stated that classroom management perceptions of the participants increased depending on their class level, but the Sophomore level stated a considerable decrease. A qualitative research can be done in order to find out the reasons for this decrease within a deep understanding of this phenomenon.

2. This research is conducted with undergraduates within a quantitative manner, aiming to find out their perceptions of lecturers' classroom management capabilities. A mixed method research can be conducted in order to asses variables, both from the lecturers and undergraduate perspectives.

3. Post graduates' perceptions of the lecturers' classroom capabilities can be another topic of a research both quantitave and qualitative.

4. In order to increase the classroom capabilities of the lecturers, in-service educations, seminars and workshops can be designed to reach better instructional outcomes.

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# The American Dream of Mongolian Students

Gulsah Tasci, Hasan Arslan

## 1. Introduction

International student's mobility (ISM) is very popular phenomenon in higher education nowadays. One of the most important keys affecting the internationalization of higher education is the mobility of international students across borders. Cross-border mobility of students is the fundamental component of internationalization of Higher Education (Li & Bray, 2007). In the light of the data collected by the OECD, ISM mobility has increased over the last three decades compared to international migration (Wilkins et al., 2012). It is estimated that more than 7 million foreign students will be enrolled in higher education institutions by 2025 (Perraton, 2004).

Many important studies have been carried out on the important aspects of ISM until now the 1980s (Lee & Tan 1984; McMahon 1992; Marazzarol & Soutar 2002; Altbach 2004; Aleles, 2015). ISM has significant academic and economic results and is expected to improve substantially in the future. ISM not only pay dividends to the internationalization of universities but also to the perspectives, future careers and lifestyles of students (Li & Bray, 2007). Along with four rationales of internationalization, such as political, economic, social / cultural and academic reasons, these models make international student flows more dynamic and complex and become an important issue in higher education (de Wit, 2008). Also, economic conditions in countries receiving international acceptance have changed the general supply and demand for international student programs (Aleles, 2015)

When looked at ISM from the world perspective, it can be said that English speaking countries such as North America, Australia, England, Canada are in the leading positions, also Asian countries have experienced significant increases compared to previous years. These countries, which are leading their economic returns with the market understanding, are in a serious race (de Wit, 2008; Li & Bray, 2007; Lasanowski, 2009). Therefore, in order to pull students, countries constantly revise their regulations and follow target country strategies (Tasci, 2018). In the policies of countries that pull international students, it is observed that they use pulling forces in various ways. Some countries use their universities that are respected worldwide, while some use their new scholarship programs. Thus, they aim to increase the number of international students.

Furthermore, students are affected by many factors in the country selection. In particular, there is a desire to receive a high-quality education. Therefore, meeting student expectations is becoming more and more important in this process. It is seen that countries and especially institutions are competing in order to get a share of the cake from students (Tasci, 2018). Also, there are many factors that affect students' preferences such as tuition fees, country relations, foreign language, the success of universities and bureaucratic procedures (Levent et al., 2013, p.102).

When the literature review on the subject is made, it is seen that the students' mobility is mostly focused on the problems encountered by the students during the mobility process (Davis, 1995; Yeh and Inose, 2003; McLachlan & Justice 2009; Sherry et al. 2010; Crose 2011; Gebhard, 2012; Koskey 2013; Beerkens et al. 2016; Titrek et al., 2016; Martinez & Colaner, 2017; Tasci & Kenan, 2018) and it is noteworthy that most of the researches on ISM are concentrated in migration studies (Lee, 1966). From the migration research window, the goal of ISM research is to know the main pillar of student flows and to investigate the effects that are known as push and pull factors. ISM, it is seen that the reasons why students choose to study in cross-border countries are a subject that researchers focus less (Davis 1995; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Li & Bray, 2007; Brooks & Waters, 2011; Bodycott, 2009; Findlay et al., 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2012; Padlee, Kamaruddin, & Baharun, 2010; Wilkins & Huisman, 2011; Thai, 2013; Jupiter et al., 2017).

On the other hand, when students arriving in North America are examined, it is seen that the Mongolian students have recently preferred the United States for student mobility. Therefore, in this study, it is tried to elucidate why students from Mongolia choose to study in the United States and the

problems that have been implicit in this process. Also, in this research, the question of what are social, economic and political factors affecting decision-making processes is sought when the Mongolian students decide to study in the United States. The theoretical outline of the study is based on the theory of migration of Lee (1966) and the factors that shape the decision process of the students are discussed in the scope of push-pull theory by Mazzarol ve Soutar (2002).

## 2. Literature on ISM as a 'Push- Pull' Factors

When the reasons for mobility of international students are examined, it is seen that the basic sociological root is based on the phenomenon of "migration". As indicated by the UN in 2016, international migration (IM) has evolved into a global phenomenon in which its complexity and influence are greatly felt and also, IM has both positive and negative aspects in the development of a country. It is argued that the country is a positive force for development because it can obtain the knowledge, expertise and services required by skilled and unskilled labor, and because migration facilitates development for the developing country (Li & Bray, 2007).

There is a universal tendency for the people of developing countries to move to developed countries in order to lead a more comfortable life. In addition, more travel selections and quicker stream of information facilitated relocation worldwide. Therefore, migration has emerged in the past few decades as an important demographic force in the world, especially with globalization (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). Economic and political factors, family reunification and natural disasters sometimes lead to migration. Therefore, migration is seen to be a subject of constant change along with changing socio-economic and geopolitical conditions (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). There are many theories in the literature about IM. For the reason, many researchers tend to categorize migration theories according to multiple factors. On the other hand, there is a very important literature to determine the motivations of international students to select countries -universities or their criteria for selection (Wilkins et al., 2012). Some experts have evaluated the decision-making process of international students as a period in which the student passes through certain stages (Maringe & Carter, 2007; Maringe, 2009). Other research experts concentrated on the factors affecting the students' choices about countries and universities.

The push-pull model was initially created to clarify the factors affecting the relocation of people in the first stage (Lee, 1966), but since then it has become the most common tool used by research experts in the field of education to explain international student inspirations and choices. Similarly, one of the first studies on the factors affecting the decision-making process of international students was made by McMahon in 1992 and two models were proposed in this study. The first of these models was about the availability of higher education and the driving forces in these countries, including the economic power of each country. The second model focused on the economic, political and social pull factors of the United States for higher education (Wilkins et al., 2012, p. 415-416).

Considering the written works, various studies have been done to understand the factors affecting the decisions of international students. There are so-called push and pull reasons that drive international students. These can be listed briefly as the language, culture, history, quality of the country institutions, the worldwide reputation and the development level of the country. In this context, almost after McMahon's work, all research on international student motivations and decision criteria has adopted the "push-pull" theory of Mazzarol and Soutar (2002). This model was used to better understand the course of international students, decisions or motivating factors abroad, and the location and institution choices of international students (Wilkins et al., 2012). Almost all work on international student inspirations and decision criteria from McMahon's work to the present day have also adopted the push-pull framework (Wilkins et al., 2012, p. 415-416), also the push-pull model was originally developed to explain the factors leading to migration, but it has become the most widely used tool to help research experts in the field of education and understand international student's decisions. For example, Altbach differentiates push and pull factors. In addition, Altbach described the push-pull model, which explains why some students are excluded from their country for negative social, academic and financial reasons and why they are influenced by conditions such as important financial

scholarships and better economic opportunities by foreign universities providing appropriate education. (Altbach 1998, p. 240).

When the literature is examined, it is seen that the most common push factors are lack of opportunity in the country, poor education quality, employers' choice for overseas education, economic issues, lack of specific issues, and politic issues in the country. On the other hand, previous studies in the literature show that pushing factors can be caused by both the student and the student's environment. Students can choose a university by being affected by family, social environment, parents' education level and income status, relatives' education status, their success level, close relatives, friends or high school teachers studying abroad. In addition to these factors, the most important motivating requests are the desire to have a diploma in the name of personal development and satisfaction, the attraction of studying abroad and learning foreign languages, and the expectation of a higher salary which is expected afterward. In addition to factors caused by the person of the student and his / her immediate environment, external environmental factors also affect the student's choice. Another important factor affecting the student's choice is the existence of links between countries in terms of history, language, culture, religion and politics (Becker & Kolster, 2012, p. 10-15).

In addition to Mazzarol and Soutar (2002), Chen (2007) and McMahon (1992) mentioned international students gather information about the department they want to study abroad, according to their own goals, before choosing which country they want to go to. They determine alternative countries in light of the information they collect and apply for the most appropriate ones. They choose the most appropriate one according to the answers from the countries they apply, taking into account the visa, program, university quality and costs (Becker & Kolster, 2012, p. 10-15).

Furthermore, Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) underlined that there are six main factors affecting the selection of workplaces: a) information about the host country, b) personal advice, c) cost of working and living, d) general environment, e) geographical location and f) social connection. On the other hand, Thorsby (1999, p. 11) showed that many students prefer to study abroad due to the improvement of international communication channels, reduced cost of air travel, various educational opportunities, expanded global labor markets, etc. Moreover, the image or reputation of a country and an institution is effective in the decision-making process of international students (Cubillo et al., 2006). There are some internal factors that effect students' preferences, one of which is family (Ivy, 2010). Opinions given by friends and peers also naturally affect students' preferences and decisions (Hayden, 2000).

Among the most frequently mentioned pulling factors in the literature are education quality and country or university reputation- rankings, improved employment opportunities, the opportunity to develop English skills and the opportunity to recognize a several culture. They can be listed as follows (Becker & Kolster, 2012, p.10-15): The comprehensive promotion campaign of the target country, the existence of international student policy, the ability to provide adequate information about the country and educational institutions, the quality and respectability of education, the existence of academic freedom, mutual recognition of the student's diploma by his own country and the target country, cost of living expenses in the target country, such as tuition fees, scholarships, transportation costs, governance of higher education institutions, crime rate in the country, the presence of crimes such as racism, security level, the number of international students in the country, the level of internationalization in terms of the existence of international programs and immigration policies, the presence of living, education and working environment in the country, the presence of relatives or friends in the country, social and geographical connections to the country, such as the country's geographical proximity.

Moreover, the countries with universities with the most widely spoken, read and written languages (such as English, French, German, Russian and Spanish) are preferred by students. English-speaking countries are mainly preferred by students because of the fact that the English language is a global common language in higher education and therefore in business life around the world. Therefore, institutions of higher education in many countries such as Germany, France, Japan, which are not speaking English, offer full, intensive or partial English programs in educational programs in an effort to obtain a share from the international student market (OECD, 2012).

In today's information society, which emerged under the influence of globalization, it is observed that the countries that make the most information and publicity pull the most students. This situation can be expressed as both a pushing and a pulling factor. Apart from the factors that push the student to study abroad, there are factors that pull the student to study far away from his / her country. These pushing and pulling factors may interfere with each other. A degree obtained from the institution of a host country is generally considered an investment to find a job in either the host country or in a third country after graduation. In addition to the benefits of more international recognition, many host countries allow their students to stay in the country after their study and to apply for a stay permission and to reward the degrees obtained in their country (Hercog & Laar, 2017).

### **3. The Mobility of Mongolian Students**

Mongolia is one of the most populous countries in the world. Most of the population is nomadic and historically most of the population preferred a nomadic lifestyle (2019 Global Education Monitoring Report, 2018). For the reason, the number of Mongolian students abroad has increased tremendously since the country's transition from a communist state with the Soviet Union to a market economy. The difficulties experienced in domestic higher education and the system itself increased student migration (Loo, 2017). Since the establishment of democracy in the early 90s, Mongolia has made significant progress in acquiring international identities for its universities. There is still a lot to be done by international societies, the Mongolian government and individual institutions. Support of international organizations and foreign universities is needed to develop the infrastructure of Mongolian universities (Altantsetseg, 2008). The estimates of UNESCO show that there are less than 10,000 Mongolian students enrolled in higher education abroad in 2012. The main target countries include South Korea, Russia, USA, Japan and Turkey. Although the levels of higher education in Mongolia have been impressive in recent years, the quality of higher education is still lacking despite ongoing reform initiatives. Fair access issues are continuing, especially for students who are poor or live in rural areas. Most of these problems are due to inadequate government funding (Loo, 2017, p. 19-20).

Student mobility in Mongolia can contribute to internationalization by bringing the skills and experience of academics and students abroad to their country. Many of Mongolia's educational indicators are equal with their developed neighbors, and since the transition, particularly higher education has greatly improved. In 2015, there were 162,626 students registered to Mongolian institutions and the gross enrollment rate was 68 percent. During the Cold War, the majority of the Mongolians studying abroad did so in the Soviet Union or in countries accordant with the Soviet Union. In 2014, the countries with the most mobility were China, South Korea, and the United States (Loo, 2017, p.20). More than 15,000 Mongolian students are abroad for education. In addition, a large number of students, especially in certain countries such as China and Russia, are funded by scholarship programs largely or completely bilateral. A relatively small number of Mongolian students can earn scholarships provided by Mongolian NGOs and companies and by foreign governments and host institutions (Loo, 2017, p. 20). The majority of higher education institutions are located in Ulaanbaatar, where most of the country's financial and social resources are concentrated. The students are deprived of family and friends who go abroad for educational purposes (Loo, 2017, p.20).

The growth in the internationalization of higher education reflects the globalization of economies and societies, as well as the expansion of higher education policies around the world. In many countries international students contribute a great deal to the economy and produce a significant workforce for the host country. International students not only contribute to tuition fees, but they also spend a great deal of money on accommodation, meals and similar places (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). In order to pull more international students, it is necessary to understand what factors affect international students when making educational decisions abroad. Therefore, it is necessary to fill the gap to examine the factors affecting international students' decisions and mobility, especially from the student perspective (Shuai & Lang, 2017). Therefore, in this study, the answer to the question what the factors are affecting the decision of Mongolian students to choose the United States as the target of learning was sought.

#### **4. Method**

In this study, the phenomenological research method from qualitative research methods was used. Creswell (2007) suggests in-depth interviews with participants as a method of data collection in phenomenological studies. Mongolian students who had undergraduate, master and doctorate degrees in American universities participated in this study. 15 students selected with purposeful sampling method were interviewed. All participants are graduated now. Interviews were performed with 9 women and 6 men. At the request of the participants their names are kept confidential and are called as P1-P15. Ages of the participants depends on between 18 and 28. Interview questions and objectives have been sent to all participants in advance. Participation in the research has been voluntary. Each interview lasted from 20 minutes to 45 minutes and was recorded with the consent of the participants. In the interviews, the participants were asked why they chose the United States rather than the other countries and the factors affecting decision-making processes in learning abroad. In addition, participants' views on the difficulties faced by Mongolian students in the United States have been revealed. In the analysis of data, the phenomenological analysis method was employed. While the findings were revealed at the end of the study, three main themes were chosen for the decision-making process of Mongolian students. Push-pull factors and challenges.

#### **5. Findings**

The findings obtained in the study were examined under the following heading: Push-pull factors and challenges.

##### **5.1. Push-pull factors and challenges**

The process of deciding to become an international student is a complex process. The reasons behind can be based on many factors. In this study, Mongolian students stated that there are four main factors that pulled themselves to America, on the other hand, the participants in this study suggested that there were four main reasons for their motivation to study abroad. These factors constitute the push factor category.

Many interviewees stated that the high quality of education abroad is an important factor in influencing the decision-making process of Mongolian students. It was expressed by the participants that there is the lack of adequate quality and international level of education, lack of funding, lack of expert academicians, inability to solve the foreign language problem, employment problem after graduation in Mongolia. Among the most powerful pull factors are the American fascination of Mongolian families and their dictation to their children that they will send them to education in the United States from a younger age. The idea that the host country is one of the leading countries in the world and that education in the United States will make them more prestigious in their careers when they return to their country is among the strongest pull factors. In addition, half and full scholarships granted by the host country have been accepted as the strongest pull factor by all participants.

In addition, the quality of education in American universities and the ability of teachers are among the pull factors for students to choose the United States for education. Mongolian students stated that the quality of education in Mongolia is low, that academicians do not know English and are unequipped, Mongolian rural structure and economic development level are low, business opportunities are limited, English is not well taught, and the low visibility of Mongolia in the international arena are the main reasons for choosing the United States to study. The fact that American universities are at the top of the world university rankings is again among the pull factors. In recent years, the close economic and educational cooperation of the Mongolians with the United States was a pull factor. Almost all of the Mongolian students think it would be a good opportunity for their careers to graduate from American universities. Participants expressed their fear and concern about the thesis writing process. They expressed that they found it hard to start writing the thesis and that they waited for a long time. One of the participants' views is as follows:

*I'm studying business administration. The company I work in Mongolia sent me to the United States for two years to study and intern. The company pays all my expenses. So, I think I can work for the Mongolian companies in the United States in the future (P-4).*

*It's amazing to study in an American University. The reason I chose the United States is because the best universities are here. Studying in the United States is a dream for many Mongolian students. We are preparing for the TOEFL test in English at a younger age to be able to come to America. For example, I first came to the United States to learn English. After one year of education, I succeeded in language exams and other exams and received an acceptance from an American University. I'm studying accounting right now. Education quality and social conditions are very good, and academics are very knowledgeable (P-9)*

*I can say that the scholarship policies and working conditions convinced me to come to the United States for education. I got a full scholarship from the American government. It partially compensates for my living expenses and tuition in the United States. I'm working part time and compensate the remaining expenses. From time to time, my parents are supporting me financially (P-12).*

All Mongolian participants first expressed that the United States is the best country to choose for improving their English language skills. Mongolian students have shown that the quality of education in the United States is very high and has many opportunities, which is a strong factor in their decision to study in the country.

*While studying in America, we are constantly in dialogue with international students and lecturers. I can follow international developments in my field. I had the opportunity to participate in a lot of workshops, seminars and receive certificates. The quality of education is very good, on the other hand, provided the opportunity to improve my English. Time is never enough for me here. I believe that after graduation I will find a very good job in the United States. That was my dream. It's not just me, it's the dream of the whole world (P-11).*

*I'm studying politics and international relations. This is the heart of the world. The heart of the whole world beats here. I had to opportunity to establish several networks. Here, networking is very important. The United States is the best country to choose in my field (P-2).*

As we can see, the lack of opportunity in Mongolia seems to be a push factor. Therefore, although the lack of opportunity in Mongolia is an important push factor, the fact that the United States is the center of attraction and the perception of the American dream is a strong pull factor in the selection of the United States.

In this study, Mongolian students stated that they started preparations for the university entrance exam from early ages. Especially the students whose families made plans accordingly stated that they had undergone a very stressful process and that it was very difficult to enter the university and they wanted to study abroad because of the fact that they had very few universities in Mongolia. During the interviews, most of the Mongolian students stated that the idea of studying abroad was primarily initiated by their families and that their families were effective in decision making.

All participants stated that in the United States, there is an opportunity to improve their English language skills and make new friends from different countries. It was stated by the participants that Mongolian students do not have sufficient level of English and it is not planned in such a way that they will have proficiency at international level, and the inadequateness of infrastructure. On the other hand, students stated that choosing the United States is a factor that increases their prestige and respect in Mongolia.

## The American Dream of Mongolian Students

*I went to Mongolia on Thanksgiving. You should have seen how proud my mother was when she was talking about me at a dinner with her friends. My mother's friends praised me. This is a very nice feeling. I'm studying in the United States now (P-15)*

Although the push factors in choosing American universities are mostly personal by nature, the pull factors are varied. The majority of Mongolian students have compared universities in Mongolia with American universities in various ways (such as ranking, fame). Most of the Mongolian students emphasized that studying at American universities, the leader of the international world, is important in their academic careers. Mongolian students have stated that they are trying to understand the quality of the institutions by rankings on the websites.

*During the university selection, I searched for the university rankings in the United States. With the help of an expert, I had the chance to see the advantages and disadvantages of the rankings that would provide me. I have decided on the X university, which has the international reputation that responds to my interest. Because this university has an international reputation, I'm sure when I graduate and return to the Mongolian, I'll be able to find a job where I can make a lot of money in my field (P-1).*

Interestingly, it was observed that the Mongolian students mentioned an interesting point when deciding on the country. Four of the participants explained why they chose the United States by referring to the fact that their roots are connected to the United States.

*Many of my father's relatives are from the Mongolian American community. That's why I had the United States in my life since I was a kid. I knew I'd come to the United States one day and study. This is in our spirit (P-3).*

Some of the participants mentioned the reasons for choosing the United States by referring to the good political relations between the two countries.

*I wanted to study politics. In terms of relationships I could choose for this, the United States was the only option. Mongolia's relations with the United States are getting better every day. As a result of diplomatic relations between Mongolia and the United States, both countries are trying to maintain good relations to promote regional and global peace and security. In this respect, I think that the US-Mongolian relations will be better in terms of economic cooperation and in the political arena (P-8).*

## 6. Discussion

In this context, the theoretical framework of the study was discussed within the framework of Lee's immigration theory and the push-pull theory of Mazzarol and Soutar (2002). The background of the reasons why students decide to study abroad in general, why they prefer the United States in the next phase, and the last phase of the university (institution) selection process has been observed. It is seen that these phases are partly the same as that of Mazzarol and Soutar (2002). While many sociological, academic, economic and political factors were observed to be effective in the decision-making process, the intertwined interaction of push and pull forces are also noteworthy. It was seen that Mongolian students, as students in an emerging country, have a strong desire to study in the United States. The main push factors from the country were career demand, quality of education and the desire to improve English. It is seen that these are partly the same as that of Counsell, (2011) and Cubillo, et al., (2006). Therefore, since the United States is one of the countries in which English is spoken, it is accepted as the target country for Mongolian students. Study findings revealed that students' choice of country is influenced by popular educational culture, for example, the American dream, the recommendations of relatives and friends. It is seen that the same results were obtained in previous similar studies (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Lee & Morrish, 2012). Many interviewees and the high quality of education abroad have been an important factor in influencing the decision-making process of Mongolian students. The

lack of adequate quality and international level of education in Mongolia, lack of funding, lack of expert academicians, inability to solve the foreign language problem, employment problem after graduation were expressed by the participants. Among the most powerful push factors are the American fascination of Mongolian families and the dictating to their children that they will be sent to the United States from a younger age. The idea that the host country is one of the leading countries in the world and that education in the United States will make them more prestigious in their careers when they return to their country is among the strongest pull factors. In addition, half and full scholarships granted by the host country have been accepted as the strongest pull factor by all participants. Also, the quality of education in American universities and the ability of teachers are among the pull factors for the students to choose the United States for education. The fact that American universities are at the top of the world university rankings is also one of the pull factors. It is seen that these are partly the same as that of Mazzarol, (1998), Verbik and Lasanowski (2007). The pull factor was the close economic and educational cooperation of the Mongolians with the United States in recent years. Almost all the Mongolian students think that graduating from American universities will be a good opportunity for their careers. Mongolian students stated that the quality of education in Mongolia is low, that academicians do not know English and are unequipped, Mongolian rural structure and economic development level are low, business opportunities are limited, English is not well taught, and the low visibility of Mongolia in the international arena are the main reasons for choosing the United States to study. As seen, the lack of opportunity in Mongolia seems to be a push factor. Therefore, although the lack of opportunity in Mongolia is an important push factor, the fact that the United States is the center of attraction and the perception of the American dream is a powerful pull factor in the selection of the United States. Many Mongolian students have compared universities in Mongolia with American universities in various ways (such as ranking, fame). Universities fame or ranking have impact on students decision-making when choosing a foreign university. It is seen that these are partly the same as that of Mazzarol, (1998), Verbik and Lasanowski (2007). Most of the Mongolian students emphasized that studying at American universities, the leader of the international world, is important for their academic careers. Mongolian students have stated that they are trying to understand the quality of the institutions by reading the various reviews and rankings on the websites. It was observed that the Mongolian students mentioned an interesting point when deciding on the country. Four of the participants explained why they chose the United States by referring to the fact that their roots are connected to the United States. It was seen that some of the participants mentioned the reasons for choosing the United States by referring to the good political relations between the two countries. Eventually, the process of deciding to become an international student is a complex process. The reasons behind can be based on many factors. In this study, it is observed that the students were influenced by multiple factors during the decision process. It is seen that the same results were obtained in previous similar studies. Previous research shows that international students who choose to study in Western countries gain international experience, higher quality of education, increased country and institution reputation, improved English language skills, increased quality of professors, and motivated as teaching and learning environment (Wilkins et al., 2012).

## **7. Recommendations**

This study not only advocates working on push-pull factors in the statement of international student flows but also recognizes the need for further sociological work to define dynamic relationships and changes between host and target countries. In this context, it is necessary to examine the international student flows in depth within the framework of migration theory. When the flow between developed and developing countries emerges, the implicit reasons behind the students' decisions need to be examined through interdisciplinary studies. This study is only a fraction of "*The American dream of Mongolian students*" of a developing country, dealt with within the framework of push-pull factors. Therefore, this study should be taken one step further and supported by quantitative research.

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# Assesment of “Science And Technology from the View of Highly Talented Students” Project Financed by Tubitak Under 4004 Nature And Science Schools Program

Jale İpek, Duygu Vargor Vural

## 1. Introduction

According to “The strategic plan about the Education of highly Talented Students” that was prepared by Department of Special Education and Guidance in Ministry of National Education, the opportunities for these students to develop their creativity and abilities in line with their interests need to be increased in Turkey. So, it is important to create the future of Turkey by recognizing highly talented students and educate them as individuals who have developed themselves from the political, strategic, scientific, technological and sociological perspectives, who think fast, who are motivated, creative, able to solve problems, think analytically, have researcher, original, ethical and human values. The studies that have been done in our country shows that; the quality of the education which is provided to our highly talented students in our education system is not sufficient due to lack of adequate physical conditions, a differentiated education system for them, the academic researches which have been done on differentiated education models and number of qualified tutors who are dealing with those kids.

Together with the developing technology, the problems faced by people are becoming more complex. The skills needed to solve these problems encountered in daily life differ in this direction. It is stated that every individual should have 21st century skills in the scope of universal literacy, including critical thinking, problem solving, entrepreneurship, adaptability, creativity, cooperation and leadership, flexible thinking and communication skills (Akgündüz et al., 2015; Bybee). , 2010; Wagner, 2008; Windschitl, 2009). This seems to be possible through qualified teaching programs in order to educate individuals with the specified skills.

Developments in all disciplines, especially in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics, have shaped every field of modern life and play a key role in solving future problems (Brophy, Klein, Portsmore, and Rogers, 2008; Moore et al., 2014; NGSS, 2013; NRC, 2012). STEM education, which is a multidisciplinary approach aiming to educate students with a holistic perspective on science, technology, engineering and mathematics, requires these disciplines to be used together and at the same time in the solution of daily life problems. (Berlin and Lee, 2005; Daugherty, 2013; Kuenzi, 2008).

The persons educated by STEM education have grown as individuals who have different critical perspectives, who can think analytically, solve existing problems with the knowledge they have learned in the lessons and make interdisciplinary transitions. For all these purposes, in the “Science and Technology From The View Of Highly Talented Students” Project financed by Tubitak Under 4004 Nature and Science Schools Program; the highly talented students, who are studying in Bornova Anatolian High School, would have a chance to examine the relationship between each other in holistic and different subjects related to science, engineering, technology and mathematics.

Tubitak 4004 – Nature and Science School Program; is aimed to reach all the individuals of the society by meeting them with the scientific point of view and this knowledge is obtained by touching, seeing, experimenting, making workshop and laboratory studies to reach understandable information. In these projects, it is aimed that target group would reach this scientific knowledge by questioning, thinking and applying.

## 2. Aim Of The Research

Bornova Anatolian High School is one of the qualified school in Turkey so there are lots of highly talented students. In the meetings held with the school's guidance and research unit, school administrators and teachers, it was emphasized that appropriate training plans should be prepared for these students. It is determined that students are most interested in computer, technology and engineering areas and they plan to choose professions related to these subjects in the future. The main aim of this project is to improve the learning environment in order to develop scientific perspectives, to develop self-efficacy, creativity, flexibility, dynamism, differences, and to develop self-related computer (software, coding, data structures), technology and engineering applications and get together the students with experts and guidance teachers in the field. Thanks to these activities and studies, providing the school with up-to-date information and providing an educational environment in which students are satisfied in the direction of interest and talent will help them increase their curiosity for scientific studies and will create a student group willing to learn. That is important for this group to build Turkey's future emerged.

In addition, developments in science and technology require the use of new information and technical tools in the field of education. The rapid development of technology ensures that information is easily accessible. Integration of this development into the lessons is possible through enrichment in the classroom environment. In structured and modern educational environments, emphasis is placed on making applications using multiple sensory organs and creating educational environments with multiple objects.

## 3. The Target Group Of The Research

The target group of the research consist of 30 highly talented students studying in Bornova Anatolian High School and are the participants of the project "Science and Technology From The View Of Highly Talented Students" financed by Tubitak Under 4004 Nature and Science Schools Program.

As the target group of our activity is the highly talented students studying in Bornova Anatolian High school, it is considered that the selection of students is not necessary to announce out of the school. For this reason, information about the activity was made when the students were together at regular intervals. The details about the project and the aim of the project was announced on the school's web page. The poster about the content of the project, its aim, the work calendar, the details of the project's instructors, was hanged in different places of the school and the students were informed about the project activities.

## 4. Collection Of The Datas

### 4.1. Pre-Test Form and Activities

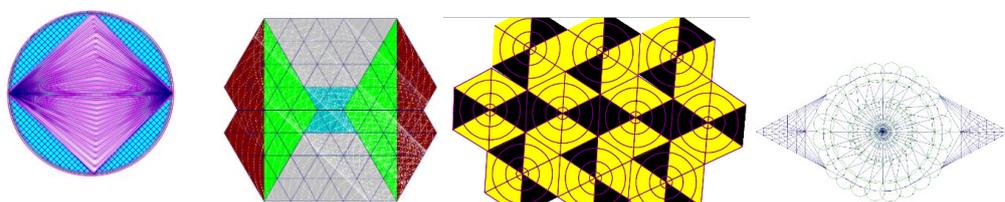
The students who want to participate in the event have filled in the Project Participation Form and made their applications to the assigned teachers. In addition, detailed information meetings were held for the students who wanted to participate in the project. Project activities are planned by taking into account the students' grade levels.

The students were asked questions to determine the readiness level of the students with the instructors participating in the prior to the project activities. Introduction to programming, Computer Games, and Artificial Learning, Vision diagnostics, Arduino Robot Development, Medical and Nuclear Physics questions were prepared by the instructors. A total of 45 questions, including open-ended, semi-open-ended and multiple-choice were asked to students before each lesson. The pre-test and the post-test comparison of the activities were examined in section 5.2. Before the form was applied, the students were informed about the purpose of using the evaluation form and compliance with the confidentiality principles. The project activities were held on 25-29 June 2018 at Izmir University of Economics, Ege University, Bornova Anatolian High School and Kâtip Çelebi Education and Research Hospital. The training courses were held between 09:00-12:00 and 13:00-16:00 as totally six classes a day during five days period.

## 5. Post-Tests

### 5.1. The Survey and Results of Applying Geometry Art Relations to Geometry Classes by Means of Dynamic Software.

Adornments and patterns related to the usage of Geometer’s Sketchpad (GSP) and Geogebra Programs in geometry classes were designed at computer labs at Ege University Faculty of Education on the fourth day of this study. The students were provided to design geometrical drawings and then to draw patterns with these geometrical drawings they formed by using Dynamic Geometry Software. Besides this study, it was observed that the students had focused on dots, lines, circles and the relations between these geometric shapes. It is possible to change and remodel the created objects in Dynamic Geometry Software. The students were able to find out some operations like parallel displacement, reflection, symmetry, rotation, displacement, expansions and construction. The students made their own drawings and designs. Some of them are shown below. (Figure1).



**Figure 1: The Student’s Drawing and Design Examples**

The students were asked semi-open ended questions related to learning Geometry Sketch Path (GSP) program with videos, designing and drawing patterns by using GSP. The frequencies of single answer questions that have been asked students are shown in Table 1. It is seen that %75 of students haven’t used Geogebra before, 96% of them haven’t used Geometry Sketch Path before but 60% of the students will use these programs in their careers and private lives in the future.

**Table 1: The Frequencies of Single Answer Questions**

	Yes	No
Have you ever used Geogebra before?	6	24
Have you ever used GSP before ?	1	29
I will use it in my career/private life in the future.	18	12

It has been emerged that the students who participated in this project will be able to use these programs in the field of art and engineering, in the geometry classes, in the poster/logo/game and web site designing. The status of students using Geogebra and GSP programs is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: The Use of Programs in Professional / Private Life in the future**

	Frequency	
I don't want to use.	12	
Fields that can be used in professional life	In the fields of Art, engineering and architecture	2
	To make geometry effective	4
	For use in banner / logo / Game Design	11
	Web site design	1

When the opinions of the students about the use of dynamic programs are taken, 86% of the students stated that they will be effective in the development of their creativity and 6% of them emphasize that the interest in the lesson will increase. 6% expresses that the programs will be effective to increase the awareness of art.

**Table 3:** The use of dynamic programs in the courses and the state of being effective/ineffective.

		Frequency
Development of creativity	Ineffective	4
	Effective	26
On their interest in the course	Ineffective	5
	Effective	2
Their awareness of art	Ineffective	5
	Effective	2

The survey of applying Geometry-Art relation to geometry classes activity after the event has been arranged and applied after obtaining the necessary permits from the study called Geometer's Sketchpad and Mandala Teaching (İpek J. ve Özgümüş P. ,2015). The questions in this survey were grouped in the following way.

1. Group: The items related to the use of dynamic software and success.
2. Group: The items related to the art, visuality and embodying of Dynamic Software.
3. Group: The items related to interest, pleasure, becoming active, development of skills, permanence, awareness and perception of art while using Dynamic Software.

**Table 4:** The Evaluation of 1th Group Questions

	Use1	Use2	Success1	Success 2	Success 3
Average	4,2000	4,3333	4,0000	4,1333	4,0333
<u>Standart Deviation</u>	,96132	,95893	,98261	,97320	,92786

**Table 5:** The Evaluation of 2th Group Questions

	Art1	Art2	Visuality	Embodying
Average	4,4333	4,3333	4,5000	4,0000
<u>Standard Deviation</u>	,89763	,92227	,68229	1,11417

**Table 6:** The Evaluation of 3th Group Questions

	Interest	Pleasure	Active	Skill	Permanance	Awareness	Perception
Average	4,4333	4,1333	4,2667	4,0000	4,1667	4,1333	4,3667
<u>Standard deviation</u>	,81720	1,10589	,82768	1,17444	1,05318	,93710	1,09807

When we evaluated the survey, the items with the lowest average are the questions about embodiment of the concepts in the course and contribute to the development of their skills. The questions where standard deviation is large are seen in the questions related to the effects of Dynamic Programming on

students’ acquiring life skills, embodying, pleasure and development of perception levels. They indicate in students’ ideas about these questions. The question where the standard deviation is the smallest is the question about the effect of Dynamic Programming on visuality.

## 5.2. Final-Test Form and Findings

After the event, type and number of questions which are shown in the table below have been asked to the students to determine their scientific perspectives and the development of their scientific level with the instructors who participated in the project. The appropriate questions covering the content of each course have been determined by the instructors. A comparison of the pre-test and post-test forms about Introduction to Programming, Computer Games and Machine Learning, Computer vision Diagnosis are shown in Tables 7 and 8. In the comparison, the questions related to the comprehension were divided into three parts; the wrong comprehension, partially correct and the correct comprehension. It has been observed that students do not experience misconceptions in the subjects.

**Table 7:** The comparison of the frequencies of the pretest and posttest open-ended questions related to Introduction to Programming, Computer Games and Machine Learning

	Pre-Test		POST-TEST		
	blank	correct	Wrong	Partially correct	correct
The loop concept in programming languages	30	-	-	4	26
The infinite Loop Concept In Programming Languages	29	1	-	5	25
The Function Concept in Programming Languages	30	-	-	4	26
Event-Based Programming Concept	28	2	-	4	26
The Game Loop Concept	30	-	-	5	25
3D game concept	27	3	-	5	25
The concept of time in games	28	2	-	4	26

It was observed that the students had correct and partially correct ideas about the concept after the activity, when they didn’t in the pre-test form.

**Table 8:** The comparison of the frequencies of the pre-test and post-test open-ended questions related to Computer Vision Diagnosis

	Pre-Test		Post-Test		
	Blank	Correct	Wrong	Partially Correct	Correct
The Use of Matlab Program	29	1	-	5	25
Medical Image Concept	29	1	-	5	25
The Differences Of Medical Imaging	30	-	-	6	24
Medical Imaging Types	28	2	-	5	25
Places of use of medical imaging	28	2	-	5	25

The comparison of pre-test and final test (posttest) forms is shown in Table 9. In comparison the questions related to the concept were divided into three, the wrong comprehension, partially correct and the correct comprehension. It has been observed that students do not experience misconceptions in the subjects. The students enjoyed this course very much, the starting and running of the car made them happy, although they are concerned about coding, the fact that they feel that they can do it easily increases their interest in robotics and coding.

**Table 9:** The comparison of the frequencies of the pretest and posttest open-ended questions related to Introduction to Robot Development with Arduino

	Pre-test		Post-test		
	Blank	Correct	Wrong	Partially Correct	Correct
<b>DC motor cable information</b>	30	-	-	5	25
<b>Current Direction in Electrical Cables</b>	27	3	-	4	26
<b>Motor Driver Card Concept</b>	30	-	-	5	25
<b>Distance Sensor Information</b>	30	-	-	4	26
<b>Drunk Wheel Concept</b>	29	1	-	3	27

The comparison of pre-test and final test (post-test) forms related to Nuclear Physics and medical physics is shown in table 10 and table 11. It has been observed that students do not experience misconceptions in the subjects. It has been observed that students enjoy the applications related to physics class and also show interest in experimental studies. when the students' answers to multiple choice questions in the pre-test of nuclear physics were examined, it has been revealed that most of the students have misconceptions about radiation. It has been observed that the students have knowledge about the concept of "radiotherapy" and "X-rays". After the activity, it was observed that students learned Radiation, Nuclear Reactions, Medical Physics applications and concepts.

**Table 10:** The frequencies of Multiple choice questions about Nuclear Physics

	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	Correct	Wrong	Correct	Wrong
What is radiation?	8	22	30	-
Which of the following is not the type of radiation?	8	22	30	-
What is the difference between radiation and nuclear radiation?	6	24	30	-
Which of the following cannot be measured or detected with radiation?	5	25	30	-
Which one of the following radiation can certainly not be measured or detected?	-	30	30	-
What really happens in nuclear reactors?	4	26	30	-
What is nuclear reaction?	8	22	30	-
Which one is not a subatomic particle?	-	30	30	-

**Table 11:** The frequencies of multiple choice questions related to medical physics

	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	Correct	Wrong	Correct	Wrong
Which of the following statements about medical physics are correct?	1	29	30	-
What is radiotherapy?	13	17	30	-
Which of the following imaging systems is r harmful to the body?	4	26	30	-
Which of the following X – is not one of the characteristics of the rays?	11	19	30	-
What is the role of collimator in nuclear imaging?	7	23	30	-

Three semi-open questions about Dynamic Programming were asked to the students in the final Test form. The results of these tests are shown in Table 12.

**Table 12:** The frequencies of Final Tests For Dynamic Programs

	Yes	No
Geogebra and GSP are dynamic programs.	30	-
Has Geogebra and GSP positively affected your point of view of mathematics and geometry?	30	-
Did you learn how to create patterns with Geogebra and GSP?	30	-

Although the students had no knowledge of Graph Theory before the activities, it was seen that they obtained the correct information about the concept in the final test after the activity. In the final Test Form, Five multiple-choice questions about Graph Theory are asked. The results of these tests are shown in Table 13. The results revealed that students obtained the correct knowledge of the concept of graph theory.

**Table 13:** The Frequencies Of Final Test Questions Related To Graph Theory

	Correct	Wrong
What is the most strong graph type?	30	-
What is the weakest type of graph?	30	-
What should be defined first to create a graph structure?	30	-
What department of mathematics does graph theory belong to?	30	-
Which computer program is preferred to solve optimization problems?	30	-

### When the findings from the project are examined;

1) By integrating the students with mathematics, geometry, physics and engineering applications, students were provided to look at the problems with an interdisciplinary perspective. In addition to this, the students were provided to improve their skills of learning and using different and up-to-date information in the fields of Medical Data Imaging, Mechatronics, Nuclear Physics etc. It has been observed that the students perspective on science has expanded and their skills of scientific and creative thinking has developed positively.

2) Modeling the concepts such as optimization problem, applied mathematics and graph theory with daily life problems enables the students to gain a scientific perspective on the events.

- 3) It has been observed that students developed new strategies by integrating science, applied mathematics, technology, physics and engineering, by making new inventions and innovations, by providing to experience new knowledge in experimental and laboratory environment.
- 4) It was seen in the drawings they made that the students integrated their mathematical competencies, in other words their skills of using mathematics by making formulas, models, graphics and designs. In addition, it has been observed that spatial and logical thinking skills are developed. Besides, it has been concluded that it develops the ability to predict the process skills, mental processing skills, producing and using information.
- 5) The students' gaining experience in some subjects that are not more or less involved in the MEB curriculum by providing interdisciplinary transitions in activities is achieved as in the countries that are active in the STEM has provided them to set new targets (goals) that they can use in their future life. When the students' willingness to work in workshops and experiments was examined, they have emerged as a result of increasing interest in different areas of Science and awareness levels.
- 6) As students stated in their writings, it has been observed that their perspectives are enriched in terms of professional and career.
- 7) When the preliminary and final tests applied to the students were examined, it was observed that the students learned new conceptual information better by practising them, got rid of their prejudices and participated effectively in the Workshop, Experiment and Laboratory studies. When the preliminary and final tests were examined, it was revealed that there was a positive change and development in their knowledge and understanding.
- 8) The students stated that the duration of the activities should be longer due to the large content of this project.

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# Behavioural and motivational patterns to mentor others – situational and cultural factors influencing propensity to mentor in reverse mentoring of Ukrainian and Polish students.

Wioletta Malota

Behavioural and motivational patterns to mentor others – situational and cultural factors influencing propensity to mentor in reverse mentoring of Ukrainian and Polish students.

Nowadays mentoring is a method of supporting the development of another person while sharing insight and experience by a mentor and taking care of a mentee. The provenience of the word *mentor* is rooted in *Odyssey*, a poem on the Trojan War, in which Homer has described the history of Odysseus who charged his friend, Mentor, to take care of his son when leaving for war (Garvey et al., 2009, p.12). The personal name Mentor was adopted as a term “meaning someone who imparts wisdom to and shares knowledge with a less experienced colleague<sup>13</sup>”.

In the first decade of XXI century, mentoring experiences a renaissance and is executed in many different ways. A new kind of mentoring is *reverse mentoring*, which represents a phenomenon that – opposite to the traditional one – a mentor is younger than a mentee. The name *reverse mentoring* was coined by Jack Walsh, the CEO of General Electric. While managing the company he implemented a new way of sharing knowledge and experience through mentoring performed by young specialists skilled in new technologies to the senior managers (Chaudhuri, Ghosh, 2012, p. 5). At that time, this kind of mentoring was something unusual as typical mentoring relations were regarded as relations in which a senior person is supporting a younger one.

Contemporary organizations of flat structures offer young employees little possibilities of quick promotion that is why the HR departments are working out different tools that may attract and retain them. One of such tool is reverse mentoring, whereas young people share their knowledge and experience with senior employees. Nowadays mentoring is regarded as a relation of reciprocal learning and benefits (Ragins, Kram, 2007b, p. 663). There are many researches confirming that not only a mentee, but also a mentor achieves the benefits (Allen et al., 2006, p. 273; Ragins, Kram, 2007, p. 8). Thus, playing a role of a mentor by the young employees may be a great opportunity for them to observe how senior people are thinking and executing their job what may help the youth to enhance their careers (Malota, 2013).

Do young people know about mentoring and do they want to be a mentor at all? Are they ready to mentor persons older than themselves? To explore the behavioural and motivational patterns of mentoring among the young generation, research of Polish and Ukrainian students from Collegium Civitas, a university in Warsaw (Poland) was conducted. The research had two goals: the first one was to find behavioural and motivational patterns to mentor among the young generation; and the second goal was to explore whether this pattern is specific for this generation independent of a culture or if a culture moderates it and if so, to what extent. The aim of the present article is to discuss the results of the study and to answer the research questions.

1. Do the members of the young generation want to be mentors?
2. What motivates them to be a mentor?
3. What are the reasons for not willing to mentor?
4. Are they ready to mentor people older than themselves?

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<sup>13</sup> En.wikipedia.org, Mentor as term, access 19.12.2018

5. What are the motives to mentor in reverse mentoring?
6. Is propensity to mentor and motives generation-specific, independent of a culture?
7. Does a national culture influence a motivational pattern in mentoring and in reverse mentoring? Which aspects?

### **Methods**

From March to November 2018, a quantitative research was conducted at the university Collegium Civitas in Warsaw among Polish and Ukrainian students attending the faculty of humanities study. During a class, students got a questionnaire in paper form to fill in. The answers were anonymous; the questionnaires were in Polish and English for those students studying in English. As the goal of the study was to research the young generation, the respondents were 18-30 years old.

The questionnaire consisted of 17 questions on mentoring with a choice of answers, and four questions on age, nationality, level of education and gender.

### **Participants**

In the research, 110 Polish and 52 Ukrainians respondents took part. In a case of the Ukrainian students studying in Poland, an assumption was made that they have graduated high school in Ukraine and that they continue their education in Poland, which is the general pattern for those students. So the length of stay in Poland and the influence of Polish culture on their pattern of behaviour have not been researched, as a period from 1 to 2 years is too short to modify a pattern of behaviour.

The Polish students were 49% BA students and 51% MA students, while the Ukrainians were 59% BA and 41% MA students. The majority of the respondents were women: 65% in the case of Poles and 60% in Ukrainians, the men constitute 35% and 40% respectively. The respondents from Ukraine were younger than the Polish ones. 73% of the Ukrainian respondents constituted the youth of 18-20 years old, 23% were 21-25 years old, and 4% were students 26-30 years old, whereas in Poland 25% of respondents were in the ages of 18-20, 44% of age 21-25, 28% of age 26-30, and 3% of age 31 years or more. The younger age in the case of Ukrainian students comes from two facts: first - that they graduated from high school being one year younger than their Polish counterparts, second - the majority of Ukrainian students in Poland study at the BA level, whereas in the case of Polish respondents this is not the case.

## **Results of behavioural and motivational patterns to mentor others**

### **Propensity to mentor**

To evaluate the willingness of the youth from Ukraine and Poland to share with others their knowledge and experience, the question "*Would you like to be a mentor?*" was asked. 71% of Ukrainians respondents answered "yes", and 29% "no" whereas in Poland 76% and 24% respectively (Table 1).

Table 1. Behavioural and motivational patterns to mentor others by Ukrainian and Polish students

Question	Ukrainians' answer	Poles' answer	Difference
<i>Would you like to be a mentor?</i>	Yes 71% (n=37) No 19% (n=15)	Yes 76% (n=84) No 24% (n=26)	Yes -5% No -5%
<i>What are the reasons? Score them on scale from 1 to 10</i>			
<i>I want to develop my professional skills</i>	9,3	9,08	0,22
<i>I want to gain a mentor experience and knowledge</i>	9,04	8,59	0,45
<i>I want to have contact with mature and life experienced person</i>	8,7	8,79	-0,09
<i>I want to have a support in achieving my professional goals</i>	7,8	8,11	-0,31
<i>I want to prepare myself for working with adults</i>	7,41	5,73	1,68
<i>I want to learn how adult people are thinking</i>	7,19	4,08	3,11
<i>Curiosity what is mentoring</i>	6,38	7,089	-0,709

Source: author research

What is most striking in the responses of Ukrainian and Polish students is a high level of propensity to mentor (71% and 76%). This may be characteristic for the young generation as well as influenced by cultural factors. To explain the role of cultural factors, the model of Gesteland of deal- and relationship-focused cultures was applied. Being a mentor demands ability to build relations, so it may be assumed that representatives of relationship-oriented cultures may prefer to be a mentor to a higher extent than in task-focused cultures. In the Gesteland's model of cultures, East European cultures, to which belong Ukraine and Poland, are regarded as relationship-focused cultures (2012, p. 255). In this kind of culture, people value an importance of building relations and bond in a societal and business life, thus a high propensity to mentor may reflect its typical pattern of behaviour. However, the same high level of propensity to mentor among Ukrainians and Poles may be explained also by a feature of the young generation, which easily builds relations when networking on Facebook and in other social media. In this case, no definitive conclusion on dominance of any factors: situational- belonging to same generation or cultural may be drawn. To investigate this phenomenon respondents from task-focused cultures should be researched.

### Motivators to mentor

To learn what motivate respondents to be a mentor, a question on their motives was asked. They had to score seven given motives on a scale from 1 to 10. The average score for each motive was calculated. What is striking in the data (presented in Table 1) is a congruency in positioning of respective motives in ranking by Ukrainians and Poles, as both groups have ranked the motives in the same order of importance. The most important motive in both groups was *development of professional skills* (9,3 for Ukrainians and 9,08 for Poles); the second most important motive was: *gaining mentor experience and knowledge* (9,04 and 8,59 respectively) and the third most important motive: *having contact with mature and life experienced person* (8,7 and 8,79 respectively).

The similar ranking of motives by both groups of students may be explained that they have similar motivational and behavioural patterns to mentor, common for the young generation, which focuses on developing professional skills. To explore the possible role of Ukrainian and Polish culture, one of the cultural orientation – masculinity from the model of 6 cultural orientations of Dutch social psychologist professor Geert Hofstede was applied (www. Hofstede-insight). It seems that this cultural orientation may explain this pattern, as it describes a behaviour – thriving for professional success and

development. Poland scored high with 64 points on a scale of 100 points belongs to masculine culture. This may explain the high scoring motive of development of professional skills. But Ukrainians also have scored this motive high, and its culture is feminine (scoring 27 on masculinity scale from 1 to 100). So it seems that it is not culture, but generational factor explaining the preference of the given motives.

There are also some differences observed in preferences of the motives to be a mentor among Ukrainians and Poles. The biggest discrepancy occurred in the answers to the statement *"I want to prepare myself for working with adults"*, as it was scored 7,41 by Ukrainians and only 5,73 by Poles with 1,68 points difference. Similarly, in the case of the statement *"I want to learn how adult people are thinking"* Ukrainians scored 7,19, while Poles only 4,08, resulting in 3,11 points difference. The scoring of the statements - referred to adults, Ukrainians assess their motivation much higher than Poles. A motive *"Curiosity what is mentoring"* was higher ranked by Poles than by Ukrainians (7,089 vs. 6,38 respectively).

A possible reason may be that the youth from Ukraine respect adults to a higher degree, as they express a high level of interest to learn their way of thinking and are interested to be prepared in working with them. This discrepancy between Ukraine and Poland may have its roots in cultural orientation regarding a status of a person in a society. To explain this phenomenon the model of 7 dimensions of culture conceptualized by Trompenaars (1997, p.105) was applied. The cultural dimension that evaluates how a status of a person is established was applied. There are two kinds of cultures: in the first one a status of a person is established based on who she or he is (this is called ascription culture); in the second, however, a status of a person is established based on what she or he has achieved (achievement culture). The factors ascribing a status of a person is age, gender, social connections, and kind of education (Ibidem, p. 102). Poland, according to Trompenaars research, belongs to ascription culture (21 points on a scale 1-100, the lower the scoring of a country the more ascription pattern it represents). Ukraine was not researched, but when we take Russian (the closest culture to Ukrainian) as a reference to Ukrainian culture, 30 points indicates that Ukrainian culture belongs to the ascription culture as well.

As both cultures belong to ascription cultures, this does not explain the difference in interest for adult people between Ukrainians and Poles; thus another research on the age perception was taken into account. In the research done by Jagiellonian University (*Równe Traktowanie Standardem Dobrego Rządzenia – Raport z Badań Sondażowych*, 2012, p. 26) 1 715 respondents have answered questions regarding the status of different groups - distinguished by such characteristics as age, gender, political views, income status, sexual orientation, religion, family size, and race. To the question "Did you experience being treated bad because of the ... (the characteristics presented above were quoted) the characteristic most frequently pointed out (12%) was the age.

In the answer to a question on the awareness of the problems of people being treated worse because of a different characteristic, 33% respondents have pointed out on age, which was in the fourth position in ranking behind sexual orientation (49%), disability (43%), race and nationality (41%) (Ibidem, p. 46). The general conclusion of the research is that one third of people have experienced bad treatment because of older age. Additionally, when we consider a common practice of organisational behaviour in Poland, namely – when laying off employees, the first in turn are elderly ones, the low interest of Polish respondents to learn the way of thinking of mature people, is more understandable. The conclusion of the results of the Jagiellonian University study and the organizational practices of defavourising elderly employees in Poland is that the seniority is not a factor in building a high status in Poland. This may explain the low willingness of Polish future mentors to learn how people older than themselves are thinking and behaving.

Based on the data collected in the research a conclusion regarding motives concerning mentoring senior persons may be drawn that ascription culture explains the motivational pattern, but as the seniority is highly valued in Ukrainian society and lowly valued in Polish society, thus influence the motivational and behavioural patterns in both cultures in an opposed way.

### Preferred age of mentee

To learn the preference of a mentee's age of whom the young people would like to mentor, the question "What preferable age should be a person you could mentor?" was asked. The respondents could choose one answers from six answers.

Both Ukrainians and Poles prefer to mentor a person younger than themselves (respectively 30% and 41%), at the same age (10% and 5%) or they indicated that an age of mentee does not matter (30% and 41%). In Poland, about 5% of respondents are ready to mentor an elder mentee of up to 5 years, 6% older up to 10 years, and 2% older up to 15 years. In total, 31 % of Ukrainians are ready to mentor a person older than himself, whereas 18% of Poles are ready for this. For a great number of respondents in both group, age does not matter (30% and 41% respectively).

The data indicates that for the young generation, regardless of culture, the age of a mentee does not matter (30% and 41%), but still they prefer mentoring a person younger than themselves or at the same age. In the case of Ukrainians, they are ready to a higher degree than Poles to mentor a person older than themselves (31% vs. 18% respectively). This data reconfirms that Ukrainians are more open to cope with mature people, whereas Poles do so to a much lesser degree.

### Motives to be a mentor in reverse mentoring

To learn the propensity to mentor a mature person in the area of the mentor's expertise the question "Could you mentor a person with more life and general professional experience than you, in area in which you are an expert but a person is not?" was asked. 76% of Ukrainians and 70% of Poles answered "yes".

A conclusion from the data regarding a preference of the age of a mentee is that this factor is irrelevant, but in the case of Ukrainians they are more inclined than Poles to mentor a person older than themselves. This is a good predictor for reverse mentoring, in which a younger person mentors a senior one. Poles are a just a little less eager to be a mentor in reverse mentoring.

As in organisations as well as in societies it is a growing demand for young mentors to share their experience, especially in the area of modern technologies, it seems to be important to know whether the young generation is willing to mentor mature people and what are their motives. To find this out the statement "Please give the reason for YES (willingness to mentor elder people than you)" was included in the survey. The respondents could choose three answers among five proposed. The table 2 presents the answers.

Table 2. Motives to mentor in reverse mentoring

Please give the reason for YES (willingness to mentor elder people than you)	Ukraine n=31	Poland n=54	Difference
1. I like sharing my knowledge	55% (1)	59% (1)	-4%
2. I hope that this will help me in my future career to cope with management elder than me	35% (4)	48% (2)	-13%
3. I want to learn professional mentoring skills	39% (3)	37% (4)	2%
4. I want to learn how to communicate with elder than me people in professional relation	55% (2)	46% (3)	9%
5. I want to learn how people elder than me are thinking	32% (5)	28% (5)	4%

Source: author research

As the most important motive both Ukrainians and Poles (55% and 59% respectively) have selected "I like sharing my knowledge", but then the subsequent ranking of motives differs a little. In the case of Poles, on the second position is the motive "I hope that this will help me in my future career to cope with management elder than me" with 48% indications, and on the third position the motive "I want

to learn how to communicate with elder than me people in professional relation” (46%). Ukrainians as their second most important have selected the motive “I want to learn how to communicate with elder than me people in professional relation” with 55% indications, and the third (39%) was the motive “I want to learn professional mentoring skills”. The least selected in both groups was the motive “I want to learn how people elder than me are thinking” (32% and 28% respectively).

Ukrainians and Polish students are congruous in their motivational pattern to mentor, as both groups have chosen a motive, which may be called altruistic, as they want to mentor for pleasure. They also highly value a motive of getting skills of communicating with mature people, which is a very utilitarian aim, however, they are not much interested to learn how mature people are thinking. The data indicates a general low cognitive interest among the young generation to learn from senior people.

### **Mentor’s area of expertise for mentoring seniors**

Nowadays young people possess different skills that the elderly do not possess - especially IT skills, using computer programs, graphic programming or advanced usage of mobile phone applications, so it would be natural that the first might share their knowledge with the latter ones. To learn in which areas young people may be a mentor to a senior person the question “In which area could you mentor an adult person?” was asked. The respondents could choose a maximum of three answers from five.

The order of the ranking in both groups is almost the same. As most frequently chosen are the area of mobile phone, social media and computer programs. The most common area of mentoring expertise of young generation is *mobile phone*, which was indicated by 23% of Ukrainians and 30% of Polish students; another one is *social media e.g. Facebook*, which was indicated by 26% of Ukrainians and 22% of Polish students. The second position is the same, the first and third position in reversed order. Lowest in the ranking in both groups is *graphics programs* (10% and 5% respectively).

The conclusion regarding areas of expertise in which young people want to be a mentor in reverse mentoring is that they are associated with modern technologies and this is common for the generation regardless of the culture they come from.

## **Discussion of the results**

### **Both Ukrainians and Poles want to be a mentor**

The first conclusion from the research is that the propensity to mentor among the young generation in both countries is high and almost at the same level of more than 70% (71 % and 76% respectively). This indicates that this is a generational characteristic and common pattern of behaviour. This level is slightly lower than the level of propensity to mentor indicated by Polish managers (83%) in the research done by the author in 2014 (Malota, 2017, p.127). This may indicate the maturity and ambitiousness of young people who are aware of the importance of the professional skills on the market and take every opportunity, such as mentoring, to develop them.

The high propensity to mentor may result from the fact that both societies belong to the relationship-focused cultures (Gesteland, 2012, p. 255), where the basis for success in business is building a network of relations in professional life. To further explore the role of culture on propensity to mentor, further research in a task -focused culture, to observe if the level of propensity to mentor will differ from the observed in relationship-focused cultures- is recommended.

### **Motivation to mentor others**

The results of the study indicate a common motivational pattern to mentor others among the young generation. When taking a role as a mentor both Ukrainians and Polish students are driven by motives such as development of their skills and gaining experience to be a mentor. The culture of the respondents does not moderate this pattern.

It is observed, however, there is a slightly different approach with mentoring mature people: Ukrainians seems to value seniority to a higher degree than Poles. Both societies belong to ascription culture (Trompenaars model), where a status of a person is established based e.g. on age but in Ukraine seniority is valued higher in contrast to Poland where it is valued low. The different appreciation of

seniority and youth may explain a difference in the motivational and behaviour patterns to mentor mature persons. This is a cultural aspect that moderates motivational and behavioural patterns to mentor.

### **Reverse mentoring**

The high level of propensity to mentor common for both cultures is accompanied by a high level of propensity to mentor people older than themselves. In Ukraine, this level is considerably higher (31%) than in Poland (18%), but when we sum up this result with the answer that age does not matter, the propensity to mentor will be on the same level of 61% in Ukraine and 54% in Poland. Again the youth in both societies - regardless of a culture – express the same motivational and behavioural patterns to mentor in reverse mentoring.

### **General conclusions**

Summing up the analysis carried out in the paper, general conclusions may be drawn that mentoring is a socio-cultural characteristic undergoing such phenomena:

1. Young people want to be mentors – and this phenomenon is characteristic for the generation and is independent of a culture.
2. Motives to mentor others are the same for a generation regardless of the culture, as it does not moderate this pattern.
3. The young generation is ready to mentor a person older than himself or herself, which is a new phenomenon in mentoring (reverse mentoring) and societal relations.
4. The young generation has no restraint in mentoring people older than themselves. This again is a generational characteristic and not influenced by a culture.
5. The young generation sees themselves as mentors preferably in areas of social media, mobile phones and computer programs. These areas are again common for mentors from both societies.
6. The only cultural factor which moderates (but to lesser degree) a motivational and behavioural pattern to mentor is approach to seniority in Ukraine and Poland.
7. The final conclusion is that young people in Ukraine and Poland exhibit the same common behavioural and motivational patterns driven by the generation and the cultures as moderating factor in case of these two Slavic cultures plays a minor role.

### **Limitations of the study and agenda for future research**

There are some limitations to be considered when evaluating this study. The small sample, especially for Ukrainian should be taken into account. The conclusions were drawn based on data from two cultures, so they should be extrapolated with caution to other cultures.

Research among other cultures is recommended to confirmed observed patterns to mentor among the young generation.

The research and the findings suggest possible opportunities for further research. Further studies among the young generation on propensity to mentor and possible motivators and demotivators also in the case of reverse mentoring on a bigger cohort are recommended. Further research should examine the degree to which cultural orientations influence behavioural and motivational patterns in reverse mentoring on example of different cultures, and more contrasting cultures - belonging to different orientations, are recommended.

As the need of the elder generation for reverse mentoring in the area of modern technologies is growing, it would be worthwhile to examine their readiness, acceptance and expectations to be mentored by younger people. The knowledge of how to optimize matching young mentors with mature mentees would enhance the popularity of reverse mentoring culture in a society and organisations to reciprocal benefits of the young and senior generations.

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# The Neet Universe. Remarks on the Italian Case in a Comparative Perspective

Erica Antonini

## 1. Introduction

For some years it has appeared in sociological, statistical and mediatic reports the acronym Neet (*Not in Employment, Education or Training*), which designates a universe of young people aged 15 to 29 years who does not study or work or is engaged in any training experience and, as such, is devoid of any prospect or confidence towards the future (Appadurai, 2011; Woodman, 2011; Augè, 2012). In 2014 over 2 million young people in Italy were out of the training and laboring circuit. Neet's rate is higher among women than among men and in Southern Italy it is almost double compared to Northern and Central Italy. In comparison with other European Union countries, Italy showed in 2014 the highest percentage of Neet after Greece and Bulgaria while since 2016 it has gained the first place in the ranking of the European countries (24,3%). The lowest rate of Neet is recorded in the Netherlands (6,3%), followed by Luxembourg (6,8%), Sweden (7,1%) and Denmark (7,4%).

So, the stimulus to investigate this phenomenon has come to me from an increasing use of the "Neet" acronym by the institutions, especially by political and mediatic ones. However, what seems to prevail in Italian public discourse is a tendency to a simplifying generalization in the representation of a universe that is far from homogeneous, and, at the same time, the characterization of the young component who does not labor nor is engaged in educational or training paths in terms of a voluntary condition (in the sense of lack of will and spirit of sacrifice or choosy reluctance to consider job proposals which are not in line with the knowledge and the skills acquired in individual training paths). But are things really so? Is the Italian Neet one mainly a voluntary condition?

These notes are first concerned with some theoretical hints at the fruitful debate about the "crisis of societies based on labor" and at some difficulties of training institutions and processes. Then the Neet phenomenon is investigated from a quantitative point of view, reflecting on Italian data in a comparative perspective and highlighting its multiple emerging profiles, within a universe that is anything but homogeneous. Finally the most significant results of some interviews proposed in 2014 to privileged witnesses belonging to different domains of Italian civil society will be reported.

## 2. The "End of Labor" and the Crisis in Education

In 1958 Hannah Arendt wrote in *Vita Activa*:

"It is a society of laborers which is about to be liberated from the fetters of labor, and this society does no longer know of those higher and more meaningful activities for the sake of which this freedom would deserve to be won [...]. What we are confronted with is the prospect of a society of laborers without labor, that is, without the only activity left to them. Surely, nothing could be worse" (Arendt, 1958a, p. 5).

If Arendt's concern was that of being *liberated from labor* in the future and knowing no more how to work and act, many contemporary analysts are worried by the prospect of a productive process that *liberates human labor* in the sense that it does not need it anymore.

For a long time we have been discussing about the fact that we are about to get out of the pattern we have lived in for the last two centuries, that of societies based on labor (Dahrendorf, 1980; Offe, 1985; Gorz, 1988; Rifkin, 1995; Castel, 1995; Beck, 2000). According to André Gorz, the end of societies based on labor comes from the crisis of the ideology that is at their core, according to which one has to work more and more in order to achieve his/her social integration, as well as global well-being and the defeat of unemployment. Currently, the author already argued in 1988, the statement

“*plus is better*” in the productive field is proving inconsistent, since productivity gains can be achieved only by reducing the use of human labor.

Definitely pessimist in this regard is Richard Sennett’s position about social and individual effects of the new production model. In *The Corrosion of Character* he moves the attention on the new features of the so-called *flexible* capitalism, in which the vanished universe of rigid and hierarchical organizations, in which what counted was the sense of personal character, is being replaced by a world of restructuring, flexibility, networks, *just-in-time* processes, where the worker is requested to continually reinvent his/her role, by constantly predisposing to change and risk taking. In asking the worker the constant availability of risk taking and in discouraging the exercise of lasting but no more appealing attitudes – such as formal obligation, loyalty, trust, commitment, long-term programming skills – in the long run short-term capitalism “threatens to corrode his/her character, particularly those qualities of character which bind human beings to one another and furnish each with a sense of sustainable self” (Sennett, 1998, p. 27). Thus, flexibility not only generates anxiety because of the feeling of being always *on trial*, but it undermines the sense of personal integrity as well, by weakening bonds of trust and questioning the ability to plan one’s own working “career”, that is to obtain a coherent narrative of accumulated experiences, on the basis of which one can orient him/herself in the future.

The Italian sociologist Luciano Gallino sums up the greatest human cost of flexibility in the idea of precariousness, that is an objective and subjective feeling of insecurity, a condition that in the long run “tends to invest and modify even the mind, the interiority of the person”, who finishes to perceive him/herself differently from the others. This implies a limited (or even none) possibility of formulating projects about their professional, existential and family future, together with the feeling that “their lives, their own destiny, their future suffer daily the impact of purely contingent factors” (Gallino, 2014, it. ed., pp. 58, 8-9).

Most flexible jobs do not enable workers to accumulate any significant professional experience, which could be transferred from one context to another, or to build a career or a stable working identity. Moreover, “the precariousness of flexible lives is an effective increasing factor of anti-politics, of electoral abstention, of passive acceptance of the *status quo*” (Gallino, 2014, p. 10). Another interesting issue in this scenario is that, according to the author:

“if the first industrialization had been characterized by a strong tendency to detach, as well as the places, even the times of work from those of private life, with the second industrialization one can assist to a completely different trend, that goes instead in the direction of a new pre-industrial interpenetration of working times and living times within the heterogeneous universe of flexible contractual forms of atypical work (Gallino, 2014, pp. 56-57).

The “7 x 24 society” is a constantly active society, where the working time becomes inseparable from other times of life, also thanks to the irreplaceable support of information technology and communication, and which, however, appears to be poorly integrated, in terms of time to devote to social ties and all forms of traditional rituality (Gallino, 2014).

The plurality of flexibility makes it, at the same time, a resource for someone and an “even existential risk” for others, to the extent that it represents a substantially different burden, depending on age, gender, ethnic origin, health status, working history, type of profession and level of qualification of the single individual (Gallino, 2007). If the most skilled workers live such a confusion between (public) working time and (private) leisure time as a strategic resource to succeed in a competitive market, the less qualified ones are projected into a condition of perpetual activity since they are pressured by the demands of social survival. In this way, atypical workers are overworked in the continuous looking for an income and exposed to the risks of extreme penalties of other times of life, of an extreme fragmentation of the work path and of a significant loss of a long-term perspective (Fullin, 2004).

On the other hand, for many authors in the new “society of immateriality” the work itself would now assume a different meaning, becoming more and more autonomous, allowing an increasing use of workers’ cognitive skills, and returning to them sense of initiative and responsibility, according to a process of “repersonalization” of work (Kern and Schumann, 1989; Borghi, 1998).

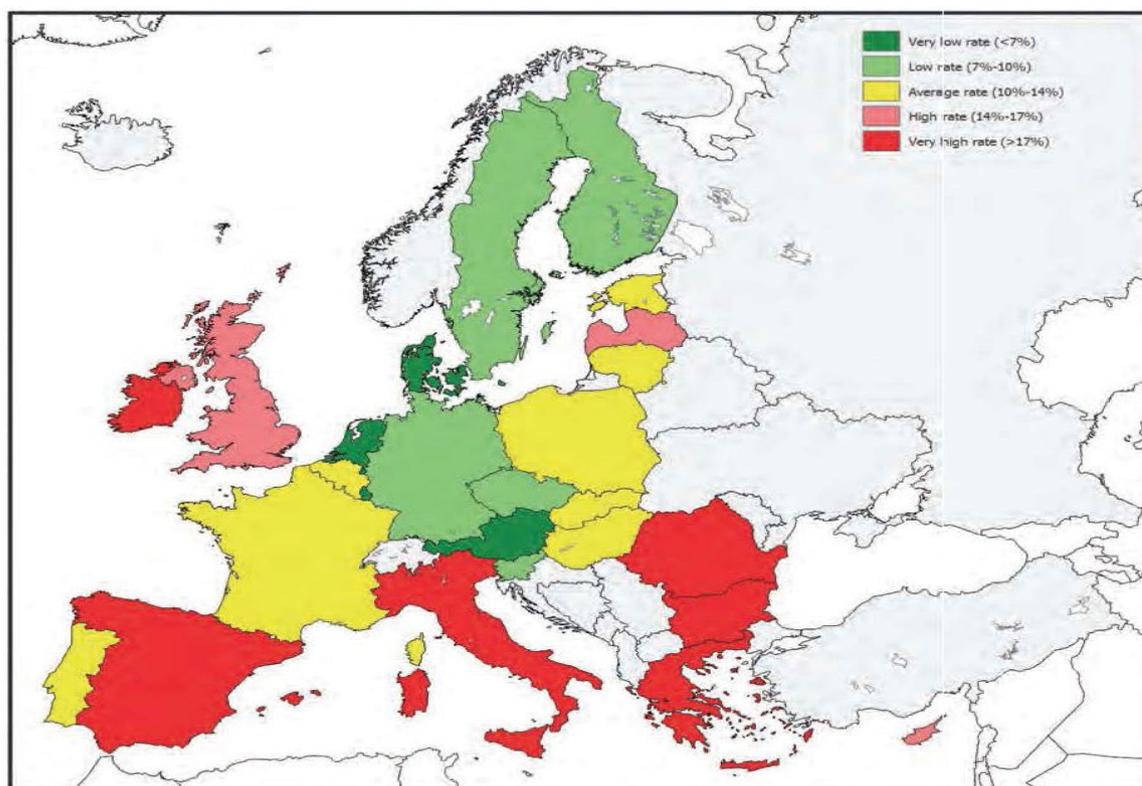
Three main issues seem to derive from this scenario: a) the end of labor as the key factor in defining status and social identity, as it was in the modern age; b) the necessity of rethinking the relationship between the individual and society on different bases (looking for sources of identity and belonging elsewhere); c) the opportunity of redefining the balance between *working time* and *leisure time*.

As for the main critical issues in the field of education, sociologists are mainly concerned with: a) the crisis of traditional educational institutions (family, school), with the “colonization” of free time by TV and other media channels (Morcellini, 2013); b) the spreading of educational policies which are less and less oriented to the acquisition of “knowledge for knowledge”, since profit needs are increasingly advanced to justify organic reductions, resulting in a decrease in purchasing power and growth); c) the tendency of the educational system to reproduce (and even increase) social inequalities, rather than reduce them (Bourdieu 1979; Boudon, 2002).

### 3. The Neet Universe: a few Evidences

Turning to go deeper through the Neet universe, it is fundamental to clarify – beyond many simplistic representations spread by media and political institutions – that it constitutes a widely diversified and far from homogeneous phenomenon, including a variety of profiles with very divergent characteristics, experiences, needs and levels of vulnerability.

First of all, there are great differences in the Neet rate in the European Union, ranging from countries with a very low rate (less than 7%, such as for the Netherlands or Luxembourg) to countries with a very high rate (more than 17%, as in the cases of Greece, Bulgaria and Italy):



**Figure 1.** Neet rate in Europe among young people aged 15-24 - Eurostat, 2011

An inadequate perspective of observation risks to compromise the understanding of the phenomenon, starting from the variability of internal components that determines the Neet universe, that is a strongly segregated population (Nudzor, 2010). It is evident that

“a teenager presents existential and formative stories and is exposed to very different criticalities from those regarding young people, for example, aged 25 to 29. The ‘drop out’ phenomenon – that is the missed fulfillment of the right/duty to education and training – is not similar, even purely descriptive, to the condition of those who have a diploma or a degree and collide with the problematic of transition processes towards the working world. The Neet definition includes individuals who are potentially not equipped in terms of professional skills (low level of qualification or no qualification at all) and formally medium-high skilled individuals; individuals with social backgrounds which are potentially influenced by marginalization factors (crime, discomfort, risky family contexts) are located next to individuals belonging to social conditions which are characterized by a ‘normal background’ (Calabrese, Manieri and Mondauto, 2013, p. 7).

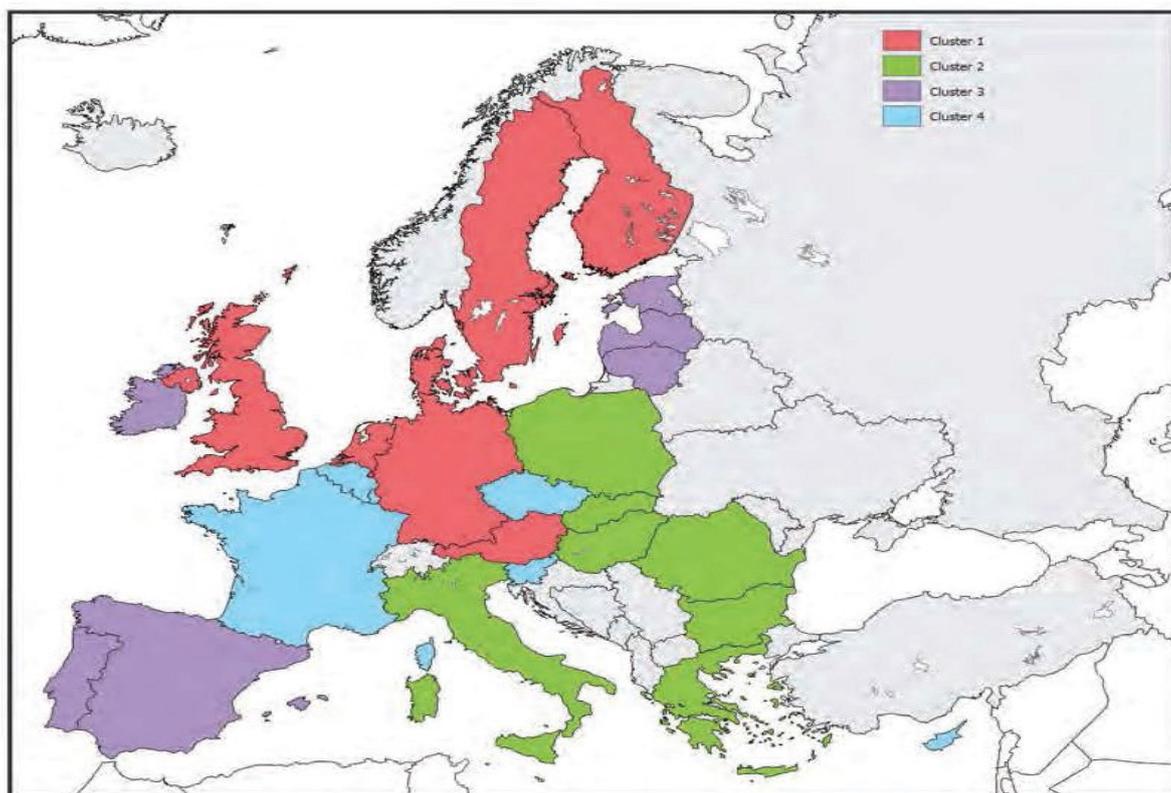
In other words, there is a latent tension, within the Neet condition, between *active* and *passive* aspects of the condition itself, as far as it is “in some cases deliberately exercised and in others coercively determined by the context of reference” (ivi, p. 8), so that one can talk of an authentic polarization, which induces to rethink traditional interpretative paradigms.

A 2012 survey by Eurofound (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working) opportunely identifies five main subgroups:

1. the *conventionally unemployed*, representing the largest subgroup, which can be further subdivided into long-term and short-term unemployed;
2. the *unavailable*, which includes sick or disabled young people and those (especially women) who are concerned with family responsibilities (*caregivers*);
3. the *disengaged*, that is those young people who are not seeking jobs or education although are not constrained from doing so by other obligations or incapacities, including discouraged laborers and other young people who are pursuing dangerous and unsocial lifestyles;
4. the *opportunity-seekers*, who are actively seeking work or training, but are holding out for opportunities that they see as befitting their skills and status;
5. the *voluntary Neet*, that is young people who are travelling and those constructively engaged in other activities such as art, music and self-directed learning.

The vulnerability level is obviously much higher for the conventionally unemployed, who are involuntarily affected by the absence of available jobs, or for the disengaged, as far as they are discouraged, compared to the “opportunity-seekers”, who benefit from a more privileged social background, being able to select among the most appealing offers, or compared to those who are voluntarily engaged in activities that are not part of conventional working or training channels. In addition, among the so-called “unavailable” the situation of persons with disabilities, who require support to participate in training and in labor market, is different compared to that, for example, of young high-income married mothers, who voluntarily decide to leave the labor market in order to take care of children or parents.

The same survey distinguishes among four groups of countries (*clusters*), according to different typologies of Neet prevailing in each one:



**Figure 2.** Neet population clusters in EU – Eurofound 2012

- *cluster 1*: a group of continental and northern countries, identified in figure 2 with the red color (United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Finland), including countries pursuing policies focusing on *flexsecurity*, neo-liberal orientation countries and countries with a dual education system, characterized by a low Neet rate, mainly inactive and low-skilled people and no discouraged workers. In most cases, these features presuppose a “voluntary” component in the Neet phenomenon, probably due to family care responsibilities or alternative ways of life, rather than to obstacles to youth access to the labor market;
- *cluster 2*: a group including southern Mediterranean and eastern European countries, identified in fig. 2 with the green color (Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece), characterized by a high Neet rate, who are mainly inactive and high-skilled women, with poor work experience and a large number of discouraged workers. In this case the Neet condition is mainly involuntary, probably due to the presence of structural problems in the transition from educational and training processes to labor market;
- *cluster 3*: a group of countries identified in fig. 2 with the lilac colour (Portugal, Spain, Ireland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), characterized by a high Neet rate, who are mainly unemployed and high-skilled men, with work experience and a large number of discouraged workers. These countries were deeply affected by the economic recession, especially in terms of increase in youth unemployment, regardless of level of education;
- *cluster 4*: a heterogeneous group of countries, identified in fig. 2 with the light blue color (France, Belgium, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Cyprus), characterized by a below-EU average Neet rate, who are mostly unemployed and medium-skilled people, with work experience and no discouraged workers. In these cases the Neet condition seems to be influenced by recent economic crisis, but less than what happened to countries in cluster 3.

Some personal, economic and social factors seem to increase the probabilities for a person to join the Neet universe:

- those who report a certain kind of disability have 40% more chance of becoming Neet than the others;
- young people with an immigration background have 70% more chance of becoming Neet than native peers;
- young people with a low level of education have three times higher opportunities to become Neet than those with tertiary education;
- living in remote areas increases the probability of becoming Neet up to 1,5 times;
- young people with a low family income have more chances of becoming Neet compared to those with an average family income;
- having former unemployed parents increases the probability of becoming Neet of 17%;
- having parents with a low level of education doubles the probability of becoming Neet;
- young people with divorced parents have 30% more chance of becoming Neet than the others.

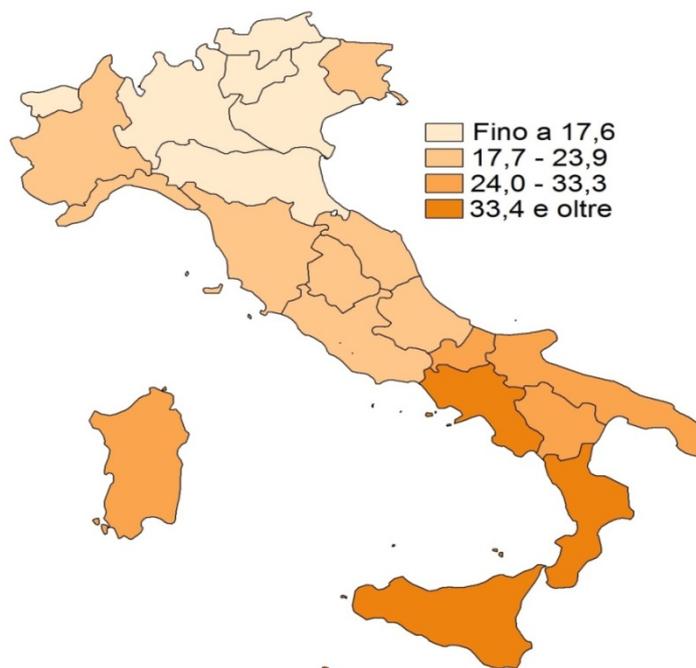
Apart from representing an obvious waste of youth potential, belonging to the Neet universe has negative consequences for economy and society as well:

- in terms of *economic* costs, both for a) public finance (all transfers and benefits from welfare to individuals, regarding unemployment, disability, sickness and other costs for socio-sanitary assistance and criminal justice) and b) for resources and opportunities for the rest of society (estimates of the economic losses for the missing contribution of individual to society, such as foregone earnings, unpaid taxes and social contributions); according to Eurofound, reintegrating into the market 10% of Neet would produce an annual saving of more than 10 billion euros (Eurofound 2012);
- in terms of *socio-political* costs, since Neet condition significantly reduces individual level of trust in institutions, of interest in politics and of political and social participation (to different kind of associations) (Eurofound, 2012).

#### 4. Some remarks on the Italian Case

According to the report “Noi Italia 2014”, spread by Istat in February 2014, in Italy “the Neet”:

- *is a woman*: young women between 15 and 29 are Neet in 26,1% cases (compared with 21,8% of males);
- *lives in Southern Italy*: a record percentage of Neet lives in Sicily, Campania and Calabria;
- *has the Italian citizenship*: according to a report by *Italia Lavoro* on Istat data (2009), among young Neet foreigners are only 13% of the total, against 87% of Italians;
- *has a low level of education*: Neet have a lower level of education than young workers, with the achievement of the only average license by 43% of them (Istat, 2014).



**Figure 3.** 15-29 years old Neet in Italian regions - % - Istat 2014

As it appears in figure 3, there is a strong geographic gap between regions in Southern Italy (especially Sicily with a Neet rate of 37,7%, Campania with a rate of 35,4% and Calabria with a rate of 33,8%) and regions in Northern Italy (such as Emilia-Romagna with a rate of 15,9% or Valle d'Aosta with a rate of 13,9%).

With reference to these data, if, on one hand, Italian Neet rate has been slightly reducing since 2014 (from 26,2% in 2014 to 25,7% in 2015 to 24,3% in 2016 to 24,1% in 2017), unfortunately in 2016 Italy confirmed its first place in the ranking of 28 European countries, followed by Bulgaria and Greece, with a value which is significantly 10 percentage points higher than the European average one (14,2% in 2016) (Istat, 2018).

A research carried out by Italia Lavoro in fall-winter 2013 shows the following subgroups (with relative percentages of Neet) in the Italian case:

1. the *conventionally unemployed* (38,2% of the total) are mostly men (55,1% of the total), older than 20 years (90%), with a medium-high education level and, in one case out of two, with previous work experience; it is the most active, and in some ways better known, “unemployed” group;
2. the *unavailable* (21,7%) are predominantly women over 25 (59% of which are married and mothers), who do not intend to look for a job for mainly family reasons; in this case inactivity is a choice, even if it is difficult to determine whether by will or for necessity, given the impossibility of combining work and family responsibilities;
3. the *disengaged* (17,5%) are mostly over 20 young people, with a low level of education (average license in 47% of cases), unavailable to get involved, which almost all still live with their parents, a significant proportion of which do not look for work, believing they will not be able to find it or are not interested in it; even in this case inactivity seems to be a conscious choice (De Leonardis and Deriu, 2012);
4. the *opportunity-seekers* (22,6%), a third of which is under 20, are seeking “opportunities to train and to have professional experiences”; while not being unemployed in the strict sense, they would be ready to get involved if they were offered real opportunities for professional growth (Italia Lavoro, 2014).

According to these data, therefore, within the universe of young Italian Neet inactivity is mainly due to a lack of opportunities (in about 60% of cases), while in four out of ten cases it is voluntary; in the disengaged group there are both phenomena of discouragement (probably due to the low level of education) and of real disinterest (symptoms in both cases of a de-responsibilization process); even for the unavailable Neet inactivity is a choice but, conversely, this is a responsible choice, often caused by the impossibility of combining claims and tasks from family and job. For both conventionally unemployed and opportunity-seekers Neet inactivity is not properly a choice, since the will to get involved is often frustrated by the lack of opportunities. Moreover, the presence of subjects with higher education is considerable in the two groups (in the first case the graduates are 11,3%, in the second 15,4%), a factor indicating that such sets of individuals, by virtue of higher training levels than the average of the Neet, maintain a “proactive” attitude towards labor market and professional training (Sorcioni, 2012; Sorcioni and Reboani, 2014).

Among the most relevant critical issues which can help to explain the very high percentage of Italian Neet, one can consider:

- the low level of employment of Italian young people, due to very long periods of unemployment and inactivity after the end of studies (Reyneri, 2010);
- the higher Neet rate among young-adults (25-29) rather than among the youngest (15-24), likely due to long periods of lack of job opportunities, which eventually discourages the pursuit of any working activity whatsoever (Carrera, 2012; Del Conte, 2014);
- a still high level of *drop out*, although it has been recently registered a longer stay in educational and training paths as an effect of the last crisis, which can be seen as a potential opportunity;
- a low return of investment in education, since there is almost the same probability of finding a job for not graduated and graduated students, also because of a low demand for qualified work by a productive system which is still widely based on little and average sized enterprises (considering that in countries such as USA, Austria, Finland, Norway the same probability is four times higher for graduate students);
- the almost unknown alternation between studying and working (Italy is a country where people “first study, then work”) (Gracey and Kelly, 2010);
- the poor rate of investment in employment services (orienting, intermediation) (Benini, 2014) and in supports for juvenile incomes;
- a traditional tendency to a segmentation in the labor market, characterized by a clear demarcation line between those who are already in the market itself and are widely protected and guaranteed by institutions (*insiders*) and those who are out of the labor market and are deprived of these benefits (*outsiders*);
- a poor structuring/valorization of the apprenticeship institution, which is essential to training and transition to work especially in German-speaking countries, because of the uneasy identification of the relative competences among institutional subjects and social partners;
- the high ambivalence of temporary work, characterized by a high flexibility in regulation (on one hand it can be considered a source of precariousness, on the other one a means to increase opportunities of obtaining a permanent job) (De Nardis, 2011);
- the wide diffusion of forms of employee work which also escape the rules of temporary work (irregular jobs, extralegal framework stages);
- the high impact of labor market flexibility on postponing transition of young people to adult life (Bertolini, 2012);

- the persistent relevance of ascribed variables, that is of the economic, social and cultural capital proper of social class of origin (Bourdieu 1979) in determining high differences for young people about school outcomes, future choices regarding education, outcomes of precarious working pathways, with the consequent effect of a crystallization of social inequalities;
- the lack of support from the Welfare State, which favors the supplementary role assumed by the family of origin.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Among the most significant results of some interviews proposed in 2014 to privileged witnesses belonging to different domains of Italian civil society, it is significant to report what it follows:

- the conviction that, among the reasons of the particularly high number of Neet in Italy, there is a series of systemic structural and cultural critical issues, which are only partially attributable to recent economic crises (and to consequent lower demand for labor by enterprises), but rather to deep difficulties faced by educational and training policies (especially in some Italian regions), which make *the Neet phenomenon* more *the result of a set of pre-existing processes* than a new critical issue in itself;
- the confirmation of *the need to trace a differentiation among the different social profiles* in which the Neet universe can be decomposed, in order to design strategies of intervention which are more suited to the specific needs of each subgroup (Yates and Paine, 2006);
- the *reluctance to consider the “voluntary” condition as a majority component of Italian Neet phenomenon*, which is predominantly characterized by lack of trust and need for new perspectives, rather than by lack of commitment or spirit of sacrifice;
- an overall *positive evaluation of recent institutional initiatives*, especially at the European level, even if they need to be highly monitored in the way they are then implemented in the different countries (especially in Italy);
- the focus on *the opportunity to promote a greater interaction between the educational system and the labor market*;
- the recognition of *the necessity*, within a context of deeply changed conditions, *of a cultural shift towards flexibility*, although within forms of regulation of flexibility itself, in order to prevent abuses and intensification of the already marked social inequalities;
- the idea of *the opportunity to design strategies of policy* according to the dual logic of *continuity* (coming out of the episodic “project” optic) *and differentiation*.

The, as a matter of fact, as Gallino used to say, “things are not what they seem”. Main evidences from both international and Italian surveys and interviews proposed to privileged witnesses demonstrate that in Italy the Neet condition is mainly not voluntary. Therefore, the prevalence in Italian public discourse of the tendency towards a sort of simplifying generalization in the representation of a universe, that is far from homogeneous – together with the characterization of the youthful component that does not work or is committed in educational or formative training pathways according to the size of voluntancy – seem to result in the umpteenth attempt to remain silent on structural and cultural knots and political agendas, emphasizing a reading of the phenomenon mainly in terms of individual responsibilities (Antonini, 2014, p. 160), in line with a well-known attitude to the “psychologization of social contradictions”, that the Italian sociologist Franco Ferrarotti clearly highlights in the following words:

“A massive psychologization of reality is taking place. The same society and its responsibilities are diminished to unintentional effects of individual behaviors. The responsibility of a totally new and unforeseen situation is attributed to young people itself. [...] One forgets to add that at nowadays young people, for a very high percentage, are blocked, marginalized, economically condemned to precarious jobs [...] forced to a state of permanent subordination [...]”.

With the psychologisation of social events a reversal is taking place: victims become responsible for their condition. On the contrary, “a serious research must explore the objective casual matrix, highlighting the structural factors of social phenomena it is dealing with” (Ferrarotti, 2011, pp. 18-20; Laffi, 2014).

So, if “the low growth of Italy in recent years is also a reflection of the scarce opportunities offered to young people to contribute to economic and social development” (Dell’Arringa and Treu, 2011, p. 51), a continuous political and civil commitment by institutions, social forces and the many associations which are active in our country – in the direction of restoring a horizon of meaning and hope for the new generations – seems particularly urgent and no longer to be postponed, if we want to save “the world” from ruin, “which is inevitable without the renewal, without the arrival of new beings, the young people” (Arendt, 1958b, it. ed. 1970, p. 213).

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# The Neet Phenomenon: From Loss To Resource

Vanessa Corallino

## 1. Introduction: The Uncertainty Of Youth Condition

If in the past the role of young people was to represent concretely, within the society, the driving force for the future, nowadays they are positioned on the sidelines, becoming the weaker and less productive part of it. This circumstance is the result of a number of failings and incorrect actions: adult discouraged by young people, negative demographic balance, lack of economic investment for youth condition, inaccessible labour market, lack of policies and measures for young people and for the construction of their future, weakened innovation for the whole society, enabling-parents and formative school systems closed to the novelty of the new generations.

We are young up to a much advanced or undefined age. It is not the biological age that guides us through the stages of life, as it was in the past. The historical moment in which we live has completely redefined the course of life that was spread in the decades before, making it unclear and not propaedeutical. The main phenomena, intertwined in the transition to the adulthood, are: the school and university experience, the entry into the labour market, the living autonomy from the original nuclear family, the marital status and the birth of a child. Nowadays, more discontinuous and experimental routes must be added at the traditional transitions, during which young people claim new needs of autonomy and more possibilities to choose from for formative, professional and personal experiences (Gentile, 2011). Another important aspect, at the basis of current youth condition, is the limited number of young people that nowadays are present in society. This means that the driving force behind the society, young people, are and will be less and less (Del Boca, Rosina, 2009).

The Neet phenomenon, in this context, represents the condition of full-blown youth unrest, considered as a badly judgment by many social partners and rarely understood and faced in its alarming complexity. The attention given to the Neet group has increased jointly with the incidence of the phenomenon itself, throughout the whole of Europe and the developed world. The reports drawn up by the international institutions Eurostat and Oecd use, in fact, the Neet rate as one of the main monitoring measures of labour market and risk of social exclusion (Rosina, 2015).

## 2. The Neet Phenomenon

The acronym *Neet* (*Not in Education, Employment or Training*), translated in Italian as 'né – né', is the indicator used to identify the share of population between the ages of 15 and 29 that is neither employed nor included in education and training paths. It refers to any kind of school and university education and to any kind of educational path, such as regional vocational training courses, stage, internship and educational activities, with the sole exception of "informal" training activities such as self-study (Treccani, 2012).

The *OECD* and the European Commission provide data on *Neet* coming from many countries, not just European, adopting a single definition of the category. In these research of international concern is identified the share of above-mentioned population, much wider than the original, including young people between 15 and 29 years that are neither employed nor included in education and training paths (Assirelli, 2013). Taking into consideration this age group, the attention is not just given to the period immediately following the end of compulsory education, considered a particularly critical moment in a life of a youth, but seeks to provide a measure of the general level of discomfort lived by today's young people in the difficult transition from school to work. When its propagation has been extended from the world of research to the production of technical documentation, further modifications relating to the reference population have been made (Batini, Corallino, Toti, Bartolucci, 2017). In the last few years the *Neet* phenomenon seems to be increasingly heterogeneous with its several aspects characterising the group of individuals forming it.

There are no conditions that lead necessarily to the *Neet status*. Taking into consideration the social demographic context of the phenomenon, some basic characteristics are clear, such as, especially, the

greatest number of women compared to that regarding men. This is attributed to the big commitment relating to activities in support of family network: in a society based on familism, the limits of measures to make it possible to reconcile the decrease of employment opportunities, are a persistent burden on women. Regarding the qualification, that condition has involved every level, but the largest *Neet* percentage is referred to young people with high school diploma, since in Italy who has an intermediate qualification gets closer, regarding the risk to become a *Neet*, than who has low qualifications and degree. Who has a low-end qualification more easily is likely to remain caught in an inactive condition or become a long-term unemployed (Rosina, 2015). In Italy the phenomenon is different in accordance with the territory: the most vulnerable parties not included in educational, training or work paths live in Southern Italy, especially in Campania and Sicily (Fornari, 2016). This occurs principally because of cultural and social factors strongly influential and determinants during the lives of young people, such as: the role played in the organisation and management of the nuclear family; original family's influence; the importance assigned to the transient moment to adult life; the world of underdeveloped work.

Moreover, *Neet* phenomenon is frequently presented in different subgroups, by definition as well as for characteristics. We can identify mainly three. First is composed of young people recently graduated from high school and university, looking for work pretty much intensively. It's the more dynamic and "employable" *Neet* group. A substantial part of them has a significant human capital and high employment aspirations, which not necessarily are matched to the production system. The second group is composed of young people placed in the grey area between precariousness and lack of job. They have low skills, but ensure the availability to raise their skill levels. The third group is composed of young people that don't believe it any more, they live in limits set by problematic family situations or they are discouraged by negative experiences. This last group is the hardest to recover because it's the less visible one and the most difficult to involve. Even before investing in their employability, a particular attention has to be paid to self-confidence and to the desire to take back their life assuming an active and proactive attitude (Rosina, 2015). However, at the base of any subgroup it's them, young people, not just "big babies", deadbeats and parasites responsible and representatives of an economic weight for the country, but young people looking for spaces and time to forge and offer their rarest and valuable skills, in a quickly changeable society.

### 3. European Statistics

Before the economic crisis the 19% of people between the ages of 15 and 29 used to live in *Neet* condition. According to ISTAT data, the value was about a million and 850,000, drawn between a larger share of unemployed and another group referring to inactive. In Italy even before the crisis, compared with other European countries, the rate of who wasn't looking actively for job was particularly high. As a consequence of the 2007/2008 adverse economic event, several unemployed young people recently graduated from high school and university have been added to the Italian *Neet* group. The annual survey ESDE 2017 on employment and social development in Europe, published by the European Commission, shows some positive trends for the general economic and social progress and, on the contrary, a particularly high burden for the new generations, which tend to have more difficulties in the social context and in the research of their own place. Italy, to this day, has reached the the highest *Neet* rate in Europe with the 19,9% compared to an European average of 11,5% (European Commission, 2018). Result shown also in the report *Noi Italia 2018*: in 2016 Italy is confirmed at the top of 28 European countries ranking list regarding *Neet* rate, followed by Bulgaria and Greece, with a value 10% higher than the European average (Istat, 2018).

### 4. To Be Neet: A Human And Social Cost

Even though each country has its own specific *Neet* profile, what's common among the several existing definitions is the risk that these young people start a social exclusion and social well-being impairment path (Alfieri, Rosina, Sironi, Marta, Marzana, 2014). To be *Neet* is a big waste of youth and potential contribution that could be given to economy and into society. The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound), tripartite agency of the European Union,

set up in 1975 in order to providing knowledge on social policy area and work, emphasises a distinction between direct costs and indirect costs relating to *Neet*. The first represent the expenditure that the public authorities support for restorative measures, such as lay-off contributions, income support and so on. These costs are a direct consequence, although not necessary, to be a *Neet*, and, therefore, they have an impact in the short term. Indirect costs, on the other hand, may occur in both the short and long term. *Neet* are more likely to engage in deviant or risky behavior and incur in adult health problems. Then there is another expenditure indirectly caused by *Neet*, such as the loss of contribution in terms of production, and therefore of income, that these young people, on the contrary, would realize if they were included in the labour market or if they were in proximity to their future inclusion. These losses fall first of all on interested parties, which receive zero income or lower than potential one; secondly on the State, that receive reduced income regarding taxation; finally on companies, which make less sales and profits. The costs related to the *Neet* phenomenon, therefore, are multiple with repercussions both on young people and the community that surrounds them.

In the specific area of young people's mental illness, the WHO considers depression as the second disease in the world affecting people at a young age between the ages of 18 and 30. The 20% of adolescents suffers from mental disorders and suicide is the third cause of death amongst teenagers. The Lancet, as indicated in the materials related to the conference *L'inserimento socio-lavorativo delle persone con disturbo psichico* (Pavoncello, 2015) organised by Isfol, states that the leading cause of disability in general terms between the ages of 10 and 24 is mood disorders, followed by road accidents, schizophrenia and bipolar disorder. In 2015 an Isfol study (*ibidem*) pointed out that mental disorders occur in 75 % of the cases before the age of 24, with an average age of onset of: 11-15 years old for anxiety disorders; 19-21 years old for substance-related disorders; 24-30 years old for mood disorders. The rate of psychopathology has been gradually increasing in teenagers over the last decades (Twenge, Gentile, DeWall, Ma, Lacefield, Schurtz, 2010). *Neet* phenomenon reveals mental health problems, substance abuse and potential justice problems concomitant with economic (Marganti, Monzani, Percudani, 2018). In 2016 a study carried out by Goldman-Mellor *et al.*, *Neet* condition it's combined with a greater mental health risk (Goldman-Mellor, 2015). In Australia it has been shown that among young people who ask for help, one subject in five is *Neet* and these are more at risk of present advanced mental disorders. In a new study on Italian population, the 18.9% of people with the feature of being *Neet* has a diagnosis of borderline personality or antisocial, mental retardation, ADHD or a mood disorder (Nardi, Arimatea, Giunto, Lucarelli, Nocella, Bellantuono, 2013).

### 5. Young Neet: Discovering Resources

It's necessary to start looking for the right direction by clarifying as much as possible what the historical moment and the society ask and, above all, what they would like for the construction of a more solid future. The gateway to the future is clearly represented by young people, on which there have been so much debate both for what they are in society and for what they should be, according to many. Valuable young people for the future should be distinguished by specific features, which now belong indistinctly to every young social individual, although they are not highlighted. What would point them out and would allow the circulation of potentially crucial resources is represented by the context in which they live. Young people for the future should be enterprising, but the path for them has already been planned and continues to be defined with very clear limits. Another young people hallmark, necessary to the future, is determination: today's society and its representatives would like to have some determined and resolute young people. Nevertheless, from the early stages of life, others make the decisions for them and determine or guide largely their choices. Furthermore, young people should be creative and innovative, but is required to them to give specific answers, pre-selected and incontestable. Young people should be persevering in personal and social development, but once that they make mistakes they are tormented by failure and are considered as losers. Young people should be, moreover, individuals with a pronounced critical faculties of the outside, but they're constantly judged according to homologation principles, not allowing them, in this way, to stand out from the crowd to share, firstly, the critical issues of the crowd itself. In order to give them the opportunity to be critical in a properly and proactive way, it is necessary an approach to comprehension and freedom to face mistakes and

illusions. This should not be true just in the school area, but in every educational and social context experienced by every person. Another essential characteristic for the youth of the future is to be ethical, but they're used to be surrounded by supports reduced to immediate time also regarding the effects of these and to act following what has always been done according to certain manner, getting justification for their own actions. Youths of the future should be collaborative, but to date the bases for a counterproductive competitiveness have been put into them. Youths of "everyone's tomorrow" should be, moreover, alternative and proactive. On the contrary, they are asked to be a part of a school and educational system able to make a proposal equal for everyone in all its aspects. It is necessary, on the contrary, to listen to young people and give them space. It is appropriate to find and implement an ecological educational approach towards society and primarily young people. This perspective requires a new society organisation and a new way to live and grow in it, starting from the way of thinking and conceiving reality such as it's now done. An educational approach is ecological when it manages to combine both the different identities and the connection structures and the communicative contexts within which encounter and growth take place. An ecological education is not confined to collected data, achieved votes, international statistics and to any other standardised and competitive procedures for evaluation, but describes its constructs and dynamic related to the encounter with young people. In order to achieve levels of innovation useful for society it's necessary to begin with young people and, even before, with the children who will be the future by putting into place an ecological educational approach.

In this perspective an idea of education as an art finds a place, as a creative process that uses precise indications shared by everyone, but capable of hush them up in order to face and communicate with the "crucial" part they are referring to. Starting with the knowledge coming from the encounter with young people, I think it would be crucial that they should face the chance to build, undo, and rebuild, in different ways and in other places, their knowledge. This is only possible if the parties involved connect with each other and an ecological and "greening" educational approach is found. It is necessary a way to teach, to bring together young people and reality, capable of connecting and interconnecting. In order to face uncertainty in a positive way, young people must have divergent thought, the ability to produce a number of potential alternative solutions to a precise question. We need to establish in young people an "innovative principle still unknown", who starts from questions raised by themselves, by doubt and gamble. Today's young people are calling for the chance to get involved, to confront and open up to professional profiles trained to follow them through their strengthening. These profiles play not just the role of "future teachers", but also perform mentoring, coaching, tutoring, coordination and pedagogical consultancy. An educational leadership of possibilities is required, addressed to everyone in sharing objectives and skills required for human development. This leadership plays a key role in youth work, so long as takes to them a look of credibility and confidence for their different skills. A new instrument promoter of a future, and above all sustainable, social development is represented by adult available to "share the place", to change their way of thinking; to call into question their social role; to listen to young people. A "tool of the tools" is required in order to use the above mentioned educational tools: an impactful educational method in order to change intensity and direction. It is right to move away from the old structures and let the young people's freshness wash over us, with their "projections on a saturated organisation society" and their more unusual expectations. It is appropriate to break down the limits of "that's the way it's always been done and is only right and proper". It is necessary to understand in the encounter the impact that each action has with and for young people: is urgently required an evaluation of young people feedback. Standardized tests and preconceived verification are totally non-essential: uncertainty must be faced with a conscious unpredictability.

This perspective makes room for a new sign to follow: Being by living, to be living in society, in the social gathering places, in the present for the future with the past, through innovative tools. "To be to live" and "live to be": both perspectives are needed in society, if faced with an active approach. Learning by doing has an indisputable importance to be taken into account in the educational world, but when can we do to learn if first we are not what we are?

The following hypotheses are the most appropriate to point out this perspective in the sphere of social and educational innovation:

- To identify: discover what we are through an epistemological and reflective eye on our private and social history, combined with our existence *hic et nunc* and aimed at the construction of our future project;
- Directionality: have a clear idea of the road already covered and trace its continuation, by providing the permission to fail and miss;
- Contamination: moments of meeting between one's own and other's abilities are essential;
- Expertise: give visibility to one's own and other's characteristics and demand their respect in defense of the estimated value;
- Discernment and mutability: be able to recognise the needs related to the situation in which we are living to exercise responsibly one's own freedom of choice;
- Deployment: it is appropriate to know how to deploy one's own potential without limitations in time and space and from a wide action perspective which includes each social partner, from the beginning to the consequences, repurposing every time the focus of the ecological action;
- Metamorphosis: develop, as social individuals, every single mistake, influential in social dynamics to construct and live, starting from this, a new beginning, more aware and responsible, felt by both young generation and the rest of society.

It is necessary to start looking at reality as a heterogeneous *unicum* but strongly connected in every single part: a system. The greatest recognition can only occur through education, in the social-educational world accompanying *tout court*, in formal, non-formal and informal areas, the life of every single person included in today's and tomorrow's society.

Therefore, in view of the importance of the context, of the desired socio-educational system, of the possibilities given and still to be given to young people, there's nothing left but to act alongside young people and consider them as the treasurers of tomorrow, encouraging them to forge their skills and potential to be living as a showcase of their talent.

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# "A Field Study on Women's Poverty: The Case of Bursa"

Burcu Ongen Bilir

## Introduction

Poverty is simply the lack of minimum living standards to meet the basic needs of people. Poverty is the lack of quality living conditions. There is no single definition of poverty and it is a multi-dimensional concept. The concept of poverty, which emerges due to different reasons, has a different outlook than its classical meaning. With the globalization process, the meaning and struggle methods of poverty change. To explain poverty, concepts such as absolute-relative, objective-subjective, income poverty-human poverty, rural-urban poverty, working poor and women poverty have been produced. Among these concepts, especially in recent years, the concept of female poverty or the feminisation of poverty has come to the fore (Yıldırım, Özdemir, 2013).

Women are the most affected by poverty. Within the framework of gender relations, women experience poverty in a different way than men. In addition to being an income poverty for women, poverty leads to inability to participate in social life and thus to social exclusion. Due to the unequal access of women to rights and opportunities in all areas of social life, such as education, health services, and participation in employment, it is important to adopt a gender-sensitive analysis framework in understanding poverty.

When the studies on this subject are examined, women's poverty is a multidimensional problem. In order to understand women's poverty, it is necessary to put forward the defining characteristics of general poverty. According to Buvinic, women's poverty has two determinants: its position in the labor market and the availability of educational opportunities. Studies on poverty mostly include quantitative methods for determining the situation by gathering indicators, collecting statistical data, determining the population living in poverty and so on. The statistics are based on household and household income.

This work dealt with the poverty of women in Turkey will be too much for the survey revealed a statistically significant and the results will be measured by factor analysis. The main group of the survey, which is the most important pillar of the project, is around 100.000 women living in the mountain districts of Bursa province, Büyükorhan, Keles, Harmancık and Orhaneli districts. Accordingly, the sample size was calculated as 383 in 5% error margin and 95% confidence interval. Since high level analyzes will be conducted in the research, a questionnaire will be applied to 500 women in the sample. Since the surveys will be applied to women in these four districts, it is obligatory to allocate a large part of the budget to the survey, taking into consideration the costs of implementing these surveys.

For this purpose, first examining the feminisation of poverty and poverty in Turkey, labor force participation, employment, social security, inequality and lack of education by discussing the situation with poverty directly related and parallel to increasing gender inequality to the increase in poverty, women are put at risk against poverty and from that point In general, the problem of "women's poverty in general, which is the common problem of the whole society, will be evaluated in terms of its causes and results through field research conducted in the mountain districts of Bursa.

In this study, we think that in parallel with all the axes mentioned above, there are differences in terms of gender in terms of gender, and therefore, as a result of different experiences, it will contribute to the purpose and field of bringing some important contexts, analyzes and discussions about "women poverty which is a fragile category in poverty.

## 1. Conceptual framework

In order to understand women in the poverty process, first of all, what poverty takes away from the lives of individuals; in other words, what individuals lack in their poor lives and their inadequacies should be clarified. Because at this point, gender inequality manifests itself in the sharing or distribution of scarce resources and human and social capital (Topçuoğlu, Aksan, Alptekin, 2016).

Women's poverty is a multidimensional problem. In addition to the academic tendencies of poverty in the historical process, some social reasons also have an impact on the introduction of poverty into the literature and the relationship between these two variables. Poverty in terms of gender, especially women in the forefront of women; In addition to discussions about the unequal position of men in areas such as household position, property, education, consumption of resources, in-house decision-making processes, income and employment, very high poverty rates determined according to objective criteria based on some specific researches were determinant. In this sense, the discussions on women feminisation of poverty gel came to the agenda, and especially women-oriented analyzes on poverty started to be included. Although more balanced findings were found in later studies, the discussions in this process have great significance in terms of showing how vulnerable women are in poverty and revealing the extent to which poverty can deepen in different categories. In the more than thirty years since the first studies on poverty and women, the general tendency in the discussions of women poverty, categorically, is based on the assumption that women are a deeper and more violent social category than a comparison on the basis of poverty alone. As a matter of fact, qualitative and quantitative research on this issue shows that women live in poverty within a broad impact dimension such as both household labor processes and non-household factors (Şener, 2012).

Micro analysis used in poverty research in Turkey are clearly reveals a similar situation. When considered from this perspective, the area of women's poverty among poverty studies is of great importance as it contributes to solution-oriented approaches by showing how poverty differs on the basis of gender and represents a risk area that requires urgent measures by the competent institutions and organizations regarding the poverty problem which is the leading issue of social problems. For example, in the literature, women's poverty is examined in terms of gender inequality. Studies in this area largely examine the existence of gender inequality in women's struggle against poverty (Chant, Güneş). In addition, social assistance is also associated with women's poverty at many points (Topçuoğlu and Aksan). The most important reason of female poverty is the inadequate level of education of women or the lack of education at all. There are also studies examining education and women's poverty in this area (Gül, Şen and Kaya) In addition, an important issue about women's socioeconomic status and how it affects rural women's poverty has been discussed in different contexts and their relationship with neoliberal policies (Fırat, Özşahin and Özbudun). Media consumption and perceptions of individuals in poor households were examined comparatively in the context of gender (Cangöz, Ergül and Gökalp).

As can be seen from the literature, many studies on poverty have been made. In studies performed in Turkey migration, urbanization, poverty, women's issues in the cases of poverty reduction strategies in the context of poverty prevention is a priority problem to be solved on behalf of the reduction. Gender inequality, which isolates women from social life, increases in parallel with the increase in poverty and deepens the effects of poverty on women in households where poverty is experienced. The main focus of the interaction between gender and poverty is the way in which poverty differs between men and women. For this reason, in this study, the factors that differentiate the process of gender poverty in men and women will be examined on the axis of gender. The poverty and poverty that women are exposed to due to gender will shed light on the points where they live differently from men.

## **2. Method**

The general purpose of this study is to explain the situation of poor women in the cause-effect relationship in the light of the concept of women's poverty or feminisation of poverty that emerged and developed in the 1970s by showing that women have a different place in poverty. In addition, the socio-economic status of the households in different labor categories where women's poverty is questioned, the position of women in the production processes, the ways women use labor in the reproduction process: lowering the costs of living, debt, saving, women's domestic responsibility, women's connection with the social life, and power relations: to analyze the position of women in the decision-making processes in the home, violence, health, and women's perceptions of poverty and women's poverty.

### **2.1. Participants**

The number of women living in the districts of Bursa, Büyükorhan, Keles, Harmancık and Orhaneli is around 100,000. Accordingly, the sample size was calculated as 383 in 5% error margin and 95% confidence interval. Since high level analyzes will be conducted in the research, a questionnaire will be applied to 500 women in the sample. The surveys will be applied to women in these four districts.

### **2.2. Analysis of Data**

SPSS 20.0 program was used for data analysis. Descriptive analyses of demographic characteristics (age, marital status, educational status) and items in data collection instruments were examined by frequency and percentage distributions. According to the probability-based sample selection technique, approximately 383 women were interviewed.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Socio-demographic Background of Households

Table 1 shows the distribution of women participating in the survey, according to their demographic characteristics.

**Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Participants**

Variable		n	%
Age	19 ve altı	4	%1
	20-29	51	%13
	30-39	116	%30
	40-49	90	%23
	50-59	78	%20
	60 ve üstü	44	%11
Marital status	Single	64	%17
	Married	250	%65
	Divorced	69	%18
Education level	primary school	177	%46
	high school	81	%21
	university	45	%11
	Graduate (Master)	2	%0,5
	Other	78	%20
Working status	works regularly	92	%24
	works irregularly	71	%18
	not working	75	%19
	unemployed	49	%12
	housewife	56	%14
Health Assurance	SSK	104	%27
	Emekli Sandığı	10	%2
	Bağ-Kur	8	%2
	Yeşil Kart	261	%68
	<b>Total</b>	383	100

As seen in Table 1, when analyzed by marital status, 17% of single, 65% married and 18% of divorced participated in the study. The results also show that 30% of participants were in the age range of 30-39 years, 46% were primary school and 11% were university. When asked about health assurance, 68% of participants owner of yeşil kart.

#### 3.2. Assets Owned by Households

Household / individual assets are among the indicators used in poverty studies. Refrigerator, washing machine, automobile, rent-free housing are among the consumption assets. The ownership and quality of consumption assets are important for understanding the place of women's labor in the fight against poverty.

**Table 2. Property Status**

Variable	number of households	%
renter	100	%26
own house	220	%57
property	43	%11
other	20	%5
<b>Total</b>	383	100

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When the housing ownership of the households receiving assistance is examined, it is seen that most of them are tenants (26%). The proportion of people who own the property they live in is low (57%). On the other hand, 11 percent of households live without paying rent in the homes of their parents, relatives (Table 2).

**Table 3. Whether there is a separate room for parents and children**

Variable	number of households	%
Separate Family Room	90	%23
Separate Parent and Child Room	45	%11
No Separate Parent and Child Room	240	%62
Children's Room	8	%2
Total	383	100

90 percent of the households live in single storey houses with insufficient physical conditions. Most women (62%) stated that they and their children do not have separate bedrooms (Table 3).

### 3.3. Income Generating Jobs

In the household strategies research, it is stated that in addition to the work of men in poor households, other household members also try to increase the welfare of the household by participating in the labor markets. In the households interviewed, 26 percent of men are unemployed (Table 4).

**Table 4. Employment Status of Men**

Variable	number of households	%
unemployed	100	%26
working	35	%9
retired	248	%64
Total	383	100

### 3.4. Women's Domestic Labor

Under poverty conditions, women spend intensive labor in the production activities necessary for the care and livelihood of the family at home. In households that receive assistance, women are provided with cleaning (house cleaning, washing, etc.), kitchen work (food preparation, dishwashing, etc.), burning the stove, taking water to the house, taking care of children and raising them; food, garment and payment of invoices. It has been observed that most of the households receiving assistance help girls' mothers in doing these things.

**Table 5. Who Works at Home**

	cleaning		kitchen work		water transport		child care	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Women	214	%55	217	%56	246	%64	263	%68
Husband	-	-	5	%1	22	%5	4	%1
Children	40	%10	25	%6	34	%8	31	%8
Women/Girl Children	94	%24	88	%22	39	%10	48	%12
Women/Husband	30	%7	36	%9	30	%7	28	%7
Other	5	%1	10	%2	7	%1	9	%2
Total	383	100	383	100	383	100	383	100

#### 3.4.1. Subsistence Production

Subsistence goods for household resources and women's labor plays an important role in the production of services. In another saying, cost of goods and services obtained from the market women's labor is also extensively used in the production of subsistence goods at home. However, the rate of production of subsistence products at home is low among women. Even so among the products produced in the

home for the livelihood of the family and not to buy among women bread (52%), ravioli (60%), tarhana-noodles (40%), pickles (77%), tomato paste (37%), canned food (31%) and jam (40%) take the first place. Especially tomato paste, canned and the cost of producing jams is high, and women are less likely to.

### **3.4.2. Lowering Life Costs**

Most women need food, vegetable and fruit needs it usually receives from the market and cheap shops and collects the remaining products after the market is closed. Households generally eat tea, bread and at least one kind of food (margarine, cheese, olives, etc.) at breakfast. As the purchasing power of households decreases, it is revealed that women have reduced their consumption of products such as milk, eggs, meat, fish, rice, honey, fruits and they cannot be consumed regularly.

In the households that receive aid, food, clothing, electricity, water use, transportation, communications, heating are met in order to meet basic needs. Female labor plays an important role in reducing the basic needs of the household. Most women meet their food, vegetable and fruit needs usually from the market and cheap shops and collect the remaining products after the market is closed. Households usually eat tea, bread and at least one kind of food (margarine, cheese, olives, etc.) at breakfast.

### **3.4.3. Abandoning Personal Needs**

Gender-based inequalities have been observed in households in food consumption. In households receiving assistance, almost all women give priority to food consumption to their children and husbands. Women give priority to their children and husbands especially in the consumption of small quantities of food products (such as meat, fruit). The principles of classical poverty studies that evaluate households within the framework of market economy propositions, especially the assumption that resources are equally distributed by individuals in the household in order to maximize the common welfare of the household, are inadequate in explaining women's abandonment of their priorities in food consumption as well as in consumption of other resources.

### **3.4.4. The use of money**

Mostly, women decide on food (83%), clothing (75%), household goods (69%), meeting the school needs of children (76%) and spending money. However, as the amount of household income is very low, women experience intense stress in meeting family needs with little money. Managing scarce resources adversely affects the mental and physical health of women and the inability to meet the family's kitchen needs with a small amount of money turns into a troublesome and stressful process for women.

## **4. General Discussion**

Women are obliged to use it sparingly to meet basic needs such as food, clothing, cleaning materials, fuel, electricity / water consumption and transportation, which are not sufficient or insufficient household income to provide the goods and services needed for subsistence. "Managing" in many cases means completely abandoning the needs (in addition to the needs of the household, the woman's own special needs). Women often cut back on the use of consumed products and services and manage poverty of resources by producing some products at home through their own labor.

In the households receiving assistance, most men and women are of adequate age to use their labor force. Education levels of men and women are low. When considered within the framework of livelihood approach, it is seen that they do not have human capital that can compete for high salary, regular and stable jobs in labor markets. Men's professions coincide with their educational level.

Most of the households live in single storey houses with insufficient physical conditions. The ownership ratio of the residence is low. Most of the households are tenants and some of them live in relative housing without paying rent. For the "subsistence approach housing is an important asset for households to cope with poverty as a physical capital.

In unemployed households, male unemployment, irregular, unstable work and inadequate income make it difficult to meet the basic needs of the household. As a result, households are dependent on food, fuel, clothing, education and cash. Providing assistance to households in the fight against poverty

women have an important role to play. Because it is a matter of "pride" and "honor için for men to apply for and / or apply for help.

In order to cope with poverty, most women work in temporary and irregular jobs (seasonal work, cleaning, per-piece work at home (lace, knitting, etc.), child, sick and elderly care, etc.), as they find work. Women do not have social security in these works. Age, education level and domestic responsibilities are the factors that affect women's working in temporary, irregular and precarious jobs. Almost all of the women struggle with poverty by using their labor intensive in the provision of goods and services necessary for the subsistence of the household, the use of resources and making them consumable. Women who struggle for the livelihood of the household also have to give up their special needs. This leads to further oppression of women in poverty and deepening their secondary and unequal status.

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# Italian Families' Changes in a Transformation Society

D'Ambrosio Gabriella, Pastori Veronica

## 1. Introduction

In recent decades, Italy has been run over of several changes in most relevant social areas, for instance the economic sphere (just think, by way of example, to the financial crisis since 2007), the political sphere (in these years new political movements have emerged) and also demographic one (for example, the ageing population and the falling birth rate). More in detail, looking at the demographic changes, also the family structure has been amended as a result of cultural and social transformations and especially the Italian family system that, as pointed out by the National Institute for Statistics in the last Annual Report (2018), has become increasingly unstable and fragile. In this respect, some Italian scholars support the idea of the "end of the family" since the family, as a social institution, being the first aggregation among individuals on which the rest of the of society stands, is in decline (for a more explanation see Volpi, 2007). Actually, the aim of this paper is not to prove the disappearance of the family but, on the contrary, the emergence of new types of families in a modern society. In fact, while it is true that the family has lost its traditional concept (this, for example, is highlighted by the decrease in marriage rate, the decline in the number of children and the increase in marital instability, a phenomenon that in Italy has become even more consistent especially after the adoption of the divorce law), it is equally true that the family system changed into new forms (i.e., increases the number of civil ceremonies at expense of the religious one, increases the rate of cohabitations and of people who decide do not marry and, last but not least, more and more are the so-called "extended family" because they concern families which are composed of individuals forming new relationships and bringing with them children from a previous marriage/relationship). So, under this point of view, we can state that, more generally, also the family system has been affected by social changes and, in a contemporary and liquid society (Bauman, 2000), it is turned from a "collective experience" where the group dimension plays an essential role to an "individual experience" in which each individual makes autonomously his choices (Bonolis, 1999).

For this reason, taking into consideration this theoretical framework, the goal of this study is to analyze, using quantitative data, all the changes that have occurred in Italy in the last fifteen years and that how are changed the Italian citizens' behaviors and dispositions towards family-related issues.

## 2. Data Collection and Analysis

Before clarifying the source and the dataset of this study, it is necessary to specify that, in order to explain the families' changes in Italy, we used a descriptive research method since «descriptive research is concerned with the present and attempts to determine the status of the phenomenon under investigation» (Singh & Nath, 2007, 195). Furthermore, as stated by Singh and Bajpai in the book entitled *Research Methodology. Techniques and Trends* (2008), this type of research «describes without value judgment a situation that prevails; it attempts no explanation of underlying reasons and makes no recommendation for actions» (Singh & Bajpai, 2008, 8).

In accordance with this principle, our descriptive study, the results of which will be explain in the next section of this paper, is conducted starting from secondary data deriving from National Institute for Statistics data warehouse. Every year the Institute collects information concerned several aspects and phenomena of our country, including populations' characteristics as resident population, birth, fertility, mortality, and families' peculiarities as composition, number of children and type of family (traditional or single-parent).

Source of our analysis is sample survey "Aspects of daily life"<sup>1</sup> including in Multipurpose surveys on households.

The analysis is conducted on historical series data from 2000 to 2015 (last data available) with the aim to observe Italian trends and changes taking into account the national territorial division mainly if we consider the cultural, economic and social differences and/or idiosyncrasies among the Northern, Central and Southern Italy.

### 3. Results

Secondary data analysis will focus the attention on four aspects: marriages, non-married partners, legal separations and divorces and reconstituted families (or, using other terms, "new families" or "extended families"). In more detail, the indicators used are the number of marriages, the number of both legal separations and divorces and the rates of non-married partners and reconstituted families per 100 couples.

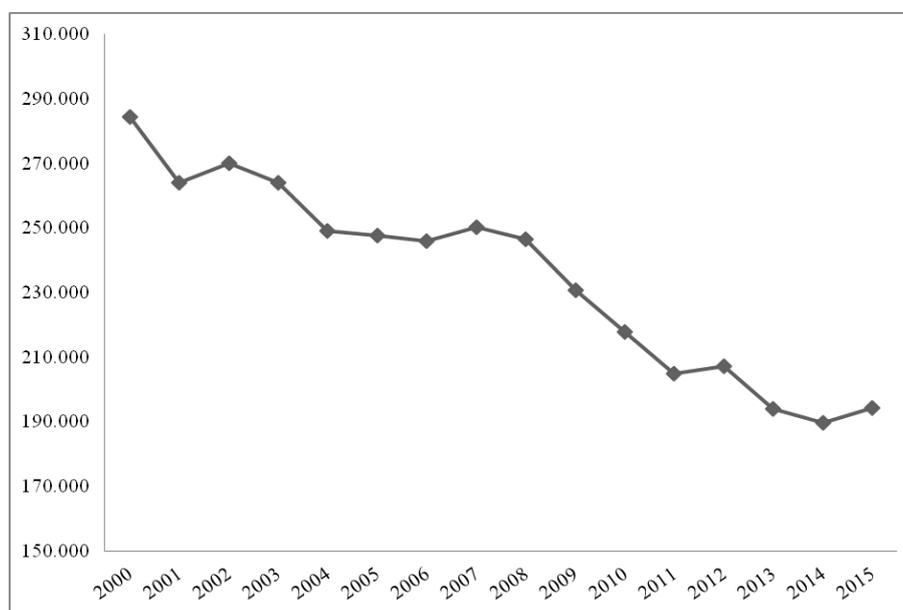
In each of the following paragraph, we analyze separately every aspect.

#### 3.1. Marriages

In the last decades, some changes about marriages have characterized European countries: the marriage rates decrease is a widespread trend (Loveless & Holman, 2007; Kiernan, 2004; European Communities, 2006).

In line with what happened in Europe, even in Italy there has been a decline in marriages, despite in our country this trend came later than other European countries, in particular compared to North Europe (as Norway and Sweden).

In Italy in fifteen years the marriages are decreased by 90.033 units: from 284.410 in 2000 to 194.377 in 2015. As we can observe from Figure 1, we can identify three periods: a slight decrease from 2000 to 2003 (about 20.000 units); a substantial stability from 2004 to 2008 (only 2.356) and since 2009 there was a real decline with a difference of 36.236 in seven years.



**Figure 1.** Marriages in Italy (2000-2015) – N

This phenomenon can be explained by calling into question several aspects about social and individual spheres. In the first sphere, because the extension of stay in the educational system and the consequent delay with which one enters the labor market, people acquire more autonomy later than in the past and this influences the possibility of leaving the origin's family to create a new one. Alongside these changes that we could define as structural, we can identify individual decisions: paraphrasing Kathleen Kiernan, marriage is no longer inevitability but becomes a choice (Kiernan, 1996).

Going down to a more analytical level and analyzing marriages from a territorial point of view, observing Figure 2, it emerges that the highest long-term differences are recorded in South (from 79.204 in 2000 to 52.703 in 2015) and in North West Italy (from 67.745 in 2000 to 45.798 in 2015). In

### Italian Families' Changes in a Transformation Society

other Italian areas the trend is substantial the same but in units term the decrease is more contained with differences in units pair to 16.509, 14.086 and 10.990 respectively in Central, North East and insular Italy.

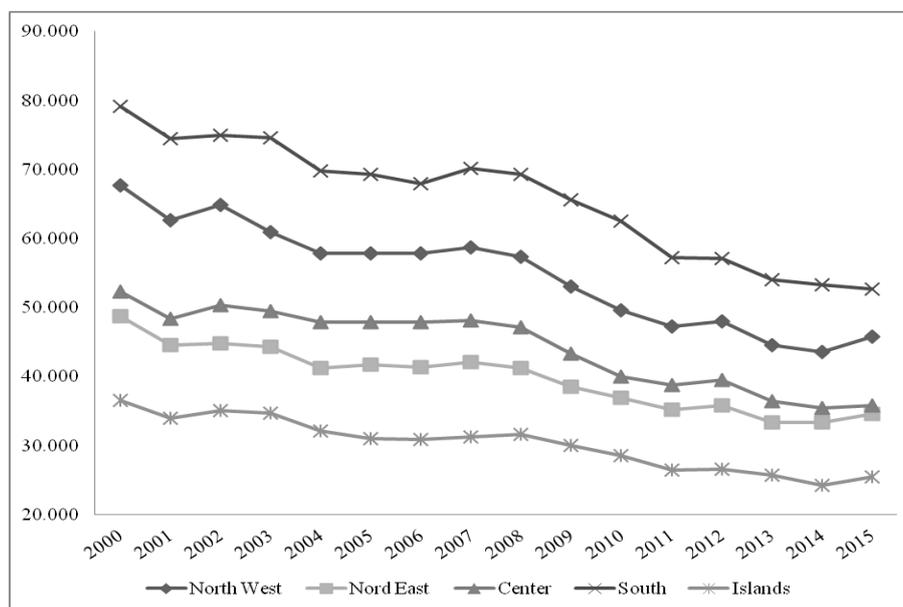


Figure 2. Marriages in Italy by territorial areas (2000-2015) – N

### 3.2. Non-married partners

In the previous paragraph we observed how in Italy, in accordance with the trends found in other European countries, there has been a marked decline in marriages since the beginning of the new Millennium.

In this paragraph we have the opportunity to analyze an alternative form to marriage to build a family that has made its way in the last decades: the non-married couples. This term is used to indicate the absence of the marriage bond between cohabiting partners. In some cases, this type of union is a prelude to marriage, but in the others is a real alternative. Istat data about births of unmarried couples increase (Istat, 2018) confirm the progressively widespread choice of this form of family formation.

Observing the Figure 3, we note that in a range of fifteen years<sup>2</sup>, at national level there was an increase about 5% (5.2%, from 2.7% in 2000 to 7.9% in 2015) in non-married partners per 100 couples. But it's more interesting to analyze these data considering the territorial differences.

In every years studied, Northern Italy, both North West and North East, is characterized by highest rates with an increase of long-term pair to, respectively, 6.2% and 7.4%.

On the time, Central areas are differentiated by two trends: in most years considered, the rates are higher than national level, instead in 2002, 2003 and 2014 these rates are lower than Italian level even if the differences don't exceed 0.5%.

Focusing the attention on Southern Italy, we observe that if we distinguish South from Islands, despite the increase in the phenomenon analyzed here, the rates are clearly below the national level, especially in the South but if we try to merge these values under a unique category we can note that in recent years, in particular in the last two years (2014 and 2015), the rates exceed those of Italy as a whole. The latter aspect can be a sign of a progressive convergence of family models in Italy.

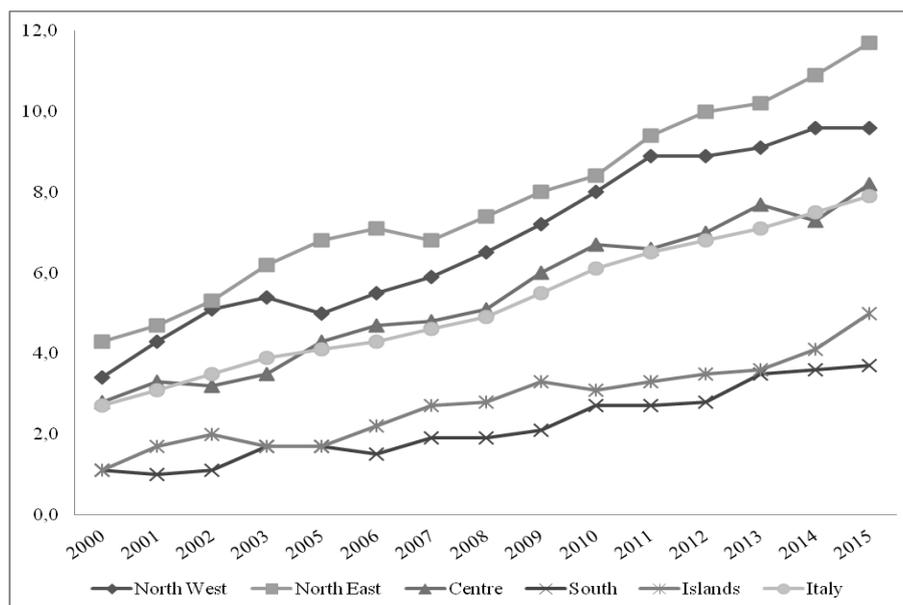


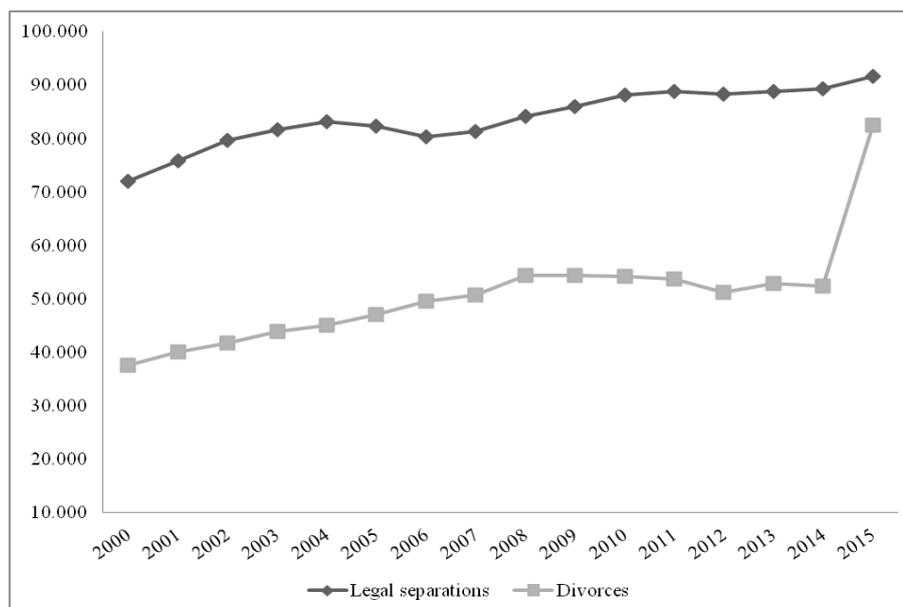
Figure 3. Non-married partners in Italy and territorial areas (2000-2015) – per 100 couples

### 3.3. Legal separations and divorces

Contrary to the number of marriages which decreased from 2000 onwards, the number of legal separations and divorces in Italy has dramatically increased over the past few years. Before analyzing the statistical data, it is necessary to specify that in Italy, the legal separation and divorce, governed by Law no. 898/1970 "*Discipline of cases of dissolution of marriage*" subsequently amended in Law no. 151/1975 ("*Reform of family law*") and in Law no. 74/1987 (called "*New rules on the regulation of cases of dissolution of marriage*"), represent a two-stage process since, usually, the one who wants to get a divorce must first obtain legal separation: originally, in the ratio of the legislator, the latter was supposed to serve as a "reflection period" about the intention to maintain or definitively dissolve the conjugal bond but, considering the almost similar increase of legal separations and divorces in recent years (Figure 4), it is reasonable to assume that legal separations are, to this day, a real pre-announcement of divorce and which, therefore, neglect the old duty for a rethink.

More in detail, as can be seen from the following graph, in fact, there have been 71.969 legal separations in 2000 and 91.706 legal separations in 2015 while the increase in the number of divorces is less significant until 2013 and then increased from 2014 onwards (just think that between 2014 and 2015 this increase has been, in terms of percentage variation, of 57.6%). Undoubtedly, it is about an effect of the recent introduction of the so-called "fast divorce law", a new modality provided by Law no. 55/2015 which slashed the time to get a divorce from three years to six months.

## Italian Families' Changes in a Transformation Society



**Figure 4.** Legal separations and divorces in Italy (2000-2015) – N

The increase of conjugal instability in Italy (Barbagli, 1990; Arosio, 2008; Todesco, 2009) is even clearer and visible if we also refer to the total separation rate per 1.000 marriages and total divorce rate per 1.000 marriages which measure the share of marriages celebrated in a year  $t$  that end in a marital breakdown. Looking at the Table 1, we note that the total rate of separation per 1.000 marriages increased from 228 to 339.8 over the past 15 years while the total rate of divorce per 1.000 marriages has almost tripled, increasing from 114.9 in 2000 to 297.3 in 2015.

Furthermore, it is a phenomenon that, as the time goes by, has become increasingly widespread throughout the nation: in fact, if most of the legal separations and divorces were recorded and is still recorded in the Northern areas (55.8% in 2000 and 45.1% in 2015), however, the percentage of marital instability increased also within the areas of Central Italy (from 21.9% in 2000 to 22.4% in 2015) and, in a more defined manner, in the areas of Southern Italy (from 22.3% at the beginning of the year 2000 to 32.5% in 2015).

**Table 1.** Separation and divorce rate per 1.000 marriages (2000-2015)

Year	Separation rate per 1.000 marriages	Divorce rate per 1.000 marriages
2000	228,0	114,9
2001	242,6	123,8
2002	256,5	130,6
2003	250,4	138,6
2004	272,6	143,8
2005	272,1	151,2
2006	268,1	160,6
2007	273,7	165,4
2008	286,2	178,8
2009	296,9	180,8
2010	307,1	181,7
2011	310,7	181,9
2012	310,6	173,5
2013	314,0	182,6
2014	319,5	180,1
2015	339,8	297,3

Overall, the data analyzed show how, in the same way of what happens within all other social structures (i.e., economic, political, socio-occupational), also the intimate sphere and, specifically, the modern marriage «is influenced by that climate and mentality of both precariousness and impermanence that characterizes the way of producing and, even more, the way of life» (Campanini, 1989, 116). And besides: «it is not clear why, in a world characterized by the continuous change in all relationships, only the relationship between a man and a woman in a marriage should remain stable over time» (Campanini, 1989, 116).

So, the marital instability, that is the families characterized by high rates of conflict that are incapable of proper functioning and, for this reason, they disintegrate (Sprey, 1969), becomes a phenomenon that can be configured as an object of sociological study if we only think about the important consequences and transformations it has generated. In the words of Marzio Barbagli (1990), known Italian sociologist, marital breakdown is like a "silent revolution" that, with the passing of time, has been able to determine both social and demographic changes: among the first, the reorganization of welfare systems and, in particular, of the work-family reconciliation policies mainly for women; among the latter, the spread of premarital cohabitation, the diffusion of the incomplete nuclear families (characterized by the presence of children with only one parent) or the reconstituted families formed when divorced people who have children from their previous marriage remarry. This last aspect, in particular, will be studied in the next paragraph.

### **3.4. The reconstituted families**

The expression "reconstituted families" indicates all that families that are composed of an adult couple living with at least one child born from a previous union of one of the partners. The results of reconstituted families is an increase also in the numbers of families which are headed by step-mothers and step-fathers and this is the reason why «the remarried family is really more like a patchwork family, making many compromises as children shuttle from the newly formed family back to the biological parent for visitation, past partners work out monetary problems such as child support, and extended family members of both the past family and the newly remarried family work out their relationships» (Cox, 2008, 34).

In Italy, as pointed out by Istat in the statistical report published in 2011 (year of the last national Census) and entitled *How the family changes*, the increase of legal separations and divorces is, undoubtedly, the cause of the increase of diversity of family relationships, for instance single people, one-parent families and, indeed, reconstituted families (this thesis is also supported by other scholars such as Mazzoni, 1995; Blangiardo & Rimoldi, 2006).

From the Figure below, it is possible to see that in Italy the rate of reconstituted families per 100 couples is increased from 4.3% in 2000 to 7.1% in 2015<sup>3</sup> (just think that we're talking about a million of reconstituted families in 2015).

Looking at the graph more in detail, however it should be noted that, in some areas of the country, the increase is above the national level especially in the North: in fact, with regard to the North West the increase has been of 3.1 percentage points (from 5.3 to 8.4) and as regards the North East the increase was more significant (4.4 percentage points, from 4.8 to 9.2).

## Italian Families' Changes in a Transformation Society

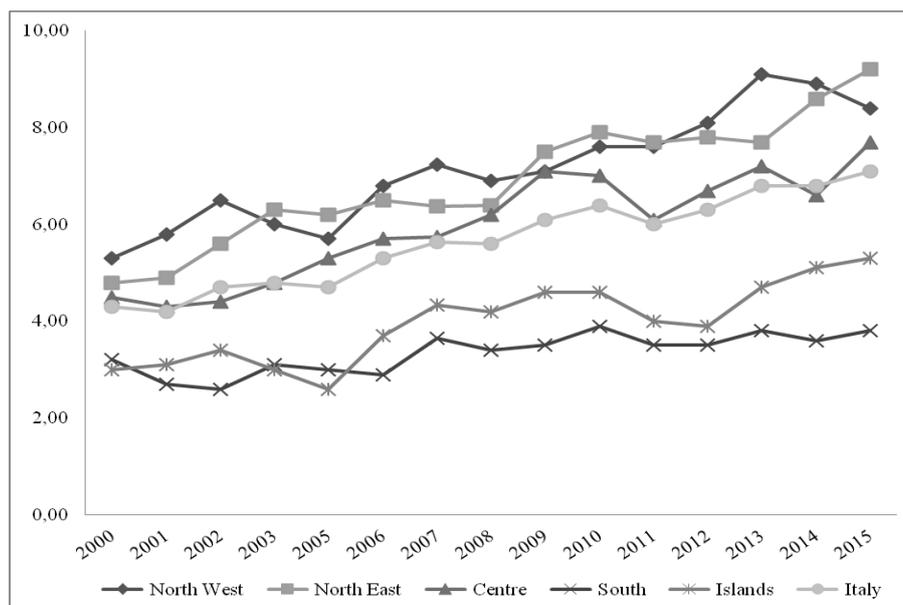


Figure 5. Reconstituted families in Italy and territorial areas (2000-2015) – per 100 couples

Vice versa, below the national level, we find the Southern Italy and the two Islands (Sardinia and Sicily) where the increase has been respectively of 0.6 and 2.3 percentage points. Ultimately, the Central Italy follows the same pattern of the national level (the two lines in the Figure 5 that refer to Centre and Italy are, indeed, almost overlapping).

#### 4. Conclusion

The research presented in this contribution has highlighted the family's transformations in the Italian context. As emerged by all the proposed cross-sectional analysis, there has been a sort of reversal in the type of intimate relationship: more in detail, it has possible to note how the conjugal instability (which indicators are the legal separations and divorces) increase with decreasing in the number of marriages (par excellence the traditional bond between two people). Not only that: to this trend corresponds also the increase in the number of non-married partners (people that choose do not marry in a more structured manner) and in the number of reconstituted families (people who have already divorced, a sign that the marriage has lost his primary function of strength and permanence).

So, contrary to the assumption that Italy is a traditional country (Sciolla, 2010), in the recent years this nation has become even more modern since also the indicators that refer to crude marriage rate per 1.000 persons and crude divorce rate per 1.000 persons in the European context ranks close to the European average. More in detail, looking at European Commission statistics (European Union, 2015), in 2015 the marriage rate was 3.2 (as well as Portugal and Slovenia) while in EU-28 level it was 4.3 and the divorce rate was 1.4 compared with an European average of 1.9.

Nevertheless, as pointed out in the Introduction of this paper, this not means that the family institution in Italy is completely disappeared; it means that, thinking along the lines of Simmel (1908), the social institution changes its forms but not its content: for this reason, the construction of a new household may be achieved following, right now, other and alternative ways.

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## Note

<sup>1</sup> From 1993 to 2003 the survey was conducted annually in November and since 2005 in February with a several thematic areas.

<sup>2</sup> In historical series there are no data for the 2004 because in this year the survey it has not been carried out.

<sup>3</sup> In historical series there are no data for the 2004 because in this year the survey it has not been carried out.

# The Role of Maternal Gatekeeping and Spousal Support on Father Involvement

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## 1. Introduction

Since Lamb (1975) indicated the fact that fathers are the forgotten contributors to child development, researches on father involvement in child development have rapidly increased. However, studies dedicated to father involvement in Turkey are relatively new and there are still incredible gaps in the literature regarding the role of father involvement. Thus, the concepts highlighted in this study such as the role of spousal support, and maternal gatekeeping which is a new concept in Turkey and the analyses regarding father involvement will substantially contribute to the field.

Father involvement stands out as a concept on which there has been no common and clear definition by researchers (Parke, 2000; Cabrera and Bradley, 2012). Namely, it is right to say that father involvement is subject to different definitions (Lamb, 2000) and is evaluated from different dimensions (Cabrera et al., 2007) and interpreted in various ways (Pleck, 2010). On the other hand, when we would like to define “father involvement” concept, we can mention mutual interactions between father and child (Cabrera and et al., 2007), the availability of father, father’s candid attitude, father’s satisfaction from parenting, father’s parenting style and the financial support the father provides for his child. (Downer et al., 2008). In other words, with the phrase “father involvement”, the participation of fathers in the lives of their children is expressed. The first conceptualization of father involvement is offered by Lamb and Pleck in the beginning of 1980s (Pleck,2010) and father involvement is defined with three components. These three components are “interaction/engagement”, “accessibility”, and “responsibility. “Interaction/engagement” refers to caregiving, direct contact with the child through plays and leisure time activities (Pleck, 2010). To put it another way, it is a shared interaction with the child (Cabrera et al., 2007). “Accessibility” refers to the presence of father and being accessible to the child. “Responsibility” refers to the plans regarding child care and the arrangement of the resources to be available for the child (Cabrera et al., 2007).

It is seen that there are a great number of factors concerning father involvement which have crucial impacts on child development (Cabrera and Bradley, 2012; Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth and Lamb, 2000; Downer et al., 2008; Kuzucu and Özdemir, 2013; Schaffer,1996; Zeybekoğlu, 2013). It is stressed that the relations between these factors are relatively less analyzed together (McBride, Schoppe, Ho and Rane, 2004). Yet, it is highlighted that multi-faceted approaches are important to comprehend “father involvement” concept (Parke et al., 2005). With the help of these multi-faceted approaches, father involvement can be evaluated in terms of contextual factors, determinants and outcomes of involvement (Cabrera et al., 2007). The analysis of father involvement based on different factors will provide us extensive knowledge to see the conditions in which fathers can contribute to the lives of their children. Thus, both the opportunity for a better assesment of fathers will be provided and a road map for the further studies on this topic will be presented. In this study, two significant factors concerning father involvement will be addressed: maternal gatekeeping and spousal support.

When we glance through the factors on father involvement, we observe that many researchers have studied on various categories and common factors appear among these studies. When the model of Belsky (1984), which determines the factors of parenthood is closely studied, it is seen that father characteristics, child characteristics, father-child relations, marital relationships, social networks and professional experience directly influence fatherhood. Thus, the determining factors of fatherhood affect both the functions of fatherhood and the child development. Parke (1995) also analyzes the factors associated with father involvement in many groups. “Individual Factors”: the quality of the relationship between the father and his own parents, parents’ attitudes, motivations and skills. “Family Factors”: mothers’ attitudes including maternal gatekeeping, marital relationships and father-child relations. “Changing Societal Conditions as Determinants of Father–Child Relationships”: timing of parenthood, work quality. Lamb, Pleck and his friends also identify the factors associated with father

involvement in their models. According to this model; “Motivation”: the degree to which fathers are eager to get involved with their children. “Skills and Self-Confidence”: actual physical skills and methods so as to be successful and influential for caregiving to the children. “Social Supports and Stresses”: the degree to which the social networks of fathers, primarily mothers support or hinder father involvement. “Institutional Factors”: the way how the workplace practices and policies have impact on father involvement (ref. McBride et al., 2004). McBride et al., (2004) also examines the degree to which above-mentioned factors predict father involvement. While testing the validity of the model suggested by Lamb-Pleck, it has been established that feedbacks regarding “social supports and stresses” are the meaning determinants of father involvement. It is observed that fathers have more responsible behaviours and are more involved in the case that they experience less disagreement. Similarly, social supports and stresses have a great impact on the appearance of new methods in the model. Parke et al. (2005) indicates the factors mentioned below as the predictors of father involvement. “Biological Factors”: hormonal changes starting from pregnancy period till the birth of the child. “Social Factors”: ecological determinants such as parents’ attitudes, marital relationship, father-child relations and job. And “Cultural Factors”. Cabrera et al., (2007) studies the below-mentioned factors as the predictors of father involvement in their model. “Father’s Rearing History”: the relations of fathers with their parents etc. “Cultural History”: race, ethnical origin etc. “Biological History”: psychopathology, alcoholism, depression, health etc. “Father Characteristics”: job, age, education, productivity, parenting style, attitudes, motivation, personality, job and religious activities etc. “Mother Characteristics”: job, age, education, fertility, health, mental health etc. “Contextual Factors”: mother-father relationship, economic situation, time, family planning behaviour, social connections. “Child Characteristics”: age, sex, temperament, inabilities etc.

As it is evident, the spouses of fathers, namely mothers have a great role in determining father involvement. Researchers absolutely touch upon the attitudes of mothers and their relations with the father in their studies. However, they discuss this matter in different categories. To illustrate, mothers are placed in the category of “family factors” while they feature in the category of “social supports and stresses” in some researches. Similarly, mothers appear as the figure affecting father involvement under the category of “social factors” and “contextual factors”. In summary, the fact that the relations fathers share with their spouses and the attitudes of spouses have great impact on father involvement is a critical point to be emphasized (Cabrera and Bradley, 2012; Makusha and Richter, 2016). Thus, since father involvement highly contributes to the lives of their children, the fact that fathers are backed by their spouses and they are subject to maternal gatekeeping, which is particularly popular in the last two decades in the literature are the two crucial topics to be studied.

Firstly, maternal gatekeeping which is significant in terms of father involvement will be examined. Though the studies on maternal gatekeeping tend to increase, a lack of detailed studies is still apparent (Hauser, 2012). Maternal gatekeeping is relatively a very new concept to be studied and there are still substantial gaps regarding this topic in the literature. For instance, the first study on maternal gatekeeping in Turkey belongs to Karabulut and Şendil (2017), in which they adapt Maternal Gatekeeping Scale into Turkish. Subsequently, maternal gatekeeping concept appears in the doctoral dissertation of Karabulut (2017a) where father involvement and determinants of father involvement (father involvement of fathers’ own fathers, paternal self-efficacy, maternal gatekeeping) are all examined in a model. Besides, maternal gatekeeping as a concept is also seen in the master thesis of Akgöz-Aktaş (2017).

Maternal gatekeeping stands as the obstacle for fathers to get involved in the lives of their children (Allen and Hawkins, 1999) and is also among the determining factors which influence father involvement mentioned above. Yet, it is stated that there is a limited number of studies on the definition of maternal gatekeeping concept (Fagan and Barnett, 2003) and there appears a necessity for a clear definition of this concept (Allen and Hawkins, 1999). Besides, maternal gatekeeping is expressed as the behaviour of mother which determines father involvement, even restricts father involvement into the lives of their children (Allen and Hawkins, 1999), thus damaging father and child interaction (Austin et al., 2013; Hauser, 2012). In other words, mothers consider childrearing activities as the

matters of their own expertise and do not want to give up these responsibilities. Thus, they guide fathers in accordance with their own choices by restricting the fathers (Hawkins and Dollahite, 1997).

Some researchers note that maternal gatekeeping not only includes discouragement of fathers but also encourages fathers (Shoppe-Sullivan et al., 2015). Besides, in addition to “encouragement” and “discouragement” concepts, mother gatekeeping involves “control” behaviour of mothers (Puhlman and Pasley, 2013). However, since maternal gatekeeping is considered to obstruct father involvement at a great level in the literature (Parke et al., 2004), maternal gatekeeping is primarily emphasized as the factor which hinders father involvement (Puhlman and Pasley, 2013). As it is evident that mothers, mother characteristics and maternal gatekeeping behaviour have a substantial impact on fathers' behaviours and father-child relationship (Cowan and Cowan, 1987; DeLuccie, 1995; Fagan and Barnett, 2003; Herzog, Umana-Taylor, Madden-Derdich and Leonard, 2007; Pedersen, Zaslow, Cain, Suwalsky and Rabinovich, 1987; Trinder, 2008; Tu et al., 2014). To illustrate, father involvement level is negatively affected when mothers have maternal gatekeeping behaviours and criticize fathers (Fagan and Barnett, 2003; Gaunt, 2008; Schope-Sullivan et al., 2008; Tu et al., 2014). On the other hand, when fathers are subject to a lower level of maternal gatekeeping behaviours and mothers encourage fathers, higher level of father involvement is observed (Kulik and Sadeh, 2015; Schope-Sullivan et al., 2008). In the model study of Karabulut (2017) where the determinants of father involvement are examined and maternal gatekeeping in terms of father involvement is compared, it is established that maternal gatekeeping strongly influences father involvement.

Now, in this study, another factor as important as maternal gatekeeping will be examined. It is seen that when contextual stress and support sources, particularly emotional investment are high between the spouses, the marital relationship is a crucial support system (Belsky, 1984; Dickie, 1987). Social support concept covers various behaviours such as advising and informing a person, providing emotional support, financial assistance, appreciating a person, helping a person to tackle with the problems, acting as a role model for a person (Yıldırım, 2004). Though emotional support is emphasized in many of the researches, esteem support, tangible support, informational support, network support are also stressed (Xu and Burleson, 2001). It is possible to see other categorizations. For instance, support concept can be defined as “emotional support”, “instrumental assistance” and “social expectations” (Belsky, 1984); it can also be mentioned as “emotional support”, “cognitive support” or “agreement in caregiving, physical support” (Dickie, 1987). In Turkey, spousal support stands out as the concept with several dimensions such as “emotional support”, “instrumental and information support”, “appraisal support”, “social companionship” and other general support dimensions (Yıldırım, 2004).

The definitions of different support dimensions are presented below:

“Esteem Support”: to approve a person, to support one's personality.

“Tangible Support”: to provide material support and service to an individual in various subjects.

“Informational Support”: to provide information and to give advice in a matter related with a person.

“Network Support”: to renew a person's belonging feeling and thus creating social networks (Xu and Burleson, 2001).

Other definitions of support dimensions are presented below:

“Emotional Support”: love and respect from other people.

“Instrumental Assistance”: to get information or to provide advice, to assist in daily tasks such as caregiving.

“Social Expectations”: to guide a person for a proper behaviour (Belsky, 1984).

The types of spousal support summarized above and the lack of these supports perceived by fathers can obstruct father involvement (Lamb, 1986). However, father involvement is fostered when fathers are supported by their spouses. Owing to this support, fathers are also capable of being an adequate parent like mothers (Bouchard and Lee, 2000; Dickie, 1987; Türkoğlu and Gültekin-Akduman, 2015). It is stated that there is a positive relationship between the general support received by fathers and their parenthood towards their children and fathers with spousal support experience high level of self-adequacy for parenthood. These fathers become proud and satisfied to look after their children and thus, invest in childcare (Belsky, 1984; Berman and Pedersen, 1987; Dickie, 1987; Makusha and Richter,

2016; Türkoğlu and Gültekin-Akduman, 2015). When the feedbacks of fathers are analyzed, it seems that fathers consider themselves to be capable enough so as to realize their role as a father with spousal support (Makusha and Richter, 2016). Similarly, the research in Turkey demonstrates that spousal support has a substantial positive impact on father involvement (Karabulut, 2017b).

## 2. Discussion and Conclusion

It appears that fathers encounter several challenges while they are more involved in namely, they participate more to the lives of their children. These challenges can be structural, cultural, personal and related with family. Mothers can also be evaluated as obstacles in particular in terms of maternal gatekeeping concept (Allen and Hawkins, 1999). Besides, it is known that with father involvement, there appear changes in the relations of family members (Belsky and Volling, 1987). Thus, it will be more beneficial to assess the whole family system rather than examining a single relation in particular. When family is considered to be a system, it involves all family individuals and sub-systems. Since these individuals and sub-systems are in mutual interactions, it is highly possible that one affects the other or the other is influenced by another (Kulik and Tsoref, 2010). There are family members within this system who shape father-child relationship with their opinions and attitudes (Parke et al., 2004) and mothers draw attention with the level of impact on this relationship (Cowan and Cowan, 1987; Herzog, Umana-Taylor, Madden-Derdich and Leonard, 2007). Regarding the impact of fathers and mothers on each other in terms of parenthood, the impact of mothers and the mother gatekeeping concept have a special place in both ecological approach and family system approach (DeLuccie, 1995; Fagan and Barnett, 2003; Trinder, 2008; Tu et al., 2014). The fact that whether mothers value father involvement, their expectations, attitudes, contentments are of utmost importance in terms of spousal support (DeLuccie, 1995; Makusha and Richter, 2016).

For a long time, fathers have been considered to be the economic and emotional support to the mothers rather than the parents who are backed by mothers. However, it has been established that fathers are influenced by marital factors much more than mothers. It is seen that fathers require more support in father-child relationship (Berman and Pedersen, 1987) and spousal support has a great role in the functionality of fathers. Besides, it has been proved that as parents, fathers benefit more from the emotional support in the relationships between the spouses. To illustrate, in the cases where high level of supports exist, there seems no difference. However, fathers perform less adequacy when they are subject to less support from mothers (Dickie, 1987). While the above-mentioned spousal support facilitates child-care investments of fathers, it also assists mothers by alleviating their responsibilities (Berman and Pedersen, 1987). While spouses supporting each other contribute to the lives of their children, they also enrich each other. In this way, the importance of spousal support is highlighted again for a healthy family (Yıldırım, 2004).

In accordance with all this knowledge, it is regarded that the level of father involvement is affected when mothers change both their thoughts on their roles and the expectations from their spouses regarding their fatherhood. The fact that especially mothers give chances to fathers to get involved in child related issues and accept that childcare is not only their responsibility, namely support fathers will have a positive impact on father involvement (Parke et al., 2005). Therefore, father involvement should be assisted by mothers for the well-being of individuals in the family system and mother gatekeeping behaviours should be reduced. In the future studies, intervention programs in order to curb maternal gatekeeping behaviours and encourage father involvement should be designed. Simultaneous measurements from mothers and children and along with fathers can be made so as to identify the current situation. Furthermore, it is useful to carry out longitudinal research to clearly see the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and father involvement. One-way measurement only from mothers should not be taken into consideration since mothers who do not attach importance to father involvement, underreport father involvement and even are not aware of their maternal gatekeeping behaviours (Gaunt, 2008). In this respect, researchers Karabulut and Şendil (2017) in Turkey focuses on the perception of fathers regarding maternal gatekeeping behaviours to take a reliable measurement.

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# Regulatory Changes in the Long-Term Care Industry in Israel: The Case of the Israeli Kibbutzim

Michal Eliahu Ashkenazi, Yaffa Machnes

## **The Kibbutz**

The kibbutz is a cooperative society that maintains a degree of mutual responsibility in the belief that, by combining economic and social resources, it is possible to improve the society's overall welfare and well-being.

The concepts of cooperation, equality and mutual responsibility in the kibbutzim have changed over the last three decades. The kibbutzim began their journey in full partnership, responsibility and equality among their members, and were managed as a multi-generational tribal society. The younger members affected and motivated the kibbutz economy. They were responsible for its natural demographic growth, consolidated it socially and culturally, treated needy members, and integrated all the members in the kibbutz works.

Abramitzky found out that the existence of the egalitarian kibbutzim depended on the talented younger members remaining. He also found out that they would stay as long as their utility inside the kibbutz is equal or higher than their utility outside the kibbutz. He also revealed that the kibbutz's wealth serves as a "lock-in device" that increases the value of staying, reduces the rate of exit, and promotes more equal distribution of wages.

## **Background - Since the Crisis of the Kibbutzim to the present**

In 1977, for the first time in Israel, a capitalist government was elected. It promoted free enterprise in the economy. The elimination of subsidies and the exchange rate system, which preferred export over import, and the increase in VAT (8% to 12%) without budgetary and monetary restraint, led to a decline in export and annual inflation of tens and hundreds of percent. Linking long-term debt to the CPI greatly increased it. Until then it had been nominal.

While the religious kibbutzim predicted a bleak economic outlook and adopted a restraining policy, the secular kibbutzim sought new financing, and found themselves involved in speculative activity in the capital markets. In January 1983, the "bubble" burst, and the free shares on the stock exchange collapsed. This was a crisis for the whole Israeli market. Unlike the secular kibbutzim who experienced a collapse of the socioeconomic systems, and needed long-term arrangements with the government, the religious kibbutzim had a much easier experience. The debt at its peak reached to about \$ 6 billion.

All kibbutzim (267 today) started as egalitarian and idealistic, but due to the profound multi-level crisis in the 1980s-1990s, 80% of them shifted their way of life and became privatized.

In the last decades, the privatized kibbutzim have undergone significant changes in the fields of medicine, nursing, pensions, status of members, affiliation of apartments and properties, industry and demography. Significant changes also occurred at the national level in the National Insurance Institute and Tax Authorities. Common to all changes is the reducee of kibbutzim's responsibility towards their members and the gradual transfer of the responsibility and ownership of property from the privatized kibbutzim to their members. Today, the member's personal responsibility for his existence and his future is evident. It includes the education of his children, the management of his finances, the payments for products and services that he gets from the kibbutz, the payment of community taxes, pension accrual, the purchase of health insurance and long-term care insurance, etc. Another characteristic is the shift from collective arrangements in the kibbutz that maximize welfare to those that maximize profit.

Despite the changes in the privatized kibbutzim, they still succeed today, even after a hundred years of existence, and they still remain a phenomenon unique and exclusive to Israel. Their uniqueness is preserved thanks to the existence of a fundamental level of mutual assistance provided

by a kibbutz's central mutual guarantee fund. This fund provides a "safety net" and assistance mainly in health, nursing care and pension. This fund is financed by the young members of working age and is intended mainly to the old members and those in need who are unable to finance their expenses.

### Methodology

The results of the study are based on three questionnaires distributed among the kibbutzim. Of all kibbutzim, 122 fully responded (98 are privatized and 24 are cooperative; 10 are religious and 112 secular).

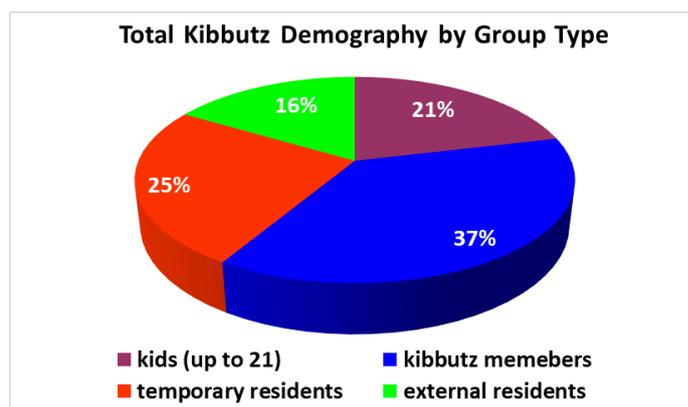
In this research we examine the changes in the degree of responsibility of the kibbutz towards its members and the management of supportive collective kibbutz systems, in accordance with the trends that have taken place in kibbutzim in recent decades.

We identified five main variables in the study: Demography, Pension, Industry ownership, Nursing care, and the secure of funding the LTC treatment.

We characterized them and their connections and influences in order to examine the degree of the kibbutz responsibility towards its members and to consider the assessments of their future. Mainly We followed the disintegration of the kibbutz from cooperative systems and arrangements and the adoption of individual arrangements.

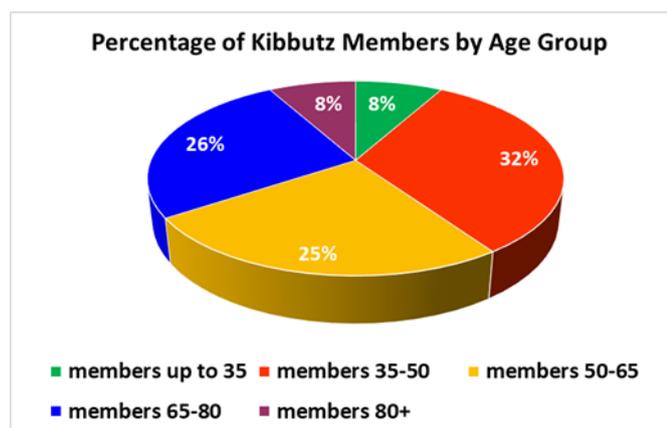
#### (1) Demography

The Kibbutz population was in 2016 about 172,000. 35% (60,000) up to the age of 20; 39% (67,000) at the ages 20-50; 12% (21,000) at the ages 50-65 and 14% (24,000) at the age 65+.



source: research data

We differentiate between four main populations in the kibbutzim: kibbutz members and their kids (0-21) which are about 58% of the total population in the kibbutz. The mutual assistance within the "contract" between the kibbutz and its members is relevant only to this portion of population. 25% of total population is related to the temporary residents (tenants, foreign workers, candidates for kibbutz membership, parents of members, external students, etc) and the left 16% is related to the community expansion population, which is Israeli citizens, external couples and families to the kibbutz members, who bought the lands nearby the kibbutz from the government. These lands were intended throughout decades for agriculture purposes but were shifted to livings when they were returned to the government, as part of the settlement kibbutzim debt.



source: research data

### **(2) Pension**

The government helped the kibbutzim with the severe economic crisis, erased some of the debts and supported them, on condition that the kibbutzim would continue to support their members, especially the elderly. Since 2005 all the kibbutzim are committed to the payment of a mandatory pension to their retired members of at least 40% of the average wage (\$2,820) as published every January by the National Insurance Institute. In 2019, the minimum monthly pension in the kibbutzim was about \$1,130.

Based on the research sample (122 kibbutzim), it seems that 46% of the kibbutzim pay minimum pension, 26% of them pay up to 50% of the average wage and 28% kibbutzim pay above it.

According to the pension - a continuous dependent variable - I ran a linear regression in order to explore the influence and correlation.

### **(3) Industry**

We recognized the transition from the kibbutzim's industry to industry within the kibbutzim.

After the Kibbutzim Crisis and as part of their rehabilitation, they began partnering with their industries. They needed the money to repay huge loans and also for their daily existence – pension payments for the retired members, investments, and economic development.

In the year 2000 - 346 Kibbutz factories were worked, 66% of them were with full ownership

In the year 2016 - 218 Kibbutz factories were worked, only 50% of them were with full ownership of the kibbutzim.

According to the industry - a binary dependent variable (=0 kibbutz doesn't own an industry ; =1 kibbutz own an industry) - I ran a logistic regression.

### **(4) Long-Term Care Treatment**

We distinguished between a 'supervised nursing home' and a 'family home' in the kibbutzim.

A 'supervised' nursing home is partially financed by the Ministry of Health (\$3,600/ month per hospitalized person) and must meet strict standards in structure and in medical team. The home is opened to externals, and can include up to 36 beds.

A 'family home' provides a nursing care for kibbutz members. They are allowed to have up to 2 externals but in total not more than 12 hospitalized persons. The 'family' nursing home is managed by regulations, but without strict requirements.

Nursing care in Israel has undergone financial and physical revolution in the last two years.

Only institutions fulfilling these standards can admit patients whose hospitalization is financed by the government. Supervising quality in structure and manpower has led to drastic changes in the industry. By 2012, 81 nursing homes were managed and partially financed under the supervision of the Ministry of Health, mainly in large and veteran (80 years old) kibbutzim.

The new program that has set high quality standards led to the shutdown of about half of them.

We categorized the LTC treatment in the research as followed:

Long-Term Care Treatment - Categories
---------------------------------------

Category (1)	Category (2)	Category (3)
Low	Medium	High
Caregiver	"family homes"	Supervised LTC Homes
66 Kibbutzim (54%)	32 Kibbutzim (26%)	24 Kibbutzim (20%)

According to the LTC treatment - a categorial dependent variable I ran a logistic multinomial regression.

##### **(5) The Kibbutz's Decision for Funding the LTC treatment**

Since 2012, Group long term care insurance (LTCI) policies were not extended due to governmental instructions. Until then, 80% of the privatized kibbutzim insured their members in commercial group LTCI at an average monthly cost of \$14 per member.

Most of the cooperative kibbutzim chose to manage an internal financial fund for these needs and save the cost of a risk aversion premium charged by an external insurer.

According to the LTC funding - a categorial dependent variable - I ran a logistic multinomial regression. See the categories in the table below.

Long-Term Care Funding – Categories		
Category (1)	Category (2)	Category (3)
Low responsibility	Medium responsibility	High responsibility
No solution or only internal LTC fund	Internal LTC fund plus external elements of LTCI	Cooperative Kibbutzim or external commercial LTCI
44 Kibbutzim (36%)	44 Kibbutzim (36%)	34 Kibbutzim (28%)

## Results

**With regard to the kibbutz's pension,** I found that the pension is higher in kibbutzim which are demographically larger, and in cooperative kibbutzim, compared to privatized ones. I also found that it is higher in kibbutzim where nursing care is better. An actuarial deficit negatively correlates with the pensions. The existence of a dedicated internal nursing fund also negatively correlates with the pensions.

**With regard to long-term care,** I found that the older the kibbutz, and the larger it is demographically, the greater the likelihood of the kibbutz will manage a nursing home (supervised or family). In addition, the larger the number of members with LTC needs, the more likely it is that the kibbutz will operate a nursing home. Also, the higher the pension in the kibbutz, the more likely it is to find a supervised nursing home by the Ministry of Health.

**With regard to long-term care finance,** I found that the older the kibbutz, the more likely it is the kibbutz will assist his members with LTC needs through a dedicated internal nursing fund rather than external commercial insurance.

The higher the percentage of elderly members (65+) and the more members with LTC needs, the greater the likelihood of a combined solution by an internal fund and external LTCI. The greater the proportion of young members (35-50), the greater the likelihood of a combined solution of an internal fund and external insurance over the management of an internal fund only. The cooperative kibbutz is found, as expected, to manifest a greater responsibility towards its members.

**With regard to kibbutz industry,** I found that the larger the kibbutz demographically, the more likely it would own an industry (full ownership or partial). Cooperative kibbutzim are likelier than privatized kibbutzim to own an industry. The higher the percentage of elderly members, ie, the older the kibbutz, the more likely it is to own an industry.

## Summary and Conclusions

We live in an era where there are many cooperative trends that are expressed in socioeconomic initiatives (in the field of transportation, tourism, employment etc.) in the establishment of cooperative neighborhoods and mutual support and assistance in certain sectors in the population, in recognition of the value of social welfare.

The cooperative egalitarian kibbutzim, in principle, preferred internal arrangements of mutual guarantee (in the fields of pension, health and LTC funding) over the financing of the risk aversion premium to an external insurer.

Even today, privatized kibbutzim, which are about 82% of the total kibbutzim, choose a fundamental level of mutual assistance and inter-generational subsidy for their existence as a cooperative, rather than maximizing their personal profits.

A cooperative that manages a socioeconomic system and supports a particular demographic group raises issues of moral hazard and adverse selection that may bias its decisions.

The idea of a cooperative society is that, by sharing forces and abilities, members can improve their standard of living and quality of life. This idea expresses the belief that people can help themselves and take responsibility for their own destiny. A cooperative society is based on principles of equality and identification with the other. Economic considerations are the basis for making rational decisions in kibbutzim that aspire to maximize their benefits.

The phenomenon of adverse selection determines the extent of mutual assistance and inter-generational subsidy in an internal economic arrangement in the kibbutz.

In our research, for example, we found that because of capital costs, a veteran kibbutz with a higher rate of adults and elderly members would tend to fund nursing care through a dedicated internal fund only, while a kibbutz with a higher proportion of young members would tend to a combined solution (Internal and external) over an internal solution only.

We found it important and interesting to deal with the reform of commercial nursing insurance and the management of nursing homes as a case study for coping with a segment of the population that needs financial support in financing their nursing expenses.

This may lead us to learn about the conduct of other cooperatives such as partnerships and non-profit organizations with populations in need of inter-generational support, since their existential expenses are higher than their current budget (children, special needs, the elderly, etc.)

Recently, the kibbutzim have been faced with the reform of personal taxation (January 2017) and the reform of National Insurance Institute (July 2017).

It will be interesting to examine the effects of these reforms on the extent of the kibbutz's responsibility towards its members.

The existence of the kibbutzim depends on the remaining talented motivated skilled young members. The question is, will they agree to continue subsidizing the weaker populations in the future, even though the socio-economic regulations today emphasize the individual, and not the community.

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# Where is Trust? A focus on trust in institutions: a cross-national comparison in Europe

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## 1. Introduction

In many countries of the Western world, we are witnessing the advance of anti-establishment political movements and a steady decline of trust in institutions, most notable indicators of which are: delegitimisation of existing actors, formation of new parties and the emergence of new political subjects, transformation of bipolar systems into tripolar ones (Diamanti & Lazar, 2018; Bordignon, Ceccarini & Diamanti, 2018).

The left-wing parties, heirs of the historical European social democratic tradition, have recorded a substantial loss of consensus throughout the European continent, while, at the same time, the right-wing parties - even the extreme ones - have recorded a growth, as well as the post-ideological political movements. These movements carry forward a plan to dismantle the traditional party system, based on the idea that mainstream political forces constitute an élite of privileged and corrupt people, who are incapable of responding to the most widespread social needs.

The idea that the honest citizen must distance him/herself from representative institutions - obsolete and traitorous - spreads, like that one of entrusting political action to new leaders - themselves coming from the people -, able to defend the community and to do the interests of a citizenship, so to speak, forgotten (Manin 1997, Della Porta & Diani 1997, Raniolo 2002, Diamanti 2014, Biorcio 2015, Revelli 2017, Diamanti & Lazar 2018).

The left-wing parties of this historical phase, in every European country, despite having been active on the civil rights front, followed the budgetary requirements as regards economic policies, often accepting government alliances - in the past unimaginable - in the name of stability, favoring economic policies of austerity rather than policies of expansion, encouraging work flexibility in compliance with supranational principles and agreements.

Inevitably, at the same time, we witnessed the growth of economic inequalities and social conflicts, as well as the spread of multiple forms of political dissent, from indifference to politics (even disgust) to mistrust of institutions, up to resentment, anger, even violence. The working class, considerably reduced by the advance of technological progress, has in part been replaced by a generation of precarious workers, of whom the left-wing political forces have not intercepted the consent and to whom they have not been able to provide convincing answers (Morlino & Raniolo 2017).

In the latest report on security in Italy (XI - <http://www.demos.it/a01576.php>), a growing economic insecurity emerges, which exceeds the one linked to crime. Among the individuals most concerned about themselves and their families, women, workers and housewives, the unemployed, people most stressed by the political instability of their country, those who show less trust in institutions, lonely people, stand out.

Many scholars (Muro & Vidal, 2016) are analyzing the impact of the economic crisis on Western democracies. Morlino and Raniolo affirm on this issue: «Public debt and unemployment imply an individual evaluation of existing macroeconomic conditions reverberating in the everyday lives of most citizens. (...) (This) assessment is fairly rapidly translated into a negative assessment of the responsiveness of institutions at that moment, with a growth in dissatisfaction or mistrust» (2017, p. 40).

Here we assume the hypothesis of a close link between objective indicators of crisis and the subjective level, in terms of the impact on the daily life of individuals by the crisis, filtered through the climate of opinion and the system of perceptions, the most evident manifestations of which in Italy and in Europe are the lack of trust in institutions and traditional political parties, dissatisfaction, social resentment. Investing or not in this resource - trust - has direct consequences on the structure and

identity of a given community. Trust is an essential element for effective social cohesion and a correct expression of the principles of representative democracy.

In the face of such scenarios social analysts are called to deepen the reasons for the variability of these phenomena according to socio-cultural contexts and individual characteristics. Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to outline empirically<sup>1</sup> the differences among the EU countries regarding trust in national and international institutions, splitting the concept of trust into three principal dimensions: politics, security and justice.

In this specific contribution, while conducting cross-national comparisons in Europe, we will focus on analyses realized only at a micro level (individuals). Our research questions are the following:

- 1- What are the levels of trust in the institutions of the citizens in the European countries?
- 2- Which are the differences among countries?
- 3- Which individual characteristics affect trust in institutions?

Therefore, our main objective is to investigate the determinants of trust in institutions deepening the direction of the relationships with socio-demographic variables, cultural identity and political sophistication. The latter (made up of skills/expertises and motivations to action based on personal interest), is one of the most explored dimensions when focusing on the decision-making processes which lead to the voting/non-voting choice.

Among the voters, different decision-making strategies and different "reasons" - in connection with the vote to be expressed - emerge; they are more or less rational or complex. Normally, individuals with greater political sophistication are characterized by: higher degrees of trust in political institutions (since, beyond the specific contingent situation - even if it is particularly problematic or critical -, they recognize their symbolic value and their importance over time); less social resentment; more coherent voting behaviors over time (at the same time, they are less characterized by punitive or anti-establishment intent).

Generally, individuals with low sophistication are instead characterized by: less structured decision-making processes, lower levels of education, a lack of interest in politics, rare occasions for interpersonal discussion and political debate, limited exposure to political information contents, incoherent voting or propensity not to vote. They struggle or give up interpreting political reality and building their own system of political beliefs; in these circumstances, the attitude of distrust, even when generalized, takes root more easily (Faggiano, Azzarita, Batani, Chimenti, 2019).

## 2. Data and Method

We analyzed the large dataset provided by the European Social Survey (ESS)<sup>2</sup>, a multi-country survey which since 2002, every two years, has been monitoring social change in Europe.

In this contribution we have used the microdata collected in 2016 (Ess-Round 8); the considered sample has a total size of 36,530 individuals aged 18 years and over, in 18 European countries available in the survey: Austria, Belgium, Czechia, Germany, Estonia, Spain, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Slovenia.

The choice of indicators was both theory and data driven. First of all, we considered the following suitable variables to operationalize three principal dimensions of trust:

- Political Institutions: trust in politicians, in political parties, in the national parliament;
- Legal and Security Institutions: trust in Police, in the legal system;
- International Institutions: trust in the European Union, in the United Nations Organization.

To explain the individual differences of Trust in Institutions other variables were introduced in the analysis. They concern:

- socio-demographic, economic and cultural characteristics of people: gender, age, education, household's net income;
- cultural identity indicators: placement on left/right wing, cultural pluralism (immigrants undermined or enrich the country's cultural life), emotional attachment to own country, emotional attachment to the EU;
- political sophistication indicators: political information, interest in politics, confidence in own ability to participate in politics.

The previous selected variables were the input for a strategy of analysis that consists of the following three steps: 1) calculating synthetic indices of Trust and of Political sophistication, using techniques fitting to the variables types; 2) analyzing different levels of Trust both at micro (individual) and country level, applying descriptive techniques 3) identifying the determinants of Trust at individual level, resorting to Logistic Regression (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989).

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 A Synthetic Index of Political sophistication

Considering that the variables dealing with Political sophistication are all categorical (both nominal and ordinal), Nonlinear Principal Component Analysis (NPCA) was applied to calculate a synthetic index to be used as an explicative variable of trust. As it is known, in NPCA, optimal quantification replaces the category labels with category quantifications in such a way that as much as possible of the variance in the quantified variables is accounted for (Gifi, 1999; Meulman, Der Kooij, & Heiser, 2004). The first dimension (VAF=51.2%) has positive correlations (between 0.61 and 0.82) with all the original variables, therefore it can be interpreted as a Political Sophistication Synthetic index (PSI). The index (ranging from -1.93 to 1.52; mean=0; median=0.09; standard deviation=1) assumes significant different mean values by gender, age, education and country.

It is highest among men, it steps up with the age and with higher levels of education (table 1). At country level it presents quite different aggregated values: its minimum pertains to Czechia (-0.58), the maximum to Germany (0.36) (Figure 1).

#### 3.2 Synthetic Indices of Trust in Institutions

With regard to Trust indices, considering that all variables dealing with the three considered dimensions are all eleven-point rating scales 0 to 10, three different applications of Principal Component Analysis (PCA) were run to calculate synthetic indices, respectively of trust in political, legal and international Institution.

As is known, PCA uses an orthogonal transformation to convert a set of observations of possibly correlated variables into a set of values of linearly uncorrelated variables in such a way that the first principal component has the largest possible variance (Hotelling, 1933).

1) As concerns Trust in Political Institution, the first principal component (VAF=84.76%) has positive correlations (between 0.88 and 0.95) with the original variables, therefore it can be interpreted as a synthetic index of this conceptual dimension (TPI). It ranges from -1.61 to 2.9 (mean=0; median=0.01; standard deviation=1) and it assumes significantly different mean values ( $F \text{ sig} < 0.001$ ) by gender, age, education and country.

It is highest among men and it steps up with higher levels of education. It changes with age, being lower in the middle age classes and higher among younger and older people (table 1). At country level it presents quite different aggregated values: its lowest value is recorded in Italy (-0.547) while the highest in the Netherlands (0.72) (Figure 1).

To classify respondents based on the level of their Trust in Political Institutions, the TPI index was normalized, by transforming its values in a range from 0 to 10, and dichotomized ( $TPI_d$ ): all those respondent who rated above 5 were considered trust. Over 74% of those interviewed are in the distrust area (table 2).

2) The Trust in Legal and Security Institution Index (TLSI) is represented by the first principal component that explains 78.5% of the total variance and is positively correlated (0.89) with the original variables. The index (ranging from -2.7 to 1.90; mean=0; median=0.09; standard deviation=1) assumes significantly different mean values ( $F \text{ sig} < 0.001$ ) by age, education and country, instead there are no differences by gender. It decreases as the age increases (especially from 46 to 64 years) and it steps up with higher levels of education (table 1).

At country level it presents different aggregated values: its lowest value is recorded in Slovenia (-0.47) while the highest in Finland (0.82).

The index, transformed and dichotomized (TLS<sub>d</sub>) following the procedure described above, allows to identify the share of individuals who trust the Legal and security Institutions: they represent the 67.4% of the sample (table 2).

3) Finally, Trust in the International Institutions Index (TIII) consists of a principal component (VAF=83,97%) that has positive correlations (0.92) with the original variables. It ranges from -1.99 to 2.46 (mean=0; median=0.22; standard deviation=1) and assumes significantly different mean values (F sig <0.001) by gender, age, education and country. It is highest among women, young people and those with a higher level of education (table 1). At country level it presents quite different aggregated values: its minimum pertains to Slovenia (-0.169) while the highest to Finland (0.52) (Figure 1). Also in this case, the index was transformed and dichotomized (TIII<sub>d</sub>): trust in International Institutions has been expressed by 36% of the respondents (table 2).

**Table 1.** Synthetic Indices by categories of people: mean differences

		<b>Political Sophistication</b>	<b>Trust in Political Institutions</b>	<b>Trust in Legal and Security Institutions</b>	<b>Trust in International Institutions</b>
<b>Age</b>	18-34	-0.161	0.057	0.020	0.182
	35-45	-0.043	-0.011	0.027	0.030
	46-64	0.074	-0.053	-0.026	-0.060
	65 and over	0.098	0.037	-0.003	-0.095
<b>Education</b>	Low	-0.323	-0.197	-0.168	-0.145
	Medium	-0.033	-0.004	-0.025	-0.017
	High	0.359	0.208	0.190	0.188
<b>Gender</b>	Male	0.152	0.017	0.003*	-0.021
	Female	-0.142	-0.010	-0.003*	0.035
<b>Total</b>		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

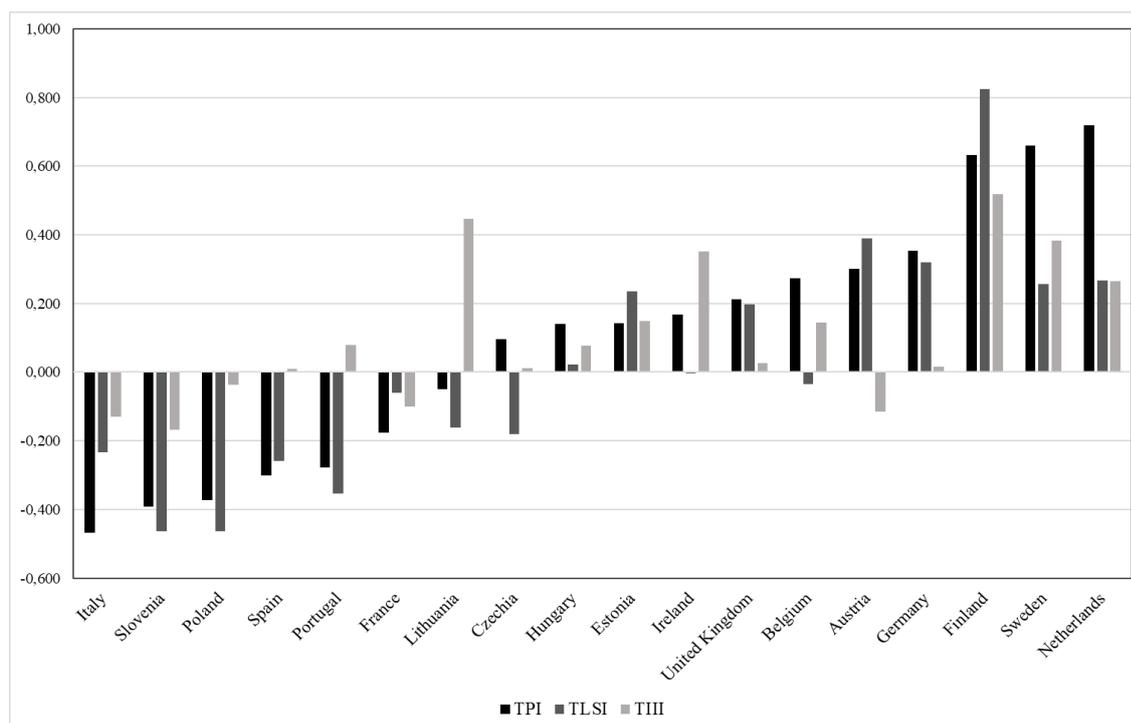
There were statistically significant differences between group means as determined by one-way ANOVA (Welch test ( $p < 0.001$ ) except for those marked with \* (Welch test  $p > 0.05$ )

**Table 2** Trust and Distrust (n=36,530)

	<b>TPI<sub>d</sub> %</b>	<b>TLS<sub>d</sub> %</b>	<b>TIII<sub>d</sub> %</b>
<b>Distrust</b>	74.5	32.6	64.0
<b>Trust</b>	25.5	67.4	36.0
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Figure 1.** Trust Indices by Country

## A focus on trust in institutions



### 3.3 The determinants of Trust

To identify some determinants of Trust, three distinct Logistic regression models (that do not require many of the key assumptions of linear regression such as linearity, normality, homoscedasticity) have been applied, where the dependent variables were respectively 1)  $TPI_D$ , 2)  $TLS_D$  and 3)  $TIII_D$ . Variables considered as predictors were: socio-demographic characteristics (gender, level of education and household's net income), political sophistication index and indicators of cultural identity (placement on left/right wing, cultural pluralism - immigrants undermined or enrich country's cultural life -, emotional attachment to own country, emotional attachment to the EU).

Table 3 reports the estimated parameters (odds ratios and significance) that identify those aspects that influence  $TPI_D$ ,  $TLS_D$  and  $TIII_D$  assuming other conditions remain unchanged.

Each model correctly classifies a share of more than 68% of the individuals and in particular: model 1 ( $TPI_D$ ) correctly classifies 74.7, model 2 ( $TLS_D$ ) 68.7 and model 3 ( $TIII_D$ ) 68.5%.

The analysis of the odds ratios ( $Exp(B)$  in table 3) highlights that Political sophistication has a significant and positive impact on Trust in Institutions, both Political, Legal and International.

Moreover, compared to the reference categories, odds ratios show which socio-demographic and cultural characteristics have significant effects on Trust. The individuals who have a major propensity to trust Institutions are: those with higher levels of education, those who think that immigrants enrich their country's life (proxy of cultural pluralism), those who express attachments to their own countries and to the EU, the people who have a political position on the right/left scale, those coming from families with high income.

**Table 3. Logistic Models: Factors Affecting Trust in Institutions – Odds Ratios**

	Trust in Political Institutions (TPI <sub>D</sub> ) <sup>a</sup>	Trust in Legal and Security Institutions (TLS <sub>D</sub> ) <sup>b</sup>	Trust in International Institutions (TII <sub>D</sub> ) <sup>c</sup>

		Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
<b>Political Sophistication</b>		0.000	1.402	0.000	1.133	0.000	1.229
<b>Gender</b> (ref. Female)	<b>Male</b>	0.012	1.067	0.000	0.917	0.004	0.934
<b>Age</b> (ref. 65 and over)	<b>18-34</b>	0.033	0.922	0.003	0.899	0.000	1.985
	<b>35-45</b>	0.000	0.826	0.006	0.899	0.000	1.448
	<b>46-64</b>	0.000	0.774	0.000	0.837	0.000	1.199
<b>Education</b> (ref. Low)	<b>High</b>	0.001	1.131	0.000	1.205	0.008	1.091
	<b>Medium</b>	0.011	1.090	0.483	1.021	0.151	0.957
<b>Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants</b> (ref. Undermined)	<b>enriched</b>	0.000	2.288	0.000	2.005	0.000	2.147
	<b>not undetermined - not enriched</b>	0.000	1.470	0.000	1.417	0.000	1.278
<b>How emotionally attached to own country</b> (ref. Not attached)	<b>Attached</b>	0.000	1.321	0.000	1.567	0.010	1.098
<b>How emotionally attached to EU</b> (ref. Not attached)	<b>Attached</b>	0.000	1.849	0.000	1.557	0.000	2.537
<b>Placement on right /left scale</b> (ref. Left)	<b>Not positioned</b>	0.000	0.659	0.985	1.001	0.000	0.636
	<b>Moderate</b>	0.128	1.052	0.000	1.238	0.000	0.849
	<b>Right</b>	0.000	1.409	0.000	1.268	0.623	1.015
<b>Household's total net income</b> (ref. 4 quartile)	<b>DK</b>	0.000	0.718	0.000	0.682	0.000	0.745
	<b>1 quartile</b>	0.000	0.772	0.000	0.626	0.000	0.751
	<b>2 quartile</b>	0.000	0.762	0.000	0.714	0.000	0.804
	<b>3 quartile</b>	0.001	0.877	0.019	0.905	0.001	0.880

\*\* Reference category

<sup>a</sup> Dependent variable reference category: Distrust. Final Model: -2LL= 33050,87; Chi square=3814,24. df=18. Sig=0.000; Correct Classification 74.7%.

<sup>b</sup> Dependent variable reference category: Distrust. Final Model: -2LL= 39030,40; Chi square= 2764,758. df=18. Sig=0.000; Correct Classification 68.7%

<sup>c</sup> Dependent variable reference category: Distrust. Final Model: -2LL= 37843,453; Chi square= 4949,460. df=18. Sig=0.000; Correct Classification 68.5%

### A focus on trust in institutions

Cultural pluralism resulted as having a high impact on trust; those who are “open minded” have a propensity to trust almost more than twice compared to the individuals who think that immigrants undermine their country’s cultural life.

Besides these recurring findings, there are some differences among the three indices.

Men seem to have a slightly higher propensity to trust political institutions than women (+6.7%), instead women have a greater propensity to trust Legal and Security and International Institutions.

As regards age, while the propensity for trust in political and legal institutions is higher in People aged 65 and over, People 18-34 years are those with a propensity to trust International Institutions 2 times as much compared to the oldest people.

The placement on right/left scale impacts on trust in a differentiated way. Compared with those are self-positioned on the left wing, those not positioned have a lesser propensity to trust political (-34%) and International Institutions (-36%); those positioned on right and moderate wings have a higher propensity to trust Legal and Security Institutions (respectively +27% and +24%). Instead, people placed on the left wing have a higher propensity to have trust in International Institutions.

#### 4. Discussion

As we have seen, there are considerable differences between the European Union countries, analyzed in relation to the three spheres of Trust. We also pointed out, looking overall at the countries included in the analysis, that the distrust area far exceeds the one of trust, especially if we observe the attitude by focusing attention on political and international institutions.

Although with some differences, the three considered dimensions of trust in Institutions are related<sup>4</sup> generally, trust is high in the Nordic countries (the Netherlands, Finland and Sweden) and rather low in Southern and Eastern Europe (Italy, Slovenia, Poland, Spain and Portugal). These results, which require further investigation, are consistent with literature (Dogan, 2005; van der Meer 2010).

Political sophistication and all socio-demographic, economic and cultural characteristics we considered have a strong and positive effect on Trust in Institutions - Political, Legal and International (level of education, gender, age, family income, pluralism attitude, political position, a general “open mindedness”, etc.). An interesting result of our analysis concerns individuals with the highest level of trust in institutions. Despite having highlighted a widespread and transnational distrust (with due differences between countries), more trusting social categories emerge significantly more than other ones. They are those who have a higher level of education (in addition to a greater interest in politics and a higher level of information), who have a particularly strong sense of belonging to their country/Europe, who manifest a greater cultural openness, who are characterized by better living conditions.

Evidently, better living conditions (and, therefore, a greater sense of security, beyond the - social, economic, cultural - phase that own country experiences), together with a system of strong ties/territorial belonging/a more open world view, discourage an attitude of condemnation towards the institutions and imply the attribution of importance and sense of protection towards them. Being less prone to condemnation and dismantling of something does not mean not being critical. We interpret the highest levels of trust as the individual ability, under certain conditions, to look more positively to the future while maintaining a more constructive attitude.

However, these first results require further in-depth analysis and data processing concerning the macro level, with particular attention to socio-economic, cultural and political conditions of countries. Our further hypothesis is that the two spheres, macro and micro, cannot be considered as fully independent of each other and that specific variables, both at macro and micro level, have an effect on trust. Our subsequent analyses are aimed at assessing the quality and extent of the interactivity among factors within each of the three areas: micro, macro, trust, also taking into account the interrelations between the different dimensions of trust.

Considering that the multilevel perspective seems particularly fruitful and it is appropriate to our study context, the challenge for the future - which is the way we intend to continue our research work - is to test models that combine the macro and the micro level and the interactions between variables at each level and between different levels.

Our work is in progress. Furthermore, an interesting approach would be to adopt a diachronic perspective through the comparison with data collected before and after 2016.

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Details on: the empirical basis, the selected indicators, the techniques and the models used to process and synthesize the starting information, as well as to test the causal relationships included in the initial model, are included in paragraphs 2 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>

<sup>3</sup>The transformation was the following: 
$$t'_{ji} = \frac{t_{ij} - \min(t_i)}{\max(t_i) - \min(t_i)} \times 10$$

<sup>4</sup>Where  $t'_{ji}$  is the normalized value of i-th trust index in the j-th respondent and  $t_i$  is the original value of i-th trust index.

<sup>5</sup> The correlations are the followings:  $R_{TP1 \times TIII} = 0.601$ ;  $R_{TP6 \times TIII} = 0.592$ ;  $R_{T6 \times TIII} = 0.499$ .

# Biocapitalism. The cultural and relational engineering of organizations

Roberta Iannone

## 1. Introduction

Capitalism has always been chameleonic. Whether industrial, financial and state, it has experienced the era of the great owners, as well as that of the greatest managers and multinationals. It has structured itself in models - Anglo-Saxon, Rhenish, Japanese and Italian - and very strong differences have often been found between its historical concretization and the theoretical system. This is because, as is known, a single model of capitalism has never existed, there have always been many, and in turn they are susceptible of further variegated realizations.

Whatever its idealistic models have been, however, the essence has always remained the same: the known creative destruction (Schumpeter, 1954). The creative destruction is what makes, what has always made capitalism revolutionary and subversive, making it devour and constantly monopolizing the opportunities (Weber, 1922). Opportunities of all kinds, as are the geographical ones, through the colonization of spaces; economic, thanks to the creation of new productive and financial tools; political, by contract and institutional; environmental, in the form of natural resources.

The last area of opportunity, as we know, is made up of human life in its entirety and complexity. The expression “biocapitalism” alludes precisely to this order of phenomena. To say, it refers to a life that is no longer spared, but enters the production process, at least as much as capital penetrates people’s lives.

The literature on the topic aims at grasping the constituent dynamics of accumulation and exploitation related to biocapitalism (Bazzicalupo, 2006, Codeluppi, 2008, Fumagalli, 2009, Georgescu-Roegen, 2003, Rose, 2007, Sunder Rajan, 2006). On the other hand, minor attention is generally reserved for the relational and cultural component, which also creates an enlarged meaning of “life”, beyond the biography or individual biology.

By giving the prevailing literature about biocapitalism for granted, the following pages are therefore dedicated to these aspects that are generally “neglected” by reflection. The focus is on links and sense, or if we want, to *culture the relationships* that biocapitalism produces and feeds on. This generally happens through the tools of ideology and communication, but also through a true ideology of communication.

## 2. Organization and personality: a totalizing relationship

The cultural and relational aspects of biocapitalism, especially in the context of large organizations, pass through processes of “engineering of culture” much more penetrating and capillary than in the past and above all through a relational culture definable as an *ideology of involvement*. The most recurrent declarations of principle, often real slogans, are known, even if they have not been investigated with a view to sociological theory. We range from “we are a big family”, to “man is not an island”, to “team work always wins” and the like.

In this light, the member of the organization becomes increasingly central. He is the subject of organization, no longer the “object”. Its role is central: it is the protagonist of the organization, albeit along with many other protagonists. The organizational dynamics therefore go in a very different direction compared to that emptying of meaning, to that loss of identity, to that reduction in the number of the old alienation. The member of the organization now becomes subject, but a subject - and this is the point - emptied of private personality and filled with organizational personality. This is a new fact, as for a long time, perhaps for the whole history of capitalism, from its origins to the present day, every member of the organization had remained an actor and a person - that is capable, on the one hand, of playing a part and making its values and interests its own. organization, on the other hand

being at the same time a bearer of needs and values of a more intimate and private personality - while today this member becomes a mere organizational personality. It becomes a mere actor, driven to gravitate almost completely in the orbit of the organization, until the registration of real forms of "dependence" on the latter, of total and unconditional dedication, of "love" of the organization for the organization. Economics for the economy (Sombart, 1913).

The "engineering" of culture is therefore something more than a strong corporate culture with which ideas are instilled, values are inculcated, and emotions are provoked. It goes beyond the ever-existing processes of acculturation and makes new dynamics also register in terms of "alienation", when, as we will grasp, it is no longer a matter of "ousting" a part of the personality, but rather of engulfing it. in its entirety. It is a matter of monopolizing it precisely in those aspects that are more creative, more relational, more communicative (rather than aseptic, mechanical or repetitive) that in the past did not find citizenship within the old factory and that today instead become central. They become "capital", as the new forms of intellectual capital - cultural, social and human - exemplify. It is life in its entirety that is called into question. It must respond to the appeal of the organization and work without sparing. It must know how to give to create value. It must know how to make itself an economic value. And that even in the most capillary and hidden, more intimate and private aspects of the individual personality.

### 3. A step backward. The old depersonalization

Depersonalization and capitalism have always gone hand in hand. Strictly intertwined, one has always been the cause of the other. There has been no phase or model of capitalism which has not involved forms of depersonalization. The scientific literature has accompanied these processes since the beginning. The goal has always been to bring them to light and demystify their sense as much as possible. The conceptual categories have been different, as in the case of *alienation*, *dehumanization* and *depersonalization*, but the basic question, even if differently declined, has always remained the same: that of an exclusion of the human and personal component from work and more in general from society.

Werner Sombart has photographed these processes in terms of *intellectualization*, *objectification*, *equality* and *nihilism* (Iannone, 2015) and with known causes: when, indeed, the principles of economic rationalism and profit from means become ends in themselves, consequences that derive from it go to crack, to break it, just that continuum between entrepreneur and company that had so much importance for the nascent capitalism. It is at this point that what Sombart called "the objectification of the impulse to profit" rises (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 530), that is to say a process of mediation of the subjective goals of the capitalist entrepreneur and imposes itself. translation of the same into the objectivity of business profit. It was here that the triumph of depersonalization took place as the "great and general process of our time" observable in all company configurations.

If we wanted to grasp the most authentic and fundamental meaning of this depersonalization, according to Sombart we should refer to "deanimation". It is in fact because of the impersonal depersonalization that, according to the author, *the soul was objectified in the spirit*, in that something that "has an independent existence without being alive" (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 791). And it is in this way that the organization, both the most intimate personality of the worker and the possibility that these live authentic relationships in the company, are ousted from the organization. Relationships, that is, based on a quantum of personality wider than required by minimal role performance and in which the personality can more fully express itself.

"The problem", said Sombart, "is understanding how the company has evolved from a community of living men linked to one another by personal relationships into a system of work tasks artificially integrated with one another, performed by interchangeable elements in the form of men" (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 792). The depersonalization of the company, which makes it a monster with its

own intellect and endowed with its own life, then becomes the new prevailing reality. The company of the origins of capitalism, the one founded on personalized relationships, in which the spirit was put at the service of the soul and there was the primacy of the human element, subjective and psychic on the objectively reified of the spirit, disappears. The times in which employees and workers worked through contractual relationships of a personal nature end. The times in which clerks and workers constituted for the entrepreneur “his personal”, those in which they remained “men, people, despite their position as wage workers” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 794). According to Sombart, when human relationships dominated in the company, they went well beyond the limits of the company, and “the entrepreneur shared the joys and sorrows of his workers, celebrated recurrences with them, knew their families” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 794). This did always imply good or cordial relations by definition: the relations between the entrepreneur and the staff could also have a negative sign. They could “also be brutal, arbitrary, despotic or inhumane, as we use to express the fact that they are dominated by wickedness”. Anyways, it was always a matter of psychic relationships, adds the Author (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 794).

Even Henry Ford was aware that this was the dominant orientation in the capitalism of his time (and of which he himself was the architect) when he wrote “a gigantic enterprise is too big to be human, its growth is such as to crush the personality of the single. In a large company the figure of the employer and the worker disappears into the mass” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797).

This is perhaps the most anonymous and impersonal phase of capitalism for the worker, as well as for the members of an organization that has ever existed. In this way the worker, when hired, “must leave his soul in the wardrobe. [He] ceases to be a person and becomes a number and as a number is considered in the course of his activity in the company (so-called “matriculation numbers”). He is subjected to a medical examination and to “tests”, that is to say to the judgment of equipment that mechanically examine his “aptitude”. As an external sign that he is no longer a person, he takes away his civil suit and wears the track – suit” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797). In short, “aimed at working elbow to elbow there is no need to love each other”, as Sombart (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797) had to say, recalling a phrase from Ford about his workshops. “In our company there are no personal contacts, people do their jobs and then go back home, after all the factory is not a living room [...] We do not considerate ... the “personal contacts” or the “human element” in the company. It is too late for these things” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797). Thus, “not the soul, but the spirit must reign in the company” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797), as Sombart stated, quoting Taylor (1911): “So far, personality has constituted the dominant element; in the future this position will be up to the organization and the system” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797). Systems instead of human relationships, and “both men and things that are placed in the company as a funnel and then are placed in the right place by a mechanism of barriers and passages will be part of them” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797).

The scientific literature on capitalism is full of discussions that follow this cognitive orientation. In addition to the more well-known reflections by Marx or Weber, even sociologists who have not dealt directly with capitalism have themed these assumptions, as was the case, to give just one example, of Durkheim’s anomie. In these pages we have chosen to recover certain theoretical speculations through the thought of Sombart, rather than other authors, because perhaps a less known author and because more attentive to the “aspects of life and personality” that we are interested in grasping. But it is simply an example analysis of theoretical acquisitions on which, as known, liters of ink have been thrown and which can hardly be summarized or extrapolated in a few lines (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 797).

After understanding the sense of reasoning developed by the classics of sociology (and not only by them), on the depersonalization of mature capitalism, the conclusion reached by theoretical speculation is known and, whatever the terms with which it is usually portrayed, has to do with a configuration of *two opposing worlds: the person and the spirit*. “Here the fate of humanity will be decided”, Sombart concluded: “if the most important aspect of human action, that is, economic activity, will re-enter in the domain of the person, or in the domain of the spirit” (1916, it. tr. 1967, p. 860).

#### 4. A step forward? The new personalization

It has been a long time since the old alienation. The one that dehumanized. The one that reduced people to numerical sequences. And a few decades ago history turned the page to enter the chapter of “biocapitalism”. A capitalism - they say - “with the human face” and in which the individual personality of the members of the organizations becomes, as we said at the beginning, central. In short, it is no longer the time of asepticism, but that of widespread emotionality. These are the times in which each individual personality must give their own creative, communicative and relational contribution. These are the times of the centrality of a person’s life in organizations. These are the times of a presumed humanity, of a renewed sociality. These are the times of meaning and of meanings, of identities elevated to value and rendered capital. There are several instruments used by this new phase of capitalism.

*a. Persuasion and seduction.* This is primarily the case with the mechanisms of *persuasion* and *seduction* as mere incentives. When incentives are not enough to get people’s stable contributions, the organization ceases to follow people’s expectations, and changes them directly. It creates expectations through a strong corporate culture that becomes a “motivational energy”. Culture, as Goodenough (1970) would say, ends up residing in the minds and hearts of men, prescribing them all they need to know, they must think, they must feel in order to be part of this organization.

The purpose of persuasion, also through seduction, is “to change the desires of a sufficient number of people in such a way that the incentives that it can offer become adequate” (Barnard, 1938, it. tr. 1970, p. 113). And the difference compared to the past is not cheap. While in the penultimate capitalism, in a sense, the message was: what is in the minds and in the heart of the workers can and must be managed in the interest of the organization, as Kunda writes in the 80s, today it becomes: what is in the interest of the organization, must be in the minds and hearts of the employees.

*b. Regulatory control.* Also control changes face and from “physical” and “utilitarian” becomes “normative”. By virtue of it, workers act in the best interests of the organization, not because they are physically constrained, nor because they are driven by a mere economic profit or fear of sanctions, but because driven by an inner commitment, by a very strong identification with the corporate objectives, from an intrinsic satisfaction for one’s work in conformity with certain ideological dictates.

The forms of control then become more and more sophisticated in order to produce, not just simply coercion or obedience to the rules, but an internalization of the rules themselves and an identification of the workers with the maximum enterprise. It has to reach levels which were never touched before. It is self-control that becomes social control at the very moment in which it is activated by the imitation of collective behaviors dictated by common and dominant imaginaries (Fumagalli, 2009).

*c. The private Self.* The true object of contention therefore becomes, more than life in its entirety, the “self” and in particular the “private self”, through a “creeping annexation” of the self (Kunda, 2000).

*d. Motivations and definitions of reality.* Therefore, what we act on, or we are constantly trying to act, are not so much the behaviors and activities, as perhaps happened more in the past, but the “motivations” that will be “inculcated”, and, even before, the definitions of reality “that workers will have to adopt, definitions of themselves and others, so that they acquire a certain vision of the world and above all a certain reading of emotional responses appropriate to situations. These are “fictitious” conventions, in the sense given by Keynes (1971), that is, a convention that became public opinion without being so. They are “internalized cognitive constraints” and which, as such, ie internalized, lose to the eyes of those who profess them their constricting character.

To use Merton words (1957), behavior models must now be supported by strong feelings of dedication to own work.

*e. The ideology of involvement and cooperation.* Therefore, the ideology of involvement and cooperation (Fumagalli, 2009) is imposing itself, so that, today even more explicitly than what was already identified by Whyte in the mid-1950s in the work *The Organization Man*, “it is not (no longer) the evil life of the organization to disconcert the individual, but his own benevolence. He finds himself imprisoned in the brotherhood” (Whyte, 1956, p. 12). For these reasons, “man has to fight against the

organization because the requests to abdicate to himself are continuous and powerful” ... But the real point is that “the more he gets to love the organization’s life, the more he will find it difficult to resist to these requests and even recognize them as such” (Whyte, 1956, p. 404).

The man of the organization is the one who experiences, who must constantly experiment, “the ability to collaborate with the group isolated from the reasons and the purpose for which it should collaborate” (Gallino, 1960, p. 200) and which finds in “social ethics” and in its three fundamental precepts – “faith in the group as the source of creativity, faith in the sense of belonging as the ultimate need of the individual and faith in the possibility of using science to instill this sense of belonging” (Gallino, 1960, p. XXVI) - material to confer moral legitimacy on the pressures that the organization exerts on him, which the company exercises on the individual. He is therefore ready to confer *ethical content on the ideology of social relations and involvement*, and cannot do otherwise in a historical phase in which the old unitary ideologies (religious, political or classist) have long since ceased to exist in a moment in which it is the same acceleration of social change, in a world in which everything changes, to demand constant adaptation to the group.

Thus, in a context of this kind, the man of the organization is induced “to welcome the prosperity offered by the *benevolent society*” (Gallino, 1960, p. XXVI) and to seek in the group more and more secondary, and less and less primary, the satisfaction of the most natural emotional needs.

“It is not just a question of necessity”, writes Whyte: “While the suffocation of individuality was once cause of discontent and gave the feeling of having lost independence, today the organization man frowns upon it. He does not try to reverse the tendency and suppress the tribute of deference paid to the group; on the contrary, he works to increase it and with the help of some branches of the social sciences he is constructing a kind of secular religion” (Whyte, 1956, p. 60).

A dimension of “dependence” on the part of the member of the organization towards it then stands out with a certain clarity. A stronger and higher dependence is the investment of desire in the activity and in the work relationship. At stake is the definition of reality that is no longer distinguished between the individual and the organization, as it has always been even in the darkest and most alienating periods, and there is a sort of “cultural trap” that works insidiously in a constant game of balance between coercion and seduction.

## 5. From old alienation to the non-confirm of human and social value

The path followed by capitalism should therefore appear clear.

In the past capitalism has ousted the most particular and private part of its members, reduced them to numbers, ignored their name and above all their personality. On this asepticity, it built his own mechanical, repetitive, alienating empire. And it let the expelled party express itself in free time or freed from work, but never in the context of the fulfillment of occupational roles.

Even when capitalism has tried or wanted to incorporate “more” personalities, it has never gone beyond certain levels in the awareness of the existence of a *quid* of irreducible to the wills and purposes of the organization that is, precisely, the private personality. And in the awareness that this *quid* did not serve the cause of capitalism; that it was better to keep it out and take advantage of this separation of dimensions of social experience as vital worlds.

In the era of biocapitalism it is no longer possible for the company to stop at the threshold of the private personality of its members: rather the organization “wants to fully shape it in the belief that only the total and passionate identification with the values and the will of the company itself can lead to internalize discipline and self-control” (Bonazzi, 2002, p. 169).

Therefore, we are no longer in the condition of late capitalism. But we have not even returned to the first capitalism, that of origins. The one in which there was *real* continuity between human, social and economic experience. The one in which the company was *really* an emanation of the entrepreneur and the members of the organization were *really* a “big family”. The one in which the staff *really* remained “man” and “person” despite the position of salaried workers. The one in which the company was a *real* “community of living beings linked to one another by personal relationships”. The one in which the (economic) spirit was *really* placed at the service of the (human) soul. That in which profit

was a *real* means of satisfying the needs of the community and the goals and values that it intended to achieve. That in which the profit was born from this axis needs / values and returned to them, as to the personality that expressed itself.

We live an era that seeks to recover all this lost world in the awareness of what it has lost and its value, but without the ability to *really* succeed: without the will, commitment, sacrifice, reciprocity and the sense of responsibility that restore all this entails. Every aspect is recovered only on the surface, with façade make-up. Everything becomes an ideological superstructure devoid of concrete reality, but which must exist at least on paper, at least in the ideal representations, at least in the declarations of principle and as much as possible in the mind of who will have to direct, of whom the behavior must be dictated.

For this reason, we can say that the era of biocapitalism is the era of the *non confirm* of human and social value. As the word “non confirm” itself shows, it can be borrowed from psychology, an era in which a certain axiological, value, emotional and identity heritage, in a word, what makes the unique and unrepeatable personality of every member of the organization, is no longer excluded completely from the life of the organization (as happened in the old alienation), but not even accepted in all its implications, that is to say with all the burden of consequences that inevitably derives from this recovery. It is the era of non confirm: that of those who incorporate without accepting; of those who take without giving back; of those who deny without rejecting. It is the era in which even yes and no lose their intrinsic absolute character, to become formidable hybrids of “so” and “ni” (in Italian) to signify neither yes nor no.

To use the Weberian categories, it is as if the ethics of convictions and not that of responsibility - as the many ideologies and declarations of principle express, especially those relating to the relational dimension - were to be followed. It is not difficult to see how the numerous and insistent recurring declarations of principle, slogans and indoctrination by the corporate culture, which absorb the individual personality and the sense and motivations, generally do not follow as many concrete actions of recognition of the worker, his guarantees of stability, of his career opportunities, of his emoluments, of his protections.

The non confirm, then, that sort of middle way between acceptance and rejection, becomes the most fruitful shortcut to take advantage of a discovery that can no longer be postponed, such as the centrality of human and social value to produce economic value, but without accepting it and all its implications.

Thus, in the age of bio capitalism, the problem is no longer so much that of “human waste” as that of a *monopolization without the enhancement* of the human and social dimension. A dimension that is not “cultivated”, but only used in the name of growth that struggles to become development.

Then, it is not a “capitalism with a human face”, but rather one that fears the potential for usurpation of the subjects and the resources it draws from, understood as a social action that refers to “alternative standards of distributive justice” through forms of social closure organized by groups (the stakeholders?) in response to their status as outsiders, and to the collective experiences of exclusion and / or non confirm of their social value (Iannone, 2006). It is as if capitalism, aware of its inability to return what it receives, even in a material and economic sense, perceives its own vulnerability and therefore seeks consensus and legitimation of the facade that “save what can be saved”. In the volume *Social classes and State* Parkin states that “capitalism, more than any other social order, derives its legitimacy from its ability to maintain the promise of abundance for all. The perspective of continuous improvements in the quality of material life leads to the conditional acceptance of those political and economic aspects that seek to give good name to inequality. Aimed at enabling the less advantaged class to keep aware of its gradual improvement and remains optimistic about the prospects for further modest advancement, there is no need for sophisticated moral persuasion” (Parkin, 1985, p. 74). It is when the promise can no longer be kept that “moral appeals take on a sudden urgency, while work is called to put the interests of society before those of the class. It now becomes necessary to try to convince workers to adopt a comparative class perspective, to compare the situation of their class with that of the others, recognizing that the worsening of their position goes hand in hand with that of the

ruling class” (Parkin, 1985, p. 74). What is asked of when wearing the shoes of the stakeholders, that is, of “monolithic stakeholders” instead of the most articulated (including within them) “social classes”, citizens are asked to see things from a “comparative perspective”

“So”, Parkin notes again, “while expanding capitalism has nothing to gain from encouraging the open confrontation between classes, stagnant capitalism has everything to lose if it fails in encouraging such a comparison” (Parkin, 1985, p. 75). While in fact the professional qualifications, or in general the “fundamentals of the marked”, and with them the relative “scarcity”, can be easily controlled, when we have to deal with the complexity of the human, the needs and the social interests, the possibility of control decrease. The power of usurpation of the “non confirmed” equals the “disruptive potential” (Parkin, 1985, p. 72) and the legitimacy that they are able to guarantee or deny.

At the last stage of the (involutive?) ongoing process, fearful capitalism draws on labels, like that of CSR, to conceal its totalitarian tendencies, which become more totalitarian as it shows to be timid. They are such in the moment in which they do not warn oppression but, at the same time, they keep the personality under control. Just like in politics (Arendt, 1967; Antonini, 2002) also in economics and society, through capitalism, we tend to build totalitarian tendencies that attract and distract just as they marginalize and exclude. Unlike what happens in politics, here the personality is not only involved in its most superficial aspects but in all its personality, a bit as happens in the relationship of domination typical of tyranny. In this sense capitalism appears as a sort of intermediate solution between totalitarianism and tyranny, in the sense that it is tyranny because it seeks to involve the whole personality but is totalitarian because it does not make you feel, or tries to make everything attractive, the same weight of the domain.

Capitalism with a “human face” should recognize the personalities it serves “because a society can be called human to the extent that its members mutually confirm each other” (Buber, 1993, p. 42). Or, at most, it should reject them in their complexity, and take them “for individual parts” as happened throughout the course of modernity.

Our capitalism does not reject but disconfirm and, in so doing, resembles a personified entity that looks but does not see, because it does not want to be involved in what the eye cannot ignore. In doing so, however, he asks without giving and forgets that, as Simmel said, the union and interaction of individuals is based on mutual glances. They are perhaps the most direct and purest form of reciprocity that can exist (Simmel, 1989).

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# Why sustainability matters. Some sociological observations drawn from the findings of Peace Research

Romina Gurashi

## 1. Introduction

Although classical sociology has long neglected the role of environmental factors in the determination and interpretation of social facts, considering the environment as an external variable that is complementary or even irrelevant to the social fact (Durkheim, 1982), in recent years the biological and physiological dimensions began to recover the space that had long been denied to them.

The sociology by Marx, Durkheim, Simmel, Weber was in fact characterized by a profound anthropocentrism that struggled to question the centrality of the individual within the social space. In this perspective, individuals were considered as different – and sometimes superior – human beings in comparison with any other natural organism (Catton & Dunlap, 1980) thanks to the possibility of creating their own culture and exercising free will over the surrounding world. Culture and free will represented the essential elements so that man could find himself in a position to solve – using the ingenuity and the appropriate technologies – all the problems that he could meet along his path. This ability to overcome his limits and solve every problem he had to face made the man undisputed master of his own destiny.

The anthropocentrism of classical sociology was therefore imbued with that trend to dominate nature and with the conquest of spaces that have always been the prerogative of the Western world (Strong & Rosenfield 1976) and which justified the man's attempt to live according to an individualistic, hedonistic and rational logic able to lead the global ecosystem to the brink of collapse in just over a century<sup>1</sup>. The 1970s were crucial for human beings to realize that the environmental question would have led to a global crisis that would have been at the same time an ecological, political, economic, military, ethical and above all spiritual crisis. An awareness that, in the academic world and institutions, had paved the way for a relocation of the role of man within the world system – or rather ecosystem. While recognizing exceptional characteristics such as ingenuity and technique to mankind, sociologists had begun to consider them also in relation to other species of the global ecosystem. In this ecosystem, their human actions were influenced not only by social and cultural factors, but also by intricate links of cause and effect deriving from the natural network in which they were immersed; this also meant that intentional human actions could have many unintended consequences. This ecosystem in which the individual was immersed imposed important physical and biological restrictions and, although human activities seemed to be able to extend their "carrying capacity" to infinity, they ended up being equally limited by laws of nature that could not be abrogated (Catton and Dunlap, 1980, pp. 41-49).

Even though the environmental question is a relatively recent issue, the problem of sustainability connected to it has today assumed a crucial value within the environmental sciences and has invaded the social, economic and political spheres, informing itself of broad sectors of these sciences. Imagining a form of development that ensures the survival of mankind and equitable access to global public goods by present and future generations means acting not only on the environmental heritage but also and above all on the cultural heritage of humanity. It is a matter of creating a new ethical culture of development that can balance the demands coming from the economic world with those of the protection of the ecosystem, of changing conditions and lifestyles, informing them of the principle of equality and equitable right to satisfaction of basic needs. It is a matter of imagining a sustainable development that is sustainable peace, that can guarantee the political, economic and social rights of all through the creation of conditions enabling the expansion of the potential (Sen 1993) of the individuals that make up society.

## 2. Sustainability in the sociological debate about peace

The concept of peace and that of sustainability are not only connected through a historical process of social claims that originated in '68, which saw both pacifist political movements and environmentalists flourish almost simultaneously, but also by a convergence of agendas about the need to call into question the paradigms of advanced capitalism.

Indeed, though peace research was born just a few years before<sup>2</sup> the first studies about environmental questions such as *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson (1962) or the Report of Meadows on *The Limits to Growth* (1972), international recent studies and political guidelines have shown that a relationship of mutual implication between peace and sustainable development exists.

It is a relationship that goes through the establishment of a specialized branch of peace research which is called "peace economics". The origins of peace economics are to be found in the realization that economics is only a sphere between the spheres of associated life and, to use the words of Kenneth Boulding, it "is the skeleton of the social sciences; the spine and structure without which it degenerates into an amorphous jellyfish of random observations and speculations. But the skeletons need flesh and blood; and the flesh and blood of economic problems can only be found in larger fields" (Boulding, 1944, p.27).

Over the years, the goals of peace economics have been repeatedly reformulated and redrafted in light of the scientific and methodological advances of the social sciences. If, therefore, at the beginning there was a tendency to include peace economics among the studies aimed at identifying strategies for resolving, managing or reducing the conflict from an economic perspective in order to identify economic and political measures to prevent wars and to understand the impact of conflicts on society (Isard, 1994), more recently, Graciana Del Castillo (2011) understood it as post-conflict reconstruction or natural post-calamity, while economists like Polaceck (1994) linked it to the market and its power to establish processes of cooperation, exchange and "moral suasion". The contributions given by Jurgen Brauer and Raul Caruso were more interesting for the purposes of the discourse on sustainability. Peace economics "concerns the economic study and design of political, economic and cultural institutions, their interrelation and their policies to prevent, mitigate or resolve any type of latent or current violence or other destructive conflicts within and between societies" (Brauer & Caruso, 2013, p.154) and Jurgen Brauer and Jean Paul Dunne who have focused their attention on "design principles" – therefore not on the specificities of local contexts – of new models of political, economic and social development, able to encompass not only research on post-war reconstruction, but also on prevention, mitigation, immunization from violence and resilience to violence (Brauer & Dunne, 2012, p.2). It is, in fact, a research perspective that is able to contain within it a wide spectrum of cuts and for this reason is more suitable to represent the complexity of the relations of mutual influence between economy and society ranging from the political study and economic situations that conflict with the design of political, economic and cultural institutions that are able to guarantee the respect of essential rights and of equality and freedom.

By referring this discussion to the question of development, according to Sen, this translates not only in the right to fulfill basic needs, but also in the right to equal access to functions and a fair chance to express one's own abilities and potential (Sen 2003). For Sen, in fact, development goes through for the enabling of people to exercise their rights of freedom and self-realization. In other words, it is a freedom that depends not only on the rights and goods that are acknowledged (*entitlements*), but also on the ability (*capabilities*) to convert them into functional activities (*functionings*) useful for achieving own goals. It is therefore necessary to recognize that development passes through an enlargement of the capacities to achieve its goals through the building of more inclusive and less unequal social relations.

The objectives of development are therefore considered within the world of peace economics in their design and future oriented dimension. To say, they embody that positive peace approach<sup>3</sup>, a propositional attitude towards the transformation of the present through the exaltation of the universal value of peace, which Galtung had described at the end of the '60s.

If, therefore, the role of development appears clearer than ever within the Peace Research studies, the role of sustainability could be less obvious.

### Some sociological observations drawn from the findings of Peace Research

Influenced by the development of two important lines of investigation, that of deep and social ecology, peace ecology has aimed at investigating on the environmental processes that are able to give rise to a conflict and the nonviolent ways and means through which to build peace (Kyrou, 2006, p.73).

To understand the disruptive nature of the novelty in the combination of the themes of peace with those of environmentalism and sustainability it is essential to highlight the extremely critical approaches of calling into question the very foundations of capitalist society pursued by profound and social ecologists.

Indeed, deep ecology, first introduced in 1973<sup>4</sup>, adopted a biocentric vision of the world, undermining the anthropocentric traditions of European and North American industrial culture. It aimed at removing the individual from his classic position at the center of the ecosystem. The profound ecology theorists – including Arne Næss, George Sessions, David Rothenberg and Warwick Fox – intended to express an environmental philosophy that was both egalitarian and holistic (Keller, 2008, p. 206). Deep ecology represented a sort of revolutionary moment within the environmental sciences because it brought with it a value reversal in which every single component, every single species of the natural environment had the same value as the other. According Næss it “is not a slight reform of our present society, but a substantial reorientation of our entire civilization” (Næss, 1989, p. 45), a cultural reorientation that challenged not only the individual and the environment, but the foundations of society itself.

The social ecologists had instead manifested opposing ideas, classifying the profound ecology as a form of misanthropic egalitarianism that reduced man to the same level as elementary species. According to social ecologists this misunderstanding prevented them from grasping the real problems of the ecosystem, that were to be sought in the development of capitalism. In *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy* (1982), Bookchin linked phenomena related to environmental destruction with the problems of domination and hierarchies of power in human societies with particular attention to the development of the capitalist mode of production that has accentuated and reinvigorated these two phenomena. The establishment of the “ecological society” therefore depended on the overcoming of these two dimensions of sociality both in the physical and material world and in the psychological and intellectual world. Only this overcoming would have led to the establishment of a classless society with small-scale participatory systems – the fate of communes or the communes confederations – capable of reproducing primordial organic society.

This critical orientation towards capitalism and its political, economic and social implications is resumed and recomposed in the peace ecology of Kyrou (2009) and Amster to demonstrate the risks of the emergence of new forms of conflict due to environmental issues.

Starting from the self-evident security for which saving the planet means saving the human race from extinction, Amster (Amster, 2014, p. 193) pointed out that the fundamental problems of mankind essentially consisted of two aspects: social and political violence (which includes war, oppression, weakening, competition, privatization, control, etc.) and environmental degradation (including climate change, loss of biodiversity, reduction of essential resources, toxicity, pollution, waste, etc.). These two aspects are so intimately connected to one another that a vicious circle able to further facilitate the environmental degradation we are talking about can be established. Through the diffusion of global food supply monopoly mechanisms by companies with a strong negative impact on the environment, or through the race to weapons, the militarization of international relations and the war for the control of metals, minerals, gas and oil in less intensively exploited areas, the processes of deterioration are accentuated and propagated, which within a few years could make the planet earth no longer appropriate for hosting human life.

Speaking of peace ecology therefore meant supporting the need to implement a paradigm shift in the way individuals relate to the biosphere. Specifically, it is no longer possible to think only of global warming or of technologies capable of polluting less. We need to think in terms of the general destabilization of the planet's capacity to sustain human life within this ecosystem (Amster, 2014, p. 195) and become aware that pollution and the depletion of natural resources can be a harbinger for new and perhaps more bloody types of conflicts based on the logic of scarcity and appropriation of the latest available resources.

### 3. Sustainability and peace in the international institutional debate

Within the international institutional debate, the recognition of a relationship of mutual implication between processes of positive peace and processes of sustainable development is a very recent fact whose foundations have been laid by the *2030 Agenda* for sustainable development (UN, 2015) and by the *Review of the Peacebuilding Architecture, Challenge of Sustaining Peace* (UN, 2016).

Until then, the issue of sustainability had been faced from time to time by placing in the middle the question of limits on development, rather than the sharing of the principle of responsibility between the States of the international community or the problem of culturalization and change of individual lifestyles.

Therefore, sustainability as a collective social problem capable of causing concern for the preservation of the global ecosystem has been the subject of innumerable declarations, agreements and international treaties that can be incardinated in precise phases of evolution.

The first phase corresponds to the experiences of the Club of Rome and the Stockholm Conference on Human Environment that developed between the end of the '60s and the early '70s. Conditioned by the publication of the Meadows report on *The limits to growth* (1972), international debates were mainly oriented towards the detection of the concept of limit applied to economic growth and the hypothesis of frameworks in which to implement a trend reversal before it is too late. This meant calling into question the concept of growth as a positive cultural value capable of guaranteeing the satisfaction of objective and/or subjective needs – as progress towards a better society and as a process capable of providing scientific instruments capable of improving the individual condition – to open the way for a new development of ideas not necessarily linked to infinite growth. A rethinking that becomes necessary considering the limits imposed by the ecosystem to the geometric increase of the world population, the need to conserve finite and non-reproducible resources, and the reduction of waste.

However, this is also the phase in which the impossibility to imagine a future characterized by “no growth” (“growth less”) shows off. The strategies must therefore be directed towards the identification of new technologies able to reduce the weight of the human footprint on the world ecosystem, guaranteeing a more sustainable growth.

During the second phase, in which the spectrum of the two oil crises of 1973 and 1979 was still looming, the work of the World Commission on Environment and Development and the Brundtland *Our Common Future Report* (UN, 1987) lead to the definitive awareness that it was necessary to take steps to guarantee the intergenerational sustainability of production systems. This awareness was translated into the first definition of “sustainable development” as attention to the fundamental needs of individuals, as an introduction of limits to technology and technological pollution, and as a process of development based on the three pillars of the economy, society and environment.

In these first two phases, the international concertation on the topic remained in the hands of a small circle of individuals and groups of power, while the attention of the *élites* remained strongly focused on the idea of conservation of the existing, not yet arriving at the formulation of the concept of “prevention”.

It is based on the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio (UN, 1993), the Kyoto Climate Change Conference (UN, 1998), the World Summit on Sustainable Development (UN, 2002), Rio + 20 (UN, 2012) and the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit (UN, 2015) that from the previous declarations of principle (first phase) and hypothetical predictions of the contents of sustainable development (phase two) we finally come to imagine and undertake the first preventive measures. Global warming, starvations and pollution had finally pushed the Western countries to recognize the importance of raising awareness not only of the apical world, but also and especially entrepreneurial and individual on the importance of creating a new model of development that was able to make the needs of growth of the business world coexist with the satisfaction of the essential needs of all and respect for the limits imposed by the environment to human action.

This third phase is particularly important not only because it has allowed an enlargement of the audience of the participants to the conferences and meetings in which the fate of the future of humanity has been decided upon an extremely wide category of individuals, groups and organizations,

but also because a link of mutual implication between peace and sustainable development was recognized for the first time – thanks to the introduction of the *2030 Agenda*.

Sustainable development thus also becomes sustainable peace, a project that aims at achieving the political, economic and social rights of all through the creation of conditions that enable the potential of the individuals who make up society to develop. In this sense, peace and development become instruments of prevention and overcoming at the same time the “limits of violence” and the “limits of growth”.

#### 4. The 2030 Agenda

One can certainly say that *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UN, 2015) represents a real milestone as far as the recognition of mutual implications of the agendas of peace studies and those on sustainable development is concerned. The Agenda, indeed, aimed at identifying general and universal principles of sustainable development to be pursued according to national and regional specificities. Its recipients were “people”, “the planet” and “prosperity”. This highlighted the will of the Agenda to embrace the criticism of the sociological ecological world and not to have an anthropocentric, biocentric or capital-centered approach, but to put all three categories on the same level.

Beyond that, the Agenda is an essential moment for the recognition of the importance of sustainability in human societies because for the first time it links it to the creation of peace conditions. Without sustainability, a positive peace becomes almost a chimera, and in the same way, achieving the goals of sustainability without simultaneously pursuing peace means renouncing to achieve the goal of building new models of society.

In this regard, the UN document introduces the concept of “sustainable peace” to indicate the process by which sustainable development would be able to sustain a sustainable peace made up of more peaceful and inclusive societies, which in turn could create favorable conditions for develop sustainable development. In this sense, “sustainable peace” would be both an enabling factor and a result of sustainable development.

The purpose of the Agenda is to create a world free from poverty, hunger, disease, where fear and violence do not play a dominant role, where education, protection, health care, physical, mental and social wellbeing are ensured. A world in which the ecosystem is prosperous, safe, sustainable with enough and nutritious food, where technology and economic growth are in “harmony with nature” and where energy is sustainable and accessible to all at affordable prices (UN, 2015, p. 4).

Attempting to reconcile without ever resolving the debate between anthropocentric and eco-centric visions of development, the agenda recognized and emphasized the importance of environmental sustainability for creating peace conditions and recognized the importance of guaranteeing peace, security and rights in order to successfully implement environmental sustainability policies that are central to the survival of mankind on earth. In this sense, objective 16 can be considered an extremely important moment because it recognizes, reaffirms and identifies the processes that should lead to building this “sustainable peace” and that are contained in the fight against economic and gender inequalities, in the fight against direct, cultural and structural violence, in the guarantee of individual and collective security, in female empowerment, in fair access to the media and knowledge and in the strengthening of national institutions.

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**Notes**

*Starting from 1870, the year in which, according to convention, the Second Industrial Revolution began.*

<sup>2</sup> *Although in the period between the First and Second World Wars authors such as Lewis Fry Richardson (1960), Quincy Wright (1942), David Mitrany, and Pitirim Sorokin (1937) had laid the foundations of the subject through “studies on the conduct of conflicts, on the frequency of wars and peace making” (Kriesberg, 2010, p. 427), it is only in 1945 that, on the instigation of Gaston Bouthoul, the first Institut Francais de Polemologie was founded in France - and precisely in Paris - whose fundamental purpose was to study the war as such in a more analytical way.*

*The first institute entirely dedicated to the study of peace was instead established in 1959 by the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung who gave life to the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO).*

<sup>3</sup> *In a famous article from 1969, Galtung introduced the distinction between two different ways of understanding peace: negative peace and positive peace. They were conceived as two sides of the same coin (Galtung 1969) because negative peace was defined as “absence of personal violence”, while the positive one was defined as “absence of structural violence” (Galtung, 1969, p. 183). We can therefore say that the negative peace corresponded to the peace of the treaties, where the condition of equilibrium was established by agreement, but to which a social peace did not necessarily correspond, while positive peace represented a different model of peace, the result of profound resolution (or to put it in Galtungian terms of the “transcended”) of the conflicting reasons. This second type of peace represented the final moment of a process of positive social change that could have arisen from the productive, positive and purposeful use of the energies released during the conflicts. In this sense, positive peace was conceived as harmony and empathy in the Eastern sense of the term.*

<sup>4</sup> *Year in which Arne Næss publishes “The Shallow and the Deep”, to affirm that ecologically responsible policies pass not only for the attention to the issues of pollution and depletion of natural resources, but also through the principles of complexity, autonomy, decentralization, symbiosis and egalitarianism (Næss, 1973, p.95).*



# Evaluation and case study research. An assessment of social infrastructure in the case of Palermo.

Veronica Lo Presti, Maria Dentale, Elvira Celardi

## 1. Introduction

The main goal of this paper is to develop a reflection on the usefulness that case studies can make to evaluative research.

The focus of the analysis is the practical value that the theory can assume in the Case Study Research, when it is used for evaluative purposes.

Analyzing the ways in which a project of evaluative research commissioned by Fondazione Con il Sud (FCS) was conducted to evaluate the impact generated by its activities in three territories, we will try to highlight how a careful analysis of the theory of change, in its two different components: program theory and implementation theory (Weiss, 2007), together with the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed method) and the use of the positive thinking evaluative approach (Stame & Lo Presti, 2015) has contributed to widening the understanding of the reality under investigation (generating new theory) favoring a double-loop learning (Stame, 2016).

The theoretical-methodological reflection developed in the paper is an important advancement on the pluralism of evaluative approaches for the social impact analysis. The example that will be used to start this reflection is the research on social infrastructure and the increase of social capital in three areas of Southern Italy. At the end of the discussion the explanatory purpose of the case study research will be discussed with a specific focus on the Palermo case study and on the "social network" of the Ballarò district.

### 1.1 Contest and evaluation mandate

The methodological map of the evaluation research commissioned by FCS is the result of a constant and participatory process of the evaluation mandate with the client and the evaluation team of the Department of Communication and Social Research (Sapienza, University of Rome), to whom the search.

Specifically, the assessment mandate of FCS required to identify whether in three territories of the South: Locride, Salento and the Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts in Palermo, there were paths of change in terms of social cohesion and infrastructure and to link these changes to the activities of FCS. Therefore, from the beginning of the research, it was necessary to identify the most appropriate approaches and methods for identifying regularities with respect to the mechanisms of change pathways generated in terms of social infrastructure in Southern Italy, taking into account the socio-territorial specificities of departure of the three areas by configuring them as case studies.

The meetings and comparisons with the client have produced an evaluation mandate aimed at assessing the overall social impact generated by the activities sustained in three territories. The idea shared with the evaluation team was to not evaluate the impact of the individual initiatives funded by FCS but to assess whether, in the areas indicated, there were paths of change, in terms of social cohesion and infrastructure, in some measures attributable to the activities promoted and/or supported by FCS in the last 10 years.

The areas are:

- Province of Lecce (Lecce, Casalabate, Squinzano, Veglie, Leverano, Copertino, Caprarica of Lecce, San Cataldo locality); where 20 projects were started for around 3 million euros;
- Locride (Siderno, Locri, Bovalino, Caulonia, Gioiosa Ionica, Marina di Gioiosa Ionica, Roccella Ionica, Ardore, Bianco, San Luca, Monasterace); where 4 projects were started for around 1 million euros;
- Palermo (Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts); where 14 projects were started for around 3.6 million euros.

In the last few years, the three territories have undergone pathways of troubled and, naturally, homogeneous social infrastructures. The FCS has selected the areas to be investigated, identifying them in such a way that they possessed very different characteristics. In the municipalities that are part of the northern Salento area taken into consideration (and which also includes Lecce, a center about a certain size, served by the railroad and the airport of Brindisi) lived about 421,000 residents in 2011 - in an area that includes rural, urban and periurban areas. After a decline in the number of inhabitants, Salento in the last 15 years has seen the population grow. The municipalities of Locride host 130,000 inhabitants, down until 2011 and slightly recovering from 2011 to 2016. In Palermo, the Zisa district has a population of almost 34,000 inhabitants (2011), and Brancaccio-Ciaculli has little more of 16,500 inhabitants. The analysis has also considered, from the point of view of a quantitative analysis, the phenomenon of social infrastructure as a process of increasing and consolidating the social capital of the main actors in the territories, in particular those of the Third Sector. The analysis of the networks in the three territories required, of course, to also observe public and private for-profit organizations and their relationships.

Over the years, there have been repeated attempts to support the creation and operation of organizations and the creation of links between them by public administrations, the Church, national or international FCS. Above all, we see the protagonism of local actors in building, maintaining, inspecting and extending networks: community foundations, organizations that promote collective activities and self-organization, cooperative or profit enterprises that promote the creation of consortia or umbrella organizations.

In all the territories, the history of social infrastructure has seen phases of expansion interrupted by crises and then phases of recovery, in an alternation of densification and rarefaction. The stories reconstructed through the qualitative analysis highlight the influence of policies: those of investment and current ones, as well as the interventions of various public subjects (the Regions, the Municipalities, but also the magistrates).

## **1.2 The methodological map: evaluation questions and approaches**

The main evaluation question is innovative compared to the conventional evaluation questions. Instead of requiring to identify the impact of a project or to provide critical remarks on the implementation processes of an intervention, in fact, the FCS requires:

- a) identify, in three territories of the South, if there have been paths of change in the dimensions of interest of the FCS (cohesion and social infrastructure) desired and
- b) link these changes (if detected and to the extent that they are recognized) to the activities that the FCS has implemented.

In a perspective open to the analysis of "unexpected" changes and unexpected effects from projects, it also seems interesting to try to identify and evaluate the processes of change observable in the territories indicated emerged independently of the action of FCS in a comparative perspective and open to the enhancement of the most significant changes in the territories.

The proposal is to construct an evaluation design that combines the existing approaches in a creative way, within the time limits set by the evaluation mandate (about 5 months). The evaluation design is inspired, in particular, by two approaches of relatively recent introduction in the evaluation scenario, considered particularly suitable for responding to the FCS's request:

- the "positive thinking" approach which, in fact, analyzes the most successful cases and identifies the paths that led to this success, so as to generate learning in organizations and policy communities (Stame, 2016; Stame & Lo Presti, 2015),
- the REVES approach (Reverse Evaluation to Strengthen local Strategies) which identifies which supra-local actions have contributed to the phenomena detected on a territory, starting not from the interventions themselves but, rather, from the point of view of local actors on the changes in their territory ( Tagle, Celano et al., 2016).

The positive thinking approach constitutes a family of approaches that starts from the idea that is best learned from the success than from failure. In this approach, "success" is not defined according to pre-established parameters but rather results from a contextualized analysis: it is about success as

recognized by the actors. In the evaluation design that we propose, this approach makes it possible to identify successful cases and to identify the influence of FCS in areas where tensions, actions and contradictory influences coexist, which lead the territory, at the same time, towards opposite directions. In the course of the investigation, it may be found that in some of the territories in which FCS has chosen to operate, the direction of the aggregate observable change in the last ten years is opposite to what is desired. However, this does not necessarily imply that the projects and the action of FCS (as well as other actors, local and supra-local) have in themselves resulted in negative outcomes or have suffered from flaws in conception or implementation. In fact, it may happen that the processes triggered by the FCS's projects have operated as a contrast, appropriately stemming the deterioration of the conditions of cohabitation, well-being, cohesion and social infrastructures.

Analyzing these successful cases in failure is particularly important if we want to intervene in particularly vulnerable environments and where the supra-local policies are weak, and trigger processes that can fully deploy their outcomes in the long and very long term (Tendler, 1992).

The REVES approach, elaborated in particular by two members of the evaluation team (Tagle & Celano), is used and adapted to a situation in which the evaluation partner is not a local subject, but FCS: in this case, a series of decisions (the main area in which to look for the phenomena of interest, the territorial areas that constitute the unit of analysis, the values with which to judge the interventions and, in part, also the interventions to be analyzed), which generally constitute initial steps in a REVES assessment, are already taken. However, it is believed to be inspired by the REVES approach for two reasons: 1. the FCS's value structure appears close to REVES's own, inspired by the increase in autonomy of local actors (see table 1 in this document ), and 2. the direction in which the causal or contribution links are sought (from the phenomena found to the interventions of supra-local subjects, public or private), is the same as stated in the evaluation mandate.

The design of the proposed evaluation results from an appropriate combination of these approaches and the consequent use of qualitative and quantitative methods and techniques selected to allow a quick response to the evaluation mandate, minimizing the resources of FCS and the subjects of the territory and producing results credible and reliable also in the perspective of a work of evaluation of the social impact of the wider projects of FCS.

### 1.3 The evaluation design

The evaluation is divided in two phases: 1) study of communities and analysis of local configurations during the reference period (10 years); 2) Evaluation of the FCS's contribution. The operational phases will be preceded by a background analysis of the three areas on which FCS operated, namely: social infrastructure, social capital, social cohesion. This background research will be conducted through the analysis of the FCS's planning documents during the period of operation, the documents of the projects financed in the three areas of interest and interviews with the staff of FCS.

This preliminary phase is aimed at specifying the thematic areas of the projects in order to reconstruct the overall theory of change underlying the choice of those areas and those thematic areas. The common thread for the analysis can be traced to the studies on the social impact assessment of Frank Moulaert (Moulaert & MacCallum; et al 2009) who use a "positive" orientation in the analysis of projects to combat exclusion and social exclusion in European cities.

The first phase was the study of the communities in the three areas, with reference to the dimensions of interest defined in the preliminary analysis (social cohesion, social infrastructure, social capital), foresees the following activities:

- The reconstruction of the local configuration and the relations between local actors and between these and the central institutional actors (public and private-social). In particular, this analysis deepened the presence of FCS in the local configuration and in the networks between the local configuration and the other locations and the various centers.

For this part of the analysis the following methods and techniques have been used in combination:

- Survey on local configuration: interviews with key informants and privileged witnesses identified, in each territory, on the basis of the data of the projects financed by FCS on the territory and, if available, from the literature.

- Social Network Analysis (SNA measurement of social capital through analysis of existing literature and available statistical data - CENSIS surveys, ISTAT data, data from Chambers of Commerce).

The evaluation team has thus identified the changes that have led to the current state of social infrastructure, as explained by the available data and the perceptions of local actors through the following activities: analysis of data on social infrastructure and on the conditions of social cohesion in the area eventually collected during the formulation of the projects financed by FCS, in-depth studies in the field through focus groups in the three areas of interest.

The evaluation phase of the FCS's contribution to the changes detected in the phenomena of interest (cohesion and social infrastructures) constituted the step characterizing the evaluation. The evaluation mandate required to use particular creativity at this stage. In fact, it was not a matter of proving a direct causal link, nor of investigating project by project what the possible impacts were like in traditional evaluations. It was rather to formulate hypotheses on whether the outcomes recorded are attributable to the activities promoted and funded by FCS: these are numerous activities, which may have influenced the outcomes in a positive or negative way through both the content of the actions, and the ways in which the actions themselves are conducted of activities, rather than accepting that each actor operates in isolation). This had two implications on how to proceed. First of all, the concept of contribution has been understood in a broad sense, because it refers to a wide range of activities, while in the literature it is correctly used in the evaluation of a single project activity (Befani & Mayne, 2014). Secondly, the evaluation team proceeded "on the contrary" in identifying possible connections: it must start from the phenomena detected up to their possible causes. In identifying the policies that have potentially influenced the phenomena detected and their direction and entity, the evaluation team has constructed a scheme of the various influences on the current state of social infrastructure. The adoption of a comparative perspective of the processes of change emerged on the three territories has made it possible to better understand the causes and directions of the changes through the emergence of similarities and differences between the cases analyzed. The contribution links identified through the previous step were tested through the study of micro-cases (significant or exemplary experiences). The evaluation team selected the micro-cases to be studied identifying positive cases, the cases that have had successful outcomes or, in any case, considered positive by the participants (actuators or persons involved as recipients) or by observers (FCS or privileged witnesses).

## **2. The local configuration of the districts of Palermo**

The reconstruction of the "local configuration" of the Zisa and Bancaccio-Ciaculli districts of Palermo required a particular thought, in marginal areas at high risk of poverty and social exclusion, on the need to identify paths of "change" with regard to the "planning" of social policies and the fight against educational poverty. This is important in the perspective of a strengthening of the inter-institutional collaboration between Public, Private Social and Third Sector, necessary to ensure a solution of continuity in the provision of welfare services, as well as the scalability of the experimentations and innovations carried out. In the disadvantaged districts of Palermo - places where public action is lacking and residual - the FCS has favored the birth and strengthening of social cohesion and infrastructure; as confirmed by field interviews and by the employ of Social Network Analysis (SNA), the FCS has contributed to the survival of those organizations (of the III Sector or of the Private Social), considered "central" not only for the maintenance of territorial networks, but especially for their activity of aggregative and social garrison of community, essential to ensure minimum levels of assistance and citizenship to the territories inhabitants.

### **2.1 "School drop out", peripheral and marginal areas in the Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts**

The socio-economic profile of the Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts approaches the configuration of the "traditionally intended" peripheral areas, characterized by disadvantaged and vulnerable families and young generations outside the active and occupational circuits. These are highly disadvantaged neighborhoods due to their territorial conformation (unauthorised construction development, cluster houses - especially in the Zisa); of spaces in which social and cultural disadvantage lurks (petty crime,

school drop out, low human and cultural capital); of places "distant" from the center, which offer scarce opportunities for growth to people in difficulty. Disparities (cultural, social, economic and spatial) that, when overlapping, can have negative consequences on the quality of life of those living in the areas most at risk, fueling the perception of a widespread unease and a distance from the "life of the center", also evident from the district's morphology<sup>14</sup>. The generalized perception of poverty, expressed by the interviewed operators, joins the denunciation of the sense of "periphery" that makes these neighborhoods two marginalized areas, not only from the physical-spatial point of view, but also social, economic and cultural; the local idioms of the younger ones are affected by the "spatial segregation" and bring back the feeling of a separation between the suburbs and the city center, to be understood as social exclusion:

"when moving towards the "center" of the city, even at a distance of a few kilometers, young people usually say: "we descend to Palermo" [...] here the population is as if living in a dimension outside of time and space " - Pa01<sup>15</sup>.

Illiteracy, unemployment and lack of services, including basic ones, contribute to the "introjecting of the periphery on itself". During field surveys, in fact, we discussed of the need a) to design support services for children and parenting; b) to intensify the presence of "social gatherings" of youth aggregation, and c) to improving accessibility to basic services to against educational poverty and school drop out. The "low schooling" of adults is the most important problem in the area; it is experienced - and represents - the first cause of scholastic dispersion, to be understood not as an isolated phenomenon, but rather as the outcome of a process of disinterest from the school, which often manifests itself already in primary education, and which may derive from the conditions disadvantage of families of origin. In this regard, an interviewed Social Worker expresses himself:

«School drop-out is a very complex and often overused issue. It is clearly a phenomenon that is not just about school (in terms of presences/absences) but brings with it different problems. One cannot think to combat school dropouts, asking children to go to school better if they [...] have mothers who prostitute themselves in their homes, or who suffer violence or if they live in contexts of absolute deprivation. In these cases it is really the last of the problems to go and discuss how much the child is careful in the classroom!» - PA03.

## 2.2 The role of the III Sector in the development of a welfare "community"

The reconstruction of the local configurations in the two districts highlighted the role of the Third Sector Organizations (TSO) in the promotion of an active, subsidiary and community welfare, made of visible interventions, recognized on the territory and integrative of public policies, too often fragmented and seamless. In fact, from the field interviews, it emerged that the social policies in the two districts has been strongly influenced by the ways in which the local administration conceived, financed and implemented the public policies. In particular, we can discern between a) sectorial policies ones (aimed at activating collaborations between public and private actors) and b) social policies aimed at supporting the creation of a rich and innervated associative fabric in the territories. The void of public, refer in particular to the spending review allocated to the financing of L.285 of 1997 (laying down provisions for the promotion of rights and opportunities for childhood and adolescence), has caused a "rarefication" of the local associative fabric, sharpening the competition among the associations for access to resources:

«The lack of resources and the cuts in resources have killed part of the associative fabric» - PA01.

Nevertheless - have been support the interviewed actors - to the delays in the provision of services to against poverty, the TSO responded by experimenting and devising new strategies of "welfare from

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<sup>14</sup> As observed by the Periferie Commission of the Istat (2017), the growth of urban suburbs, if not regulated, can lead to the creation of extended neighborhoods with few services.

<sup>15</sup> Pa01 represents a interview code. On this model, other codifications will follow in the paper.

below", based on access to residual financing practices (Lanzara, 2001); on the extension of the scope of horizontal relations (with the other TSO) and on the strengthening of vertical contacts with public institutions<sup>16</sup>. It should also be noted that in the last ten years, the political administration has favored the protagonism of the Third Sector, by launching formal collaboration solutions (memoranda of understanding) for the provision of services with a view to welfare mix. The fragmentation of forms of investment and collaborations between Public / Private / Third Sector took place along fracture lines that have showed different approaches to the solution of a problem, attributable to various factors, including those deriving from the difficulty of operating in difficult territories, where the relationships between individuals and organizations are opaque or hidden. In general, the fragmentation joins a phenomenon of "polarization" of the interventions of the Third Sector: on one side they operate organizations of the Third Sector "historical" (active in the social-health sector, civil protection, contrast to educational poverty, of support to adults in conditions of hardship, of disability); on the other hand, there are the organizations of an "emerging" Third Sector, focused on different activities: from cultural and creative activities to local development and the promotion of common goods; from the protection of rights (gender, sexual preference, migrants) to the protection of minors. At the same time, this polarization between organizations is not just an analytical distinction, linked to specific intervention approaches, but has also determined a particular conformation of the social infrastructure of the territory in terms of networks and relationships<sup>17</sup>. In general, the strategies pursued by the III Sector, in collaboration with the public, show to the need to promote innovative and alternative solutions to the difficult situation of spending review of social policies. The substantial reduction of public funds has been accompanied by the protagonism of the TSO, capable of mobilizing resources and promoting activating policies of citizenship. In particular, the Association "Inventare Insieme", the Cooperative "Al Azis", the "Centro Tau" (in the Zisa) and the "Centro Padre Nostro" (in Brancaccio-Ciaculli) represent "social garrisons" in the territories; they have followed non-traditional design and intervention methodologies, not based only on the provision of welfare services, but in favor to an idea of solidarity open to experimentation with new ways of to do volunteering, according to participatory approaches, based on the active involvement of citizens and the same beneficiaries of services. As we will argue in the next paragraph, the centrality of this strategy, aimed at launching new opportunities for urban and social redevelopment in the two neighborhoods, had the effect of connect the different parts of local networks, encouraging the development of synergies and collaboration networks that revolve around central organizations, to be understood as "community leaders".

### **2.3 Networking strategies for social cohesion increase. The results of "Social Network Analysis"**

The evaluation of the development of "infrastructural and social cohesion" in the two Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts of Palermo has been placed within a "mixed" methodological design, based on the integration of methods and techniques (standard and no standard) for the collection and data analysis (Amaturo & Punziano, 2016). Specifically, through the application of techniques of Social

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<sup>16</sup> In Palermo, as the interviewees supported, the TSO not only "integrates" but replaces the public in the provision of citizenship and welfare services.

<sup>17</sup> The polarization that invests TSO carries out to discerning between 1. "purpose" networks, which are created to gain access to public funding; 2. and "virtuous" networks, which are instead characterized by shared the "mission" of social and cultural development.

Network Analysis<sup>18</sup> (SNA) it was possible to find<sup>19</sup> information on collaborations and networks of relationships between the actors, thus obtaining a mapping of the networks (Cross et al, 2009), of the relational structures and of the links between them (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The analysis, therefore, also considered, from the point of view of a quantitative analysis, the phenomenon of social infrastructure, understood as a process of increasing and consolidating the social capital (Amaturo,2003) of the main actors (of the public, of the private sector and of the Third Sector) operating in the two districts of Palermo. To measure the density of existing relationships in the mapped networks, indicators of centrality (Bonacich Centrality and Betweenness Centrality<sup>20</sup>) were calculated of the actors present in the social networks. These two measures have allowed to trace of the "network configurations" positively correlated with the strengthening of the "social infrastructure" in the territories.

In each of the three territories, and in the specific case, in Palermo, the mapping of network strategies reports to the presence of dense networks (where the exchange of information between the network actors is intense, therefore not open to the outside) and complex (in which co-exist and interact organizations of very different nature and characteristics: weak subjects coexist with strong subjects, some actors remain tied to traditional activities, while others move in new fields or with innovative modalities of interventions). The scenarios reconstructed by SNA also have confirmed the "stories of the local configurations", highlighting the centrality of the actors of the Private Social and the Third Sector in the role of brokers, that is of reference poles starting from which the relationships among the network actors can intensify, or can extend, between networks, giving rise to variegated local configurations. In particular, in Palermo, the results of the "SNA" report the existence of strategies of densification and intensification of relations between the actors of the same network; the presence of public sector organizations is quite marginal (as confirmed by the interviews), with the exception of

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<sup>18</sup> Social Network Analysis (SNA) is a method of analyzing the relationships among the actors operating in a sector / territory; this method has allowed a) to identify the main subjects of local networks; b) to trace the links between these subjects; c) to reconstruct the form of connections between the actors (which subjects are central to the local configuration). In Palermo, the SNA has allowed to map a total number of 128 organizations, operating on the territory for about 10 years.

<sup>19</sup> The reconstruction of the "local configurations" has been realized with a "network survey" carried out following an integrated and sequential approach to the field survey, so that: the key information provided by the interviewees allowed to develop a list of actors - lead partners of local networks , of relevant organizations, of proponents of exemplary and particularly innovative projects - usable for the following developments of the network survey, that is: preparing a list of 40-50 organizations (different for each territory) to be used to reconstruct networks in the three territories (*roster recall method*). In addition, respondents were given the opportunity to indicate other partner organizations, up to a maximum of 10 organizations not on the list, (*free recall method*).

<sup>20</sup> These "measures of centrality" have made it possible to identify various network strategies: 1. " network intensification", measured with the "Bonacich centrality index", able to take into account the strength of the links of organizations that have a good centrality in the network, and that constitute themselves as stable poles/ operational reference ( Bonacich, 1987); 2. "network extension", measured of "Betweenness centrality index", able to provide information on the strategic power of organizations able to create more opportunities for the opening of new information channels and / or formal relationships between actors (Carrington, et al. 2005; Freeman, 1979).

some central actors in the network (Ministry of Justice - Juvenile Justice Department and University of Palermo) who contribute to building bridges and connections between the various of the TSO.

The network consists of the presence of Organizations financed by FCS; this organizations show high levels of "Betweenness centrality", and therefore are central for social cohesion increase. The Organization "Inventare Insieme "(at Zisa) and the "Centro Padre Nostro" (at Brancaccio-Ciaculli) present high values of centrality and, in the words of the interviewees, over time have assumed an important role of "social garrison of community" and of "center of expertise", carrying out a function of connection between organizations distant from each other, and operating beyond the geographical boundaries of the two districts. The support of FCS has been central in the construction of the "social infrastructure"; over time it has entered into a financing relationship with 90% of the most central players in the two Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts of Palermo (compared to 30% in Locride and 40% in Salento). This role is even more important in a context such as the one in Palermo where the Municipality (as well as the Region) is encountering difficulties in the construction of a framework strategic of intervention against poverty and school drop out. To conclude, the results of the SNA confirm the "story of local configurations", reconstructed during field interviews; the convergence of the results obtained from the various analyzes (on field and network) once again highlights the centrality of the actors of the Social Private Sector and the Third Sector in the structuring of the territorial welfare.

### **3. The analysis of a successful case: the Ballarò neighbourhood**

Direct observation and interviews with key informants and privileged witnesses brought to light a new model of collaboration between profit, non-profit and the public sector into the Ballarò district of Palermo, which contrarily weren't shown from the quantitative analysis focused on Zisa and Brancaccio-Ciaculli districts. This "*multi-stakeholder*" model (Bäckstrand, 2006; Hemmati, 2000) was indicated as an example of success by various representatives of the Third Sector and municipal administration for its capacity to promote: participation mechanisms; the building of social connections; "put in network" resources; skills; and to experiment innovative solutions. Therefore, the object of the analysis is the *bonding* that unites different organisations who have chosen to work in Ballarò neighbourhood with the aim of triggering a process of development in the territory, by starting from the resources and the potential that it has to offer.

#### **3. 1 Social infrastructure in the Ballarò's neighbourhood: success factors**

The in-depth study of micro-case, through field research and the utilisation of a *Positive Thinking* evaluative approach, has allowed us to identify several factors that have promoted the development of a strong social cohesion in Ballarò district, such as "the promotion of a network-based culture".

The strategy adopted in Ballarò district has relied upon the implementation of a "network-based culture" that has developed in two directions:

1. Horizontal way: the various experts of the Third Sector (historically rooted in the territory or the emerging ones) which have competencies in distinctive sectors, share resources and expertise to respond to the various problems of the district. Referring to this network dimension, some respondents said:

«We carry out our cultural planning by interacting into network with everyone. [...]. When we identify a need (a type of need we do not deal with), we know who to turn to and we know that there are trusted people who can take care of it [...] Possibly we may attempt to organise an activity in common [...]in order to make our actions sustainable» - PA05.

«Santa Chiara Oratory was forced to close last year, and so it "gave" us some users [...]. There has never been competition between us [...] we offer the same kind of service to satisfy the same need» - PA05.

«In simple terms, the reason why he has become part of the network is that: he is free to ask me 20 chairs or 30 chairs and he immediately receives them with no need of returning them» -PA05.

2. Vertical way: it concerns the Third Sector's ability to dialogue with institutions such as the schools or the Municipality and to involve them actively in the development process of the territory. With reference to the relationship between the TSO and the schools in Ballarò district, one respondent said:

«They have the ability to create synergies which also involve institutions such as schools, that do not always collaborate with local organisations. I must say that the schools have opened the doors to all of us because they have realised that the work we do is directed to the well-being of the neighbourhood» - PA05.

Within this logic, the "Third Sector Network" of Ballarò has established a citizen assembly (SOS Ballarò) composed not only by representatives of TSO but also of residents, traders, street vendors of the Ballarò historical market and representatives of the largest administrative district.

This "permanent assembly", has proposed and elected the president of the administrative district, who is the spokesman for what concerns problems and initiatives that arise in the territory within the institutions. According to some key informants, SOS Ballarò is an example of "politics that come from below".

«The difference between Brancaccio and Zisa and Ballarò is that they have done something different here; there is a project that is more political-based, which is SOS Ballarò [...] on which they have conveyed politics and the people who reside in the district around a table, with great difficulties. The president of the administrative district was promoted by SOS Ballarò. This is a process not just linked to the network though. Calling this path "network" is reductive! Because [...] there is a development thinking that goes way beyond the simple "getting together"» - PA05.

A success factor that can be identified in the social infrastructure process launched in Ballarò district concerns the ability of the network actors to create moments of meeting to discuss and reflect together about problems that afflict the district and the action strategies adopted:

«Our weekly assemblies [...] are moments of reflection on: what is happening, where we go, what we want, what we do. There is one thing that, I think, makes particular what happens in this district and it is replicable: it's the fact that in this district the people you met today (plus other people) are able to reflect considerably on what's happening. In the other districts instead [...] they hardly have moments to reflect on what's happening as the ones we have here» - PA05.

Debate and reflection on the causes of the main problems of the territory, or about the difficulties encountered in social work, are facilitated by the fact that many organizations have established their headquarters within the social enterprise Moltivolti, which acts as an aggregation centre for various members of the Third Sector.

«Being here [referring to Moltivolti] makes everything much easier [...]. For example, today at lunch 80% of the tables were occupied by experts in the field».

From the interviewees point of view, the fact that each of them, for a multitude of reasons (residence, active multi-year presence, registered office of the belonging organisation ...) lives in close contact with the neighbourhood and its people, has contributed to give them a greater knowledge of the needs of the territory. According to the interviewees, in fact, knowing and being able to understand the (symbolic) "language" of the people of the neighbourhood is critical to formulate "action strategies" that respond to the real needs of the context while triggering the available resources of the territory.

«The fact of knowing the neighbourhood and of having to deal with the guys, has driven us to the development of a (symbolic) language understandable by its inhabitants [...]. A place can be "regenerated" even with the help of someone from the outside.. The problem is that they are going to

destroy it anyway the [inhabitants] “No, to preserve is important! Schiera Square was made by the sons of the residents and this is also the reason why it is respected and kept clean» - PA05.

Field research has shed light on the importance of the "*community dimension*" in the process of change initiated in Ballarò district. Some interviewed (members of the Third Sector) argue that the "networking" itself should be conceived in terms of "community work":

«This logic, that in Ballarò is working, is the one of an 'educational community' [...]. There are concrete examples, as in the case of the boy who doesn't go to school and goes walking around the neighbourhood [...]. He starts to be stopped and asked by everyone: 'why you didn't go to school today?'. We all know what his name is, who are his parents [...] we know that he teases us when he says that the school is closed. The fact that I do it as "the bar owner", that 100 meters away the parish priest does the same thing [...] and after 100 meters the district president also does it [...] gives us this... "dimension of community". When I talk about Ballarò, I describe it as a community that in some ways displays elements that can be found in a small village» - PA05.

In Ballarò district, TSO cooperate to achieve a "credible" development, offering services and providing expertise in various fields, including: the fight against the educational poverty and the premature school leaving; then, services provision for children and adolescents; family support services; urban renewal; social reuse of confiscated assets and community-led local development. In many cases, TSO played a supplementary role to the Public Sector, especially for what concerns the public-services-provision which is lacking in various areas of intervention mainly due to the recent cuts in the social policy funds).

One of the main positive outcomes that can be ascribed to the "network" namely the organizations cooperating in Ballarò, concerns the implementation of a community welfare model, wherein the public sector plays an important but not a decisive role. In fact, most of the interventions implemented by the network have not been financed through public funds. To make their activities sustainable over time, the organisations resort to bricolage strategies (Lanzara, 2001) drawing on various funding sources: private and public.

A crucial success factor is represented by the ability to converge the social activities with those of an economic nature. Reinvesting the profits to achieve objectives of social interest, the actors of Ballarò manage to have profitability capable of self sustaining. A concrete example of the way in which this mechanism is operating in Ballarò is the Social Enterprise MultiVolti. A meeting point for numerous associations in the Palermo area. Moltivolti, located in the heart of the Albergheria district, a stone's throw away the historic Ballarò market, is made up by two synergic but distinct hubs: a restaurant with a Sicilian-ethnic and popular cuisine and a co-working space dedicated to the third sector. The social enterprise, in addition to welcoming visitors and the local population to the historic centre, acts as well, as a catalyst for several third sector representatives who are currently operating even beyond the boundaries of the district, and some of these have also established their registered office within the coworking space.

The adoption of a research design in which the "case study" has been central, has permitted us to analyse the evolution of the "social infrastructuring" in the context of Palermo and the modalities in which this has produced social cohesion.

In this way, the Case Study Research on the territory of Palermo, has made it possible to identify "constellations of circumstances" (Tendler, 1992) that work over the territorial confinements initially pointed out by the FCS, that would have gone unnoticed with the adoption of different research strategies.

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# We Laughed a Lot, Then We Will Come to Its Harms: Fears of Happiness

Ferda Esin Gulel, Atalay Caglar

## 1. Introduction

The fear of happiness (Cherophobia) is considered as a state of individuals knowingly ignoring the experiences of positive emotions or happiness. Under this fear, there may be some reasons for religious or superstitious beliefs, as well as for the cultures of societies. For example, in Turkish society, there is a belief that being happy will bring a person bad luck. While happiness is a very popular subject in social and psychological research, the fear of happiness has become worthwhile to work on after Joshanloo's study (2013). Joshanloo (2013), with his pioneering work in the field, developed a five item fear of happiness scale. Joshanloo (2013) used the five item "fear of happiness scale" with life satisfaction questionnaire and used the sample of university students. As a result of the analysis, it was found that the scale was valid and reliable and could be used for subsequent studies.

The scale developed by Joshanloo (2013) was adapted to Turkish by Demirci et al. (2016). They examined the validity and reliability of the scale translated into Turkish on the data obtained from a sample of Marmara University students. As a result of the analysis, they stated that the scale adapted into Turkish was valid and reliable and could be used by the researchers.

There are studies in the literature that include fear of happiness. A few of these are mentioned below: Demirci et al. (2015) adapted the Fear of Happiness Scale to Turkish and examined its validity and reliability. They also investigated the correlations between fear of happiness, life satisfaction, and subjective well-being. As a result negative correlations were found between them.

Sarı and Çakır (2016) investigated the effect of fear of happiness in subjective and psychological well-being. The results showed that fear of happiness negatively predicted subjective well-being and psychological well-being and both were found significant.

Türk et al. (2017) sought psychometric properties of Fear of Happiness Scale in Turkish university students. A negative relationship was found between the Fear of Happiness Scale and Life Satisfaction Scale. As a result of the analysis, the Fear of Happiness Scale was obtained as a valid and reliable scale for Turkish students.

Yıldırım and Aziz (2017) examined the properties of Fear of Happiness Scale in Turkish form. They suggested that the Turkish form of fear of Happiness Scale is a reliable and validly measures the Turkish culture. They also found that the scale is negatively and significantly correlated with Life Satisfaction and Subjective Well-being Scale.

Yıldırım ve Belen (2018) examined whether fear of happiness could explain in subjective well-being and psychological well-being. While examining this, Behavioral Inhibition System and Behavioral Activation System Model of Personality were controlled. In the results of the analysis, they found that fear of happiness is useful to both subjective well-being and psychological well-being in addition to Behavioral Inhibition System and Behavioral Activation System Model of Personality.

This study aims to investigate the relationship between the fear of happiness, life satisfaction and subjective happiness of the students in Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Management according to socio-demographic characteristics. While studies on life satisfaction and subjective happiness are frequently encountered in the literature, studies on fear of happiness have not been found. Although there are conceptual literature review studies on the fear of happiness scale in Turkey, the relations with socio-demographic characteristics such as fear of happiness has not been analyzed up to our knowledge. In this sense, the aim of the study is thought to be unique by bringing a different framework for researchers interested to study the context.

## 2. Method

In the study the data was collected online by using; fear of happiness scale, life satisfaction scale, subjective well-being scale, and socio-demographic variables. The scales used in the research are listed in Table 1. All scales are on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). While the higher scores in fear of happiness scale represent higher level of fear of happiness, higher scores in the other scales represent higher level of well-being.

**Table 1.** The scales used in the study

	Developed by	Adapted by
<b>Fear of Happiness (FHS)</b>	Joshanloo (2013)	Demirci et al. (2015)
<b>Life Satisfaction (LSS)</b>	Diener et al. (1985)	Köker (1991) ve Yetim (1993)
<b>Subjective Well-being (SW)</b>	Lepper (1999)	Akın ve Satıcı (2011)

Structural equation model was used as the method to analyze the data.

Structural Equation Models (SEM) is a multivariate statistical approach that defines the relationship between measurable variables and non-measurable (latent) variables based on the correlation between them (Bryne, 2010). The hypothesis testing of the structurally constructed structural models is the basis of SEM.

In the study, it is planned that the appropriate number of students from each department will be included in the sample because the students may have differences by the department they study. It is obvious that the departments that the students are studying will affect life, the environment, and the future. Also, problem-solving skills, social life, and expectations with their accumulation and gains will naturally differ. For these reasons, the Stratified Random Sampling method was used to determine the number of students selected from each of the sections of the sample size. The following equation was used to determine the sample size in the study (Çingir, 1990):

$$n = \frac{N P Q d^2}{N d^2 + P Q t^2}$$

While the sample size is given by the above equation, it has been that  $P = 0.50$ ,  $Q = 0.50$ , table value  $t = 2$ , amount of tolerance  $d = 0.05$  and  $N = 9003$ . Here, by taking  $P = 0.50$ , it is aimed to obtain the largest number of students (sample size) that can be of any interest to society under the current conditions. When the values given in the equation are replaced, the recommended sample size is obtained as  $n = 383$ .

## 3. Findings

The study was carried out between 28 February and 27 March 2017 in Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. The data was obtained from 441 students. The fear of Happiness, Life Satisfaction, and Subjective Well-being scales yielded 0.91, 0.88 and 0.79, respectively. Demographic and academic information of the research group are shown in Table 2:

**Table 2.** Descriptive Statistics (Demographic and Academic)

		N	%
<b>Gender</b>	Female	236	53.5
	Male	205	46.5
<b>Class</b>	1	69	15.6
	2	123	27.9
	3	119	27.0

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	4	101	22.9
	5 and 5	29	6.6
<b>Academic Achievement</b>	0-1.99	144	32.7
	2.00-2.49	135	30.6
	2.50 and +	162	36.7
<b>Parents' Income State</b>	Low	80	18.1
	Middle	342	77.6
	High	19	4.3
<b>Relationship</b>	In a relationship	208	47.2
	No relationship	233	52.8
<b>Age</b>	<b>Min-Max</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev.</b>
	18-29	21.67	1.809

53.5% of the students that participated in the survey were female, and 46.5% were male. The majority of the students are second, third and fourth-year students. Students are in close academic success. 77.6% of the students have middle-income families. When asked about their private lives, 52.8% of the students said that they had no relationship. The age of the students varies between 18-29, and the mean is 21.67.

The differences in life satisfaction, subjective well-being, and fear of happiness according to the students' academic achievement, parents' income state and their relationship status are analyzed by using ANOVA and Mann-Whitney test. The results are presented in Table 3 below:

**Table 3.** ANOVA and Mann-Whitney Test Results

		LSS			SW			FHS		
		Mean	Std Dev	p value	Mean	Std Dev	p value	Mean	Std Dev	p value
<b>Academic Achievement</b>	0-1.99	17.07	0.62	0.207	11.59	0.37	0.737	13.37	0.70	0.476
	2.00-2.49	18.69	0.67		11.36	0.37		14.34	0.71	
	2.50 and +	17.75	0.60		11.74	0.36		13.88	0.68	
<b>Parents' Income State</b>	Low	14.58	0.71	<b>0.000</b> *	10.98	0.51	<b>0.005</b> *	14.77	0.99	0.076
	Middle	18.26	0.41		11.54	0.23		13.87	0.45	
	High	23.42	2.20		14.57	1.02		9.684	1.15	
<b>Relationship</b>	In a relationship	17.69	0.50	0.823	11.73	0.32	0.505	13.06	0.58	<b>0.018</b> *
	No relationship	17.93	0.52		11.43	0.28		14.56	0.55	
		7	8		6	1		2	9	
		1	6		8	5		7	2	

\* p &lt; 0.05

In the results of the analysis, life satisfaction and subjective well-being vary across parents' income state. The higher income state has the higher life satisfaction; the lower income state has the lower life satisfaction. In the subjective well-being, the high income state differs from the low and middle income states. This can be interpreted that if students' parent has a high income, their subjective well-being increase. However, parents' income state is not significant on the fear of happiness. The academic achievement is not found statistically significant on the scales.

On the other hand, the fear of happiness is significant according to students' relationship. Students who are not in a relationship has a higher fear of happiness. The other scales do not show differences in students' relationship.

Within the scope of the research, students were asked questions based on their beliefs and life philosophies. The answers given to these questions are shown in Table 4:

**Table 3.** Descriptive Statistics (Belief and philosophy of life)

		N	%
<b>Future Expectation</b>	All my expectations will come true	92	20.9
	Some expectations will come true	314	71.2
	No expectations will come true	35	7.9
<b>Religious Beliefs</b>	My religious beliefs are strong and place in my life is important	217	49.2
	I have religious beliefs, but not strong	194	44.0
	I do not have religious beliefs	30	6.8
<b>Sharing potential problems in their lives</b>	I don't share with anyone	94	21.3
	I share with my family	129	29.3
	I share with my best friend	144	32.7
	I share with my girlfriend/boyfriend	74	16.8
<b>Sharing positive developments in their lives</b>	I don't share with anyone	15	3.4
	I share with my family	257	58.3
	I share with my best friend	103	23.4
	I share with my girlfriend/boyfriend	66	15.0
<b>Belief in the Evil Eye</b>	Yes	238	54.0
	No	71	16.1
	Sometimes	132	29.9

71.2% of the students in the research believe that some expectations will be met in the future. 49.2% said that their religious beliefs are strong and they are in an important place in their lives. While 32.7% share the possible problems in their lives with their closest friends, 58.3% of them share positive developments in their lives with their families. Most of the students (54.4%) answered the question about the belief in the evil eye as "yes."

Confirmatory Factor Analysis was applied to determine the measurement model which shows the relationship between hidden variables before the structural equation model estimation. Since the data were categorical, asymptotically distribution-free method was used as the method of estimation. On the Subjective Happiness Scale, "Some people are often not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they are. How is this valid for you?" question was excluded from the analysis because the standardized regression weights were less than 0.5. When the correlations between the scales were examined, there was no statistically significant relationship between Fear of Happiness and Life Satisfaction Scale. While there was a significant linear relationship between subjective well-being and life satisfaction (0.631,  $p = 0.000$ ), there was a negative and

significant ( $-0.106, p = 0.047$ ) relationship between the fear of happiness and subjective well-being. Fit indices obtained from the analysis are shown in Table 5:

**Table 4.** The results of fit indices

Fit Indices	Good Fit	Acceptable Fit	Calculated Value
RMSEA	$0 \leq RMSEA \leq 0.05$	$0.05 \leq RMSEA \leq 0.1$	0.033
CFI	$0.95 \leq CFI \leq 1$	$0.90 \leq CFI \leq 0.95$	0.966
$\chi^2/df$	$< 2$	$< 3$	1.474

Limit values of fit indices (Schermelleh-Engel ve Moosbrugger, 2003)

As a result of the confirmatory factor analysis, the fit indices showed a good fit. Therefore, the structural model was estimated.

The accuracy of the following hypotheses will be investigated by the structural model:

$H_1$ : The dimension of Subjective well – being has an effect on Fear of Happiness.

$H_2$ : The dimension of Life Satisfaction has an effect on the Fear of Happiness.

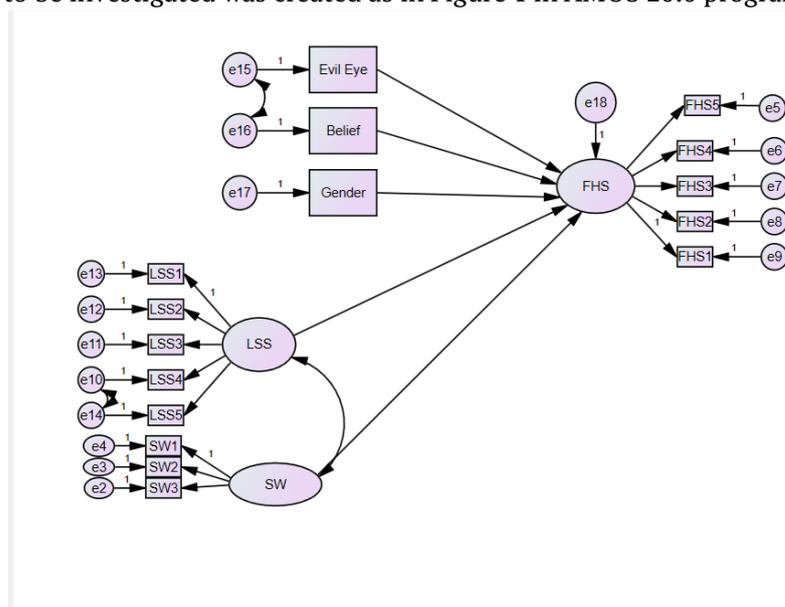
$H_3$ : There is a relationship between Subjective Well – being and Life Satisfaction.

$H_4$ : The evil eye has an effect on Fear of Happiness.

$H_5$ : Religious belief has an effect on the Fear of Happiness.

$H_6$ : Gender has an effect on Fear of Happiness.

The structural model to be investigated was created as in Figure 1 in AMOS 20.0 program:



**Figure 1.** Structural Model in the study

The data not being normally distributed, led to the usage of asymptotically distribution-free estimation method. The goodness of fit of the model is shown in Table 6:

**Table 6.** The fit indices of the model

Fit Indices	Good Fit	Acceptable Fit	Calculated Value
RMSEA	$0 \leq RMSEA \leq 0.05$	$0.05 \leq RMSEA \leq 0.1$	0.034
CFI	$0.95 \leq CFI \leq 1$	$0.90 \leq CFI \leq 0.95$	0.953
$\chi^2/df$	$< 2$	$< 3$	1.504

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The fit indices showed a good fit to interpret the estimates. Model estimation results are shown in Table 7:

**Table 7. Estimated Model Results**

			<b>Estimate</b>	<b>S.E.</b>	<b>C.R.</b>	<b>P</b>
MK	←	Evil Eye	-.167	.072	-2.334	.020*
MK	←	Belief	.053	.124	.428	.668
MK	←	Gender	-.180	.134	-1.347	.178
MK	←	LSS	.151	.075	2.014	.044*
MK	←	SW	-.185	.063	-2.936	.003*

\*  $p < 0.05$

According to Table 5, religious beliefs and gender have no significant effect on the fear of happiness. It is observed that the evil eye variable, which shows superstition, has a significant effect on the fear of happiness. As faith increases, fear of happiness decrease. This can be interpreted as the person who believes in the evil eye knows the ways of protection from it, thus reduces the fear of happiness in this way. The effect of Life Satisfaction and Subjective Well-being on fear of Happiness is obtained. As Life Satisfaction increases, the Fear of Happiness increases; the Fear of Happiness decreases as Subjective Well-being increases. Life satisfaction is related to what one has accomplished in life. As life satisfaction increases, one is concerned about the fear of losing, which increases the fear of happiness.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, the relationship between the fear of happiness, life satisfaction and subjective happiness of the students of Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Management was investigated according to socio-demographic characteristics. For that purpose, data were collected from 441 students and analyzed by using Structural Equation model as a method.

As a result of the analysis, it was found that while religious belief and gender have no significant effect on the fear of happiness, the evil eye variable has a significant effect on it. The effect of Life Satisfaction and Subjective Well-being on fear of Happiness is obtained. Life Satisfaction is to affect positively; Subjective Well-being is to affect negatively. While the last one is consistent with the literature (Sarı and Çakır, 2016; Yildirim and Aziz, 2017; Demirci et al., 2015) the first one is inconsistent (Türk et al., 2017; Yildirim and Aziz, 2017; Demirci et al., 2015; Joshanloo, 2012). This differences might be caused by the sample in the study.

The scales are examined across students' academic achievements, parents' income states and their relationship status. In the results of the analysis, the higher income state has the higher life satisfaction; the lower income state has the lower life satisfaction. Besides, if students' parents have a high income, their subjective well-being increase. However, parents' income state is not significant on the fear of happiness. The academic achievement is not found statistically significant on the scales. On the other hand, students who are not in a relationship has a higher fear of happiness.

In the future, this research might expand to the other faculties and vocational high schools. It can be applied not only for university students but also for different classes of society with different socio-demographic characteristics. Thus, in the heterogeneous structure(s), especially in the age variable, it is thought to find more sharp results.

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# The Threat of the Authoritarian Personality. Death of Despair and Rise of Intolerance in the U.S.

Vito Marcelletti

## 1. Introduction

This essay addresses some aspects of the relationship between subjectivity and power in the contemporary scenario, focusing on some of the distortions that have emerged in the construction processes of subjectivity and on the dangerous reverberations of this anthropological divide in the field of social cohesion and political consensus.

In particular, our attention is focused on recent events in the United States of America, which have lately become of sociological interest because of the exacerbation of social inequalities and the escalation of racial conflicts. While it would not be correct to say that these issues had subsided in the past, it must be noted that they have become a cause of great international concern following the unexpected victory of the Republican outsider Donald Trump during the last presidential elections, considered by many observers to be one of the most divisive political figures to ever take office in the White House.

Let us proceed in order.

At the beginning of the new millennium, when populism did not yet pose a real threat to the life of liberal democracies, Zygmunt Bauman (2001), taking up a concept expressed by Jock Young (1999), argued that in times when the foundations of community life collapse, the concept of identity acquires strength, and “yet the vulnerability of individual identities and the precariousness of solitary identity-building prompt the identity-builders to seek pegs on which they can together hang their individually experienced fears and anxieties” (p. 16).

The political philosopher Paolo Virno (2014), in turn, with regard to how the category of “multitude” becomes pivotal in the contemporary world – understood as “contingent singularities”, the result of a complex process of individuation – argues that by its very nature this concept does not have the stability of the “people”, nor does the multitude have the same ability to react to fears related to human nature: “The people are one, because the substantial community collaborates in order to sedate the fears which spring from circumscribed dangers. The multitude, instead, is united by the risk which derives from ‘not feeling at home,’ from being exposed omnilaterally to the world” (34).

As Harold Lasswell (1933) wrote about the mass psychology behind of the success of Hitlerism, “When an individual is suddenly deprived of his customary mode of externalizing loves and aggressions the resulting emotional crisis is severe. In extreme cases, the aggressive impulses which were formerly directed against the outside world are turned back against the personality itself, and suicide, melancholia, and other mental disorders ensue. Most thwarted people are protected from such extreme reactions by finding new objects of devotion and self-assertion. Emotional insecurities are reduced by hating scapegoats and adoring heroes, and insofar as politics provides the formulae and the activities which satisfy these requirements, politics is a form of social therapy for potential suicides.” (p. 380).

It would seem, therefore, that the veneration Hitler was the object of through the institutionalization of his charisma (to the extent that it responded to a subjective need for recognition which had all of a sudden become unaccounted for, in that it could no longer be satisfied by established customs) probably acted as a collective *pharmakon* against anomie and despair.

It is not possible to exclude, however – and this is the issue we intend to explore in this second part of the essay – that this same socio-psychological short circuit cannot reoccur today, albeit with political-institutional effects and modalities that are not comparable, for the reasons highlighted in the first part of the contribution – in which reference was made to the presence of antibodies in contemporary social systems unknown to the fragile European democracies of the early twentieth century.

It is true, as we are reminded by some of the most alarming political phenomena of the present day, that this same feeling of insecurity is behind today's processes of "identity radicalisation" of subjectivity. Almost all these phenomena, although having different ideological and cultural causes, are characterized by a process of depersonalization, i.e. psycho-emotional detachment of the subject from the moral content and emotional needs acquired during the process of socialization, and an ideological belonging to a kind of "reality" perceived as being "superior" and therefore capable of suppressing individual anguish and despair thanks to the feeling of greatness it is able to foster. In short, these political movements, ideologies based on ethnicity or religion, as in the case of Islamic fundamentalism, offer individuals the intoxicating sensation of being able to influence reality. In other words, it is the feeling that one has the faculty that has always been attributed to elites and great personalities in general, and that, according to Popitz (1990), consists in the power to "modify factual data": a concept which, although it shares some similar features, should not be confused with that of agency (see Crespi, 1999).

It is precisely this close connection between subjective weakness and irrational desire for power that, in our opinion, represents the possible *trait d'union* between past and present. Indeed also Lasswell (1933) noted that Hitler's appeal to conservative mothers of Germany derived from their resentment against those who were considered morally responsible for the disastrous events in which, since 1914, their children had been killed or demoralized. It is as if Hitler allowed the hope of rescue for their humiliated sons to be sublimated into the will of power of the German nation, thus allowing to envisage a glorious present that would restore their lost honour.

Our hypothesis is that in contemporary society the dissolution of some important cultural axes, on which the premises of subjective recognition were based, has produced destabilizing effects at the level of identity construction, especially in the weaker and more marginal social groups, increasingly abandoned to themselves, thus favouring the emergence of irrational drives and extremist tendencies (phenomena that for obvious reasons we will only mention here), with potentially harmful consequences for social cohesion and the governance of our liberal democracies.

One should think, for instance, of what happened with the referendum on Brexit in Great Britain, and of the surge of consensus obtained by the extreme right and populist parties in various European states, also in two leading EU countries such as France and Germany. Without forgetting what happened in Italy, where the results of the last elections attest to the crisis of traditional political parties and the advance of a new political class, which has managed to interpret the demand for change of a lower middle class animated by feelings of resentment, distrust and disappointment.

However, this contribution focuses in particular on the case of the United States, in that some elements have been found to anticipate cultural and socio-political tendencies visible today in all Western democracies.

## **2. The collapse of personality and the spectre of supremacy**

Already in the past, David Riesman (1961) argued that 20<sup>th</sup> century American society was increasingly moving towards the replacement of the "inner-directed" character, understood as the result of a pedagogical process oriented towards the formation of a "moral domain" in the young, and which aimed to make him/her an adult person (that is, capable of maintaining the delicate balance between his/her personal objectives and the needs of the external environment), with a character that he, on the contrary, defined as "other-directed". That is to say, lacking intellectual autonomy and emotionally dependant on the tastes and expectations of peers, to whom individuals adapt passively to gain recognition and approval.

This is how a mechanism for constructing subjectivity begins to emerge, one which is increasingly less sensitive to the symbolic and normative contents mediated by traditional agencies of socialization, often viewed as residues of an authoritarian and retrograde relational model; this mechanism is, instead, increasingly influenced by the aesthetic and ideological canons of the cultural industry, channelled by the media, social networks and peer groups.

In general, as Luciano Gallino (1979) pointed out some time ago, an increasingly complex and differentiated society favours an extension of associative processes; that is, the freedom to create and

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break proximity ties on the basis of tastes and preferences, to adhere or defect without particular constraints. The cost of this freedom, is however, paid in terms of particular tensions experienced at a subjective level.

This fragmentation, in an overall social framework that already displays evident signs of disconnection, can act as a mechanism for depersonalising or compressing a personality lacking a “psychological gyroscope” or any “technologies of the self” (see Foucault, 1984) which may act as a protective shield in delicate phases of life, thus sheltering the subject from that repertoire of behaviours technically defined as being at risk (see Beck, 2000).

Indeed, when social figures once linked to customs and popular tradition are freed from classical modalities of group formation and integration, including family and social class, often to embrace cults, ideologies, practices, far from their own context of belonging, a new phenomenon arises, already defined by Enzensberger (1992) some years ago as “average exoticism of everyday life”: by which he meant the emergence of a “transgressive” and “deviant” style no longer limited to the world of fashion, music, the international jet set, but also adopted by the average citizen. This transformation of the social landscape is attested by the presence of figures who until thirty years ago were unthinkable, among which the scholar mentions “golf-playing butchers”, “wives imported from Thailand”, “dominas with clients in top management”, “cocaine dealers with solariums” etc.. (p.179).

However, aside from these remarks, perhaps amusing, the issue is actually much more serious than what it may seem.

According to Cristopher Lasch (1979), in fact,

“While social life becomes more and more aggressive and violent, personal relationships, which apparently represent a refuge from the latter, in turn acquire the character of a clash” (p.40).

If this is true, the trajectory of emancipating subjective identity from the traditional constraints of authority on the one hand favours greater spaces of intimacy and new opportunities for personalization, but on the other – to the extent that “the state of equilibrium and autonomy of personality depends on the presence of stable and recognized boundaries” (Lowen, 1984, p. 81) – the resulting lack of normative determinacy, combined with a surplus of contingency and an excess of competition, exposes individuals, especially the most vulnerable, to what Berger and Luckmann (2010) call a “crisis of meaning”.

And here we come to a decisive point in our reflection.

When Hannah Arendt, in her renowned work *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963), speaks of the typical Nazi, she describes him as an individual without qualities, a personality affected by a “crisis of meaning” and characterized by a lack of thought and critical conscience: an “ideal-type” perfectly embodied by the Nazi official Eichmann.

Thus the lack of critical awareness, which is what leads us to question the sense of human existence, explains why the monstrous acts that Eichmann performed daily, not being subject to any kind of significant awareness, lacked the meaning that characterizes evil and were therefore banal.

According to Italo Vacarini (2009), a similar attitude to a certain extent characterizes the overall spirit of “contemporary postmodernism” that increasingly permeates interpersonal behaviour and relationships in modern democratic societies. Here too, in fact, “we are faced with destructive outcomes, even if, unlike Nazi totalitarianism, it is an entropic drive towards self-destruction rather than an aggressive drive towards the destruction of others” (p.41).

Our impression is that the “bugbear” of white supremacy that accompanied Donald Trump’s surprisingly triumphant campaign during the last elections, in the form of intolerance, racial hatred, anti-Semitism, is nothing more than a simulacrum: a facade of superiority behind which, as Millefiorini (2015) writes, “fragile subjectivities”, often desperate, hide. According to the interesting interpretation offered by Adorno (1959) in a brief essay, “collective narcissism allows men to compensate for the awareness of their social impotence [...] and, at the same time, for the sense of guilt generated by the feeling of not being and doing what they should be and what they should be doing according to their own concept, with a sense of belonging, real or only imagined, to a superior, complete world, to which they attribute the properties of everything they lack, and from which they receive, in return, something

that substitutes participation in those qualities.” To quote Vaccarini and Cesareo (2013), it is the staging of “delusional omnipotence” that compensates for “real impotence”.

Most importantly, what followed the economic crisis that hit the United States in 2008, as the most attentive observers noted, was the opioid epidemic that spread among a large portion of the white proletariat residing in deindustrialized areas (which constituted the electorate that, as we will see, played a decisive role in the victory of Trump), including individuals who up until recently had been considered respectable citizens, workers and family men, who were sucked into a self-destructive spiral comprising domestic instability, socio-economic marginality and dependence on medication, alcohol and drugs.

It is sufficient to think of what happened in West Virginia, where many workers who did not have the resources to adequately treat serious physical problems caused by their work, over time became addicted to pain killers with high concentrations of opiates, which were then made illegal and replaced with heroin.

This phenomenon has worsened unexpectedly in the last years to the extent that, according to a recent report by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), among young people aged 25-34 the mortality rate from overdose increased by 50% between 2014 and 2016. Ultimately, also considering that in 2016 alone deaths from overdoses in the United States amounted to more than 63,300, it is possible to say that what we are witnessing is, without question, a true epidemic.

Furthermore, the results of a recent empirical work aimed at measuring the relationship between “well-being”, “age” and “risk of suicide”, carried out by researchers Angus Deaton and Anne Case (2015) of Princeton University, a sharp increase in suicides was recorded in the United States between 2010 and 2013, especially among the population of middle-aged white males, mostly lacking education and social capital.

In short, what emerges is a situation of generalized psycho-physical discomfort which, in the absence of factors of protection, such as university education and marital stability, drives more and more individuals to fall into a vicious circle of dissatisfaction and addiction to drugs, which ultimately may lead them to commit desperate acts (see Case, Deaton, 2017, p.6).

It is no chance that, according to the annual report on the nation’s mortality rate released by the same Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, a decrease in life expectancy in the United States of America has been recorded for the second consecutive year.

### **3.Social regression and political intolerance**

In very different times Christopher Lasch (1995) used harsh words against the optimism of a certain progressive area, arguing that the general course of recent history certainly did not point in the direction of the levelling of social differences, but was on the contrary increasingly and markedly “oriented towards a bipolar society in which a privileged few monopolize the advantages of wealth, education, power” (p. 36).

In the case of the United States, in fact, the widespread condition of anomie which is a common trait of the most disadvantaged areas of the country, resulting from a combination of cultural, demographic, economic and health factors, has created a widespread feeling of discomfort and protest, animated by a feeling commonly defined as “anti-politics”, and that Donald Trump has skilfully managed to transform into personal consent.

We are speaking of a man whose superficial and authoritarian manners – regardless of what his real intentions are – and whose promise of change, understood as redemption from a present of misery and humiliation, however imbued with demagoguery and vulgar populism, have acted as collective shock therapy for women and men facing economic hardship.

To remain in the domain of current events, in an interesting study on the role and incidence of social disadvantage in Donald Trump’s victory, researcher Shannon Monnat (2017) examined the relationship between mortality levels related to alcohol, drug abuse and suicide and political preferences expressed in the 2016 presidential elections, with particular attention to the role of the economic crisis and the voting choices of the working class.

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As mentioned above, we are referring to a situation that is, to say the least, alarming. According to data provided by The United States Department of Health and Human Services, over the last ten years there have been over 400,000 deaths caused by overdose, or by diseases caused by drug abuse. Almost 400,000 people have committed suicide, while in the same period 250,000 people have died from illnesses caused by alcohol abuse, such as cirrhosis of the liver.

With regard to this epidemic, what is striking is the fact that it mainly affects middle-aged white people, especially those without a university degree who live in small towns and rural areas.

The American researcher's investigation focuses on three areas particularly affected by this terrible epidemic: the industrial Midwest, New England and the region of the Appalachian Mountains.

In short, the results of this research show a clear connection between the "deaths caused by despair" and the performance of Trump (see Monnat, p.2).

The current President of the United States, in fact, achieved better results in the primary elections than his party opponent Romney in regions with higher rates of mortality linked to alcohol, drugs and suicide.

According to the author, a large part of the relationship between the mortality rate and Trump's performance is due to economic factors, as the regions with the highest working class presence have the highest mortality rates and are also the ones that have expressed the greatest support for the policy change promised by Trump.

Work in the United States has always been, as the author points out, a fundamental resource determining status, both financial and social, but also moral. In many of the areas where Trump obtained the best results, economic instability has increased, combined with a real collapse of social and family support networks, to the point that downward mobility has become the norm (see Monnat, pp.3-4).

J. D. Vance (2016), an American writer who was born and lives in Ohio, one of the areas most affected by the socio-economic crisis, quotes the study of William Julius Wilson (1987), and recalls that when millions of people emigrated to the North to work in factories, the communities that developed around those factories were dynamic but fragile:

"When factories closed, people found themselves trapped in towns and cities that could no longer offer high quality employment to such a large population. Those who could – generally the most educated, the rich or those with connections – moved, leaving entire communities of poor people behind. These were the 'real disadvantaged' – unable to find a decent job, part of a social fabric that offered very little in terms of relationships and social support." (pp.142-143).

In our opinion, in fact, the populist and anti-political drift of the lower middle classes is not to be attributed solely to the terrible effects of the financial crisis, indeed it is rooted in a much deeper social problem that exploded at a time when the long-standing issues related to recognition and representation suddenly came to light.

The political and cultural divide separating the urban elites from the working classes has become a real anthropological fracture: a polarization, as Lasch already observed (1995), between the professionals of the upper middle class, and the service workers who provide for their needs, the former concentrated in areas where they rents are high, and where they are increasingly secluded, as if to erect a barricade against poverty and crime that threatens to overwhelm them. While "the old middle class neighbourhood communities, which were once the pivot of a vigorous civic culture, are disappearing." The reasons behind the social decline of the middle class are no doubt many, and they cannot be reduced to one factor. However, the role played by the prejudices of the cultural elites towards a certain America should not be underestimated.

Lasch (1995) points out that:

"In the United States, the term *middle America* has a meaning that is both geographical and social, and now symbolizes everything that is opposed to progress: family values, obtuse patriotism, religious fundamentalism, racism, homophobia, and a retrograde attitude towards women. *Middle Americans*, as they appear to the masters of cultured opinion, are incurably rough, out of fashion and provincial, uninformed about issues of taste and intellectual tendencies. [...] They are absurd and also vaguely threatening, not because they wish to overturn the old order, but precisely because they defend it with

such an irrational intensity which ends up expressing itself [...] in a patriotism that supports imperialist wars and in a national ethic of aggressive masculinity.” (p. 39)

This, according to Lasch, was the ideological terrain in which the enlightened and cosmopolitan elite reckoned with what is viewed as “the other America”.

Already in the 1960s, in fact, university students who had grown up in a well-off environment, free from material needs, intellectually stimulating and non-repressive, were enthusiastically referred to as the first examples of democratic individuals. This is a rather naive vision which, not by chance, was questioned in the following years by the studies of Lichter and Rotman (1982), but which was basically functional, in that precise historical period, to the social representation of a personality emancipated from traditional prejudices and from the greed of capitalists; it was the prototype of a “new man”, contrasting the “archaic” figure embodied by the traditional family man, whose psychological profile, traced by Adorno (1950) and his colleagues with the famous F-scale, seemed to unequivocally correspond to an “authoritarian personality” (see Ray, 1988).

The resulting portrait of the “average American” was, in essence, that of a subject corroded by sexual taboos, hierarchical oppression and family duties (see Ruggero, 2016). Over time this favoured an almost automatic equation between “conservatism” and “authoritarianism/fascism”: a cognitive bias that still informs many misunderstandings and dubious readings, and from which also the growing feeling of alienation and disaffection probably arises (to use an understatement) towards the ruling classes and the so-called professional politicians, a feeling that is widespread in Europe and North America among the lower middle classes and in very large portions of the urban proletariat, which form an electorate whose sentiment has literally eroded the basis of the consent enjoyed by traditional parties, especially democratic and progressive ones.

In fact, in all probability – this at least is our point of view – phenomena such as the progressive erosion of the middle class and the hardship experienced by a large part of the white proletariat (which identifies politically with the figure of Donald Trump), despite having become more accentuated following the economic crisis of 2008, should first of all be linked to the decline of associated life forms, of a sense of community, erroneously considered by Adorno and his colleagues as the basis of the fascist personality.

Let us be clear, we are talking about “vital worlds”, which certainly present some distortions, taboos and prejudices, but which still represent, especially for the lower social classes, a fundamental subjective matrix of meaning and status.

In fact, if we look closely, the figures that once represented the fulcrum of associated life for the majority of the population, embodying values such as neighbourhood solidarity, decorum, religious devotion – and that according to a certain progressive vision were only representatives of an obscurantist past, an unbearable obstacle to the achievement of new and more important personal and collective goals – act as a social binding force, with their fundamental capacity to support people in a more or less direct way, especially in periods of individual crisis (see Cigoli, 1998).

As Michael Sandel (2010) points out, “Intolerance flourishes more often where life forms are dismantled, roots are eradicated, traditions are undone” (p.64). This aspect has perhaps never been sufficiently taken into account. Yet, as many studies and research show, especially the works of Brooks B. Hull and Frederick Bold (1995, pp.143-149), factors such as religious participation and religion in general, are generally associated with lower levels of criminal behaviour in adults. According to the studies of Evelyn Lehrer and Carmel Chiswick (1993, pp. 385-404) of the University of Illinois in Chicago, these are the basis of greater marital stability. Last but not least, according to research conducted by the The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse of the Columbia University (2001), religious practice is a variable significantly related to lower risks of substance abuse.

In addition, a large part of literature highlights the impact of religious participation on the subject’s state of well-being, both in terms of psycho-physical health and in financial terms. The economist Jonathan Gruber (2005), for example, in an interesting study on the relationship between religious practice and economic well-being, concluded that there is a negative correlation between religious participation and mortality risk. According to J.D. Vance (2016):

“The contradiction is blatant: religious institutions remain a positive force in people’s lives, but in a part of the country afflicted by deindustrialization, unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse and loss of family ties, religious practice has declined. My father’s church [evangelical] offered something that people like me desperately needed. It offered alcoholics a community of support and the certainty of not being alone in the battle against addiction. It offered future mothers a free roof, training courses and psychological and practical preparation for parenting. When my father had financial difficulties, his church got together and bought a used car for my family. In the interrupted world I saw around me – and to those who moved around in it – religion offered tangible help to stay on track.” (pp. 96-97)

#### 4. Conclusions

In this short paper I have addressed the relationship between subjectivity and power in the contemporary world, highlighting some fractures in the mechanisms of social recognition, caused by the process of individualisation, which pose an obstacle to the formation of a resilient and inner-directed social character. More and more often, in fact, the affirmation of self-referential psychological mechanisms, together with the weakening of the institutions in charge of socialization, gives rise to distortions in the process of identity construction, which means that a personality not culturally equipped to face biographical moments of crisis with rationality and discernment, is emotionally unprepared to deal with the risk of failure and frustration. Hence the emergence of a character for which the support of ideologies, leaders and extremist movements, provides a feeling of illusory power that compensates for an actual condition of impotence. In fact, as highlighted by various studies conducted on the most depressed and marginal regions of the United States of America – the nation we have chosen as a case study – it is mainly people belonging to the weakest social groups, lacking education, and those who live in rural areas and small towns, who are affected. The lack of human capital and higher education is often compounded by a lack of family and community support networks. What emerges is a point of no return, a situation that can drive individuals who feel they have no way out towards a vicious circle of isolation, depression and addiction: a spiral of self-destruction which explains why a certain ideological offer, insofar as it provides new objects of veneration and enemies against which to side, can represent, similarly to what happened with totalitarian ideologies, a shock therapy for potential suicides.

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# Immigrant integration: Sociological Theory and Core Indicators

Patrizia Laurano, Giovanna Gianturco

## 1. The Problem Statement

Can an immigrant who fails to enter the labour market but who speaks the language of the host country fluently be considered more or less integrated than an immigrant who has a stable and regular job but who cannot communicate with the natives?

The difficulty in answering this question shows how integration is a polysemic concept, difficult to define<sup>1</sup>, variable in time and space, linked to historical-political circumstances and to the characteristics assumed by the migratory phenomenon<sup>2</sup>. It is also a concept used both for analytical and practical purposes: “in analytical terms, integration of immigrants refers to a state of a given social system in which there is a high degree of structural interdependence between the foreign population and the indigenous population. It is a relatively stable structure of mutual expectations that regulates their interactions in such a way as to make them sufficiently predictable to all participants. As a category of practice, on the other hand, it has always, albeit more or less explicitly, a regulatory purpose (...) and is always referred to what a society should be” (Sciortino, 2015, p. 8). If the category of understanding is already complex, referring to a wide range of possible definitions of integration, its empirical translation into indicators appears to be even more difficult. Integration is therefore a procedural property, which does not lend itself to general treatment but which requires the distinguishing of several dimensions. Basically, it is possible to identify a cultural, economic, social and political dimension, but the complexity of the concept has necessitated a more in-depth articulation. For example, Esser (2004) identifies other dimensions: structural, social, cultural, emotional (or identifying), to which others can be added: spatial, temporal, prevalent reactions in the native population. According to the prevailing interpretation in the literature, it is necessary to distinguish at least three different dimensions of the process of integration of immigrants (Sciortino, 2015): a socio-economic dimension, which assumes different values depending on whether immigration is conjunctural (seasonal migrations) or structural; a legal-political dimension, which can be subdivided into two further internal dimensions: the first leads to the achievement of a permanent residence permit (until the acquisition of citizenship), while the second concerns the granting of rights to foreign residents on the subject of political participation; a socio-cultural dimension, also divided into two internal dimensions: one concerning the process of linguistic assimilation, the second recognition by the receiving society of the distinct linguistic, cultural and value identities of the various immigrant communities. In practice, an assimilationist type of vision as opposed to a multiculturalist one, where the former was considered “natural”, taken for granted: every social group, however closed and/or discriminated, would have taken the same path, albeit with different timing<sup>3</sup>.

The assimilationist model, however, after being strongly pursued through appropriate policies “that discouraged the use of languages other than English and that rewarded the rapid acquisition of US citizenship (and the abandonment of previous citizenship)” (Sciortino, 2015, p. 13), underwent a crisis in the 1960s, when the receiving society itself turned out to be composite and pluralist, composed of different, when not irreconcilable, subcultures. It is this recognition that leads to the idea that culturally diverse groups are equally legitimised to be part of the national community, enjoying equal rights and equal obligations.

If, in the theoretical perspective of assimilationism, reception is subordinated to the total adaptation to the models of majority society, renouncing entirely to one’s own, integration requires limited adherence to those cultural and identity elements strictly necessary for the survival of the state itself, overturning on the host society the demonstration of eliminating any form of discrimination. From a unilateral view, therefore, whereby “the burden” of integration basically passes from the immigrant’s ability to adapt, we move on to a bilateral perspective, which reads the integrative process, instead, as

a reciprocal exchange<sup>4</sup>. On the one hand, however, it is clear that, in the presence of greater opportunities and lesser discrimination, more immigrants tend to abandon ethnic institutions and networks more quickly, keeping exclusively specific and selective aspects of their parents' cultural traditions (Alba & Nee, 1997), however, the fear that greater recognition of differences may reduce the efforts of immigrants to achieve full participation in the host society remains widespread, despite the fact that research has denied this possibility<sup>5</sup>. Likewise, maintaining a strong link with the country of origin does not seem to be an obstacle to integration (Kivisto, 2005), but an element present in those who appear to be more integrated from a legal, socio-economic and educational point of view (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999; Waldinger, 2008)<sup>6</sup>.

From a theoretical and applicative point of view, the situation is different in Western Europe, where integration has become an urgent topic of public debate and object of policy only since the second half of the eighties, when migrations took on the character of a long-term project (Hammar, 1985; Amersfoort, 1998). An example of this is the study by Roger Brubaker (1989, 1992) on the policies of citizenship in France and Germany, based - in the first case - on the principle of *jus soli* (therefore on a rapid naturalisation)<sup>7</sup> and in the second case on *jus sanguinis*, which does not allow the legal recognition of an integration that often in fact exists<sup>8</sup>.

Similarly, Stephen Castles has distinguished, within European countries, between countries with a subordinate inclusion ("differential exclusion"), assimilationist countries and pluralist/multicultural countries (Castles, Booth, & Wallace, 1984; Castles & Miller, 2003). What has been observed, in fact, is that it is the structural elements of a country - such as the labour market, the education and welfare system - that play a decisive role rather than specific integration policies. The difficulty of finding a comprehensive and unanimously accepted definition that can translate into effective policies clearly emerges once again.

Moreover, the crisis of the multicultural model<sup>9</sup> - as well as the wave of mistrust and closure that characterises the recent European policy towards immigration with the emphasis placed on public debate on the so-called "economic migrant"<sup>10</sup> - bring out a theoretical framework that gives great importance to the socio-economic status of immigrants<sup>11</sup> and increasingly places the burden of proof on the immigrant, who must demonstrate his/her willingness to integrate. The so-called perspective of "civic integration" is expressed in the expectation that "the pre-condition for an integration of immigrants is the rapid, and governed acquisition of the language, history and civic rules of European countries in which immigrants arrive" (Sciortino, 2015, p. 28).

## 2. Review of studies

### Europe

Only in recent decades has the debate on integration measures overcome national particularisms, proposing a holistic approach to the problem, starting from the indications of the European Commission<sup>12</sup>. There are various attempts to arrive at a system of indicators able to evaluate the integration processes at European level even if, in the great majority of cases, the system of indicators actually provides a systematic set of knowledge on the phenomenon "connected only discursively to the actual evaluation of the outcomes of the policies pursued" (Sciortino, 2015, p. 36). The problems concern both the availability and comparability of the sources of data available, and the exact definition of the segments of the immigrant population to be referred to. In fact, there are at least three segments of interest that identify different needs and levels of social participation, linked to three moments of the migration project<sup>13</sup>: naturalised, legal foreigners and illegal aliens<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, there is no agreement on the inclusion or not of descendants, who undoubtedly represent a different type of integration, also linked to the different policies adopted with regard to citizenship.

One of the first attempts to standardise indicators at European level can be dated to 1995, when the Council of Europe's Directorate for Social and Economic Affairs identified three categories: accessibility indicators, related to the degree of openness to foreigners allowed by the legal framework of different countries; indicators related to the "empirical situation", i.e. related to the measurement of inequalities between foreigners and natives with respect to access to social resources; attitude indicators, related to the attitudes and expectations of both the foreign and the native population.

Subsequently, in 2003, the ERCOMER of the Erasmus University of Rotterdam, at the request of the European Commission, identified four dimensions: three related to the foreign population (socio-economic integration, legal-political and socio-cultural) and one relating to society reception (attitudes of the receiving society).

In 2007-08, the MITI project, financed with European funds, once again revealed three dimensions: absorption capacity, i.e. indicators relating to the size and dynamics of growth of the foreign population; social stability, such as the quality of housing, health conditions, the impact of mixed marriages; inclusion in the labour market. Where possible, these indicators are formulated in a comparative key, as the difference between the means compared to the corresponding indicator referring to the natives.

In the conclusions of the 2007 Ministerial Integration Conference in Potsdam, the National Contact Points on Integration Network (NCPI) was requested to promote the development of common indicators and indices that member states could use, but it was with the Zaragoza Conference that a pilot programme was launched for the evaluation of integration policies implemented by European states, based on the examination of common indicators. In particular, the Commission was asked to examine proposals to create a list of common indicators, starting with those identified during the expert meeting on "Indicators and monitoring of integration policy results" organised in Malmö in 2009 by the Swedish Presidency of the European Union, and to provide information on the quantity and quality of data sources available, necessary for the calculation of common indicators<sup>15</sup>.

The pilot project led to the elaboration of the "Indicators of Immigrant Integration: a Pilot Study" report, prepared by the European Commission and EUROSTAT and published in 2011<sup>16</sup>. The document identifies the so-called "Zaragoza Indicators", which today constitute an essential reference for the monitoring actions of integration policies. This system of indicators - which can be used by member states, on a voluntary basis, as a tool for evaluating the outcomes of the policies pursued - is built on the basis of some strategic choices. Firstly, on a limited selection of indicators, relevant to a limited number of policy areas (active citizenship, employment policies, education and social inclusion). The construction of these indicators has privileged, for the first time, the large databases of European social surveys: in fact, for each member state, the report includes calculations of the proposed common indicators for the integration of migrants on the basis of data currently available from the European Union Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS), EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) and EUROSTAT Migration Statistics<sup>17</sup>, as well as the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).

A further group of indicators is classified as additional, based on the priorities identified only by some member states. These include indicators for measuring civic integration (knowledge of the language, sense of belonging, trust in public institutions and electoral participation), indicators of discrimination and some insights into labour market participation of more ambiguous interpretation (e.g. percentage of self-employed workers)<sup>18</sup>.

Two years later (2013), a report prepared at the request of the European Commission by the European Services Network (ESN) and the Migration Policy Group (MPG), "Using EU Indicators of Immigrant Integration" (and based on research conducted by the Free University of Brussels (ULB) and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) in Vienna reconfirmed both the relevance and usefulness of the Zaragoza indicators and the reliability of the main sources for the calculation of integration indicators EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS), EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment-(PISA). In the last part, the Report takes the existing national and European indicators as a starting point and presents different options that reflect the different ways in which indicators could be used to understand national contexts, evaluate policy outcomes and improve integration.

In July 2015, the European Commission, together with the OECD, published the first comprehensive international comparison of all EU and OECD countries on the results obtained through 27 indicators organised in five areas: employment, education and skills, social inclusion, civic commitment and social cohesion. It also included a focus on two specific groups: the second and subsequent generations, whose results are often seen as the reference point for assessing the success or failure of integration,

and third-country nationals in the European Union, who are the objective of the EU's integration policy. For the first time, the "Zaragoza indicators" were analysed for all EU countries, together with additional indicators of integration: in this way policy makers could compare the results in their own country with those of other countries, see aspects of integration that often national data do not capture and compare trends between countries. The Zaragoza indicators to measure the employment of migrants are: unemployment rate, employment rate and activity rate. To these the report adds: self-employment, over-qualification rate, fixed-term work, part-time employment and long-term unemployment. All data based on the labour force survey (LFS). As for health, to the "self-perceived health" of Zaragoza has been added: unmet need for self-reporting for medical treatment, life expectation and years of healthy life. Scholastic training, as a measure of the integration of migrants, is currently assessed using the following available Zaragoza indicators: highest level of education, share of 30-34-year-olds with tertiary education level, percentage of young people who leave education and training prematurely. To these indicators, based on the annual LFS data collection, there are also two additional LFS indicators: lifelong learning, number of NEETs (Not in Education, Employment or Training). Regarding the analysis of social inclusion, it is carried out both through the existing Zaragoza indicators (median net income, people at risk of poverty or social exclusion, poverty risk rate, private property) and with a series of further proposed indicators, such as: child poverty, excessive accommodation costs, overcrowding, risk of working poverty, risk of persistent poverty. EUROSTAT also proposes two possible additional indicators: severe material deprivation rate, people living in families with very low labour intensity. The indicators of social inclusion for the integration of migrants are all based on the EU-SILC survey. Finally, two Zaragoza indicators are dedicated to the evaluation of active citizenship: naturalisation rate and the rate of long-term residence. Data analysis in the articles on the integration of migrants are performed by country of birth (COB) or country of citizenship (COC), based on data availability and reliability.

The most structured and complex attempt - as well as the most cited model for measuring migrant integration - dates back to 2004 (with several successive editions, until 2015) and was promoted by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group in Brussels: the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), based on a review of policy actions pursued by different governments in a wide range of areas. It is quite a broad and complex system of indicators, related to integration policies pursued by European countries (and, in recent editions, by a growing number of non-European countries), whose legislation and action are codified by an expert for each country. The information collected is used to produce a system of indicators, each of which allow measurement of the position of each individual country in a given policy field, as well as compared to other countries, against an abstract scale 0-100, where 100 represents a "perfectly integrative" policy. In 2004 there were 100 indicators in 5 sectors (inclusion in the labour market, family reunification, long-term residence, access to citizenship and anti-discrimination); in 2007 (MIPEX II) the indicators had become 140 in 6 sectors (the five precedents plus one relating to the Political Participation of resident immigrants); with MIPEX III (2011), the countries involved increased (besides the EU27 also Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Serbia, South Korea and the USA), the number of indicators (148) and the sectors (became 7 with the addition of that of Education). In the latest version available, that of 2015, the indicators have become 167, the countries involved 38 and sectors 8 (with the latest addition of Health).

More recently (2017), finally, EU migrant integration provides an overview of EU statistics on the integration of migrants, presented in terms of employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship in the host country and aimed at providing policy makers with reliable and comparable statistical information to achieve appropriate and targeted information decisions.

### **Italy**

In Italy, the debate on the choice of integration indicators started with the Commission for immigrant integration policies at the end of the 1990s (Golini, 2010), which identified four dimensions: demographic characteristics, relations with the community of origin and acceptance, inclusion in the school system and in the working system and living conditions<sup>19</sup>.

In more recent years, CARITAS/Migrantes has become one of the reference subjects for data on immigration in Italy. The Report on Immigrant Integration Indexes in Italy (CARITAS/Migrantes, 2012), elaborated on behalf of CNEL and based on administrative sources, was initially based on the characteristics of the territories and foreign communities while, in recent editions, it has also envisaged some indicators to capture the differences between natives and immigrants, identifying integration with reduction of the gap between the resources and the opportunities available to individuals and families of the two communities.

In the CNEL Report the choice is to focus on the structural component of socio-economic and legal integration; in fact, it provides a set of indicators referring to three areas, subsequently used to construct three synthetic indexes. The first area is called territorial attractiveness and consists mainly of indicators relating to the size and characteristics of the foreign population in the different provinces. The second area, called social inclusion, is made up of indicators that measure the access of immigrants to certain goods and services and the degree of achievement of a permanent residence permit. The third, called job placement, groups together some indicators related to participation in the labour market and income from work. On the basis of the data obtained, integration is not directly measured but the Italian provinces are assigned a greater or lesser integrative potential.

The ISMU Foundation in Milan has developed the so-called “integrometer”, which is characterised by the attempt to develop integration indicators based on survey data. Using a specific sampling technique, the data are collected directly by the foundation using a specially designed questionnaire (Cesareo & Blangiardo, 2009), which provides a system of 21 indicators, summarised by four indices related to cultural, social, political and economic integration.

At a lower level of generality there is the reception and social integration service of the Emilia-Romagna Region, which has developed its own system of indicators, called “integration dashboard”, mainly using aggregate data obtained from administrative sources. It is built by distinguishing four integration processes, each referring to a social sphere: economic integration, political integration, social integration and cultural integration. The indicators selected refer to some elements relevant to the foreign population: the acquisition of long-term and stable legal residence permits (4 indicators), participation in the school system and the acquisition of linguistic requirements for a long-term residence permit (5 indicators), job placement (5 indicators) and access to social services (10 indicators). These are accompanied by a second system of indicators, aimed at measuring inequalities between immigrants and locals (Stuppini, 2011). These four areas are distinguished in 10 specific dimensions, to which variable numbers of indicators refer: demographic structure and reproductive behaviour (5 indicators), social structure (1 indicator), geographical structure (1 indicator), relations with the country of origin (2 indicators), relations with the ethnic group of origin and with other groups (2 indicators), relations with the host country (4 indicators), first and second generation employment outcomes (3 indicators), employment (5 indicators), housing and urban segregation (5 indicators), consumption (1 indicator), health (3 indicators) and deviance (1 indicator).

### 3. Discussion and Conclusions

The rapid review carried out so far clearly shows that there are still many open questions in the attempt to reach a goal as ambitious as it is problematic, such as measuring the integration of immigrants. The complexity of the phenomenon, object of indirect measurement (dimensions - indicators - data - synthetic index) makes it possible to detect only some of its aspects, without expecting to reach its full extent, also because of an awareness of the existence of a large gap between formal and substantial integration.

Moreover, the same indicator can change meaning if applied to different communities, as the case of the Chinese community clearly demonstrates. Indeed, if as a sign of its integration, the rate of territorial concentration was used, we could obtain a false datum because this community has a strong contiguity between residence and work place, as well as a clear prevalence of mono-ethnic firms. Therefore, it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of the characteristics of the communities studied to be able to interpret data correctly. This draws attention to the need to refine the

administrative data collection systems, perhaps even by encouraging the creation of sample surveys on the territories to deepen subjective and perception aspects.

Faced with these problems, however, some positive aspects must also be recognised. First of all, the decisive and significant improvement of the measurement process achieved in recent years, which has allowed - in any case - to have an agreed set of indicators available which, although perfectible, allows monitoring of certain trends and dynamics in a transversal manner and representing, without doubt, a useful, common and shared starting point.

This was also possible for the improvement of the national statistical systems and, consequently, of EUROSTAT. An improvement also due to a greater comparability of migratory situations. The passing of time, in fact, has made migration paths more similar in the different national realities and if previously - for example - the question of the second generations was only posed in the countries of the most ancient immigration (often former colonial), today it is also a reality in the countries of more recent immigrations. In this way, the data sources, the categories detected, the available information have become increasingly comparable, even if there remain some problems related to the fact that, however, migration policies remain decided at national level and, consequently, are quite diversified. Lastly, as a positive sign, it is also the commitment of other international organisations to select and analyse indicators for the integration of immigrants and their children (for example, the OECD and the UNECE).

So how do you answer the initial question? Is it possible to give a satisfactory answer or rather can we just attest that the level of integration will be different from the considered dimension (work, language), without however arriving at an overall assessment of that subject's integration?

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## Notes

At least until the early seventies, the term "integration" was rarely used in reference to the long-term effects of migratory flows, if not - in part - in the academic sphere. For example, one of the classic authors of sociology, Talcott Parsons, deals with the analysis of ethnic relations and migratory flows, but uses only the term "inclusion" (Parsons, 1961, 1971). In particular, in a less well-known essay on the question of the "full citizenship" of black Americans in US society, the American sociologist - often accused of conservatism and conformism - outlines the realisation of the social rights of an ethnic group (black Americans, whose skin colour was considered "a symbol of inferiority, making even the belonging to the system" (Belvisi, 2012, p.109) the only way to reach effective inclusion, i.e. the full and real enjoyment of citizenship rights. Only thanks to the recognition of social rights will a minority group obtain the financial resources and the abilities to use them effectively in order to definitively overcome discrimination and enjoy civil and political rights. In essence, the full realisation of a democratic citizenship passes through the recognition of the right to the difference of groups and minorities. The inclusion desired by Parsons does not coincide at all, therefore, with an assimilation, rather it represents a "pluralist" solution to the problem of integration: "full inclusion and participation in a multiplicity of roles are compatible with the maintenance of an ethnic and/or distinctive religious identity (...) which implies full participation, combined with the maintenance of identity" (Parsons, 1971 p. 121 and 160).

<sup>2</sup>This implies that interactions between foreign and native populations also do not follow a fixed and replicable pattern. For example, studies on different immigrant populations have led to identification of different types of relationships that can be established with the indigenous community: in the case of the Chinese, the term "silent immigration" has been coined (Campani, Carchedi, Tassinari, 1994); in that of Peruvians, Eritreans, Filipinos of "subaltern integration" (Ambrosini, Lodigiani, Zandrini, 1995); for the Senegalese we find "non-conflictual community immigration" (Marchetti, 1994).

<sup>3</sup>The reference is to the Chicago School and one of its leading exponents, Robert Park. If the scholar defined "marginal man" as the one who, on entering a new society, must first face a process of psychological disorganisation and then re-organisation in line with the new context, the school of Chicago identified a process similar to the urban level, with an initial concentration of immigrants in separate neighbourhoods, later left and occupied by new immigrants.

<sup>4</sup>In the latter direction goes the definition of Natale & Strozza (1997): a "process of confrontation and exchange of values, standards of life and patterns of behaviour between the immigrant population and the host society". Likewise, Zincone (2000): "integration as respect for the integrity of the person and as a construction of relationships that are not too conflicting between nationals, immigrants and new minorities". In Italy, the Presidential Decree of 5 August 1998 which established the Integration Commission adopts the following definition: "a process of non-discrimination and inclusion of differences, in the constant and daily attempt to hold together universal principles and particularisms, which prevents situations of marginalisation, fragmentation and ghettoisation that threatens balance and social cohesion and affirms universal principles such as the value of human life, the dignity of the person, the recognition of female freedom, the valorisation and protection of children, on which derogations cannot be granted, not even in the name of the value of the difference" (Article 40), attesting the impossibility of accepting certain practices of the cultures of origin of the immigrant

population that are configured as real obstacles to integration. In the name of recognition of common and universal principles, Rusconi proposes to base civil coexistence on a principle of secularism rather than multiculturalism, for which solidarity does not become tolerance but on a mutual bond based on principles, rules, common values that “prescind from particular cultural roots” (Rusconi, 2000, p. 60).  
 5f. Smelser & Alexander, 1999. Moreover, in the American case, many of the most obvious manifestations of cultural diversity are heritage of the first generations, while already in the latter they assume a strongly Americanised character (Gans, 1997). In Europe, the first wave of migration lived in a very private way its traditions (from food to religion, from clothing to language) compared to the often more decisive requests for recognition advanced by the second generations. In fact, if the parents took refuge, seeking comfort and support, in the ethnic-national community, without needing to become an interlocutor of the city policies, their children - Italians in language, in studies, in friendships - want to be more present and active in civil life.

6Furthermore, it seems interesting to note that, as Portes points out (1993), paradoxically, by virtue of the broad social mobility allowed by the economic reawakening after World War II, integration was faster for the descendants of immigration than had taken place before the 1920s, despite having maintained significant cultural differences. Today, however, the difficult economic situation offers fewer opportunities for individuals who appear to be more assimilated from a cultural point of view (Portes, Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, Portes, 2001).

7France, in reality, recently revised the original model in the wake of the tensions that erupted in the suburbs. The reforms of 2003 and 2006, indeed, enacted more restrictive rules, especially regarding knowledge of the language, the acceptance of republican values and the acquisition of citizenship through marriage.

8Germany, with the unification of the nineties and the migratory flow from the former Yugoslavia, softened the *jus sanguinis* in 1990 and 1993 and the socialist and green government of 1998 foresaw the introduction of *jus soli* and dual citizenship. The Christian democratic opposition, however, rode popular hostility to immigrants and forced Schröder to a hybrid solution, where dual citizenship was severely restricted.

9At different times, Tony Blair (in 2005), Angela Merkel (in 2010) and David Cameron (in 2011) all affirmed that integration strategies due to multiculturalism - where applied - had “failed”, sometimes even becoming a harbinger of “tragedies”. The criticism of the multicultural vision is to support the different cultures as pieces of a puzzle or a mosaic, but without fostering an effective exchange or dialogue. It is not enough to accept diversity but we must also deal with it: the perspective of inter-culture goes in this direction.

10In the current political debate - in the wake of Jean-Claude Juncker’s speech on 9<sup>th</sup> June 2015, at the European Parliament on the immigration emergency - a sort of distinction is being made between “good” migrants and “bad” migrants, so the so-called “economic migrants” who move to seek work and a better life are to be rejected, while refugees - escaping from war and life-threatening situations - are the only ones to welcome, in line with the recent trend of the debate, which also sees humanitarian and family motivations prevail (Scialdone, 2018). In reality, this distinction, introduced by the push/pull theory of Egon Kunz, in 1973, today appears to be a mere rhetorical device that shows the inability at European and global level to manage flows. At the same time, the most recent debate also sees humanitarian and family motivations prevailing (Scialdone, 2018; Pomponi, 2018).

11In fact, despite the declared multi-dimensional emphasis and the evident complexity of the concept of integration, almost all the systems of indicators proposed in the various European countries are mainly focused on the dimension of socio-economic integration while the socio-cultural one is the less detailed area (see also Laurano, 2004).

12Until the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam was signed, the European Commission had limited itself to promoting studies and debates on the issue of the integration of migrants. In 2003, in a specific communication, it finally identified six specific areas of intervention: participation in the labour market, inclusion in the education system and language learning, policies for the home and urban environments, access to social and health services, promotion of social and cultural environment and issues related to “nationality/citizenship, civic integration and respect for diversity”. The intervention

went in the direction of elaborating a policy to formalise the presence of immigrants, fight discrimination and recognise rights. Starting from 2004, a Common Agenda for Integration was adopted referring to the period 2005-2010, pioneering the next European Pact on Immigration and Asylum in 2008.

<sup>15</sup>Another problem encountered in defining common indicators concerns the same migratory situation, which appears very different from country to country: for example, in Northern Europe, the focus is on the difficulties of immigrants to enter the formal labour market, even for what this implies with respect to the consequences in the welfare support system. In Southern Europe, on the other hand, where the foreign labour force has employment rates that are even higher than those of the natives and where welfare subsidies and support are increasingly absent, the greatest concerns derive from the phenomena of deviance and crime.

<sup>14</sup>This poses at least two orders of problems. The first is that in the construction of derivation relationships (fertility rates, crime, etc.) the numerator and the denominator can refer to different collectives; the second that, being able to refer to the three different segments and being able to distinguish for immigrant communities, one could obtain very different, if not overwhelming, results. Most of the analysis, however, refers to the central one, for which it is easier to gather data.

<sup>15</sup>The greater interest in sampling surveys has also led to an improvement in the collection and storage of data. In general, two strategies were compared: a so-called traditional one, which is based on the use of aggregate data related to the foreign population for different territorial contexts and coming from a plurality of sources. The second, more consolidated at Community level, proposes to build a system of indicators starting from large sample surveys, which systematically provide information at the individual level both on the indigenous population and on the immigrant population. Recently, the Forum on Migration Statistics (OECD, January 2018) entitled *Improving data for safe, orderly and regular migration* drew the attention of national statistical agencies and institutes, also in view of the Global Compact for Migration, and on the need to “improve the quality of data on immigration from the censuses, sample surveys and national administrative sources, both on the commitment to the search for innovative solutions for sharing information and exploiting the information potential of the huge archives of available data, by now, on a planetary scale, big data” (Pomponi, 2018, p. 3).

<sup>16</sup>The following report, *Migrants in Europe. A statistical portrait of the first and second generation* of 2011, examines a wide range of characteristics of migrants living in the European Union and in the EFTA countries, distinguishing those born abroad, foreign citizens and the second generation. It analyses both the socio-economic aspects of migrants (labour market, income distribution and poverty), and the elements linked to the migration choice (such as, for example, the reason for migration and the duration of residence). Finally, in the last part, the situation of migrants is compared to that of the non-migrant reference population. Cf. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/5727749/KS-31-10-539-EN.PDF/bcf27a60-7016-4fec-98c5-e8488491ebbd>.

<sup>17</sup>The use of data from EU-LFS and EU-SILC, as well as from various Eurobarometer surveys and the like, appears extremely advantageous for the comparability that it allows. However, for both types of data (administrative sources and surveys) there are some important limitations, which concern: the coverage of migrant populations (from which particular categories of migrants remain excluded, such as recently arrived subjects and families living in community and institutions); the high risk of having no response from the migrant population (due to both linguistic difficulties and distrust and fear); the difficulty of reaching the minority migrant groups; the underestimation of the number of COC and COB migrants, since in the EU-SILC this type of information is collected only for those aged 16 and over. Regarding administrative data, the main problem is related to the comparability of data used to estimate indicators of integration of migrants since the sources of administrative data are not harmonised and there are variations in methods and definitions (for example, some countries produce estimates for the missing answers, while others leave the data untreated).

<sup>18</sup>The 2014 Ministerial Conference on Integration in Milan also reiterated the importance of ensuring a reliable statistical basis for integration indicators, promoting the use of homogeneous data sets between member states.

<sup>19</sup>As Pomponi notes (2018), this model of indicators represents “an experimental prototype, intended, rather than for an immediate and effective use, to highlight above all the role of the sources, their shortcomings or inadequacy” (p. 4), not containing - for example - data on housing, income or consumption.

# Collective action and communication. Intercultural media in Italy

Andrea Villa

## 1. Introduction

We can situate the contents of this paper in the field of Sociology of Cultural and Communicative Processes. Here, we present the results of a research concerning an innovative phenomenology for Italy: intercultural media. In our definition, intercultural media represent a communicative environment produced by social subjects. They contain an ability to overcome cultural differences, a common initiative, a recognition, or a negotiation, between different points of view of the same public sphere (Villa, 2012).

In this framework, we have verified three hypotheses. The first consists in the fact that - in the Italian context - intercultural relations exist before the technologically mediated communication. The second hypothesis represents the fact that the collective subject, protagonist of intercultural relations, builds the platform, revealing media skills and therefore realizing a participation not only dependent on the processes and infrastructures of communication. These initial hypotheses represent a substantial difference compared to international research on intercultural media, since in these latter technologies are studied as an independent variable, as a communicative environment within which the intercultural relationship develops and grows (Chen, 2012; Lazar, 2012; Shuter, 2012a; Shuter, 2012b; Shuter, Kurylo, 2015; Shuter, 2017). Instead, here we observe intercultural relations concretely experienced within aggregations belonging to Italian society. In different scenarios (Villa, 2013), subjects use communication, build their own platform, to explicitly publicize their social identity, practices, objectives and then produce aggregation and participation.

The third hypothesis concerns the content of sense produced, within which it is possible to verify two typical processes of the construction of the identity of a collective subject: on the one hand the "subjectivation", as expressed in Alain Touraine's work (1997; 1998; 2003; 2008; 2017); on the other, "identization", as expressed in Alberto Melucci's work (1982; 1990; 1996; 2000). In the first case, the subject refers to himself and to the values that define him, with particular regard to the rights that found and concretize human dignity; in the second case, the process of constructing a collective action foresees - first of all - the definition of needs, both material and/or cultural, within a defined network of relationships. Obviously, these are theoretical nuances where one process does not exclude the other.

## 2. Method

We have investigated Italian intercultural media through a quantitative approach. It is a survey performed on browsers, using a tested set of initial keywords, implemented with related words and links. It is not a census, it is not a statistic sample. We can call it "background research" (Villa, 2017). The phenomenon in question has been analytically divided into three sociologically relevant dimensions: the subjects; the technology; the meaning content produced by subjects. Each dimension contains a set of variables. The survey has carried out on paper format, before proceeding with the coding of the variables on the Excell board. We made three surveys in three different years: 2016; 2017; 2018. We found 354 units responding to the operational definition of intercultural medium. In 84% of cases, intercultural relations have concretely lived beyond Information Communication Technologies (ICT). The intercultural subject exists on the territory and uses ICT as a form of collective action. Here, we present the latest data in monivariate form.

## 3. Findings

Then, we have three dimensions that characterize the object "intercultural media". Among the variables related to the subject dimension, we have "the type of subjects in relation", "the type of social

aggregation" and "the context of communicative action" (3.1). Among the variables related to the technological dimension, we have the "prevailing format", "content update", "cross-mediality" and the "type of social network used" (3.2). Among the variables connected to the content, we have "the explication of a cultural identity", the "typology of values expressed", the "typology of rights" and the "typology of needs" (3.3).

### 3.1 The subject dimension

With first table we describe the type of intercultural relation observed in each unit of analysis.

Table 1.

Relation	%	Frequency
Autochthonous/foreigners	64	226
Foreigners X/foreigners Y	17	60
Native adults/second generations	10	36
Young autochthonous/second generations	5	18
Second gen. X/second gen. Y	4	14
Total	100	354

We have considered that the intercultural relation underlying the medium can be arranged according to different figurations, all united by the use of the Italian language: between native adults and adult migrants, who may be foreigners or acquired citizens (64%); between adult migrants belonging to different ethnicities/nationalities (17%); between "second generations", also belonging to different ethnicities/nationalities (4%); between young people, considered transversally (Italian and not, 5%); and finally between native adults and young people of various ethnic/national backgrounds (10%).

Table 2.

Social aggregation	%	Frequency
Associations	43	152
Small groups	29	103
Institutions	19	67
Movements	9	32
Total	100	354

In the variable "social aggregation" we have four modalities: the small group of people (29%) refers to those realities where the intercultural communication and the creation of media content is produced by a minimal aggregation in numerical terms, as for example in the case of an editorial board or a group of artists; movements (9%) represent those segments of collective action directed towards common goals, whose aggregation modality from below has a level of organization that is not formalized within institutional rules and canons; for associations (43%) we mean aggregations voluntarily constituted by the base, established according to the law and which for various reasons we usually identify with the "third sector"; for institutions (19%) we mean instead all those actors constituted within the formal functions that mostly emanate from the Public Administration (local authorities, schools), although other types like labour unions, are not excluded.

Table 3.

Context of communicative action	%	Frequency
Civic/politic	28	99

Pedagogical	21	74
Informative/journalistic	20	71
Intellectual/artistic	19	67
Solidaristic	11	39
Ecumenical/religious	1	4
Total	100	354

The variable "context of communicative action" identifies the social situation within which or to which communicative action has directed. We have six modalities: the informative/journalistic sphere (20%); the artistic and/or intellectual field (19%), characterized by a more extensive deepening with respect to the dissemination of news; the political/civic sphere (28%), functional to the definition of people's problems and (in some cases) to the possible claim; an ecumenical/religious area (1%), where there are practices featured exclusively by the community of faith; solidaristic, when communication is the reflection of practices concretely linked to help/assistance; and finally the pedagogical field (21%), referring to all projects and initiatives (scholastic and extracurricular) that, through the production of media platforms, assume a public visibility.

### 3.2 The technological dimension

Once we have considered the main characteristics of the protagonists, we have studied some elements that characterize the type of technological environment observed, predisposing a series of variables that directly deal with the ability of the subjects to produce their own platform. We made a selection opting for the presentation of most significant variables: the "prevailing format", "content update", "cross-mediality" and the "type of social network used" over the self-produced medium.

Tab. 4

Prevailing format	%	Frequency
Site	37	131
Polyvalent	18	64
Journal	12	41
Archive	11	38
Forum/Meet up/Chat	10	35
Radio	7	25
TV	5	20
Total	100	354

The variable "prevailing format" indicates whether there is a type of medium that constitutes the center of communicative investment. We have seven types: the web-magazine (12%); the web-tv (5%); the web-radio (7%); the site (37%), to be considered as a static communication environment; the forum/meet up/chat (10%); the mere archive of contents and information (11%); and finally the type called polyvalent, within which the heterogeneity of formats and usable content is such as not to allow the clear identification of a prevailing medium (18%).

The content update appears frequently in 57% of cases and daily in 14%. In 28.3% the content update is extremely rare. Cross-mediality - the ability to converge more formats and more channels - is a distinctive feature of contemporary communication, including intercultural media. We have observed three ways: a cross-media aimed mostly at the use of traditional media (40.8%); a cross-media addressed exclusively to social networks (9.7%); or bivalent, through the convergence between traditional media and social networks (49.5%). We have therefore observed the most used types of social networks, detecting up to three for each unit of analysis. Here, we aggregate the data. Social

networks are, in descending order: Facebook at 40%; Twitter at 31%; Youtube at 14%; Google+ at 7%; LinkedIn at 4% and after the other more marginal types.

### 3.3 The content dimension

From a methodological point of view, data collection has forced the researcher to observe the dimension of the content - the one that involves our senses - last. We have decided to proceed in this way also for the presentation of data. It is in the dimension of the content that we control the most important theoretical assumptions of the research. After having verified the modalities through which an intercultural identity has made explicit (Table 5), we verify if the conditions of "subjectivation" exist, as expressed in Touraine's work, and we verify if the "identization" conditions exist, as expressed in the Melucci's work. As we have argued, in the first case the subject refers to himself and to values, in particular the rights that found human dignity (Table 6). In the second case, the process of building a collective identity involves, first of all, the definition of needs, both material and/or cultural. We must remember that a theoretical approach does not exclude the other. We can now affirm that the shared definition of needs is a necessary condition for the occurrence of a reference to rights.

Tab. 5

<b>Intercultural identity is expressed through...</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Statute/regulation	32	95
Editorial mission	24	71
Autobiographic	24	71
Goals	20	60
Total	100	297

In 84% of the cases detected (297 units) the attempt to construct an intercultural identity is declared. How has it revealed? Intercultural identity has represented in four ways typical of web communication: through a statute / regulation (32%); through the clarification of an editorial mission (24%); by means of an autobiographical page, often called "who we are" (24%); or through a simpler manifestation of intent (20%).

Tab. 6

<b>Type of values</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Rights	36	112
Beliefs	24	75
Both of them	28	87
Not any	12	38
Total	100	312

The reference to values is evident in 88% of cases (312 units). The variable "typology of values" has four modalities: in 36% of cases it is an appeal to rights; in 28% of the cases the appeal to rights is associated with adherence to beliefs (ideological, religious, etc.); in 24% of cases these are just beliefs. Thus, aggregating the two ways in which the appeal to rights is evident, 64% of the total is reached. In this 64% the rights that are most frequently evoked are those attributable to migration policies, equality/citizenship and socio-economic situations that can be defined as contingents.

In almost all of the cases detected (96.7%), the definition of needs appeared evident. We have distinguished material needs from immaterial needs. This is important because the will to organize within intercultural relations is a cultural need, corroborated by the various objectives/contexts within which the relationship takes shape (informative, intellectual/artistic, pedagogical, etc.). Therefore, it

appears evident that the definition of the needs of a collective subject should not be exclusively material. Mere assistance, instrumental and material, does not seem to be a sufficient condition to observe a mature intercultural relationship. In fact, the needs defined within relationships and intercultural media are solely material in only 5% of cases. While the exclusively cultural needs are significant in 42% of cases. However, the most significant portion (54%) is "both", an obvious reflection of the demands and incisive role that the third sector plays in providing various types of services.

#### 4. Discussion

In this paper, there is a synthesis between media studies and the culturalist theory of collective action (Touraine, Melucci). We have investigated the phenomenon of intercultural media within a three-dimensional perspective, considering all the dimensions of analysis that have a sociological meaning: the subjects involved, the technology applied, the content produced and published. The quantitative approach should provide a sufficiently comprehensive overview of this phenomenon. It is not a definitive arrival point. This approach turns on a light, highlights a phenomenon overlooked in Italy. Qualitative methods to verify specific characteristics will be indispensable.

The intercultural medium is not the sign of a dependent participation in the processes of communication. There are collective subjects that produce platforms, formats and contents, in a substantially autonomous way. Thus, we propose a sociology of communicative action. What we have observed, in summary, is a planetarium within which individual stars and constellations of various shapes and sizes can coexist. A web-magazine, a web-TV, any media platform produced, for example, by a second-generation group, is certainly significant in terms of originality and communication skills. In this way, access to communication becomes an indicator of sprouts of civil coexistence. An important part of these media is static and consultative sites, mostly arising from the heterogeneous segment of the associations. However, we cannot forget that we also identified real territorial networks, where, starting from the social promotion of local institutions, there is a connection between all the realities operating in the territory. Many platforms stem from good school practices, where the management of all differences is daily bread. Many realities are attributable to movements for the defense of fundamental rights and for the recognition of citizenship: as in the case of the "G2 Network". In conclusion, we attended a segment of the social experience that is destined to acquire meaning in the near future. In these tools we have observed the construction of an innovative lexicon. New words, used to overcome differences, to deconstruct stereotypes in the name of free access to the means of communication. This pluralism defines a possible civil coexistence.

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# Socio-Spatial and Socio-Economic (Re)Organisation of Syrian Immigrants in Turkey

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**A Theoretical Introduction: Immigrant, Socio-Economic And Spatial Organisation And Syrians**  
Turkey is the most affected country from the mass migration movement from Syria (Şimşek and İçduygu, 2017:6) and in Turkey by the January 2019 the number of Syrian immigrants as part of “temporary protection” (Şimşek, 2017) has reached up to 3.636.617 ([www.goc.gov.tr](http://www.goc.gov.tr), 2019). With the interactions with urban, spatial and cultural elements in the destination points this migration has opened up economic and social different kinds of new problems as well as new opportunities for discussions. Immigrant population’s self-reproduction capacity is directly related to city’s demographic structure, its socio-economic potential, its conditions for employment, its industrial investment capacity, its physical conditions and its cultural dynamics. Obviously, “city as a place, space and ground of encounters” (Gültekin; 2019:170) is reproduced as a combination of new relationship patterns and sociality within the process of interactions between the migrants as actors and local daily life. Because the space/city that always indicates to reproduction and sociality (Castells, 2017; de Certeau, 2008; Harvey, 2010) is not stable and fixed but it is dynamic. The activities and the actions of actors force space to transform within the scope of advantages and disadvantages created by the space/city and they form their own autonomous areas. Lefebvre (2014:299) conceptualise this situation as “contradictory spaces”. The contradictory layers of space exist “together with their inclusions, with the strategies and tactics they promote”; “the contradictions of space encompass, presuppose, overlap” and “reproduce by expanding it” (Lefebvre, 2014:338). The habitus, economic, social and cultural capitals of migrants (as actors) creates new dynamics in the space with their strategies of articulation to the labour market; through the networks they are associated with; their experiences; and repeated routines. Relation to economic and spatial space is not only a new rational field of experience for both immigrants and locals, but re-organization experience is accompanied by the emotions. Looking at the issue from this point of view makes one be able to take into account the importance of the rational positioning efforts of the immigrants, the processes of interaction with locals/residents as well as the importance of the -limited- opportunities created by the locals/residents. In an attempt to reach the meaning of how immigrant’s association with local elements and with locals reflects in the interaction processes in everyday life, also brings together a necessity to examine the Syrian migrants’ struggle for being included within the labour market and urban life/space within the context of “liquid, changeable and fragile” (Gardiner, 2016:20-21) character of everyday life. This approach would also contribute to the development of institutional policies by providing different insights into the issue.

After all, while capital approaches the immigrant labour through market rationality, it develops its strategy through informal, precarious and low-wage employment. On the other side, immigrants’ qualifications are also decisive in getting a job while they try to be articulated in labour market by supplying their labour cheaply. As it can be easily seen from the different studies<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> that deepen the issue from this perspective, the effects of migration comprise different meanings depending on the actors of the process; on migrants’ rational positioning strategies; on the resources, opportunities and limitations which are currently produced by the space/city; dependently on the strategies and applicable policies that were developed through them. However, it should be noted that the employer is the main applicator of rationality through migrant, although multi decision-making mechanisms and multi actors are involved in the functioning of the process.

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\*\*\*\*\* Some of these important studies are Dedeoğlu, 2018; Lordoğlu ve Aslan, 2016; Akbaş ve Ünlütürk Ulutaş, 2018; Çoban, 2018; Şahankaya Adar, 2018; Korkmaz, 2018; Mutlu vd., 2018; Parlak, 2017; Koç vd., 2015 Ekiz Gökmen, 2018; Çınar, 2018

The flexible and insecure structure of the labour market deepens the competition conditions of the employees with the employees regardless of whether they are qualified or not. On the other hand, in terms of the accessibility to cheap labour force, migrant labour plays a functional role in generating the employer's profit and productivity conditions.

For the capital, it seems the most rational decision to choose the labour with the highest skill level and with the lowest cost, and while the employer is trying to evaluate the present conditions and make the most rational decision for himself, this rationality of capital results in the exploitation of immigrant labour. This situation indicates the function of migration which makes it possible for capital/employer to access the cheap(est) labour. On the other hand, the approach towards Syrian migrants and immigrant labour does not only comprise consistency by the actors of the process but also the differences in approaches and understandings does not comprise consistency and continuity. Their status of initially being “victims” and “sufferers” is followed by a transition process from the “guests” to the “residents”. Immigrants, at the same time, have the feeling of being *temporary* as they “feel themselves adscititious in everywhere [...] that is, someone who is already in space but not in space” (Bauman, 2000:101). In another dimension, the detachment of the immigrants from the social relation networks that they were once included in departure point and the abandonment of their positions doubles their disadvantageousness in destination point. This means that the migrants can only survive if they undertake heavy workloads on the unsecure ground of the labour market.

### **Methodology And The Findings**

Since it takes the forms of “temporariness-permanence”, “liquidity” and “transitivity”, the positions of Syrian migrants in Turkey affect their adaptations to the city and society and make the mobile ground more fragile for the migrants. When this situation is considered together with the legal status and work permits of Syrian migrants, it can be said that their lives become more partial, fragmental, unregulated and unpredictable. Although the regulation composes work permits for Syrian migrants in January 2016 ([www.resmigazete.gov.tr](http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr), 2016) is an important step in enabling Syrians to work legally (İçduygu, 2017:29), their uncertain legal status in the country still raises their disadvantageous position in labour market. The “uncertain legal status” of immigrants is accompanied by insecurity and flexibility in working life. For the migrants, however, the state of advantageousness and disadvantageousness are not stable either; the size, the capacity, opportunities and diversity of the urban economy are also determinative factors. Although the advantages and disadvantages created by the different economic and social structures of the cities for the migrants are important, it is also important to “keeping in mind the class and cultural backgrounds” (Gültekin, 2019:167) of migrants who have found/are trying to find a place in labour market. Therefore, migrants’ classes, cultural and economic capitals; language and different kinds of ethnic and cultural belonging; their rural or urban origins; their labour force qualifications; their educational levels (Lordoğlu and Aslan, 2016) should be considered/analysed together with the different socio-economic structures of the cities at the destination points. Because there is an interrelation between the space and, the actions and experiences of the actors who are active in the space/city. The activities of migrants who are “moving within the social networks” (Kaya, 2017:51) and trying to get a share from urban economic opportunities are mainly shaped in the frame of their potentials in order to attain to workforce market, and the characteristics of their formal and informal relationship networks. In this regard, it is important to organize the production of labour power and the organization of space according to the mechanisms that will make it effective in accordance with the new conditions.

Under these circumstances, changes in the status of Syrian immigrants (from people who flee from a civil war and will stay in Turkey temporarily to permanent residents); additionally, their production of strategies and resistance areas by making rational decisions in the labour market despite all the disadvantages that they had in Turkey makes the fieldwork area of this research an important field. It has become important to take a sample from the Konak district of İzmir called “Kadifekale” in order to examine the rational strategies and resistance points of the Syrian migrants in relation to the space -without neglecting the network relationship from sheltering to workplace- in addition to the examination of socio-economic and socio-spatial dynamics. Kadifekale has an intensive immigrant

population particularly with the Arabic and Kurdish ethnicities who migrated years ago from the city of Mardin in Turkey. After 2011, migrants from Syria with the same (Kurdish and Arabic) ethnicities have begun to settle in this district. Therefore, this study started with the question of whether the settlements of Syrian migrants to come to this region was a coincidence, and as the research findings show that this migration contains some dynamics that go beyond just a coincidence. In the framework of this explanations, this study aims at examining the relationality between the locals, migrants and the space from its socio-spatial and socio-economic dimensions; and the social, spatial and economic reflections. For that purpose, in-depth interviews were carried out between April to May 2019 with 16 Syrian male migrants live in Kadifekale who accepted to take a part in the research. The findings obtained from interviews were categorized and analysed under the two main themes: (1) Spatial Fluidity, Rational Positioning and Relations/Interactions with the New one; (2) Access to the Labour Market: Articulation/Inability to Articulation.

### **Spatial Fluidity, Rational Positioning and Relations/Interactions with the New one**

Syrian migrants as the actors of the migration process are activated some rational mechanisms in terms of spatial fluidity. It is understood from the statements of the participants that their survival strategies, after crossing the Turkish border, were worked over a life-sustaining expectation that was based on rational decision-making mechanisms. As a matter of fact, the Syrian immigrants choose (with a rational decision) a place where the traditional collectivity can be maintained in order to find housing easily, to find jobs easily, to be integrated into the urban space easily and to benefit from traditional solidarity mechanisms when needed. This is reflected on participants' statements as: "***When the war started, I came to Izmir, to my son's house. I have been here for seven years [...] I live in Izmir because my son is here. [...] I love Izmir because I firstly came here. [...] I cannot live somewhere else; I love it here***" (Participant 2). "***We moved here because of the war and we are here for 6 years. [...] Our relatives live here. Therefore, we came here too. [...] I used to live here now***" (Participant 7).

Participants' statements show that they have quartered with their relatives in Izmir and developed the traditional solidarity as a strategy. This shows that in the post-migration period, Syrian migrants activated their subjectivities as in fact created rational resistance dynamics against the consequences of the war. Again, the Syrian migrants in Izmir settle mostly in Kadifekale where there is an intense population of the Kurdish and Arabic ethnicities of Turkey who migrated years ago from the city of Mardin which has border with Syria. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that Syrian migrants chose this place as a settlement point in Izmir. Because here there are other migrants to whom they can culturally connect with and speak the same language as well as having the same ethnic backgrounds.

Statements also show that the participants try to evaluate their present conditions in order to make the most rational decision for themselves in terms of where to settle in. However, the rational mechanisms in which the migrants try to create for themselves in the urban economy coincide with the effort of capital, which is quite fluid in today's world, to create mechanisms that will enable the production of labour power at minimum cost and the organization of space effectively. This situation becomes evident in migrants' experiences of accessing to the opportunities/resources/potentials offered by the city. The opportunities that the city provides and the features that make the city (Izmir) attractive for them are expressed by the participants with the discourses of "comfort", "cheap" and "job opportunities": "***We have been here for 3 years. [...] Because İzmir is so beautiful. [...] I am used to live here since I have a job here now***" (Participant 9); "***We have been here for 8 years. [...] We live in Kadifekale because it is cheap and nice to live here***" (Participant 14); "***I am here for 7 years. [...] It is cheap living here and you can find different works to earn money***" (Participant 16). The capacity of the migrants (who are increasingly distant from their hopes of returning to Syria) to integrate into the country and the city differs. It should be noted that it was interesting to see that none of the participants who felt themselves belong to Turkey had no plan to move back to Syria (after war is over) and it means that their intention was to live in Izmir even through their next generations. On the other side, the migrants who does not feel themselves belong to Turkey plan either to move to some countries in Europe or move back to Syria after the war is over. In their own words: "***Very nice living here, here is more comfortable. [...] We lost everything there, so no reason to go back, and don't want to. [...] I***

*can move and live everywhere in Europe except Syria*” (Participant 9); *“Turkey is nice, people are nice in here, but we have some difficulties because of the language problems. [...] I want to move back to Syria when/if the war is over, because it is my country, I feel belong there and love Syria. [...] I also may move to Sweden or Holland since my brothers live there”* (Participant 16).

When the interviews are evaluated as a whole it is seen that the rational positioning efforts of migrants are focused on minimizing the risks related to their uncertain legal status, uncertainty in Syria together with their involvement in informal labour market which is determined by precariousness and uncertainty. Their use of the rational decision-making mechanisms and effort to position themselves accordingly seem to only be possible by their conditions in Turkey are relatively stabilised. In the context of the preference of the place of migration, it is seen in the experiences of the migrants that rational decision mechanisms are determined on the basis of their own social networks, the quality of these networks and the opportunities they will provide to them. Therefore, it is obvious that the spatial mobility of migrants is shaped by the solidarity patterns of relatives and acquaintances as well as the economic opportunities that the city offers them. That was reflected on the participants experiences: *“We migrated to Mersin first, but could not find a job there. Therefore, later moved to Izmir. [...] There are many job opportunities here and it a cheap city to live in compared with Mersin”* (Participant 4); *“I have firstly migrated to Hatay and lived there for 4 months. Then moved to Izmir since there was job opportunities here. I prefer living here also because it is cheaper place to live in. [...] Thank Allah, we don't have any problems while living here. There are jobs to work too”* (Participant 5).

Participants' statements reveal that; migrants decide on the cities they prefer to live in relation to their main/basic needs. Job and employment opportunities and relatively cheaper living conditions are important. At this point, İzmir may be the reason of choice in terms of the relative cheapness of everyday life and the historically established cosmopolitan culture of the city. Cosmopolitan culture emerges as a reason for the migrant to prefer living in İzmir since it creates less adaptation problems for them. As mentioned above, also because, Kadifekale is a district that mainly consists of many Syrian migrants as well as Kurdish and Arabic origins of Turkish nationalities.

### **Access to the Labour Market: Articulation/Inability to Articulation**

It was reflected on the participants' statements that despite all the disadvantages of being the Syrian migrant and cannot prove any valid documents showing their job qualifications they prefer to live in a city that gives them the opportunity to do their jobs. Another point that draws attention here is that some of the Syrian migrants gathered in the same place where they equipped one room of the house with necessary equipment to carry out their professions that they had back in Syria. The fact that the work is carried out inside the house it gives them an opportunity to continue their jobs without providing any legal qualification documents and an opportunity to escape from paying taxes since their place of work is not registered as workplace. Especially professions such as hairdressing job is important for female Syrian migrants who have low spatial mobilization and are also more concerned with personal security and privacy. It is clear that the Syrian migrants' lack of economic capital or their very limited resources determines their dynamics of articulation to employment in the destination points. In their own words: *“I have found a job in shoe sector in Izmir, that was my occupation back in Syria too”* (Participant 10); *“I work in textile sector, because I always worked in textile”* (Participant 12); *“I am a hairdresser and do it in one room of the house”* (Participant 4). It shows that pre-migration accumulations and job experiences are transferred to the destination points and they determine the migrants' chance of entering the labour market. It is also seen from interviews that the characteristic/the quality of informal relations is one of the determinants in accessing the labour market. Findings show that the work done in Syria is reflected in the process of finding a job in İzmir via informal relationship networks including fellow countryman and relatives. They explained these experiences as: *“I found this job with the help of my friends and fellow countrymen. [...] Syrian acquaintances helped me finding it”* (Participant 5); *“My relatives came before me to Izmir helped me to find the job”* (Participant 7). From the narratives, it is seen that Syrian immigrants carry both their previous job experiences and the collective and informal networks of traditional society to their

destination points in the migration process and use this in a very rational way to get access to labour market.

Here it should be noted that the informal networks that are put into use in finding a job also determine the social positioning of space through the same informal dynamics. A new relationality emerges when the collective structure and informal relationship networks produced through traditional dynamics are combined with the dynamics of neo-liberal working conditions. In this process, where neo-liberal working conditions are valid, time flexibility, space flexibility and wage flexibility are effectively applied in order to maximise the profit. When the disadvantages of being an immigrant are added to the negative effects of neo-liberal working life, they constitute the cheapest labour force of the labour market. This situation creates differences in the wages and working conditions of local/native workers and Syrian migrants working in the same sector. Their disadvantaged positions and the conditions they had to accept for survival can turn into a strategy in the hands of the capital/employer. Participants were also aware of this exploitation as can be seen in some of their statements: *“They make us work harder but we are paid less”* (Participant 5); *“I work for less money. [...] I had no other option but to accept this wage. After all he gave me the job because of that”* (Participant 12). Immigrants, who cannot determine their working rights and bargaining conditions due to their legal status, expressed the base of their consent with the word of “obligation”. “Obligation” for the migrants means accepting what is offered to them in the informal sector with insecure, low wages and long working hours due to their uncertain legal status and lack of legal protections. The discourse of “obligation” is a condition of the immigrant’s survival and it is an expression of the deprivation of the means available to him. It is seen that some of the Syrian migrants who participated in the migration process in the early period and entered the labour market immediately, thus recognizing the market and assuring the employer through their qualifications, started after a certain time of period to receive the same amount of wage with the local workers.

The statements of the participants reveal that the type of their inclusions into the labour market should be considered on the grounds of flexible and precarious labour market conditions. By looking at the jobs they work and at their working conditions, it is clear that migrants try to hold on to the labour market by accepting long and hard-working hours with low wages as a result of their disadvantageous positions. Therefore, ‘uncertainty’, ‘unpredictability’ and ‘vulnerability’ seem to pursuant to describe the labour force positions of the Syrian migrants. Access to employment is almost only possible through the informal network and the individual efforts of the migrant.

## Conclusion

Migrant as an actor does not depend only on the present resources and relations in the destination point, but also has the capacity to produce new forms of relations, resources and his/her own space. The interaction and relationship patterns of the produced space are shaped according to the economic, cultural and social capitals possessed by the actors together with their ways of articulation to the prevailing social and economic structure of the city. On the other hand, Syrian migrants who deprived of economic capital develop (within their own circumstances) rational mechanisms in order to reduce the risks of uncertainty. Migrants who become one of the actors of urban economy can be able to carry out rational decision-making mechanisms and strategies, and adaption processes to urban life only after stabilising their basic conditions while living in Turkey. Effort of immigrants to stabilize their conditions partly on an unpredictable/slippery ground in destination point leads them to develop rational strategies in order to designate their spatial positionings and to enter into the working life. In addition, findings showed that the migrant labour is disadvantaged especially in the neo-liberal dynamics of working life in Turkey.

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# Characteristics Of Settlement Names In Serik (Antalya) District

Cemali Sari

## 1. Introduction

Toponymy is a branch of science that examines the special names of the places given (Vardar, 2002: 224). Toponymy, which started to develop as a sub-branch of the anthology in the West, was not only the subject of linguistics, but also attracted attention as an area of interest in different sciences such as history, sociology, anthropology, biology and geography. The names of the place where there are many factors in the giving constitute the first and most important stage of the settlement of a geography by the people settled there (Akar, 2006: 51). Because the names of places with a social and cultural structure of a society carry important clues about the historical background and geography characteristics of the place they are used to (Tunçel, 2000: 24).

Both the warmth coming from the summer and the coldness in winter make the living conditions easier or harder for different elevation steps. As elevating the higher altitudes the temperature decreases, unlike the temperature increases in winter times as the winter lowers. Therefore, climate events have played a big role in shaping the lives of humanity. The Turks spent their life at high altitudes in summer and at low altitudes in winter. In this sense, The Turks named the places depending on where they lived in winter such as (Kışlag) for winter barracks and (Yaylag) for where they spent their lives in summer. (Sarı, Tepeli, 2003: 489). Particularly, the lives of the Turks, ie the nomads, were shaped accordingly. Wherever they go, they have taken these lifestyles into consideration, and have kept the most appropriate places as their homeland. Anatolia in general, and in particular the Taurus are the most suitable places for this lifestyle.

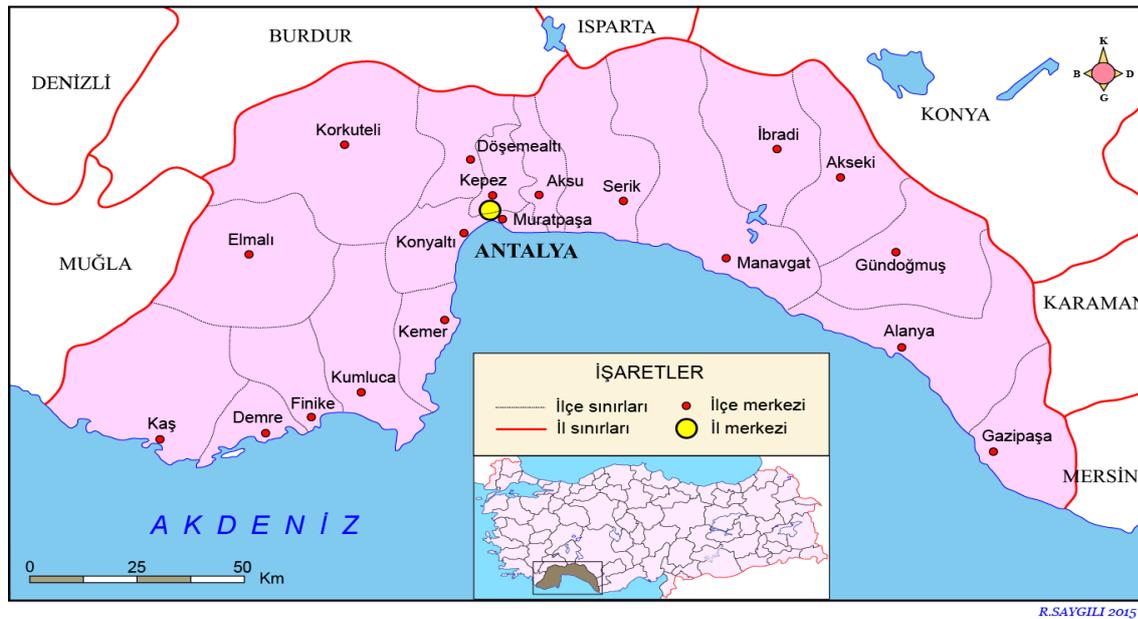
There were no nomads in Anatolia before the arrival of Turkish tribes. Turkish tribes were raising livestock together with their settled life. The continuation of lifestyle (nomadism), which is the necessity of Turkish tribes' adaptation to the Central Asian steppes, is also known as a situation due to the existence of a socioeconomic collapse stage of Anatolian history. Over time, these nomadic Turkish tribes preferred permanent life. In the 13th century, it is appropriate to divide the lifestyle of the Anatolian Turkish peasants into two parts as the majority of settlements around Central Anatolia-Sivas and Amasya, with nomadism in western Anatolia, south and southeast Anatolia regions as well as urban life. (Şahin, 2007: 192). Agricultural operations of highland livestock in Anatolia, in addition to being an economic management method specific to Turks, it is understood that the geographical areas of Anatolia are suitable for Turkmens.

Despite the centuries, the continuation of both traditional and changing the continuation of the nomadic life in Taurus makes the most appropriate to show that environment is important to spend winter and summer. (Sarı, Tepeli, 2012: 163). Because the Taurus is a whole microclimate area. With this climatic feature, the Taurus Mountains are therefore indispensable for human and economic activities.

In this study, the characteristics of settlement names in Serik district of Antalya Province will be discussed in order to reveal the importance of settlement names.

## 2. Place and Boundaries of the Research Area

The research area covers the cities, towns and villages within the governmental boundaries of the district of Serik in the eastern part of the Taurus Mountains east of Antalya. Burdur and Isparta provinces in the north, Manavgat in the east, Aksu (Antalya) districts are located in the west, the southern border is the Mediterranean (Map 1).



**Map 1.** Research Area Location Map

### 3. Purpose of the research

It is worth noting that people are influenced by some features while naming the places they live. This effect can be caused by a nature of the natural environment or it can be caused by a social reason. Because it is in the form of a natural and spontaneous process, it usually contains traces of old times. Thanks to this feature, they are important clues about the history and geography of the place. These features, which are hidden in a way, can be re-determined by the disciplines interested in place names. In this study, it is aimed to determine the geographical classification of the village<sup>22</sup> (center and rural neighborhood) and town names of Serik district.

### 4. Materials and Methods of Research

In this study, while “The Characteristics of the Settlement Names of Serik District” were explained, previous studies on the subject were reached. During the studies, support was received from public institutions and organizations and face-to-face interviews were conducted with the authorities in some organizations to reach the data. The morphological characteristics of the settlements in the area were determined by the 1/25000 scale topography maps and these features were correlated with the field studies.

### 5. Classification of Settlement Names in Serik District

It is important to point out place name as it is a source of information about the historical development of settlements on a site and the past situation of the geographical environment (Göney, 1977: 274). In other words, the location names, as well as history and ethnography studies settlement is closely related to geography studies to shed light on the history (Doğanay, 1994: 332). Location names are one of the important clues as they reveal important data about the condition of settlements in the past (Sarı, 2016: 343).

<sup>22</sup>Law no. 6360 on the establishment of the Metropolitan Municipality, Article 1, (3). The legal entity of the village and town municipalities located within the provincial boundaries of the provinces connected to the provinces has been abolished, the villages have been added to the neighborhood and the municipalities have joined the municipality of the district where they are attached as the only neighborhood. Official Gazette, 2012

## Characteristics Of Settlement Names In Serik (Antalya) District

The settlements in Turkey are generally evaluated under two headings as rural settlements and urban settlements. However, there are also settlements that are located between rural settlements and urban settlements. These settlements are called town settlements (Özçağlar, 1988: 22).

In the scope of the research, Serik district has a total of 67 settlements including 1 city, 9 towns, 8 centers and 49 rural neighborhoods (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Settlement Units and Population of the Research Area (2017)

SERİK <sup>23</sup> 122032	Abdurrahmanlar (1609) <sup>24</sup>	Çanakçı (336)	Kozağaç (1069)
	Akbaş (599) <sup>25</sup>	Çatallar (281)	Kozan (343)
	Akçaalan (8333) <sup>26</sup>	Demirciler (150)	Kökez (13343)
	Alacami (873)	Deniztepesi (955)	Kuşlar (246)
	Akçapınar (473)	Dikmen (609)	Kürüş (1508)
	Aşağıçatma 194	Dorumlar (346)	Merkez mahalle (13808)
	Aşağıkocayatak (1345)	Eminceler (563)	Nebiler (431)
	Aşağıoba (721)	Eskiyörük (641)	Ortamahalle (11771)
	Belek (7740)	Etler (604)	Pınarcık (741)
	Belkıs (1624)	Gebiz (2233)	Sarıabalı (1071)
	Belpınar (954)	Gedik (1177)	Şatırlar (1056)
	Berendi (225)	Gökçepınar (222)	Tekke (861)
	Bilginler (497)	Hacıosmanlar (267)	Töngüşlü (774)
	Boğazkent (313) <sup>1</sup>	Hasdümen (217)	Üründü (770)
	Bozdoğan (137)	Haskızılören (429)	Yenimahalle (7299)
	Bucakköy (247)	Haspınar (159)	Yanköy (747)
	Büğüş (447)	Kadriye (7495)	Yeşilvadi (143)
	Burmahancı 1094	Karadayı (2146)	Yeşilyurt (543)
	Cumalı (2116)	Karataş (268)	Yukarıkocayatak (331) <sup>4</sup>
	Cumhuriyet (4695)	Karınçalı (286)	Yukarıçatma (255)
Çakallık (1589)	Kayaburnu (832)	Yumaklar (685)	
Çandır (1819)	Kırbaş (176)	Zırlankaya (400)	

Serik is the only settlement in the city in this sense. Abdurrahmanlar, Belek, Belkıs, Çandır, Gebiz, Kadriye, Karadayı, Yukarıkocayatak show similar characteristics to town features. There is no municipal organized settlement outside the district centers. The presence of settlements units scattered around each corner of the research area, such as sand grains in a wide range from coastal to mountainous areas, is the most important indicator of the existence of a human activity area within the settlement of Serik district from past to present. The region has a continuous population even though the types of economic activity have changed over time.

67.032 inhabitants live in 67 settlements in the research area (TUIK, 2016 Address-Based Population Census (ADNS) data), (Table 1).

Serik is the most populated settlement of the research area. Kadriye (7.495 people) has the highest population and Abdurrahmanlar (1.609 people) has the least population. The most populated settlements in the central neighborhoods are Merkezmahalle (13808 people) and the least populated settlement is Belpınar (954). The highest population in the rural neighborhoods is Çakallı (1,589

<sup>1</sup> City

<sup>2</sup> Town

<sup>3</sup> Rural Neighborhood

<sup>4</sup> Central Neighborhood

people) and the least populated settlement is Bozdoğan (137). The favorable climatic conditions of the coastal region have caused sectoral diversity in the economy such as agriculture and tourism and thus accelerated the population accumulation process of the towns and neighborhoods in the coastal regions. However, the coastline still has an important population.

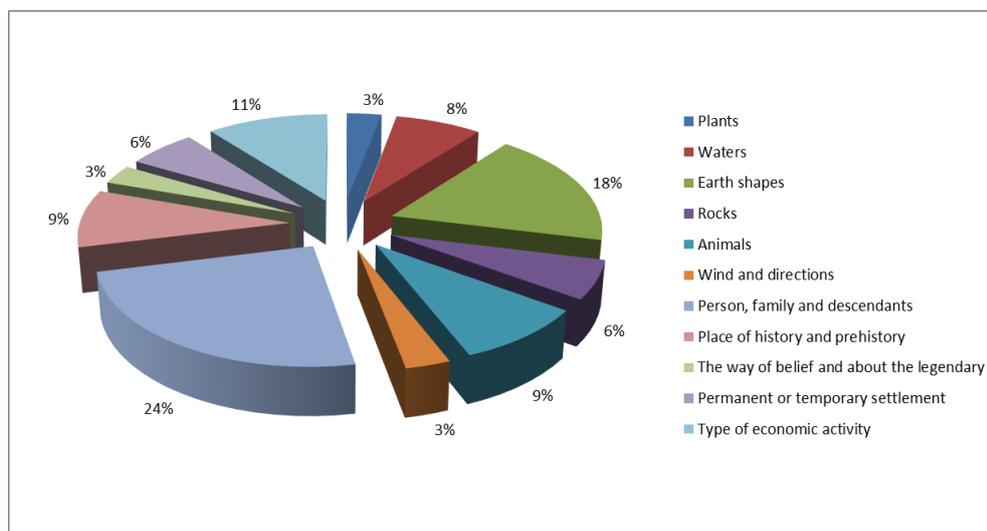
The villages (rural areas) are the most important of the rural settlements and the most common in the area. The names of cities, towns and villages in the region can be considered in terms of their geographical origins (Table 2).

**Table 2.** Geographical Classification of Settlement Names in Serik District

P H Y S I C A L	Plants Related	Kozağaç, Kozan
	Waters Related	Akçapınar, Belpınar, Gökçepınar, Haspınar, Pınarcık
	Earth Shapes Related	Akbaş, Aşağıkocayatak, Boğazkent, Çatallar, Dikmen, Deniztepesi, Hasdümen, Gedik, Kayaburnu, Kırbaş, Yeşilvadi, Yukarıkocayatak
	Rocks Related	Akçaalan, Gebiz, Karataş, Zırlankaya
	Animal Types Related	Bozdoğan, Çakallık, Dorumlar, Karıncalı, Kuşlar, Kürüş
G E O G R A P H Y		Orta, Yanköy
	Wind and Directional Related	
H U M A N	Person, Family and Descendants	Abdurrahmanlar, Berendi, Bilginler, Büğüş, Eminceler, Eskiürük, Etler, Hacıosmanlar, Kadriye, Karadayı, Nebiler, Sariabalı, Şatırlı, Töngüşlü, Üründü, Yumaklar
	Type of Economic Activity	Aşağıçatma, Belek, Burmahancı, Cumalı, Çanakçı, Demirciler, Yukarıçatma
	History and Prehistory	Belkıs, Cumhuriyet, Çandır, Haskızılören, Kökez, Merkez
	The Way of Belief and About the Legendary	Alacami, Tekke
	Permanent or Temporary Settlement	Aşağıoba, Bucakköy, Yenimahalle, Yeşilyurt

### Characteristics Of Settlement Names In Serik (Antalya) District

The names of the 66 settlements in the research area were evaluated on the basis of their physical and human geography origin (Graph 1).

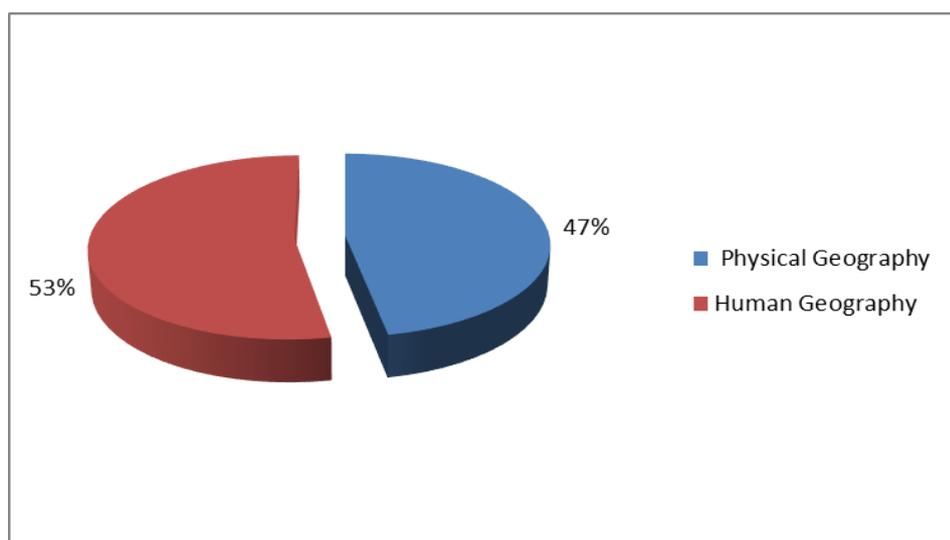


**Graphic 1.** The Distribution of Settlement Names according to their Geographical Origins

In Serik district, there are many settlements that are named by human geography.

There are 35 settlements and 31 geography based human geography origins. The names of the 35 settlements whose names are taken from human geography terms are 16, with the name of the person, the genealogical and the size, 7 with the type of economic activity, 6 with the place of history and prehistory, 4 with the temporary settlement, and 2 of them are related with mythical. The number of settlements related to the name of the person, the family, and the boy is more common than the others. Of the 31 settlements whose names are taken from physical geography terms, 12 are related with earth shapes, 6 with animal species, 5 with waters, 4 with rocks, 2 with plants and 2 with directions. The number of settlements in the district is more common than the others.

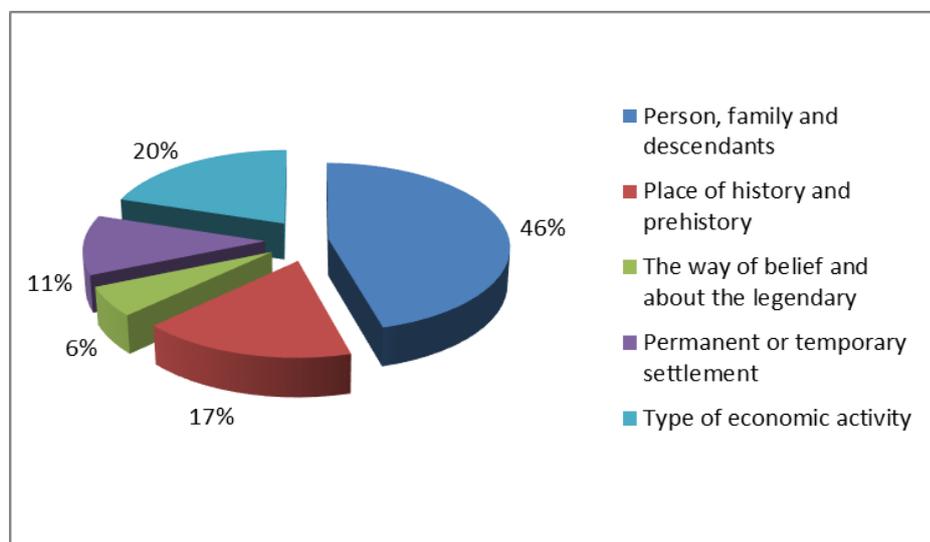
35 (53%) of the inhabitants in the area were affected by human elements and 31 (47%) were affected by physical geography (Graph 2).



**Graphic 2.** The Ratio of Influence of Placement Names on Physical and Human Factors

The number of settlements (35) affected by human geography elements in the research area is more than the number of settlements (31) affected by physical geography elements. When the names of the settlements in Serik District are examined, it is seen that the number of cities, towns, and neighborhoods affected by human geography are generally higher.

Among the settlement names in Serik District, there are the settlement units (16) which have the highest number of persons, descendants, and boys (Graph 3).



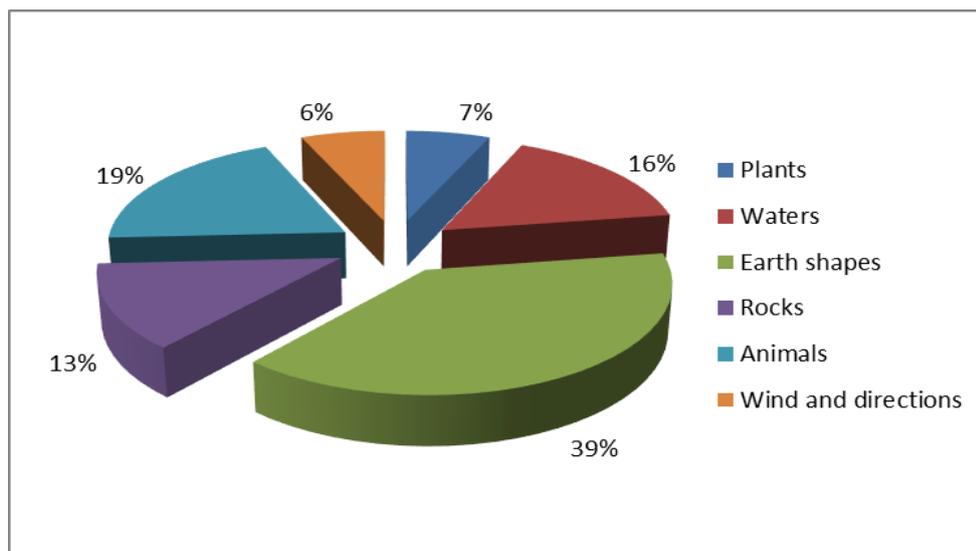
**Graphic 3.** Names that Take their Names from Human Geography

Of the 35 settlements whose names are taken from human geography terms, 16 are about persons, with the name of the descendants and the boys, 7 with the type of economic activity, 6 with the place of history and prehistory, 4 with the temporary settlement, and 2 of them are related with mythical. In the district, the number of settlements related to the name of the person, descendants, and boy is more common than the others.

It has been seen that the Turkmen tribes settled in the Serik district were relocated to a new home, and thus the establishment/maintenance of ties with the past was continued with the addition of names of people, descendants, and descendants in the new settlements.

The settlement date of Serik dates back to very old times. Moreover, the fact that the nomads belonging to the Oguz tribes settled in the Serik district of Antalya are among the most gathered areas is also a big share. The fact that the names of the settlements with human geography elements in the region are more than the physical elementary settlement names can be seen as a reflection of the traditional lifestyles of the Yörük tribes who have resettled the region all along. The fact that the rural neighborhoods and towns within the boundaries of the new governmental structure are located on the coast may be a reason for this situation. Being the old settlement centers, Serik town center and its surroundings have also provided more human names to be used in the area. The names of the settlements in the site were mostly affected by landforms (12), animals (6) and waters (5) (Graph 4).

### Characteristics Of Settlement Names In Serik (Antalya) District



**Graphic 4.** The Settlements that Took their Names from Physical Geography

Of the 31 settlements whose names are taken from physical geography terms, 12 are related with earth shapes, 6 with animal species, 5 with waters, 4 with rocks, 2 with plants and 2 with directions. The number of settlements in the district is more common than the others. The distribution of the physical geography with the names of the geographic location of the settlements and the physical location of the settlement is effective.

In the morphological structure of Serik District, mountainous masses occupy large areas. Region; is a plateau of highlands. While this morphological unit offers a wide range of possibilities for the plateau, it also has some problems such as the difficulty of finding water. In the hot season, covering the transhumance period, the biggest problem in the region is water scarcity. The difficulty of finding water in the limestones during the hot season is the biggest limitation for the Highlanders. Permanent settlements were also able to be established in the terrain of the karstic areas, plains, depression areas and slopes allowed by the topography. Therefore, this situation can be seen clearly in the nomenclature of settlement islands. How important water is for the feeding animals, the existence and continuity of the vegetation are also valuable for economic life. Therefore, physical geography characteristics leading the lives of local people become influential in naming for the settlements.

#### 6.Result

Natural and human factors play a role in the selection of the settlement and the development of the settlement in Serik District. However, depending on the conditions, one of them may be more effective than the other. While physical factors make the most important impact on the location and continuity of the settlement units, the human factors have an impact on the characteristics and development of the settlement.

In the research area, it is seen that the geographical characteristics of the settlements are generally taken into consideration in the selection of settlement names. Considering the factors that are effective in providing the settlement names, two main groups are noteworthy. The first one is the name, the name of the mountain, hill, lake, stream, soil, vegetation, etc., or directly from the name of them, inspired by the name of the natural environment elements, and the other group consists of place names with human characteristics, descendants, boy, various events and so on. The first of these characteristics are Abdurrahmanlar, Berendi, Bilginler, Bügüş, Eminceler, Eskiyürük, Etlar, Haciosmanlar, Kadriye, Karadayı, Nebiler, Sariabalı, Şatırlı, Töngüşlü, Üründi, Boy, Person, Landowner, and Bey names as in Yumaklar. This is followed by the names related to the topographical situation of the site, such as Akbaş, Aşağıkocayatak, Boğazkent, Çatallar, Dikmen, Deniztepesi, Hasdümen, Gedik, Kayaburnu, Kırbaş, Yeşilvadi and Yukarıkocayatak.

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# Transformation Adventure Of Kabak Square To Kavak Square

Derya Elmali Sen, Evsen Yetim

## 1. Introduction

The concept of memory is defined as memory, mind and the power to consciously keep the experiences, learned and their relationship with the past in mind in the dictionary (TDK, 2019). In other words, it is defined as the ability to keep experiences, sensations, impressions, perceptions, and insights to revive (Güçlü et al., 2002). Today, it is seen that the concept of memory is the subject of many interdisciplinary studies and examines the individual and social reminiscence (and forgetting) processes in the most general sense (Neyzi, 2014). According to Halbwachs, memory is always made according to social codes, although it sometimes refers to an individual recall. Memory is a collective formation produced by society, so it should be called collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992). In his book *Architecture of the City*, Aldo Rossi mentions the collective association of collective memory with architecture and all kinds of values that make up the city. As an architect, Rossi's definitions of memory are more spatial than Halbwachs, and according to Rossi, the city itself is the collective memory of those who live there (Rossi, 2006).

Societies are shaped by the memory of the individuals who make up themselves. This memory is a collective phenomenon created by society by differentiating from the perspective of the individual. And space is one of the most important factors that carry, shape and transform common memories and social memory. An act of remembrance of space is very important for the formation of urban memory. In the city, the natural or artificial influences facing social memory and the spaces/structures that are part of the daily life take place in social memory. Even if such structures, squares, monuments, and green spaces are depleted, they become images that stimulate social memory with every aspect. Spaces that can provide images for communities are mentally reproduced in each recall process, and such spaces emerge as founding points or sign elements in the city through memories, experiences, and stories to which they are part.

Public spaces; streets, boulevards, parks, and squares are places where urban life takes place (Madanipour, 2010). In this place, the images between past and future involved in life are strengthening the sense of belonging, establishing identity and uncovering cultural memory for both the city and society. For this reason, it has very important roles such as providing social encounter which is effective in the formation of a society, sharing equality conditions, producing collective memory or developing this consciousness (Çalrak, 2012). Public spaces where individual memory turns into cultural and social memory, take place in the collective memory of the society and contribute to the identity of the city with a structure, a discourse, a ceremony, an event, a sport, a monument, a silhouette or a tree.

## 2. Method

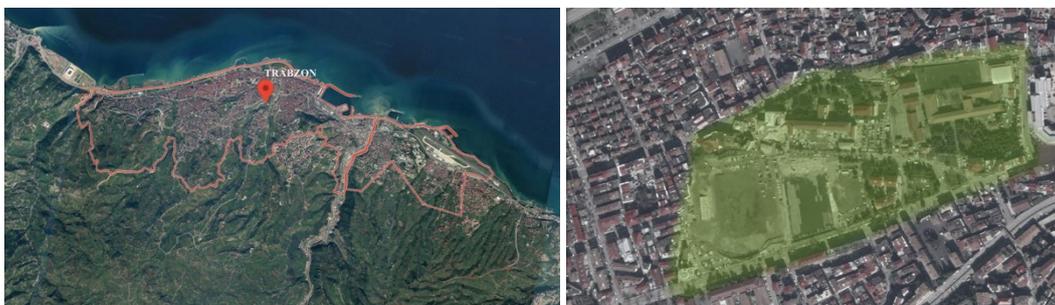
The traces of memory that constitute the identity of the city for the physical protection of a city should not be lost, contrary it should be preserved and kept alive. Taking into consideration this fact, Kavak Square, which is a very important public space with a long history for Trabzon city memory, is discussed in this study. It is aimed to investigate the transformation of Kabak Square to Kavak Square, which is the place of culture and history and to expose its intellectual image. For this purpose literature was reviewed, publications related to the subject were reached and qualitative data analysis was performed. According to the data obtained, the names and functions that were given to Kavak Square by the prevailing states in Trabzon were analyzed. Among the reached publications, there are studies based on archival documents such as cadastral record books<sup>1</sup>, sharia registers<sup>2</sup>, and salnames<sup>3</sup>; diaries of travelers such as Evliya Çelebi (1640s), Katip Çelebi (1650s), Bijişkyan (1817), Peruhan Bey (1847), T. Deyrolle (1869), Şakir Şevket (1877), P. Fallmerayer (1840s), HFB Lynch (1890s) who visited Trabzon for

various reasons during various periods or publications related to these diaries; published articles and books on history of both Trabzon and football.

### 3. Kabak /Kavak Square

Trabzon is a city located in the Black Sea region of Turkey and its history dates back to the 4th century BC. It is known that local tribes had previously existed in the region, but it is widely believed that it was founded as a colonial city in the 8th or 7th century BC by the Milesians of Ionian origin (Üstün Demirkaya, 2014). For the first time in history, the name of Trabzon was found in *Anabasis*, written by Xenophon (Greek philosopher) in 400 BC as Trapezos (Usta, 2013). Since its establishment, various states have reigned in the city for a short or long term. In this process, the prominent states that dominated the city were; Pontus State (3rd century BC), Roman Kingdom / Empire (63 BC-395 AD), the Byzantine Empire (395-1204), Komnenian Kingdom (1204-1461), the Ottoman Empire (1461-1923) and the Republic of Turkey (1923- ).

Trabzon is divided into three parts as east, middle and west due to the physical position of the fortress walls. Kavak Square is also located on the western side of Trabzon, that is to the west of the fortress walls. It is mentioned that this area, which was first recorded in the Ottoman records in the 16th century with the name Kabak Square, is a public space that has been in use since the Roman Period in the sources (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Location of Kavak Square in Trabzon (URL-1)

The earliest information on Kavak Square is from the Roman period. The square was a part of the hippodrome built by the Roman Emperor Hadrianus (117-138 AD) and the other part was called Gavur Square (Bölükbaşı, 2011; Yıldırım, 2012). Also, Bıjşkyan (1998) pointed out that Kavak (Kabak) square on the west side of the castle and Kafir (Gavur) square on the east side were used as hippodromes in ancient times and pashas sometimes played horse games in this square (1817-1819) in his own time (Karaçavuş, 2011; Açık, 2017).

Lynch (1901) described Kavak Square as *tzykanisterion* which was the area that polo games were played during the Byzantine era. When describing the location of the square, Lynch stated that the race area outside the walls was the fourth, last and highest level of the platform, considering that the walls and the structures inside were graded as steps or terraces. Bryer and Winfield (1985) placed a theater building on the South side along with the hippodrome. However, there are no physical remains of social life and buildings such as hippodrome, theater and Gymnasium that were recorded in the sources. Fallmerayer also (2012) likewise stated that this playground located on the south side. This area which was outside the city walls and has a long and steep road was used as recreation areas, sports squares, places of races, theaters, and meetings of Trabzon residents (Üstün Demirkaya, 2014) (Figure 2).

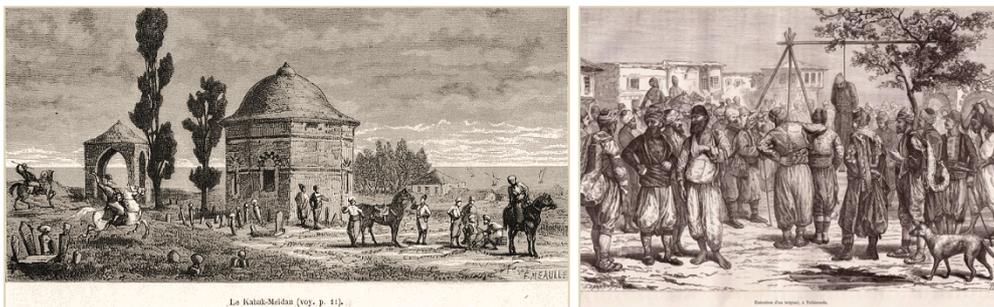


mentioned that there were several domed, old and strong buildings resembling a chapel and Kabak Square Mosque, which is said to have been built by Süleyman Bey. He stated that the square was 400 steps long but it was narrowed from two sides by turning 1000 steps area into a garden (Karaçavuş, 2011).

Peruhan Bey (1998), who came to Trabzon in 1847, stated that there were two big squares in the city which were called Gavur Square and Kabak Square. According to him, Gavur Square, which was located in the Christian neighborhood in the eastern suburbs, has shrunk in time (280 steps x 150 steps). Kabak Square, which located near the Hagia Sophia in the western suburbs, was six times the size of Gavur Square, and these squares were filled with people who had fun during the holidays and festival days (Usta, 1999).

The French traveler T. Deyrolle (1938), who came to Trabzon in 1869, referred to it as the festival place of Trabzon, again called Kabak Meydan. He stated that horseman runs horses and javelins in the meadows around an old cemetery and gravestones. On festival days, this area was full of coffee makers, Turkish delighters, and salep sellers (Karaçavuş, 2011). In his book published in 1877, Şakir Şevket (2013) stated that, like the target stones in Istanbul's Okmeydanı, arrow stones were erected in Kavak Square in Trabzon and horse races and gunshots were made. The traveler Lynch, who came to Trabzon in 1893, stated that Kavak Square was an area similar to the old javelin areas covered with lush grass-like in England (Karaçavuş, 2011).

In some diaries and gravures, it is remarkable that there was a cemetery on a part of the square. Belge (2018) stated that the cemetery was formed before 1701 and expanded after deaths caused by epidemics after the Crimean War (1853). It can be said that the majority of the cemetery was abandoned in 1926. It was transferred to the municipality after 1938 and the land was used for other purposes and the remaining part was destroyed before 1967 (Belge, 2018) (Figure 4).

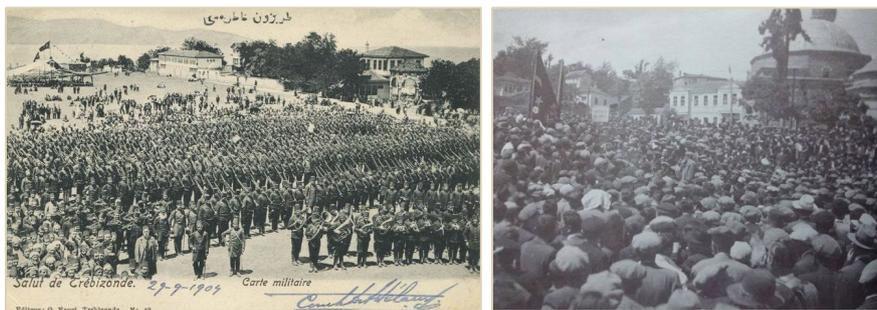


**Figure 4.** Javelin games, gravestones and criminal practices in Kavak Square (URL-4, URL-2)

It is known that Kavak Square was used as a ring and meeting area in the years of the national struggle. On 6 October 1912, at the meeting held in Kavak Square with the participation of more than 4-5 thousand people, patriotic speeches were read and cheered in favor of war (Çetin, 2015).

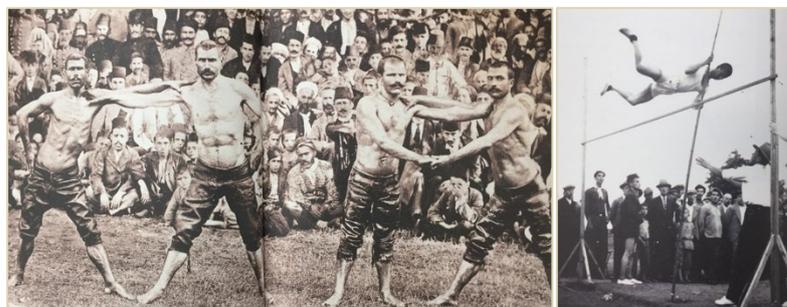
The square, which has existed since ancient times, served the city as a race and training area and partly as a cemetery in addition to social activities such as holidays and entertainment during the Ottoman period. Until the years of the national struggle, the square was recorded as Kabak or Kavak Square with both names. On 23 December 1921, sports events were organized in the square in honor of the successes of the İnönü Wars and the name of the square was changed to İnönü Square on the same day (Yıldıran, 2012) (Figure 5).

## Transformation Adventure Of Kabak Square To Kavak Square



**Figure 5.** Military preparations, ceremonies, and meetings in Kavak Square (URL-5, URL-6)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Kavak Square, where were held almost all kinds of military and civil ceremonies, was started to be commemorated with sports activities after the proclamation of the republic. In addition to athletics competitions such as high jump, shot put; wrestling matches were organized and all kinds of outdoor sports were performed here (Bölükbaşı, 2011; Mollamehmetoğlu, 2014) (Figure 6). However, the field has established its relationship with sports with football, which was identified with the name most in time.



**Figure 6.** Wrestling games and high jump sports activities in Kavak Square (Bölükbaşı, 2011)

The sports activities that started under the leadership of representatives of foreign countries (there were 12 consulates in Trabzon at that time) and non-Muslim citizens living in the city attracted the attention of Turkish youth in a short time (URL-7). The love of football in Trabzon began in 1910 when teachers and students learned this sport and founded a club called İdmanyurdu. Football was finished in Trabzon in 1912 due to players went to the front because of the Balkan War. Football started to exist in Trabzon again in the early 1920s when a group of young Turks officers and students started playing ball in Kavak Square (URL-8). One of the reasons why players, the majority of them were students, chose Kavak Square is the proximity of the square to Trabzon High School. In the early 1920s, the passion for football quickly embraced the whole city through sports clubs such as İdmanocağı, İdmangücü, Necmi Atı, which were founded in succession (Tunç, 2010). Hüseyin Avni Aker, whose name was given to the stadium which would be held afterward, expressed this situation like a disease in an article he wrote in the İstikbal Newspaper. He stated that all children play football in all squares, courtyards of the mosques and gardens which located from the neighborhood of Trabzon to Kavak Square and especially the gathering of unemployed people towards Kavak Square increased this disease (URL-7).

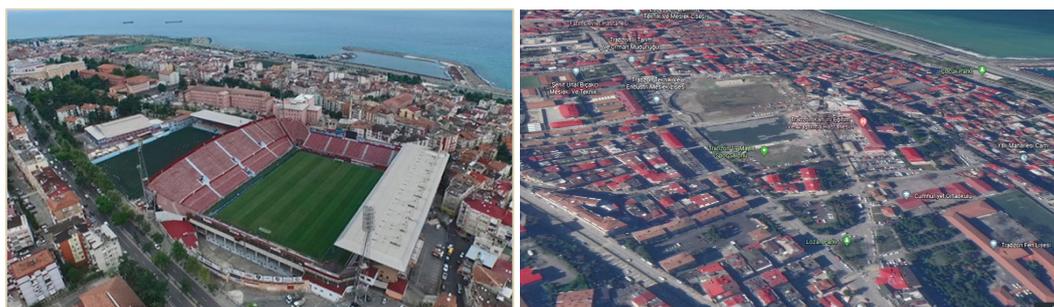
The matches in Kavak Meydanı were held in extremely bad conditions, the castle poles used in matches were mobile and the poles were put in place and passed to the net just before the matches (Eroğul, 2012). The fact had a great effect on this situation that Kavak Square was not only a specific football area and the square was used twice a year as a festival place. Besides aster that, the name of Kavak Square brought football to mind and football in Trabzon brought Kavak Square to mind. However, the stadium discussions that began in the late 1920s did not yield any results until the 1950s (Tunç, 2010) (Figure 7).



**Figure 7.** Football match and festive ceremony at Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium (URL-2, URL-6, URL-6)

Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium, which was founded in Kavak Square in 1951, was originally built for 2400 people. In 1967, when Trabzonspor was founded, closed tribune was added to the stadium. The stadium had undergone many renovations later. Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium, which reached a capacity of 24 thousand people over time, was closed on 18 December 2016 and was demolished in 2017.

In the same years, Yavuz Selim Stadium was built in the east of Avni Aker Stadium with a capacity of 1800 people and it was demolished in 2018 after serving for amateur clubs for years. The 19 May Indoor Sports Hall, built to the east of Yavuz Selim Stadium in 1966, served sports clubs with a capacity of 1100 people and was demolished in 2018. Also, in 1963, Orman site and housing units were moved to the eastern end of the square (Figure 8).



**Figure 8.** The collapse of Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium and the final version of Kavak Square (URL-9, URL-1)

Thus, in the early republican period, the meeting of Trabzon with football and becoming of football a passion for the people of Trabzon in time, have caused the identification of Kavak Square with football, which was previously a sports and activity area. The square has served the city of Trabzon as an active area of sports activities for many years and it has been referred by the names of sports facilities mentioned above especially Avni Aker Stadium instead of Kavak Square over time.

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusion

In such researches, it is the method of discovering the cultural and spatial memory of the city to reveal the spatial counterparts of the images, experiences, and memories which are the background of the city's memory. It is thought that this study, which is constructed with this method, will make a significant contribution to the revitalization of the mental image of the square and the preservation of the identity of the city. The names and functions of the square were analyzed in terms of periods during the historical process of approximately two thousand years (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Name and functions of Kavak Square according to the reigning periods in Trabzon

	<b>Roman Period</b> 63 BC- 395 AD	<b>Byzantine</b> <b>Period</b> 395-1204	<b>Komnenos</b> <b>Period</b> 1204-1461	<b>Ottoman Period</b> 1461-1923	<b>Republic Period</b> 1923-
<b>Name</b>	Hippodrome	Tzykanisterion Gymnasium and theater?	Tzykanisterion Gymnasium and theater?	Meydan-1 Kabak Meydan-1 Garbi Meydan-1 Kavak Kabak Square Kavak Square İnönü Square	Kavak Square İnönü Square Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium
<b>Function</b>	Horse and chariot racing area	Polo (tzykanion) game field Sports, competition and socialization area	Polo (tzykanion) game field Sports, competition and socialization area	Equestrian target archery/Pumpkin game course Javelin and so on. playground Festive celebration area Military training area Military and civil ceremony area Meeting area Cemetery	Football field Sports competition area (wrestling, athletics) Cemetery Festive celebration area Stadium Indoor and outdoor sports grounds

Tzykanisterion is the name given to the stadium where tzykanion, a kind of polo game adapted from the Sassanid Empire to the Byzantine Empire, is played. In this context, the adventure of the area, which started with the Hippodrome in the Roman Period, continued with the polo, which was also an equestrian play in the Byzantine Period.

Although there is no recorded information about the Komnenos Period on Kavak Square, it is known that the Kingdom was established by members of the Byzantine Dynasty. So it was assumed that the Komnenos Kingdom owned and maintained the cultural accumulation and practices of the Byzantine Empire which the Kingdom was originally heir. For this reason, it was accepted that the square continued to function as Tzykanisterion during the Komnenos period of 250 years.

The area was named as Meydan-1 Kabak, Meydan-1 Garbi, Meydan-1 Kavak in the Ottoman Period and has hosted all kinds of ceremonies such as military and civilian from the pumpkin game known as equestrian target archery to javelin and the like sports and games, education, holidays and meetings. In the late Ottoman period, it was also determined that a part of the area was a cemetery.

In addition, the area was generally known as Kavak Square in the Republican Period, after the construction of Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium (1951-2017), Yavuz Selim Stadium (? -2018) and 19 Mayıs Sports Hall (1966-2018) in parallel with the developments in Trabzon's football life as of the 1960s, the area began to be known with this specialized names. But, it was clear that the square and football identity were damaged by the transportation of the Orman İşletme Directorate lodgings to this area in 1963.

After the celebrations in the area for the 2nd İnönü Victory, which was considered the turning point of the War of Independence in 1921, the square was named İnönü Square for a while. Even in the late 1970s, the name of the neighborhood, which was Kavak Square, had been changed to İnönü Neighborhood (Tunç, 2010; Yıldırım 2012). Today, İnönü Neighborhood is used for the area and its environments, but after the construction of stadiums and other sports buildings, the area was identified with Avni Aker Stadium and the name of İnönü Square was not permanent.

The area called Kavak Square was wider than Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium and it also included Yavuz Selim Stadium and 19 Mayıs Indoor Sports Hall and Orman İşletme Directorate lodgings. However, after the 1960s, Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium, seen as the heart of Trabzonspor, passed in front of Kavak Square and the area began to be referred to by the Stadium. It is even possible to say that Kavak Square is not known by the new generation.

As a result, Kabak or Kavak Square is not only an area of a 100-year-old football tradition but also the most important military, educational, sports and entertainment area in Turkish history for more than 600 years. The commemoration of the square with the names Hippodrome and Tzykanisterion also reveals its history of equestrian sports when previous periods are considered. In this context, it is seen that the area of Kavak Square, which was recorded for the first time during the Roman Empire by the emperor Hadrian built-in Hippodrome in 117 AD, witnessed a process almost equivalent to the history of Trabzon which can be traced in the written sources until the 4th century BC. Although the name of the area has evolved from Hippodrome to Meydan-ı Garbi, from Meydan-ı Kabak to Kavak Square, to İnönü Square or Hüseyin Avni Aker Stadium, the square has remained a public space associated with sports and socialization for two thousand years. This is a quite valuable and indispensable quality especially in terms of the identity of cities that change and transform without plans and programs with the returns of Modernity. In this context, it is very important to protect and maintain this situation of the Kavak Square area in terms of maintaining urban identity and social memory.

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### **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> Cadastral Record Book: The registers of the censuses made for tax determination in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Sharia Registers: Records on the legal relations in the Ottoman Empire, kadi books.

<sup>3</sup> Salnames: An informational publication issued annually by some institutions and individuals in the Ottoman Empire is published annually.

# The Participation Role of Citizens in “Piazza Testaccio” Regeneration Project in Rome Historical City Center

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In September 2018, four non-profit associations - two made up of citizens residing in the “Rione Testaccio”, two of sports clubs - set up, at the 1st sub-Municipality, Department of Sport, a participatory process called “**I prati del popolo romano**”, aimed at rebuilding sports equipment in an abandoned area. The first meeting of the proceeding took place on March 15, 2019.

The normative reference of this important initiative, at the municipal level, is the “Regulation of citizen participation in urban transformation of Comune di Roma”<sup>27</sup> - approved with DCC n. 57 of 2/3/06, and, at the district level, the “**Regulation on the participation of the 1st sub-Municipality - Roma Centro**”<sup>28</sup> - approved with DCM n. 9 of 3/15/18.

The “Rione Testaccio”, built during the adaptation of Roma to the role of Capital of Italy, was (and has long remained) the worker heart of the city. In its own football field, during the 1930s of the last century, the Rione Testaccio hosted the Roma football team.

In the most recent history, after falling into disuse, the football field was rebuilt (late 90s) in the same area where the historical structure was located. The new facilities, inaugurated in 2000, consisted of a 11-a-side football field and a multipurpose field; the latter near the entrance on Via Zabaglia, on the opposite side, a goalkeepers training area, a changing building, services and all the rest.

But in 2010, the Municipality of Rome, as part of the urban parking program (PUP), entered into an agreement with a Consortium to build an urban underground parking lot right under the camp. The sports facility is practically new, so the dismay and concern of citizens and users is general.

Works begins. The structure is demolished. A 'immense pit with two sewer pipes in evidence on the bottom is materialized in the eyes of the people. Then something goes wrong in the company's accounts. Works continue without enthusiasm and in 2012 they finally stop. The obligatory legal dispute follows.

Currently the process appears to be in a conclusive phase, except for a few sub-proceedings still to be

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<sup>27</sup> The document, defining procedural aspects of population involvement, specifies that participation in decisions regarding urban transformation interventions, in addition to observation and consultation levels, must contemplate a “participatory design” level, to be carried out through “rules of meetings, forums, urban laboratories, using appropriate methodologies and internal specialized personnel or, if necessary, external to the Municipal Administration [...]”. With regards to the organizational aspects, the Regulation provides that the responsibility for managing the process can be entrusted, in addition to the competent municipal departments, also to the sub-Municipalities which, therefore, that can define, start and conduct participatory procedures.

<sup>28</sup> The sub-municipal regulation, taking into account the evolution of the city debate on urban regeneration and, above all, the difficulties encountered in the four years of experimentation, tries to make participation procedures more effective. The most significant changes regard the method of selecting the projects to be submitted to the procedure (with the establishment of a special commission with the task of examining the proposals put forward by the “non-institutional” actors) and the way the process is carried out, with the introduction, in particular, of the figure of the “Facilitator”; central figure in moments of dialogue and confrontation, chosen from a specific list, which is entrusted with the task of “facilitating interpersonal relations” and “favoring the positive resolution of conflicts in order to reach the broadest consensus to always find choices and decisions as close as possible to the thoughts and feelings of the majority of the participants”.

completed. The area, once again free, on May 30, 2018 was returned by the Mobility Department, which had taken charge of it, to the Sport Department.

The degradation of the area, inaccessible by the padlocks of the judiciary, has created very serious problems over the years. Waste was illegally dumped.

In the bush that immediately took root a group of people went to settle in and out, having replaced the existing ones with personal padlocks. These presences, thanks to the lack of light at night (the holm oaks in via Zabaglia, not pruned, shield the street lamps) have made the area dangerous. Disclaimer of rules, obvious and declared, is not new in this part of the district. On the one side, there is an abusive building nucleus located between our area and Via Marmorata, on the other side, is the “Monte dei Cocci”, at whose base we find, even here, a building with a difficult history, which hosts nightclubs, from which originates a nightlife that lasts all night. In short, just behind a school complex that has a nursery school, an elementary and middle school, a professional institute and, recently, also the faculty of Architecture at the “ex Mattatoio”, stands a little citadel of illegality, place of drug dealing and prostitution.

The associations' proposal ranges from a basic request (the field as it was and where it was), to a complete rethinking of the entire area in which the “ex campo Testaccio” is located, and which includes the ex Mattatoio, the Monte dei Cocci, the Aurelian city walls, up to the park of the Resistance and the new piazza Testaccio.

In the “Rione”, things have changed profoundly over the past few decades. In addition to the reconstruction of Piazza di Santa Maria Liberatrice, a participatory trial “ante litteram”, played thirty years ago, decisive interventions have been: the transfer of the local market to a more appropriate site (2012), followed by the renovation of the Piazza Testaccio (2015). Equally decisive was the decision to move the faculty of Architecture within the building of the ex Mattatoio, with the support of activities of high level, such as the “Macro Testaccio”, and others. To date, the project is being completed. A set of interventions that has few equivalents in Rome.

Starting from these considerations and taking into due account the location of the former football field, barycentric with respect to the area of interest, a minimum sensitivity in urban planning is sufficient to grasp the strategic value of a good intervention of reintroduction of sports equipment.

The available lot is located between Via Galvani and Via Caio Cestio, visible passing through Via Zabaglia. The lot consists of an irregular area, formed by two rectangles in continuity between them. The overall length is equal to m. 162. The width on one side is m. 60, while the opposite front on Via Zabaglia, is of m. 54. The total area is 9436 square meters. However, considering that the whole area between Via Marmorata, the ex Mattatoio and the Tiber, is owned by the Municipality of Rome, it is almost an obligation to look at what is happening on the borders of the lot to check if the design can consider a wider area and unfold with greater freedom.

The side that runs along via Zabaglia is impassable, likewise the north-west side that runs parallel to via Galvani. Here, the “I Coccetti” kindergarten overlooks the area, and, in continuity with it, the Carlo Cattaneo middle school. The other two sides are delimited by an abusive building nucleus, not particularly extensive and not structured. Construction quality is minimal. Internally, the nucleus is structured around a narrow road that from Via Caio Cestio leads to Via Marmorata.

A long, narrow building, partially used as a garage, runs on the long side of the lot for most of its development and separates the former football field from the Cemetery of the English, which faces it. Further on, the buildings surround the Polveriera, an eighteenth-century building also protected by law.

On the short side opposite to via Zabaglia, small buildings, perhaps for artisan use and storage, have their backs to the former football field and overlook the internal street, with the Pyramid and the Aurelian city walls in the background.

To obtain the necessary information, the four associations have filed an application for access to the documents with the Assessorato al Patrimonio, which has immediately activated.

The prevailing character of the intervention is, of course, of a sports type. We therefore believe that, according to the statements of the recent municipal regulation, young people and sports clubs should be interested, also in order to avoid uses for speculative purposes unrelated to the training of young

people and sporting discipline.

Since it will be the Rione Testaccio to host the structure, it will be necessary to guarantee the access of the inhabitants to the services and finally to size the works so that they can be received in the urban fabric containing the impacts.

Particular consideration must be given to the fact that in the urban area of reference there is a differentiated school district, equipped, in some cases, with its own sports facilities (volleyball courts, multipurpose courts and gyms). It is natural to propose a redevelopment of the scholastic offer with a modern, broad and articulated sports facility, integrated with the ex Testaccio football field. Above all, the Architecture faculty could be a user interested in the sports area to offer its students an extra opportunity in the breaks between lessons.

The area is also a specialist archaeological yard that is enhancing the district with an exceptional set of historical and artistic assets. We have highlighted the archaeological component, but the entire fabric of the Testaccio, at the turn of the new century, appeared in its urban and architectural integrity to witness a decisive phase in the history of the city. This is evidenced by the quality tourist flows that have converged for a few years to visit the district.

Finally, a significant change has recently taken place. The Municipality of Rome has integrated the "New regulation for municipal-owned sports facilities" (Resolution 11/2018) with the tables showing the list of municipal sports facilities and the one with District facilities.

The former Testaccio football field was transferred to the jurisdiction of the District I (Resolution n. 30/2019). This attribution of a new competence/responsibility will open another chapter of the tormented history of the area, certainly decisive for the restoration of sports services. We will see.

The return of sporting facilities of the former Testaccio football field is a complex process whose participation should be extended at least to the main stakeholders. It is to be hoped that, on the part of the administrations, there will be an explicit and sincere commitment to build an organic and at the same time shared and (more or less) equal vision of the urban space.

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# To be “*smart*” today. “*Smartness*” and “*smart city*” through a sociological reflection

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## 1. Introduction

In recent times there has been an increase in the use of the term “*smart*” in every field of knowledge and, in particular, in the human and social sciences. Each person, each object and each structure are currently required to present themselves as “*smart*”.

But what does being “*smart*” mean? What are the characteristics of “*smartness*” and what are the dynamics connected to this dimension? Is it possible to use the conceptual category of “*smartness*” indiscriminately in every sector when each discipline tends to attribute a different meaning to this element? A first observation will make us see how each sector tends to emphasize a specific quality of “*smartness*” and how, often, there is a lack of an overview of what “*smartness*” actually is (Amitrano & Bifulco, 2016; Bolognini, 2017, Iannone, 2018, Mezzapelle, 2016). Therefore, these are the questions that preside over the critical reflection that will be carried out in this work.

## 2. Method and referring theoretic frame

The following analysis is conducted through the very approach of general sociology, even before that of urban sociology or the environment, because at stake there is an overall reading of the social order and its possibilities for development. This reflection uses the tools of a theoretical research that carefully examines the potentialities and limits of *smartness*, especially in the *smart city* and *smart community* categories.

As we know, the term “*smart*” comes from the English language and is generally translated into Italian as “acute”, “brilliant”, “awake”, “skilled”, “fast”. The most used translation refers to the adjective “smart” (Amitrano & Bifulco, 2016; Papa, Gargiulo, Franco & Russo, 2014; Gil-Garcia, Zhang & Puron-Cid, 2016; Hayman, 1998; Mezzapelle, 2016). The *smartness* we are talking about refers, in particular, to the ability to improve the quality of life and generate a lower environmental impact through the intelligent use of technologies. A subject, a thing, or, more generally, a dimension, is therefore *smart*, when it shows itself as capable of achieving these goals.

Among the various areas in which the adjective *smart* has become frequently used, the city represents a privileged dimension. It is, indeed, called to become increasingly intelligent, to change skin, making what is currently commonly identified as “*smart city*” (Albino, Berardi & Dangelico, 2015; Almirall et al., 2016; De Luca, 2012; Deakin & Al Waer, 2011; Etezadzadeh, 2016; Kar, Gupta, Ilavarasan & Dwivedi, 2017; Marciano, 2015).

There are many objectives that the smart city aims to achieve: innovation, sustainability, cultural development, inclusion, but also sustainable mobility, energetic efficiency and resilience. In the *smart city*, all the summoned objectives are to be achieved through the constant application of cutting-edge technologies. ICTs are therefore essential elements for making the city *smart* (Beretta, 2015; Dall’Ò, 2014).

It should be noted that, especially in the Italian context, there have been and there still are many attempts to introduce some forms of *smart city* within existing urban contexts. These projects, however, concretely collide with considerable difficulties, both at the institutional level and at the directly social level, where the presence of a high number of barriers of various types - among which are those of identity, culture, economy and technology - makes the process of starting *smart city* modalities difficult and arduous, especially when they are going to be included internally in urban complexes already underway and whose history has been consolidated over time (De Paoli, 2012). Consider, for example, that certain *smart* policies can hardly identify the subjects to whom they must address. In this sense, the inclusive objective is an obvious example of these difficulties. Indeed, while talking about inclusion, we often do not specify whether policies should be aimed at all the most disadvantaged categories -

which would obviously be extremely complex to implement - or only to some of them - and, if so, to which - which include elderly people, children, women, the disabled, foreigners and so on.

If the objectives that the *smart city* intends to achieve are several and often contrasting, how can we combine them all? Through which lens can we interpret this new conceptual and phenomenological category?

The key to understanding that, at present, seems to represent the central element of the *smart* identity lies in an efficient interpretation of the phenomenon. In other words, the *smart city*, must by definition be efficient, or it will not be able to call itself actually intelligent. In this sense, the efficiency of the *smart city* is intended as an automatic element and, therefore, it seems opportune and fitting to be able to speak of a real automation of efficiency. In other words, the latter acts on two levels: upstream and downstream of the *smart city*. Upstream, it considers obvious the presence of some conditions which are fundamental for practical *smart* practices to be implemented. It takes for granted, for example, the presence of an inclusive, sustainable and culturally developed social area. Downstream, it is a guarantee, an assurance of the same conditions. To say, efficiency becomes guarantor of inclusion, sustainability, cultural development and so on.

As emerges from the practice, this automatism does not seem to reveal strength and solidity. In all those cases - and these are not infrequent situations - in which the application of efficiency-related criteria fails to bring solutions to problems connected, for example, to the cohesion of the social fabric or to the compactness of the latter, it strongly shows its precariousness.

The existing literature on the subject has questioned and continues to question what concrete measures can be implemented in urban contexts to transform existing cities into *smart* cities and to make new ones originally *smart* (Dameri & Giovannacci, 2015; Federico, 2013; Gabrielli & Granelli, 2014). The debate on the intelligence of the city is combined, in this sense, with that relating to the intelligence of the people who made up and live the city. Urban intelligence, from this point of view, is never separated from the level of *smartness* of its inhabitants. Numerous, therefore, are efforts to understand how it is possible to change the habits, perceptions and values that daily inspire the behavior of urban dwellers.

Thus, on the one hand, pre-eminence has been attributed to the role of the individual subject. In this perspective, the individual would represent the key actor of the smart city, as a *prosumer*, that is, producer-consumer (Degli Esposti, 2015; Gerhardt, 2008; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Ritzer, 2015; Toffler, 1980; Xie, Bagozzi & Troye, 2008). This new figure no longer identifies itself with the classic consumer who acts passively, exclusively using a good or a service already packaged previously but comes to outline a subject able to intervene actively in all stages of the production process. The *prosumer* would therefore be the key figure of the future, recovering the dimension of craftsmanship, but declined according to a highly technological paradigm and moving towards a horizontalization of the producer-consumer relationship able to considerably reduce, if not completely eliminate, the problem of the information asymmetries existing, in this case, in the economic sphere.

On the other hand, numerous concrete measures totally place the emphasis on the structural context and on the political sphere. The latter, in fact, is interpreted as the sphere dedicated to fielding intelligent practices, thus following a typically top-down approach. In the process of changing the behavior of the inhabitants of the cities a major role is, in this sense, played by the institutional and, therefore, structural level of the social organization, through the communication of an environmental nature that, nowadays, invests all the subjects. This sphere is fundamental in such a delicate sector and important for the social action of the subjects. Nonetheless, it has often proved to be fallacious as it did not generate the desired effects and took on the connotations not so much of real communication as, rather, of mere information. What is not communicated, says Luhmann, does not produce any social effect (1989). Therefore, providing information which is not communicated is not enough. From this point of view, environmental communication has often been aimed at an indistinct target; it was focused on generating a feeling of fear and guilt, by adopting a prescriptive and monodirectional character, from top to bottom, and not a bidirectional one; it has not had continuity over time and has focused a lot on the symptoms of the problem and not on the processes that generate it, producing, as a final result, an overload of information not related to each other and the sensation - which has often

tragically changed into conviction - on the part of the user, of not having the right tools to face the issues proposed by the awareness campaigns and, consequently, the generation of a feeling of resignation (Balzaretto & Gargiulo, 2009). In other words, the knowledge of the problem has rarely turned into awareness of the problem.

### 3. Ideas for critical reflection

What emerges from the analysis of the theoretical context within which the discourse on the *smart city* is often situated is the pre-eminence of an economic-type paradigm, which acts as a reference background. In other words, the subject is generally considered to be the one who acts solely by utilitarian criteria aimed at obtaining the maximum result with minimum effort. Numerous concrete measures designed for the *smart city* and aimed at activating virtuous conduct in the inhabitants of the cities, are thus based on the guarantee of economic and / or fiscal incentives. Just think, in this sense, of the measures of this type designed for the energy efficiency of houses (Janda, 2011). To say, the measures are rarely inspired by the idea of a subject moved to act virtuously on the basis of motivations different from the purely economic criterion and even if that happens, such measures refer to simple philanthropy or charity.

Therefore, the non-economic elements, but equally important and present, are represented by the need for involvement that the subject proves, by his desire for commitment, by his sense of social identity and even by the self-expectations that he feeds towards himself. All this happens despite the behavioral economy, from this point of view, frequently highlights how factors such as the need for a confirmation of social approval, the desire to feel concretely engaged and the simple routine, often motivate the subjects to a greater extent compared to mere economic-fiscal incentives (Dawnay & Shah, 2005; Frederiks, Stenner & Hobman, 2015; Janda, 2011).

In the determination of the action by the subject, economic rationality is joined by social and relational elements, which often lead decisions tend to follow simple heuristic rules, rather than the laws of probability typical of the classical economy or that based on the degree of closeness to one's own experience that they recall. At stake there is not only the final result to be aimed at, but there are also the processes that lead to certain results and that the subject, especially in the current role of *prosumer*, takes into great consideration when making decisions (Abrahamse & Steg, 2011; Belloc, 2012; Berry, Whaley, Davidson & Saman, 2014; Fischer, 1994; Simonson, 1993; Tajfel & Fraser, 1984).

Considering these reflections, note how the discourse on the *smart city* generally develops within the individual-structural categorization that has been attempted to highlight, completely forgetting the centrality covered by the relational level (Donati, 1986; 2009; 2015). Indeed, this is often considered a real obstacle to obtaining individual benefits. Moreover, if the lens through which to read the phenomenon of the smart city is represented by efficiency, it could not be otherwise: where the relational sphere contravenes the efficiency requirements from the economic sphere, it will inevitably be considered a problem and an obstacle to achieving ever-increasing efficiency.

On closer inspection, however, things appear differently. Indeed, to be questioned is the attainment of the same efficiency when all the needs and forms of capital are not valued, not just the capital understood from a strictly economic point of view. In order to furtherly clarify this concept, the economic sphere is what best exemplifies it. In economics, the presence of a solid fiduciary capital - an element constitutively different from the economically understood capital - translates, in fact, into a greater efficiency of the economic system. In contrast, where trust is lacking, or completely absent, the level of efficiency decreases considerably.

Therefore, aimed at being really *smart*, the *smartness* of the cities seems to be called more and more to deal with this reality. A reality that highlights how the declination of the *smart city* in purely efficient terms is, in fact, not only extremely reductive, but also and above all deviating from the desired intelligence. Intelligent city, in fact, is not only an efficient city. It is also an efficient city, but only to the extent that the objective of efficiency is combined with the other objectives that the smart city intends to achieve and only if not all the objectives of the smart city are achievable through the efficiency criterion.

This aspect gives new life to the reflection on the importance, for the functioning of society, of the dimension related to social integration (Iannone, 2018). The impossibility of founding society exclusively on the mutual interest of individuals and on the sphere of the consent of Durkheimian memory (1893), peculiar of the complex society with organic solidarity, helps to make clear how fundamental the presence of a strong social integration is for the cohesion of the social fabric to be maintained (Rutigliano, 2001). This seems to be true for our society, in which the various forms of solidarity find difficulty in establishing themselves.

Thus, the technological dimension is often perceived as an automatic solution to numerous and urgent urban problems, and the efficiency that it is able to generate, is decisive when it comes to social problems. Consider, for example, how the use of technology alone fails in guaranteeing the inclusive objective if it is not accompanied by measures capable of not reducing the complexity of the social system solely to the efficiency criterion. In doing so, in fact, we run the risk of falling into a real technological determinism (Beretta, 2015), giving rise to the so-called “*smartmentalization*” process (Ciaffi, 2015, p. 58), one of the major problems that the *smart* era will be called to deal with.

Moreover, starting from the primacy of efficiency we have been referring to so far, there is a confusion between the two categories of *smart city* and *smart community*. In fact, the attempts to introduce urban *smart city* models have often been focused on the centrality of the technological component according to an efficient approach aimed at achieving, as a final objective, efficiency as such. In the collective imagination, this operation has translated, in fact, into the belief that the *smart city* is essentially equivalent to the use of ICT (Colado, Gutiérrez, Vives & Valencia, 2014; Olmedo Moreno & Delgado López, 2015). As we have tried to highlight, this urban model proved to be a failure. In this sense, we currently tend to speak not only of *smart city* - a model that, in an efficientist view, proves unable to provide a solution to conspicuous social problems - but of the *human smart city* (Bolognini, 2017; Meloni, Tundo, Paoloni, Orsucci & Cervini, 2017, Olmedo Moreno & Delgado López, 2015; Rizzo, 2015), this expression indicates a city that is intelligent not only and not so much as technologically gifted, but as able to put human beings and their needs at the center of its model.

From this point of view, the *smart community* (Manfredi, 2015; Rizzi, 2014) seems to express a type of relationality that is a minority within the contemporary social structure and is intended to be recovered. A relationality based, for example, on the sense of belonging to a larger reality of the individual subject and on the belief in shared institutions. In this sense, it is considered as the *smart* expression that the social order currently needs, but so perceived it is nothing other than a sort of evolution of that *smart city* that has been shown to be weak and non-resolutive.

In fact, even if cities and communities are both called to face the current social challenges represented by sustainability, inclusion, innovation, technology, resilience of the territories, mobility and so on, they are nevertheless two different concepts. If the city, in fact, develops through a precise geographical context, the community represents a more flexible concept, whose existence is not necessarily anchored to a spatial environment. The size of the *smartness* also declines differently in both cases: the city is intelligent when it is effectively able to guarantee all the aforementioned needs in a contemporary and integrated manner; the community shows itself intelligent when the interaction between the parts that compose it generates knowledge, uniting two fundamental elements: social capital (Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1999; Levi, 1996), on the one hand and development, on the other (Manfredi, 2015).

From this point of view, social capital is not understood here according to the economic meaning of the term, but in its relational sense. To say, it coincides with some particular relationships of reciprocity and trust, social relationships that become real capital. This capital represents a precious resource pool for the *smartness* of the city and the community, a capital that, unlike the strictly economic one, can be used to achieve the various smart objectives: not only for social objectives such as inclusion or cultural development, but also for economic and political objectives. The higher the social capital, as is known, the better the institutions and the economic system work (Covey, 2008).

It seems, therefore, proper to analyze the actions of the city and its inhabitants keeping in mind the relational context of reference, considering the not insignificant influence that the relationships exert on the conduct of the subjects. It is therefore also essential to understand how this context has

changed over time. The relational context of late modernity, in fact, appears as a very different context from the modern one of past centuries. The relational dimension has increasingly acquired importance and the different disciplines of study, starting from the same economy, have highlighted how relevant the contribution of this dimension in the various areas of society is. Therefore, concepts such as, for example, that of social capital, network and community, acquire, today, a meaning different from the one they had in the past.

The concept of community points out today to the extent that it is not a synonym of society, but a completely different form of being together that is no longer based on the typical exchange of the market, but on relationships based on reciprocity and trust. Late modernity moves towards this form of organization, aware of the limitations of the market society. In this context, it does not seem preferable to understand the smart community as an expression of a return to the classically understood community (Tönnies, 1887), but as a combination of late modernity between society and community, as a synthesis between society and community. As a synthesis, that is, between exchange value and use value, on the one hand - that is, the element of rationality as it is typically expressed in the exchange of the market - and the binding value (Godbout, 1993), on the other, the value generated by relationships.

One wonders, therefore, if the idea of the common good cannot re-emerge at this point as a possible instrument for implementing the smart city. The common good to which we refer does not coincide with the common meaning of the term that recalls the so-called collective good. The common good here does not belong to the individual nor to the community, but it is that good that, following the perspective of Bruni and Zamagni (Bruni & Zamagni, 2009, Zamagni, 2012), emerges from the relationship between the subjects and, therefore, they have in common with each other. It is therefore starting from the relationship that the common good is born and develops. As mentioned earlier, in this direction, unlike the exchange value and the use value, the binding value seems to constitute, in the last instance, the principle that most reflects the objectives that the *smart city* aims at reaching.

Trying to summarize, therefore, it seems plausible to affirm that only if the relational context in which the inhabitant is situated is *smart*, his action will be, in turn, *smart*.

#### 4. Conclusions

As we have tried to underline, the discourse concerning the *smart city* and, more generally, all that today is called to become smart, is undoubtedly very complex. In fact, there are aspects and objectives of the same reality that are very distant from each other and often in mutual opposition that must be combined. Easily, therefore, one can tend to prefer, in fact, one or some of the objectives that *smartness* offers itself and not all of them. And just as easily is attributed to the technological aspect, which has been implemented in an efficient way. Thus, all the social problems existing upstream and downstream of efficiency are omitted from the discourse, forgetting that *smartness* can only go through the exploitation of all the needs and forms of capital.

Furthermore, there are numerous critical issues related to the progressive implementation of *smart* experiences. Not negligible, from this point of view, is the risk of passivity that an uncritical acceptance of all that is technological as an automatic synonymous with progress entails (Dall’Ò, 2014). The problem connected with the difficulties in obtaining the objective of inclusion, especially in the older population, is not marginal if the consequences of the *digital divide* are not taken into consideration. Finally, there is the question of the guarantee of privacy, often put to the test by the increasing use of various types of apps (Dall’Ò, 2014).

Undoubtedly, therefore, the road to smartness is not without obstacles, but it is precisely in the ability of the various *smart* spheres to find solutions to the various problems and ways in which these solutions are applied that the real *smartness* of the social system is played out current.

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# Smart city. A sociological perspective of urban vision

Melissa Sessa

## 1. Introduction

The theme of the *smart city* polarizes the interest of many disciplinary and research fields, also thanks to the numerous economic resources allocated for those projects, due to worrying increase of the urban population that has brought with it scarcity of energy resources, high social conflict, crisis of political representativeness and ethical drift (Fistola, 2011, p.74). The city is an intelligent and chameleonic system, able to adapt to all kinds of changes, from economic to political, to social ones. It is a “physical structure placed in a space” (Mazzeo, 2016, p.66), but does not end with this proposing multidimensional and multidisciplinary characters such as those of culture, ecology, technology, society (Castells, 1989). It is a system that is expressed in all its parts that operate as close and interconnected entities. In recent years, the city has acquired ever greater centrality in the process of economic, environmental and social development (Agenzia per l'Italia digitale, 2012), becoming a focal point for national and international policies and economic strategies, especially for four orders different factors. The first of these is connected to the growing lack of resources, either energy or environmental, which have led to the rediscovery, in both economic and environmental terms, of sustainability, seen as a solution to the deficits created by the excessive use that modernity makes of his capitals. The second point is found in the sustained growth of the world population that has gone hand in hand with the increase in levels of urbanization. The third concerns the increase in consumption by the cities, which have been responsible for an excessive waste of energy and around 80% of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions worldwide. And finally, the phenomenon of globalization (Rifkin, 2011) that exposed urban realities to dichotomous consequences: on the one hand, cities that are continuously growing, with the subsequent problems ranging from overcrowding to inadequate transport systems; on the other hand, cities that tend towards the decline that leads to the degradation of infrastructures and scarce economic availability (De Santis, Fasano, Mignolli & Villa, 2013).

Thus, the coexistence of countless problems related to scarcity of resources, sustained growth, increased consumption and globalization, makes the city the ideal stage for the experimentation of digital technologies. Although, however, the talk about smart cities tends to take for granted the consensus that revolves around its devices, it must however be considered that the social reality in which these smart cities immerse prefigures more than one difficulty. Difficulties of putting into practice because the cities, in their urban landscape, are not lacking in deeply rooted and internalized cultural structures, and that therefore sometimes resist the penetration of smart paradigms. As the world population is growing and it is expected that this growth will also and above involve all the city, technology can play an important role in limiting consumption and improving the quality of life. The indissoluble objective, considering today's economic crisis, remains the relaunch of the economic competitiveness of the system through the creation of synergies between the development of new technologies and the growing protection of the environment. It is within this situation that the vagueness of meaning inevitably imbued with the definition of smart city “allows this concept to be used with a certain frequency and flexibility” (Ferrero, 2015, p.1269). The smart city, undoubtedly, constitutes a “phenomenon of social change taking place” (Marciano, 2015, p.15) and as such it must be sociologically investigated, turning its attention to the infrastructures and devices that qualify the smart city as a city unique in history, both the world of the real subjects inhabiting this city, and the ideal ones that are supposed to live in it. For this reason, the smart city can be analyzed, as Claudio Marciano does, by taking up Lefebvre's theory of social space (1975) starting from a spatial triad formed by conceived space, perceived space and lived space (Marciano, 2015). The smart city finds its space conceived in the ideas that see it as a dominant paradigm in the last years, in the researches and the rankings specifically created to measure the level. It meets the perceived space in urbanization that has

slowly developed into the city's territory. And finally, it is the lived space that becomes routine, when the technological matrix becomes space in everyday life, but does not take the upper hand over the present culture. No doubt the smart city was born and continues to survive thanks to the interests of the dominant interests, to say: the smart city survives thanks to the urban elites that perpetrate the cause of convergence between the devices in circulation and the ecological need which is ever more present. Despite the sharpness of the boundaries traced by the benefactors of the creation of this smart city, the difficulty that is found in framing such a large phenomenon is also found in the confusion that characterizes its definition, making it nowadays a magmatic concept depending on the meaning attributed to the adjective "smart". This adjective has always represented the will to indicate an evolutionary state (Fistola, 2013), due to the most recent developments in technological innovation. What clearly emerges is that "smart is more than digital" and that this phenomenon includes a plurality of factors and actors that have taken different trajectories (De Santis, Fasano, Mignolli & Villa, 2014). "A theoretical model capable of interpreting the smart city is still far from being defined" (Marciano, 2015, p.26) as Marciano had stated in 2015. And to this day it is still an extremely timely reminder because three years after that statement, nothing has changed. This is because the reason for this lack of a univocal definition over the years is due to the extreme heterogeneity of the applications in which the smart city takes shape, and which make it difficult to trace the net margins when it comes to its theoretical definition. Heterogeneity and extemporaneousness of practices have discouraged a theoretical approach aimed at framing the smart city as a model and that instead are often resolved into lists of characteristics that create everything but a universally usable model.

## **2. A magmatic concept**

The first thing we must do is a distinction between "*smart*" and "*intelligent*" (Fistola, 2013). Both expressions are very widespread and have been used in the field of innovation to indicate the possibility, through the structuring of cognitive processes, of solving problems. A distinction seems, however, possible. If the term intelligent indicates the resolution of problems by methods and information learned, the term smart puts the emphasis on operability, also indicating which tools to use to solve complications. "While the intelligent thinks, elaborates and proposes which models to adopt to reach the solution, the smart also indicates how to proceed operationally and which devices to use" (Fistola, 2013, p.49). So, we can say that while the intelligent thinks, develops and proposes, the smart, thinks, elaborates, proposes and finally acts. One can see that the greatest consequence of the need to build urban systems with high sustainability and increasing resilience (Mazzeo, 2016) has is the spreading a particular meaning of the word intelligent, connoting it with a certain materiality, and thus making it evolve into smart. This materiality comes to be represented by a universe of sensors and actuators capable of managing and optimizing the activities in which the social actor is committed, but on the other hand also capable of providing continuous monitoring and control over citizens and their freedom of action.

Thus, we can consider the smart city as a new way of thinking and managing the city (Cocchia, 2014). Its diffusion is framed within the construction of the industrialized world, where it was perceived as a solution to the serious problems caused by urbanization (Komninos, Ratti & Schaffers, 2012), and therefore included in a concept of urban policy (Dameri & Rosenthal-Sabroux, 2014). The sudden growth of urbanization has generated problems related to the overcrowding of urban poles by people and infrastructures, which have inevitably caused a surge in consumption and pollution levels. It is indeed a concept of urban politics, but it cannot be separated from the territorial, geographical, and even more from the cultural context. It is no coincidence that alongside the ideal type of smart city, others can be found, more specific, as well as in practice, which adopt various facets of smartness that meet the required needs. As an alternative to the term "smart city", "Digital City, Wired City, Intelligent City, Knowledge City, Virtual City, Computable City" are also used. "Thanks to the advent of the digital world, the growing urban phenomenon has begun to conquer different forms, and in the same way also to be connoted with different names depending on the point of view from which it was analyzed. So, the city took the name of virtual city when it stimulated the growth of virtual laboratories to create the urban environment. It was called the computable city when it shifted its attention on how computers

and information technology had transformed the city. The intelligent city, on the other hand, was the set of urban planning strategies intended for the purpose of implementing public services. The wired city places the emphasis on connection and interconnection through technological systems, and finally the knowledge city that makes the “*cogito ergo sum*” an evolutive mantra (Van Veen, Distler, Braun & Bulthoff, 1998; Komninos, 2009; Batty, 1997).

This lack of lexical clarity, and therefore of the concept itself, has meant that some cities were “smart” when they recognized within them characteristics that corresponded to one of the canons of the confused smart city. Robert Hollands (2008), professor of sociology at New Castel University analyzes the different technological nuances with which cities are labeled as smart, finding that despite the smart terminology has taken many meanings from the beginning, the key element is still found in ICT (Information and Communication Technologies), which seems to be a necessary but not sufficient condition to define the smart city. Hollands’ perspective aims at broadening the concept of information from technologies to social relations by considering that the phenomenon of the informational city favors the conditions for the creation of the intelligent city “insofar as the latter has not only applied but internalized the informational paradigm within their functional sub-systems” (Marciano, 2015, p.67). In so doing, he divides the cities into four different groups, four peculiar dimensions, taking up the model of an informational city (Komninos, 2002, 2011):

- Cities that are more loyal to the idea of developing urban technology to become competitive in the global economy.
- Cities that put greater emphasis on business, and therefore on urban development in that direction, highlighting the role of local administrations in creating an environment conducive to business development.
- Cities that are more oriented towards social learning and inclusion, particularly focusing on the creative industry.
- Cities that put environmental and social sustainability first.

Hollands, however, polemically, warns us about the weakness of the definitive picture on the smart city, believing that it is not just an exclusively terminological issue. According to the author, the vagueness that cloaks the concept of smart city could be an intentional choice. It would have intentionally kept a veil of nebulosity and abstractness around the meaning of smartness, an artificial generality that was functional to include any aspect of urban development. The difficulty seems therefore to be the lack of a global vision that does not fall into the description of the parties outside the social context. We are often faced with definitions that fall into the technical field (smart building, smart district, smart street, smart infrastructure), thus forgetting the need for a look from the bridge that traces an overview.

### 3. Definitions to be compared

Since, as we have mentioned a holistic definition accepted at the universal level does not emerge (Nam & Pardo, 2011), many succeeded, instead, in the scientific field. The most accredited one is attributed to Rudolf Giffinger (Giffinger, Fertner, Kramar & Meijers, 2007), expert in the field of analytical research of urban and regional development, and worthy being awarded with the merit of having given us a definition of smart city that pivots on integration of various social subsystems. Such definition identifies six axes in which “the smart city impacts significantly on the creation of socio-economic value” (Cocchia, 2014, p.4). A city defines itself as smart when it generates sustainable performance over time in six areas: economy, governance, people, living, mobility and the environment. In other words, a city is smart if its economy, its governance, people, mobility and quality of life are in turn smart.

The key idea is that in today’s digital society, cities and their functions are not only characterized by physical infrastructures and legacies of past generations, but also by something less material, less tangible, such as the quality of communication, of social infrastructures, to say urban areas are also made up of social and intellectual capital. So, if it is possible to affirm that the structures that make up the city are the result of the interaction of those who lived and still live in it, it is equally true that the

infrastructures themselves are roads, buildings or technological networks, they were built to facilitate the improvement of the city itself and their presence provides, in turn, the direction and the urban development (Murgante & Borruso, 2013). Analyzing more deeply this definition we can see (Cocchia, 2014) how the smart city in this case, is strictly connected to the value of human capital, rather than other more purely economic components. The merit of Giffinger's work is to offer every indicator he creates for the definition of the city, seventy-four for thirty-one factors, an "inter-measurable value" (Marciano, 2015, p.38), in such a way as to give the possibility to the dimensions to be compared to each other. The author, however, notes how the model he created is a narrow model, where narrow describes a model that cannot be a paradigm for the totality of available cities, but that can receive reliable answers only from large cities.

Although Giffinger had placed the emphasis on human capital, traceable in the search for the quality of citizens' life, other scholars have considered that speaking only of human capital in those terms was not enough, but it was necessary to link it to other phenomena.

The human factor is certainly a beacon also in other definitions, such as the one by Caragliu, Bo and Nijkamp (2009), through which, at the same time as the human factor emerges, emphasis is placed on the use of infrastructures related to active participation. of the city structure. The authors start from a statistical analysis of the number of people who in the years of their research (2012) lived in cities, and that were about 50.6%, estimating that in 2050 they would have been over 69.6%, and they note how the simple analysis of this data is significant as far as urban quality, economic impact and social action are concerned (Caragliu & del Bo, 2012). Thus, we can state that this definition relates to the correlations between technological factors and social factors. The city described by the authors aims therefore at economic growth to promote the quality of life, through a governance that favors bottom-up action. The operating procedures that accompany cities towards the goal of smart transformation start from below, i. e. from existing resources, places, characters and vocations. And this means that they start from what is at the base, i. e. the citizens, who are the double-edged weapon of these phenomena, having the possibility to accept them and therefore to promote them, as to despise them and make them die (Bonomi & Masiero, 2014, p 109).

A further definition, which touches another of the facets of the smart city, is provided by the SETIS-EU, the Strategic Energy Technologies Information System of the European Union that traces in environmental sustainability an aspect not present in the other definitions because it is labeled as marginal, and which has become the main instrument for combating pollution carried out in recent years. The EU's tendency to decline the issues of smartness especially in terms of energy and the environment is also confirmed by the fact that the main containers for the development of these routes are the strategic plan for energy technologies and the Technology Road Map, which explicitly refer to smart cities, allocating very high budgets for their implementation. In the European context, the territorial characteristics, as well as the spatial objectives, occupy the center of development policies (Barca, 2009) to guarantee, in the same way, widespread growth aimed at an overall social cohesion. This attention to space and territory is linked to the already widely documented disparity in results and endowments that characterize the countries and cities of the European Union. The European Union identifies the smart city not as a phenomenon, but as a solution to offer its citizens and that promotes a better life by reducing the environmental impact from Co2.

Therefore, summing up these three definitions, one can see that there are some basic common characteristics (Cocchia, 2014, p.6):

- ICT and human capital as distinctive elements of the smart city
- The importance of the territory that marks the physical boundaries of the smart city
- The social character of the smart city, which aims at improving its citizens' quality of life through participatory governance.
- Sustainability developed in economic and environmental terms. The economic sustainability that aims at the scrupulous management of the city's resources through a continuous monitoring of its infrastructures and the maximization of services for its citizens. And environmental sustainability that experiments different technologies to achieve goals such as reducing environmental impact.

At this point we can go further, occupying a perspective that provides a broader look and that shows how all definitions share two basic components: a physical component that is to be represented by the infrastructure, and a social component, which instead finds its essence in the users of the city.

Then, aimed at understanding then, the processes of implementation of the smart city, we must consider the paradigm of sustainability in economic terms, or the conscious management of human resources, and therefore the new role of the consumer citizen, invited to be aware of their waste, presence of ICT as to the improvement of the social character with participatory governance. All features that work in synergy to ensure efficiency and urban quality. "What undoubtedly marks the smart city compared to the previous "city models" is the use of new information technologies in the transition to a more sustainable model supported by an urban community willing to revise, to change them, their lifestyles" (Pope, Gargiulo & Battarra, 2016, p.18). The city becomes "senseable" (Fistola, 2013, p 57), that is, capable of perceiving and therefore able to provide data on its components at any time. Precisely this continuous self - monitoring allows to intervene promptly to limit the entropies and direct the transformation towards alternative scenarios. In this scenario, we make room for what are called feedback technologies: in many cases changes in behaviors are so slow and gradual that they are imperceptible to the human eye, so there is a need for technologies that help to understand these differences.

Moving away from the theoretical system of this phenomenon, we realize how (Cocchia, 2014) the distinctive features to outline the perimeter of the smart city, are essentially four:

- The extension of the city on the territory
- The infrastructures that make up the city skeleton
- The people who animate the city
- The political and administrative guide of the city.

However, the empirical literature has shown how we can easily move away from the scientific dictate and how "one of the characteristics of smart cities is that they are all constitutively different from one another" (Bonomi & Masiero, 2014, p.108). When talking about Smart City, the European Union refers mainly to the Set Plan, i.e. the Strategic Plan for Energy and Technology, whose objective is the energy savings of European cities using renewable resources, without, for example giving importance to social inclusion as to the active participation of the social structure. Some cities, especially European cities, based on specificity and territorial needs, have focused on smartness, but only in certain areas such as smart mobility, or smart living, or smart environment. Other cities have started real strategic programs to become Smart City assisted by some consulting companies that deal with Smart City such as IBM, Boston Consulting Group, etc. Several cities have adopted "smart" initiatives or projects without a real specificity, but simply to proclaim themselves "smart" and revive their image.

From here we see a gap between the concept of Smart City and its effective implementation, which means that, to date, there are still difficulties in identifying a holistic definition that is universally accepted by the academic, business and political world. As we have seen, we often experience definitions that, when removed from this context, find their reason to be, but which, when asked to face reality, cannot be applied. However, the innovative scope of the modernization and organization of cities seems to be relegated to two different dimensions. On the one hand, the multiplicity of meanings of which the smart city is imbued and which change according to the domain, shows how this phenomenon acts as a container for homogeneous but partial points of view and purposes. The smart city concept seems to act as a sufficiently generic "terminological umbrella" on which it is easy to obtain a broad consensus (is there any city that wouldn't like to be intelligent?) (De Luca, 2012, p.144). On the other hand, the anthology on previous urban models has highlighted how, from the practical point of view, to say from the point of view of implementation policies, projects, actions and solutions, engineering approaches are generally preferred, and that these approaches have been selective "with respect to the urban areas and to the portions of the population affected by these interventions" (De Luca, 2012, page 145).

#### 4. Conclusions

In light of what we wrote, one understands how the smart city presents itself as an ideal type of city that combines technological and digital innovation with economic and environmental sustainability, and that this brings with it some questions. Why did you feel the need to transform cities into smart cities? What does being smart mean? And which cities are smart?

In recent times, we have started to ask ourselves whether our cities are smart and to which extent. And this need to always be on top of modernity, at the height of technological development has meant that we reasoned by virtue of a fetishism of ranking that sees cities compete with each other to win points that allow them more resources with the result of creating useless antagonisms that bring big cities to be bigger and more technological and small cities to be always smaller and less in step with the times. On the other hand, people were wondering if the cities were sustainable, because at that time sustainability was the dominant paradigm in the contemporary age, with the succession of economic crises and environmental disasters we went from defending ourselves from nature to defending nature (Senator, 2016). Just think that it still is, in synergy with technology. The cities were characterized as places of implementation of this paradigm, centers of policies marked by a sustainable future, respectful from a social, economic and environmental point of view, where the first objective had become the safeguard of the goods that the earth could (and still can) offer.

Then the question arises, legitimate and spontaneous, as a temporal connection between the evolution of sustainability and the new presence of smartness come to light. What is the difference, if there is any, between being “smart” and being “sustainable”? Does one concept exclude the other or can they live together in harmony? Cities and smart communities, however, maintain policies based on sustainable development, so much so that the six dimensions listed by Giffinger share the basic concepts of development, no matter if it is, as mentioned, environmental, social or economic.

The key difference lies in the presence of a technological layer (Ratti, 2013) traceable in the development of the stroke that allows interaction between people, organizations and places, as in the increase of mobile devices, making citizens powerful actors of the urban context both in terms of users of services and of critical indicators. So, the citizen is thought of as a sensor in a smart city that takes the principles of social inclusion and involvement. On the one hand, the grid technologies are too complex for people who are not constantly in contact with these specificities, but on the other hand the user is considered as a “resource man”, easily involved in the new logic. A man who will be easily influenced, even in the field of current fashion, in these solutions. A man, regardless of sex, age and social class, rationalizing their choices to decide for “good living”. Undoubtedly, we must consider the attractiveness of the “new” as the main push towards the perception of the subject not only as a spectator, but also as an actor. A subject that has evolved from a simple consumer to a producer, up to the point of questioning even this dichotomy to become “prosumer”. However, we can see that the growing development of applications and the diffusion of intelligent devices involves a narrow, though growing part of urban users, those who are defined as “technologically aware”, and this, led to extreme consequences, would worsen the inequalities created by the technological gap. Consequently, a smart city should ensure the hosting and development of applications, but also and above all include other events that involve less technological users (Murgante & Borruso, 2013). We have understood that one of the goals of the smart city is undoubtedly to save energy, possibly replacing it with renewable ones, and the efficiency of procedures that see citizens as social actors. But we also guessed as the goal should be social inclusion, through social cohesion, declined in “social protection, employment, education and vocational training, workers’ rights, health, housing, equal opportunities, non-discrimination and immigration” (Bonomi & Masiero, 2014, page 109).

Within such a complex framework, it is believed that integration, inclusion and governance are the key words on which to develop a city that is aware of its rich human and social capital, where people are the true drivers of innovation as responsible designers of smart cities more and more human and even more inclusive than they try to do. The reasoning that has been done, has led to note the overwhelming power of technology in many areas especially related to the concepts of efficiency and individualization: technology that improves, technology that excludes rather than including. And this led to the reasoning on the issues of sustainability, which, by reflecting, records a conceptual myopia

on the trajectories of this phenomenon. Nowadays, if we talk about sustainability, we tend to link this concept to the environmental factor, and to the economic factor, in its various meanings ranging from the search for efficiency to the reduction of waste. But sustainability is much more than environmental and economic sustainability. Within this concept are contained various dimensions, the most important of which is the social one, whose maximum objective is social inclusion, which, not by chance, is the goal to which the smart cities must aim. Social inclusion, within the smart sphere, means the internalization of that phenomenon by the whole city, means understanding the technological matrix, learning new systems and finally accepting them as dominant paradigms. So this reasoning suggests, however, a rethinking of the concept of a person, which is not and must not be defined by the technology that these new realities bring with them. Since sometimes, reasoning through abstractions, we lose the critical lucidity of drawing a clear demarcation between the individual and the person, which is not the same thing, because the individual acquires his role as a person when he enters relationship with the others.

In the same way as the individual / person reasoning, the studies show us the need for real cities that are not replaced by “virtual places”, as well as web connections that do not supplant interpersonal relationships, favoring an approach oriented to the centrality of the human dimension (Pultrone, 2014). What emerges therefore in conclusion is that the studies show us as if we do not change the social habits of citizens, if we do not aim at the inclusion of people in the urban context, the integration between the various social systems that Giffinger has listed as characterizing the smart city, if you do not think like a single integrated system, the change, the turning point towards the smart world, despite being in place, will not fully produce its effects.

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# Analysis of Physical Environment Works in the Context of Public Art

Feray Unlu

## 1. Introduction

In today's cities, it is an assumed fact that there is an intervention to social identity behind the all interventions to physical space. Public places in cities are the places that social interaction happens, city identity appears and the feeling of belonging and social togetherness are developed (Remesar, 2001). The public art works which is the topic of this study and can be considered in researches in urban scale, generally develop to contribute to the problems of physical, visual and social life that can be effective in urban design and planning.

In the "Environmental Psychology" lesson which I maintain to develop within the courses I have been teaching university students from different fields since 2003, many different types of project based, practical works have been done to the students. In this research, the researches which focuses on expressing the behaviors and perceptions in physical environment without giving a function (Ünlü, 2017) are investigated in relation with the "public art" and the level of affecting perceptions and social life is examined. By the performances and placements in public and general usage spaces, criticizing the human relation with physical environment, how their relations with other people are perceived and interpreted has been studied.

### 1.1. Public Sphere and Public Place

Habermas (1992) in his book "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere", defines public sphere as: The life fields defined by tools, processes and places that private people argument, discuss and create public opinion around a common topic related with them. Public sphere is a common activity field that the thoughts, discourse and actions are produced and improved for deciding and realizing common benefit of the society (Habermas, 1992). Public sphere is defined as a functional concept, not a concept that has physical borders. Publicity includes the experiences not only related to space but also shared in daily life (Oktay, 2003).

The concept of public sphere includes all spaces which are not private (Carr et al., 1992). Physical spaces that can be reached by everybody is the base of public sphere. In other words, it is a place that public life happens in it and people interact with each other and structured environment (Çağlın, 2010). The usage rate of public and private sphere changes according to different cultures, beliefs, economic structures, political forces and technological improvements. In addition, the balance of lives in public and private sphere also changes (Carr et al., 1992). The concept of public sphere arises with the establishment of cities. As a result of the growth of cities after industrial revolution, foundation of suburbs and leaving city centers to work fields public life faced with the risk of extinction and the structure of public places has changed. Therefore, it has lost its conjoint effect (Sennet, 1994).

The public places reflect the historical era and culture it is in, its shaping effect on social life is clear when we consider the effect of environment on human psychology and life. So, the design of the public place is of importance to the extent that it affects the social life (Baştürk, 2000). From this point of view, it can be probably claimed that the practical works in public art works and Environmental Psychology lessons may define the relation with the city positively and negatively.

Teaching and learning methods of Environmental Psychology have been focused on examining the relation physical environment and human behavior. The methods and theories about this relation is discussed with the help of visuals like tables, figures, photos and videos; the observations are implemented by experiencing the environment and new thoughts are produced with the critics. As a result of these, the source of human behavior and how it is expressed is tried to be revealed (Ünlü, 2017). One of the problems of the lesson is to inquire the connection between public art sample and designer or public sphere and public place user individuals, city and city life.

The art applied in public place is a practice of creating meaning in order to activate the objects and events (Remesar, 2001). Public art is a kind of art that has relation with its all components of the place including users. The fact of art in public place, cannot be considered away from the public life (Mitchell, 1992). In the scope of Environmental Psychology lesson, rethinking about our lives in the city and its design by making evaluations over specific public art samples produces in Turkey and the World is one of the fundamental topics of the lesson.

## 1.2. Public Art

Public art is the works in freely accessed places, not the museums and galleries. These are streets, parks, squares, facades and common use areas of public buildings. Public Art has included the works that are defined and interpreted from many different perspectives, especially, since the second half of 21st century (Çağlın, 2010). After the traditional public art which is realized by subjective decisions, a new type of public art which is an activist art has developed. New type public art is firstly defined by Lacy (1995) as the art interacts and communicates with different audiences in the issues directly related with their lives with several ways and bases on coming together. From the World War II, in Europe and America, it has become important for renewing the cities beside the aesthetic development of the cities (Hall & Robertson, 2001).

New genre public art, has developed as a reaction to commoditization of art by the institutes and market. By rejecting the individual aesthetic understanding embedded in modernism, it aims to make the artists act by taking responsibility for their future for and with others (Miles, 1997). New genre public art, is an art that aims to integrate with the audience and performed with the motivation of creating places. These places are the places that people in public places can express themselves as a reflection of their behaviors (Sharpet al., 2005). By taking the work of art to the public place of the audience, it becomes a part of daily life (Jakob, 1995). Raising awareness is one of the essential functions of the artist in new genre public art (Boynudelik & Eğrikavuk, 2006).

Richard Serra, in 1981, divided the square which is formed by the intersection of two public building with his historical public work of art the "Tilted Arc" which is about 36 meters' length and 3.5 meters high corroded steel plate in the middle of the New York Federal Plaza. This work of art, is a challenge to the bourgeois bureaucracy in modernist city (Sharp, 2007). The work was discussed too much and was removed in 1989 by the court decision. That date is symbolized as the collapse of late modernist art and the later art works are called "Post-Tilted Arc" (Miles,1997).

Another historical example is the "Vietnam Veteran Memorial" which was placed to Washington, DC in 1982 by Maya Lin. This is a statue that the names of 58.000 American soldiers who were killed in Vietnam War between 1959-1975 are written on it. It was placed in order to call the people's attention to the injustice that social or ethnic groups have faced with (Blair et al., 1998).

Banksy who is one of the most important artist of the graffiti which is one of the several art branches related to the public art, has been performed his work of arts which has anti-war and anti-capitalist messages as a way of protest since 2000 (Truman, 2010).

The "Cloud Gate" of Anish Kapoor which was placed in the middle of the AT&T plaza in Chicago Millennium Park is one of the most famous abstract sculptures which shows the silhouette of the city on its reflective surface (URL 1, 2018).

In Turkey, the public art started to raise by art projects with several social groups in civil areas (Tan & Boynik, 2007). Then, the activity of Nişantaşı Pedestrian Exhibitions which is realized by the contribution of Şişli Municipality is considered as the first great public art project in Turkey. In the activity in which Fulya Erdemci was the curator, 46 project of 38 architect, artist and designer were exhibited in the streets, front sides, pavements, cafes and showcases of the city (Çağlın, 2010).

Another important project which is identified as new genre public art and one of the first in Turkey is Oda Project which has been implemented by Özge Açıkkol, Güneş Savaş and Seçil Yersel since 2000. The Productions which has been started in an apartment in Galata with the interaction of the artists an residents is continuing independent from a place at the moment (URL 2, 2018).

Public art plays important role in creating an authentic environment, supporting a creative manner, improving social integration and increasing life quality (McCarthy, 2006). It is taking part in

urban renovation projects in order to provide different perception of the place, to make sense of urban experience, to arise and to make the social differences visible (Knauss, 2006). The common goal of both urban design and the public art is creating meaning for the place (Remesar, 2001).

Defining and solving the problems of public places in different measures are the common topics of both urban design and public art. The public art used in urban design may become a tool for saving and improving both aesthetic and urban values and making human-environment interaction positive. As a result of both practice, the interventions to both public place and public sphere have raised. Within the scope of Environmental Psychology course, by means of the applied works produced by the students and their interventions to their environments, it is aimed to raise awareness about the level of affecting social life by activating senses, emotions, behaviors and thoughts.

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Scope of the Study

The physical environment focused applied works performed by students in Environmental Psychology lesson in two universities in the capital city of Turkey, Atılım University and Başkent University public sphere, public place and public life perceptions have been studied through the physical environment focused works produced in the scope of lessons with the students of Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design of Atılım University and the students of different departments and Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design of Başkent University between the years 2004-2017.

Within the observations done in physical environment by embracing public place behaviors and perceptions have been studied, the opinions aiming to understand public scope behaviors and increase awareness of physical environment are discussed. As a result of this, perceptions of participants and application and visualization methods for the best expression of themselves are evaluated. By using experimental and observation based methods, it is focused to study the connection between the participants and the public place and features and meaning of selected public places. The participants who are free to choose a working place were chosen the nearest public places, city, district and the campus as working places.

The students are expected to think on the meanings expressed by public places, behavioral patterns improve dependent on these meanings, formatting principles in these places, the effects of these formats and the relation of each physical environment component with each other. In order to demonstrate their capabilities, by means of experiencing public place, they are provided to reach the final product with appropriate material and application. In this study, applied works have been produced since 2004 are sampled.



**Figure 1.** Gökhan Koray Gültekin Work, 2004-2005 Fall



**Figure 2.** Tuğba Kaya and Müşerref Kaya Work, 2004-2005 Fall



**Figure 3.** Gülşah Albayrak and Neslihan Salihoğlu Work, 2004-2005 Spring



**Figure 4.** Emin Sargin and Murat Şatana Work, 2004-2005 Spring



**Figure 5.** Gökhan Kılıçer Work, 2005-2006 Fall



**Figure 6.** Özlem Celen, Sevilay Demir, Fatih Özerkan and Aylin Topuz Work, 2005-2006 Fall



**Figure 7.** Müge Erman, Fatma Genç, Halime Helvalı and Nükhet Hoşgören Work, 2005-2006 Fall



**Figure 8.** Zeynep Altan, Pelin Asfuroğlu and Ahu Ayar Work, 2005-2006 Fall



**Figure 9.** Gizem Sazan Work, 2005-2006 Spring



**Figure 10-11.** Meriç Akar Work, 2006-2007 Spring



**Figure 12.** Kübra Gürleşen and Damla Soyer Work, 2006-2007 Spring



**Figure 13.** Murat Ataman and Yiğit Ultav Work, 2006-2007 Spring



**Figure 14.** Sinan Savaş Work, 2006-2007 Spring



**Figure 15.** Sevinç Eryılmaz and Hatice Tamer Work, 2007-2008 Fall



**Figure 16.** Burcu Ergin, Sinem Koçak and Tuğba Yalçın Work, 2007-2008 Fall



**Figure 17.** Ferudun Atalay, Akın Bıyıkoğlu and Göksu Tırnova Work, 2008-2009 Spring



**Figure 18.** Tuğçe Çelebi Work, 2008-2009 Spring



**Figure 19.** Zehra M. Aytemiz and Berrin İşcanoğlu Work, 2009-2010 Fall



**Figure 20.** Can Baççıl Work, 2011-2012 Spring



**Figure 21.** Selçuk Karabüyük, Sefa Koç, Veysi Okay, Mert Serttaş and Sıla Tuncel Work, 2016-2017 Spring

**Note:** All the photographs were taken by the author, Ünlü, 2004-2017.

### 3. Results

The significations of the studies produced by the students from the Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design at Başkent University and the students from different departments are; the installation inquiring personal needs and sufficient area for developments relations in public place (placing only one table in the settlement with armchairs in classroom) (see Figure 1); the performance of creating one person corridor as an individual area in Kızılay, Ankara for the discomfort because of crowd (corridor created with ropes) (see Figure 2); the installation criticizing the relation established

by the whole glass front side with inside and outside from the aesthetic, scene and heating perspective as a whole (nylon canvas covered the building' front side) (see Figure 3); the installation of the tents expressing the lack of service busses in the campus after a specific hours in the evening and defining needs and expectations of society (one person tents in school campus) (see Figure 4); the installation focusing to make people noticed that the announcements on the notice boards are not read (closing the notice board partially by tapes) (see Figure 5); the installation criticizing traffic and urban life, expressing that not using the overcrossing and passing from the street is dangerous (closing road with strip) (see Figure 6); the installation symbolizing the reaction to the people who do not enter the queue at the bus stop and do not respect others and get on the bus (putting chairs in front of the bus stop) (see Figure 7); the installation symbolizing university youth are much more interested their appearances than the social environments and social events (putting newspapers on the mirrors) (see Figure 8); the installation criticizing that the building's front side do not have enough windows and people have to build relations in closed areas in their daily life (human face made of newspapers in the darkness, turn the face to the wall) (see Figure 9); the installation making people think about homeless people and integrating social layers (the angle seen from a hole on a paper box placed in a busy street in the city) (see Figure 10-11); the installation which aims to make people think about urban identity and social transformation by using the iron fences which obstruct to sit in front of the cafes or on the walls in Kızılay (putting plastic bags full of newspaper pieces symbolizing human head on the iron fences- plastic bag and newspaper pieces are used because of the use in daily life) (see Figure 12); the installation inviting people to use the overcrossing on the Eskişehir Road, Ankara (red carpet on the overcrossing stairs) (see Figure 13); the installation representing the reaction to the locked door out of use- in the faculty building (a wall, made of bricks in the apron) (see Figure 14); the installation symbolizing the reaction to the cars that do not allow pedestrians to pass, showing that nylon human figures are given more importance than the real humans- cars didn't pass over the installation (human figures made of colorful plastic bags on the street) (see Figure 15); the performance by the students who couldn't find enough study area because all classrooms are busy and use the faculty corridors as study area (putting armchairs in the corridors and study) (see Figure 16); the installation symbolizing the reaction to discomfort of the high, though and stone appearance of retaining wall very near to building (putting the green net symbolizing the nature on the wall) (see Figure 17); the installation of a model representing room of an individual which has multi meanings like a criticize the system from inside or outside or never connect with the system; interprets that individuals start to have a dark world; critique of belonging and being a society feelings because modern life and structuring pushes human to live alone in a box (the model of transparent box represents the room and human body in it become gradually in ink) (see Figure 18).

The works produced by the students of Atılım University, Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design and their significations are the followings: the installation that make people to meet face to face with each other, because of the thought that all the garbage and wastes in empty field in the campus are the product of everybody living in and around the campus (putting a shining and reflective stripe reflecting who enters to the campus gate and pass over the road) (see Figure 19); the installation criticize that cars and parking areas creates more sense of belonging by seizing the nature and basic needs of human body (putting a bed in the car park area) (see Figure 20); the installation criticizing the relation of human in structure and real life by exhibiting symbolic human figures drawn in the buildings and in real life in order to make people perceive measure in architecture and design projects (paper human figures in different standing positions) (see Figure 21).

Most of the applied works are installation and some are performance works. Most of these installations are developed as a reaction to the power of authority and some are developed as a reaction to the power of public place users which means the reaction to self-centered society acting without considering others. The little performance works were performed in order to interact directly with public place users (see Figures 2 and 16). The contribution of these kind of works to public place is making people to focus thinking social meaning for changing the structure in these fields and places. At this point, applied works are produced in order to help to make connections between personal

history and place, the district-city and the society they live in, and to be a catalyzer for removing negative effects.

#### 4. Conclusion and Discussion

Retaining the knowledge about the public sphere and public life in the scope of Environmental Psychology lesson is important for the students who will be designers to design more sensitive designs and for those who are from different fields to be highly aware and conscious individuals. The reason for making applied works in the lesson is that only giving the information about public sphere and public place theoretically is not enough with itself in order to raise awareness. The aims of these works are to develop the creative thinking and evaluation skills of students, to enlarge their vision, to encourage them to take responsibility about public spheres, to enrich or transform social values by thinking on them.

When we think about the effects of public art on the city, the applied works provide different communication opportunities beside several positive contributions to public place. These positive contributions may be stated as empowering sense of place, improving the quality of physical environment, regulation social behavior, making the participants develop critical approaches to their daily life because of easy accessibility, being able to criticize meanings and contribution the formation of a positive identity.

The new genre public art works in Turkey are extremely improving because they include several meanings in them from the improving urban design perspective. However, it can be performed only with the efforts of some municipalities, non-governmental organizations or own efforts of the artists. The dialogues with the participations of urban residents should be disseminated since they are works that take place in our daily life for developing democratic and pluralistic understanding. If we utilize this dialogue as participation to decision making processes about the places lived in, it can be possible to create different opportunities in physical environment and cultural structure. By including these kind of activities in daily life, they may become the activities that identify the society or the society defines itself.

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# Terrorism, Religious Identity and Immigration The #MuslimHusbandRocks Social Media Campaign<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Over the last years, the Islamic terrorist attacks against Europe have significantly influenced the perception of danger and (in)security (Beck, 1992; Baumann, 1999; Svendsen, 2008) by individuals and social groups (Silei, 2015; Lianos, 2016; Rufino, 2017; Federici & Romeo, 2017), reinforcing those suspicions and fears towards the Islamic community which had already taken shape after the attacks against the Twin Towers (Morgan & Poynting, 2016; Vertigans, 2016). On 9/11, in fact, papers, television and the Internet brought «the horror [of the attacks] into every household, unremittingly, insistently, not always edifyingly. Most commentary stress, indeed magnify, the expected and the predictable in what most people feel: terrible loss, anger, outrage, a sense of violated vulnerability, a desire for vengeance and un-restrained retribution» (Said, 2005, 108-109). Someone, and first of all the then US President George W. Bush, said we were at war «but – Said wonders (*ib.*) –, on what fronts [...]? No answers are provided, except the vague suggestion that [...] Islam are what “we” are up against». Therefore, after 9/11, several politicians, and among them the most important leaders of the Western democracies, have needed to put a name to the barbarous attack the so-called “Western society” was victim of, and in order to do so, they have resorted to one of the most ancient paradigms in social studies (Tajfel, 1978), which concerns the idea of a contrast between “us”, which in our case consists of the injured Western world, and “them”, which has started to be usually identified with Islam (Lee, 2015; Morgan, 2016; Jackson, 2018).

The perception of (in)security related to the “fear of Islam” has also been heavily forced by news media (Curran, 2002; Morcellini, 2002; Bourke, 2005; Chomsky, 2011; Crenshaw, 2011; Ranstorp, 2007; Weimann, 2015; Altheide, 2017; Romania, 2017), which have often endorsed the idea that Islam as a whole would be a violent religion, or supporting the theory according to which terrorism represents a form of violent behaviour against Western democracies, reinforcing the perception of (in)security which characterises a society already exposed to the “virus of fear” (Bourke, 2005; Rufino, 2017). Doing so, media have chipped in to back this lecture of terrorism, not to say about the way in which they have validated military strategies aimed to face the terrorist attacks. But, above all, they have given to public opinion what Halliday (2011, xi) defines as a «global vocabulary of war», where the word “Islam” consists of a synonym of “terrorism”».

In this way, news media have contributed to share the easy equations between migrants and criminals, between Muslims and terrorists or even between Muslims and people whose relationships are based on the logic of submission, spreading in this way negative stereotypes and feeding not only prejudice, but also fears towards Muslims who live in our Country (Marsden & Savigny, 2016; Altheide, 2017; Saifuddin & Matthes, 2017).

Therefore, if mainstream media have represented tools through which the equations “Islam=terrorism” has been spread all over the world (Hess & Kalb, 2003; Habermas & Von Hesse, 2009; Seib & Janbek, 2010; Huyghe, 2011), catching on especially in those geographical, cultural and social contexts mainly exposed to forms of racism, intolerance or discrimination (Marsden & Savigny, 2016) or in the ones in which a rational and reasonable “concern about terrorism” has shifted to an irrational and emotional “fear of terrorism” (Battistelli, 2016), after the Paris terroristic attacks of November 2015, the Net has become not only the main tool for terroristic propaganda (Winter, 2015; Maggioni & Magri, 2015; Ferrigni & Spalletta, 2015a), but also the preferred space – due to its being the place in which today

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<sup>\*\*\*</sup> The paper is the joint work of both authors. In particular, Marica Spalletta wrote paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.1, Nicola Ferrigni wrote paragraphs 3.2 and 4.

public opinion tends to take shape (boyd, 2011; Boccia Artieri, 2012; McCombs, 2014) – in which several campaigns (starting from the well-known #NotInMyName media campaign) have been developed aiming to denounce that Islam doesn't rhyme with terrorism.

## 2. Aims & Methodology

Based on these premises, the paper focuses on a very meaningful case of social media “counter narratives” (Altheide, 2017) which has recently involved Italian public opinion, that is the #muslimhusbandrocks social media campaign. The paper aims to understand *if* and *how* today social networks represent a very effective tool through which people can express their disagreement in respect of the equation “Islam=terrorism”. The paper belongs to a wider research involved in the framework of a national interest research project sponsored by the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research and focused on the relationship between media and terrorism entitled “Media and terrorisms. The effects of communication and digital media on insecurity perception”.

Before explaining the main phases in which our research can be split, we need to preliminarily focus on the episode which kicked-off the social media campaign. Few days after the terrorist attack against the city of London (3<sup>rd</sup> June 2017), which involved an Italian-Moroccan young boy, Youssef Zaghba, the Italian right-oriented newspaper *Libero* published in its front page the title “The Italian bastard”, which summarized several articles (placed in the following pages) which explicitly aimed at warning European women about the potential danger of a relationship with a Muslim man. The position undertaken by *Libero* reflects the newspaper traditional editorial policy: in the Italian journalistic scenario, in fact, *Libero* embodies the idea of advocacy journalism (Schudson, 1978; Hallin & Mancini, 2004) to the point that several authors consider it as well as the “house organ” of a given political party/ideology (Agostini, 2012; Bergamini, 2016). Academic literature also highlights that over the last years this structural attitude to take extreme positions on burning issues has peaked most notably emphasizing a dangerous relationship between immigration, religion and terrorism (Binotto, Bruno & Lai, 2016; Ugolini & Fanara, 2017).

In our case study, the *Libero* approach in respect of these topics takes shape especially in two different articles. In the first one, which specifically refers to the quoted title “The Italian bastard”, the journalist Renato Farina (2017, 3) defined mixed unions between Muslim man and woman coming from other religion as a «dangerous folly», pointing out the deprivation of freedom of the “Italian mum” of the attacker: «His mum is “our stuff”, she had learned the basics of catechism, typical of a western society. Then she married an Islamic man [...] and she had no longer any right to bring up his son. If you marry an Islamic, you must adhere to his faith, or otherwise accept that your son will grow up trained by Koranic verses». Farina ended his *pamphlet* expressly inciting Italian women not to marry Islamic men: «Women, don't marry Islamic men. Don't give daughters and sons to Imams. If all goes well, you become slaves. If something goes wrong, you will give birth to a terrorist. You don't deserve it».

Another article, written by Simona Bertuzzi (2017, 4), argues that «Western women, daughters of an open and secular culture, end up submissive when they join the faithful in the Koran» and warns European women about the risks they take marrying Islamic men: physical and psychological violence, submission, destruction of themselves. Bertuzzi also underlines they threaten to lose their femininity and their emancipation “under the oppression of the Islamic veils”: «black, overwhelming hoods to carry around, to wear all the time. And beauty reduced to a little light».

After *Libero* published these two articles, hundreds of Italian women, married or engaged to a Muslim, replied to what they perceived as a discriminatory campaign against Muslims (and more specifically against the mixed union phenomenon), sharing on social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) their happy personal life experiences, incited to do that by the Italian freelance journalist Laura Silvia Battaglia, who is not only the campaign promoter, but also a woman directly affected by what *Libero* published, due to her being involved in a mixed union with a Muslim man.

In order to understand *if* and *how* today social networks represent a very effective tool through which people can express their disagreement in respect of the equation “Islam=terrorism”, we carried out a social research consisting of two phases, which focus on different textual corporuses and mix different research tools: on one hand qualitative interviews to key informants (Corbetta, 2015), in this case

represented by the quoted Laura Silvia Battaglia, on the other hand social media content and sentiment analysis (Neuendorf, 2002; Krippendorff, 2004; Macnamara, 2005; Altheide & Schneider, 2013; Ceron *et al.*, 2014; Pozzi *et al.*, 2017) focused on the social media campaign #muslimhusbandrocks performed on Twitter.

### 3. Findings

#### 3.1. Phase 1

The first phase of our research focuses on Laura Silvia Battaglia's reaction against the articles published by *Libero*, which has taken shape in the contents she posted on her social network accounts, in which she shared her resentment and explained the reason why she promoted the social campaign.

In the same day in which the "charged article" was published, in fact, on Battaglia's Facebook wall appeared a post in which she addressed some "bad news" to all the people who agree with *Libero* statement, arguing that «we are happy even though we have married Islamic men»; the posts consisted also of a picture in which she held a white paper with the hand-written hashtag #hosopatounmusulmano and its English translation #muslimhusbandrocks. Text and image implicitly invited other Italian women married to Islamic men to share their experience, joining the social media campaign she had started.

Immediately the posts achieved several "likes", "comments" and "shares", coming from both people involved in mixed unions and public opinion disgusted by what *Libero* had published. Only quoting some examples, Giada Frana, who met her Tunisian husband at university in 2009, wrote as a caption to the post shared on Facebook that «When I say that no, he does not beat me and no, he did not change when we were living in Tunisia for two years (I was moving around the country by myself, I wore what I liked, I went out with friend, sometimes people tell me 'yes, but he's different'. Different from whom?». Another woman, sharing the "I married a Muslim" hashtag, joked writing «He got the short hand of the deal, with an Italian wife».

At the same time in which the campaign was going to become viral, Laura Silvia Battaglia started to be interviewed by several colleagues, answering whom she firstly addressed the language of the article: «Nowadays [in Italy] the term "Muslim" and/or the awful "Islamic" are no longer used to refer to a religious community, but to a whole ethnicity, a "race". This is why we used the hashtag "I married a Muslim", even though the underlying concept is "I married a person"». Another key concept that Battaglia wanted to underline concerned specifically the mixed unions phenomenon: «Let them know we exist, that there are Muslim men who love us, who respect their wives, who educate their children and who never forced us to do anything», she told *Newsweek*. «Let them know that love and respect exist, especially if you are good people, and if you focus on the human being above any other category». At the end of the day, Battaglia summarized all her thinking, remarks and concerns in a letter addressed to *Libero*, in which she stated that, according to her, the real folly isn't marrying an Islamic man, but marrying men who don't know what is love and respect, and – as she wrote – "unfortunately these men come from all the different religions".

In order to better understand the reasons which have aroused Battaglia's reaction, we decided to interview the Italian freelance journalist, asking her to share with us what she felt – as woman married with Islamic man – reading the articles. «A certain, rising resentment – she answered – before all against the way in which *Libero* is used to cover the news, and especially the ones which involve immigrants or Muslims». According to her, in fact, «*Libero's* articles reveals an authoritarian attitude in respect of mixed unions, which would represent a "potential hub" in order to give birth to perspective 100% terrorists, without any room for doubt». In this way, she added, «suspects and concerns against mixed unions can easily take shape, producing isolation, hate and fear».

Confirming that the main goal the campaign wanted to achieve consisted of creating and making available a space in which people can share and prove «a "normalcy" usually not provided of a real newsworthiness», Battaglia rejected the idea that she would aim at encouraging a public and political debate concerning the relationship between terrorism, Islam and the immigration issue. «That is way – she stated – I answered "no" to several tv talks shows. I don't want to create political parties or

movements; I'm not interested in tv fist-fighting. I'm only a citizen who simply asks for respect and, at the same time, a journalist who believes that we must protest when journalism turns into trash». If these are the main reasons why Battaglia started to protest, the second part of our interview focuses on the role played by social network in order to share it. «Today we have to deal with a growing hate speech, which takes shape both in mainstream and digital media. Of course, when I decided to share my protest mainly through social networks, I was aware of the risks, but I wasn't surprised, or I didn't suffer due to the predictable hate speech. On the contrary, my husband and I had a right laugh». Nonetheless, Battaglia confirms that today the Net plays a leading role in order to encourage public opinion at taking a position, and it happens because «today people don't trust the "good faith" of mainstream media, and in several cases, they are right». In addition, Battaglia stated, «today it is necessary that everyone stands up for defending him or her ideas, come what may. Only doing that we can transform the virtual community which takes shape on the Net in a real community, debating or pro-active».

### 3.2. Phase 2

After Laura Silvia Battaglia's post, several Italian women joined the campaign, posting their photos in her same pose or sharing private images with their Islamic husbands. At the same time, many people – who aren't married to Islamic people – have joined the campaign, sharing the posts or the articles concerning this topic.

Therefore, the second part of our research focuses on the social media campaign generated by the quoted post of Laura Silvia Battaglia, aiming to study topics and tones which have characterized it. To this purpose, we have analysed all the contents quoting the hashtags #hosposatounmusulmano and/or #muslimhusbandrocks, posted on Twitter in the timeframe running from 7<sup>th</sup> June (when the campaign started) and ending on 30<sup>th</sup> September (the day in which the last tweet was published). The analysed corpus consists of 135 tweets.

We decided to focus especially on Twitter rather than Facebook or Instagram first of all because of the traditional open access to the shared contents allowed by tweeters in respect of what happens on the other social network services, where people often prefer to limit their contents on to "friends accounts". A second main reason why we prefer Twitter concerns the use of the hashtags, which strongly characterizes this social network in respect of the other ones: over the last years, in fact, several researches have confirmed the importance of hashtags in social media campaigns (Tuten *et al.*, 2014) and it has emerged also in our research on the issue of (in)security related to the risk of terrorist attacks during Pope Francis' Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy (Ferrigni, Spalletta 2018).

The tweets analysis consists of three different parameters: the author of the tweet, the topics the tweets focus on, the tones through which the authors express their sentiment in respect of the topics.

Focusing on the first parameter, about 1 in 4 tweets comes from "journalistic authors" (the 14.9% from journalists, the 8.8% from news media), while the 6.1% are posted by blogger and the 11.4% by associations, forums and online communities. Therefore, the most significant part of our textual corpus (the 58.8%) comes from authors we can defined as "generic users".

It is very interesting because, in other research carried out on Twitter coverage (Ferrigni, Spalletta 2015b, 2018), there was a lesser percentage of tweets coming from journalistic or media authors in respect of the ones posted by generic users. So, the #hosposatounmusulmano social media campaign involves a very meaningful number of journalistic accounts (Table 1).

**Table 1 – Tweets Authors**

Author	%
Generic user	58.8
Journalist	14.9
Association/Forum/Community	11.4
Media	8.8
Blogger	6.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Referring to the tweet contents, our research shows 4 meaningful findings. First of all, even though *Libero* articles focus on Islam and terrorism, suggesting a relationship between them, only 10.7% of the analysed tweets quotes the topic “terrorism” and, when it happens, it tends only to refer to *Libero* (quoted from the 11.8%) rather than to confirm or reject the relation between these two issues.

Therefore, if terrorism isn’t the tweets main issue, which are the most recurrent topics? Data analysis shows a very meaningful number of tweets concerning mixed unions (22.3%), that is the second main question on which *Libero* focuses. It is interesting to note that this topic is usually associated with the one concerning personal experiences of Italian women married to Islamic men (14.8%) to the point that tweeting about mixed unions often appears to be a “personal issue”.

On the other hand, the 11% of the analysed tweets focuses on the violence against women, often aiming to explain that violence is not a matter of religion (7.4%) and to denounce that linking these two ideas is a clear demonstration of racism (6.6%). These three topics mark the shift from a personal experience dimension to a not necessarily personal one.

The 9.6% of tweets talks about the people involvement in the social campaign, which can be expressed posting a photo like the one shared by Laura Battaglia or only quoting the hashtag. Finally, the 5.8% of the tweets focuses on the social sharing of the hashtag, highlighting its viral diffusion (Table 2).

**Table 2 – Tweets Topics**

Topic	%
Mixed Unions	22.3
Personal Experience	14.8
Libero	11.8
Violence	11.0
Terrorism	10.7
Involvement	9.6
Religion	7.4
Racism	6.6
Viral sharing	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The final part of our analysis concerns the tweets tones. The research shows that the 14.9% of the tweets is characterized by an informative tone and, as a consequence, expresses a neutral sentiment. Of course, this sentiment belongs mainly to the tweets coming from journalistic authors.

Moving from a neutral sentiment to the polarized ones, on the whole the 34.2% of the analysed tweets expresses a negative sentiment, posting caustic, sarcastic or teasing comments (9.6%) or denouncing, provoking, arguing (24.6%).

On the contrary, about 1 in 2 tweets presents a positive sentiment: they principally aim to share the tweeters’ support in respect of the women injured by *Libero* (42.1%), but there is a meaningful 8.8% of tweets which expresses people’s agreement in fun and light-hearted ways (Table 3).

**Table 3 – Tweets Tones**

Tones	%
Positive	50.9
Supporting	42.1
Funny	8.8
Negative	34.2
Polemic/Aimed to denounce	24.6
Satirical	9.6
Neutral (Informative)	14.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusion

As we said in the paper introduction, over the last years the development of public opinion in respect to the potential relationship between the different (but often related) issues of terrorism, religion and immigration has been deeply affected by the way in which mainstream and social media have reported this interweaving. At the same time, if mainstream media coverage has tended to involve both narratives and counter-narratives, social network sites have emerged as the more symbolic and effective space in which the “official narratives” can be broken thanks to the effort coming from people’s grassroots engagement.

Referring to our case study, the relationship between the mainstream coverage proposed by *Libero* and counter-narratives which have taken shape on the Net represents the starting point in the discussion of the main findings emerging from our research. Therefore, today can we consider social network as the space in which effective counter-narratives concerning the relationship between terrorism, religion and immigration take shape, in several cases also breaking down that mainstream coverage coming from some advocacy news media? And in which case a social media campaign can be considered really successful?

Even though our case study doesn’t allow us to draw general conclusions, it shows several interesting trends which can be applied also in respect of other similar situations.

In order to answer our research question, according to us we need to distinguish a “top layer”, which refers to public opinion perception, and a “deeper level”, which concerns a more scientific evaluation. From the first point of view, there is no doubt that – in people general perception – the #muslimhusbandrocks social campaign has been successful to the point that it achieved the status of “viral campaign”. Few days after the campaign beginnings, the same Laura Silvia Battaglia said she was surprised by the number of responses: «I did not expect the campaign to become so viral and that many couples decided to bare their faces, together with their children. This sign is more than positive», she states). On the contrary, if we move from the “top level” of analysis to a deeper one, the answer of our question needs to be split in two different sections, which concern separately the first (the Net as a place in which counter-narratives can take shape) and the second (when a social media counter-narrative is really successful) part of the quoted research question.

On one hand, in fact, the analysed case confirms that, in respect of the more advocacy positions often held by some mainstream news media that encourage fears and recriminations against Muslims, social networks offer public opinion a space in which forms of resistance and rejection of stereotypes can take shape and, at the same time, a place in which practices of inclusion and cultural and religious integration are encouraged.

On the other hand, however, not all social media campaigns ensure the same level of efficacy, because efficient “counter narratives” require a really public interest in respect of the topic and a storytelling which meet social media “rules”. This is exactly the case of #muslimhusbandrocks, which low level of diffusion – according to us – depend on the idea on which the campaign is based rather than on the shared endorsement of *Libero*.

Concerning this second perspective, we can’t rule out the possibility that several persons didn’t join the campaign because they really think that Islam is synonymous of terrorism, and that Islamic immigrants bring terrorism in Italy. From this point of view, it is not a coincidence that several tweets focus especially on the different culture, tradition, lifestyle that characterized Islamic people to the point that they represent another world in respect of the Western one. At the same time, we also can’t rule out the possibility that several people decide to not share their opinion because they don’t have an opinion on this topic, but due to rules of the Net, doing so their no-opinion becomes a shared opinion.

However, according to us the low level of diffusion of the #muslimhusbandrocks social media campaign depends principally on the idea on which it is based: sharing the personal experience of being married to Islamic men, which is clearly not so common among Italian women. Who is in this condition, has joined the campaign, due to an emotional involvement; on the contrary, who is not in the quoted condition, has joined the campaign only for rational reasons, sharing journalistic articles focused on this topic. After all, the same Laura Silvia Battaglia pointed out that her post (and the related social

media campaign) didn't aim at encouraging anyone to marry a Muslim: «I don't run a wedding agency», she said, «we are just saying that thousands of Muslim people are wonderful people and, simply, they exist. We found them and we're happy. Deal with it». Off course, when the topic newsworthiness has fallen down, people have nothing to share. Therefore, our research seems to confirm again that tweeting is a matter of emotion, and when there is not emotion to share, also the social reaction is really limited.

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# Tinder as a Technological Platform and Dating Apps as Catalysts for Social Representations.

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## 1. Introduction

Social Networks Sites enable new forms of relationships (Boyd and Ellison, 2007; Comunello, 2010; Boccia Altieri, 2012) and create new interaction contexts (Boyd, 2014). Given these premises, we propose to investigate the way technology used for courtship - particularly Tinder - influences the creation of *social representations* (Moscovici, 2001) and the construction of identity. The dating platform is a framework within which user develops *self-presentation* by implementing rational strategies.

From the analysis of the emerging literature (Ranzini and Lutz, 2016; David and Cambre, 2016) there is a tendency to study dating apps mainly as a technological object, without going into the implications these can have in the way they shape relationships. On the other hand, in our opinion, those who have studied the evolution of social relations in this context have not fully considered the technological impact.

Our work explores the interdependence between these two aspects: Tinder as a technological platform and dating apps as catalysts for social representations. Tinder is a location-based real-time dating app.

This differs from similar dating apps for three main reasons: it accelerates a social trend making online dating socially acceptable; made the match system game-like and since "everyone has it" its users perceive it more as a social network site than a hook-up app.

The key element of the interface is the *swipe*, derived from touch technology for mobile. Based on our set objectives, the evolution of the app interface and user experience will be analyzed through the concept of circularity (Manovich, 2001).

In the preliminary phase, we will use exploratory focus groups to understand the set of expectations, attitudes, opinions, desires that guide user behavior. We will present the results of this first research phase and the resulting methodological framework.

## 2. The research framework: research question, objectives, method and phases

The overall objective of this work is to explore the hypothesis of a circularity in the construction of the meanings that users share as social representations around dating apps.

We particularly propose to investigate *how* the technology used for courtship, influences the creation of *social representations* (Moscovici, 2001) and the construction of identity.

The object of the research is Tinder as dating app observed in the dual aspect of: platform and a framework within which user develops self-presentation through the use of the interface.

To respond adequately to the research question, our work, which is configured as a single case study (Yin, 2005, 2014) on the Tinder dating app proposes four specific objectives:

- Understanding how Tinder works as a technological object.
- Understanding users' meanings and perceptions about appointments (understanding the meaning and perception attributed to appointments by users)
- Understanding how the use of the platform influences and is influenced by social representations
- Identifying the mechanisms that come into play in the process of building users' identities.

It starts from a qualitative exploratory phase in order to adequately inform about the second quantitative phase by specifying the research questions and the variables that will guide it, in order to shed light on the scarce theoretical and / or empirical knowledge of the phenomenon (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2001).

The presented research plan will follow a bottom-up path, therefore: the mix strategy emerges in the research practice to find adequate answers to the initial research questions, but it is also open to the formulation of new questions that come to be built up during the investigation (Thashakkori and Creswell, 2007).

In this case, adopting a Case Study Research focused on a single dating app is extremely useful in capturing the dynamic aspects of the phenomenon that we want to investigate through the use of multiple sources of evidence. In fact, this research strategy is particularly suitable when the researcher has a limited control over the events, the attention is placed on a contemporary phenomenon in a real life context and the research questions, as in this case, are oriented to understand "how" a certain phenomenon develops (Yin, 2005).

To respond adequately to the research question, a mixed-method of an exploratory type was developed (Amaturo, Punziano, 2016; Teddlie, Tashakkori, 2009; Bryman, 2006). It starts from a qualitative exploratory phase in order to adequately inform the second quantitative phase specifying the research questions and the variables that will guide it, in order to shed light on the scarce theoretical and / or empirical knowledge of the phenomenon (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2001).

The presented research plan will follow a bottom-up path, therefore: the mix strategy emerges in the research practice to find adequate answers to the initial research questions, but it is also open to the formulation of new questions that come to be built up during the investigation (Thashakkori and Creswell 2007).

By taking into account the objectives that the research aims to achieve, the work is divided into four phases:

- *A preliminary study on Tinder as a technological object and as a catalyst for social representations.*
- *Synthesis of the previous results which enables conceptualization and construction of a survey.*
- *Analysis of empirical data and further qualitative research.*

### **2.1. The first phase of the research: an exploratory analysis.**

The first phase of the research was carried out through two distinct activities:

- A study on the functioning of the technological platform through a desk analysis of the existing literature.
- A study of what meanings and perceptions tinder users share about dating realized through the *focus group* technique.

This is a survey technique based on a group discussion around a thematic focus that the researcher intends to investigate in depth.

The discussion takes place between a small number of participants (generally from 5 to 10) in the presence of one or more moderators and one or more observers.

This technique is useful for understanding the phenomenon that we intend to investigate thanks to the many relational dynamics that are established between the group members, by bringing out not only opinions and motivations, but also the intensity of feelings, meanings, processes and the norms of the group, facilitating the comparison between different points of view.

In fact, the focus groups were not used to gather information on individual people with reference to their experience on Tinder, but to ensure that they emerge from their relational dynamics, through dialogue between the members of the group. Therefore, the central element of this technique is interaction. The participants were asked to discuss and confront each other about the subject of investigation, with the possibility of forming an opinion even during the discussion or, on the other hand, to reinforce the one explicitly expressed initially. The use of the focus group was particularly helpful for research purposes, as it allowed participants to express themselves freely through a form of communication familiar to them: peer discussion. In this way, we tried to recreate a situation similar to the ordinary process of opinion shaping (Colella, 2011).

In this phase of the research two focus groups were conducted, in which 12 people took part, aged between 22 and 35, resident in the city of Rome, plus two team members.

Sampling based on social networks of research team and Facebook groups dedicated to Tinder.

Each meeting lasted about two hours and thirty minutes and was divided into 3 parts. In the first phase of "breaking the ice" the team members explained the aims of the research and asked the participants to introduce themselves and to tell their general approach to the app in a general way.

In the second phase, three different areas of investigation were explored:

- *Tinder usage* (frequency; habits; total time spent on it...);
- *Self-presentation* (profile pictures choice; description; usual chat topics...);
- *Self-perception* (self-esteem; social pressure; role taking...).

Finally, the last part of the meeting focused on the participants' story of "Tinder interaction outcomes".

This first phase of the research was aimed at identifying some dimensions of investigation that will serve to outline the theoretical framework of reference within which the research hypotheses to be tested in the following phases will be elaborated.

### 3. Tinder as a technological platform and dating apps as catalysts for social representations

Cantelmi and Lambiase (2017) talk about technical liquidity, as a new explanatory paradigm of today's society. An "incessant society" always active, increasingly incapable of pulling the plug (ITSO "*Inability To Switch Off*") characterized by the embrace between the liquid world of which Zygmunt Bauman (2011) speaks, and the digital revolution proposed by Steve Jobs (Cantelmi, 2013). According to the authors, in this techno-liquid society the digital revolution and the virtualization of reality intercept, enhance and shape some characteristics of the liquid man: narcissism, speed, ambiguity, the search for emotions (sensation seeking), and the need for infinite light relationships (D'Urbano, 2016). These can be defined as the characteristics of postmodern man in the digital age. In other words, the fundamental element of the techno-liquid sociality is the technomediation of the relationship (Rotodà, 2011). The virtualization of the relationship and its marked technomediation elect a new form of relationship: the *connection* (Cantelmi et al., 2016). As Bauman points out in the text "*Liquid Love*", the concept that best defines the virtual relations (renamed connections) of the techno-liquid society is that of "Net". Unlike all those notions that place emphasis on mutual commitment (eg "relationships, knisships, partnerships, etc.) and that exclude disengagement or posting, the term "Network" indicates a context. In a network, connecting and disconnecting are both legitimate choices (Bauman, 2017).

According to the author:

"Network suggests moments of "being in touch" interspersed with periods of free roaming. In a network, connections are entered on demand, and can be broken at will. An 'undesirable, yet unbreakable' relationship is the very possibility that makes as treacherous as it feels. An undesirable connection however is an oxymoron: connection may be [...] broken well before they start being detested." (Bauman, 2017, pp. XI-XII).

In this framework, according to Cantelmi and Lambiase, the digital revolution, which is in progress, has already modified the register of our mental and sensorial possibilities by helping to shape a new culture and different forms and ways of feeling the relationship with itself, from itself with others and the world (Cantelmi e Lambiase, 2017). We are witnessing a process of multiplication of identities. The individual becomes a "social chameleon", who constructs and deconstructs his identity to adapt it to possible situations and online relationships (Schiavon, 2017). Given the variety of the available social network sites, it can easily happen that the same subject creates and spreads different images of himself, sometimes very different from each other (Lorusso, 2011). Identity online not always refers to stable "brands". These are too liquid: they fragment and multiply, by representing the new post-modern ego (Bauman, 2003).

The digital revolution is such because technology has also become an environment to inhabit, a world with its own language, that is intertwined with the real one and that determines real cognitive, emotional and social restructuring of the experience. Un ambiente capace di rideterminare la costruzione dell'identità e delle relazioni, and further more the lived experience (Cantelmi and Lambiase, 2017). McLuhan sustains in this regard that the effects of technology do not occur at the level of opinions and concepts, but constantly alter sensory reactions or forms of perception without resistance (McLuhan, 1964). Virtual communication is characterized by hypertextuality,

hypermediality, high speed, substantial anonymity, identity games, overcoming the normal space-time constraints, equalization of social status, access to multiple relationships, onset of unpredictable emotions, anarchy and freedom of transgression: extraordinary ingredients to transform cyberspace into a fascinating dimension of our own life. Technology plays a powerful emotional amplifying role. In today's interconnected world, traditional barriers have disappeared, leaving a new kind of intimacy to emerge between the new normative models of social interaction: *digital intimacy* (Schiavon, 2017). By facilitating a certain degree of disinhibition, the Internet is the perfect medium to provide the other with the best version of himself, as well as the opportunity to transgress the dominant social norms and explore new forms of intimacy and affectivity. New technologies have helped to create a dynamic scenario of configuration and reconfiguration of bonds and emotional relationships in digital environments. In this context, dating sites such as Match.com and more recent applications, such as Tinder, which initially enjoyed little interest and questionable fame, today have become a generalized social practice [1] no longer used only for occasional datings, but also for to establish real love relationships (Schiavon, 2017). On the one hand, if as it emerged during the exploratory focus groups, these are configured as catalysts of "opportunities", on the other hand they also act as "catalysts of social representations". Therefore, they can end up reproducing, in a more or less unconscious way, dynamics and mechanisms typical of the techno-liquid society in which they are rooted. With regards to this aspect, some extracts from the focus groups are reported below:

I'll give you a trivial example: I often ride a bike. It is a tool that can be fun, dangerous, relaxing, deadly or exciting. It depends on the use you make of it; the same applies to this app. I had planned not to be visible for months because I usually knew people who alternated wrong subjunctions with requests to know my heritage. However, sometimes even here, if you are lucky, you can talk to someone and try that wonderful feeling of not having wasted time ... Rare, but it happens (M0634).

"In two years, I have seen all the types. For heaven's sake, I do not want to go through a saint [...]. With the advent of social media and apps like Tinder and so on, I am convinced that we are all disgustingly replaceable with disarming ease" (M1128).

"I am looking for someone to start a sustainable relationship with. Of course, if you find good friendships, that will be fine too. But, I doubt that Tinder is the right place for it" (F0229).

"I do not agree with what you said. I believe that Tinder is a simple extension of our way of living [...] one more chance. And as such, I believe that love can also be found here. I'm confident!" (M0735).

"For me, Tinder is not cool, but not a bad thing either. I also think it depends on what you are looking for [...]. The possibility of getting to know people [...] to establish relationships certainly increases. Of course, creating solid bonds costs a lot of effort. In my opinion, the ability or willingness to create them however [...] does not depend on the app ... In the eventuality [Tinder], keeps the doors open to so many bonds that could potentially become sustainable" (F0130).

"I lived for years in places where Tinder was a social connector [...] and it was the only way to get to know people, tacitly accepted by everyone. So I'm in it, but I still prefer a glass of wine. I reluctantly see that in Italy it is increasingly widespread [...]. In the nature, it is not the strongest species that survives but the one that adapts" (M0433).

“Tinder helps me to have contacts and connections that in real life [...] I wouldn't have without the app, because I don't have time. But, a frequent situation happened to me... that is, that you start seeing a person, you get in touch with her, you start dating her, then she suddenly disappears. Into thin air. Without saying anything. With a girl in particular, I was becoming attached [...] we went out [...] and after two months of dating, she disappeared” (M0334).

As Cantelmi and Lambiase state, on the Network, it is possible to love, study, buy, dream. In other words, it is possible to live. The characteristics of virtual communication can make the Internet easier than reality, indeed so pleasant to establish a kind of dependency. However, precisely because they are full of charm, these possibilities must lead us to perceive and critically reflect on their effects on psychic and relational life (Cantelmi and Lambiase, 2017).<sup>29</sup>

### 3.1. Tinder: a location-based real-time dating app

Dana boyd and Nicole Ellison (2007) provided a definition of Social Network Sites (SNS) based on three features:

- 1) SNS are web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system;
- 2) allow you to articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection;
- 3) user can view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.

By analyzing the functions allowed by Tinder you can find two of the features listed above, the ability to generate an account and create a list with which to share a connection. Access to viewing lists, such as Facebook friends or Twitter followers, is not allowed. This possibility clashes with the privacy policy that the service offers, based on the purpose for which it is structured. So not sharing content with your network of contacts, but having the chance to meet new people. Where SNS like Facebook are mainly used to stay connected with their contacts, whether they are close friends or acquaintances, Tinder aims to open up new knowledge. While Facebook shows the network of virtual contacts of which certain portions can potentially be updated even simultaneously, Tinder allows you to update only one connection per contact.

If we consider what was introduced by Gillespie (2010), Tinder can be defined as a platform because it enables new social relationships. In fact, according to the words of the author:

“Platforms’ are ‘platforms’ not necessarily because they allow code to be written or run, but because they afford an opportunity to communicate, interact or sell.” (Gillespie, 2010, p. 351).

The application is a web service designed as a basic structure that supports an activity, specifically knowing and meeting new people.

By starting from a purely technological definition, Tinder can be defined as a *location-based real-time dating app* (LBRTD) (Birnholtz, 2014). So a dating app, a software for mobile designed and structured so as to favor offline encounters. The application uses a GPS locator to interact with registered users, targeted according to criteria defined by the user, for example if hetero or homosexual. The creation of the account defines the self-presentation, the identity construction to be displayed. Tinder allows you to enter data such as name, age, school and / or company, job position, and five hundred characters for a personal description. To complete the profile you can enter up to six photos. The peculiarity of this application is the ability to interact with other SNS like Facebook, for account verification, and

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<sup>29</sup> [1] It is estimated that only Tinder includes a catchment area of more than 800 thousand users. It is a business that only in the United States seems to have reached a turnover of approximately 2.2 billion dollars, destined to grow potentially in the coming years. A. LANA, Startup: online meetings are a business of about 2.2 billion dollars, <http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/notizie/2016-//m/t/e02-16/gli-incontri-online-sono-business-22-miliardi091907.shtml?uuid=ACwKPLVC>, 2016.6/d

Instagram, with the possibility of offering a more sophisticated version of its self-presentation as it might appear from the SNS. Then, an integration and an exchange of data and contents takes place. The affordance of the application responds to the characteristics summarized by Schrock for the mobile: portability, availability, locatability, multimediability. In fact, if the first two refer to the device of use, in particular the smartphone, the locatability, through the GPS, is an inherent component precisely for the purposes of the service offered. While the multimediability refers to the integration between text, photos, but also links to other platforms, through which you can interact with Tinder (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016).

### 3.2. Tinder as technological platform: which mechanisms would come into play

The exploratory phase of our research, through the analysis of the existing literature and the information obtained from the focus groups, has allowed us to shed light on some mechanisms and strategies of action implemented by users, which derive from the particular characteristics of the platform.

A review of recent research (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016) shows that LBRTDs suggest more flexibility than browser-based meeting websites in the transition from online to online. In fact, the proximity given by the GPS locator in conjunction with the presence registered on the app creates a parallelism between the virtual place and the physical place where the two individuals are simultaneously, by **reducing the social stigma** of using these services (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). David e Cambre (2016) osservano come Tinder genera engagement attraverso un meccanismo che **gamify the search for partners** using location, images, and messages.

During the focus groups, what the participants said seems to confirm the idea that an engaging Mechanics, Dynamics and Aesthetic interface (MDA framework) affects how users face the application as a game (Hunicke et al., 2001; 2004).

For example, one participant stated:

“Tinder? I see it more as a game [...] scroll through the profiles [...] you do it as a pastime [...] in the morning, when you take your coffee, during your work break or on the subway. Sometimes, it's more the game of choosing that drives you to use Tinder ... than the expectation of a match. Then, the Match arrives. You have "passed the first level", and then you go into chat [...] try to say something that is not too obvious, but not either ... let's say, eccentric ... you have to be careful what you say about Tinder. Here how you make mistakes. If it works in chat, so you can go to Facebook or instagram. Then, you have passed the second level. In the end the meeting is set [...]. Who can say if you have reached the last level or the game continues?” (M102)

Tinder offers users greater incentives to meet in real life thanks to some determining factors on which it has built its service. As a first element the combination of geography proximity, and the selection of possible matches based on an evaluation performed by an algorithm, which operates on the basis of data provided by users such as photos, descriptions, but also derived from connected accounts such as Instagram. The latter was added as a link after users entered their account in the space reserved for the name (David & Cambre, 2016), the possibility of sharing content was also added via Spotify. Last but fundamental element is the verification made by Tinder during the registration through the Facebook account.

For Lutz and Ranzini, Tinder is a platform for self-presentation. In their study, they show how the self-esteem of the users is decisive so that the profile created adheres to the real, by virtue of the fact that the goal is to arrive at a meeting offline. This consideration is derived from the observation by Ellison et al (2012) that suggests how a potential encounter in real life pushes individuals towards authenticity in the construction of self-presentation.

Regarding the issue of self-presentation, during the focus groups some participants stated:

“I don't put a description, because I talk about myself only to those interested in knowing me, so after the match. But, I have carefully selected the photos, so that they are as close as possible to what they really are. They are all recent, maybe only one is from a couple of years ago. Once in a while I update [...]. I think it's useless to put pictures that don't exactly look like you are. In the end, you stay there because you want a live meeting” (M0935).

“I have rarely met people who were better live. It happens to find “surprises”, because maybe the photos were retouched or a few years before” (M0827)

“Generally, the men that I met weren't really like in the picture, and also as regards the description in some cases, I think it was studied ad hoc [...]. When you talk to them, you find out that they are contradictory to what they wrote” (F0423).

“Once, I was in touch with a guy, we felt like we had been for a while, and he seemed very nice to me [...] when I met him in real life, something broke [...] it wasn't like in the picture, but the contents were much more banal than those of the speeches made in chat” (F0627).

“When I saw her arriving, I thought, “she could not be her.” she wasn't the one in the picture!” (M0133)

As emerged from the field work as well as from the literature analysis, users elaborate strategies for the creation of their own accounts, by resorting to filters, aesthetic changes in the photos, they play with the possibilities and the limits imposed by the app. For example, there are many users, who activate behaviors in order to optimize the possibilities offered by using the platform in a free version. The business model is the classic freemium, which is a free service accessible to all, but with limitations that can be removed by switching to the paid Tinder Plus service, which provides additional benefits, such as wider visibility in researches

### 3.2.1. The swipe logic

David & Cambre use the term *swipe logic* to describe the mechanics grafted by the Tinder interface that encourages user choice, increasing the speed and pace of interaction with the contents, specifically the users selected by the algorithm for the match. This logic is based on the fact that the lack of information on the account favors the connection with more people. “At the same time, the *swipe logic* means that instrumental patterns discursively created through this gesture bind the decision-making powers of users to a binary yes or no.” (David & Cambre, 2016, p. 9).

The two authors chime in on the techno-social dimension showing how the social dynamics that are created on Tinder are modeled in part by the platform, recalling what was said by Gillespie (2015) in relation to the *swipe logic*, that is that “guide, distort, and facilitate social activity— they also delete some of it . . . They don't just circulate our images and posts; they also algorithmically promote some over others” (Gillespie, 2015, p. 1). Definitively framing the Tinder application within the discourse on technological platforms.

In accordance with the arguments of the cited authors, we assume that Tinder has the status to be defined as a platform by virtue of the characteristics described above, such as the connectivity between users and the ability to disseminate contents, according to business models and policies on the treatment of data and the central role of algorithms. For this, we consider that Tinder as the social media platforms plasma “the social dynamics that depend on them allows us to draw connections between the design (technical, economic, and political) of platforms and the contours of the public discourse they host.” (Gillespie, 2015, p. 2).

## 5. Concluding remarks and future research perspectives

The first phase of the research allowed us to elaborate the theoretical frame of reference within which to conduct the subsequent phases. In particular, the use of focus groups for exploratory purposes helped us to identify a series of thematic areas, not always detectable in the literature, which will be better explored in the subsequent qualitative phase:

- *Life catharsis*: all the focus group participants declared that they had downloaded the app following important changes in their lives. Generally, it is the closure of a sentimental relationship, more or less, lasting. In other cases, the change may involve a sudden transfer of residence for study and work reasons. In these cases, users seem to be more willing to make new acquaintances than to establish real romantic relationships.

- *Self-esteem*: one of the topics that was most discussed during the focus groups concerns the impact that the use of Tinder can have on users' self-esteem. If the confirmation of a mutual appreciation can lead to an increase in self-esteem, especially in subjects who off-line can hardly have interactions with the other sex; on the other hand, some mechanisms such as "seeing the compatibility eliminated" or "interrupting a dialogue without receiving any explanation" may generate a sudden drop in self-esteem in the user. In this case it is appropriate to investigate how these behaviors are due to the fact that the relationship was born on Tinder.

- *Fear of being judge*: according to some participants, despite the widespread use of the app, many fear a negative social judgment on the matter. Some girls for example have said that in some chats, they had the perception that the other perceived them as "easy" and faced with the explicit rejection of sexual proposals, they were asked: "then what are you doing on Tinder". One of the participants also stated that he had adopted a fictitious name, to avoid being immediately recognized.

- *Cross platform communication*: All the participants agreed that the process between the Match and the meeting develops following a sort of "etiquette" that involves passing through other platforms: Generally Facebook, or Instagram, until the number is exchanged to the "passage on WhatsApp.

- *Possibility of establishing long-term relationships*

Most participants stated that a report generally ended a few months after the first meeting. In some cases, the participants say that "beautiful friendships" were born, or that stories were born that lasted more than a few months but then ended, while one of the participants claimed to have built a stable relationship and canceled the application.

By borrowing the words of van Dick (2013), we could conclude by saying that the **platforms** sono mediator rather than an intermediary, that is they **give shape to the social activity rather than simply facilitating it**:

"Technologically speaking, platforms are the providers of software, (sometimes) hardware, and services that help code social activities into a computational architecture; they process (meta)data through algorithms and formatted protocols before presenting their interpreted logic in the form of user-friendly interfaces with default settings that reflect the platform owner's strategic choices." (van Dick, 2013, p. 38).

Therefore, looking at the evolution of the platform also means to see the changes and implementations designed on the users' answers. These answers lead to the case that value judgments reveal insights into the politics of cultural form.

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# From Newsmaking to Newsfaking: a Transmedia Opportunity for Disinformation

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## 1. Introduction

Fake news appear to be one of the most relevant and widespread phenomena characterising media landscape in the last few years, to the point that several fundamental international political and social events, such as the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States of America and the Brexit referendum, are considered to have been strongly influenced by the dissemination of fake contents.

However, the concept of fake news has been so discussed, in the academic literacy as well as within the public debate, that it has been associated with numerous occurrences and events, often different one another. From satire to click-baiting, from lack of journalistic verification to conspiracy theories, in the span between the two terms (*fake* and *news*), interpreted as opposite extremes, different types of content exist. All of them, nonetheless, have to sound likely and to appear like journalistic contents; are produced for economic and/or ideological reasons; are potentially viral (Allcott, Gentzkow 2017).

With the increasing incidence of this phenomenon, the academic literature have multiplied its efforts to produce a shared definition (Tandoc Jr., Lim and Ling 2017) able to endure its implicit transformational dynamism. Different concepts emerge on one hand to analyse it from the wider perspective, such as “information disorder” (Wardle, Derakhshan 2017), on the other hand to focus on malice and political and/or economically stakes, such as “disinformation” (differentiated from mis-information and mal-information) (AgCom 2018).

The involved media platforms are also a recurrent common point in the analysis of the fake news phenomenon. The development of social network sites influenced and encouraged their diffusion and reinforcement, but nonetheless fake contents often reach other media, including mainstream news media such as newspapers and newscasts. An analysis of this phenomenon cannot abstract from considering the technological impact of communication habitats (Ciofalo, Leonzi 2013), able to activate forms of amplification (related for example to profilation, such as filter bubble, echo chamber, etc.), and the essential role played by simple users who believe, disseminate and share contents (Tandoc Jr., Lim and Ling 2017).

Two key issues emerge from this framework. On the one hand, the relationship of the fake news phenomenon with the main journalistic value represented by “telling the truth” (Schudson 1998; Hallin, Mancini 2004; Spalletta 2011), and in particular the strict relation with the concept of post-truth, which appears frequently in the literature (Ferraris 2017; Lorusso 2018; Gili, Maddalena 2018). On the other hand, the narrative strategies used by the fake contents producers to maximise the content’s spreadability and impact, which involve media but also a specific storytelling (Jenkins, Ford and Green 2013).

## 2. Aims and methodology

This paper proposes a reflection focused on the strategies of fake contents production in order to maximise its dissemination. This reflection aims to highlight in particular the relation between the appearance of truth and the efficiency of the malicious intent.

To this purpose, the paper starts from an analysis of the main tasks of professional journalism interpreted from the point of view of the fake contents producers (that we will name as “newsfakers”, from the original term “newsmakers”), and from this perspective it will analyse also the main news values. Starting from this, the purpose is to identify the main characteristics that the newsfaker aims to give to his message in order to achieve a meaningful success also beyond social media, activating a transmedia circuit, which could reinforce and make more likely and credible a fake content.

### 3. Findings

#### a) Journalistic values and tasks

Journalists appear to be somehow the “stone guest” of the whole debate concerning information disorders and disinformation. Their practices and values (in particular “telling the truth”) are constantly evoked; yet, within the debate concerning fake news, journalists seem to keep only one of the eight tasks traditionally attributed to them (Sorrentino 2002; Papuzzi 2010; Scherer 2011): the verification.

In fact, *newsgathering* and *presentation* are now fully shared with content producers and common users, as well as *comment*. Furthermore, media and technological evolution allow anyone to reach a largely personalized *selection* and *hierarchisation*. Eventually, also *interpretation* and *contextualization*, which would represent the “bastions” of professional journalistic intermediation (at least in theory) (Ugolini 2013), are now available for producers of fake content.

In other words, newsmakers can apply the same production dynamics of news making, and journalists are asked only to complete the process (or rather to invalidate it) by means of the one and only task (namely verification) which, by definition, cannot be implemented by a newsmaker.

Verification, however, is theoretically the second task of professional journalists (just after newsgathering), whereas in the newsmaking process it can only take place after the other seven steps, and in particular only after the presentation, at a time when, based on the logic of social media, sharing may have already reached a viral reach.

The newsworthiness process appears distorted, if not reversed. Within it, journalists restrict themselves to playing the role of a mere certifier of the (total or partial) falsity downstream of the initial content. This role appears to be very limited, if compared to the traditional duties of journalists; besides, this task appears to be quantitatively huge due to the diffusion of fake contents in an information landscape that becomes more and more complex. Therefore, journalists may not actually have the means, time and credibility to perform their duties, sometimes even falling into the trap of transforming themselves, if not into creators, at least into disseminators of contents attributable to disinformation (Silverman 2015).

#### b) Journalism tasks as tools for newsmakers

Going ahead with the analysis of newsmaking founded on the original process of newsmaking, the task following the verification consists in selection. Within journalism studies, newsworthiness corresponds to the identification by the journalist of the aspects of reality deserving to be analysed and transmitted to an audience. News, in fact, are «what the journalist considers of interest to his readers» (Lepri 2005); nonetheless, in order to preserve the “telling the truth” from journalists’ subjectivity, this process of “reconstruction of reality” and “construction of meanings” (Sorrentino 2002) is standardized following shared principles: the newsworthiness criteria or news values.

Among the different taxonomies of news values available in literature, we refer to the one proposed by Papuzzi (2010, pp. 21-22), using interest of the audience as the main guideline. Therefore, the criteria we will consider are dimension, unexpectedness, proximity, communicability, dramatization, conflict/competition, practical consequences, reference to élites, human interest and idea of progress.

Several interesting points emerge as we apply these parameters to newsmaking processes; however, the structural starting paradox is to be clarified firstly. As a lack of the tension towards truth emerges, whether due to negligence (as in the case of mis-information) or to a specific purpose, as in the mal-information and above all in the dis-information (AgCom 2018), the creator of fake news is not asked, to paraphrase the aforementioned quotation, “to construct meanings by reconstructing reality”. On the contrary, the news faker can plan strategically news itself. In other words, not having to identify specific news values in actual events, the news faker can do nothing but adapt its storytelling to these criteria, only caring to keep the appearance of real news.

According to this process, the criteria of unexpectedness, proximity and dimension, which are basic for any news, keep their importance unchanged even in the case of fake news. Although regardless

of the actual correspondence with reality, in fact, a content will appear all the more interesting for the public as it turns out to be large, unexpected and, above all, perceived as being close to the audience to which it is addressed.

On the contrary, several differences emerge with respect to the other news values as compared with the usual news making process, such as to characterize, in an almost complementary way, the process of construction of disinformation.

The practical consequences tend to acquire a diametrically opposite interpretation. If in the informative field this value refers to the news of *public utility*, in the dynamic of newsfaking the exact opposite happens: the references to what we could define *public damage* appear recurrent. The fake content, in essence, aims at amplifying the negative effects (real or presumed) of the choices (equally true or presumed) made by the user/citizen in the political (or institutional, economic etc.) fields.

Similarly, the idea of progress is also inverted: if the achievements of aerospace technology and medicine, in classic news making, represent the most recurrent examples, in the processes of newsfaking the disclosure of a never reached progress or its failure are frequent. The most famous examples concern the conspiracy theories related to false Moon landing, flat-Earth, chemtrails and harmfulness of the vaccines.

The criteria of dramatisation and human interest bring the dynamics of newsfaking back to its correlation with the concept of post-truth. Dramatisation consists precisely in the capability of news to arouse emotions, while human interest corresponds to the prerogative to activate a form of empathy, giving precedence to feelings, among which indignation and sense of injustice are frequent. The newsfaking process draws its ability to engage the audience from the accurate and punctual manipulation of these principles, aiming more at shaking the sensitivity of the user than to stimulate its rationality.

The news values of conflict and reference to élites, nonetheless, emphasize in the clearest way the distance between information and disinformation, as well as the overall transformation of newsmaking into a newsfaking process.

One of the main purposes of disinformation indeed is to create an opposition, if not a real hostility, towards an “other” (a specific person, political party, institution, value, etc.). This clash, in particular as disinformation takes the shape of populism, is strengthened through a mechanism based on the stress of differences, on the stigmatization of élites as well as of minorities, always compared to an idealized and massed people, which is furthermore structurally victimized since these differences are constantly and profoundly damaging it. Thus misinformation accentuates (or creates) elitism, exacerbating the related social friction.

The last news value, communicability, allows us to make explicit the centrality of social media within the analysed dynamics. If once an event could be considered more newsworthy in terms of simplicity and immediacy of transmission, the possibility of exploiting the advantages potentially offered by platform society (van Dijck, Poell and de Waal 2018), in terms of spreadability, obliges to a rigorous respect of the dimensions of planning and design of (fake or real) contents. In the newsfaking process, communicability becomes a formal standardization related to the platform through which the content is disseminated, and based on a deviated transmedia logic.

The entire production process appears to be overall distorted. First, newsgathering is supported and/or replaced by content creation and production; selection and hierarchisation are mainly inspired by an exasperated version of dramatisation and human interest. Practical consequences and idea of progress, and especially conflict and reference to élites, come out of their natural context (selection and hierarchisation) to become instruments of interpretation and contextualization (as well as commentary, given the structural absence of the demarcation between objectivity and subjectivity). Then, events (real and/or partially false and/or totally false) are interpreted and contextualized with the aim of highlighting conflicts imbued with elitism.

Finally, we are witnessing a shift even in the case of communicability, which from a selection news value turns into a specious function of the presentation, which guarantees at the fake content those specific characteristics that allow a potentially instant and extended transmission

### c) Newsfaking as transmedia storytelling

This central and altered role of communicability allows a further reflection concerning the real nature of newsfaking.

On the one side, it still appears to be strictly related to journalism because of its necessary similarity to information contents. However, as anticipated, the only dimension that obviously cannot be included in the dynamics of newsfaking described so far concerns verification. Although common users participate more and more to it, verification still finds an ethical-deontological root in the journalistic profession.

Nevertheless, on the other side, the structural lack of verification entails a different kind of process, which is entirely grounded in fiction, even if with the appearance of truth. By becoming the main inspiration behind contents' presentation, communicability is no more a value of an event, but a goal to achieve, maximising its efficiency.

In the last two decades, transmedia approach established itself as one of the most ambitious successful and efficient within media landscape. Moreover, several of its characteristics appear to fit perfectly to the purposes of newsfaking.

Henry Jenkins (2006, p. 21) defines transmedia storytelling as “the art of world making”: “a transmedia story unfolds across multiple media platforms, with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole. In the ideal form of transmedia storytelling, each medium does what it does best [...] Reading across the media sustains a depth of experience that motivates more consumption” (ivi, p. 96).

Moreover, since it “place(s) the audience at the center of the definition [...], transmedia storytelling could be described as ‘taking the audience on an emotional journey that goes from moment-to-moment’” (Pratten 2011, p. 2), it appears particularly fitting to the purposes of newsfaking.

Lastly, according to the Producers Guild of America, the transmedia producer is “a person responsible for a significant portion of a project’s long-term planning, development, production, and/or maintenance of narrative continuity across multiple platforms, and creation of original storylines for new platforms”.

Several commonalities emerge in respect of the characteristics of the newsfaking process previously described. Newsfakers are actually “world makers”, based on a mere similarity with journalism and news in their appearance. Their purpose, according to the distorted interpretation and use of news values such as dramatisation, conflict and reference to élites, is actually to “take the audience on an emotional journey”.

## 4. Discussion

The approach related to transmedia storytelling, therefore, seems to provide an interesting reading key, in order to try to frame better a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon such as fake news, precisely because it clears the field of what we have called a “stone guest”: the journalism and its values. By considering them as a mere inspiration for a fictitious storytelling, this approach offers a cross section of the newsfaker as somehow a professional of creative industries, and of the newsfaking as a work with specific purposes and goals.

Furthermore, this approach allows us to analyse some specific cases of “fake news” even if the newsfaker is not a professional, but the spread of its content is ascribable to a transmedia circuit.

One famous example is represented by what happened in 2016 in respect of a rally in Austin, Texas, few days after the election of Donald Trump. A Twitter common user (Eric Tucker, who at that time had only 40 followers) shared a tweet showing a picture of several parked buses, not far from a rally against the neo-elected president. Tucker inferred that those buses were here to bring people to the rally, and then commented sarcastically that the rally was not “organic” and spontaneous, but rather paid by Democratic Party.

This interpretation went quickly viral, and was disseminated through Twitter, other social media (especially Reddit), then developed into discussions on forums and blogs, and then reached also a coverage from mainstream media and news media. While this information reached millions of people, and several contexts including mainstream political tv-shows debated it, a quite small amount of

people was aware that Tucker's interpretation was simply wrong, despite the fact that several journalists and Tucker himself retracted it after few hours.

This case study, described in a newspaper (Maheshwari 2016) and analysed in literature (for example Tandoc Jr., Lim and Ling 2017 and Vittadini 2018), appears to be a good example of how a fake content (in this specific case, a content of mis-information rather than a disinformation one) can generate a transmedia circuit. Eric Tucker's interpretation has been disseminated through social media such as Twitter and Reddit, web tools such as websites, forums and blogs, shared within communities – plausibly also through smartphones and word-of-mouth, then became a topic for political debate in mainstream news media such as newspapers and television.

This transmedia circuit was so powerful that it managed to resist to the retraction of the news, to the (limited) spread of the real news affirming that those buses were there for a convention of a software production company. This is precisely the main interest for the newsfakers. Starting a transmedia circuit provides the fake content of the only feature, of which it could be structurally lacking: credibility.

Defined as the “probability of being believed”, credibility has three different roots: cognitive (related to a greater expertise), normative (related to the sharing of a common vision or common values) or affective (related to feelings) (Gili 2005). Several studies (for example Spalletta 2011) affirm that journalism, if ethically oriented, builds its credibility on a cognitive root: citizens must have the certainty that journalists base their work, including verification, on their competence, and not on their opinion or on their affection or fondness for the object of their coverage (whether it be a politician, an institution or a sportsman).

A fake content needs to be considered as credible in order to reach its purpose; at the same time, it has to appear like journalism but cannot aspire to its competence-based credibility. Then, the activation of a transmedia circuit could allow newsfakers to reach those kind of media (different from social media) that could transfer their credibility to a fake content. In particular, news media, which shall disseminate fake contents, for intentional wrongdoing or for negligence, provide newsfakers of the competence-based credibility they could never have.

This aspect, in conclusion, offers a key to interpret this phenomenon but also a possible tool to counteract it. As stated before, it could be difficult for media and news media to provide an ex post verification/retraction because of the enormous amount of false contents disseminated every day. Moreover, media and news media would be in a subordinate and inferior position compared to newsfakers, which could paradoxically invalidate their credibility.

Nonetheless, if considering that the creation of a transmedia circuit starting from fake contents could reinforce their credibility, media and news media should represent a block of this circuit. Media and news media shall take the responsibility of not contributing to disseminate contents if they are not able to verify them, even if they could appear as interesting for the public – and therefore represent an earning opportunity.

A reference to the journalistic task of selection is essential to guide the attitude of the journalist towards fake contents. If not all the facts deserve to become news (which is the basis of selection), not all fake news deserve to be denied or, to put it in a more operational shape, not all fake news deserve to occupy time and journalistic resources.

To identify which are the fake contents worthy of denial, the most effective system is probably that of considering them as facts: these must be gathered and verified (being therefore ascertained as false) and must then undergo the normal selection process: the application of news values.

In this case, the weight of the basic criteria of unexpectedness, proximity and above all dimension becomes central again: if, as mentioned, fake contents are constructed on the basis of news values such as dramatisation, human interest, conflict, reference to elite and communicability, the main difference between them consists precisely of the quantitative impact on the public.

In other words, the journalist can be called to denial only when false news manage to create autonomously a transmedia circuit and reach a wider audience. Then, the journalist shall intervene, not limiting himself to a simple denial, but offering the public an interpretation and a contextualization of the fake content.

To do this, however, the journalist has firstly to respect the values of liberal journalism: from the main value of the “search for truth” to those strictly linked of accuracy, fairness, objectivity and responsibility. Furthermore, an extension of their competences beyond their specific field, in the direction of a deep understanding of the functioning dynamics of social media, appears to be indispensable.

It is no longer conceivable that the journalist approaches the problem of disinformation by ignoring the technological and cultural logics underlying social media. Journalists need to understand in depth methods and channels that newsmakers use to their advantage. If this will not happen, the concrete risk is that news media would become the most credible and influential part of a transmedia fake circuit: this would maximise newsmakers’ success and, at the same time, deny the social role of journalism to its very foundation.

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# “Il 23% degli italiani”: Assessing the use of data in Italian MPs’ speeches

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## 1. Introduction

In recent years, political communication has been studied mainly through material by political parties and candidates aimed at the general public. A long and intense tradition of research analyses political communication used by political parties and candidates to exercise power and to gain votes during electoral campaigns both through personal and mainstream media. However, another important arena in which the competition aimed at colonising the political agenda takes place is represented by all those events connected to the exercise of parliamentary activity. To study these events, scholars refer to a series of documents related to daily parliamentary proceedings (*ministerial statements, interrogations, parliamentary speeches, debates, questions, and question times*), useful to go beyond the individual dimension of party strategies (widely studied by political communication) and focus instead on issue competition between political parties (Green-Pedersen & Mortensen 2010). Among those documents, a relevant place is occupied by speeches held by MPs before Parliament.

Parliaments are a setting for open and confrontational dialogue among elected members and constitute forums for political deliberation and decision-making. Parliamentary speeches, of course, are one of the most important instruments through which democracy functions in many countries. They not only reflect socio-political configurations at the national level, but they are also a tool through which actors shape societal values and norms. They satisfy a wide range of democratic functions - to present political majority issues or to defend the opposition’s arguments, to raise questions or doubts about the majority’s political actions, to propose new actions, initiatives, and laws especially in crises or emergency times - and because of their public nature they are handed down to posterity through stenographic transcriptions (the so-called *hansards* of the British Parliament), which consist in the regular reproduction of the debates accompanied by the description of all the acts performed during sessions. Nowadays, they are generally recorded on Parliament’s official websites and can be easily read and downloaded. Digitalization of the Parliament archives has opened up significant possibilities to study the way such speeches have been given through the years, or to identify the evolution of the political lines, to register historical facts, but also the changes that political language has undergone from a structural and rhetorical point of view.

For these reasons, the speeches of MPs represent an object of scholarly research worldwide in a variety of fields ranging from political science (Silk and Walters 1989, Morgan and Tame 1996), to sociology (Olson and Norton 1996, Copeland and Patterson 1997, Wodak 2009, Dollinger et al. 2017), linguistics (Wilson, 1990, Van Dijk 1997, Rojo et al. 1997, Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2010, Bukhardt 2016), communication (Bailey 2004, Bentivegna 2012, Ilie 2015, Russo e Cavalieri 2016) and computer science (Naderi & Hirst 2016). Research rooted in these fields focuses primarily on the explanation of facts and the interpretation of issues, political events and socio-political processes, as well as the use of language and the interdependence between language and facts. This kind of research is often called *policy agendas*, a branch of the agenda-setting field applied to the study of actors, institutions and policy processes within the parliamentary context (Borghetto et al. 2018).

Our research takes place in this context, analysing the stenographic reports of the two Houses of the Italian Parliament, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, in order to understand to which extent and in which ways the last decade’s political rhetoric makes use of statistical data to corroborate points of view, to confirm the legitimacy of decisions or to generate consensus. In the Italian context, Benedetti (2018) previously evaluated data usage in other contexts (newspapers, interviews) while the use of data during Parliamentary sessions has not been studied until now.

Our research focuses on the last decade of governments (2008-2017), spanning two legislatures (XVI and XVII), for an important epistemological reason. While in the past there was slow and limited

access to statistical sources, today - thanks to the digitization of data by the administrations and the diffusion of network technologies - everyone has unlimited access to data and sources to describe, confirm or deny an event, a phenomenon or a declaration. The emphasis put by scholars on practices like “debunking” and “fact-checking” confirms that the centrality of data and sources on today’s circulation of information has become crucial. We wondered if this trend involves the Parliament and political actors in such an institutional context.

## 2. Method

The investigation is aimed at exploring the use of data in the most recent Italian parliamentary debates.<sup>30</sup> *Content analysis* is conducted on the stenographic reports of both Chambers’ sessions during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Legislatures. The Sixteenth Legislature began on 29 April 2008, and ended on 14 March 2013. The Seventeenth Legislature was in office from 15 March 2013, to 22 March 2018. Our research therefore covers a period of almost exactly ten years. During this time, six cabinets have been in power, respectively led by Prodi (II), Berlusconi (IV), Monti, Letta, Renzi and Gentiloni.

The Chamber of Deputies’ and the Senate’s stenographic reports are usually available immediately after the parliamentary session through the official websites. The archive of the reports allows us to go back to the First Legislature for both the Senate (1953) and the Chamber (1948). The report (*hansard* in the British Parliamentary tradition) is a complete transcription of everything said and done during a parliamentary assembly in compliance with the constitutional principle of publicity of the Chambers’ work.

From the point of view of the contents, the title page of every report displays the number of the legislature, the number of the session, the date, and the presidency of the session. The body of the text displays the “summary report” which contains the synthesis of the MP’s speech during the assembly and the actual “stenographic report”, that is the verbatim transcription of the address, introduced by the subject. There might also be attachments containing the texts examined during the session and/or texts delivered to the Chair by the speakers, the table of qualified majority voting, communications to the Assembly not read in the Chamber and acts of direction and control.

Our content analysis focused only on the data contained in the “stenographic report”, i.e. all those speeches in which each Member presents and argues his/her own political line about the subject of the debate, eventually using numbers, statistics, dates, and other kinds of data formalization.

### 2.1 Dataset

Overall, 40 parliamentary sessions were considered, 20 in the Senate and 20 in the Chamber, from 2008 to 2017, selected through the extraction of a probabilistic sample obtained by applying a Python script to a previously arranged spreadsheet. In order to avoid temporal jumps, the script provided that 4 sessions were randomly extracted for each year, 2 for each branch of Parliament. The first and last sessions of each year were inserted in the “starting” sheet. The sessions are identified in the institutional websites of Chamber and Senate in progressive order for each Legislature. Subsequently, the total number of sessions for each year was counted and, using the Python script, two random numbers were selected from the first and the total number of sessions of the year. The “extracted” sheet

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<sup>30</sup> For “parliamentary debate” or “parliamentary speech” we mean the traditionally established forms of MPs’ intervention. In most parliaments, speeches are addressed to the presiding officer, who is most commonly called “the Speaker” in unicameral parliaments or in the lower house of bicameral parliaments, and “the President” in the upper house or second chamber. The presidential officer of the chamber acts as a chairperson, presiding over parliamentary sessions. Parliamentary speeches are supposed to display, apart from facts or events, also self-presentations and other-presentations. Self-presentations provide information about the speaker’s own opinions and experiences as well as about the speaker’s own party, whereas other-presentations provide corresponding information about other political parties and other MPs’ sayings and doings.

shows the randomly selected sessions, with the number of the session and the time in which it took place.

The extracted sessions are shown in table 1.

**Table 1.** Extracted sessions

Year	Session and Chamber	Link
2008	268 Camera	<a href="http://leg15.camera.it/_dati/leg15/lavori/stenografici/sed268/SINTERO.pdf">http://leg15.camera.it/_dati/leg15/lavori/stenografici/sed268/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	88 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed088/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed088/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	54 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/311510.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/311510.pdf</a>
	114 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/311510.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/311510.pdf</a>
2009	117 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed117/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed117/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	158 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed117/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed117/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	231 Senato	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed117/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed117/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	303 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/447672.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/447672.pdf</a>
2010	378 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed378/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed378/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	404 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed404/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed404/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	352 Senato	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed404/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed404/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	482 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/518471.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/518471.pdf</a>
2011	483 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed483/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed483/SINTERO.pdf</a>

		<a href="#">INTERO.pdf</a>
	559 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed559/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed559/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	528 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/528579.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/528579.pdf</a>
	599 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/615464.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/615464.pdf</a>
2012	577 Camera	<a href="http://www.camera.it/dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed577/SINTERO.pdf">http://www.camera.it/dati/leg16/lavori/stenografici/sed577/SINTERO.pdf</a>
	705 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg16/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0705/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg16/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0705/stenografico.pdf</a>
	802 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/679230.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/679230.pdf</a>
	805 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/679636.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/679636.pdf</a>
2013	30 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0030/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0030/stenografico.pdf</a>
	123 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0123/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0123/stenografico.pdf</a>
	11 Senato	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0123/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0123/stenografico.pdf</a>
	115 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/719471.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/719471.pdf</a>
2014	259 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0259/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0259/stenografico.pdf</a>
	261 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0261/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0261/stenografico.pdf</a>
	249 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/770194.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/770194.pdf</a>

## Assessing the use of data in Italian MPs' speeches

	330 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/805036.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/805036.pdf</a>
2015	474 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0474/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0474/stenografico.pdf</a>
	508 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0508/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0508/stenografico.pdf</a>
	405 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/906470.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/906470.pdf</a>
	440 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/913543.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/913543.pdf</a>
2016	600 Camera	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/913543.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/913543.pdf</a>
	673 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0673/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0673/stenografico.pdf</a>
	654 Senato	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0673/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0673/stenografico.pdf</a>
	676 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/988179.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/988179.pdf</a>
2017	744 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0744/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0744/stenografico.pdf</a>
	891 Camera	<a href="http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0891/stenografico.pdf">http://documenti.camera.it/leg17/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0891/stenografico.pdf</a>
	743 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/1000631.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/1000631.pdf</a>
	823 Senato	<a href="http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/1022636.pdf">http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/1022636.pdf</a>

After the sample selection, a content analysis form was developed and tested on a parliamentary session not included in the final sample but held during the same timeframe. We randomly selected the XVII Legislature, October 2015, 518th session for the Senate and 496th for the Chamber.

The form, created by a spreadsheet, is very simple: it contains *metadata* (useful to identify the researcher, coordinates of the session such as Parliament branch and date, and the PDF of the

document), *the topic of discussion* (i.e. the incipit of the parliamentary discussion written in bold in the report), *the topic of data* (i.e. the macrotheme referred to), *the politician* who gave the data with the indication of the *party* to which he or she belongs, the indication of the *source of the data*, and, if present, the *type of source*. A dataset column shows a semantically significant *excerpt of text* that contains the data in order to allow thematic contextualization. To classify the topic of the data, reference was made to the 22 thematic categories (master topics) contained in the codebook created by the CAP - Comparative Agendas Project (Borghetto and Carammia 2010) - which assembles and codes information on the policy processes of governments from around the world and also in Italy.<sup>31</sup>

Sources of data have also been classified and are shown in table 2.

**Table 2.** Sources by type in details.

<b>SOURCE TYPE</b>	
<b><i>Government</i></b>	Regulations concerning general government operations, government efficiency and bureaucratic oversight, tax administration, government branch relations, administrative issues, domestic macroeconomics issues contained in decree-law, law or other parliamentary outlets and sessions.
<b><i>Statistic office</i></b>	Census and statistics from national and international offices (ISTAT, EUROSTAT, CENSIS, etc.).
<b><i>Ministry</i></b>	Reports, data and statistics provided by National Ministries.
<b><i>Public agency</i></b>	National finance and economic development institutes, or national organizations other than finance (INPS, ENPLAS, Protezione Civile, Corte dei Conti).
<b><i>Association</i></b>	Public and private bodies employed for a specific purpose (UNICEF, AVU, CGIA, etc.).
<b><i>Trade union organization</i></b>	Organizations of workers that release amounts of data about labor and employment, training and workforce development, fair labor standards/labor law, etc.

<sup>31</sup> CAP (*Comparative Agendas Policy*) classifies policy activities into a single, universal and consistent coding scheme. CAP monitors policy processes by tracking the actions that governments take in response to the challenges they face. These activities can take many different forms, including debating a problem, delivering speeches (e.g. the Queen's speech in the United Kingdom), holding hearings, introducing or enacting laws (e.g. Bills and Public Laws in the United States) or issuing judicial rulings (e.g. rulings from the European Court of Justice): see <https://www.comparativeagendas.net/pages/About>.

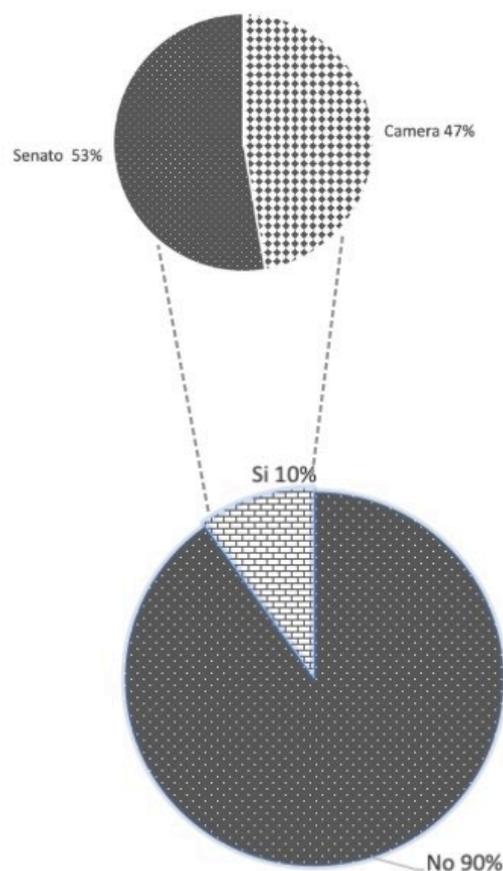
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<b><i>International Organization</i></b>	Organizations with international membership, scope, or presence aimed at helping to set the international agenda, mediating political bargaining, providing a place for political initiatives (OCSE, ONU, IMF, etc.).
<b><i>Media outlet</i></b>	Newspapers, magazines, broadcast industry (TV, Cable, Radio).
<b><i>Health</i></b>	Health Research and development data or health care financing provided by agency, office or institute specialized in this field (ASL, OMS, National Cancer Institute, etc.).
<b><i>Church</i></b>	National ecclesiastical entities that provide various kinds of socio-demographic data (e.g. Caritas).
<b><i>Private agency</i></b>	Private Agency and offices that release data about all aspects of social life and socio-economic activities (e.g. Confindustria).

The analysis was conducted using some types of data (statistics, dates, absolute values, percentages, time series, etc.), while excluding others (indefinite quantities such as “many”, “few”, numbers that refer to metaphors such as “a million years ago”, coordinates to identify legal texts (i.e. “d.l. n.34/2015”), numerical information indicating voters, those present in the Assembly, the articles of a law, and so on). Although the functionality has been evaluated, no automatic search tool has been used to search for and extrapolate the data from the document: the presence of many numbers to be excluded and, at the same time, the indication in letters of data that we wanted to include, led to the conclusion that a manual search was, on the whole, more functional. The shorthand texts were then read manually and, in the presence of a number deemed admissible, we proceeded to compile all the fields of the dataset. The dataset consists of 2.253 records collected in the 40 sessions analyzed. As far as we know, work on data in Italian Parliament's stenographic reports had not been carried out until this research was conducted.

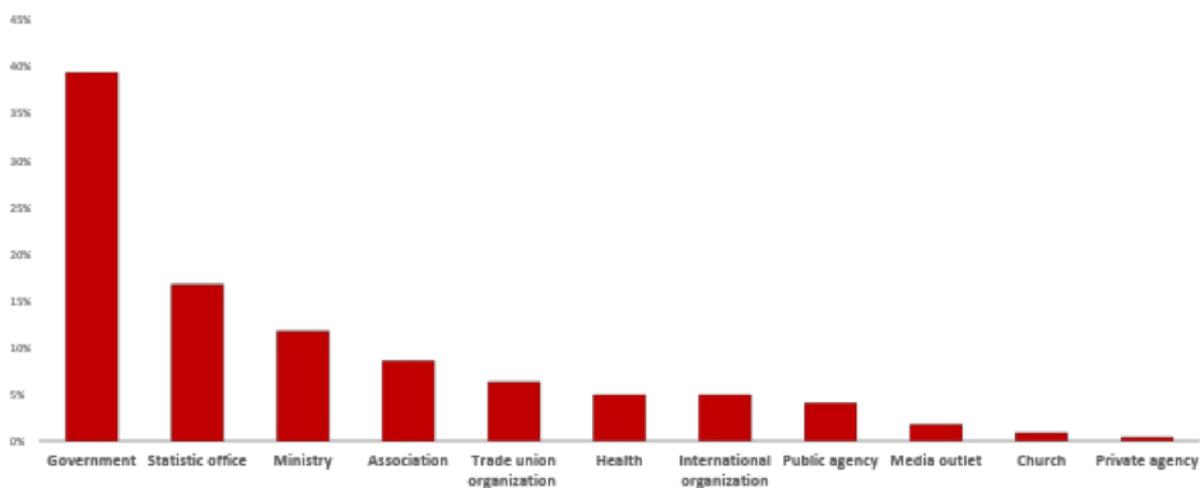
### 3. Findings

The entire dataset consists of 2.253 records, of which only 10 percent explicitly linked to the source of information that has been used. In the vast majority of cases, data is used without explicit reference to any source. In this 10 percent, the use of sources is quite similar between the two Houses of the Parliament (47 percent for the Chamber of Deputies, 57 percent for the Senate) (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Explicit reference to sources in detail.

Since at the moment there are no terms of comparison that we know of, it is not possible to quantitatively evaluate the usage compared to other periods and/or contexts.



**Figure 2.** Classification of sources by kind, in percentage.

## Assessing the use of data in Italian MPs' speeches

In Figure 2, all types of sources mentioned by representatives and senators are detailed. *Government sources* (e.g. law decrees, laws and/or parliamentary sessions) constitute most of the sources of the entire dataset (39 percent), followed by *statistical offices* (17 percent) and *ministerial sources* (12 percent). Therefore, we have a prevalence of sources from the State apparatus (Government and Ministry), with external sources, such as editorial sources (media outlets), the (Catholic) Church (1 percent) and private agencies (0,5 percent) at the bottom, the latter don't seem to be as frequently quoted in the parliamentary debate as are external/private sources in general.

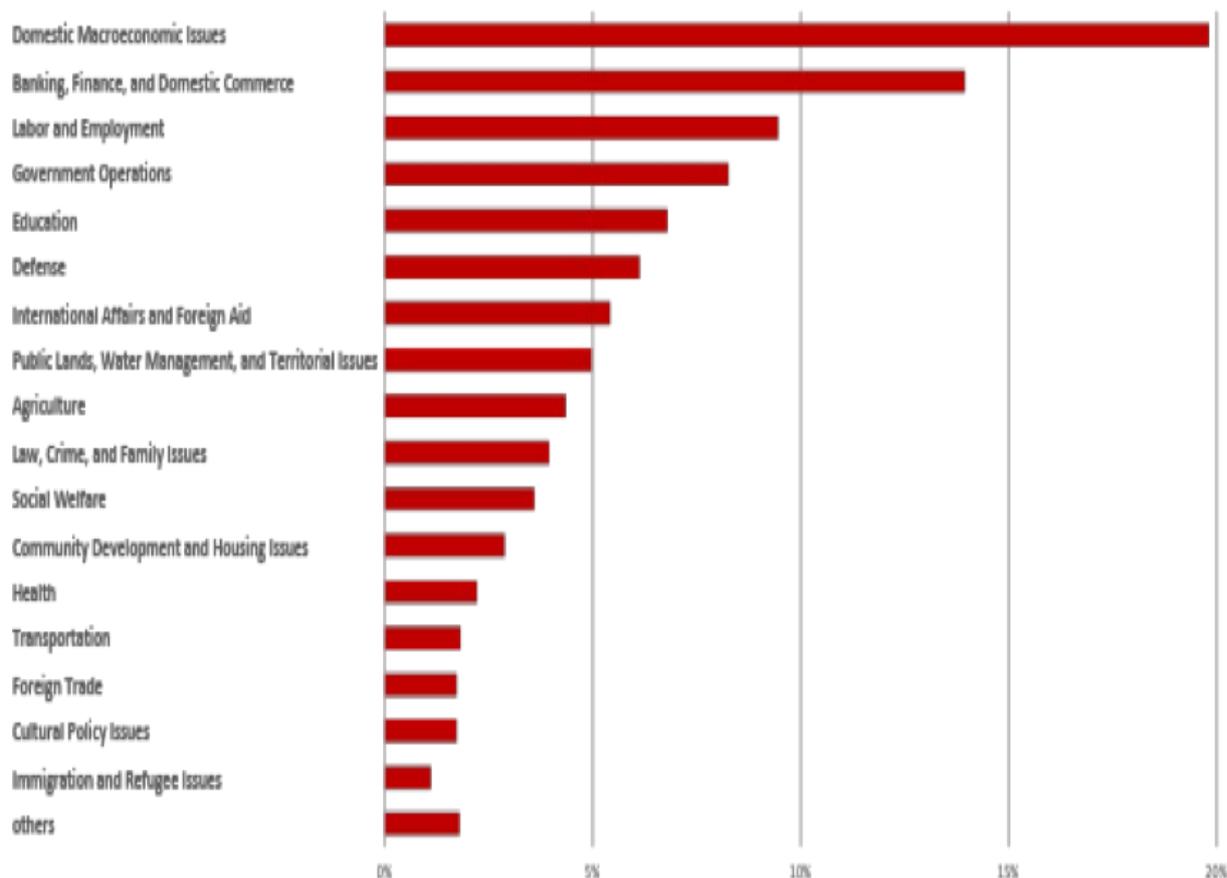
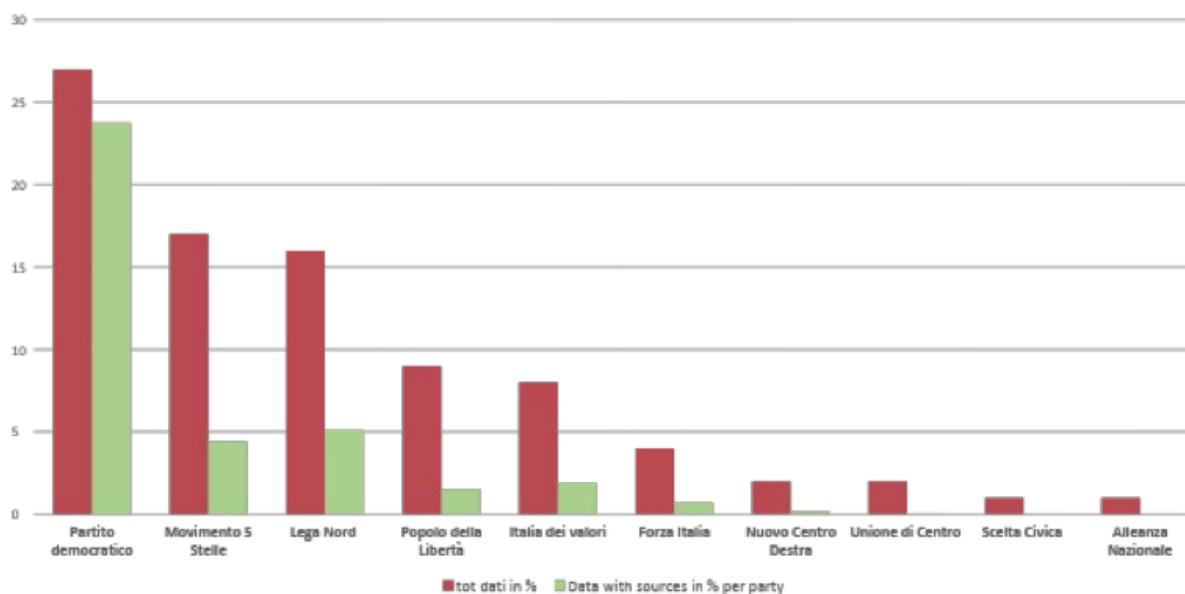


Figure 3. Data topics in percentage.

From 2008 to 2017, the most prominent fields where data have been used are *Domestic macroeconomics issues* (19,8 percent) *Banking, finance and domestic commerce* (13,9 percent), *Labor and employment* (9,5 percent): a group closely related to economics, whose percentages are overall greater than 40 percent. Another topic that has gained relevance is *Government operation* (8,3 percent), which includes many subtopics such as relations between central, regional, and local governments and distribution of competences, tax, census and statistics, but also scandals and national holidays.

Economic issues have always been a domain of data-related discourse in any context (newspapers, debates, and also in speeches before Parliament), therefore the predominance of data use in these areas was expected. Furthermore, economy and the behaviour of the government are generally regarded by the literature as core issues (Jenning et al. 2011). A mid-range position is occupied by a third group of topics related to political issues: *Education* (6,8 percent), *Defence* (6,1 percent), *International affairs* (5,4 percent), and *Public Land, Water Management, and territorial issues* (5 percent), whose percentages are greater than 5. Topics related to cultural issues (from the promotion of cultural heritage or archeological cities to immigration and refugees issues) are at the bottom (1,7 percent) together with issues concerning the structures of transport and infrastructure (1,8 percent) or export trade regulations or investments and negotiations (1,7 percent) (see Figure 3).



**Figure 4.** Use of data and sources per political party

Figure 4 represents the distribution of data use by the various Italian political parties. In red the percentage of total data quoted on the basis of the whole dataset (2.253 entries), broken down by party, is shown. In light green data entries where a reference to a source is present are shown. The center-left party Partito Democratico (PD) is responsible for the largest number of data used (40 percent) followed by Movimento Cinque Stelle (M5S) with 17 percent and right-wing party Lega Nord (16 percent). Partito Democratico uses a large number of data and is also the only party to frequently relate used data to sources. The same cannot be said for the other parties, not even for M5S and Lega Nord, which use a large number of data in their MPs' speeches without explicit references to the sources used.

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusions

Through the analysis of the speeches of parliamentary sessions, scholars can know more about how parties behave and the attitude of party competition towards the use of data and statistics. Findings of our research are parts of a growing literature, mainly based on the work of several teams united in the CAP group which has already produced some interesting analyses within the *policy agendas* field (Cavaliere et al. 2016, Cavaliere and Russo 2018).

For the period considered (2008-2017), we wondered if MPs might use data and statistics to bring some issues before the Chambers. Until now, there are no other case studies to make a comparison with in order to state whether the data are intensely or scarcely used by MPs. In the whole dataset (2.253 data found) just 10 percent of the data were linked to sources, a percentage that can be classified as very low, even with a lack of comparison terms.

The sources related to data employed by MPs mostly belong to the government apparatus. Regulations concerning general government operations, government efficiency and bureaucratic oversight, tax administration, government branch relations, administrative issues, domestic macroeconomics issues contained in decree-laws, laws or other parliamentary outlets and sessions represent the output through which the Houses debate and compete to prioritise issues. Mostly mentioning sources that come from the legislative and state apparatus, MPs show a high rate of self-referentiality. Other kinds of sources appear with much lower percentages.

As to the issues that data can be referred to, it is possible to identify a limited number of topics that tend to dominate parliamentary data use in speeches during the 2008-2017 decade. These are *macroeconomics* issues, *banking and finance*, *commercial government operations*, which indicate everything that pertains to the internal administration of the state. This leads to two important

conclusions. First of all, our results are perfectly in line with what was expected in literature, because economy and government proceedings are generally regarded as core issues (Russo e Cavalieri 2018). Secondly, data are used more easily in macroeconomics areas, such as economy, finance or banking and countability; this means that they are used when they cannot be avoided and not as a real object of debate.

For these reasons, other topics such as those related to *Defence* or *International Affairs* are seldom objects of debate with data use and maybe not the main topic for which statistics are taken into account. Unexpectedly, issues concerning hot topics of the last decade like *Law and crime*, *Refugees*, *immigrants*, topics that have become a controversial reason of clash between the various Italian parties, did not require significant recourse to data and sources. Ultimately, we can say that data are not so relevant in our MPs' political culture. On the contrary, they remain in the background, and limited to fields in which they are almost inevitably expected to be found.

As regards to party peculiarities, we discovered that Partito Democratico was the party to use data the most, immediately followed by Movimento 5 Stelle and Lega Nord. Even if the distribution of data use does not reflect ideological reasons for being so, the same cannot be said for the use of sources. Partito Democratico was the only one to have quoted data sources in a substantial way. The remaining parties did not bother to make explicit references to data sources, a behaviour paired with an overall scarce use of data.

This article has only started to scratch the surface of the policy agenda approach. The adoption of CAP coding scheme, which is used to code the policy content of different documents (party manifestos, laws, legislative decrees, investiture speeches etc.) in several other countries beside Italy would be the starting point of a much wider analysis. We intended to go beyond the analysis of the last decade, applying this coding scheme to parliamentary debates from 1948 onward. Longitudinal analysis will allow us to deduce the data use trend across the years, and a more focused idea of the topic that have best suited data use.

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# 2019 European elections: how much Europe in Italian newspapers?

Andrea Pranovi

## News in European elections

According to some observers, following decades of European elections considered as a minor test, those of 2019 would have been the most political ones in the history of Europe. The themes of the 2019 election campaign would have been largely focused on Europe (Maugeri, 2019). Many felt that for the first time, the European elections would be rich in political significance concerning the future of Europe itself, the European project. Furthermore, never before in these European elections, the electoral clash has seen two blocs precisely divided by the attitude towards the European Union: on the one hand the sovereignists, very critical of the European Union and the political management fielded by the popular-social-democratic alliance in the past legislatures, and on the other the Europeanist forces, convinced of the need for Europe to be more integrated, more united and more efficient. Considering therefore the classic interpretative models of the European vote, the high attention to strictly European themes would have rendered the *Second Order* model and the *Mid-Term* model inapplicable. The *Second Order* model is based on the assumption that voters do not have clear preferences regarding European politics and policies (Franklin, van der Eijk & Oppenhuis, 1996). Therefore the electoral competition for the European Parliament, according to supporters of this model, focuses above all on issues related to national politics. Thus, voters vote by maintaining the same cognitive patterns usually used in national elections (Reif & Schmitt, 1980; van der Eijk & Franklin, 1996).

In the view of the *Mid-Term* model, instead, the European elections are interpreted as elections in which the citizens' choice of voting is partly influenced by the period in which these elections take place with respect to the national vote (Reif, 1984). The European elections, therefore, often tend to become a referendum on the work of the current national government (Lord, 2001).

In the face of a decline in the traditional models *Second Order* and *Mid-Term*, the forecasts for the electoral campaign for the 2019 European elections would have meant a greater possibility of applying the *Europe Matters* model, according to which the effect of European themes today it is greater than in the past due to the increased powers of the European Parliament compared to the Commission and the greater centrality of European issues in the national debate. This model is supported by some empirical studies: Ferrara and Weishaupt (2004) have observed that the most Eurosceptic parties succeed in obtaining better results in the European elections. Ray (1999) also came to similar conclusions, observing how far-right and far-left parties, often markedly anti-European, achieved better results in European elections than government parties, which are generally placed in more moderate positions. Also the attitude of the electorate towards Europe seems to be an important component in the European vote equation. Other studies, on the other hand, have shown that the citizens most favorable to the process of European integration are those that show the greatest probability of going to the polls (Blondel, Sinnott & Svensson, 1997).

This essay aims to analyze the media representation of the electoral campaign for the 2019 European elections in Italy, in order to understand whether the issues concerning Europe have been central to the political debate.

## Method

The first pages of the three national newspapers, La Repubblica, Corriere della Sera and La Stampa, were monitored in the month preceding the vote: from Tuesday, April 23<sup>rd</sup> to Saturday, May 25<sup>th</sup> 2019. The newspapers La Repubblica, Corriere della Sera and La Stampa were chosen as they are the most widely read daily newspapers in Italy according to Audipress 2018 data. The monitoring period began on Tuesday, April 23<sup>rd</sup> instead of Monday, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, as it was a public holiday in which newspapers

were not published in Italy. Also the newspapers published on Thursday, May 2<sup>nd</sup> are not present in the survey, as the newspapers have not been published since May the 1<sup>st</sup> is a public holiday.

For each first page all the titles present, including those of comments and editorials, have been classified according to the classic categories of distinction of news: "politics", "news", "foreign news", "economy", "culture and entertainment" and "sport". Once all the data has been collected, the frequency distributions of the six categories have been processed in these ways: aggregate data of all the newspapers throughout the monitoring period; data from the daily newspaper La Repubblica throughout the monitoring period; data from the Corriere della Sera newspaper throughout the monitoring period; data from La Stampa newspaper throughout the monitoring period; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the first week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the second week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the third week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the fourth week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the fourth week of monitoring.

Through this analysis it was possible to measure the presence of political themes in the newspapers analyzed during the electoral campaign for the European elections, also investigating the differences between the different newspapers and between the five weeks of the campaign.

However, the mere presence of political themes does not provide precise information on the presence of topics concerning Europe. Therefore a second level of analysis was carried out: all the news classified in the "politics" category were further classified into "European news" and "non-European news". The "European news" is the news that refers in its title, subtitle or summary to European policies, the European Union, the vote for the European Parliament and, in general, Europe. All other news, on the other hand, have been classified as "non-European". In this case too, the frequency distributions have been elaborated in the following ways: aggregate data of all the newspapers throughout the monitoring period; data from the daily newspaper La Repubblica throughout the monitoring period; data from the Corriere della Sera newspaper throughout the monitoring period; data from La Stampa newspaper throughout the monitoring period; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the first week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the second week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the third week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the fourth week of monitoring; aggregate data of all the newspapers in the fifth week of monitoring.

This second level of analysis has allowed us to understand the weight of Europe in the news focused on politics within the newspapers analyzed during the electoral campaign for the European elections, also studying the differences between the monitored newspapers and between the five weeks of monitoring.

## Findings

Analyzing the first pages of the three daily newspapers examined throughout the monitoring period, it appears that "politics" is the most common genre, with more than a third of the total news (35%). The second most prevailing category is that concerning "culture and entertainment" (19%), although, as will be explained later in this paragraph, it is a figure that must be contextualized and, in some way, resized. The categories "news" and "foreign news" follow (both with 15%), while those less prevailing, instead, are "economy" and "sport" (both 8%).

In the case of the newspaper La Repubblica, the news belonging to the "politics" category are the most prevailing (43%). Following are the categories "news" (16%), "culture and entertainment" (14%), "foreign news" (11%) and "economy" (9%). The least prevailing category is "sport" (7%). Also with regard to the Corriere della Sera the most prevailing category is "politics" (39%). Following are the categories "news" (22%), "foreign news" (15%) and "culture and entertainment" (10%). The least prevailing categories are those related to "economy" and "sport" (each with 7%). The most prevailing category in the first pages of La Stampa instead turns out to be "culture and entertainment" (29%). However, it is important to note that most of the news belonging to this category is shown on the front page in small boxes, while the main titles, both for position on the page and for size, are those referring to other categories, in particular "politics". For this reason, the figure of the "culture and entertainment" data should not be overestimated, not only in the analysis of the results regarding La Stampa, but also in the analysis of the aggregated data for all the examined newspapers. If we do not consider the "culture and

entertainment" category, the news more frequently belong to the political category (28%). Following that, we have the categories "foreign news" (16%), "sport" (10%) and "news" (9%). The least prevailing category is that referred to "economy" (8%).

Analyzing separately the five weeks that make up the entire monitoring period, it emerges that in the first week the most prevailing category was that of "politics" (35%). Then we have the categories "culture and entertainment" (15%), "foreign news" (22%), "news" (11%) and "sport" (9%). The least prevailing one is "economy" (8%). In the second week of monitoring the most prevailing category is "politics" (31%). The following categories are "culture and entertainment" (18%), "foreign news" (16%) and "news" (15%). The less frequent categories, on the other hand, are "economy" and "sport" (both with 10%). In the third week of monitoring, the prevalence of "politics" is recorded (40%). The categories "culture and entertainment" (20%), "news" (14%) and "foreign news" (12%) follow. The less frequent categories are "economy" and "sport" (both with 7%). In the fourth week of monitoring, the prevalence of the "politics" category was recorded (31%). The categories "culture and entertainment" (24%), "news" (17%), "foreign news" (11%) and "economy" (9%) follow. The least frequent category is the one related to "sport" (8%). In the fifth week of monitoring, the last week, "politics" is the category to which more news belong (37%). The categories "culture and entertainment" (19%), "news" (16%) and "foreign news" (14%) follow. The less frequent categories are "economy" and "sport" (both with 7%).

The second level of analysis, which examined only the news classified in the "politics" category, made it possible to observe that only 20% of the news concerning politics were linked to the European elections, compared to 80% unrelated to European issues. Considering only the newspaper *La Repubblica*, it's been shown that the political news on the European elections was only 16% of the total. In the *Corriere della Sera*, on the other hand, one in five political news (20%) concerns European issues. As for *La Stampa*, 23% of all political news is linked to European issues.

Analyzing the data of each monitoring week, it is possible to see how in the first week only 8% of the political news was focused on the issues of the European elections. Although on the rise compared to the first week, even in the second week of the research there are few reports related to the European elections on the total of political news. They are in fact 18%. In the third week of monitoring, the news related to the European vote is only 13% of the total political news. On the other hand, in the fourth week of the research, 19% of the political news were focused on issues related to the European vote. The figure is decidedly different in the fifth week of monitoring, that of voting: here the news related to the European elections is 41% of the total of political news.

## Discussion

The first level of analysis of the research illustrated here, that relating to the presence of the various news categories, clearly shows how politics is the prevailing theme in the newspapers examined. However, this data does not answer the questions posed at the base of this research. In the first place because the tendency of the Italian press to give particular emphasis to politics is not just about the electoral campaign period, as other studies have shown: in this regard Barbano (2003) has defined this tendency with the expression "political prevalence". Moreover, the data on the strong presence of news on politics does not provide indications on how much those political news have been centered on the themes concerning the European elections.

Therefore it is fundamental to carefully examine the data that emerged in the second level of analysis, in which the news on politics were isolated in order to measure within them the presence of the so-called "European news", ie the news that refer to the issues of the European elections. The result that emerges from the analysis of the data is very clear: only one in five political news focuses on the issues of the European vote. So, going back to the models illustrated in the introductory paragraph, it can be argued that in the representation of the Italian election campaign provided by the newspapers, *Second Order* and *Mid-Term* models clearly prevailed over *Europe Matters*.

The data relating to each of the three newspapers analyzed does not give particular hints of interest, while the analysis divided into the five weeks of monitoring shows that only in the last week there has been a strong increase in news focused on European issues. However, it is worth noting that this news is still in any case less than half of the total of political news.

Molinari (2019) noted that the political forces that won the national elections in 2018, the 5-Star Movement and the Lega, often talked about the European Union in the course of their government work, as was done by the opposition parties. However, according to Molinari, the fate of the European Union was almost totally absent from the electoral debate. Conti (2019) too reports the modest presence of a debate on the future of the European Union in the electoral campaign, which is surprising above all on the part of the parties that have often declared their desire to change Europe. Conti also notes that in the last weeks of the electoral campaign a contrast emerged between the Lega and the 5-Star Movement on the subject of European budget constraints. This could explain the increase in "European news" in the fifth monitoring week in the research shown here. According to Conti, in Italy the European elections have always been considered second-order elections, used by political forces to challenge each other and measure reciprocal strength in the perspective of national politics. Many observers had anticipated how the advance of the Eurosceptic forces would lead to a more marked politicization of the European Union and therefore to its centrality in the public debate. At least in Italy, as Conti points out, this does not seem to have happened.

It therefore appears evident that the most adequate answer to the question of how much of Europe has been present in Italian newspapers during the campaign for the European elections is: little.

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# The statistics of 2018 Italian Digital Campaign: Political parties on Facebook and the engaged audience

Raffaella Gallo, Simone Sallusti

## 1. Introduction

Starting from the Italian 2013 election campaign, social network sites have progressively played a central role for the political communication strategy of the parties (Morcellini, Antenore, & Ruggiero, 2013). In this complex scenario, characterized by Chadwick's definition of *hybrid media system* (2013), generated by an integration between the traditional media logics and the new media logics, the penetration of digital technologies in the field of politics defines the social network sites as the main *hub* of any hybrid campaign (Wells et al., 2016). Moreover, the strong adoption of social media by the political parties during the election campaign, firstly, is due to the low-budget in Italian politics after the abolition of electoral refunds of the parties, and secondly, it depends on the reduced time available for campaigning (Bracciale & Cepernich, 2018).

As Cepernich pointed out (2015), the current relation between politics and web could be defined as *networked politics*: in the web dominated by social networking platforms, the relational dimension of the network prevails, opening up new spaces of individual autonomy and encouraging the multiplication of communication flows through interpersonal contact. By means of social network sites, political parties have the opportunity to publish their content directly, a typical function of a media company, in order to reach their relational network, without the traditional journalistic intermediation. This dimension allows to political parties and leaders to maintain a direct control of their contents, bypassing important limits typical of communication flow of mainstream media (Tv, radio, press, etc.), and creating a direct relation with citizens *anytime, anywhere, anydevice*. These dynamics show how the social network sites are the crucial instruments to publish political messages to reach specific target of users, encouraging a *microtargeting* strategy to spread personalized contents. In the *hybrid media system* the traditional process of newsmaking is completely transformed: the process of disintermediation of the journalistic role produce a new sense of familiarity and intimacy with political actors (Rega & Lorusso, 2014): Enli and Skogerbø (2013) argue that social media create intimate relations between political actors and voters and encourage the process of personalization. As Bentivegna pointed out (2014; 2015), the progressive adoption of social network sites in the communication strategy is correlated to the personalization of politics, in which it is observed a *direct representation* (Coleman, 2005) of the political actors towards the citizens-users. Another important feature of the digital campaign is the mobilization capacity of all relational networks available and to collective political actors (Cepernich, 2015; 2017). The dimension of *hybridity* of these new *social arenas* combines contemporary a *top-down* communication model, typical of mainstream media, where these platforms are used as *modern press offices*, and a *bottom-up* communication model, where parties and politicians pay attention to the relation with the citizens-users.

Moving from this theoretical framework, the paper's aim is to investigate the communication strategy adopted by the main Italian political parties - Lega, Forza Italia, Fratelli d'Italia, Partito Democratico, Liberi e Uguali, MoVimento 5 Stelle - during the four weeks of 2018 election campaign (from Monday, February 5, to Saturday, March 3), through the monitoring of their official pages on Facebook, and the response of the users.

## 2. Methodology

The data have been obtained using the Facebook Netvizz app, which allows to download data related to the activity of the pages or public groups. The download has automatically returned data regarding the type of content of each post (status, links, videos or images) and statistics related to the number of

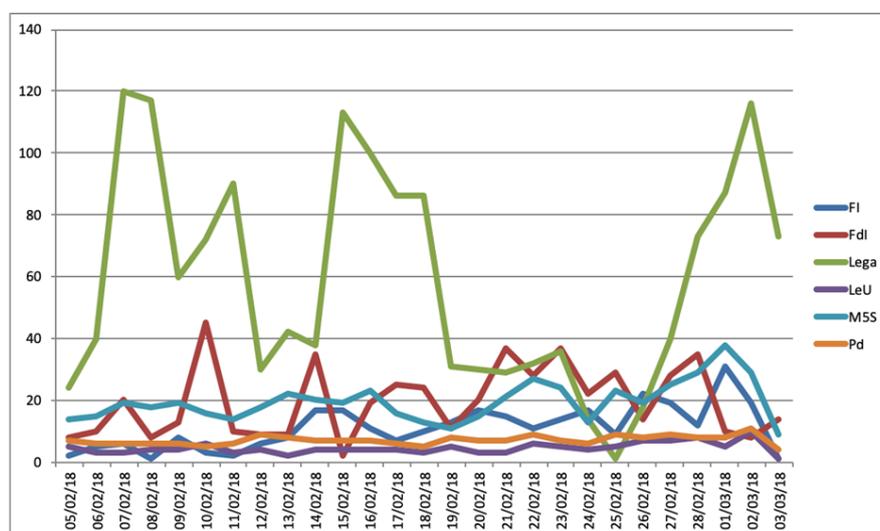
posts published every day and the activities of users on those posts (among which we have considered: number of comments, number of reactions and number of shares). The choice to analyze the posting activity only on Facebook depends on the role covered by this social network both in the social landscape and in the Italian people consumption of information. In the first case, Facebook, the most popular social network site in Italy at beginning of the election campaign (Cosenza, 2018), it is capturing progressively the attention of parties and politicians and consequently of the academic research interested about the new political communication scenario (Cepernich, 2015); in the second case, the international report published by Pew Research Center (2017) about the news consumption in different nations shows how in Italy Facebook is the most important online platform in terms of fruition of the information.

The total sample is composed by 3274 posts, published overall by official Facebook page of the six political parties mentioned above – the analysis does not include data on minor parties that have not reached the electoral minimum threshold. As already mentioned, the data collection period refers to the whole month of the election campaign that preceded the day of the vote (4th March, 2018). The purely quantitative data, related to posting activity and users response, have been integrated with a constant qualitative analysis derived from the reading of specific posts (for example, those that received a greater number of interactions from users) and from analysis of the links present in the posts. This research strategy made it possible to reconstruct the general scenario concerning the use of Facebook as a means of election propaganda.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Posting activity and the different types of content published

In accordance with the paper's aim expressed in the Introduction, the first part of this study focuses on the analysis about the productivity of the political parties, in terms of frequency of publishing, observed with a daily monitoring of produced posts during the analyzed time period. This kind of analysis is important to understand how the broadcast strategy characterized the digital communication of the main parties during the last Italian general election.



**Figure 1.** Posting activity during the election campaign

Political parties and actors still use social network sites mainly for broadcasting messages. In accordance with this definition, the graphic in the figure 1 shows how Lega registers the highest level of productivity, with a substantial distance from the political competitors. Precisely, Lega published 1.598 posts during the four weeks mentioned of election campaign, with three distribution peaks positioned respectively in the first and in the last week: in the first week, Lega published 120 posts on Wednesday, February 7 and 118 the day after, Thursday, February 8; during the fourth week, Lega published 116 posts on Friday, March 2. Considering the time period as a whole, Lega reached the better performance

## The statistics of 2018 Italian Digital Campaign

during the first week, from Monday, February 5 to Sunday, February 11, with 523 posts published and a daily average of more 74 posts. This time period played a decisive role in the election campaign due to the Macerata episode of the previous week, where Lega's main strategy has therefore been that of framing the shooting in Macerata as a response to a climate of insecurity caused by illegal migration (Ruggiero & Sallusti, 2018). It is possible to affirm that Lega digital strategy was characterized by a *broadcast communication model*, where Facebook was used like a *modern press agency* (Bentivegna, 2014) to spread principally Lega's messages, political issues and initiatives, presences on the mainstream media with the relational network of the users. In this scenario, Lega seems to reflect the point of view of Bracciale and Cepernich (2018), which argue how the pursued strategy of maximizing the visibility in the public debate has three main goals: the first, to promote the party's image through *self-promotion* actions; the second, to influence the media coverage through the high frequency of *self-generated content* to reach journalists and mainstream media attention; the third, to support the direct communication with the audience and voters.

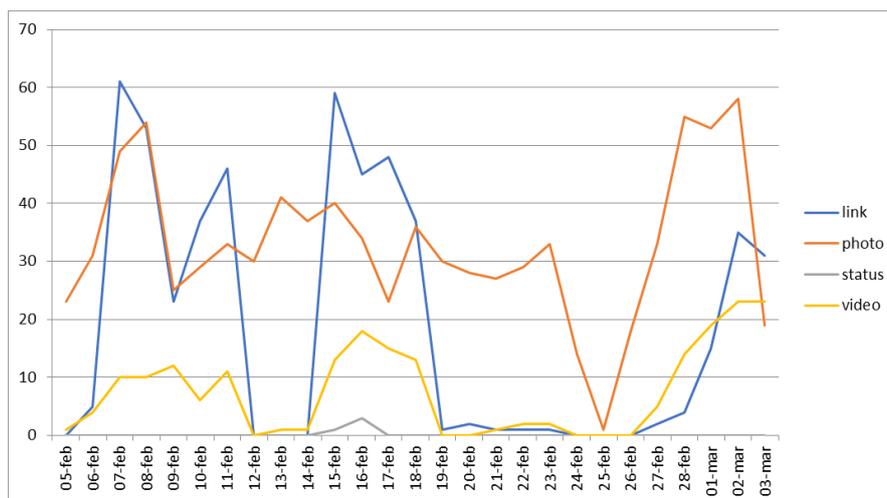
To analyze in depth the communication strategy adopted by the parties, in this paper we have monitored the different types of content published, in order to understand the communicative grammar of the medium (Altheide & Snow, 1979). The main post types considered are: the links embedded in the posts; photos or images; status, and precisely the posts with only text; videos.

**Table 1.** Types of posts published by the parties (% values)

Post Type	M5S	FdI	PD	LeU	FI	Lega
<b>Link</b>	29	<b>80,94</b>	14	14,5	2,65	<b>31,73</b>
<b>Photo</b>	25	8,11	54	55	57,75	<b>55,25</b>
<b>Status</b>	1	0,2	4	2,5	0,33	0,25
<b>Video</b>	<b>45</b>	10,75	28	28	39,27	12,77
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

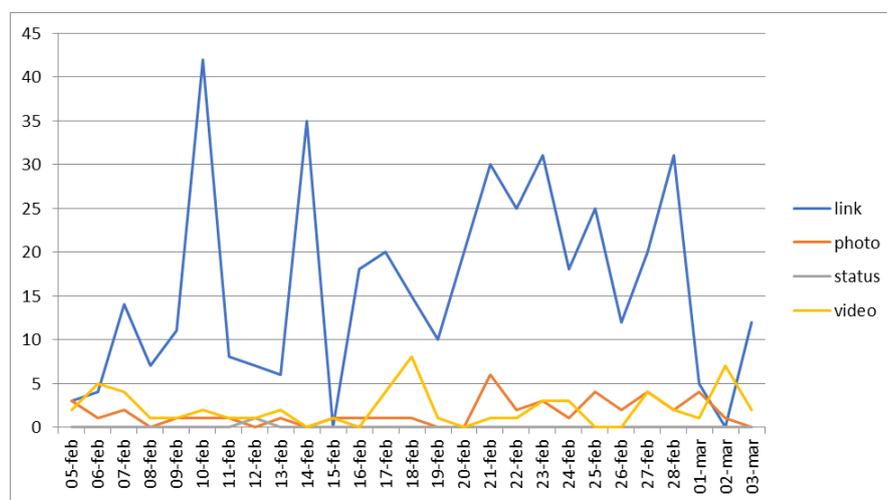
Table 1 shows how photo or image are the most used content types for PD, LeU, FI and Lega: this feature underlines the importance of *visual storytelling* for the communication strategy pursued to engage the political audience. In their study about social media visual messaging of four candidates in the 2012 U.S. Republican presidential primary campaign, Page and Duffy (2018) argue that the images published in the social media environment of political campaigning are strategic for both voter relationships and candidate image. Visuals are powerful because they convey information on multiple levels: content, symbolic references, and form - camera angles and distance perspectives - all factor into visual meaning (ibidem). If we analyze more in depth the distribution of contents used by the parties, it is possible to observe interesting differences for Lega, that could be considered as a hybrid case, FdI and M5S.

The monitoring of the post types published by Lega reveals an irregular behavior towards the four week of election campaign. As we have previously written, if posts with photos reach about 55% of the total posts, the first two weeks of election campaign are dominated by the use of the link. The study about the linkage strategy in politics allows to reveal, in one hand, the *top issues* for political parties and political actors, and in the other hand, to identify the main sources of information consistent with specific political point of view and in line with the users (Rega & Lorusso, 2014). At the same time, as Foot and Schneider pointed out (2006), the link could be considered as the *interpretative framework* about political positions in the public debate. Additionally, the role of the hyperlinking fosters the process of sharing on social media platforms about an interesting perceived content, allowing the creation of a *news feed* for the users (Zhao & Rosson, 2009). Specifically, during the first two weeks of election campaign, about 61,6% of the links in Lega's posts land on the news website *Il Populista: Audace, Istintivo, Fuori Controllo* ([www.ilpopulista.it](http://www.ilpopulista.it)).



**Figure 2.** Distribution of the post types published by Lega

This online journalistic agency could be considered as the *Lega house organ* due to the connection between the political *issues* pursued by Lega and the editorial line of this news website. It is possible to argue that *Il Populista* represents the *interpretative framework* (Foot & Schneider, 2006) about Lega's political point of view in terms of attack on the opposing political competitors, above all the left-wing coalition parties, illegal immigration, often triggered by a *pure issue* (Mazzoleni, 1998) like Macerata episode, economy, etc. From this analysis emerges how linking external contents reinforces political positions expressed by sources considered influential (Small, 2010).

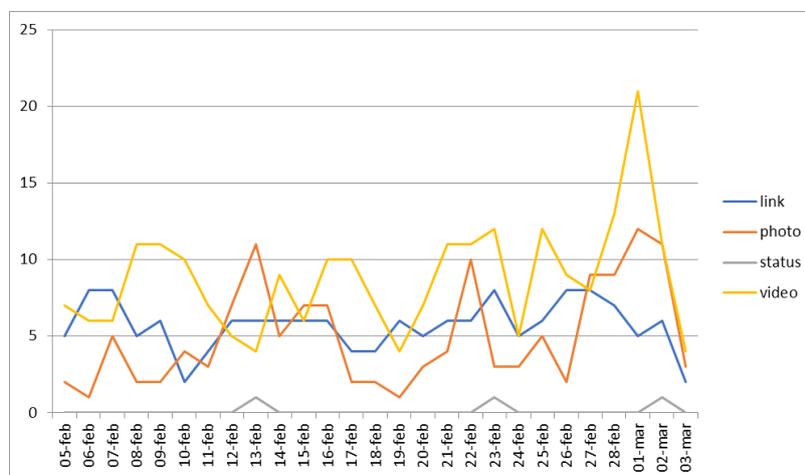


**Figure 3.** Distribution of the post types published by Fratelli d'Italia

As we mentioned earlier, FdI represents a divergent case in terms of type of posts published. If FI, Lega, LeU and PD register a prevalent use of photo or image, the messages with links represent more of 80% of total posts published by the right-wing coalition party FdI. A deep observation underlines how about 98% of links land on the FdI official website [www.fratelli-italia.it](http://www.fratelli-italia.it). In this scenario Facebook seems to play the role of the *digital sounding board* for an external source like the official website, in order to increase the circulation of online messages, their visibility and traffic to the website, confirming how "The electoral communication flows produced by leaders, parties and the main candidates are the result of hybrid media logics, because such is the environment in which they are structured" (Bracciale & Cepernich, 2018, 36). Through a social media platform like Facebook, FdI creates a *news feed in real time* in line with the political point of view of the users, bypassing the traditional journalistic mediation, revealing a *top-down* communication strategy: in this case, it is possible to understand how FdI

performs the function of *agenda building*, in terms of selection, management and distribution of the news consistent with users political interests.

Finally, the last different case in terms of post type is represented by M5S: the Movement led by Luigi Di Maio during the 2018 general election shows a *video-oriented communication strategy*.



**Figure 4.** Distribution of the post types published by MoVimento 5 Stelle

As shows the table 1, video represents about the 45% of total posts published by M5S, followed by the posts with link (about 29%), and photo (about 25%). Observing the graphic of the figure 4 it is possible to understand how the distribution peak about video publishing trend is reached on Thursday, March 1, the day of the presentation of the possible M5S government team.

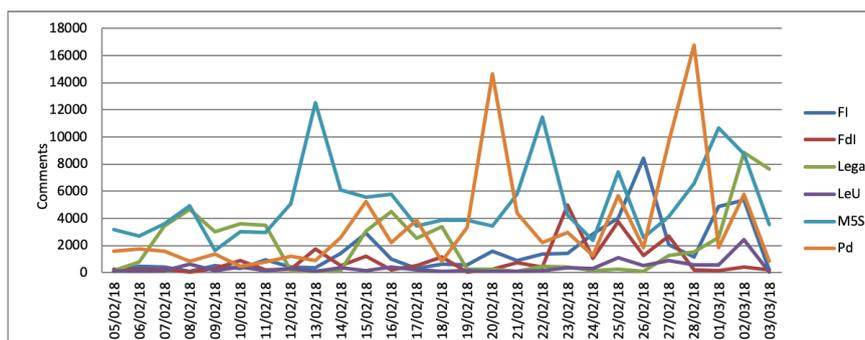
Patterson (1980) classified the main issues treated in the public debate in four categories: *political issues* (ideological aspects of electoral debate); *policy issues* (aspects related to the administration); *personal issues* (aspects related to the privacy of the candidates); *campaign issues* (strategical and organizational aspects of the election campaign). Starting from Patterson categorization, the presentation of the possible government team could be identified as a hybrid case between *political issues*, due to the decisive aspect related to value of transparency towards citizens, and *campaign issues*, due to the importance of this event for the organizational aspects of the election campaign. In facts, during the four weeks analyzed M5S promoted this event with spot and the day of the event it realized a Facebook live streaming of the presentation, also publishing the single speeches of the possible members of the government team.

Moreover, this kind of strategic event seems to represent a *direct appeal* to the voters to overcome the institutional mediation. Following Canovan classification (1981), the presentation of the ministers for a possible M5S government could be identified as a case of *populist democracy*, where the direct participation of the citizens, in terms of direct democracy, plays a key role. Typical of the left-wing populist movements, this kind of *populist democracy* is characterized by the focus on the voters participation in order to improve the quality of the democracy (Biorcio, 2015). As Biorcio and Natale (2013; 2018) pointed out, as a result of the Italian political crisis of the years 2011-2013, M5S increased political consensus, thanks to the attention to the involvement of the citizens to the public sphere, encouraging their direct political participation.

### 3.2. Political Audience

The user response to posts published by parties has been investigated through the analysis of metrics related to comments, reactions and shares received from the political forces in the election campaign month.

Starting from the first metric, as we can see in the figure 5, the trends of the month show a greater reception of comments for the official pages of M5S and PD.



**Figure 5.** Comments count per day

In terms of absolute values, M5S is the party that records a greater number of comments. But this data can be misleading if we don't consider the different intensity of posting carried out by the parties. Dividing these values by number of posts published from every party, we observe a greater ability of posts published by PD to activate communication exchanges: indeed, PD records an average of 503 comments per post, the highest recorded value.

**Table 2.** Comments Count

Party	Comments per post (Avg.)	Tot. Comments (Absolute Values)
<b>PD</b>	<b>503</b>	96 654
<b>M5S</b>	263	<b>139 528</b>
<b>FI</b>	148	44 877
<b>LeU</b>	89	10 861
<b>Fdi</b>	43	24 051
<b>Lega</b>	35	57 022

The most commented post of PD, as well as the most commented in the entire campaign period, is an image that promotes the slogan "In order to make Italy grow, we need to get there first. In order to get there first we need you". This image is accompanied by a long text that incites to voting, exhorting unity, complicity and collaboration between PD and voters.

But what is the value of comments in online political communication practices?

First, the receipt of comments (especially if in large quantities) reflects a certain ability of the post to activate a discussion around a given topic. Secondly, the comment communication flow shows an interaction and an exchange of ideas between the user-voter and the political actor.

So, we could say that, on the one hand, PD posts tend to encourage discussion with users more than others, on the other hand, the party Facebook page is followed by more active users - perhaps politically more committed - that invest more resources in terms of time, energy and emotion, in turn producing new contents.

Turning to the second metric, in terms of both absolute values and in relation to the intensity of posting, the account that receives the greater number of Facebook reactions is M5S (in this metric we include the likes that are the majority). During the period considered, this party records over a million total reactions – for an average of 2704 reactions per post – a fact that demonstrates the high appreciation by the audience for the proposed contents.

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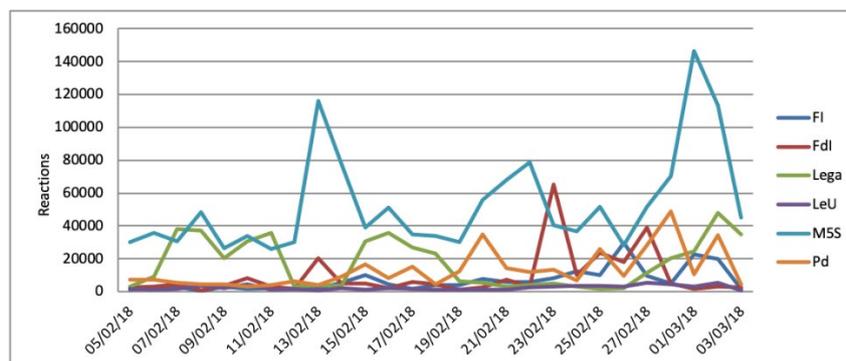


Figure 6. Reactions count per day

Table 3. Reactions Count

Party	Reactions per post (Avg.)	Tot. Reactions (Absolute Values)
<b>M5S</b>	<b>2 704</b>	<b>1 430 824</b>
<b>PD</b>	1 854	355 974
<b>FI</b>	610	185 034
<b>LeU</b>	527	64 327
<b>Fdi</b>	478	253 464
<b>Lega</b>	294	471 171

The post published by M5S that receives the highest number of reactions reflects the identity of the Movement that wants to distinguish itself from its competitors and wants to confirm its distance from the traditional political-media elites. This post, in fact, are formed by two photos, one in which representatives of the M5S are shown and the other in which representatives of other parties are shown, labelled respectively by these sentences: “MoVimento 5 Stelle has donated 20 million euros to citizens ... They have been insulted by the media” and “The other parties gave 20 billion to the banks ... They have been acclaimed by the media”. These photos are accompanied by a status that says: “There are those who return the millions and those who have stolen the billions”.

M5S records the highest values also as regards to post sharing: with a total of shares, even here, over the million and an average greater than 1800 shares per post, this party shows higher values than its competitors every day of the period considered. This data can be interpreted as an indicator of a greater consensus expressed on social networks by voters-users of M5S.

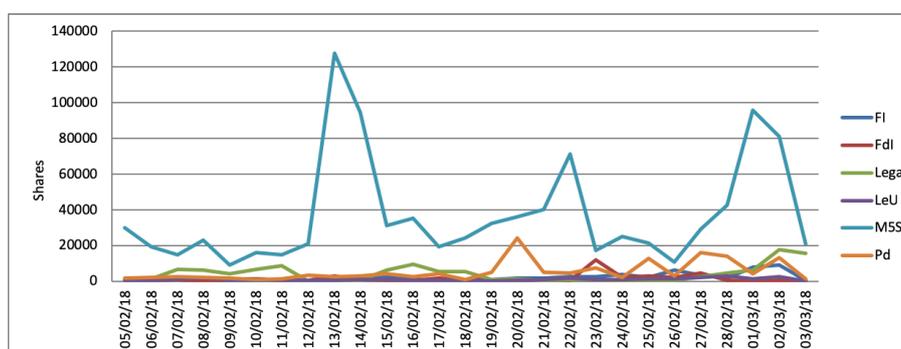


Figure 7. Shares count per day

**Table 4.** Shares Count

Party	Shares per post (Avg)	Tot. Shares (Absolute Values)
<b>M5S</b>	<b>1 898</b>	<b>1 004 569</b>
<b>PD</b>	763	146 676
<b>LeU</b>	231	28 192
<b>FI</b>	187	56 864
<b>FdI</b>	77	41 119
<b>Lega</b>	71	114 271

The post published by M5S more shared, as well as the most shared during the election campaign, is an image that compares M5S with other parties, remembering once again the money returned by the political party to citizens and not returned by other political parties. This post emphasizes the will and the necessity of the Movement to stand out from its political competitors and highlighting the *negative strategy* adopted by this party.

From the data related to the number of reactions and shares it is possible to make some reflections: first, they tell us that M5S is able to intercepting issues close to the voters and to present them in a captivating way, constantly exhorting the spread of these; secondly, that users who follow this party on Facebook more than others tend to support (through likes and reactions) and to spread (through shares) the content promoted by the party page.

So, to sum up, as we can see from the table 5, posts with the highest engagement rate are published by M5S and PD: the first with an average of 4867 interactions per post and the second with an average of 3121 interactions per post.

**Table 5.** Engagement Rate

Party	Engagement Rate (Avg. Interactions per post)	Tot. Interactions (Absolute Values)	Post published per day (Avg.)
<b>M5S</b>	<b>4 867</b>	<b>2 574 921</b>	19,5
<b>PD</b>	3 121	599 304	7,1
<b>FI</b>	943	286 775	11,2
<b>LeU</b>	847	103 380	4,5
<b>FdI</b>	601	318 634	19,6
<b>Lega</b>	402	642 464	<b>59,1</b>

#### 4. Conclusion

From the analysis two interesting elements emerge: on the one hand, the different communication strategies adopted by the parties in the management of their official Facebook pages; on the other hand, the presence of a different audience that, in different manners, follows and interacts with the contents produced.

If PD, for example, adopts a communication strategy aimed at activating a dialogue with the users, M5S, in line with the principles that have made it popular, adopts a strategy that encourages the participation of voters in the communication process.

Lega, for its part, adopts a *broadcast strategy* using the party page like a sort of a *modern press agency*, that is, as a way of spread many news and information, of a political nature and not, in order to keep voters fully informed. His strategy would seem to want to be constantly at the side of the voter. Similarly, FdI seems to adopt a *top-down* use of the platform, by means the huge promotion of the contents produced by the official website [www.fratelli-italia.it](http://www.fratelli-italia.it), that underlines a use of Facebook like a *digital sounding board*, also contributing to create a *news feed in real time* for the users with a political point of view consistent with FdI.

The accordance with the different communication strategies adopted by the parties, we find the presence of different audiences. Those who follow the pages of M5S and PD are the most responsive

users to content, probably because the publication strategies adopted by these parties encourage more online participation. Users who follow the Facebook page "Lega - Salvini premier", on the other hand, enjoy of the proposed contents in a more passive way. This probably happens because the intense activity of posting, if on the one hand reassures voters by offering a constant presence, on the other hand don't leave time to users for engage in the active fruition of all published content.

The parties that have achieved the best results in the elections, M5S and Lega, are therefore the two parties that in different ways - the first exhorting to participate, the second constantly accompanying the voter - have been more able to interpret the needs of an electorate which, according to Bracciale and Cepernich, adopts "an increasingly apathetic and fickle electorate that tends towards emotional and sometimes reactive voting behaviour" (2018, 38).

## Notes

From now on so indicated: Lega, FI, FdI, PD, LeU, M5S.

<sup>2</sup> The engagement, in this case calculated by dividing the total interactions by the number of published posts, in a general sense, according to Andò "can be understood as the set of motivations and behaviours that the subject invests in the relationship with a digital content and that manages going beyond the dimension of fruition, engaging himself in public participatory practices with strong relational value (Askwith, 2007; Napoli, 2011)" (2013, 321).

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# Two presidents in comparison: explore the Obama and Trump communication approaches by means of content analysis tools

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## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to carry out a comparative analysis with regard to the Habermas's theory of communicative action in which «beyond the function of achieving understanding, language plays the role of coordinating the goal-directed activities of different subjects, as well as the role of a medium in the socialization of these very subjects» (Habermas, 1987, 5). Nevertheless, it is appropriate to specify that we're going to focus attention on a specific type of communicative action that is the "strategic communication" that refers to linguistic interactions in which the participant, with his argumentations, tries to convince the others (Gelber, 2002).

More in detail, thought this work, we want to propose a comparative analysis between the political discourses of the last two Presidents of the United States, Barack Obama and Donald Trump who are known not only for the different political positions, but also for the use of different communication styles.

Specifically, we want to propose an exploratory analysis of the official speeches produced during the first month of office including, for both the Presidents, the victory speech and the first inaugural speech (the periods taken into consideration go from 20<sup>th</sup> January to 20<sup>th</sup> February respectively of the 2009 that is the Obama's year and 2017 that is the Trump's year). From this point of view, the choice to focus on official speech released during this particular timeframe comes from two different factual data: first, as already emphasized by Yang, because «political speech is the important weapon of political struggle concerning rich contents. Its distinguishing features in content are as following: clear standpoint, logic demonstration and powerful agitation. The purpose of political speech is to publicize political party, groups and personal views and claims to stir up listeners. Therefore, successful political speech is filled with deep thought and clear standpoint» (Yang, 2015, 34); second, because it is evident, by a preliminary reading of Obama's and Trump's speeches, their different political approach and their intentions regarding the future decisions.

## 2. Methodological Approach

With the aim of studying and comparing the political discourses that characterized the beginnings of the presidency of the United States of America of Obama and Trump, it was decided to analyze the texts produced by the two leaders during the first month of office, adopting the content analysis as a research approach. Specifically, two analytical techniques were used: *the content analysis as a survey* (Losito, 1993; 2007; 2009) and *the computerized text analysis*. The choice to use both techniques depends on the idea that an integrated use of these tools allows to obtain more satisfactory and complete results. As Amaturò explains, in fact, the complementarity of the different techniques is beneficial to the quality of the results: especially if you decide to use a card content analysis, text analysis's techniques can facilitate the preparation phase of the same, contributing to its definition (Amaturò, 1993). *Exploring* texts through text analysis's tools allows, in fact, a better definition of the analytical categories that constitute a card analysis, which will be *closer* to the actual content of the text.

For these reasons, it was decided to carry out a first exploratory analysis through the use of textual analysis's techniques, which allowed us to obtain a preliminary knowledge of the discourse, both of its contents and its form.

The use of this technique, which we can consider as a bridge between "qualitative" and "quantitative" research (Della Ratta-Rinaldi, 2007), took place using T-LAB that belongs to those software that allows to do a semi-automatic analysis of texts - informatic tools that are based on the analysis of words and

their relationships within the text, mainly inspired by the lexicometric approach of the French school of Jean-Paul Benzécri (Jenny, 1997).

Specifically, it was decided to carry out the thematic analysis of elementary contexts, an instrument that allows to construct a representation of the contents of the text corpus (including the speeches of both presidents) through thematic clusters, each of which is constituted by a set of keywords associated each other (Lancia, 2004)<sup>1</sup>.

The results of this first exploratory phase of computerized text analysis has oriented the subsequent phase of the content analysis as a survey, which allowed to deepen aspects related to the specific contents of the discourse, less evident in the results of the first phase.

Paraphrasing Losito, the content analysis as a survey can be described as an analytical procedure that uses a standardized data collection tool: similarly to the survey, this technique involves the construction of a card analysis (similar to the questionnaire) aimed at pointing out the characteristics of set of units appropriately selected (Losito, 2009).

More in detail, the texts were "interrogated" with the aim of investigating these following aspects:

- the *themes* and their specific aspects addressed by the two leaders (for example, security - local crime), trying to identify within each speech the three most relevant, selected according to the space occupied in the speech, to the emphasis given by the speaker (noting the use of expressions that underline the importance of the theme for the speaker) and the recurrence within the same speech;
- the *reference to the media* with the specific media channel mentioned (for example: press, radio, television, web, etc.) with the aim of analyzing the speaker's perception with respect to the medial circuit;
- the *reference to political allies or political opponents*, noting the tones and contexts with respect to which these subjects are mentioned;
- the *reference to Alter*, meaning with this category all the actors, political or not, of different nationalities or ethnic groups, with their specification;
- the *reference to American history*, that is to historical moments and figures that characterize American history;
- the use (or not) of *phrases/words aimed at emphasizing* particular moments of the discourse (for example: superlative and augmentative adjectives, adjectives aimed at reinforcing a specific concept, repetitions of words such as "great, great", etc.), for the purpose to analyze the communicative style of the two leaders.

The whole analysis process has been constantly addressed integrating quantitative analysis with a qualitative reading of the texts, which facilitated the interpretation of the data allowing a careful contextualization of both the topics covered and the communication style adopted by the two political leaders.

In order to underline the usefulness and the importance of an integrated use of the two techniques, in the next paragraphs the data will not be exposed following the order of the different analysis phases, but according to a "conceptually defined" order, constantly recalling complementary results obtained through the use of both techniques.

### **3. Comparing Obama and Trump: main outcomes**

#### **3.1. The communication styles**

With reference to the communication style, the analysis point out the same evidences already highlighted in the literature: indeed, both political leaders use simple and short sentences with the most important words at the end, use an easy and colloquial language which make possible to reach a wide and varied audience, adopting a strategy that aims to shorten the distances between the speaker and audience (Wang, 2010; Swaim, 2015). With the same aim, both leaders widely use the personal pronouns "we" and "our", which allow to establish a greater involvement of the audience with the speaker creating a union between them. (Wang, 2010; Yang, 2015; Chen, 2018).

With regard to the main differences, as already underlined by Lim (2008), despite the presidents of the United States of the twentieth century, including Obama, have used, according to The Flesch Reading

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Ease Readability Formula developed in 1975 by J. Peter Kincaid and his team, a language understandable to subjects of 13-14 years, Trump has further lowered this value, making his speeches understandable to 9-10 year olds in order to address even those with a very low educational level. For this reason, in the literature, Trump is attributed the so-called tendency to anti-intellectualism that is, moreover, an intention expressly stated by the President himself when he states «you can be a lawyer, or you don't have to be a lawyer. If you were a good student in high school or a bad student in high school, you can understand this» (speech of February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017).

One further difference emerges with respect to the extent of the vocabulary used by the two leaders. As emerges from our analysis, the Hapax (that are the words that occur only once in the text) are 1.408 in Obama and 1.138 in Trump, demonstrating a greater wealth of the vocabulary used by the first than the second.

Furthermore, it is well known the consistent use by Trump - rarely frequent in Obama's speeches - of terms that have the function of emphasizing and point up certain concepts like, for example, "incredible", "tremendous", "amazing", "unbelievable", "greatest", "catastrophic", "disaster".

Finally, although both use fairly colloquial languages, there is a greater use of terms related to American slang by Trump (think, by way of example, the wide use of "guys", of "right?!" at the end of the sentences, of the exclamation "oh, gee!") as well as the propensity to use funny and witty sentences («This political stuff is nasty, and it is tough!»).

### 3.2. Relevant contents and topics

From the thematic analysis of the elementary contexts of Obama's speeches, 3 distinct clusters emerge. In more detail, analyzing the words that compose them, we note that cluster 1 refers to the American "spirit" and values and to want to build a better and stronger America (we can find words like "United States", "God", "may", "stronger", "hope", "advance", "better").

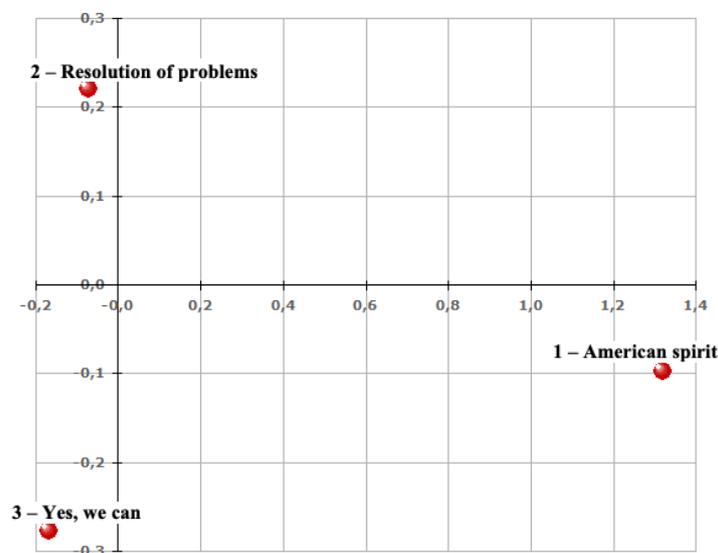
To confirm this, from the content analysis as a survey emerges the theme of American values that, on the one hand, connects to the invitation of mutual support between the President and the American citizens while, on the other hand, refers to the memory of the dawn of American history and of the values that have inspired the founding fathers. This theme, for example, recalled entirely in the speech of February 12<sup>nd</sup>, 2009 dedicated to the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln during which Obama starts by saying:

The American people needed to be reminded, he [Lincoln] believed, that even in a time of war, the work would go on; the people's business would continue; that even when the nation itself was in doubt, its future was being secured; and that on that distant day, when the guns fell silent, a national capitol would stand, with a statue of freedom at its peak, as a symbol of unity in a land still mending its divisions.

The second cluster, instead, refers to the sphere of action and, therefore, to the concrete resolution of current social problems (we find terms like "problem", "program", "work", "solve", "can", "reinvestment", "community"). Also in this case, the content analysis as a survey shows the particular attention by Obama to the economic sphere (mostly economic-financial crisis), health (the reference is to Obamacare) and educational (reform of school politics).

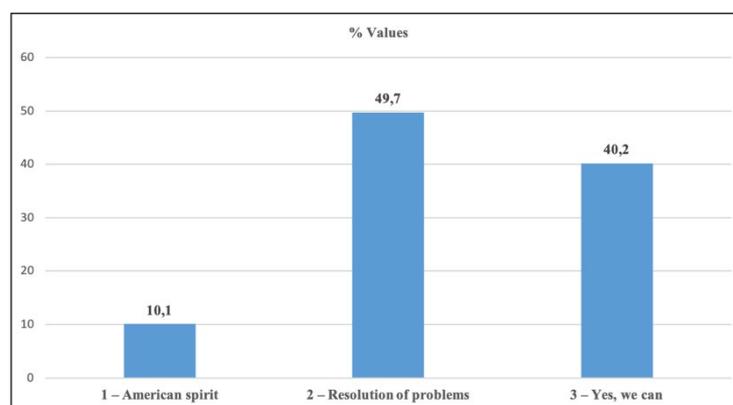
That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet (speech of January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009).

Finally, the third cluster recalls the future change under its guidance, expressed with the slogan "Yes, we can" ("strength", "election", "earn", "tomorrow", "lead", "way", "opportunity" are the words that compose this cluster).



**Figure 1.** Obama's speeches clustering

The most significant clusters are the second (49.7%) and third (40.2%), which refer to what America can and must do under the leadership of the president Obama.



**Figure 2.** Obama's clusters histogram (% values)

From the analysis of the elementary contexts of Trump's speeches emerge, instead, 5 distinct clusters. More in detail, we note that clusters 1 and 2 are closely related to each other (not without reason they relate to the same quadrant on the Cartesian plane).

The first one refers to institutional values (in fact, in the first cluster we find "together", "justice", "citizen", "republican", "American"), a data defined by the speech of January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017, completely dedicated to the designation of the judge to the supreme court Neil Gorsuch.

The second cluster recalls to patriotic-nationalist values enclosing words such as "United States", "war", "immigration", "border", "illegal". It is a cluster closely connected to the issue of security which, as emerges from the content analysis as a survey, is present in a constant manner and in different forms in all Trump's speeches (construction of the wall bordering on Mexico, eulogy of law enforcement, support for military forces, terrorism, crime related to immigration issue).

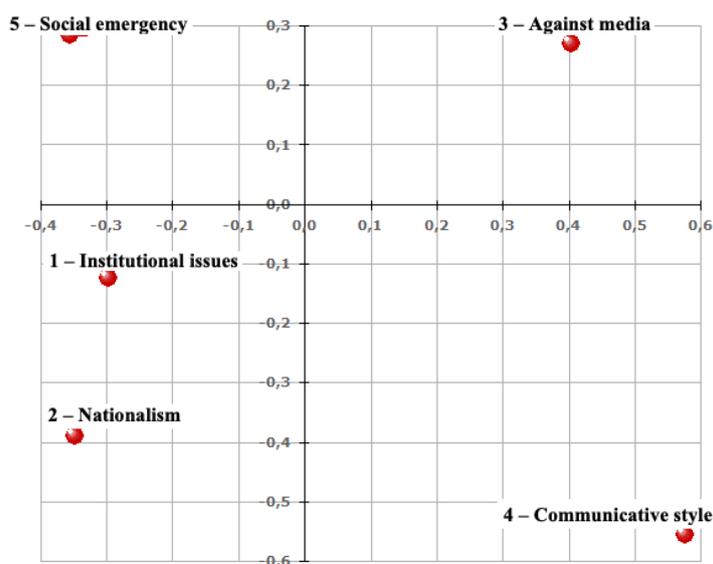
## Two presidents in comparison

The third cluster, in which we find words such as “media”, “tell”, “fake news”, “story”, “dishonest”, “wrong”, represents Trump's sometimes conflicting relationship with the media, in relation to which the president shows himself as a "victim" as emerged from Gounari's research (2018). Among the many statements, we report a particularly significant excerpt:

They're very dishonest people. In fact, in covering my comments, the dishonest media did not explain that I called the fake news the enemy of the people. The fake news. They dropped off the word fake. And all of a sudden the story became the media is the enemy. They take the word fake out (speech of February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

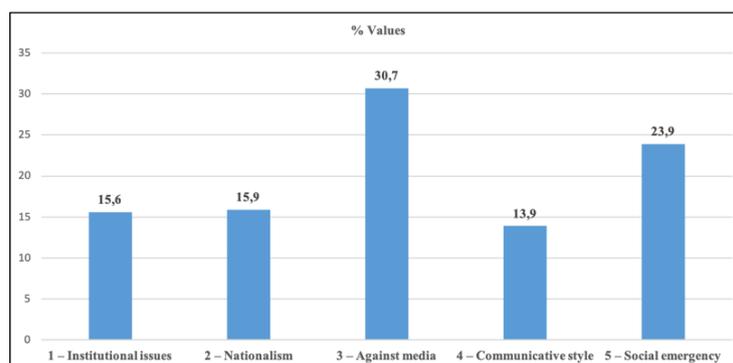
The fourth cluster, the less significant from a statistical point of view, is also less defined, enclosing words like “unbelievable”, “endorse”, “friend”, “respect”, “politic” which would seem to recall the colloquial relationship that it seeks to establish with its audience.

Finally, the fifth cluster refers to those that are the most urgent problems of the country for Trump, closely related to each other: the economic issue and the social emergency linked to criminality (indeed the words present in this cluster are “tax”, “stop”, “drug”, “work”, “violence”, “reform”, “regulation”, “islamic”, “factories”). Not only, the close connection between economic-social difficulties and the presence of immigrants, already underlined from Gil Bonilla's research (2018), is evident. Once again, the topic of security is linked not only to local crime (youth gangs, drug dealers, etc.) but also to immigration (the presence of foreigners and Islamic terrorism).



**Figure 3.** Trump's speeches clustering

In the analysis of Trump's speeches, the most significant clusters are the third (30.7%) and fifth (23.9%), which refer to the strong points of the Trump's political action.



**Figure 4.** Trump's clusters histogram (% values)

The content analysis as a survey has enabled us to investigate further aspects that are particularly important for understanding the arguments of the two leaders.

A first element concerns the numerical data used to reinforce the topics covered: specifically, Obama frequently refers to numerical data talking about economic issues (statistics, investments in monetary terms and so on); otherwise, Trump uses this type of information in support of the issue of security (for example, statistics on crime and immigration).

A second element that is particularly interesting concerns the reference to *Alter* (see the section about the methodological approach). Obama mentions other countries/ethnic groups with a positive attitude, for example by recalling Germany and China as demonstration of socio-economic recovery and as model of inspiration, or hoping for peace and harmony (especially with reference to countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan):

To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West - know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy (speech of January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009).

Instead, Trump mentions other countries/ethnic groups with a negative attitude most of the time, defining, on many occasions, foreigners as aliens and recalling, in these circumstances, the issue of security. Taking one just example of this:

As we speak today, immigration offers are finding the gang members, the drug dealers and the criminal aliens and throwing them the hell out of our country. And we will not let them back in (speech of February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

Another element less evident from the textual analysis is the reference to the theme of the construction and re-construction of infrastructures, repeatedly highlighted by Trump and not present in the Obama's speeches. Specifically, Trump focus attention on the need to use materials and workforce Made in USA in implementation of these structural works. The aim is to encourage, on the one hand, the economic and industrial development of the America, and, on the other hand, to discourage the import of raw materials from abroad and to create new jobs for the autochthonous (for example, The Dakota Access Pipeline).

One final element to be stressed is the reference to political allies and political opponents: in 5 speeches out of 9 Trump mentions political figures belonging to his staff in order to enhance the same people and their work, using particularly evocative words. On the contrary, Obama cites political allies only in 2 speeches to thank them for their support. With regard to the political opponents, here again it is unusual in Obama's speeches (only in the speech of February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2009 he mentions his predecessor Bush) but more frequent is it in Trump's speeches (5 out of 9). In fact, on the one hand, Trump criticizes Obama's work especially in reference to the policies of the Obamacare most of the time; on the other hand, he criticizes the political opponents for facilitating the elite of Washington D.C. that have «flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth» (speech of January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

#### 4. Conclusion

From the analysis conducted emerge interesting aspects regarding similarities and differences both in communicative style and in contents of the official speeches of the two presidents.

A first element concerns the adoption of an easy and colloquial language by both leaders - communication strategy that is particularly evident (and explicitly declared) in Trump - aimed at strengthening a closeness and unity between president and electors.

A further communicative expedient adopted by the two presidents is the use of numerical data, used to highlight issues concerning social emergencies that characterize the problems of the country at that particular historical moment. With this aim, Obama uses numerical data talking about issues related to economic aspects while Trump recalls statistics related to issues linked to crime and immigration.

The importance of the economic sphere for Obama and the security issue for Trump, that are the political priorities of the two presidents that emerged on several occasions in the analysis, also re-emerges by focusing on the associations among the pronoun "we" and the other words ("we" is the most recurring word in the speeches of both political figures). On the one hand, in Obama the word "we" is strongly associated with terms such as "will", "can", "America", "economy", "crisis" in witness the urgencies of a country that in 2009 (year of Obama's settlement) was still affected by a strong economic crisis. On the other hand, in Trump, the word "we" is associated with terms like "will", "go", "country", "America", "border", an indicator of the fact that the social emergency has shifted from the economic sphere to that of immigration one.

Ultimately, the different approaches of the two leaders toward the "challenge" that Americans will have to address in improving the condition of the country is interesting. On the one hand, Obama constantly evokes the *possibility* of improving America, a need for *change* possible only if there is a complete collaboration and unity between the president and all citizens, without distinction of gender, age, social position and so on; on the other hand, Trump recalls the need for a *reconstruction* of the country, neglected for a long time by the previous administration, the need to build a *new* America. In this regard, the respective slogans that have distinguished the presidency of the two leaders are evocative: "Yes, we can!" *versus* "Make America Great Again".

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**Note**

<sup>1</sup>The analyzed text corpus is composed of the speeches of both presidents and reaches a width of about 37.000 occurrences. For this reason, it can be considered a corpus of medium size because it lies between 15.000 and 50.000 occurrences (Tuzzi, 2003).

# Breaking Points of National Political Discourse: A Study of Political Speeches of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

Elif Yilmazli

## 1. Introduction

This study aims to evaluate nationalism as a representation form of political discourse. Discourse is a linguistic strategy which is determined by political powers to legitimize their power and acts. Especially electoral periods are prime samples for analyzing national ideology that conveys symbolic values. Primarily these values are used by politicians to communicate with their voters or public, and also demonstrate that we can identify their ideologies and identities. So, we can account for how national discourse is used and established a connection between ideology and symbolic values is established.

Breaking points of nationalist ideology fundamentally rely on nation's discrepancy and uniqueness. Also, the ideology is the sense of common heritage and destiny that unifies the nation and guarantees the cohesion. Otherwise, the feature of discourse used over the others might indicate that what kind of nationalist politics such as harmless and positive or irrational and negative tendencies. So, each nationalist language is always redefined depending on who used it.

The sample of research comprises of the last two speeches towards the latest general elections and victory speeches of the President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Firstly, nationalist elements within the political discourse will be determined through content analysis and sentence units are counted based on phrases that provoke polarization by defining "us" and "them", and that convey threats or national supremacy. Secondly, semantic contexts of sentence units will be found through semiological discourse analysis. Connotations of meanings are evaluated in accordance with Roland Barthes' definition of myth.

## 2. Nation as Political and Cultural Phenomenon

It has been widely debated what nation and nationalism might be. On the one hand, some believe that these phenomena mainly rely on ancient history, but on the other, there is widespread acceptance that about they belong to modern world. This study evaluates the phenomena as political and cultural issues, in doing so, they will be accepted a historical fact in the modern era. To begin with, nation emerged in the French Revolution in terms of politics and history, however, etymologically it rested on ancient societies.

The word of nation is originated from Middle English via Old French from Latin *natio(n-)*, from *nat-* 'born', from the verb *nasci* (Oxforddictionaries). Preceded nationalism and states in Spain, *nación* meant to outsider groups that had taken advantages of benefits in cities, namely merchants. Also, it referred to communities that shared common features, for instance *student nation* who had been studying in ancient universities. Netherlanders used *natie* for people who was assumed that basically descended from the same ancestry (Hobsbawm, 2010). Moreover, Romans used *natio*, in addition to the same meaning of *natie*, to indicate persons who had similar characters and also currently means ethnicity. This group of people, that lived in the same land and shared the same economic system, was able to organize with each other on those of agnation (Calhoun, 2012).

Italian political philosopher and rhetorician Giambattista Vico in 18th century, stated similarly that the term was associated with ancestry in terms of collective factors like breed, consanguinity and language (Akkaş, 2007). In Turkish language, the word of nation (*millet*) had referred to any religious communities till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The other term of *ulus*, which is synonym of *millet*, came directly from Mongolian for interpreting as part, a country assigned to each member of the Khan family and nomad tribes (Nişanyan, 2009). In short, the word of nation virtually was used to identify resemblance and discrepancy of societies or groups.

The conscience of being a nation, apart from ancient communities, began to build a homogenous society within holy symbols, for instance, flags, feasts, festivals, myths, heroes, frontiers,

war memorials, etc. Nation-states speed up the process which created the sense of belonging to one state or to one nation (Smith 1994). Besides, ideologies of national supremacy are identified by state policy which national borders determine. These ideologies might cause discrimination among people such as super-humanity and sub-humanity. Since the point is a caste signification in an elite representation of the hereditary nobility as a superior race. “The mythic narrative in particular by which an aristocracy, whose domination is already coming under threat, assures itself of the legitimacy of its political privileges and idealizes the dubious continuity of its genealogy” (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991:207).

National states constitute a basis of solidarity and safety as *being at home*. So, people will be needed an external threat in order to appreciate the value of state. National solidarity conceives persons who are instantly ready to sacrifice themselves for their nations so as to save or protect the country and its nation from enemies. Thus, attitudes developed within ingroups such as members of nation can be established with unity, mutual trust and bond (Bauman, 1999).

A study of Wodak and her colleagues about national identity, claims that national identity is a kind of *habitus* on the basis of Bourdieu’s habitus concept. According to them, emotional attitudes and similar behavioral dispositions are interiorized through nationalist socializing. Disposition would be towards solidarity with one’s own group as well as towards excluding the ‘others’ from this constructed collective. Thus, all these acts pioneer the production of stereotypes against other nations and their cultures (Cillia et al., 1999).

Nationalism, apart from group relations, politically derived from the development of the modern nation-state, is a change in the power structure where one person-monarch is replaced by people-national governments (Gellner, 2012). Alternatively, the prevalent education system, increasing rate of literacy, and the publishing of newspapers particularly led to a rapid development of nationalism (Heywood, 2013). Owing to peoples’ increasing awareness and social improvements, politicians were forced to influence citizens with re-interpretation of reality by way of discourse in mass communications. In conclusion, the modern world’s national elites, who are a privileged class led by a leader, have aimed at supporting certain groups which are directly or indirectly sided to elites’ power while ordinary people are being manipulated.

### 3. The Discursive Construction of Nation

New research fields have been addressing a number of key issues, for instance patriarchy, eurocentrism, women, black people, discourse, minorities, diaspora, gender identities, etc., since the 1980s, unlike previous studies about nationalism (Özkırımlı, 1999). With studies about theories based on nationalism, especially enormous importance of discourse was realized impact on re-producing sovereign ideology: Because of the fact that “...the outer shell of rhetoric surrounds the ideological core” (Sutherland, 2005’ten akt. Yıldırım, 2015:19).

Social solidarity and collective identities may not be solely adequate in order to construct a legitimate and holy nation; however, discursive construction also will be needed. To begin with, nationalism is a manner of speaking that manages perceptions, namely discursive construction as defined by Foucault (Calhoun, 1997). “Utterances within the context of political output are rarely isolated grammatical cases; they operate within historical frameworks and are frequently associated with other related utterances or texts” (Wilson, 2001:404). In addition to, as Hellner ve Balibar state that determining the criterion of the distinction between types of nationalism is a discursive strategy that effectively ensures the process of nationalization to all persons in the country (Eryılmaz, 2010:179).

According to Hudson (1978) discourse should be understood as a strategic resource whereby politicians gain and hold power. So, political statements do not represent neutral and comprehensible utterances and also, it’s aimed to achieve political goals, create alliances and oppositions, and present an image of national unity. For this reason, it’s a crucial element to focus on the ways in which linguistic and symbolic communication maintains and regulates political communities and systems (Dunmire, 2012).

Judith Butler and Julia Kristeva from postmodern philosophy, indicate that nations are mainly constituted on discursive and political practices and Kristeva also finds identities to be discursive and changeable (Tetik, 2017). The discursive approach examines the limits and formations of identities, and hence nations might merely maintain their presence on limitations of discourse of national (Tetik, 2017).

To bind every kind of people together as a nation, a great amount of effort must be spent to persuade to presence of strong bonds that unite all citizens in the country (Klein, Azzi, Brito, & Berckmans, 1992). Besides, politicians aim to convert their veracity and legitimacy to a consistent language while convincing public (Yıldırım, 2015) by expressing in which framed largely nostalgia and identification. Consequently, the nation believes in their common origins and in the unicity of their common history, and they appeal to a shared destiny (Mayer, 2002). They hold the past and memories of communal sufferings alive and also are frequently blind to the fact that their national narrative is based on myths on what Balibar calls “fictive ethnicity.” (Mayer, 2002).

#### 4. Methodology

The methods of analysis used in the article are content and discourse analysis. sentence units within the political discourse that convey nationalism are determined through categorical content analysis. Moreover, sentence units are systematically specified according to phrases that polarize, that define “us/them”, that threaten or communicate national supremacy. Therefore, the technique particularly relies on the categorization of the data. Hence, semantic contexts of phrases are identified through semiological discourse analysis in which connotations of meanings are evaluated in accordance with Roland Barthes’s myth model. Political actor’s speeches are discussed as a result of the assessment of the data by providing analysis methods in the context of national political discourse. As a result, in this study, when only six speeches are thoroughly gone into, non-national political statements and gratitude in the sentence units are excluded from analysis.

First of all, content illustrates what is included in a message. Further, “content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Prasad, 2008). However, to find the underlying meaning which includes both denotation and connotation of significations, apart from content analysis, the myth might support comprehension, which Roland Barthes references. The explicit or direct meanings of an expression, namely denotation, split from the ideas associated with it. Connotation evokes an atmosphere that has to be reached to the rationale behind denotation in analyzing ideological and political issues that depend on context.

The essential purpose of semiotician Roland Barthes, the writer of *Mythologies*, is to attempt to offer an explanation of how cultural associations and social knowledge can be associated with connotations that are conceptually interpreted in the myth (Turner, 2016). Denotation is a signifier to which the sign refers, when connotation represents a relation among signifier and signifier’s cultural values. In demonstrating connection with senses, Barthes (1993) points out to the features of resemblance and discrepancy of words or phrases, such as the for instance link between labor and wage.

Mythologies basically rest on discrepancies in binary oppositions as a system of communication due to the fact that they stem from repressed fears and unsolved problems in historical consciousness. Even though it emerges from different facts and heroes of different cultures and communities, fears and problems are essentially common to all people (Sepetçi, 2016). Most of conflicts, such as good-bad, war-peace, life-death and safe-thread, have been pivotal element in all cultures for centuries.

On the whole, Barthes’ concepts are utilized in order to discover the hidden meanings of the language in order to comment on national ideology that mostly has symbolic values.

## 5. Findings

### 5.1. Content Analysis of the Speeches

Speeches	Sum	Us/Them				Threat/Fear	National Supremacy		Sum
		Us	P.Us	T.	T./T.	T./F.	N.S.	N.S. / T.	
Speech I	(178)	5	26	34	15	5	7	-	92
Speech II	(128)	3	18	10	2	11	39	9	92
Speech III	(87)	2	11	3	1	-	18	7	42
<b>Sum</b>	<b>393</b>	130				16	80		<b>226</b>

**Table 1.** The politician's sentence units

The shown table provides the number of President's sentence units in each of his speeches. As is presented, *P.Us*: illustrates nationalist political promises; *T*: sentence consists of others or enemies; *T./T.*: sentence with including both *them* and *threat*; *T./F.* sentence includes solely threats and fears; *N.S.*: *national supremacy* sentence rests on a belief which perceived superiority based on one nationality or ethnicity; *N.S./T.*: *national supremacy and threat* composes of sentences that national values are threatened by others. By the way, the first and second speeches were performed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the last one, which was also a victory speech, was made in the headquarters of the Justice and Development Party in Ankara. Erdoğan's speeches were received from the official website of the President's Office <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyiperdogan/konusmalar/>.

As can be seen, there are a total of 393 sentences, whereas 226 sentences depict nationality. The highest number of national sentences is in *us/them*, which compose of polarization phrases, is well above than the other mentioned two categories. Generally, the politician emphasized that *them* is related with *threat and fear* while *us* was combined with national supremacy. Accordingly, threat statements are used in either *them* and *national supremacy* except for the section of *threat /fear*. To sum up, nearly 60 percent of the speeches highlight national values by mostly using discriminatory language. Before reach any conclusion, discourse analysis will help to figure out the real meaning behind the spoken unlike content analysis.

## 5.2. Discourse Analysis of the Speeches

Denotation	Connotation
The Children of Conquerors (“ <i>Evlad-ı Fatihan</i> ”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cultural Bonds with Ottoman Empire</li> <li>- The Balkan Turks/European Turks</li> <li>- Turks Who are Responsible for Protecting Motherland</li> <li>- Turks Who are Protected by Motherland</li> <li>- The Modern Conquerors</li> </ul>
<i>Rabia</i> (one nation, one flag, one homeland, and one state)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- National Sovereignty</li> <li>- Unitary State</li> <li>- Cultural Nationalism</li> <li>- Replacement of The Six Arrows</li> </ul>
Election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- War of Independence</li> <li>- Irreversible process</li> <li>- The conquest of the new era: 2023, 2053, 2071</li> </ul>
Evil Alliance (“ <i>Şer İttifakı</i> ”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Opposition voters</li> <li>- Wicked and traitor</li> </ul>

**Table 2.** The politician’s mythical statements

The given table data presents information about denotation and its connotations with which the various social and cultural senses and emotional tendencies associated. The most used phrases have been collected from pivotal words in frequently repeating sentences. Similarly, those words are presented as denotation and their implications are illustrated as connotation of which indirectly aimed to speak.

The politician uses “*the children of conquerors*” to refer to the Balkan Turks thereby stresses strong bonds with moral and material values of Balkans and also with these bonds, implies to remember the conquests of Balkan in the Ottoman Empire period. He cites a sentence from his memory by someone who said him: “These lands are the children of conquerors... protect them”. This mention suggests that Balkan Turks are commended to Erdogan, the Party and eventually homeland -Turkey. In short, politician alludes to a position of neo-ottomanist of himself. Moreover, he adds a few requests and commands: “preserve well your religion and language; if you lose them you will be lost yourself”, “Not only teach your children their mother language by the best way but also try to make sure your children receive the best education in the country”, “I request you to take part vigorously in political parties by country in which you live. You must be involved in that parliaments not those who betray our country. Turkish society has this power”, “Are you ready to reach together the place we deserve in Europe?” These phrases imply that if Balkan Turks can be strong in the countries where they were once the Ottoman Empire as strong against Europe, they may get through the domestic and foreign threats of homeland. Thus, to protect the homeland is a responsibility for all Turkish citizens in the world and also, they are converted to a modern conqueror in terms of culture.

“Our ancestors have been European for a thousand years. The first work of our ancestors, who came to Anatolia, was to move into Europe by passing through the Bosphorus” points at the history of Seljuks and Ottomans that were ruled by Sunni Muslim dynasties. The emphasis on Europeanness refers to mainly craving for history and culture of Ottoman. “European countries can misbehave against us and our country because of the fact that Turkish citizens are dispersed. In order not to reveal our true power, they deliberately divide us into by saying Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian, Sunni or Alevi. They not only divide us, they also aim to that we fall out with each other” implies that European countries are being enemies of the Party and Turks. By stressing various ethnic identities and religions, such as Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian, Sunni and Alevi, he attempts to put forward cultural nationalism.

*Them* includes that haven’t common background such as “terror organizations”, “global self-seekers” and “voters of the opposition”, however, the politician identifies *them* as *evil alliance* in order

to make them homogeneous. Particularly the opposition Nation Alliance (*Millet İttifakı*)<sup>32</sup> and its voters are defined *evil* by President and People's Alliance (*Cumhur İttifakı*)<sup>33</sup>. In this unfavorable definition, politically non-homogenous character of the opposition alliance is not accepted and is directly declared a national threat.

On election night, the politician made an evaluation: "We saved our country, flag, the azan, freedom and honor from the coups. Where did they run? To United States. ...now I'm looking at the votes coming from America; from there to the main opposition received a lot of votes". By referring to the opposition of Turkish citizens who live in USA, in general citizens who don't support People's Alliance, are being antagonized by a dismissive view. Moreover, in his victory speech after the election he interprets "We're going to speak of our *Rabia*<sup>34</sup> a much louder voice". *Rabia* has been used as a sign and hand gesture of anti-coup protesters in Islamic world since 2013. However, Erdogan diverts the sign to define the four principles of Justice and Development Party: "one nation, one flag, one homeland, and one state". Eventually, *Rabia* refers to nationalist ideology intertwined with Islamism. The principles of "one flag, one homeland, and one state" signify the indivisibility of the unitary state structure against the threat of federation and autonomy. The emphasis on "one nation" alludes to cultural nationalism which is pointing out that all ethnic groups living in the country would be seen as one nation. Also, "one nation", in terms of political, means *us* who is not from *evil alliance*. Besides, *Rabia* is a new equivalent symbol instead of The Six Arrows<sup>35</sup> of the main opposition Turkish Republican People's Party and also the main difference of the two symbols is that there has been a religious sign instead of secularism (laicism).

"War of Independence" (*Kurtuluş Savaşı/İstiklâl Harbi*)<sup>36</sup>, "*Rabia*", "2023", "2053" and "2071" are become prominent for referring to election process and afterwards by the politician. "The War of Independence" referring to the establishment of the Republic taking lead by Atatürk, points out a second time struggle internally and externally and forthcoming war again in Turkey the ruling Justice and Development Party. Correspondingly, the election has been expressed as "the determinant of the century", and so it is inevitably seen an irreversible process. "2023" refers to the centenary of the founding of the Republic. It is aimed to highlight that a different leader has taking the leadership in a new era in the place of the period of Atatürk. The conquest culture and Ottomanism are represented by using the history of "2053", which marks the sixth century of the conquest of Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire. With "2071" it's aimed to remember the millenarian year of the Turks entering Anatolia for the first time. Hence, the nationalist ideology, which is dominated by Islamic values, is emphasized as it is based on Muslim Turkish conquest movements. In this context, it can be concluded that the politician tries to produce alternative political symbols for the new political period.

## 6. Conclusion

According to the analyzed discourse used in the speeches, it can be concluded that the politician draws mostly on nationalist elements by referring to ethnic and cultural history within symbolic references. Similarly, the highlight on the past triumphs, threats invariably associated with the regional problems, frequently used antagonistic approach and desire to be the symbolic leader created by the religion bond makes reference to a strong national discourse. By avoiding different historical and cultural

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<sup>32</sup> is an electoral alliance in Turkey, set to contest 2018 general election, consists of four opposition parties, namely the Republican People's Party (CHP), the İyi Party (İYİ), the Felicity Party (SP), and the Democrat Party (DP).

<sup>33</sup> is an electoral alliance in Turkey, established between the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP).

<sup>34</sup> the name of the square Rabiätü'l Adeviyye, which is the symbol of massacre in Egypt in 2013.

<sup>35</sup> Republicanism, Populism, Nationalism, Laicism, Statism, and Reformism.

<sup>36</sup> After the the Ottomans' defeat in World War I, the majority of the Ottoman lands were shared among the proxies of the Allies – namely Greece, Armenia, France, the United Kingdom and Italy. With starting the national struggle against occupying states, the cause was to provide independence and unconditional sovereignty.

stances, it's merely confined to Turkish-Islamic dynasties and their cultural belongings. Consequently, it is implied that Muslim Turks are prevalent national identity in the country. In addition, placing emphasis on Turkishness to diaspora Turks it can be allude to conservative nationalist discourse in the pan-Turkish and pan-Islamist axes.

In the framework of the current political problems, internal and external enemies are identified and so it is aimed to assert the indivisible unity of the nation against them. The perception that the opposition is supported by those enemies means rejection of counter-views through fear policies relies on conspiracy theories. Individuals and society are directed to think through national discourse that produces certain impressures about other's culture and the world outside. The most quantitatively used "us/them" refers to politically serving to split citizens in the country. Also, the usage of polarization against European countries demonstrates the political stance against global forces in terms of international. It can be seen that contrary positions between the phenomena are frequently repeated in the speeches such as Ottomanness- Europeanness, People's Alliance-Evil Alliance, Rabia-The Six Arrows, Islamism-secularism.

The idea that necessity to protect the sense of belongings and boundaries inherited from the ancestors is caused to citizens must think about their responsibilities of this necessity on the day of the election. Concordantly, the essential objective is citizens to be turned into a protector and warrior as if they're in extreme times. Because of the fact that it's deemed the election process as war time, a threat and fear which politically constructed over society might be increasingly arose. That is to say, it's aimed to provide the nation's faith and commitment to the politician and his alliances.

The intensity of feelings of anger, fear and superiority in discourses, enforces people to accept an absolute veracity of politicians. According to the politician it can be educed that having confidence in him is a significant criterion holding feelings of national loyalty. Concordantly this signification may have an unfavorable effect on the workings of democracy owing to inhibiting query of political acts and the politicians. Firstly, the nationality of individuals is measured in the context of their political preferences, and hence they become the target of nationalist values.

Secondly, it is suggested in the discourse, the parties and alliances are positioned based on fellows and enemies, not the politically relied on rival groups. Strategically using negativity in political communication and the conversely positioning of subjects can prevent pro-reconciliation in the political sphere while cause to provoke inevitably radical ideas and acts among dissenters who are categorized. In addition to leading to conflict with others, negative outcomes may also be resulted of the fear that someone will always take them over.

On the whole, try to find a common definition for the phenomena of nation and nationalism may almost bring about an ambiguity. Nationalism which is a part of our daily language can unite with various ideologies and also for the politician, an effective way to be chosen by people as a representative. On the account of the fact that it's depend on which politician is spoken of, the definition cannot be tangible and explicit. The politicians might always choose a different path to express themselves in different times based on current policy.

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# **ISP liability for the automated processing of personal data for political communication. The GDPR applicability to social networking platforms.<sup>37</sup>**

Emma Garzonio

## **1. Introduction**

The new General Data Protection Rules EU 2016/279, entered into force on May 25, 2018, has established and codified new duties and responsibilities for the Intermediary Service Providers, including social networking platforms, overtaking and completing the preceding regulation.

The research at hand, after a brief excursus which retraces within the European and Italian body of laws the legal basis on which the GDPR today ratify new responsibilities, aims at verifying the GDPR enforceability with regards to social networking platforms. To do this it will start from a defining framework for the term “platform” itself and then analyse the concept and its functions, conveying also relevant essays from media and cultural studies. The objective is to analyse the trembling balance between Social Network Providers’ duties and concerned individuals’ rights with specific regards to political communication strategies on social networks.

Within the political propaganda framework, in fact, scandals such as the Cambridge Analytica affair broke out, renewing public opinion’s attention on the risks linked to the automated processing of personal data and on the possibilities of data breach. This essay aims then at verifying the resilience of the tools laid out by the GDPR in the field of personal data protection – with specific attention to profiling activities and digital footprints aggregation through algorithmic codes - when they have to be used to the detriment of the interests of major Web companies such as Facebook, which is not new to a quite unscrupulous employment of its users’ personal data.

## **2. Platforms: from concept to responsibilities**

In order to approach the wide subject related to the new duties and responsibilities of the service providers, specifically the social networking platforms, as established by Regulation (EU) 2016/67 – the General Data Protection Rules or GDPR – it’s necessary to take some defining steps. Key topics of the present research are the ISP or Internet Service Providers, the digital platforms and their responsibilities, the risks connected to the automated processing of data. It is also useful to keep in mind the juridical stages that have established the regulatory framework for the current Regulation before its approval and entry into force.

The very concept of “platform” and its related functions show a changing and cross-cutting nature which hardly lends itself to a static classification, especially when it comes to platforms built on reticular social relations and on horizontal sharing of contents. The word “platform” recently appeared in our lexical horizon and has become more and more familiar to describe the online services provided

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<sup>37</sup> For a more extended discussion of the present matter, the Italian version of this article – with a more specific focus on Italian national regulation before and after the GDPR – will be published on the digital review “MediaLaws - Law and Policy of the Media in a Comparative Perspective” in June 2019.

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by the so-called “content intermediaries”. The word “platform” reveals just a small portion of the real position and power that the intermediaries have been carving themselves.

A platform can complete some digital functions – for instance YouTube provides its users with a service of free video uploading and sharing – and also can supply specific services to those subjects who have the power to elaborate and determine socio-political and economic trends and strategies, such as advertisers, media producers, economic partners – the so called policymakers. In this way a platform – as a social network or a search engine – becomes a stage for those policymakers, which can display a permanent electoral campaign or political marketing activities with deeper and more extended permeation capacity than in the past, thanks to the greater amount of interconnected users (Airoldi, 2015). These functionalities are based on the intrinsic features of the platforms, especially on their capability to fill the gap users/producers, neutralising the friction between user-generated and commercially produced contents (Van Dijk, 2009). The platform becomes then a tool that can be used at the same time for marketing operations, for the amplification of mainstream media, for individuals’ rights enforcement or for the spreading of *grassroots* contents.

“Platform” is then akin to other structural metaphors such as “network”, “broadcast”, “channel”, which rely on their own semantic richness to embody a certain colloquial appeal (Gillespie, 2010). In fact, the powerful appeal that the word “platform” spreads seems to enable it to be both a profit-driven online marketplace and a social tool for individuals’ empowerment. The word – and the multifaceted idea it conveys – has become so fascinating to turn into a persuasive concept within the juridical vocabulary and perspective as well: a new metaphorical framework capable of contextualising the intermediaries’ services as a neutral contents delivery.

That is, especially when it comes to defining the responsibilities, to use the term “platform” just to describe a supposed neutral information carrier and not a responsible and biased producer of contents. In this way responsibilities are likely to fall on users rather than on platforms’ managers: the term “platform” is then used not to emphasise but to minimise the role of intermediaries, so that the online contents providers, constituting in this way just mere carriers of information, result only partially responsible for it. By positioning themselves as allegedly not liable subjects – and then as “host” or “provider” – the intermediaries reduce their juridical and cultural responsibility: the latter implies the release of frivolous, unfounded, unreliable and even harmful contents.

This attempt to evade liability – especially legal one – stands in clear contradiction to today’s communication reality: communication is neither a one-to-one nor a one-to-many system anymore, as it was assumed by traditional mass media but has become a collective, reticular many-to-many system (McQuail, 2007). Users today are not only content-receivers but they contribute to create the service by sharing information – it might be in the shape of *tweets*, photos and videos, uploaded contents etc. – which is the very cornerstone of platforms; users then have become producers too (Castells, 2014), while providers are not only neutral intermediaries but they

more and more often operate on the contents management and organisation with procedures which are not always transparent. The activities that characterise the providers can be compared with some degree of approximation to the ones deployed by traditional publishers and this point involves and imposes a radical rethink on providers’ responsibilities. (Allegri, 2018, p.10).

In summary, while the “platform” concept might look like a neutral and descriptive one, i.e. an online instrument that conveys contents or information to the public and that just transmits those contents but seems not to be responsible for their creation – and this reading would support the alleged neutrality of online content providers – it is important to underline that actually platforms are much more similar to traditional, mainstream media. In fact, as it is for mass media or for the publishing industry, they organise, remove, forbid and monetise their contents through prompt and actual interventions (Gillespie, 2018), so they require a juridical regulation as it exists for traditional media.

### **3. Which responsibilities for SNP? - The legal basis**

A further differentiation should be made within the broad family of “providers”. The acronym ISP, Internet Service Providers, refers to suppliers of online services, which are defined in Directive

## ISP liability for the automated processing of personal data

2000/31/EC - known as “Directive on electronic commerce” - as “any natural or legal person which provides an information society service” where “service” is defined as “any information society service, that is any economic activity normally provided for remuneration, at a distance, by electronic means and at the individual request of a recipient of services”.

These are wide definitions, so that they can apply not only to the online service providers as they operated back at the beginning of the 2000s but also to those subjects that today provide more modern and advanced services, as search engine or SNP, Social Network Providers, which are an important part of the wider group of ISP.

The abovementioned Directive, operational since June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2000, points out three cases where the ISP are not considered liable in case of transmission or storage of personal data, given some fundamental conditions related to the duration of the data storage and the purpose of the data transmission. The first case is the *mere conduit*, as described in article 12:

«In addition to the conditions established, the acts of transmission and of provision of access (...) include the automatic, intermediate and transient storage of the information transmitted in so far as this takes place for the sole purpose of carrying out the transmission in the communication network, and provided that the information is not stored for any period longer than is reasonably necessary for the transmission.»

Internet connection service providers are part of this group.

The following article 13 defines the cases of non-liability of the provider with relation to the *caching* or transient storage of information for the sole purpose of a more efficient onward transmission to other recipients: e-mail service providers and search engines fall into this category. The subsequent article 14 is more relevant in relation to the focus of the research at hand, for it concerns those service providers that store information given by the users not just temporarily but for a longer period of time - in other words, providers that display activity of *hosting*:

«Where an information society service is provided that consists of the storage of information provided by a recipient of the service, Member States shall ensure that the service provider is not liable for the information stored at the request of a recipient of the service, on condition that:

- the provider does not have actual knowledge of illegal activity or information and, as regards claims for damages, is not aware of facts or circumstances from which the illegal activity or information is apparent;
- the provider, upon obtaining such knowledge or awareness, acts expeditiously to remove or to disable access to the information»

This definition suits all the providers that allow the users to upload their contents in a dedicated online space – like a blog, a website or a social network profile.

The provisions contained in the “e-commerce Directive” don’t specifically apply to matters related to personal data protection: this subject is regulated by the subsequent European directives which constitute the body of law that has established the regulatory framework for the later GDPR, as the Directive 95/46/EC, which has been repealed in conjunction with the entry into force of the GDPR.

For the purposes of this article, the analysis of the providers liability regime and of the instruments deployed by the most recent regulation results useful in order to assess the functioning and effectiveness of those instruments when applied to hosting platforms such as social networks. Provided that the alleged neutrality of hosting providers’ operations as it was assumed by the previous Directives cannot subsist today, the present GDPR aim at establishing in a more current juridical framework new duties for those platforms that handle information and data regarding their users.

The need to evolve from the instrument of Directive – associated with its subsequent implementation in each Member States’ national law – to the more pervasive instrument of Regulation coincides with the need to guarantee that the norms which protect fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons are uniformly and consistently applied to all the EU Member States (Califano, 2017). The aim is to reduce the unbalances inherent in different adaptation of each national legal system to

European law, which represent a source of uncertainty on the effective use of personal data once they've been put on the Web.

The right to personal data protection is recognised as fundamental by the Lisbon Treaty – officially in force since December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2009 - through interposed recognition of the legal value of the rights previously declared in the Charter of fundamental rights of the EU, or Nice Charter, proclaimed in first instance on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2000 (Donati, 2001) and through the statement contained in article 16 of the TFEU. The Nice Charter - 2000/C 364/01 - indicates in article 8 that

1. Everyone has the right to the protection of personal data concerning him or her.
2. Such data must be processed fairly for specified purposes and on the basis of the consent of the person concerned or some other legitimate basis laid down by law. Everyone has the right of access to data which has been collected concerning him or her, and the right to have it rectified.
3. Compliance with these rules shall be subject to control by an independent

authority

While article 16 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union further specifies that

1. Everyone has the right to the protection of personal data concerning them.
2. The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, shall lay down the rules relating to the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data by Union institutions, bodies, offices and agencies, and by the Member States when carrying out activities which fall within the scope of Union law, and the rules relating to the free movement of such data.

Compliance with these rules shall be subject to the control of independent authorities.

As some researchers point out (Pizzetti, 2018), there two main innovative elements in those articles: the first is the recognition of the right to personal data protection as an individual right – concerning natural persons – and the second is the specific assignment for the European Parliament and the Council of the duty to adopt the necessary rules for this right to be effective within the European Union.

The specific competence of the European Union to regulate the matter of data protection is therefore established; a competence which was not previously recognised in the EC Treaty (Treaty establishing the European Community, on the basis of which the abovementioned Directive 95/46/EC was adopted). The second element which is worthy of attention is the fact that those same European institutions also have the duty to assure the free movement of data within the European Union: a principle that becomes strictly connected by this rule to the right to protection of the same personal data. The connection established between right to protection and principle of free movement will deeply characterise the forthcoming GDPR.

The fundamental right of natural persons to the protection of personal data as it's acknowledged in the mentioned articles will be consistently recognised in the GDPR, especially in Recital 1 and in Articles 1 and 4 ("Definitions"). The first Paragraph of Article 4 defines personal data:

- (1) "personal data" means any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person ('data subject'); an identifiable natural person is one who can be identified, directly or indirectly, in particular by reference to an identifier such as a name, an identification number, location data [...]

Paragraph 4 of this same Article regards *profiling*, which constitutes a profitable activity for commercial or social network platforms and which is made possible also by digital footprints aggregation through algorithmic codes and not only through the users' conscious disposal and showing of personal preferences or data.

- (4) "profiling" means any form of automated processing of personal data consisting of the use of personal data to evaluate certain personal aspects relating to a natural person, in particular to analyse or predict aspects concerning that natural person's performance at work, economic situation, health, personal preferences, interests, reliability, behaviour, location or movements.

## ISP liability for the automated processing of personal data

Another useful definition is included in Paragraph 7:

(7) “controller” means the natural or legal person, public authority, agency or other body which, alone or jointly with others, determines the purposes and means of the processing of personal data; where the purposes and means of such processing are determined by Union or Member State law, the controller or the specific criteria for its nomination may be provided for by Union or Member State law.

This definition is applicable to any kind of provider – included SNP – as long as its capability to determine the purposes and means of the processing can be demonstrated. The GDPR accomplished a further differentiation (Mantelero, 2017) comparing to the previous legal doctrine between the data controller and the data processor (Paragraph 8) which is the “natural or legal person, public authority, agency or other body which processes personal data *on behalf* of the controller”. This distinction may have particular relevance when a provider entrusts the responsibility of the data processing to another entity – as it happens between parent companies and their subsidiaries.

For the purposes of the research at hand, this classification might also help to recognise the role of social network companies. In fact, in the case of SNP, even if the users seem to determine means and purposes of their data processing by subscribing the social networking platforms’ Term of service and by managing their own personal page and the amount of shared personal information, it’s still the provider who process the data – and then embodies the data controller - theoretically according to the level of consensus received. It’s then worth pointing out that SNP can be qualified as controller and that means they are liable for the processing of users’ personal data even if the latter decide upon the purposes of the processing.

Finally, any personal data processing must be done respecting the principles stated in Article 5 of the GDPR:

1. Personal data shall be:

- (a) processed lawfully, fairly and in a transparent manner in relation to the data subject (“lawfulness, fairness and transparency”);
- (b) collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes and not further processed in a manner that is incompatible with those purposes [...]
- (c) adequate, relevant and limited to what is necessary in relation to the purposes for which they are processed (“data minimization”);
- (d) accurate and, where necessary, kept up to date; every reasonable step must be taken to ensure that personal data that are inaccurate, having regard to the purposes for which they are processed, are erased or rectified without delay (“accuracy”);
- e) kept in a form which permits identification of data subjects for no longer than is necessary for the purposes for which the personal data are processed (“storage limitation”)
- (f) processed in a manner that ensures appropriate security of the personal data, including protection against unauthorised or unlawful processing and against accidental loss, destruction or damage, using appropriate technical or organisational measures (“integrity and confidentiality”)

2. The controller shall be responsible for, and be able to demonstrate compliance with, paragraph 1 (“accountability”).

### 4. Social networks, privacy by default and profiling

The intrinsic features of social networking platforms seem to collide with the very definition of personal data protection, since the functioning of this kind of platforms revolves around the collection and storage of personal data, even of sensitive ones. Users seem to cheerfully provide their personal data in exchange for the free access to social networks but it’s very hard to keep complete control over data movement within the Web. This happens especially because users voluntarily grant sovereignty over the contents they upload or over personal information.

Social networks' peculiarity is all about the creation of personal accounts by users, who identify themselves by providing their own (supposedly real) name and data and then interact with other users, voluntarily and enthusiastically sharing information about their online and offline activities (pictures of their lives, leanings and preferences, geolocation information etc.). On most social networking platforms we can manage our "friends list" and who among it can visualize our "posts" – images and photos, events, videos, "status" etc. - but we hardly ever have full awareness of how we're interacting with the platform and what power of control it has over our contents and data.

Before the entry into force of the GDPR the principle of self-protection – *opt-out* principle - was primarily widespread: the information shared on personal accounts was accessible to all platforms' users unless more rigid privacy settings had been previously and explicitly chosen. In other words, the burden of supervising the dissemination of personal data fell on the users, while SNP could decline any liability related to personal data breach or traffic or to the contents uploaded on the platform.

By contrast the GDPR have established an *opt-in* principle which compels the provider to assure the highest possible level of protection of users' personal data as a default setting – the so called *privacy by default* (Calzolaio, 2017) - unless the users themselves opt for a lower privacy level and a less rigid protection of personal data. Moreover, at any step of data processing the controllers should adopt any possible technical and organisational measure to minimise the risks inevitably connected to the processing itself, as the Article 25 of GDPR reminds us:

1. [...] the controller shall, both at the time of the determination of the means for processing and at the time of the processing itself, implement appropriate technical and organisational measures, such as pseudonymisation, which are designed to implement data-protection principles, such as data minimisation, in an effective manner and to integrate the necessary safeguards into the processing in order to meet the requirements of this Regulation and protect the rights of data subjects.

2. The controller shall implement appropriate technical and organisational measures for ensuring that, *by default*, only personal data which are necessary for each specific purpose of the processing are processed.

That obligation applies to the amount of personal data collected, the extent of their processing, the period of their storage and their accessibility. In particular, such measures shall ensure that by default personal data are not made accessible without the individual's intervention to an indefinite number of natural persons.

That is what the regulation establishes. But what actually happens to our data? Scandals such as those occurred with the Cambridge Analytica affair, or the existing grey zones among the policies and "Terms of service" of our preferred social networks, depict another kind of reality, which is shaped by an algorithm. The platforms' functioning and very existence are based on the algorithm, which through the combination of digital footprints and the profiling of users' activities highlights contents, selects advertisement, suggests commodities "which might interest you" or correct the words "maybe you were looking for".

The objective is always to improve the level of *engagement* of the platform and to offer a customised experience on the base of each user's habits and preferences: a tailored enjoyment of the network that will satisfy the users, in return for their time and personal data. "Engagement" is an interesting term, borrowed from the marketing lexicon: the capacity of a brand, an app etc. to create solid and lasting relations with its users, establishing a bond between the brand and the consumer. The more we know about the consumer, the more we can implement effective tactics in order to strengthen this bond.

Moreover, the profiling of users' activities on social networks allows the providers to offer services and targeted advertising, which is more effective and pervasive compared to generic advertising. The users' personal accounts therefore reveal to the providers profitable and monetisable information for free: the commercial exploitation of social network accounts assumes the collecting of information on consumers' preferences and habits, which can acquire relevant market value.

Furthermore, there's another challenge in these days, when our digital identity seems to prevail over our real life and our status is always online. The challenge is to protect not only the personal data

in its entirety but also their tracks, the digital fragments which compose them: fragmentation of personal information in fact can be overtaken and put back together by the power of algorithm, which as we said constitutes the foundation of the engagement mechanisms of social networking platforms.

So while we might feel that we are able to keep control over our most sensitive data, we might not perceive the breadth and depth of the fragmentary tracks we left surfing the Web, just clicking on banner ads, watching a video, listening to a song on Spotify, scrolling down our Facebook newsfeed or interacting with other users. We can't have real control over the subsequent aggregation of those fragments and over the representation of us it rebuilds. Recital 30 of the GDPR addresses this issue:

Natural persons may be associated with online identifiers provided by their devices, applications, tools and protocols, such as internet protocol addresses, cookie identifiers or other identifiers such as radio frequency identification tags.

This may leave traces which, in particular when combined with unique identifiers and other information received by the servers, may be used to create profiles of the natural persons and identify them.

Because of their reconstructive power, algorithms create for us endless playlists, blow up *filter bubbles*, gather our *cookies*' breadcrumbs: they exploit knowledge of the data we more or less consciously disseminate through the Web. To *like* a post on Facebook or to *follow* an account on Instagram or Twitter – just to mention three of the most used and spread social networking platforms – are not neutral actions, because they reveal precious information about our attitudes, preferences and interests, which have a concrete commercial value, exploitable by providers through algorithms, identifiers and profiling. The “social network practice” inevitably implies personal and sensitive data processing, since the platform is able to extract aspects of our individuality from what we seem to like, approve, be interested in.

Users' identities and private lives are becoming more and more public, their data mined and social networks' founders are getting richer every day. The Machine constantly asks what are we thinking and doing, how do we feel and where are we going (Lovink, 2012) and we seem happy to answer it and to pay the price for our alleged freedom.

The existence of a broad grey area in the definition of which really are the activities performed by social networking platforms – are they commercial or social networks? They are sources or carriers of information? Are they comparable to publishers? – together with a certain level of unconsciousness with which users interact with them, cause some difficulties in creating an effective and binding regulation. Despite the entry into force of the GDPR, an average user who browses the Facebook “Terms and conditions” in order to understand which personal data are profitably exploited by the platform, still wouldn't get his doubts clarified and removed because of a certain vagueness concerning the possibility to register and store users' data.

Platform operators and owners are certainly aware how much our personal data are worth and how to make the most of it. It's reasonable because of this imbalance between this awareness and users' unconsciousness that the very existence of giant companies such as Facebook – that despite the Cambridge Analytica affair still displays levels of profit in the range of billions - is made possible. Our identities and data are the bargaining chips: on the table there is an infinite number of free contents we can access through any kind of device. Our time and attention are crucial resources on the communication market and those companies which can funnel them towards their websites, ad banners, platforms and so on, can also make huge profits out of them (Sunstein, 2003): every activity we perform on the Web can be transformed into data and every *click* is monetisable.

“Privacy” at the time of social networks acquires a polysemous nature which include those powers that enable the users – at least in theory – to keep control not only over the means, methods and purposes of their data processing but also over their whole “digital corpus” (Allegri, 2018).

### 5. SNP, privacy and propaganda: political communication after Cambridge Analytica

There's a series of recurring words in the social networks' universe with which the users get involved and which constitute the fundamental terms of reference for the mysterious functioning of the algorithm.

The latter filters and selects for our *newsfeed* contents that we are likely to appreciate, comment or share, increasing the platform's engagement. The previous chronological criterion in fact has been replaced by a more appealing and customised selection that seems to awaken users' active participation – and along with that, to rise platforms' profit. What we know about the algorithm's secret functioning – it goes without saying, just a part of it: the “secret ingredients” have to remain just that, as it happens with the paradigmatic Coke formula – is that it follows four major steps.

The first *inventory* phase starts at every access to the platform. The system recovers all the news and information shared by our network of “friends”, making a real inventory of the stock contents we still have to see. The second phase involves the signals of place and context, which communicate to the system *inter alia* time and place of the users' access and the kind of device used and which determine the news to visualise. Some of those signals have more relevance, like the number and value of interactions that a particular news can establish – the so called *meaningful interactions*. In the third phase – *prediction* - the algorithm shapes an hypothetical customised *newsfeed* for each user, with the aim of creating further data traffic, clicks and reactions. In the last phase all the contents in the selected inventory stock are scored, and the subsequently selected contents will be the ones we'll visualise on our *newsfeed*: our personal fruition and enjoyment of the social network experience is the result of our previous activity on that same platform, as analysed and determined by the algorithm. On our Facebook homepage, we are used to scroll down a series of filtered and tailored contents: it seems that the “Daily Me” predicted by Nicholas Negroponte (Negroponte, 1995) has finally taken shape.

The algorithmic practice of filtering and customising applies both to commercial or entertaining contents and to political communication and information, which will appear to the users in the shape of (eventually sponsored) political contents, advertisement, electoral banners, suggested topics and so on. This means that while political information should be neutral and factual, on social networking platforms it will always be intrinsically biased and specially customised, for that is the very nature of any social networks' content.

Today seems to be essential for political personalities to “be” on social networks – *in primis* on Facebook and Twitter – in order to deploy an effective and pervasive campaigning: the terms, the space and the number of digits of political communication have changed and taken a new shape.

It's exactly within the political framework – more specifically, within political advertisement on social networks such as Facebook – that “data scandals” broke out. The latters could not overwhelm the Menlo Park giant but they still raise heavy doubts on the result of some elections, especially the last American presidential elections and the “Brexit” referendum.

On April 2018, after the Cambridge Analytica and Russiagate affairs – the latter was a judicial inquiry into suspected Russian political meddling in the 2016 US presidential election campaigning through fraudulent activities of fake Facebook accounts – Zuckerberg's platform confirmed the strengthening of surveillance over sponsored political ads.

In the context of personal data profiling for political campaigning and previsions, the Cambridge Analytica affair had quite a stir and highlighted the possibility and the risks of *data breach* – which definition we can also find in crucial Article 4 of GDPR: “a breach of security leading to the accidental or unlawful destruction, loss, alteration, unauthorised disclosure of, or access to, personal data transmitted, stored or otherwise processed” - in connection with the data processing, especially if it's handled by unscrupulous companies.

In 2015 the Cambridge Analytica company was accused of having illicitly exploited the personal data of millions of Facebook users after the collaboration of the latter with Aleksandr Kogan, researcher at Cambridge University, owner of Global Science Research company and developer of “*thisisyourdigitallife*” app. Cambridge Analytica was founded in 2013 and is currently shut down for insolvency in the UK and for bankruptcy in the US. The company was specialised in the collection of data from social networking platforms for political profiling purposes. Through the processing of

personal data and their combined analysis, the company could create predictive models to be used during electoral campaigns.

This was made possible through the combination of the less restrictive “Terms of use” of Facebook at the time and a certain degree of unawareness users still show when they sign off on the use of platforms and “free” plugins – as *thisisyourdigitallife* was. With the sole user’s consent to download this app, Facebook allowed the latter to obtain the information directly available not only on the user’s account but also on his friends’ ones. As a result, the app could elicit information on more than 80 million accounts worldwide starting from the subscription of barely more than two hundred thousand users. Those valuable information were then sold by Kogan to Cambridge Analytica for its political profiling purposes.

The Cambridge Analytica affair was a clear example of data breach and violation of privacy for political – and of course for profit – purposes but more extensively the field of political communication on social networks, also if not characterised by underground data manipulation, is a very sensitive and delicate field which needs specific and detailed regulation. Among the consequences of Cambridge Analytica affair, Facebook and Instagram – which among other things are governed by the same algorithm – have changed their Political Advertising Policy: only authorised advertisers with confirmed identity can now manage electoral and political ads, which have to be approved by the provider and clearly labelled as “political contents”, with the specification of the funding sources.

From May 7<sup>th</sup> 2018, Facebook has further enforced its Political Ads Policy with the establishment of a public inventory of political ads – the “Ad Archive”, working in the UK, US, in India and Brazil – which contains the ads available on Facebook from May onwards and which are classified as political on the base of their contents or which are related to national matters of public relevance. The Archive also provides further details: the amount invested for every ad, the number of views and interactions, active sponsorships, targeted audience on criteria of gender, age, positioning.

## 6. Conclusions

Coming to an end, I would like to rise some questions which could offer food for thought about the state of art of algorithmic customised information on social networking platforms and about its consequences.

Initiatives such as the Ad Archive can trace a path for the dissemination of good practice concerning a stronger regulation on political campaigning and advertising on social networks. Facing an increasingly pervasive and monolithic power of platforms, it’s necessary a stronger push towards transparency on contents and mechanisms.

Users have the right to know the nature of the information provided by platforms and to escape their “pre-packed” contents. The most demanding deadlock to break regards the very nature of the information available on social networks: the necessary neutrality of political information inevitably crashes against the customised approach to contents that defines social networks and that leads to an innate degree of “political bias”.

Being not possible to avoid responsibilities and to stand as a mere sharing platform, Facebook now places itself as provider of information. But what kind of information? It’s really enough to place a label or to “fact-check” a content or ad to make users aware that those contents are specifically built for them, for their online aggregate identities?

There are evident risks in hearing always and only the echo of our opinion, as the poisoning effects of opinion polarisation show (Bucher, 2009). But this is exactly the objective of platforms, as the algorithm constantly shows us what is supposed to please and entertain us: this fact already rises questions on the ethic of social networks as mass media and information providers, especially in the political field. Is democracy entertaining? Should journalism – the very activity of providing free, unbiased information – be entertaining and pleasing too?

We are not always – and not all - aware of the underground job of the algorithm, of how it shapes our reality and perception - of politics, too - discarding things we don’t want to see or know: different political opinions, dissenting voices, discordant data that would contradict our solid truth. Is this an

healthy condition for the spreading of non-partial information, is this a growth factor or a disruptive one?

As long as our data, time and attention will be the exchange value on social networking platforms, it's a natural and profit-driven consequence that only those contents and services that can raise attention, boost the platform's engagement and push the users to share, buy and comment will be provided. A good salesman would never show inconvenient or unpleasant contents, annoying issues, opposing political views – nor would an engaging platform.

The polarisation of political opinion, which has already become widespread on social networking platforms, can't be only the consequence of users' selection within the free, wide market of information but we can easily spot a certain degree of responsibility of the platforms themselves, as their policy is to put on top entertainment, likes and clicks, reactions and sharing, rumours and *flaming* and below solid, high-quality and well-grounded information. In other words, a "like" is worth more than the width of users' political horizon.

The providing of partial information – without any qualitative nor accuracy requirement for sharing – strengthens the increasing power of control of platforms, companies and private subjects and makes us consumers of filtered knowledge. This is already affecting the founding principles of democracy, *in primis* the tolerant, free exchange of different opinions as a growth factor for democratic practice and for the enhancement of the public discourse. In fact, seems that the new digital and "social" forms of interaction have already altered the users' capacity to feel and call themselves citizens too, and to govern themselves as citizens.

There are still many defining and practical difficulties related to the width and flexibility of social networks' roles and functions. The resilience and endurance of the recent regulation in the matter of personal data still have to be verified in the social networking field.

What is certain is that we can't underestimate the powerful consensus-building instruments that a platform such as Facebook can deploy: the GDPR then represent a crucial step within the scope of protection of personal data and a challenge to the giant companies of sharing, not only concerning their intrusion into users' privacy but also into the development and enhancement of individuals' political opinion.

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# **The institutional communication of the universities on the social network: to involve and to communicate**

Alessandra Palermo

## **1. Introduction**

This research intends to provide a look at together the communication of Italian universities, in particular of the Mega-universities, through the observation and collection of data available from their websites and downloadable documents in the different sections. The Mega academies are the Italian universities that have over 40000 members and, due to their geographic location, cover from north to south all Italy. The high number of students who belong to them and their disposition in the national territory are among the reasons why these eleven universities have been selected for this research, assuming that such large schools can cover all The aspects of communication traced in that work. As indicated by the last survey Censis (2017) are: Sapienza University of Rome, University of Bologna, University Federico II of Naples, University of Turin, University of Milan, University of Padua, University of Florence, University of Pisa, University of Bari, University of Catania and University of Palermo. In the context of institutional communication, we also intend to examine the use of social networks, aimed at developing an identity sharing with users and stakeholders. To carry out this evaluation, we have taken into consideration, first of all, the positioning of the mega universities in the international ranking. The three most important are that of Shanghai, the Times Higher And on the Qs. The Shanghai ranking is called Arwu, acronym of Academic Ranking of world Universities And the ranking of the 500 best universities in the world considering 1300. The indicators it uses are six: the International prizes won by the former students, the researchers' prizes, the quotations of scientific publications (particular weight in the magazine Nature & Science), technological-social publications and productivity for each member of the university (ARWU 2017). In the last ranking made known (august 2017) Sapienza University of Rome together with Padua appear to be in position between the top 200 of the ranking. They are well placed all the Mega Italian universities, except for the University of Catania and Bari that do not fit in this ranking. The other world famous ranking is the Times Higher Education World University Rankings that make the list of the best thousand universities in the world. The indicators are linked to the university's mission, therefore: teaching, research, knowledge transfer and international relations (THE 2017). Among our Mega universities are at the top of the ranking the University of Bologna, followed by Milan. Does not fit in this ranking the University of Naples Federico II. The third and last prestigious global ranking considered is the Qs World University Rankings, whose indicators are: Employer Reputation, faculties, international faculties, international students, overall results and academic reputation (QS 2017). In these world rankings the Mega Italian universities seem to enjoy a good reputation, not by chance the presence among these rankings is for the universities a primary goal. Being present in these rankings means being able to attract international students, to create global research networks and the knowledge that their name is considered a guarantee brand. The work of further deepening that will be carried out will be aimed at understanding, by measuring the rates of engagement obtained from the platforms under consideration, what is the actual feedback that the generated communication obtains in the conversations on Social media. The first of the aim is to identify the awareness of the university as an institution on the importance of the use of the communication tools you have. Awareness is demonstrated by the presence of institutional documents and the presence on social networks. The starting hypothesis is that the universities are not fully aware of how important it is to draw up the documents of the institutional communication in a detailed way. The second objective is to understand the degree of involvement that the Mega universities object of research have on social networks. The Engagement Rate was measured on the three main social networks, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, and an involvement in the media was hypothesized. The

need to be present on the digital space is a great opportunity for universities also in the perspective of internationalisation which, as envisaged by the third mission, can thus promote processes of globalisation and exchanges in the market higher education internationally, attracting students from abroad and increasing their reputation on a global scale. Italian universities are changing their communication strategies through the use of a traditional mix based on advertising and media relations, the adoption of new interactive tools, giving more space to the resources allocated in digital communication. And it is in this direction that social networks have become valuable tools for universities. The presence of Mega universities on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram is considerable and above all, given the presence of followers for the official pages, are tools not to be overlooked. The table shows the presence values of the Mega universities on each platform, recorded by the background analysis.

Tab.1 The Mega universities on social networks (a.v.)

<b>Mega University</b>	<b>Facebook</b>	<b>Twitter</b>	<b>Instagram</b>
<b>Sapienza University of Rome</b>	98797	24900	12800
<b>Bologna</b>	50541	12300	17600
<b>Naples-Federico II</b>	18050	10700	-
<b>Turin</b>	76526	21700	3308
<b>Milan</b>	62383	15600	1209
<b>Padua</b>	44245	5902	6874
<b>Florence</b>	43369	4675	3967
<b>Pisa</b>	44810	12700	6943
<b>Bari</b>	47657	4575	-
<b>Catania</b>	17950	2026	
<b>Palermo</b>	12256	772	4965

Source: Official pages Facebook, Twitter, Instagram (August 2017)

## 2. Method

The study of the Mega universities in question was realized by making a survey on their official pages on Facebook and Twitter in the week from 5 to 11 June 2017 because it represents seven standard days, in which there are no holidays and no events are planned Details. The week is considered to be the minimum reference unit for measuring and analyzing online conversations on these two social networks (Elliot, 2015). On Instagram The survey of the Engagement Rate is assessed on the last ten photos published by the official page of each university.

The survey focuses on some elements that point to fundamental dimensions such as reputation and involvement, taking into account the number of people who put like on the page, which are actually located on the site, which let themselves be involved in Active and passive way. In the same way, the dimension of identity emerges taking into account the logo, the blue tick, images and other elements that the university has decided to put in the section of its social page.

The whole of the information collected is analyzed according to a quantitative approach, through the use of special indexes aimed at measuring the degree of participation and that of engagement, the rates of Conversation (Ptat). To examine the degree of activism the formula was used  $ACT = \text{like number}/\text{fan number} * 100$ , while the formula was adopted to examine the reactive subjects:  $ReACT = (\text{number of shares}/\text{post number})/(\text{fan}/\text{Post number}) * 100$ .). They are considered active users who have a passive approach to the page and who simply put the like to post published, while they have a responsive approach those who share the post spreading the content, thus bringing the message to their circle of

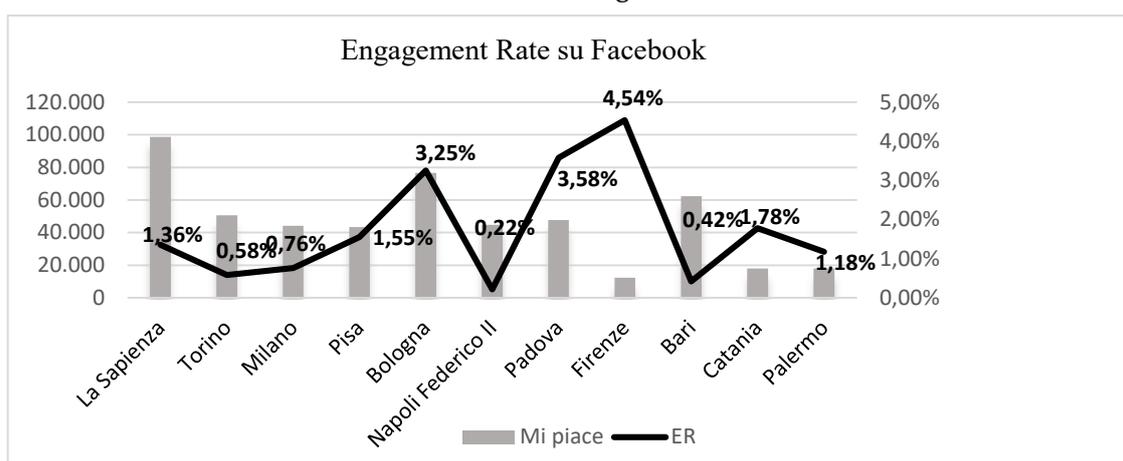
users. The Engagement Rate, the index of involvement, was calculated on all three social with the following formula:  $P_{\text{at}}/\text{fans} * 100$ . According to European standards, the average of a good ER is 1%.

### 3. Findings

All the Mega-universities object of this research are present on Facebook. The analysis has shown how the 11 Mega universities have all on their Facebook page the sections home, information, photo, post and community. The video section is present for everyone except for the University of Catania; the events section is not planned for the University of Palermo. These are the indexes most used by the universities: "Home" where you can find all the information related to the current university; "Information" we will see in detail what they contain, "photos" in which there are all those published by the same university as the "post", while in the section "community" we find everything that is tagged by users. If these are the standard sections that unite all the pages, there are others added only by certain universities.

It is clear that the universities concerned are aware of the need, nowadays, to be present on social channels and do not neglect the fundamental importance of a social media policy. At this point, it was deemed useful to estimate the index of Engagement Rate, that is, the percentage of users involved in posts within a week, in order to understand how these pages are able to obtain a continuation and to involve users.

Tab.21 Index of involvement of Mega universities on Facebook



Source: Facebook Data Official pages (August 2017)

To measure the Engagement Rate is sufficient one week of detection according to the methodology adopted. According to the European average, the social page involvement index is around to 1% Therefore any value that exceeds the threshold of "0" is already considered to be addictive for users. The criticality of this index is linked to periodicity, in fact the week taken to sample can not be representative if in those seven days the activities on the official page of the university were minimal or on the contrary, particularly active close to non-ordinary events. Nevertheless, considering the use of the European ranges defined following the use of this standard formula, this recognised line of research has been followed.

Among the Mega universities fully engaging, according to this requirement, we find Bologna (3.25%), Padua (3.58%) and Florence (4.54%) Exceeding the average of both the European and the universities concerned (1.74%). They have high values among universities also Catania (1.78%), Sapienza University of Rome (1.36%), Pisa (1.55%) and Palermo (1.18%).

In addition to registering users' involvement, the analysis continued to verify the active and passive participation rate of users. The distinction was made on the basis of their behavior, are in fact considered to be little active fans who are limited to put I like, while they are considered reactive those who share the post of the university, becoming their own vehicle of what communicates the university.

Tab.3 The active and responsive participation of Facebook users

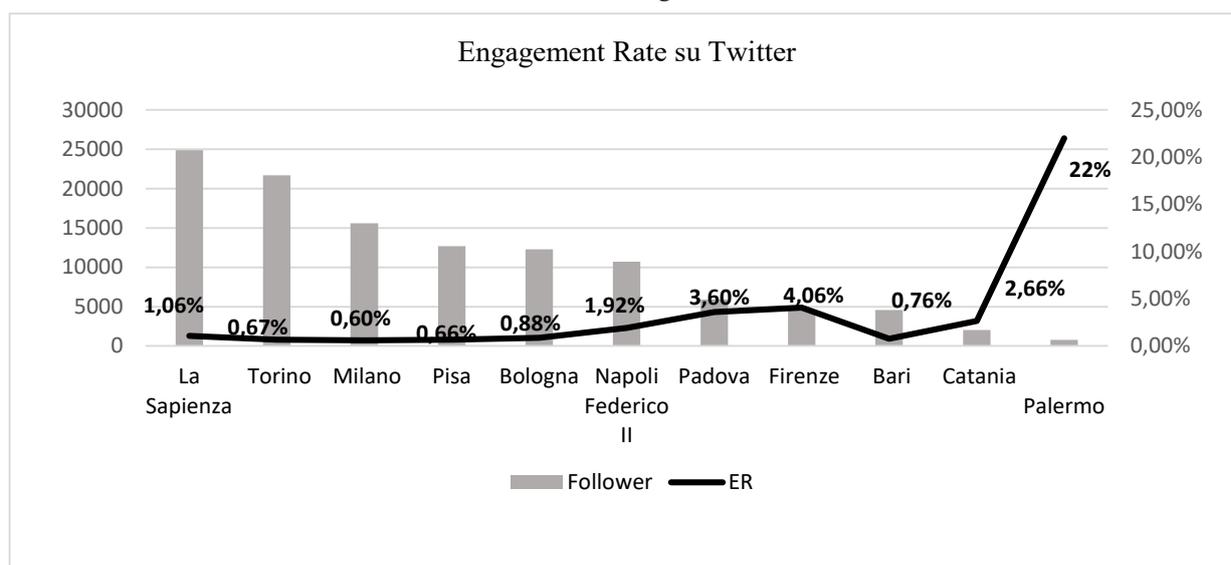
<b>Mega University</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>ReAct</b>
<b>Sapienza University of Rome</b>	0.89%	0.19%
<b>Turin</b>	0.47%	0.03%
<b>Milan</b>	0.54%	0.24%
<b>Pisa</b>	1.29%	0.13%
<b>Bologna</b>	2.79%	0.36%
<b>Naples Federico II</b>	0.09%	0.05%
<b>Padua</b>	3.26%	0.22%
<b>Florence</b>	3.53%	0.28%
<b>Bari</b>	0.28%	0.07%
<b>Catania</b>	1.20%	0.38%
<b>Palermo</b>	0.98%	0.10%
<b>Average</b>	<b>1.39%</b>	<b>0.18%</b>

Source: Facebook Data Official pages (August 2017)

Despite the large number of users benefiting from the page, by correlating the indices, it is clear that high percentages of active behaviour and reactive behavior are never reached. This demonstrates how, although users are involved, they are not fully involved at the interactive level with the page and with the content it transmits. Among the universities, in terms of reactivity, more than half exceeds the average threshold, while with regard to active participation the value is beyond the average in only three cases (Bologna 2.79%; Padua 3.26% and Florence 3.53%).

The other social used even before Facebook from the universities is Twitter, in fact, all the universities covered by the research have an official profile rather active. The most active profiles for the number of tweets are those of Sapienza and Bologna, but to have more followers are the University of Rome, Turin and Milan, and then decrease, up to a few hundred followers as in the case of Palermo and Catania. The University of Catania has opened two profiles in two distinct periods, the first in December 2011 on which only one tweet was recorded despite an audience of 2026 users, while the second, with the same name compared to five years earlier, was recreated in August 2016 with unsatisfactory results: now the followers are only 50 for a number of tweets equal to 515. Sapienza and the University of Pisa are presented both in Italian and in English, the first being the largest in Europe, the second as one of the oldest and most prestigious. Sapienza is the only one to use its slogan "The future has passed here". Five universities in the description specify the officiality of the channel, while Bologna emphasizes how the profile is connected to the online newspaper with news and events of the Alma Mater (Bologna); Turin refers to the use of the Facebook page for any request or report; The University of Milan remembers the import of the 5x1000 to be paid to the university in favor of research. The hashtags to be used to tag the university were explained by the Federico II of Naples and the University of Palermo. In the figure (Tab. 4) below it is possible to evaluate the index of involvement of Mega universities on Twitter, found on a weekly basis.

Tab. 4 Index of involvement of Mega universities on Twitter



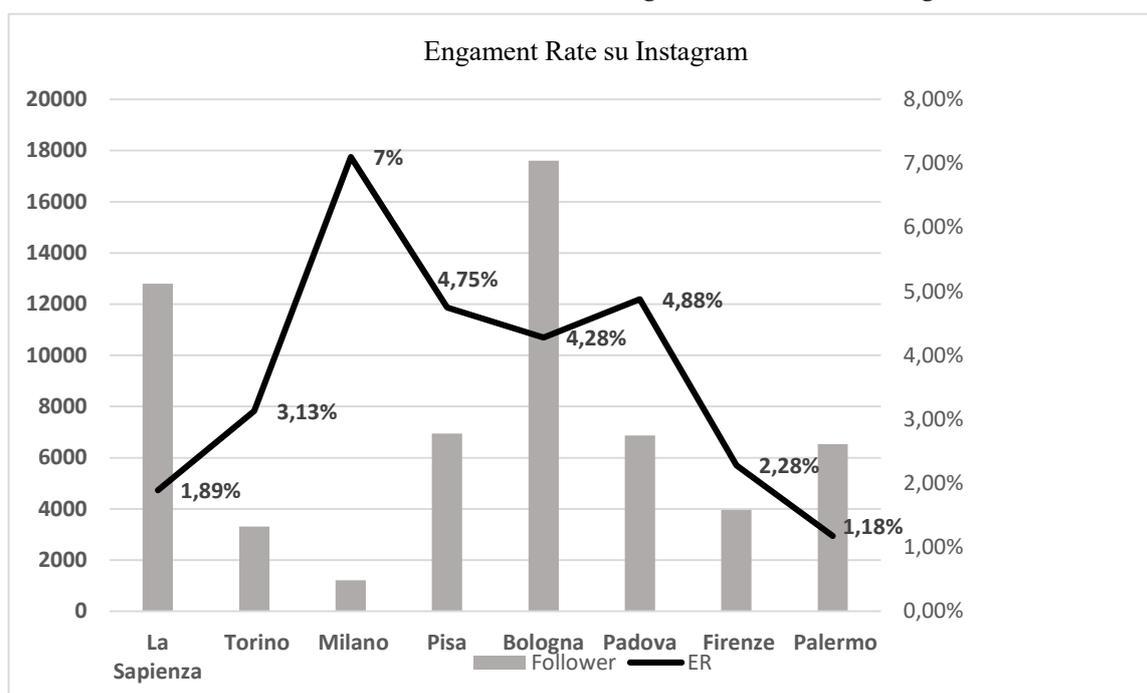
Source: Official Twitter data pages (August 2017)

The percentage values obtained are low in this case, but the European average must always be taken into account. Observing the graph denotes how all the universities, albeit with a low involvement, reach a small part of the followers that interacts sharing and expressing their appreciation (the average is 11 hearts and 6 shares on 4 tweets per day). Despite the presence on Twitter is the longest duration, the level of involvement does not reach satisfactory results, exception made for the University of Palermo where the involvement has an index of 22%.

The latest social to join the community of universities is Instagram, the social network dedicated to images and photographs. The first to activate an account was the University of Bologna in 2012; They registered on the social in 2014 La Sapienza, Turin, Pisa and Florence. Palermo and Padua have opened the profile in 2016, while it still has a few months the page of the University of Milan, officially become the page of the Ateneo from January 2017. Not yet have a profile on Instagram the University of Naples Federico II, the university Aldo Moro of Bari and the University of Catania.

In the case of Instagram, the universities have a good result, as shown in the following graph (Tab. 5). It is among the first Milan (7%) Despite being the one with the least number of followers to the active and with the least number of posts published, without considering that, in the case of Instagram, this index does not take into account the real time arc. Justifies this value, however, the high number of people followed (2634), in fact in the logic of this social, follow other "people" (that they are entities, institutions or individuals) and create a link, allows you to reach users who do not fall between the Actual number of fans on the page. In this sense to create this type of relationship on this social is fundamental and, according to the acquired data, only Milan and Palermo (4965) have put into practice this dynamic.

Tab.5 Index of involvement of the Mega universities on Instagram



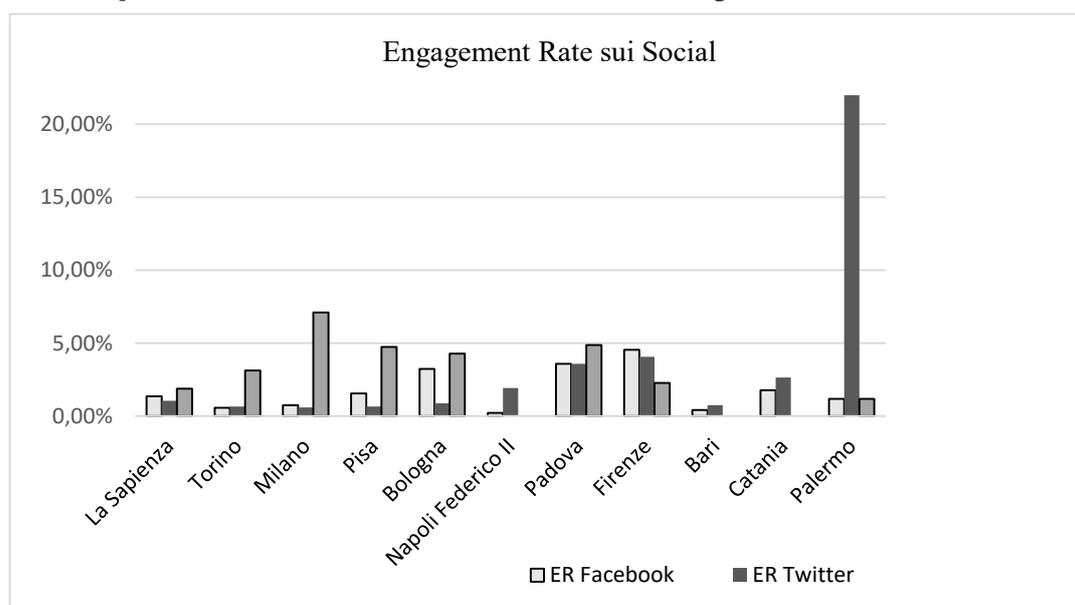
Source: Instagram Data official pages (August 2017)

The chart shows how the universities are on track and if Sapienza (1.89%), Bologna (4.28%) and Palermo (1.18%) they involve half of their followers, the other universities go further, reaching not only those who are directly part of the official channel.

#### 4. Discussion

The screening carried out shows how the universities have acquired a new awareness of the importance of the role of social communication. The use of social networks in an organic and constant way is the most recent news compared to the last years. Facebook and Twitter are the indispensable tools for a renewal of university communication and for a greater openness towards the community not only academically. Twitter per month boasts 320 million of active users of which 6.4 million in Italy and grow exponentially the users of Facebook, in fact are 1.7 billion in the world, of which 28 million in Italy (Cosenza, 2017) Everyone can benefit from content published on social from universities, in a logical pull, and this allows to promote and disseminate knowledge in a more widespread. The universities are aware, in fact, their community is well developed around these two social to which they have also joined Instagram. This social, in the last year, has recorded a success and a growth impressive data with over 600 million monthly active user, an increase of 60% compared to 2015 and is considered the social network capable of generating the greatest engagement compared to other platforms. Every day on Instagram are published over 70 million photos with a 2.5 billion of like daily (Cosenza, 2017). In Italy the users are 9 million, of which 55% is part of the under 35 target, with a percentage of young people from 19 to 24 for 25% and from 25 to 29 of 17% (Blogmeter, 2017). Considering this, it is clear that for universities to have an Instagram profile is fundamental, especially because it is representative of how the users have the intention to be protagonists of university life, developing their own sense of belonging and the spirit of community with the sharing of photos related to daily experiences.

Tab. 6 Comparison between the indices of involvement of Mega universities on social networks



Source: Facebook data, Instagram, Twitter official pages (August 2017)

About the Engagement Rate, you have to emphasize how bigger the fan base, the more you risk lowering this index. In fact, the percentage of fans of the page that reaches the post is minimal mainly because the last posts are not always displayed, in favor of those sponsored that appear more often on the home. Among other things, the algorithm especially of Facebook, does not show the contents of the page to fans who do not interact with the page for a long time. For this reason, often, even if a page does not have a large number of fans, can still get a good rate of engagement on the basis of a small circle, but much more active than the sleepers, those who simply put the like to the page without any further interaction (Leander, 2016). In the light of this reflection, on an international scale, account must be taken of how an engagement rate below 0.5% needs to be improved; between 0.5% and 0.99% is in the media; whereas if it exceeds 1% it has achieved an excellent result. Taking into account the percentages reached by the Mega universities, it is possible to affirm as once again the university have understood the necessity of be active on social networks in a logic of involvement to cross the boundaries physical, spatial and territorial.

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# Syntonsised on hypertelevision: the multimedia and participatory television in Spain

Grazia Quercia

## 1. Introduction

Television, in its traditional asset, went through different phases: according to Eco, it began with paleotelevision, then it continued with neotelevision, since the introduction of private broadcasters in the 80s, but now TV is evolving again, trying to catch up with the innovations. Indeed, it's necessary to define and give a name to a new television era, wondering if something has deeply changed, finding differences and similarities with the previous era.

Carlos Scolari defines the current status of TV like a transition period, saying neotelevision is still running, but meanwhile another type of television is rising, defined by the word "interactive". It's obviously an oxymoron describing the television as interactive because it doesn't offer to the audience an interface to somehow communicate with. So, another audiovisual side comes to help tv, it converges with it: it's the Internet and is responsible for the new era of hypertelevision, as Scolari calls it. It's interactive, multiplatform, personalized, and deeply connected to the virtual reality of the Web 3.0. So, television becomes strongly bonded to the internet: crossmedia and transmedia actions between screens turn out to be fundamental. The convergence with the internet also generates a new audience behaviour in choosing tv shows and how to consume them, shaking people from the apathy of a static television based on a flow of contents: they immerse in fictional worlds told by tv, but enriched by infinite details online.

The evolution generates a question: internet helps television, contents are created for tv and distributed on both media, but what happens when actors on the internet steal television formats and creates contents of their own, without letting them air on tv?

At this point seems that TV is over: audience shut down the screens and begin to use a different medium such as a PC, a smartphone, a console. Observing audiovisual contents online, it's clear that tv is not dead, but simply reborn on other devices. Today it's in the style of television being ubiquitous, consumed anytime and anywhere and relevant for the digital audiovisual panorama. Speaking of innovations, the case of Spanish media scene stands out: because of the dictatorship of Franco, it didn't have the chance to gradually grow, but it renovated itself completely just recently.

## 2. Method

It's necessary to begin with a theoretical analysis: the study looks at the most recent mediatic transformations, the characteristic of an interactive and participative television and the role of other media in TV development. It also analyses the audience behaviour, relating it to the "hypermediation" that runs in the society, that depends on the development of the interactive web 3.0. Spanish television is quoted as an example of truly innovated television, discovering its most recent history, its peculiarities and the law that regulates it. In detail, the law differentiates between "lineal" and "non-lineal" broadcasters, and the study exposes the case of Atresmedia, of the first type, and Netflix, of the second kind, considering its Spanish catalogue, its local actions and original product and its first creative hub.

## 3. Getting to Hypertelevision

As Eco wrote, television was born in the 50s and yet in the 80s had its first evolution from paleo- to neotelevision: from that moment private networks were allowed aside of the public channels, introducing a new idea of business in this mediatic system and starting a proper television market.

Contents were still included in a perpetual flow of images and sound, showing information and entertainment that were so seductive to glue audience to the screen at all time. Once known its power,

television started to talk about itself, speaking less of the outside world, news, reality and generating a microcosm in which audience can enter and enjoy the scene aside of the background.

Neotelevision started to evolve again because of the technologies distributed in the last twenty years of the XX century: internet changed the way of thinking, otherwise than putting every communication medium into the hypertext system. Websites first, but also search engines, social network and everything that comes with it, exploit the spontaneous connections between topic, like the human brain does: there's no linearity, no more single-topic for an audience who can jump between themes, different textual forms, focusing on more issues at the same time, namely what today is called multitasking.

In this behavioural scheme can be found the zapping activity: jumping through channels with no linearity, looking at non-connected images in fast succession that the brain can however decode, like if all the channels together offer a single hypertext. Also, there's the abolition of single genres, to let appear ones like infotainment, a fusion of information and entertainment, with a fluidity able to change the audience's feelings rapidly, using all the emotion spectrum.

These characteristics can still be found in current tv: as stressed by Scolari, the growth of television cannot be framed in a lineal series of changings, and it's not possible to segment the eras according to social and historical context, so it's useless to clearly divide the neo- and hypertelevision periods because the second has much in common with the first and they coexist. But hypertelevision is also different because it's combined with other mediatic species, such as digital technologies that transformed the entire media ecosystem: there are no more borders around TV, that now converges with other devices, ready to host the audiovisual format.

However, if every text creates its own reader, which kind of spectator belongs to hypertelevision? It's a computer user: someone used to interactivity, to a networked community, to hypertext, so to fragmented texts and rapid and frequent changes. That's why TV evolved, basing itself on computers and on a new kind of active audience: the viewer needs to participate, actively look for pieces to build complete puzzles of fragmented stories, and hypertelevision gives him pieces expanding the stories on and offline. Spectator is no more a "couch-potato" of the 80s, but expresses his wishes to the medium, adapting contents and times on himself: shows are no more consumed in a flow interrupted by advices, but every title is extracted from the traditional flow to be depurated of the commercials and consumed rapidly, often after airing.

Audience is now sure that doesn't want to wait anymore, but to choose what to watch and when: the urge of selecting *what* depends on the incredibly large offer of the networks, adapting the *when* is necessary because of the diminution of the time available to watch contents and the increase of stimulations of different entities.

Considering the personalization, hypertelevision can be define like the opposite of a mass media strategy, trying to satisfy every niche with a large number of shows, that not necessarily have to be aired on TV and in certain time frames. The content schedule is now richer, available on every media and omnipresent, with no more bond with time and space: channels air online and through decoders, creating the *TV a la carte*. The broadcast system, from one to many, doesn't fit anymore in a TV that requests a narrow system, from one to one or few, to please a choosy audience.

Many academics are still wondering if internet will replace TV, or if it's just a complement: it's not easy to tell if studies are based on audience because lineal networks are still registering high ratings, but at the same time it's quite impossible to monitor online ratings. What it's clear is that the common sentiment is the want to be able to choose. That's why crossmedia actions are so relevant: all kinds of audiences should have the chance to access a content anytime, anywhere and on every device, that's why TV should not be afraid of new mediatic species, but adapt on them, survive the digital revolution and become bigger that itself, adding the interaction.

Interactive platforms are not just useful for crossmedia storytelling, namely casting the same content on another device, but are fundamental to new narrative cues and marketing plans apt for enlarging the content-watching experience. Broadcasters try to unify the multiscreen experience, taking advantage of the promiscuity of the media considered: videogames, websites and apps expand

the experience of a user who becomes a creator himself, in the multiple system of narrative universe. This phenomenon is called transmedia storytelling.

### 3.1 The relevance of Transmedia storytelling

Transmedia storytelling reached the fame with cinematic sagas, and then was stolen by TV that offers daily and weekly episodes and that seems perfect to build a narrative universe.

As told by Jenkins, and then Rose, transmedia storytelling was actually born with Star Wars: it's not the first manifestation of that kind of narration, but it's unique because of its plurality of forms, such as action figures, books, comics and all the contents created by fans. It's possible to deduct how narration in series is more suitable to transmedia storytelling: external contents maintain continuity, making the story continue even during pauses, adding details and richness that just a few episodes or movies cannot show. The series implant arouses some kind of voyeurism in the viewer: thanks to the exaltation of some aspects, the content becomes attractive and the audience becomes a fetishist who desires always knowing more, having more, creating the need of a constant contact with the story.

Serials are, indeed, perfect products for the daily and ubiquitous TV, so the academic expert Jenkins started to analyse the case, reaching an interesting result: nowadays there can be found two kinds of spectators, such as occasional viewers and specific groups of watchers, called "fan", from fanatic. So, "Watching TV" gains a general meaning when referred to the occasional consumers who just want to be passively entertained with no regular pattern, otherwise watching shows is proper of fans who become loyal and passionate. Fans get to know the content very deeply and enjoy complements in much ways, such as online websites, telephone, the remote, videogames, mobile tv, entering the narrative universe not just through the original content, but also through its related products that result to be independent and autonomous.

Since the first experiments, the ways to enrich a story has become infinite, mostly thanks to the internet, and can be divided in three types: primary, that includes the original product on every device; secondary, that covers every official side-content; tertiary, unofficial complements or "fanmade". The primary type just considers crossmedia, so nothing is added to the story, but content travels on every device, still creating a hypertext. The secondary kind adds details to the original story through different media in various textual forms: the most famous expressions of transmedia storytelling are the spin-off, a derivation of the original story with another protagonist and a separate storyline, or videogames in which the player can live the adventure in first person, or social media interactions like easter eggs, bloopers and mini games. The idea of a more interactive and "engaging" TV comes from the videogame area: gamers are like hypertelevision users, they're in charge and want to drive the story, so the "gamification" has become a model not just for consoles, but adaptable to any kind of experience. That's why TV has recently tried to integrate gaming scheme with interactive episodes and movies, in which the watcher can choose how the story should continue but is still an uncommon use. Not just online: meetings, games and merchandise help creating a narrative universe that can be touched, lived, unifying fiction and reality. The tertiary type of transmedia storytelling includes everything made by fan, better called "fanmade" contents. The most traditional way to contribute is writing: fans emulate the authors creating a script, or a short story, imaging the protagonists in new situations. Those are often called fanfictions and are useful to thin the distance between producers and audience. Fans also create radio programs, podcasts, artistic images called fanart, videos and more, always adding details: every piece added makes the narrative universe as complex as reality, for a completely immersive experience. Universe becomes a common ground for many contributors from all over the world, making them consumers and producers: in one word, prosumers.

The new trend deletes the top-down influence, to adopt a bottom-up strategy that lets audience dictate trends to authors and producers. Recently, networks tried to push those users to express themselves and create as much as they could online, to maintain attention alive: the internet, always accessible, seems the perfect ally to combat the loss of interest during little pauses or long hiatus. Participating to a tv show and being part of a community of fans contributes to create shared experiences, common values and knowledge, shared worldwide through digital spaces.

The Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación elaborated a five-points table in which they clearly explain the steps to design a content in the transmediatic era.

**Table 1.**

<b>Origin and development of the idea, story or narration</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It's possible to start from a traditional media, such as literature, or a web content or an original creation of an author</li> <li>- Generated content can be informational or fictional</li> <li>- The story and the characters are converted in products to dissipate on different platforms</li> <li>- The narrative structure and its coordination are based on connection between contents, products and platforms</li> </ul>
<b>Used languages</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Multiple languages: audio, video, audiovisual, textual, historical, multimedial, hypertextual</li> <li>- The key is generating a proper multimedial content for every platform that generates a unitary product when all the parts are reunited</li> </ul>
<b>Production of the story or the content</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Horizontal: from story to contents</li> <li>- Vertical: from contents to different stories or narrations</li> <li>- Collaborative: starting from consumers and their creations</li> </ul>
<b>Distribution and expansion</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Traditional media: television, radio, press, magazine</li> <li>- Digital media: web, apps</li> <li>- Interactive media: a selection of suitable social media</li> <li>- In real life: events</li> </ul>
<b>Commercialization</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Publicity</li> <li>- Commercial partners</li> <li>- Sponsors or branded content</li> <li>- Crowdfunding</li> <li>- Mixed formulas</li> </ul>

### 3.2 The concept of “hypermediacion”

The theory of hypermediation was elaborated by the professor Carlos Scolari, who investigates on the new paradigms of communication that are changing the everyday use of the media. Scolari refers to a new idea of community online, considering the immediacy of the Web 3.0, also called semiotic web. This definition appeared first in 2006, on an article wrote by Zelman after a Web 2.0 conference, in which were presented some innovation better related to a new phase of the web: one was the ability of web pages to communicate in real time with the servers, simulating Flash technology, through the AJAX (Asynchronous JavaScript and XML) technique.

On the same year, Tim Berners-Lee said the future of the web should be a semiotic web, able to give the chance to access to an incredible resource of data through the calculation of a big quantity of data, just what AJAX wanted to do. So, Web 3.0 becomes a synonym of semantic web as should be immediate and easily accessible and panmediatic, destroying borders through media and unifying channels, structures, forms and languages.

Scolari analyses the possibility of such a system, defining the current trend as a combination of symbolic interchange, production and consume processes that grow in an environment characterized by a great number of subjects, media and languages technologically interconnected by a reticular system. Hypermediation doesn't include just a greater number of media and subjects, but also a variety of manipulations, hybridisations and contaminations that digital technologies allow, transforming every textuality in millions of bits. It is considered a post-massive form of communication, in which

including digital media as part of the process of construction of meanings, and in which are defined commands to the interface to let users interact with the associated software to reach a goal.

Basically, the idea of Scolari is that interactive communication redefines the concepts of interpersonal and massive communication, including in the equation interfaces and software such as comment boxes, blogs, search engines and mobile devices: people find new ways to communicate no more directly with other subjects, but indirectly, in a hypermediated way. They result to create two kinds of communication:

- 1) Communication subject – device – subject, in which the device is the medium to get to the receiver
- 2) Communication subject – device, in which the device is the same receiver, called IPO (interaction person – computer)

All those features create hyper-media, and in the specific case of screens, they create the hypertelevision.

#### 4. Tv scenario in Spain

Spanish TV has suffered control from the dictator Francisco Franco until 1973, from when it was liberalized in the transition to democracy. After the fall of the dictatorship, the public service “Radio Televisión Española” was born, aside of private broadcasters, building an innovative and up to date television identity from the foundations.

The legislation about the transmission of the TV signal faced major modifications: nowadays, Spanish constitution attributes the competence of the general regime of communication, telecommunication and radiocommunication to the State through the article 149. In 2010 entered into force the most recent Ley General de Comunicación Audiovisual.

There are precise rules for audiovisual services, but the innovation is in the differentiation between lineal and non-lineal services, besides the separation of cable and pay TV. Lineal services are, basically, traditional TV and radio services that air contents in a lineal sequence in certain times and daily, to constitute the common TV flow; are also included online services such as live TV channels to be watched on a connected device and every live streaming transmission, even if it's not part of a flow but just a single event or content. The non-lineal services include on demand contents consumable through a decoder, or websites, or pay-to-watch online catalogues of contents such as Netflix and HBO.

Another important innovation is the exaltation of the multiscreen through the obligation of adapting at least the 10% of the shows to mobile devices, so to smartphones, tablets, consoles with apps and similar.

##### 4.1 Lineal broadcasters

Lineal broadcasters are also called traditional because they exist since the first days of TV. Today are private or public companies that own a section of the radioelectric spectrum and that air shows in a pre-set order, interrupted by commercials, through available screens.

Lineal TV still owns the primacy as principal way of accessing audiovisual contents: landing on digital devices helped television conquer every segment of audience, most of all young people from 16 to 24 years, that seem to prefer PC to TV, but that consume online TV significantly.

Among major broadcasters there's Atresmedia. It's a group of communication that works in different areas, mostly in the audiovisual, and it's active on TV with private channels, independent from the State. Its history began on radio in 1982, when the society Antena 3 S.A. was created, supported by pre-existent press companies such as La Vanguardia and ABC. In 1989 conquered a part of the radioelectric spectrum and became a licensed TV broadcaster, airing the channel Antena 3 since January 1992. Nowadays, Atresmedia Televisión count on six channels free to watch, and an HD version of some.

Atresmedia digital services were born in 2007 thanks to the Multimedia division: it was the first time in Spain and the second in Europe for a TV to become digital and create a YouTube channel. In 2008 antena3videos.com was created and celebrations included an online exclusive preview of Los Hombres de Paco, distributed 36 hours before airing on TV: Antena 3 was the first channel to offer online previews and transmit on mobile devices. A dedicated online and multiplatform strategy was

adopted since 2009 with the first episode of the fifth season of the original series *El Internado*: Antena 3.0 was launched, and it provided interaction between channels and connected devices through an app and a website. It was applied to Antena 3, Neox e Nova and it included a list of programs, an online space where to discuss with other fans and the direct link to comment the show on Twitter and Facebook thanks to dedicated hashtags. Still in 2009 Atresmedia experimented participation with *Dirígeme: el rescate*, a show in which the audience could choose the storyline of the following episode through a poll on the dedicated website. It was an innovation like the integration of Habbo on the Antena 3 website that permitted the Habbo users to interact with protagonists from the most famous shows such as *Física o Química*, *Los Protegidos* and *Los Hombres de Paco*.

In 2013 the website was rebuilt, and a special platform was created: Atresplayer. It's a portal that hosts the live streaming of channels, full episodes of shows, extra contents and news: users can easily access some contents but must register freely to build a personalised list, vote shows and share it on social media. What makes Atresplayer different from any other website related to lineal broadcasters is a pay-to-watch catalogue: episodes are free to be watch on the platform for almost a month, but after they become premium and can be consumed subscribing a plan of 2,69€ monthly. The Premium plan provides free access to all the catalogue in 4k quality and access to live and on demand shows outside Spain, besides letting download episodes for offline watching on every device. Movies are hosted on the Atresplayer Videoclub, that allows to rent a title even two months after the distribution in cinemas, thank to the collaboration with Nubeox. During the same year, Antena 3.0 was replaced by Atresmedia Conecta, mostly used for interacting with other fans and sharing comments on social media.

In 2014 was created a network of channels on Youtube, called Atrestube, with thematic videos, little previews and bloopers: now there are more than 20 channels with more than 700.000 views in total. The broadcaster never stopped innovating: in 2015 created Atresmedialab, a creative hub to improve the multiplatform marketing, and welcomed Flooxer, an online catalogue for youngsters that hosts vlog, tutorial and webseries like he famous Paquita Salas. In 2017 was presented NeoxKidz, a platform for children that offers animated shows and family films.

Social media are also well considered, in fact the company owns 220 social profiles on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to represent the society, the channels and the shows. Atresmedia succeeded in converging media generating a 27 million user traffic online and becoming one of the best digital companies in Spain, confirmed by Comscore.

#### 4.2 Non-lineal broadcasters

Since 2007, Spain had to get used to OTT (over the top) platforms: they're metaservices that offer an infrastructure for distributing audiovisual products, original or not, on demand and on different devices with an internet access.

The advantage is becoming a digital video library with contents produced by others and distribute them worldwide thanks to the 4g network and the optical fibre connection. The digitalization of reproduction of contents has multiplied and fragmented the AV offer and facilitated the access, adding personalization for a small price. Digital reproduction lets adjust quality on device and capacity of connection and permit to choose between audio and subtitle languages, in an always updated list of titles.

Spanish people are willing to welcome innovations, in fact internet in 2010 was already the preferred media of the country, more than television, and in 2012 Spain was 7<sup>th</sup> between European countries that are most connected. OTT models often offer a monthly subscription for a small price to attract a wide range of audience: it's possible to choose between subscription plans and services. The real innovation is that those services are not linked to any TV broadcaster and they're free to decide on how distribute a content: for example, Netflix impulse the binge watching, distributing all the episodes of a season in the same day, letting the watcher decide how to consume the show.

Today there are lots of OTT services in Spain, such as FilmIn, TotalChannel and Netflix. Netflix it's an American company born in 1997 from Reed Hasting and Marc Randolph. From being just a physical video library, it has become a distributor and a producer of audiovisual contents all over the

world, responsible to create a new business model, a new television discourse and to have a strong impact on the processes of technologic adaptation, as professor Heredia Ruiz (Heredia Ruiz, 2007) points out.

Netflix conquered Spain in 2015 with a large number of subscriptions, so the company decided to create a local business in 2017 with original Spanish series *Las chicas del cable*, created by Campos and Neira, and located in the 1920's Madrid. The second original series was distributed in October 2018 with the name of *Élite*, created by Montero, and takes place in a Spanish private school. 2019 will be the year of *Hace*, a series on the heroin traffic of Barcelona in the 60s, and of *El crimen de Alcázar*, a documental miniseries on a famous crime of 1992.

Netflix also collaborate with local productions, coproducing *La Catedral del mar* (Atresmedia), the third season of *El Ministerio del Tiempo* (RTVE) and *La casa de papel* (Atresmedia), one of the most famous Spanish shows in the world. Netflix produced also two movies: *7 años* in 2016, by Cabeza and Fontana with the popular actor Paco León, and *Fe de Etarras* of 2017, distributes also in few selected cinemas. In October 2018 was presented the docufilm *Dos Cataluñas*, presenting the facts around the Catalan referendum of 2017, and in 2019 will see the light *Elisa & Marcela*, by Coixet, about the first homosexual marriage in Spain.

The country is full of possibilities, in fact Netflix decided to build in Ciudad de la Tele, Madrid, its first creative hub in the world. Netflix even adapts promotion of the contents to single countries: commercials and billboards are often inspired by local news, traditions and history, or integrated in the city, like the fake bodies in bags around the city in Madrid to promote *Altered carbon*, that had the collaboration of the police to fake a robbery and an investigation. Also, public spaces in the principal cities were redecorated to simulate the *Altered carbon* lab and famous locations of *Stranger Things*.

Netflix has integrated perfectly in the country, permitting to talented actors, directors and producers to be known worldwide too.

## 5. Conclusions

The analysis of authors like Scolari leaves no doubt: a new television era has begun and it's larger than the same media.

The theories of the death of TV are correct if just the physical television and the flow system are considered, but television products are more alive than ever, expanded, fluid and dislocated in time and space. But a TV product that doesn't air on TV, is still television? Yes, if audiovisual canons are respected and if digital TV is legitimated. The evidence lays in the investment made in Spain to increase the audiovisual market, even if not on TV: the traditional media is having a Darwinian evolution, adapting itself on new technologies, so surviving for this time.

Even social media are trying to emulate TV: Twitter already started to air NFL and NBA matches for 800 hours, with 450 live events; Facebook is starting its own OTT service with twenty shows, but in America is doing even more becoming a partner of FOX and obtaining the right to transmit some Champions League matches.

This is the new television: interactive, digital, multiplatform and for everybody and most importantly plural and connected online: "Television is dead, long live Televisions!"

## Notes

*Information on Atresmedia and Netflix shows are retrieved from Atresmedia Publicidad (<http://www.atresmediapublicidad.com>) and Netflix Media Center (<http://media.netflix.com/en>).*

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# Medicine on the Italian TV Screen. The case of “Elisir”

Giovanni Brancato

## 1. Introduction

The debate on the spread of fake news and the rise of disinformation in contemporary societies is increasingly central among scholars in the media and communication fields. In particular, the role of the media becomes more crucial in the dissemination of issues related to the field of science and technology (Cannavò 1985), what today is called “technoscience” (Neresini, Magaùdda 2011). The connection between these topics is today more relevant than ever, given the deep pervasiveness of the scientific knowledge and technological innovation in many daily activities of every person, i.e. in the field of social, political and economic issues (Castelfranchi, Petrelli 2007). As Cannavò predictively noticed, we are living in a “babel” in which

“an often paroxysmal process of speciation of disciplinary fields (Trouvé, 1989) and at the same time the exponential increase in scientific production support the multiplication of scientific languages and make it difficult to recognize the relevant new developments in scientific output” (Cannavò 1995, 24).

At this regard, it is important to underline the role that two elements play in the development of the communication science field. On the one hand, the introduction of the mass media and, more recently, of the social media. On the other hand, the growing relevance of science in the society, thanks, primarily, to the foundation of research centers and groups (Brancato, Filetti 2018).

In this context, despite the complexity of the current media system, television still seems to play a fundamental role both as a tool for the dissemination and promotion of the scientific knowledge and as a trustworthy source of information. It is even more relevant in a scenario where the public is increasingly demanding good information and a correct knowledge of technical-scientific issues, in particular on health and wellness topics. This is confirmed by various recent research reports which focus on how users can obtain health and medical information. According to the Censis-Agenas Report (2016), promoted by the Italian Ministry of Health, entitled “*The information needs of citizens: towards the portal of the transparency of health services*”, the main sources of information on health issues are the family doctors (72.3%) and friends and colleagues at work (31.9%). But, if we focus on media as sources of information on health, the first is the television (25.7%), followed by the Internet (23%) and newspapers with health supplements (11.1%).

In this article, we will focus on the “public communication of science and technology”, and deal with the dissemination of technoscience issues operated by experts and specialized actors, bodies and institutions towards the general public (Latour 1987; Bucchi, Trench 2014). In the past, only the researchers were responsible for the dissemination of the results of a research project, being sure they could be understood by anyone in their scientific societies and that the results of their work could become part of the community’s heritage (Bucchi 2002). In the last three decades, the barriers between science and society, experts and lay persons, that have characterized this relationship for several years, seem to be breaking down, giving space to new and different personalities and competences. This has allowed us to implement a real paradigm shift and a “replacement” of traditional experts (Callon 1999; Einsiedel 2014). Furthermore, the new dissemination logic requested the so-called hybrid media system (Chadwick 2013) requires a deeper reasoning on the qualities required for this new “expert” category.

## 2. Medicine in the Italian Tv talk show

As evidenced by one of the most recent empirical studies on the relationship between science and television carried out in the Italian context, techno-scientific themes on TV are more discussed than can be inferred from a first distracted reading of TV schedules (Neresini, Magaudda 2011). To support this thesis, the researchers divided into six thematic macro areas: Technology (e.g. telephony, AI), Hard sciences (e.g. astronomy, chemistry, physics), Environment (e.g. climate change, pollution), Biomedicine (bioethics, nutrition, medicine, neuroscience), Life Sciences (botany, biology not applied to medicine), Culture and Research policy (research funding, history and philosophy of science) (*Ivi*). However, the relevance and the same presence of issues relating to either of these subcategories is often due to the television format in which the discussion takes place. For example, we can find technoscience topics in documentary television series aimed at popularizing science such as *Superquark*, *Gaia - Il pianeta che vive*, *Ulisse - Il piacere della scoperta*, *La macchina del tempo*. At the same time, it is much more common to meet health issues in Tv talk show or in the news. Examples are Tv programs such as *Più sani più belli* and *Tutta salute*, or television news series such as *TG5 Salute* and *Medicina 33*.

These TV programs focused on medicine and, more generally, public health, play a fundamental social role, linked to two elements. First of all, these programmes' nature: given their audience and placement in the television programme schedule, they can be considered tools for health education. Secondly, their ability to popularize issues often not understandable to non-experts, an ability that is recognized to television programmes since the early Nineties (Livingstone, Lunt, 1994; Carpignano *et alii*, 1990).

In Italy, the relationship between television and medical and health issues is very deep and it began simultaneously with the first broadcasts of the Italian national public broadcasting, RAI.

It is January 26, 1954 - the Rai broadcasts began just three weeks ago - when the first of 14 episodes of the program *Conversazioni scientifiche [Scientific Conversations]* is aired on the national channel. Among the topics presented: "Metapsychics", "What we are", "The neuroses of today's man", "Dietetics", "Psychosomatic medicine", "Sleep and dream", "Twins", "Hypnotism". Certainly, innovative topics for the new wide audience that is gathered in front of the television screen. The following year, *A tavola non si invecchia [You don't get old at the table]* (three episodes) came out, to celebrate the role of the State TV in orienting Italian citizens towards healthy lifestyles (Gisotti & Savini 2010:9).

According to the Italian Public Service's mission, that is to educate and to promote Italian culture and language, the television programs dealing with health and wellness became among the most important and successful Tv formats in the last six decades. However, when the so-called "neo-television" era (Eco 1983) began, topics and formats of this kind of Tv programs also changed. In the past it was usual to meet programs characterized by the use of documentary or news reports; afterwards, we can find health topics also in Tv game show and talk show. Particularly the latter will be the most used television format in the last twenty years.

In light of this, this article aims to analyze one of the most durable TV talk shows on health and wellness in the Italian television, *Elisir*. The goal of this work will be to observe the evolution of the format and analyze the elements that led to the success of the program. In particular, the focus will be on the role of the presenter and guests in the television debate, the topics covered and the communication features of the television program. We will briefly discuss the importance of such elements and then use them to analyze the case study we have chosen.

### 2.1. Talking about talk shows

The first talk show on Italian television will be broadcast at the end of the 1970s, but we will have to wait until the 1990s to have a widespread and substantial broadcast of this TV genre in the public and private television schedule in Italy (Grasso 2008). Talk shows are characterized by the *spectacularization* of a conversation on a specific topic with different participants, whether they are VIPs or ordinary people (Ruggiero 2019). It is possible to identify different types of talk shows,

depending on the characteristics of the studios in which they take place, or on the type of interaction between the participants, or on the basis of the issues most frequently covered (Haarman 1999; Pezzini 1999). As Ruggiero (2014) emphasized, the structure and components of the interaction in talk shows can be distinguished by defining the elements of the television conversation, the communicative and participatory framework, and the topics and arguments that will be discussed. As far as the purely communicative aspect of talk shows is concerned, there is the space-time context in which the television conversation takes place, i.e. the setting and the rhythm of the tv interaction, and, in part, also the role of the participants and the purpose of their interaction.

Considering the so-called participatory framework, where we can pay attention to the role and the relevance in the debate among the participants at the show. First of all, they can be divided into two categories: ratified participants (addressed and unaddressed recipients) and bystanders (overhearers and eavesdroppers). While the first ones are those who are recognized participants in the debate, the second ones are those who "listen" to the conversation in an unofficial or otherwise occasional way and need to be introduced to take an active part in the conversation itself (Goffman 1987).

The program's host and guests, who together fuel the conversation, frequently in a heated atmosphere, on topics and issues considered important for the home audience, are examples of ratified participants. Instead, the studio audience (if any) and viewers are considered as bystanders. Focusing our attention to the topics covered, i.e. the issues discussed by the participants, we can observe that they are chosen by the authors of the Tv program, often including the host, according to multiple variables. A topic can be chosen on the basis of current affairs, or following a television audience poll, or on the basis of an editorial choice of the program's authors.

### **3. A successful Tv format: *Elisir***

*Elisir* is one of the most important television talk shows dealing with health and wellbeing topics. Aired from 1996 to 2017 on Rai3, it was hosted since its first edition by the famous Italian TV host Michele Mirabella. As Gisotti and Savini underline, "the novelty of the formula is that of a service show, on a weekly basis, on topics of wide interest concerning medicine and health, combining the need to provide useful information to citizens with the aim of finding a larger audience" (Gisotti and Savini 2010, 23). Since its first episode aired on September 29, 1996, the program has undergone some minor modifications that do not seem to have changed the original format. An example, as shown in Figures 1 to 6, is the evolution of the name of the program since its first edition. The renaming of the program is a result of some modifies over the years related, for example, to the different seasons or to the time slot of broadcasting. In fact, as shown in Figures 1 to 6, the title changed from *Elisir*, to *Buongiorno Elisir*, passing through *Pronto Elisir*.



Figure 1. The episode broadcast on July 6, 2008.



Figure 2. The episode broadcast on October 22, 2012.



Figure 3. The episode broadcast on December 1, 1996.



Figure 4. The episode broadcast on November 16, 2003.



Figure 5. The episode broadcast on October 15, 2014.



Figure 6. The episode broadcast on September 12, 2016.

A further key element is the setting of the program. The program's Tv environment is characterized by a space in the center of the studio dedicated to the host and the experts, often seated in armchairs. Around, placed in a semicircular way, there are the seats for the public in the studio. Behind the audience and the hosts, at the center of the scene, there are maxi screens used during the episodes for to broadcast of video and graphics. As shown in Figures 7 to 10, the spatial structure has remained largely unchanged over the years.

## Medicine on the Italian TV Screen



Figure 7. The episode broadcast on December 1, 1996.



Figure 8. The episode broadcast on February 14, 1999.



Figure 9. The episode broadcast on December 30, 2007.



Figure 10. The episode broadcast on October 16, 2014.

It is difficult to put *Elisir* within a specific talk show category for the complexity of the narrative structure that characterized the program. Over the last twenty years, *Elisir* has suffered a strong downsizing of its duration – from two hours to short episodes of about ten minutes – due to frequent changes of broadcast day – from weekly prime-time on Sunday to daily morning episodes. However, it was characterized by the presence of several conversational elements: the interview to the expert, the questions of the studio audience, the phone calls of the viewers, the game show of the guests. It could be classified in the so-called *meetings/conversion format*, even though it has sections dedicated to face-to-face interviews with guests. Likewise, in light of the categories presented by Haarman (1999), it is no longer easy to define *Elisir's* belonging to a single specific format. In fact, it can be linked to the so-called *issues-oriented format*, because of its focus on issues of social relevance, such as public health, healthcare. At the same time, it contains some typical aspects of the *evening or celebrity format*, such as the presence of celebrities as well as of doctors and experts in medicine or health. Finally, *Elisir* can also be traced back to the aforementioned *audience discussion format* thanks to a strong and almost direct participation by the audience from home: at first characterized by the possibility to participate in live calls from home and afterwards thanks to the sending of e-mails.

One of the most important elements of the program is certainly the presenter, Michele Mirabella. Since his first episode, he has been the perfect link between the role of the good host and, at the same time, of the average man who is not an expert on the issues the program is dealing with. His style of managing the dynamics of the program has been characterized by an expert use of a language that can be flowery but at the same time keeps attention to stay not too far from the standards of his audience. His handling of the program has never been over the top, but it has always been polite towards the guests in the TV studio and the viewers. However, it is also possible to meet funny sketches that show his nature as a showman and as an expert in television and theatre spectacle (Figures 11 - 12).



Figure 11. The episode broadcast on December 1, 1996.



Figure 12. The episode broadcast on December 22, 2016.

In this regard, it is important to note that he was the host of almost all seasons of the program aired. There are only two cases in which either he was replaced, or he wasn't the only host. The first is the season of *Pronto Elisir* aired in 2005 in which Mirabella was replaced by Gigliola Cinquetti, a famous Italian singer (Figure 13). The second case is more recent, and it concerns the last seasons of the program in which he has been joined by other journalists as co-host, such as Virginie Vassart (Figure 14). Over the years, *Elisir* has also been characterized by the presence of many experienced guests, first of all well-known doctors, coming from the most important Universities and Hospitals in Italy. A few of them played almost the role of TV co-host and were thus a permanent presence in the entire season of the program. The most important examples are the doctor Carlo Gargiulo, who has participated for almost all editions of the program so as to become a real anchor of the program in the series with Gigliola Cinquetti.



Figure 13. The episode broadcast on June 5, 2005.



Figure 14. The episode broadcast on November 22, 2015.

Regarding the topics discussed in the studio debate, *Elisir* was characterized by a wide offer of issues covered, albeit always in line with the Tv format. Over the years, we could find discussions on specific syndromes or diseases, or on issues related to health policies or healthy lifestyles, or on prevention and innovations in research and diagnostics, on nutrition and food, etc. This wide spectrum of topics could be covered either in a single episode or each in different episodes during the same television season by experts. The role of the expert is fundamental within the format of the program examined. As already mentioned above, the presence of doctors is a key element in *Elisir's* Tv programming. In addition to the case of the doctor present in all episodes as a regular guest, as Dr. Carlo Gargiulo before and Dr. Anna Villarini after, the different topics covered in the various episodes were discussed with doctors specialized in a particular discipline (Figures 15-16). An example is Professor Francesco Prati, Chief of Cardiology of the St. John's Hospital in Rome, invited to talk about the problems and risks arising from cardiovascular diseases during the episode aired on September 23, 2013. Another example is the episode broadcast on 27 October 1996 dedicated to poor nutrition, diabetes and obesity, the guests experts were the Professor Eugenio

De Toma, Head of the Department of Dietetics and Diabetes of the Hospital Forlanini in Rome, and the Professor Giuliano Enzi, Director of the Regional Centre for the Study and Treatment of Obesity at the University of Padua. In addition to the invited guests, the schedule of each episode included reportages and video connections from research institutions and hospitals, in which experts and scholars of national and international renown were invited to participate. An example is the Professor Aldo Pinchera, endocrinologist of international reputation specialized in the treatment of thyroid diseases, who is guest in the episode aired on February 14, 1999. Usually, the author of these reports was Patrizia Schisa, Rai journalist who has collaborated with the program since its first edition.



Figure 15. The episode broadcast on February 24, 1999.



Figure 16. The episode broadcast on September 23, 2013.

Finally, a further fundamental trait that has characterized *Elisir's* style is its ability to combine specialized information with the spectacular nature of the Tv format. In addition to the indisputable centrality of the educational function of the program, *Elisir* is also renowned for its entertaining side. This feature, however, has been expressed in different ways over the years. The most successful of these is probably the game show, in which famous guests and members of the studio audience answer to six questions on specific health issues. Another element, as previously pointed out, is the face-to-face interview with actors, sportsmen, singers, etc.: a typical type of so-called social issue talk in a personal perspective. An example is the interview with Enzo De Caro, testimonial of the non-profit association "Bambini Cardiopatici nel Mondo - A.I.C.I.", who talks about the personal experience with his friend Massimo Troisi, a famous Italian young actor died of heart disease, in the episode broadcast on September 23, 2013. At the same time, it is also important to mention the series of face-to-face interviews with several Italian cultural personalities, such as Renzo Arbore, Francesco Cossiga and Ambra Angiolini, conducted by Michele Mirabella in the 2005 Tv season, in which he did not play the role of host of the program.

#### 4. Conclusion

Thanks to the analysis carried out on *Elisir* and on the evolution of the program in twenty years, it is possible to identify some elements that have made the program *an unicum* in the Italian television scenario. A first element is the total overlap of the program with the host, Michele Mirabella. Unlike other talk shows characterized by a change of presenter over the years, such as *The Tonight Show* (CNBC), and, in the Italian context, *Matrix* (Canale5), *Elisir* has demonstrated the importance of its founder's style for the success of the program. In particular, despite some aforementioned changes, *Elisir* seems to be characterized by a clear stylistic feature. This allows it to be easily identified by the viewer. Secondly, the analysis showed the complexity of the narrative structure of the program and its evolution over the years. In addition to the difficulty of making comprehensible to such a large "lay" public like that of the Rai's third channel the topics dealt with - it should be remembered that the first editions of the program were broadcast in prime time on Sunday - there was also the need to include different journalistic skills such as interviews, reportages, etc. Although with a strong downsizing of the aspect of the show in the program, for example with the decision to eliminate the game show from the 2008/2009 season, *Elisir* has been

able to maintain for years a perfect balance between the entertaining character of the television medium and the educational nature of scientific dissemination. In conclusion, we can confirm that *Elisir* seems to represent the best link between information and entertainment in perfect harmony with the motto of the program that the host declares at the end of each episode, “Parliamoci chiaro” [Let's be clear].

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# How Health Care Organizations Engage in Social Media? Health Communication and Social Media Use

Sirma Oya Tekvar

## Introduction

Information and communication technologies, which are changing, diffusing and developing rapidly, causes radical transformation in daily and business life applications and in communication systems as well. Individuals who find the least common denominator meet through new communication technologies and create digital societies independently, hence socialization process is actualizing effectively and commonly throughout the world.

Unlike traditional media, internet speeds up and enables information flow, provides interaction, removes time and space handicaps, supports participatory democracy development. Moreover there is not a censorship and control mechanism apparently so that makes internet the most effective communication medium in our era.

Internet allows reaching wider masses rapidly and efficiently so it becomes an vital medium for communication practices. All of the new technologies such as online journalism, online human resources platforms, web 2.0 applications, internet advertising, blogs, banners, online press bulletins, WAP, SMS/MSM, Bluetooth, Wi-Fi, RSS systems, smart phones and in particular social media are the necessary channels, which contributes new management mentality and interactive communication.

Based upon a finding, with the social media development there is a shift through the integrated multi-media working structures instead of disconnected departments (Geray, 2008: <http://www.birgun.net>). In this context, it was found that there is important data about the reflections of social media to the communication areas especially in Europe. For instance, according to the research *European Communication Monitor 2011* (Zerfass et al., 2011), social media plays an important role in many European countries and in this context, interactive communication channels spreads out.

On the other hand, regarding the health communication, it is the fact that environmental conditions, new life styles, industrialization and political problems play role in the development of health issues and problems. Global diseases and insufficient health care services are continuing while there are still existing communication problems between health care providers and patients. It is inevitable that a patient fails in obeying the treatment if health care providers ignore cultural norms, patients' coping skills and psycho-social factors. Therefore communication between health care providers, patients and patient relatives is crucial in terms of health care services because it is known that patients tend to seek different remedies if there happens any communication problem between health care providers and patients or if the health care providers fail to satisfy patients (Sezgin, 2011: 86-87).

This study's main question is if social media supports dialogic and interactive health communication or not in Turkey. In addition to this, this study also aims to understand how health care organizations evaluate social media and what their predictions about social media engagement are in the future.

## Social Media and Two-Way Communication Based on Dialogue

Organizations are learning, implementing and using new communication technologies and social media effectively in order to make themselves known and to create positive image because reaching target audience through social media is both cost-effective and quick.

As Solis (2010, xvi) defined, the socialization of the internet and content publishing disrupted the balance and is now forcing a new kind of media that is transforming information distribution and

human interaction. Interactive internet serves as a great equalizer, capsizing the existing balance and redistributing influence.

When an emerging and developing media pass through the existing corporate culture, the behavior and culture of the workforce is getting changed. Therefore “aside from the usual politics, lobbying, ambition, and ambivalence, the adaptation and socialization of existing processes and systems is inevitable” (Solis, 2010: 283). In other words, “as Web 2.0 gave rise to a genre of social computing and collaboration, the enterprise infrastructure, business paradigm, value chain, and workflow were forever transformed. Processes and methodologies were suddenly placed under the microscope finding the search for new opportunities for efficiencies and innovation” (Solis, 2010: 297).

Moreover, individuals are creating societies through social media by linking to each other and each of them is becoming editor via internet so that they develop a new kind of citizenship consciousness. This status quo creates new leadership mechanisms, new socialization dynamics and it changes lots of things radically like corporations’ infrastructure, markets, governments, democratic participation, etc. (Uçkan and Ertem, 2011: 298).

That is to say, social media forces directors and communication experts to be more knowledgeable and disciplined about internet in order to benefit from opportunities and services effectively.

Kent and Taylor (1998) highlighted that in dialogic communication, the goal of the interaction is the communication act itself rather than anything else. In this respect, dialogic communication is based upon two-way symmetrical communication. “Two-way symmetrical communication is typically privileged as the ideal model of public relations. With the advent of social media, this model of public relations is now more attainable than ever. Social media also provides a channel for organizations to engage in dialogic communication with their stakeholders” (Hether, 2014: 856).

On the other hand, the accomplishment and effectiveness of social media depends on the way its use, in spite of its power as a manipulating channel. According to Geibel (1999), “many companies don’t get the full potential of the web for their public relations program. This is not due to any unique technical knowledge or webmaster tricks, but rather ignoring basic web characteristics and user orientation, and in some cases, neglect of simple web site housekeeping”. In other words, “it is evident that many organizations tend to use social media as a 1-way communication tool, neglecting to embrace the social and interactive capabilities of these platforms” (Shan et al., 2015: 104).

However Taylor and Kent indicated that “organizational responsiveness requires regular information exchanges with publics. The internet facilitates this exchange and it can create the foundation for dialogue” (2004: 61). According to the authors (2002); mutuality, propinquity, empathy, risk and commitment are the five features of dialogue, which are considered as not an easy outcome of communication and relationships. In fact, dialogue requires the commitment on the part of individuals and organizations of resources, personal efforts, training and evaluation.

### **Social Media Engagement in Health Communication**

Although social media emergence is not relatively new business world, it has been recently recognized and developed in health care sector. In other words, “health care providers and organizations have recognized and responded to the reality that consumers rely on internet sources and social media for health information and in making their health care decisions.” (Gagnon and Sabus, 2015: 408). As Shan et al. (2014) indicated in their research, social media is in the early stages of adoption in public health care agencies so that social media practices should be considered alongside long-established patterns of communication and interaction.

Some researchers found that many health care organizations do not fully utilize social media to its maximum. For instance, Coustasse and Slack (2013) conducted a study on potential benefits of using Facebook in the health care industry and underlined that being on Facebook alone is not enough to draw attention to an organization. Health care providers need to post frequently and to interact with the community and patients to see the benefits. Social media can be used as a feedback tool for providers.

## How Health Care Organizations Engage in Social Media?

Heldman et al. (2013: 3-4) listed five characteristics that make social media viable channels for public health communication efforts, which were identified by United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).<sup>38</sup> According to this;

- When integrated with traditional public health communication channels, social media can work best.
- Through social media, health care providers can target and reach diverse audiences.
- Social media allows sharing public health information in new spaces.
- Health care providers can listen and collect feedback in real-time.
- Social media permits to increase direct engagement.

In their study, Heldman et al. (2013: 12-13) put forward some recommendations for advancing social media engagement for public health. They stated that health providers would risk losing their audience unless they engage with a thoughtful, data-driven approach. Engagement should be considered as an organization's core value, philosophy and culture. The organization's infrastructure must be proper to implement social media and communicators should identify the key metrics and measures that will show the value of social media engagement for their organization as well.

Gagnon and Sabus (2015, 410-412) also specified some guidelines for health care providers for social media use such as; defining goals and objectives, protecting patient privacy, educating the employer, taking the responsibility of posts, controlling information sharing, monitoring online identity and exploring options for online communication with patients.

Considering implications of health communication efforts, McCarroll et al. (2014: 952) also stress the benefits of social media in reaching the target population regardless of their socioeconomic and health-related characteristics. The authors suggest that if health care providers enable broader and more equitable mobile access, the potential for improving health and health behavior of in health care population through social media is tremendous.

### Methodology and Limits of the Study

In this study, a qualitative analysis was made by interviewing in depth with three communication experts in Turkey's three major health organizations; Turkish Republic Ministry of Health<sup>39</sup> as the head governmental organization in health sector, Acibadem Hospitals Group<sup>40</sup>, which is the most widespread healthcare chain in Turkey, as a private company and Turkish Medical Association (TMA)<sup>41</sup>, which is a pioneering public association founded with law, as a non-profit organization.

The interviews, which were conducted for the author's PhD thesis, took place on January-February, 2012 and the findings were rearranged in this study, according to the topic of the study. The interviewees were recruited through purposive sampling and three different health care organizations (governmental, non-profit and private) were compared within the framework of social media engagement.

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<sup>38</sup> The authors also define principles of and considerations for social media engagement for public health. In this context; they also indicated challenges in social media engagement for public health in their study (see Heldman et al., 2003).

<sup>39</sup> For English website of the Ministry, see <http://disab.saglik.gov.tr/index.php>.

<sup>40</sup> Acibadem Healthcare Group, which has developed rapidly since 1991 and became one of the leading institutions in Turkey within the field of private healthcare services, moves forward in the global platform with the partnership with IHH Healthcare Berhad, one of the biggest groups in the Far East, in 2012. Comprised of 17 hospitals and 13 medical centers, Acibadem has become the world's second largest Healthcare Chain with this agreement under the auspices of IHH Healthcare Berhad (<http://www.acibademinternational.com/why-acibadem/>).

<sup>41</sup> Turkish Medical Association (TMA) is the organized voice of physicians in Turkey, under the constitutional guarantee. %80 (83.000) of country's physicians are members of TMA. Its main income source is membership fees and it doesn't get any aid from government (<http://www.ttb.org.tr/en/index.php/ttb/ttb-hakkinda>).

Variables such as physical environment and workload of interviewees might affect their answers. These interviewees indicated that they have limited time for the interview in-depth because of their intensive work program. Therefore interviews were tried to be completed in short time as far as possible.

The research was grounded on two questions: How is social media perceived and will social media support the expectations of dialogic communication in health communication? Within this framework, the interviewees were asked their status of corporate infrastructure for social media, the purpose of social media utilization, the problems they defined while using social media, their personal use of social media and their considerations for the future of social media.

### **Main Findings**

Each of the organizations in the study has at least Facebook and Twitter account.<sup>42</sup> Acibadem Hospital Groups additionally use YouTube and Foursquare, TMA additionally uses YouTube and Google Plus.

The Corporate Communication Director of Acibadem Hospital Groups said that they had several Facebook pages for different target audiences. On the other hand, according to him, social media was highly open to severe criticisms and that would create a risk for the corporate reputation. Hence “only self-sufficient organizations can use these channels effectively”, he said (H. Çelik, personal communication, February 21, 2012). Moreover, he indicated that there was a difference in speech and wording use between social media and traditional media so that it had to be balanced in terms of communication style. He defined social media as an important pressure medium to supply the target audiences’ demands.

The Public Information Adviser of TMA stated that they densely received feedback through social media and evaluated sensitively. While she said that they didn’t encounter a technical problem in using social media, she defined the problems of using social media to the best of her belief:

“These platforms don’t reflect the facts and reality related to life.

According to me, social media doesn’t include socialness. It can’t replace face to face communication. That’s the problem about social media that I see.” (S. Mutlu, personal communication, February 7, 2012).

As to the predictions for the future of social media, the interviewees agreed that social media would gain importance in business world. The Communication Coordinator of the Ministry of Health indicated that both health communication and communication technologies would come into prominence so that they had to assess social media very carefully and he added words in the following:

“Today people follow and read newspapers via i-Pads. So it’s important to make communication environment more practical and mobile. We need faster media. We are willing to benefit from every innovation within the necessities of the time.” (O. Güzelgöz, personal communication, January 19, 2012).

The Corporate Communication Director of Acibadem Hospital Groups estimated that all of the organizations would need to use social media in the future. However risk management should be taken into account as well. According to him, social media would force organizations for meeting the needs and demands of the target audience. The Public Information Adviser of TMA said, social media had not been the major communication channel yet in their organization; however they received positive results from the activities they shared in. According to her, since social media eased and pushed up communication, its importance would increase in the future.

Regarding interviewees’ personal use of social media, they had at least Facebook account except The Public Information Adviser of TMA. She did not use any social media channel personally.

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<sup>42</sup> Ministry of Health has been using Facebook and Twitter very recently. When the interview was conducted in 2012, the Ministry did not use any social media. The communication coordinator of the Ministry stated that they didn’t need social media since they were easily reached by other communication channels including feedback channels through website. However they were not against to social media and willing to use thoroughly if they were to begin to use it.

## How Health Care Organizations Engage in Social Media?

On the other hand, The Communication Coordinator of the Ministry of Health had a Facebook account and he used it every day in order to keep in touch with social agenda and give a little bit break. Yet he stated that he didn't share much. The Corporate Communication Director of Acıbadem Hospital Groups said he used LinkedIn for developing business relationships and Facebook for keeping in touch with friends. Although he had a Twitter account, he said that he didn't use it much since he thought Twitter is mostly a gossip platform.

To sum up; the interviewees evaluate threats and weaknesses of social media as in the following:

- Corporate reputation can be damaged if social media is not managed well enough.
- It is open to every kind of negative criticisms and interpretations since it is available for all publics and sets a transparent environment.
- There can be a speech conflict between customers and service providers since social media enables unofficial language.
- Most of the feedbacks are due to audiences' instantaneous reactions so these feedbacks may not be wholly convincing.
- Transparency in social media makes competition environment more difficult.

Strengths and opportunities of social media, according to interviewees are;

- Social media enables easy, effective and quick access to target audiences.
- It enables more efficient assessment and evaluation for feedbacks.
- Corporate advertising and events can be more influent.
- It gives opportunity to develop business process since it activates marketing communication and corporate communication.
- It provides up-to-date information.

### Discussion and Conclusion

According to this study, private and non-profit organizations use social media more efficiently. These organizations employ an expert team for social media, have trainings, make feedback assessment and evaluation through social media and share more corporate news and information.

On the other hand, most of the governmental organizations in Turkey seem noncommittal. They tend to follow "wait and see" policy and think that social media can be a passing fancy and also it would be open to risk unless it is used properly (Tekvar, 2012).

As mentioned before, social media provides an advantage for dialogue and two-way communication by accessing broader target audience quickly, easily, and effectively and by interacting almost one by one. Dialogic, open and transparent communication is crucial for organizations to provide better services for target audiences coherent with their needs and properties. Unless it is conducted well enough or ensured interaction, consistency and accuracy, social media is bound to pose a risk for corporate reputation. Hence one can say that building and maintaining transparency and thrust should be planned in accordance with social media management.

Most of the organizations evaluate that the major function of social media is to create an opportunity for reaching target audience cost-effectively and dynamically. That means organizations tend to use social media as a one-way asymmetric communication tool. Citizens' right to voice their opinions and demands openly and to criticize viciously in any case is perceived as a threat by most of the organizations. Hence this perception also justifies the one-way communication tendency.

In conclusion, according to the findings, the organizations generally tend to reproducing one-way or two-way asymmetrical communication through the social media. It was also found that social networks are tended to be implemented within this traditional communication perception as well. The handling of such hegemonic communication practices, which is criticized for excluding dialogue and

interactivity, has been also extended to social media. This practice can be conceptualized as *confined communication*.

Today audiences are more interactive and participative rather than passive. They voice their needs, demands and reactions so readily and enterprisingly all over the world. Therefore organizations should change their traditional communication dynamics in order to cope with these active audiences. So they need to deal with change management as well.

Social media should not be used as a persuasion oriented communication tool, which solely gives one-way information. Organizations should provide a participative communication environment, which is based on mutual understanding. Therefore they have to create social media accounts by making questionnaires and asking questions and so by taking feedback in order to understand audiences' opinions, attitudes and behaviors because social media is supposed to be the most favorable channel to supply two-way dialogic communication. Additionally, organizations should interact with the audience by answering their questions openly in short time and by appreciating their comments and feedbacks (such as retweeting, liking, following, etc.). This way would ensure profit-driven private companies to actualize their goals more effectively and touching, guarantee governmental organizations, who are responsible for generating public welfare, to improve themselves and provide non-profit organizations, who struggles for justice and rights, to gain trust and support.

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# Gender Differences In The Perception Of Advertisements: An Eye-Tracking Approach

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## 1. Introduction

All the differences between men and women are expressed in locution of masculinity and femininity, as well as the characteristics of being men and women are associated with it. At this point, it is possible to say that there are chromosomal, hormonal, structural and functional differences in terms of brain level between men and women. Having the different point of views and evaluations to the same subject, seeing different points and paying different attention to the same subject is the indicator for they are different in their essence. Gender differences are also considered to have a direct impact on ensuring the effectiveness of advertising. Males or females-focused messages need to be created regarding the differences to ensure advertising effectiveness and accurate transmission of target group messages. Therefore, some experimental studies are needed to determine these differences. In this study, whether the gender differences affect the reading of advertisements in the visual context or not, is analyzed by eye tracking method.

## 2. Literature Review

The concept of sex is an indication of the biological properties of the organism. Though, sexual identity of "gender" is a phenotype that expresses the social status of a person and allows others to identify it as male or female. Gender is used to identify people at personal, social and institutional levels (Einstein et al., 2013). In other words, "male or female" is an expression of gender, whereas "sex" is defined as a biological and sociological process (Babin and Boles, 1998). Sex and gender describe the conceptual differences between male and female in two different perspectives. Differences between the two genders which constitute the main theme of this study are explained by taking into account two basic theories which are considered as the main guide for explaining the differences between men and women in perceiving the ads. The mentioned theories are Rosenberg's Selectivity Hypothesis and Sandra Bem's Gender Schema Theory.

**Rosenberg's Selectivity Hypothesis** explains that people are governed by self-conceptions. According to the Selectivity Hypothesis, people collect information about the topics that they are personally interested in and become motivated accordingly. (MacKinnon, 2015) Therefore, while women follow a more elaborate process in the information processing process, men follow a systematic process focusing on clues and obtaining high-level clues. **Selectivity Theory** states that men and women use brain hemispheres differently, in other words, they operate information-processing strategies and thresholds differently. Women operate the left-hemisphere process comprehensively while performing sequential and detailed analyzes. (Meyers – Levy & Loken, 2015; Hwang and Lee, 2017).

**Sandra BEM's Gender Schema Theory states that women and men react accordingly to cognitive process diagrams.** The scheme is referred as the cognitive construct that directs and organizes the person's perceptions. According to the theory, men are defined as more competitor, analytical, risk takers, and ambitious. On the other hand, women are focused on relations and collaborative activities and purposes. (Hwang and Lee, 2017; Martin et al. 2003) Meyers-Levy Selectivity Theory states that men eliminate while women integrate into the process of information processing. Women tend to collect more comprehensively, relevant or irrelevant information than men in this process, so they look for detailed information. Particularly evaluating in terms of advertisements, sharing the same information in the same way for both male and female consumers may not lead to a conclusion so often (Goedschalk, 2010).

Brain volume of men and women also differ from each other. Men have a larger amygdala and hypothalamus, while women have wider caudate and hippocampus. The level of the structural difference comes together with functional differences. At this point, there are differences in the active points of men and women for the emotional stimuli. Male nervous systems encode much aggression when compared to emotional and perceptual features. This is because of it shows a match-up with amygdala and temporal cortex as a function. At the same time, the motor preparation area becomes active. (Kret and De Gelder, 2012) The brain differences between men and women, the understanding of advertising as a stimulus; have a great importance in terms of transforming into behaviour and attitude. (Belinskaya, 2015) Belinskaya summarized the situation in the table of " Gender-based differences in visual preferences".

**Table 1.** Gender-based differences in visual preferences (Belinskaya, 2015)

<b>Male's preferences</b>	<b>Female's preferences</b>
Realistic images	Creative, abstract images
Moving	Static
Geometrical forms, objects	Human figures
Words alone	Words as addition to picture
Standard typography	Decorated typography
Tall buildings, towers	Houses
Vehicles, technology	Animals, plants
Males	Females

The gender-based visual liking differences given in Table 1, according to the scope of the study conducted by Djamasbi et. al. in 2007, when evaluated within the context of websites which have an advertising environment, it is found that women and men have different preferences on creating and designing websites. For example, it has been found that men prefer darker colours (black or blue, etc. ) while women prefer lighter colours. In the research, advertisements of bricklets with picture or bricklets without picture which also depends whether it has a light colour or dark colour background, the change in the perception on advertising is investigated due to gender differences. , In the conducted research, male users found the bricklets with pictures more attractive than pictureless. Women, on the other hand, interpreted bricklet presented with a dark background, quite noticeable but not attractive. The results of this research show that visual attraction is not strictly related to the level of awareness in some cases, men and women may be different from each other in terms of noticeable/attractive elements, which they define. (Djamasbi et al., 2007) From the point of view of interpreting stimuli to gender differences, women act more emotional and include their personal feelings; while men can distinguish in their personal perceptions. (McMahan, 2005)

## **2. Method**

The research was conducted through the SMI REDn Professional Eye Tracker device and via Experiment Suite software to analyze the path, sequence and focus time of subjects' eye movements on 15 magazine advertisements.

The sample used in the research was selected by appropriate sampling method. This type of sampling defines the sample that is chosen from the units which are accessible for the researcher and facilitate applicability of the study. 12 male and 12 female participants, at the graduate educational level, in the age range 25-50 were selected for the research.

Magazines on which the advertisements were published, to be shown to participants in the experiment, were selected regarding the data received from the \*local planet – CEREYAN media agency's website, "Net Circulation Information on Magazines" on October 2017. The selected magazines consist of 5 magazine categories (Economy / Business / Finance, Decorating, Travel / Lifestyle, Female Interests / Mother-Child, Male Interests / Life), and the magazines which have the highest circulation rate (Forbes,

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Evim, Atlas, Cosmopolitan, Oto Haber) January 2018 issues were selected. The 15 advertisements included in the research are the ones taking place on the front inside, back inside and back outer covers of the mentioned magazines. The reason for the selection of ads in these areas is that they are out of the advertisement collapse of magazine ads as well as they have a high noticeability, as they have a high placement value to purchase in media planning.

While designing the research, 3 research questions were defined which would determine the method of which data should be collected during the research. These questions are as follows.

1. What images do men and women focus on the ad?
2. Does the gender make a difference in focusing on the images in the ad?
3. Do the times of focusing on images in the ad vary according to gender?

### 3. Findings

Findings were obtained through the experiment suite software by analyzing the test results in focus map, heat map and key performance indicate formats. Within this frame, the visual data and the interpretations for 15 advertisements are interpreted for each advertisement according to key performance indicates and heat map data. All images of the analyzed ads in the study are not given due to the page limitations, however, the most striking ads are shown along with the key performance indicates or heat map data to give information on how the data was obtained. The advertisements which did not reveal any meaningfulness or meaningful difference I man the interpretation of the advertisements during the study are not included. Only the ads are included which were very striking and were meaningful in the context of the research questions.

#### Advertisement 1

Both male and female participants first looked at the text "skiing started" on the left. In the same ad, both male and female participants looked at the text that the tracks call for you. These texts are written in large size. In the third place, both gender participants; 83. 3% of male participants and all of the female participants, looked at the areas, which are selected by the researchers to be particularly analyzed and also called as the "white space" by the software, during the experiment interpretation. This can be defined by the fact that men focus on a single point, while women "have a higher peripheral view that at least 45 degrees of their above and below heads, compared to men" (Pace, 2011:69). In the same ad, the female participants looked the contact information in 4th place while male participants looked in 5th place, also 66. 7% of male participants looked the logo in 4th place.



Picture 1. SWAY Hotels Male Subjects

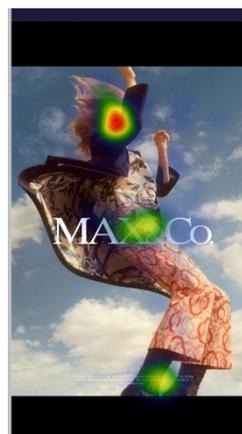


Picture 2. SWAY Hotels Women Subjects

### Advertisement 2



**Picture 3.** Advertisement 2 Male Subjects



**Picture 4.** Advertisement 2 Female subjects

In this advertisement, 83. 3% of the female participants and 91. 7% of the male participants looked at the unselected areas called the white area in first place. In these unselected areas of the ad, the legs and body of the female body are located. 91. 7% of the male participants were focused on the hip area of the female image in 2nd place, while %75 of the women participants were focused on the brand name. 83. 3% of the female participants were focused on the hip area of the female image in 3rd place. Even though a clear discrimination could not be made as the "X" letter of the brand is placed on the hip area of the female image, it has been seen that male participants intensely focused on the area according to heat maps. Considering the intensity of the focus, eye movements of the male participants did not look entirely to the text but directly looked to the hip area of the model. While the male participants were focused on the face in the 4th place, the female participants were focused on the feet of the female image in the advertisement in the 4th place.

### Advertisement 3

In this advertisement, participants in both genders were focused on the face area of the female image in the ad. Even though the participants in both genders looked to the advertised product which is a scarf, in 2nd place, the average focus time in this area is very short. Female participants looked at the brand name in the 4th place while male participants looked at the brand in 5th place.

### Advertisement 4

91. 7% of the female participants focused on the unselected white areas in 1st place, while all of the male participants focused on the headline of the ad written in large size in 1st place. In the 3rd place, the male participants focused on the technological product, Kindle (electronic book reading tablet) product visual. This can be explained by the fact that men have a higher degree of interest in technological products. It was found that the female participants focused on the product's visual in 4th place. Male participants focused on the brand name on the left-top side of the advertisement in 6th place while female participants focused in 3rd place and 2 sec. longer than the male participants. Female participants focused on the D&R logo in the 7th place, which was located in the right-below corner. Besides, male participants focused on the D&R logo in the 5th place. Men focused on the bottom line of the ad in 7th place and women in 6th place. The focus time of the text is approximately the same for both groups.

### Advertisement 5

While female participants focused on the headline text, which was written in large size, in the 1st place, male participants focused on the male image on the ad in the 1st place. Female participants focused on the female image in the 2nd place, the male participants focused on the female image in 3rd place. Both

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participant groups focused on the logo in the 4th place. Both groups of participants focused on the white areas, outside the selection area in the 5th place, and the bottom text of the advertisement in the 6th place. In the ad, the men focused on the contact information on the left side of the bottom band in 7th place, while the women focused in the 8th place. Female participants focused in 7th and male participants focused in 8th to the visuals of the brand logos which were placed on the bottom band.

### Advertisement 6

While 91.7% of the female participants focused on the top middle logo in 2nd place, 83.3% of the male participants focused on the logo in 1st place. While the male focused on the handwriting within a frame right below the logo in 2nd place, female focused in 1st place. *This proves as it is stated in the literature that typographical objects in the form of handwriting, taken into consideration by women more than men.* All of the female participants looked on the package of the product image in the 3rd place, while all of the male participants looked at the entire product image in 4th place. Both groups of participants focused on the circular image with the text "60% less fat, fewer calories" given within a label in the 6th place. However, when looking at the average focus time it's seen that women focused 1.8 sec. and men focused 6.7 sec. The fact that men focus more on this area where a rational sentiment is expressed can be explained by the fact that the male brain is more tend to the mathematical images.

### Advertisement 7

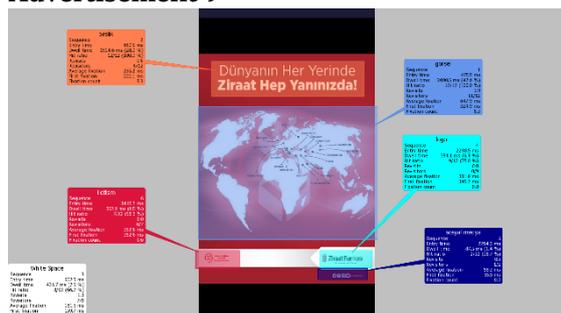
The male participants looked at the computer image in the 1st place, but the focus time was 36ms. Although the female participants focused on the symbols in the left middle area of the ad in the 1st place. In the 2nd place, while the men focused on the white areas outside the selected areas of the advertisement, the women focused on the male body in the ad. Male participants focused in the 6th place to the body of the male image in the ad. Though female participants focused on computer image in the 3rd place. While male participants focused on the face area of the male visual in 5th place, female participants focused on the same area in 6th place and looked 1sec. longer than the male participants. Both groups of participants focused on ad text in 4th place. Male participants focused on the logo in the ad in 7th place and women focused in 5th place. The area which was focused the last in the ad in 8th place was the place where the internet addresses were located. It's seen that none of the participant groups focus on the area that includes such small size text and located above a white strip.

### Advertisement 8

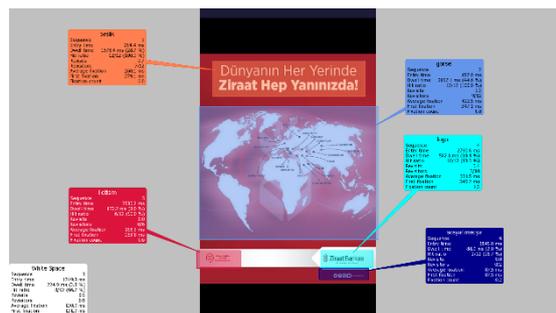
In the analyzed advertisement, both participant groups focused on the outside the selected area which is called as the white area in 1st place. In the 2nd place, female participants looked at the face area of the male image while male participants looked at the title of the ad in the 2nd place. The male participants looked at the face area and the female participants looked at the title of the ad in 3rd place. Both participant groups looked at the advertisement text in the 4th place. While female participants looked at the body area of the male image in the 5th place, male participants focused on the logo, which was placed in the right-below side, in 5th place. In the 6th place, the female participants looked at the text image placed in the right triangle shape while the male participants looked at the text image placed in a left triangle shape in the 6th place. While female participants were looking for the logo in 7th place, male participants focused on the triangular text box on the top-right. The eyes of the male participants immediately pointed to the text box right below. The eyes of the female participants were directed to the triangle on the top-left in 8th place. Male participants only looked at the body of the male visual in the 9th place, while female participants looked in the 9th top-right triangular text box. Both groups of participants focused on two triangular text box located at the bottom left in 10th and 11th places. None of the participants looked at the contact information written in small size on the bottom left of the ad image.

The issue in the advertisement 7 and 8 can be evaluated as an indicator that the text written in small sizes and located under the ad image is not read at all. It is seen that ad designers can place the things which are intended not to be read but required to be included the ad in these areas. However, this situation suggests that this method should not be used in the texts which are desired to be read.

### Advertisement 9



Picture 5. Advertisement 9 Male Subjects



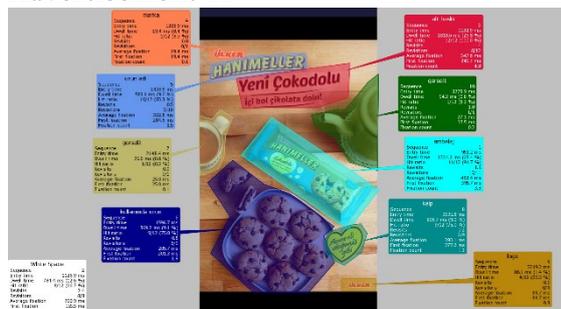
Picture 6. Advertisement 9 Female Subjects

While all of the male participants looked at the map image located in the middle of the advertisement in the 1st place, all of the female participants looked at the advertisement heading in 1st place. In the 2nd place, all of the female participants focused on the map, while the male participants focused on the heading in the 2nd place. While the left amygdala is considerably strong in the female brain, the right amygdala is stronger in the male brain. This situation fosters functional perception ability in males and ensures that interpersonal communication is strong in females. For this reason, the images (maps, etc.) related to the functional perception show that takes more attention of men. In the 3rd place, 66.7% of the two participant groups looked at the white areas outside the images in the advertisement. Both groups of participants focused on the logo at the 4th place. In the 5th place, the female participants focused on the contact information in the bottom left, while the male participants focused on the social media images in the bottom right. The female participants focused on the social media icons on the bottom right in the 6th place, and men focused on the contact information on the bottom left in the 6th place.

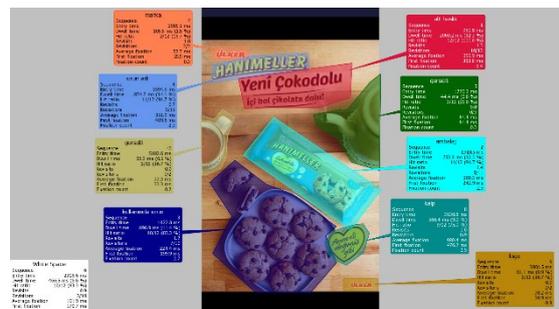
### Advertisement 10

In the 1st place, both groups of participants were focused on the headline of the ad, which was written in the large size. The average focus duration of the participants for this area is approximately 3s. In the 2nd place, both groups of participants looked at the outside the selected area which is also called as the white area in the ad. In the 3rd place, both participant groups were focused on the arm image, which is believed to be a man wearing a jacket located on the right side of the ad. Particularly, 58.3% of the female participants and 16.7% of the male participants were focused. The average focus duration of the aforementioned photographic image for female participants was 244.1ms while for the male participants was 56.9ms. This can be explained by the intention of women to pay close attention and motivation for exploring their surroundings. Both groups of participants were focused on the text written in small size and located on the bottom of the ad in 4th place, and also the average focus duration for this area is 174.5ms for female participants and 310ms for male participants.

### Advertisement 11



Picture 7. Advertisement 11 Male Subjects



Picture 8. Advertisement 11 Female Subjects

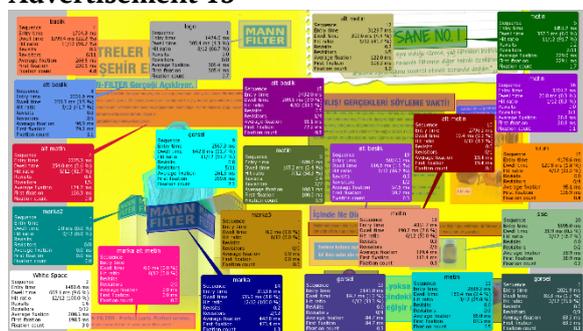
## Gender Differences In The Perception Of Advertisements

It is observed that eye movements of both gender groups of subjects are quite different from each other due to the fact that this advertisement is quite complex and complicated in layout context. A striking element in the analysis of the ad is that the female subjects looked at the image of the heart-shaped text box which is an emotional image with a much longer average focus duration than men.

### Advertisement 12

In this ad, which belongs to a publishing house, the average focus time of the male participants to the book visual was 473.6 msec., while the average focus duration of the female participants to the book visual was measured as 347.4 msec. This shows that male participants are strikingly more focused on the book visuals than female participants. In the 3rd place, all male and female participants were focused on the title of the ad. However, male participants were focused on the title text for about 0.50 seconds longer than female participants. In the 6th place, the female participants were focused on the logo located on the bottom-right with an average focus duration of 245.3 msec. That is 2.5 times more than male participants' focus duration on the logo. On the other hand, male participants were focused on social media addresses in 6th place with an average focus time 2.5 times longer than female participants.

### Advertisement 13



Picture 9. Advertisement 13 Male Subjects



Picture 10. Advertisement 13 Female Subjects

Considering the two full-page ad with a yellow background and various images on it; perceiving the visual objects and the texts in the ad, as well as focusing duration for these visuals, are completely different for male and female participants. The most general reason for this is that the ad contains much more visual elements than normal. In addition to this basic point, it is understood that the analysis of this advertisement has resulted in reading and recognizing each additional image placed in the advertisement, making it harder to see some elements and even some elements not being seen at all. It is also seen that the female participants perceived no more than 19 elements in this ad, while the male participants perceived 20 elements, and within the 8 seconds duration, nothing more than 20 elements were perceived.

### Advertisement 14



Picture 11. Advertisement 14 Male Subjects

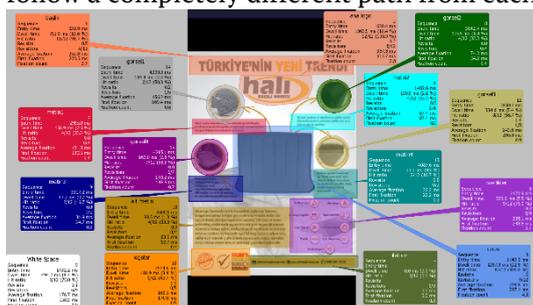


Picture 12. Advertisement 14 Female Subjects

In this ad, groups of participants in both genders showed similar eye movements characteristics until the 4th place image. After this point, however, the eye movements of both groups differed from each other. When a general evaluation carried out, it can be seen that eye of the female and male eyes follow a similar direction in the areas with less distinct elements in design of the mentioned ad, and also the eye movements and focuses of male and female are different from each other as the number of elements in the area of the advertisement increases.

### Advertisement 15

It is seen that female participants looked at entire advertisement due to many elements located in the ad and male participants were focused on the main title, which is a text, of the ad in the 1st place. It is understood that due to the large number of images in the ad, cause male and female participants to follow a completely different path from each other.



**Picture 13.** Advertisement 15 Male Subjects **Picture 14.** Advertisement 15 Female Subjects

## 4. Discussion

The answers to the questions indicated in the study were sought and the following conclusions and solutions were achieved in the direction of the obtained data:

Firstly, when evaluated in terms of focus periods; it is understood that male participants are focused on texts for a longer period of time, whereas female participants are focused on visual items for a longer period of time. While it is seen that male participants first focus on texts and female participants first focus on visual images, the situation in an advertisement is different. It is due to the visual image in the advertisement, which is a map. Men have nominal abilities for left brain use. For this reason, they have a much efficient performance in terms of the sense of navigation and map reading. This also supports the finding that women tend to focus on the map image after focusing on the title, especially when the male participants focus on the map image.

The fact that female participants mostly have a look at the entire ad and then focus on the headline text; and men are mostly focused directly on the headline text. This shows that men tend to textual elements and women tend to visual elements. This finding supports the decision-making qualities of male brains focus on a particular point and female brains consider the whole. In advertisements that an entire female body takes part, 91.7% of male participants look for the hip area of the woman image in 2nd place, 75% of female participants focus on the brand name. 83.3% of the female participants were focused on the hip area of the female image in the 3rd place. Taking into consideration, despite focusing on overall, screening and interpreting the overall in terms of the female's field of view, the differences between the characteristic of male, focusing on a single point by particularly and aiming at a specific point, makes the advertisement possible to be regarded in different forms by male and female subjects. Male participants seem to pay more attention to the images that represent success. The reason for this is that in situations where men are successful, power-driven, and see their fellow men in this role, it is not as a challenge to them, but as a confirmation and support element. Women firstly view free spaces in visuals with multiple elements, while men read the biggest texts. Nevertheless, the female and the male eye can follow a completely different way from each other in visuals with many images, so their perception characteristics can be different.

Addressing the average focus durations, it is seen that female participants focus on product visuals twice longer than male participants. When the analysis is evaluated, it is seen that female participants

focus on the textual and photographic elements in the advertisement in convergence average seconds in terms of focus duration, whereas male participants focus on the textual elements in the longer and photographic image in shorter periods. It is seen that male and female participants have a vice versa focus duration in terms of the context of social media addresses and logos. This situation can be expressed as men have a tendency to elements such as map/address, whereas women have a tendency to elements including high visuality. When the different images and focus periods of both genders are assessed, the result that men focus more on areas where a rational sentiment is expressed can also be explained by the fact that the male brain is more likely to be mathematical imagery. At the same time, this result suggests that the female participants have performed an action that prefers to screen the broader field of the participants with eye movements, whereas the eye movements of the male participants follow a more regular focus on the images. Another result from research data is that as the number of items in the advertisement decreases, the gender differences in the advertisement are largely eliminated; as the number of items in the ad increases and the ad becomes more complex, different genders become significantly different from each other.

There are some considerations that can be taken into account in eliminating perceptions of gender differences in the perception of an advertisement. In terms of ad design, first of these considerations is that the ads designed with a simple layout can be more easily perceived by the target audience. This also endorses the design approach of "less is more". In view of the fact that the two genders differ in the images, they focus on designing the ad in maximum simplicity to achieve the expected end result, especially for ads that target both male and female target audiences, will be effective in eliminating differences in gender-perceptual characteristics for reaching the purpose of the ad. As the texts become smaller and in the below parts of the image, the perception of elements becomes inefficient and even disappears. For this reason, it can be preferred as a method that the items which are not desired but which must be included in the advertisement can be given at the bottom of the advertisement image and in a small size. Nevertheless, it is seen that the elements which are essential in terms of readability and recognizability such as contact information are often given under the ad with very small size. By the help of the result of this study, it's essential to follow an opposite way in order to encourage the target audience to the purpose of the ad.

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# Gender Differences in Empathic Communication: A Study with Postgraduate Students in Faculty of Communication

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## 1. Introduction

The traditional expression of women is emotional than men is known by everyone. Women either express their feelings better than men or women are weaker than men. As it is seen, these definitions are related to emotions. On the other hand, all the differences between men and women are expressed in masculinity and femininity, and the characteristics of being male and female are associated with it. When the socialization process is considered, the way women and men are grown, as well as the expectations of society or the cultural structure, determines how women and men should behave. Another characteristic is that the brain activity levels of the women and men are different. By evaluating the general characteristics of women and men, the general belief is that women may be more tend to empathy than men. This stereotypic perception is related to the fact that women are more caregivers and care more interpersonal interactions than men. Furthermore, it's beyond any doubt, the influence of the traditional feminine and masculine roles are great in the formation of this perception.

## 2. Literature Review

The empathy is a social insight. The concept of empathy is defined as the ability of understanding the subjective experiences of others (Titchener, 1909); and trying to understand the other person's world (Dymond, 1968); as well as a cognitive and affective process (Davis, 1980). When we look at the origin of the concept of empathy, the concept emerges from the concept of *Einfühlung* (feeling into something), it expresses trying to understand by replacing the other (inanimate objects, animals or humans) with ourselves (Gallese, 2003). Empathy is an inner speech that helps to interpret the thoughts and understand the sentiments of the other person. Topical meaning and relational meaning can be influential in this interpretation (Hancock & Ickes 1996). Besides, the empathy is an affective and cognitive accomplishment. While the affective dimension of the empathy concept expresses the ability to respond to the emotional state of the other person, this concept is also called sympathy (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983).

The concept of empathy is a multifaceted concept and there are many components of it. There are two different but related to each other, basic components of the empathy. These are cognitive and affective components. Cognitive empathy refers to the ability of one person to define the feelings of another person (Davis, 1980). On the other hand, affective empathy expresses understanding the emotional response of one person to the situation or emotion of the other person (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Affective empathic responses can be experienced in two ways: personal distress and empathic concern. Personal distress is the individual's return to its own inner world, trying to understand what its own feelings are, as a result of feeling negative feelings of another person. The empathic concern is to focus on the other person and to figure out what it feels in the inner world (Davis 1980; Cassels et.al, 2010).

Sex and gender concepts are mostly confused with each other. The concept of sex is used to describe the biological differences, and the concept of gender is used to describe social-psychological concepts. According to Meyers-Levy and Loken (2015) Gender differences can be explained as biological factors; physical differences, hormonal effects, etc., and socio-cultural differences; social and cultural roles, stereotype, media role, cultural learning processes etc. The differences between men and women since the 1960s have been assessed with a deterministic view and have been explained through femininity and masculinity in terms of social roles, cultural values and expectations in society. At this juncture, the difference between men and women is explained by the fact that men are success-oriented or

autonomous, while women are socio-emotional or relationship-oriented (Fischer, 1993). Gender stereotypes are the result of social and historical contingencies. In the 1960s, with the influence of feminism, the question of equality between men and women and the attainment of vocational achievements, women's taking part in business life brought together the change in the roles of women and men. In this sense, the potential and capabilities of women and men have changed. For this reason, the body image and symbols have changed. All of these have also affected by the ads. (Grau & Zotos, 2016).

There are four different approaches to gender differences. Socio-cultural, evolutionary, hormone and brain science approaches, selectivity hypothesis theory (Meyers-Levy, & Loken, 2015). Socio-cultural theories, in fact, state that physical characteristics of women and men (height, weight, childbirth, etc.) are different and therefore the roles that they fulfil should also be different. Nevertheless, there are cultural and social expectations created for these roles, so that the process works. It is also stated that the social rewards or penalties that women and men may face when they do/don't act in accordance with these mentioned roles. On the other hand, the evolutionary theories ground the difference between men and women on the behaviours which are learned from their ancestors and adapted from the society they live. Therefore the development of these behaviours is explained as a result of the humans coping with nature. The theories that explain gender differences stem from differences in hormonal and brain structure indicate the effects of hormonal differences, different chemistries, and processes in brain structure. Though, the selectivity hypothesis correlates the reason for gender differences to the different information processing procedures of women and men (Meyers-Levy & Loken, 2015). It is stated that women and men have gender differences in terms of information processing. However, psychoanalytic theories state the empathy emerges in accordance with gender differences. Freud (1925/1961) indicates that women are not afraid of castration and they do not show resistance to the oedipal complex as men do. Development of a weaker ego and a superego comes in conclusion. Besides, the psychoanalytic theories, explain that women are more focused on inner space (related to maternal functions) and less focused on external world than men (Eisenberg and Lennon, 1983).

According to the biological view which explains the differences between women and men, the differences between perceptual-motor skills arise due to the hormones difference between women and men. Sex differences hemispheric lateralization refers to the process of processing information mainly by one hemisphere. In this sense, the male brain is defined as functionally and female brain is integrated (Everhart et.al, 2001). The human brain is divided into two hemispheres, and the lateralization represents each hemisphere's the expertise of performing its function. While the left hemisphere specialized in verbal abilities, the right hemisphere specialized in spatial perception. In this sense, the hemisphere is dominant in controlling the behaviour of the person. Everhart et.al, 2001; Hansen, 1981). The more integrated and symmetrical brain is useful for women's expertise on verbal descriptions and perceiving female listeners. On the other hand, Putrevu (2004) states that specialized hemispheric brains have enabled men to develop nonverbal reinforcement (graphs, music, pictures etc.) expertise.

Limbic activity in gender differences provides information for emotion-driven prosocial behaviours. For instance, women's empathic response becomes active immediately in social exchange process when others feel pain, while men's empathic insular responses are completely removed when others feel pain. On the other hand, emotional memory also works asymmetrically in gender differences. When men watch movies or clips which include emotional content, the right hemisphere starts working aggressively, though the left amygdala activation becomes activated on emotionally arousing scenes. For women, the left hemisphere becomes activated, though the right amygdala activation does not match with better memory and emotional scenes (Einstein et.al., 2013). The visual processing and in storing language and personal memories in the brain are examined in microscopic level to explain the differences between the genders. Women's frontal and temporal regions of the cortex are more organized than men and have a larger volume. Though, men's the intensity of synapses is more than women. Having fewer synapses helps temporal cortex to focus specifically and which leads women to have better language skills (Zaidi,2010).

### 3. Method

The purpose of the research is to show how men and women achieve empathy, which empathy components they use, and whether there is a difference between them. The research questions created in this sense are as follows:

**RQ1:** How do men and women empathize?

**RQ2:** Which of the empathy components are used by men and women, and how?

Accordingly, an in-depth interviewing method is chosen as the research method. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. In-depth interviewing is a data acquisition technique that covers all dimensions of the surveyed subject, allowing more open-ended questions to be asked and allowing detailed answers to be collected, face-to-face, one-on-one interviews. The technique gathers the emotions, knowledge, experience and observations of the other person through the interviews (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

In-depth interview was held with 12 graduate and post-graduate students who study PhD or Master's degree in the Communication Faculty of Ege University. The participants consist of 7 females and 5 male students. The mean age of 7 female participants was 24 years; range 23-31 years. The mean age of 5 male participants was 25; range 23-28. The data obtained as a result of the interviews were converted into templates and codes according to cognitive empathy, affective empathy and behavioural empathy by the phenomenological method analysis which is one of the qualitative research patterns. In accordance with this purpose, it is necessary to reveal the themes that will define the phenomena. The empathy scales utilized within the scope of research questions are a guide for understanding empathy levels of individuals. In this respect; thoughts, desires, beliefs and intentions are determining elements to cognitive empathy, whereas emotions and feelings are determining elements to emotional empathy, and reasons of behaviours are determining elements to behavioural empathy. These elements were utilized in the process of creating the codes and the themes of the research. After the in-depth interview, the themes and codes are clarified among the answers of the participants. The data obtained as a result of the interview were coded by two researchers and divided into groups. The codes composed by the two researchers were checked by another researcher.

### 4. Findings

The codes generated according to the data obtained as a result of the research was examined in three basic and five subcategories; cognitive, emotional and behavioural empathy categories.

#### • Cognitive Empathy

Cognitive empathy can be defined as understanding the perspectives of others. The people interviewed within the scope of the research defined the empathy as; replacing itself to the place of the other person, perceiving the events through the other person's eyes, being able to think as the other person, understanding, assimilating and being the at the same point with the other person. Cognitive empathy means understanding the other without the emotional experience.

The responses of male and female participants are similar to each other. It was seen that there are both gendered participants who were internalized the events very much, and who were at the events as an external eye, just giving advice. Cognitive empathy is characterized by the ability of a person to understand and interpret other people's experiences in a way that allows for qualitative negotiation with peers in social interactions (Williford et al., 2016). The cognitive empathy is also defined as the ability of the person to distinguish between mental states of itself and others, such as intention, belief, feelings and thoughts (Kahn et.al.,2017). In this sense, some of the answers given by male and female participants are below.

"Empathy can be described as putting the person's itself in the place of the other person, perceiving and interpreting as well as an appreciation of the situations and events in its view. (Male Participant-B.)

"The empathy is that being able to put the person's itself in the place of the other person, being able to understand its emotional state, being able to understand the situation it is in and behaving accordingly." (Female participant-B.)

"It is, in fact, the situation of understanding the other person's thoughts and feelings by imposing them upon ourselves. I can often empathize, but there are times that I do not understand at all, but there are also times that I try to understand. I try to feel the things that other person experienced. I also think that whether I can be in that situation, what reactions I would give if I were." (Male Participant-K.)

"It is like understanding and absorbing the feelings and behaviours of the other person. Actually, I'm not a very emphatic person, because sometimes when the other person suffers, I cannot feel the same emotion, but I can only understand. I can be in a position to give advice, but I cannot establish empathy." (Female participant-B.)

I will be curious why it is so, if it is angry or saddened because of me, I will put myself to its place, I would wonder if could I behaved differently or could it be something different about its anger or sadness, but if the anger is not something related to me, I would like him/her to tell me and would like to help by finding out why he/she experience something like this...." (Male Participant-C.)

"First, I would try to understand why she/he is angry or sad, I would ask her/him to share with me, if she/he is close to me, then I would try to help her/him. " (Female participant-S.)

"Definitely, millions of characters mean millions of people and ideas as well. The difference/diversity is beautiful, it will be boring if everyone would think the same way, it will be very asymmetrical and not nice, the differences are nice ... " (Female Participant- EK)

#### • Emotional Empathy

Emotional empathy is expressed as sharing or paying attention to others' feelings. (There is no significant difference in understanding the emotions and feelings as well as perceiving the feelings among the interviewees in terms of gender. Participants of both genders were found to have similar levels of emotional emphatic approach. Emotional empathy is regarded as a response based on emotional life which involves showing interest to the other.

Emotional empathy is also expressed as perceiving and feeling the emotions of another person (Trent et.al, 2016). In this sense, emotional empathy is consistent with the emotional state of others (Kahn et.al., 2017). It is understood that the male participants interviewed within the scope of the research establish emotional empathy by the expressions such as Sad, Stress, Affect and Glance. Though, female participants used expressions such as being sad, being angry, understanding how it feels, and understanding from the look. These concepts were regarded as the similar points of participants from both genders. On the other hand, an important point of research is that some of the female participants stated that they do not feel the same as the other person. In this sense, it can be said that the level of emotional empathy for male participants is more than for female participants. In association with this, the emotional empathy is the act of emotional response to emotional expressions of others (Khanjani et al., 2015). Therefore, some of the answers given by male and female participants are below.

"I do define mostly, I think that I know people well, I mean that is, things become apparent in people's faces, or I understand it very well, that I usually define them when they are angry or sad, which are basic emotions already and can be understood so easily. However, I think I understand even the smaller things, which in this case is not important, it is understood so easily that if it is one of the people that I am so much closer, but it gets less if it is not one of the people that I am not much closer, it is because of these, it is clear from the expression, everybody reflects this, I do not think there is anybody who can hide this." (Male Participant-B.)

"I do understand, especially if it is about my close friends or parents, there are numerous people that I understand how they feel, from minor and micro mimics. I can give you an example of how I understand, when my mother gets very angry, for example, she moves a finger so that she is not aware

of herself, and when I say that she does, she said: " Yes you are right". It is like this, I can understand that by arching eyebrows, by the tremulousness in the voice of my friend's that she/he does not think like this but acts like this because of the environment". It is too much asymmetrical and not nice in a plain way, the differences/diversity is good..." (Female-Participant-B.)

"When I see a child weeping, I feel sad, no matter if it is girl or boy, it may be because I have a sibling as well, I have an emotional affinity, I feel so sorry in this case." (Male Participant-B.)

"Of course, I feel sorry, but not so much, I do not feel it as it does, it is just like an eye from the outside. I ask whether I can help because if she/he wants to, I do not want to persist, sometimes people want to live their own sorrow, I do help if they want to." (Female-Participant-B.)

"I feel bad, I lose my motivation, I try to help if I can, I will try to help because I think it can happen to me as well, and if I cannot help, I get away from the place as soon as possible" (Male Participant-C.)

"I feel sad too, I try to help, whether it is someone close to me or just a person I know, I will try talking but even if it cannot get over it, I feel sorry again because I think that I could not do anything, it is because I could not change it." (Female Participant-E.A.)

#### • Behavioral Empathy

Behavioral empathy can be defined as a structure which consists of responses to the inner experiences of cognitive and/or emotional empathy. In other words, behavioural empathy can be affected by both cognitive and emotional processes (Shamay-Tsoory, 2011). The empathy levels which people established in the sense of cognitive and emotional empathy, impose their behavioural empathy level as well. The answers were given by the participants to examine the behavioural empathy level, provide insight into their behavioural empathy level. The expressions of male participants; acting reasonably, following up with the majority, understanding the humanity, intervention, thinking that it can happen to him as well and be afraid of reactions and the expressions of female participants; behaving harmoniously, being afraid of reactions, thinking that you may need help, carry similar meanings. In this respect, it can be stated that both genders intersected in common points in the behavioural empathy category. The empathy considered to have a critical role while motivating the pro-social interaction (Montalan et.al, 2012). Pro-social behaviour is a set of broader behaviours including all kinds of behaviours that aims to help or help others (Freedman et al., 1976).

Some of the male participants interviewed within the scope of the research differed from the female participants, stating that they can put a behaviour if it is "requested". As a remarkable element that prevents women from establishing empathy at the behavioural dimension is seen as a thought that "other people can harm". Besides, the altruism as a behavioural empathy is defined as the behaviour that is for the advantage of someone else and voluntary, not based on the motivations of a disturbing warning from the outside, punishment or reward expectation (Chou, 1996). In this sense, some of the answers given by male and female participants are below.

"When someone suffers, I look for the situation, I try helping, in a general sense, I am a humanist, this is what I understood from the interview, I also feel sorry, whenever someone is upset, I cannot laugh and play, I think it's a part of humanity." (Male Participant-B.)

"I have an extreme fear from inside, I want to intervene mostly, but hesitating from the reaction of the other side, I cannot do anything mostly, but I am afraid that I cannot do anything ."(Female Participant-B.)

"Of course, we get sad together. Because we're so much closer. I take steps to solve the problem. "(Male Participant-Y.)

"Yes, because I think maybe someday I can be into a situation where I need help, and I do not want to be helpless at that point." (Female Participant-E.G.)

"I feel angry when they shout on, it cannot understand because it is a child, it does not have as much awareness as we do. I cannot intervene because maybe I can get a reaction as "it is my child." (Male Participant-K.)

"I do not intervene always, it is because I have heard a lot about this, there might be people who can mislead and harm, but once you understand from their face, I do help of course." (Female Participant-E.K.)

## 5. Discussion

The differences in terms of empathy between women and men are interpreted as women proceed of emotional competence and which may also have an effect on understanding the emotions of others (Baron-Cohen&Wheelwright, 2004). There is a tendency on empathic communication skills are higher in women compared to men. The main reason for that, the measurement of empathy skills is done with self-report questionnaires. Since women are better at self-concept issues than men, it is quite natural that they have better results in such measures (Klein and Hodges, 2001).

Klein and Hodges (2002) found empathic sensitivity to be better in women than men in their research that compared men and women in terms of empathic sensitivity. However, in a scenario that men get encouraged, the difference between them disappears. The Selectivity model indicates that women make effortful elaboration of message content during the information processing process. Although, it's stated that men heuristically watch the process and focus on the clues in the advertisement (Brunel& Nelson, 2003). The results of the research show that, in terms of cognitive empathy the responses of male and female participants have similarities with each other. There are people of both genders who look at things from the outside and from the point of view of others, and there are others that interiorize the events very much.

In compliance with the results of the research, in terms of emotional empathy; some of the women participants stated that they cannot feel the same feeling as the other side. From this point of view, it can be pronounced that the level of emotional empathy of male participants is more than female participants. It is stated that the ability to receive and sending emotional messages of men and women are different. At this point, women are emotionally expressive, while men are more controlled and more inclined to hide in terms of emotional displays. It was also found that women tend to express their emotions through interpersonal communication and facial expressions, on the other hand, men tend to express aggressive emotions (Kret& De Gelder, 2012). Besides, definitions for women and men also cause gender differences to emerge. These definitions are determinant mostly on the relationship between gender and emotion. Due to these definitions, women think "I am a woman, women are emotional, I must be emotional" while men think "I am also a man, men are not emotional, I must not be emotional". According to Barret et al. (1998), gender differences are very effective in terms of expressing emotions and reacting. Women are more likely than men to express their emotions, happiness, sadness, anxiety and etc. clearly and sensitive. At the same time, it is stated that women are more likely to express their emotions intensely during their interactions (Barret et al., 1998). According to the results of research in terms of emotional empathy; some of the women participants stated that they could not feel the same feeling as much as with the other people. From this point of view, it can be pronounced that the level of emotional empathy of male participants is more than female.

Vassallo et al. (2009) conducted the research to explain the differences between male and female participants, which states women are able to describe happy facial expressions more quickly, and men appear to change their mouth movements for a longer time. As to the results of the research, in terms of behavioural empathy; some of the male participants stated that they can act accordingly if the other side "requests", whereas the female participants indicated that they try to help even if there is no demand. As a remarkable element that prevents women from establishing empathy at the behavioural dimension, it has been found as the thought that "other people can harm".

The most important finding in the study is that the concepts of empathy and sympathy are compared. It is explained that thinking and feeling the same is not achieved, which is in fact, not needed to be so. From an emotional perspective on gender differences, it is expressed that women are much sensitive in terms of perceiving and interpreting emotional and nonverbal messages, as well as understanding emotional information, in this sense, they are more capable of explaining themselves and interpersonal competencies (Fernandez-Berrocal,2012). In addition, it is stated that women prefer eye contact during speaking and listening, also they have more eye contact than men, which is

associated with the women's needs of inclusion and affection in interpersonal relations (Kulms et.al, 2011). Another important output of the research is that male participants seem to be better at analyzing emotions, at establishing emotional empathy, and more successful in behavioural empathy. Besides, it is noted that women are much self-centred even when empathizing.

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# Language Perception of Foreign and Local Accents: The Linguistic Field Theory

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## 1. Introduction

In this paper, we propose an interpretation of language perception and linguistic attitudes from a social psychology perspective. In the last thirty years, several scholars have investigated linguistic attitudes toward local and foreign varieties of Italian; these studies were prompted by the large number of dialects, varieties, and accents used in Italy, but also by the significant waves of immigration and by the presence of tourists in the Italian peninsula.

It is well known that because of its geopolitical situation, over the years Italians shores have been a target of mass migration for people from many different countries; also the territory is interested by various types of tourism thanks to cultural and landscape-related attractions.

It turns out that every year, a vast amount of people with different mother tongues and parlances spends time in Italy. They articulate Italian language thus producing numerous exogenous varieties of Italian language. Such varieties along with the endogenous varieties of Italian constitute a linguistic space where people hear/read/observe each other and construct attitudes based on these perceptions.

Several studies demonstrated that attitudes derived from linguistic perception are often negative. However, our hypothesis is that the degree of negative attitudes is inversely proportional to the degree and extension of familiarity with different languages and varieties of language. In order to verify this hypothesis, we contrasted the results of two studies carried out with identical methodology and procedures in Italy (Di Ferrante, 2007) and in Switzerland (Catricalà & Di Ferrante, 2011). We observed that the differences in quantitative distributions of linguistic attitudes towards the same varieties of Italian were correlated to the different linguistic repertoires of the two national communities (Italy and Switzerland), we then carried on a meta-analysis and explored the reasons that determine those differences in attitudes.

### 1.1. Hypothesis

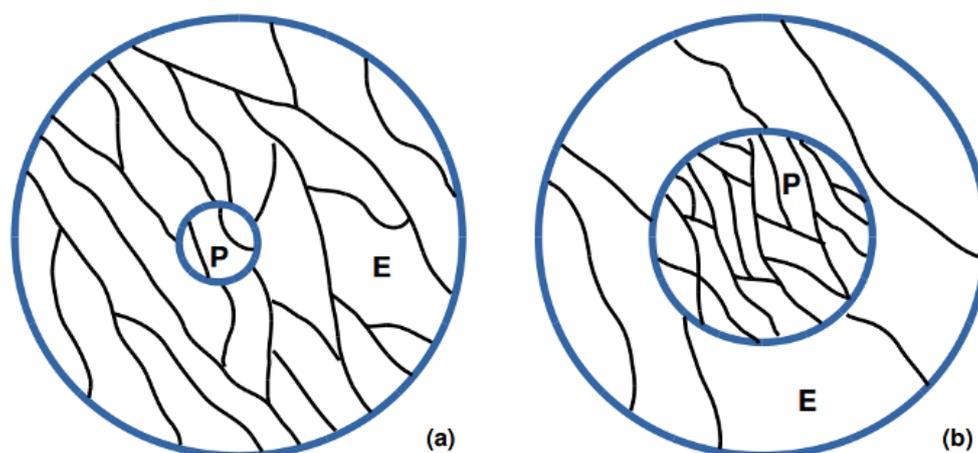
Kurt Lewin's field theory (1951) suggested that in order for us to observe and understand people's behavior, we need to consider their "life space" (Lewin, 1951, p. 240), and their interactions with the environment. By applying this concept to linguistic perception, attitudes, and behavior we formulated the hypothesis of the *linguistic field*.

In our hypothesis, the configuration of the perceptual scheme of the self or person and of the environment accounts for linguistic prejudice and attitudes. We maintain that the more a perceiver is familiar with different varieties of language, accents, and intonations the more s/he will be able to discriminate between those differences. This ability to recognize the variety of Italian also results in a lower intensity of prejudice and a better attitude toward people from different places who speak differently.

To explain Lewin's Theory, Gergen and Gergen (1989, p. 18-19) compare the life spaces of a combat soldier and of a Sunday stroller. As shown in Figure 1, the life space comprises two major regions: the person's or self's region, represented by the smaller circle inside the larger one, marked with a "P" (person); the second region represents the perception of the surrounding environment and is marked with an "E".

In the case of the combat soldier, the environment's field is perceived as wide and finely differentiated; each detail is perceived because it is relevant to survival: a narrow passage can be the setting for an ambush and a rock can be used as a shelter. Whereas the person's field is perceived as small and scarcely differentiated: fear and preservation skills dominate. Basically, the combat soldier sees him/herself as a human being in danger.

Conversely, the person's field of a Sunday stroller is perceived as wide and finely differentiated. The stroller would consider many personality traits and many different social roles of his/hers: man/woman, father/mother, partner, a worker, say specifically a professor, a friend, a relative, and so on and so forth. His/her environment's field, instead, is perceived as relatively small and scarcely differentiated; no environmental detail draws P's attention except for the decision of what is walkable and what is not.



**Figure 1.** Combat soldier's life space (a) and Sunday stroller's life space (b). [Adapted from Gergen & Gergen 1989, p. 19]

Lewin elaborated his field theory in a time--his first articles date back to the late 1930s--in which speculations on mental processes were still regarded with skepticism to the very least. In a convinced behaviorist paradigm, the regions of the environment really corresponded to physical concrete spaces more or less accessible to the individual. Whilst the regions comprised within the self's region corresponded often to social roles. Nonetheless, the theory dynamically explained personality and behavior within the context. More recent cognitive approaches to the issue of personality have profitably exploited this approach. One of these theories is psychologist Ernest Hartmann's boundaries in the mind (2011), which focuses on what divides areas in the perceptual schemata, in terms of thickness and crossability. This perspective announces itself as the basis for further implications to our hypothesis.

In the methodological section, we explain the analogical process that brought to the formulation of the linguistic field from Lewin's field theory; moreover the Matched Guise Technique (henceforth MGT) will be concisely described. In a meta-analytical setting, our hypothesis will be confronted with two studies in which the MGT was used to measure linguistic attitudes and prejudices towards varieties of Italian. Data from the meta-analysis will be shown in the results section and commented on in the discussion section. In the conclusions, we will suggest further investigation on our hypothesis and possible uses of the Linguistic Field in language policy and educational linguistics.

## 2. Methodology

The hypothesis of the linguistic field will be supported with an analysis of results obtained in two studies on linguistic attitudes and showing the analogy with Kurt Lewin's Field Theory. In the following sub-section, the analogy of the linguistic field will be unfolded. The last sub-section of the methodology deals with the MGT.

### 2.1. The analogy of the linguistic field

Our proposition for a linguistic field is based on the projection of Lewin's Field Theory onto an individual speaker's linguistic perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. The self's or person's region represents a speaker's own potential and actual linguistic repertoire. It is internally differentiated in terms of the varieties of his/her own language use (formal/informal, technical/common, high/low,

spoken/written, locally marked/unmarked) and other languages that the speaker perceives as available to him/her. The linguistic environment, instead, comprises the domestic and foreign varieties that are perceived by the individual as part of the linguistic community's repertoire.

Since we maintain that there is a two-way influence between the configuration of the person's linguistic region and the configuration of the environment's region, in our meta-analysis we will emphasize the relationship between individual's and community's repertoires looking for descriptors of the two regions and possible correlations.

Following the more concrete perspective on which Kurt Lewin worked, the sub-regions in the environment are linguistic varieties which a speaker can "enter" with a high or low potential. In other words, a low potential is linked to the speaker's ability to recognize a given language or variety. A slightly higher potential would correspond to a passive use of the language, that is, a speaker can also understand a given language or variety but is not able to speak or write it. A high potential corresponds to passive and active use of the variety/language, that is the speaker can understand and can also communicate using a given language or variety. This potential is strictly connected to the degree of differentiation of the personal repertoire. At the same time, we expect that the personal repertoire will be more differentiated if the environment, especially the one closer to the speaker, is more differentiated.

The last part of our hypothesis will be demonstrated by looking at how the configurations of the Person and Environment regions correlate with indicators of negative attitudes towards different voices. The expectation is that the more finely differentiated the two areas are, the lower negative linguistic prejudices and attitudes the speaker has. Put differently, when an individual perceives the linguistic space as poorly differentiated, the chances of showing negative prejudices and attitudes get higher. This is the case of those speakers who consistently evoke, whether explicitly or not, extremely prescriptive views about language usage. They would typically comment along the lines, "This way of speaking is right, that is wrong. Correct/incorrect. Good/bad." It is plausible that when exposed to varieties that they do not consider as "right," they will develop negative prejudices and attitudes towards the speakers of those varieties.

## **2.2. The Matched Guise Technique**

The prototype of the MGT was established by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum in 1960. According to the original protocol, the evaluators would listen to voices described as belonging to different speakers and they would express evaluations about the personalities of the speakers on the basis of the accent, pronunciation, and intonation. The voices were, indeed, produced by the same speaker who pretended different linguistic features, playing different guises. Hence, the listeners would respond differently to the different inputs revealing their attitudes toward the different linguistic feature. MGT allows the researcher to collect unconscious reactions to the different languages and varieties of language, and not to the voices.

Usually researches using MGT were aimed at investigating linguistic attitudes of individuals toward a given social group. Several variations of the initial protocol were devised by many researchers; in many of these variants, different speakers realize different voices. It seems that "there is little difference between results produced by the matched guise technique and those where the voices were each produced by a different speaker" (Hudson, 1998, p. 213).

In the 1980's and 1990's the MGT was used in a multitude of studies. And in Italy as well Ramòn Volkart-Rey (1990) used the MGT in Rome and Catania to assess to what extent dialectal and sociolectal variations affected social interaction.

### **2.2.1. The Survey in Italy (2007) and Switzerland (2010)**

Two studies on attitudes based on Italian endogenous and external varieties were conducted in Italy and in Canton of Ticino, in Switzerland. The two studies used MGT on more than 400 subjects total. In both studies, seven readings recorded by six male speakers were used: The speakers were three Italian native speakers from Milan, Rome, and Naples and three speakers of Italian as a foreign language from the United States (Boston), China (Beijing), and Senegal (Dakar). The seventh voice was recorded by

the Neapolitan speaker who disguised the standard Italian pronunciation. The speakers read a neutral text, a meteorological bulletin, to avoid biases based on the content. After listening to the recorded voice, the participants expressed their evaluation of the socio-economic, cultural, and personality characteristics of the speaker.

In Italy 215 participants were interviewed, 162 of them were students, and 53 teachers. In Switzerland 193 subjects were interviewed, they were all students. In the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to answer questions about the speakers, only based on their voices. Questions pertained the speakers' social and economic status, their level of education, and some traits of their personality.

For the purposes of the present paper, we will only focus on the results about the information on the participants, their ability to identify the origin of the speakers<sup>43</sup>, and their attitude toward the personality traits of the speakers.

### 3. Results

This section displays the outcomes of the meta-analysis of the two studies of linguistic attitudes from which three sets of results have been taken to support the hypothesis of the linguistic field. The three sets are discussed in the following sections.

#### 3.1. Measuring the linguistic self

The questionnaire was organized in two parts. The first part asked questions about the participant: age, place of birth, city of residence, known languages, etc. The second part consisted of seven identical questionnaires about the seven voices. In Table 1, we have reported the answers to a question from the first part of the questionnaire.

**Table 1.** Question: How many languages can you speak?

Number of Languages	Italy	Switzerland
One	28.3%	3.6%
Two	<b>39.4%</b>	4.2%
Three	21.1%	14.5%
Four	9.1%	<b>49.7%</b>
Five	0.9%	24.4%
Six	0.4%	2.6%
Seven	0.4%	1.0%
Total	100%	100%

Data show how the differentiation in the person's region, namely the individual's repertoire, varies on average between the subjects from Italy and those from Switzerland. Switzerland has four national languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansh. Granted that not all Swiss people can speak the four languages, it is likely that in most cases English is included among the languages known by the subjects. Nonetheless, the presence of the four official languages in the Swiss landscape plausibly explains the statistic mode (49.7%) of four languages known by Swiss subjects.

Conversely, Italian participants declared to know their own language and another language, probably English, which is the foreign language that most of the Italian students have to study at school. Starting from linguistic education at school, where dialects are negatively sanctioned and not studied in a descriptive way, the ability to speak local varieties is usually not considered an "ability". This explains the statistic mode (39.4%) of two languages spoken by the Italian subjects.

<sup>43</sup> Most of the results on the other variables are analyzed and discussed in Di Ferrante (2007) and Catricalà & Di Ferrante (2011).

### 3.2. Measuring the linguistic environment

As an indicator of the way subjects perceive their linguistic environment, we have considered their ability to recognize the origin of the speakers who lent their voices in the MGT experiment.

Figure 2 accounts for the ability to “enter” other linguistic codes. It might be a passive access, meaning that the subjects might not be able to pretend any particular accent they heard, but they can clearly understand and recognize the type of accent.

Italian subjects recognized the voices of the speakers from Milan, Rome, and Naples, at least declaring respectively Northern, Central, and Southern Italy, in a high percent. But in some cases, the geographic origins were not identified, not even in wide approximation. Swiss subjects correctly attributed the origins of the six speakers by more than 50% of the sample. In two cases (the Neapolitan and the American) the origin has been correctly identified by more than 80% of the subjects. Except for the identification of the Roman accent, they out-performed their Italian colleagues.

The comparison is a give-a-way of the different configuration of the Environment's regions of the two groups of experimental subjects. The Swiss perceive their linguistic Environment in a more fragmented way than Italian subjects do.

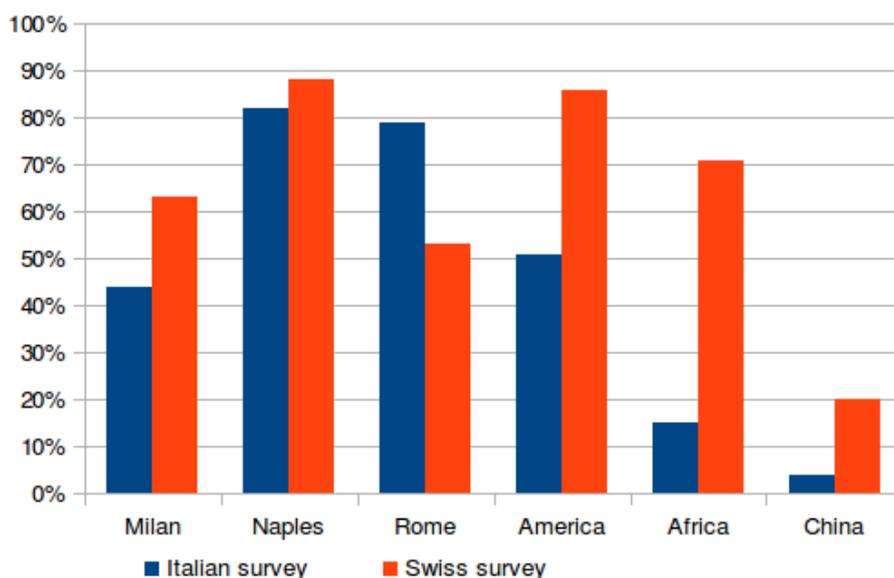
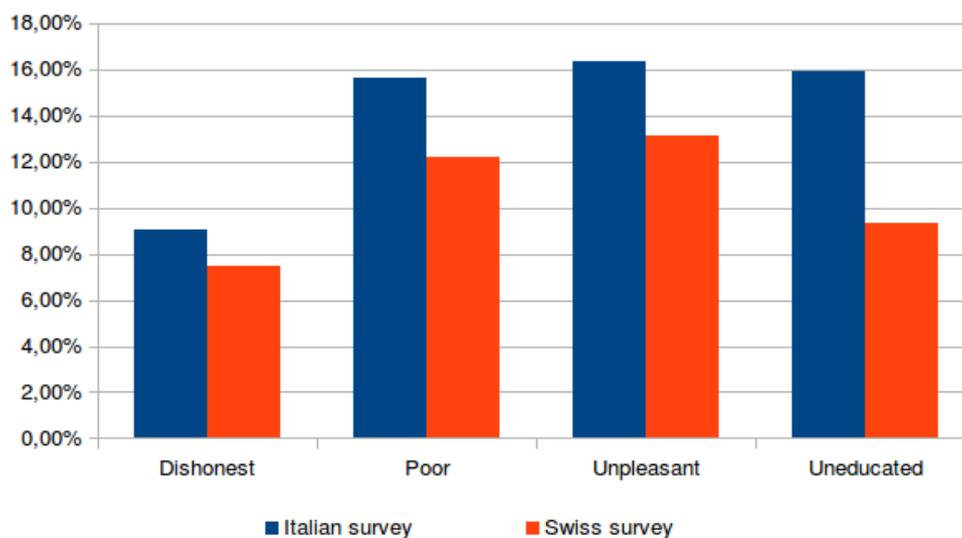


Figure 2. Comparison of the correct attribution-of-origin performance

### 3.3. Measuring attitudes and prejudice

As an indicator of attitudes and prejudice, we have selected a composite question of the assessments of voice's personality. The question asks for each voice the experimental subject hears: *Questa persona è* (This person is) and a series of attributes with Likert scales follows. The questionnaire items we selected ask for agreement or disagreement with the following attributes: dishonest, poor, unpleasant, uneducated.

As shown in Figure 3, in all the assessments of personality features attributed to the same speakers' voices in the two surveys, subjects have shown a consistently lower level of intensity of prejudice in Switzerland. As remarked in the discussion, the data of the three dimensions positively correlate.



**Figure 3.** Comparison of agreement on three voice's personality assessment

#### 4. Discussion

In the two studies that we have considered for our meta-analysis, the MGT was used as a methodological protocol to measure the attitudes toward four regional varieties of Italian and three foreigner's.

The analyses of the data from both studies revealed that the origin, whether correctly or erroneously recognized, is the access key to the universe of prejudices and attitudes: once the observers decide for a certain origin of the speaker, they would formulate assessments on the status and the personality of the speaker according to such decision. However, differences were observed in the two studies in terms of quality of the attitude: The Swiss participants appeared to be less extreme in their assessments on the voice. Comparing the two studies, two main evidences may account for the difference in the quality of prejudice and, ultimately, in support of our hypothesis on language perception.

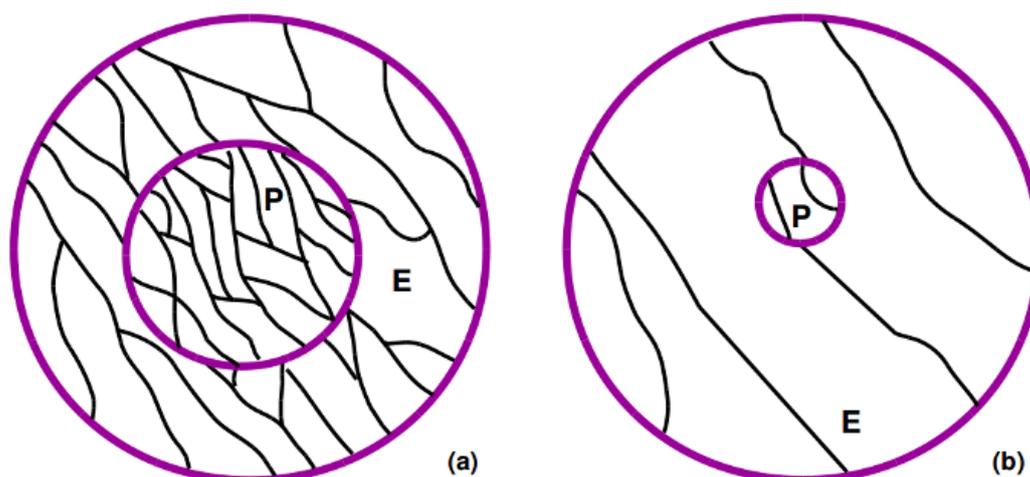
These evidences are that most of the Swiss participants, approximately 73%, speak three or four languages, while most of the Italian participants, approximately 67%, only speak one or two languages. The second evidence is that, as far as the recognition of the varieties is concerned, Italians were outperformed by Swiss, who were able to recognize more clearly the origin of the "owner" of the voice. This means that there is an apparent difference in terms of exposure and familiarity with languages between Italians and Swiss. Clearly, the fact that Switzerland has four national languages, implies that its citizens are also exposed to multiple written languages (signs, advertising, etc.), which means that their perception is probably solicited differently than the Italians'.

Given the two examples of the combat soldier and the Sunday stroller perceiving themselves and the surrounding environment, we transposed the different ways of perception to the linguistic perception of one's own variety and the varieties of other speakers within what we name the *linguistic field*. The two regions would assume slightly different meanings. P represents the perception that the participants have of their own repertoire, local varieties, and dialects. The level of detail is obviously related to the speaker's experience: The speaker knows the varieties of the area(s) where s/he was born, lived, and with which had meaningful contacts.

In this sense, the P area of the Swiss speaker looks more differentiated and more detailed as s/he can discriminate language varieties and geographically locate different accents and pronunciations better than the Italians. The Swiss linguistic space is very rich of clearly distinguishable varieties.

Next to these findings, we should note that the Swiss data reveal a lower intensity of negative attitudes: The answers are not as extreme as those given in Italy. For example, differently from the answers in Italy, on the item "dishonest" on the Likert scale, no one in Canton of Ticino checked "strongly agree" for any of the speakers.

When processing linguistic environment, individuals refer to perceptual schemes that can be more or less detailed, and the differences in the configuration of the linguistic field in terms of perception are regarded as a relevant variable in a series of linguistic and sociolinguistic functions. It turns out that in a highly differentiated linguistic field, individuals perceive many different variations and varieties of their own language (formal/informal, technical/common, high/low, spoken/written, locally marked/unmarked) and other languages as part of their own potential linguistic repertoire. As far as the (linguistic) Environment is concerned, if P is highly differentiated, many internal varieties and external codes are perceived and differentiated in detail.



**Figure 4.** Highly (a) and poorly (b) differentiated linguistic fields

We can imagine that, with the presence of a greater number of “voices”, the linguistic field will be more and more differentiated. This will hopefully create a situation in which participants will be able to recognize the differences between the different varieties. As we have shown, this process is strictly connected to a lowering of negative attitudes and prejudice.

## 5. Conclusions

Differently from what the data of the survey in Italy revealed, in all the assessments of personality features attributed to speakers after listening to the recordings, Swiss subjects have shown a consistent lower level of intensity of prejudice. We have ascribed these softened attitudes to the fact that in Switzerland both the Environmental and the Personal regions of the linguistic field are more finely differentiated, as indirectly demonstrated by the ability to attribute correct origin to the “voices” and declaration of language competences.

The linguistic field is envisioned as a theoretical and operative tool in sociolinguistic research. It can be used as a model of analysis in which a description of the linguistic field of the members of a speech community and the definition of new configurations can help:

- to interpret sociographic relations in multilingual spaces;
- to define wide scale linguistic policies;
- to assess and design linguistic educational strategies.

In particular, our findings support the need for language policies to invest resources in multilingual education and in programs apt at developing language awareness, as these types of investments would have a positive effect on people’s attitudes toward the “other”.

As we have already pointed out, the data that suggested the idea of a Linguistic Field Theory derives from two matched guise surveys that were aimed to study linguistic attitudes. However, the model needs to be applied to other sociolinguistic surveys based on different methodologies which are built specifically to further test the hypothesis of a reason of being for a Linguistic Field Theory. We are developing research designs to test the model directly with the objective of creating exportable direct

measurement procedures and establishing correlations between Linguistic Field configuration and variables such as: school performances, socio- and psychometric settings, and attitudes to diversity.

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# Preparation and Implementation of a Warehouse Management System: A Case Study

Yasemin Acar Ugurlu, Cagla Demir Pali

## 1. Introduction

Businesses have experienced for years that more money, growth and profit have gone through several success factors. Especially with the introduction of digitalization, the number of those experiencing different business models has increased. The main question behind these actions is “How do we create the highest value with the fastest way and minimum cost?”.

Because of the high inventory levels and turnover managing the daily operations are very complicated and hard to operate in an apparel company. The production process starts with the yarn and ends with the final product. Therefore, the company management decided to apply a new business model that makes the operations more under control, efficient and effective.

The logistics center under this study is owned by an international apparel producer, TYH Tekstil, which sells to more than 10 primary customers in different countries. Average inventory turnover for the center is more than 400 tons of fabric a day. By the new business model applied, daily operations are managed by using digital tools and coordination with the other units of the company is well planned and controlled.

This paper attempts to explain application of a new warehouse management system in an apparel company. The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a literature review of business models and textile industry. Case study is explained in detail in Section 3 and finally Section 4 gives the conclusion.

## 2. Literature review

A business model is a company's approach to generating revenue at reasonable cost and includes assumptions about how to create value and how to obtain it (Gambardella and McGahan, 2010: 263). Business models help companies to take into consideration the different options against uncertainties, fast changing conditions and unpredictable situations (McGrath, 2010: 247). A good business model should be a structure that contributes to the production or service providing processes, attracts customers and creates cost advantage. (Teece, 2010: 174). The business model is being prepared to offer value to customers (Demil and Lecocq, 2010: 227). When a new model is put in practice, the companies must find ways to make adoption to new model easier and make the necessary changes in the organizational process. It is common to fail in these business model trials. But these failed trials will lead to new approaches and new insights. For the successful tries, new ways should be found to adopt the new model in the company. (Chesbrough, 2010: 362) In the literature, there are various business models that are put into practice in clothing companies. In this study, the company combines different business models and convert them to a supply chain management model.

Production in textile industry is a long and complicated chain contains raw material production, complementary goods production, garment production etc. Therefore, it is reasonable to implement supply chain management techniques in the industry. Also, it is the most advanced tool for developing the competencies of the apparel industry. (Debnath & Islam, 2017: 432) Supply chain is the whole of the techniques that plan and execute the process of processing the raw materials to products and presenting it customers. Supply chain management is an effort to improve product quality, reduce product and service costs and reduce product delivery time in a highly competitive market. (Ali and Habib, 2012: 35) The supply chain includes not only manufacturers and suppliers, but also transporters, warehouses, retailers and even customers. In the supply chain, due to the discrepancy between supply and demand, inventory levels arise. In some industries the surplus is deliberately carried out and wanted. (Abuthakeer and Others, 2017: 56) But in textile industry having high amount of inventory creates risks and problems such as high storage costs, change of fashion and becoming obsolete.

Inventory is a significant part of working capital. Therefore, inventory management performance is very important to operate in an effective and efficient way. By a good inventory management system an enterprise can optimize the inventory levels. By that production and sales operations can function at minimum cost. (Shafi, 2014: 45) Since they have high level of inventory, different types of raw materials, work-in-process inventory and continuous processes inventory management in the apparel industry is more difficult than others.

One of the main aims of inventory management is to ensure that the warehouses are used properly (Shanumugapriya and Ashokkumar, 2018: 301). Appropriate warehouse management process has become important to provide better service to customers and to achieve competitive advantage with shorter delivery periods (Cagliano, 2011: 171). Storage activity is an important part of the supply chain, although it is a costly and non-value generating activity. Since the time and quantity of the future orders cannot be accurately estimated, a security inventory must be kept in storage. Therefore, storage is an activity that is intertwined with inventory management. A good storage plan ensures the efficiency of the supply chain. (Acar and Aslantaş Ateş, 2011: 20-21)

### **3. The Case Study**

The company that is the subject of this study is a large-volume clothing company that sells abroad. Different business models are managed in therefore it can be called as a supply chain management company. The company has more than 3,000 employees, 13 production facilities (including factories, warehouses and sales offices) in five countries and 2 clothing brands. Since the size of the company's volume leads to high level of inventories, the entity needs to develop ways to keep inventory levels at optimum and effective inventory storage methods should be developed to manage the warehouses.

For some customers all production processes are completed in-house, while for others production processes are completed in subcontractors that are under the control of the company. Therefore, workload of the cutting, sewing and packaging departments are changed based on the customer preferences. This is why addition to inventory management coordination between the business units (including the contractors) is an important problem of the company that needs to be solved.

Some of the customers prefer to give their order one year in advance and the company has enough time to prepare necessary raw materials for the production. The advantages of such customers are the company can buy raw materials at lower prices and have enough time to test them to obtain the best quality raw materials (testing the quality and colour of the fabric takes time). However, if the prices are reasonable and the fabrics are qualified, raw materials in high volumes are bought in advance. High storage costs and other difficulties to keep the inventories in good condition are the disadvantages related to this group of customers.

On the other hand, some customers give their orders without a time pattern. For customers in this group, time constraints on buying raw materials at best price and quality, and completing the cutting, sewing and packaging processes of these raw materials are important disadvantages. In the meantime, lack of storage costs and storage space are the advantages of this group of customers because of the lower inventory levels.

As it is seen, since the company serves different customer groups there are limitations related to cost of storage and having enough space to keep inventory, as well as the ability to purchase affordable and qualified raw materials when they are necessary.

In addition to these problems, it was not possible to keep the inventory and the amount of waste occurred in the cutting, sewing and packaging under control when it is held by subcontractors. One of the main problems related to control over the fabrics sent to cutting is the change in measurement units. Fabrics are sent to subcontractors for cutting are measured by kilograms at the beginning. When the cutting ends, they are sent back in units. Thus, it is hard to compare the inventory sent and received back to control the waste amount.

Coordination of transfer operations between the units requires considerable attention due to the storage, cutting, sewing and packaging operations are held in different locations. Since a problem

in a step directly affects the next one, it causes delays in production and the delivery of the orders is postponed to a later time than the planned term.

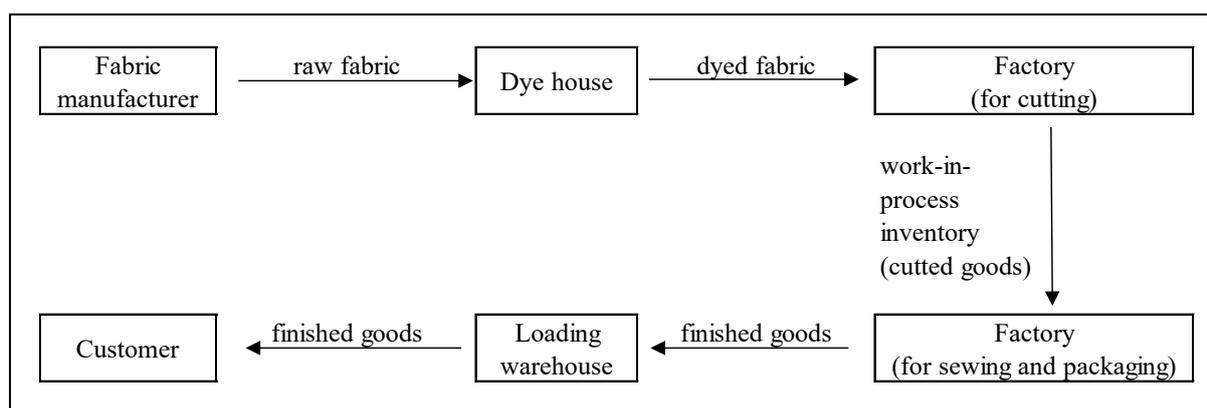
Since the company works with subcontractors at some stages of production, it is necessary to keep the inventory in their warehouses to be ready to process. As a result of this, the risks related to the storage of the inventory arise and a strict follow-up is required to keep the inventory under good conditions.

### 3.1. Previous Practices of the Company

Company is operated in different locations and works with different suppliers. It buys fabrics from suppliers and fabrics are transported to the company's production facilities or subcontractors based on the customer preferences (some customers prefer only in-house productions while others accept production in-house or production in controlled and certified subcontractors).

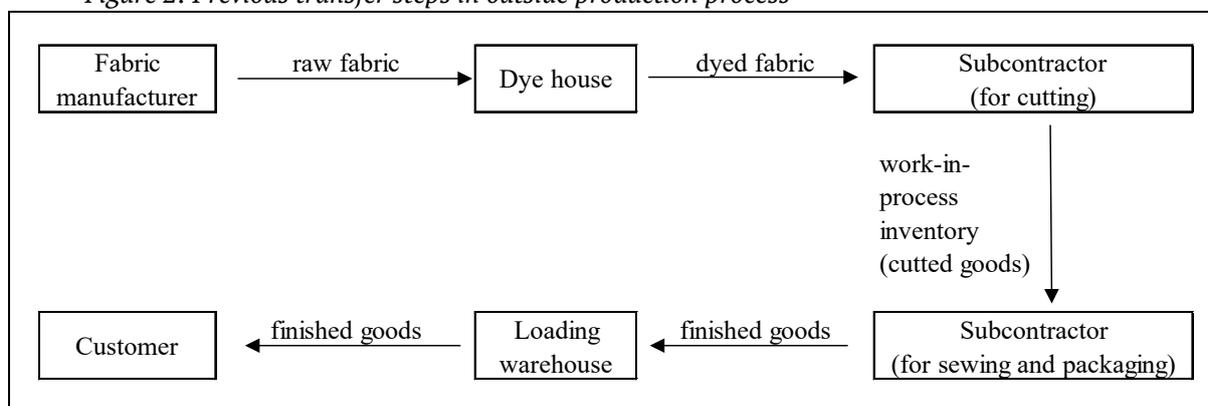
For the in-house production, based on the fabric feature and current conditions, raw fabric or dyed fabric is bought. If the fabric is dyed, it is sent to a production facility directly for cutting. If the fabric is raw, it is sent to a dye house first, then the dyed fabric is sent to a production facility. Company have enough machinery and equipment for cutting, sewing and packaging in some locations but in some cases because of the workload or other reasons all these steps are completed in different locations owned by the company. These transfer steps are summarized in the figure below.

Figure 1: Previous transfer steps in in-house production process



In the subcontractor supported production, some intermediate processes are done in subcontractors. Each subcontractor is specialized in a certain job (cutting, sewing and packaging) therefore more than one transfer is carried out to obtain the final product. Therefore, each step requires a well-organized and controlled transfer plan. A sample chart to show these transfers is given below.

Figure 2: Previous transfer steps in outside production process



Company had to expand its capacity since the increase in in-house production demands of current and new customers. Addition to that as a result of increasing business volume it became more difficult to manage all the coordination between subcontractors. Also, limitations on inventory storage space and coordination among the units started to create some problems (additional storage costs and delays on production because of the communication problems between locations). After determining these problems and the factors that affect the efficiency of production negatively, it was decided to implement a new warehouse management system.

### 3.2. New Warehouse Management Plan

After careful considerations on company's need to increase production capacity and eliminate ineffective practices, it is decided to build a logistics center in which both raw material storage and cutting work is done under the same roof.

The project started with researches held by the research and development team on effective warehouse management systems and logistics centers. Then, the usage of the existing facilities was analyzed, and the waiting periods of the raw materials and work-in-process inventory were determined for planning purposes.

After careful considerations and cost and benefit analyses, logistics center was established on an area of 20,000 m<sup>2</sup> in Lüleburgaz, Kırklareli, Turkey. The following objectives are determined for the project.

- To increase productivity in production,
- To reduce waste,
- To increase the coordination capability between units,
- To reduce the amount of the slow-moving inventory,
- To ensure efficient and controlled use of storage space,
- To minimize the waiting times of raw materials and work-in-process inventory in the facilities,
- To minimize storage costs by an effective inventory management system,
- To make more controlled purchases,
- To make inventory aging analyses.

The process in the logistics center starts with the arrival of the fabrics to the logistics center. At the gate the fabrics are measured and checked for the quantity. The measurement results and the amount in dispatch note is compared and if there is no significant difference between the amounts, the fabric is accepted to the arrival area.

After quantity check the fabrics are also controlled for the quality (including the color). There are automated quality control machines used for that purpose but also some manual controls are done by the experts. In the quality control step stickers and control cards are used to state the acceptability status to the warehouse. There are white, green, red and black stickers. Meanings of the stickers are given below:

- White – ready for control
- Green – approved quality
- Red – waiting status
- Black – rejected

If the fabrics are approved for quantity and quality, green stickers are used to show their status as ready to store in the “ready to cut fabrics area”.

If the fabric is checked and it is not totally qualified for the cutting process, red stickers are used. Fabrics with the red stickers are sent to quarantine area and approval of the sales department is asked. Since they are in touch with the customers and more aware of their preferences, they have more information about the acceptability of the fabrics if they are used in the production. If the fabrics are approved by the sales department, green stickers are posted, and the fabrics are sent to “ready to cut fabrics area”. If the fabrics are not approved by the sales department, they are sent to “remaining inventory area” with a black sticker on and sent back to suppliers as purchase returns.

## Preparation and Implementation of a Warehouse Management System

Ready to cut inventories with the green stickers are stored in the high-rise and durable shelves. A database system is uploaded to tablets and the tablets are used by the forklift drivers. When the inventories are stored in the shelves based on the customer groups, the shelf codes are posted to the database which is integrated to company's ERP system. By that all information users can see the inventory levels and where any specific inventory is stored.

Company has automated cutting machines ("cutters") that are placed in the logistics center. Based on the cutting departments work plan, fabrics are weighted and sent to cutting area. There is a weighting machine between the "ready to cut inventory area" and storage area to make sure all inventory is measured between the units. There are two reasons of weighting the fabrics in this step. First one is to double check the quantity to be sure it is enough for the production. Since the loss of moisture can make a change on the weight of the fabrics, they cannot be enough for the production. In that case extra orders can be given to complete the material needs and the loss can be invoiced to suppliers. The second reason is by weighting the inventory sent to cutting area remaining inventory and the inventory levels are updated correctly.

Cut fabrics are manually checked to see if they are fit to models. Approved cut goods are put to bags and stickers are posted. There are barcodes on the stickers and details related to customer name, fabric type, model name, colour etc. Also, colour of the bags are changes based on the sewing facility they will sent to. There is a separate storage area for the cut goods.

When the cutting process ends redundant fabrics are sent to "cuttable fabrics area" or "remaining fabrics area" based on the quantity and production plans. If the remaining inventory can be used in the production, they are sent to "cuttable fabrics are" to wait for cutting. But if the remaining inventory cannot be used for future orders they are sent to "remaining fabrics area" to return to supplier or to be sold.

"Remaining fabrics area" is continuously controlled for waiting periods of the inventory kept in there and their qualifications are checked to see if they can be used for other orders.

Since all inventory data is kept in a database and inventory movements are recorded all parties can reach the information they need related to inventory. Barcods are used to follow up the inventory in the center. By them human mistakes are eliminated and more transfer can be done in less time.

### 4. Conclusion

Application of new business models are complicated and not always goes as planned. The company that is the subject of this study planned the model as a framework for years. Also, the logistics center is not a conversion of an old facility instead it is built for that purpose and other facilities are continued their operations as before. By that first-time problems did not affect the company's main operations.

The following objectives are met.

- As the cutting process started to be done in-house, it is observed that there is a reduction in the waste rates. Because planning for in-house operations are more controlled and waste reduction tecniques are applied after analysis made.
- Since the cut goods are sent to subcontractors and company's production facilities;
  - Losses in sewing and packaging steps are in control (since the number of cut units are known and the number finished goods can be compared with that),
  - There is a reduction in wastes (cutting wastes are occured in the company and by applying new waste reduction techniques the rates are lower),
  - Coordination between the units are easier since one transfer step is terminated (cutting step is completed in-house),
  - Total tranfer time between the units has been decreased (cutting step is completed in-house).

- Inventory levels are in control since all purchases and usage are well documented in the same database. Inventory purchases are well controlled and organized since most of the inventory kept in the same place. Before the purchase orders given, on hand fabrics can be controlled and left over fabrics can be used for production.
- Slow-moving inventory items are detected and inventory aging analyses are reported periodically (since arrival time, inventory qualifications, used and remained amounts are well documented),
- Storage place is used efficiently since all items are addressed well. And the shelf system is well organized and the durable and highrise shelf system allows efficient use of the space.
- Keeping the fabrics and cutters in the same place helped to minimize the waiting times of raw materials and work-in-process inventory,
- Storage costs are lowered by the effective inventory management system.

Operation reports are prepared periodically and presented to research and development team. And results are analyzed since the project is still growing. Based on these reports and analyses improvements are done.

## 5. Acknowledgements

This paper is based on a project conducted by Research and Development Center of TYH Tekstil. We thank all the team members who provided insight and expertise. We would also like to show our gratitude to Mr. S. Mehmet Kaya, Chairman and CEO of TYH Tekstil.

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# Factors Affecting Entrepreneurial Intention Among Geographical Regions of Turkey: A Research on Distance Learning Students

Baris Baraz, Alpay Vardar

## 1. Introduction

Historically, entrepreneurship is one of the oldest activities. To discover or identify new business possibilities and to exploit these possibilities in new ventures for economic gain has always been important in human life (Landström, 2005). Entrepreneurship has long been viewed as an engine that drives innovation and promotes economical development (Reynolds, 1997; Schumpeter, 1934). To Schumpeter, an entrepreneur is a person who carries out new combinations, which may take the form of new products, processes, markets, organizational forms, or sources of supply (Schumpeter, 1934). The decision to become an entrepreneur may be plausibly considered as voluntary and conscious (Krueger et al., 2000).

There is a growing body of literature arguing that intentions play a very relevant role in the decision of starting a new firm (Linan & Chen, 2009). This study follows cognitive approach through the Entrepreneurial Intention Model (EIM) by Linan and others which follows Ajzen's theory of planned behavior (Linan et al., 2011). EIM considers that the entrepreneurial intention is affected by both motivational and environmental factors. Motivational factors on this study are attitude towards behaviour, subjective norms and perceived behavior control which are the entrepreneur candidate's internal feelings. EIM considers that the entrepreneurial intention is also affected by the communication level with the environment. Environmental factors on this study are closer valuation and social valuation. The effect of these factors on each other and on entrepreneurial behavior differs due to the regional culture and sub-identity of the entrepreneurs.

In this context, the main objective of this study is to identify the factors which affect the entrepreneurial intention, regional differences on the factor loadings are going to be identified and reasons of these differences to be addressed. Based on the results, contents of elective and/or compulsory courses are can be evaluated to increase the entrepreneurial intention of the students which are considered as the entrepreneurs of the future.

## 2. Methodology

The EIM questionnaire was translated into Turkish and double-checked by two philologists independently, who are fluent in Turkish and English, to make sure there is no discrepancy in meaning between the English and Turkish versions of the questionnaire. Approvals from the author and university's ethics committee were also granted in order to use the questionnaire and publish the link on the Anadolu University's distance learning online student system. Students were asked to participate to the study on voluntary basis. The questionnaire includes randomly distributed 20 items to measure four central constructs of the theory of planned behaviour; entrepreneurial intention, attitude towards the behaviour, perceived behavior control, subjective norms. Social values, which are valuation of the entrepreneurship in the closer environment and general social valuation of the entrepreneurship were also measured with randomly distributed 8 items. Figure 1 shows the model of the questionnaire. A Likert scale with 7 level balanced scales is used to collect the response of the participants. The questionnaire also has items to understand the personal and geographical information of the participants.

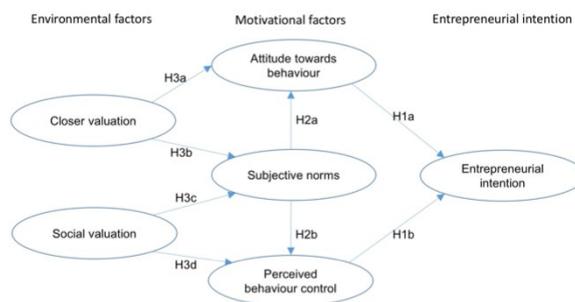


Figure 1. Entrepreneurial Intention Model (Linan et al., 2011)

Hypotheses of the study are;

- H1a: Attitude towards the behavior has a positive impact on entrepreneurial intentions independent from the regional context.
- H1b: Perceived behavioural control has a positive impact on entrepreneurial intentions independent from the regional context.
- H2a: Subjective norm has a positive impact on the attitude towards the behavior independent of the regional context.
- H2b: Subjective norm has a positive impact on the perceived behavioural control independent of the regional context.
- H3a: Closer valuation has a positive impact on the attitude towards the behaviour, but is different depending on the regional context.
- H3b: Closer valuation has a positive impact on subjective norms, but is different depending on the regional context.
- H3c: Social valuation has a positive impact on subjective norms, but is different depending on the regional context.
- H3d: Social valuation has a positive impact on perceived behavioural control, but is different depending on the regional context.

### 3. Results

The questionnaire link was active between July – October of 2016, total number of the accepted questionnaires are 7111 from different departments of the system. After confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed on all the factors separately and fit indices provided acceptable results. As the next step, CFA was performed on the whole model and the fit indice results are shown at Table 1. All indices but Chi-square/df show acceptable results, it is known that this indice is highly influenced by the quantity of the participants and it nearly always rejects the model when large samples are used (Hooper et al., 2008). Taking the total number of the participants into consideration, the result of this indice is ignored.

Table 1. Fit indice results for whole model

Fit indice	Value
Chi-square/df	37
RMSEA	.071
CFI	.903
SRMR	.065

Following that, structural equation model (SEM) analysis were performed to see the effect of the factors on each other and on entrepreneurial intention, Figure 2. shows the SEM result of all participants. Although the EIM has no direct relation between closer valuation & social valuation and attitude towards behavior & perceived behavior control, results showed a powerful link between these factors. The results did not show a statistically important relation between perceived behavior control & entrepreneurial intention. Since social valuation and closer valuation are tend to act like one single

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factor, it can be said that the effect of the environment in which the entrepreneur candidate lives has a strong effect on social norms, on attitude towards behavior & perceived behavior control through social norms and finally on entrepreneurial intention through attitude towards behavior & perceived behavior control.

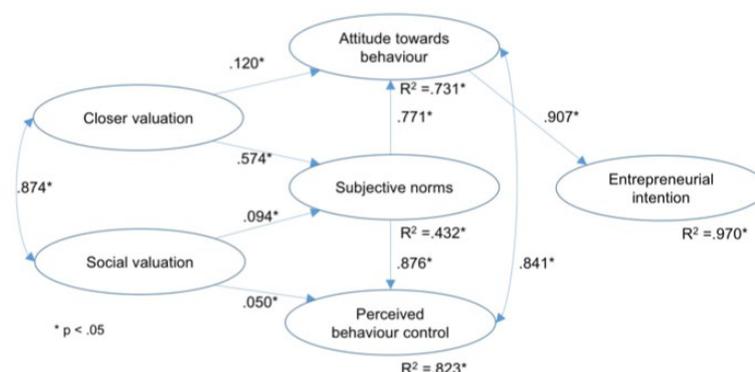


Figure 2. SEM result of all participants

As the next step, analyses were performed on regional basis by using multiple group structural equation modelling to understand the effect of the geographical region on entrepreneurial identity, Figure 2. Shows fit indice results of multiple group SEM. All indices show acceptable results.

Table 2. Fit indice results of multiple group SEM

Fit indice	Value
Chi-square/df	4.61
RMSEA	.070
CFI	.901
SRMR	.074

The SEM results of all geographical regions have a powerful link between closer valuation & social valuation and attitude towards behavior & perceived behavior control, the model can be revised to meet the values of Turkish people on the future studies. Figure 3 thru 9, show the results on geographical base.

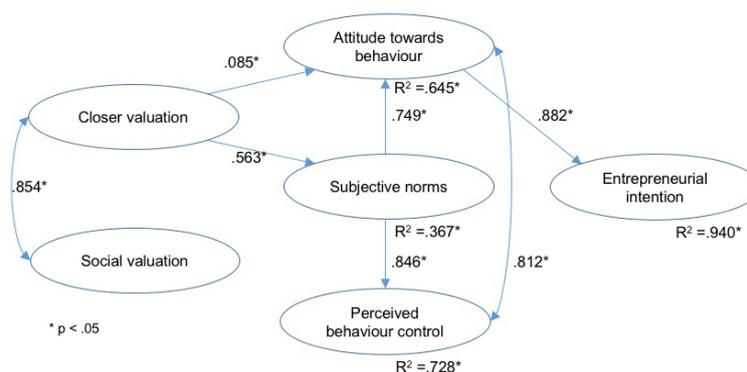


Figure 3. SEM results of Marmara Region

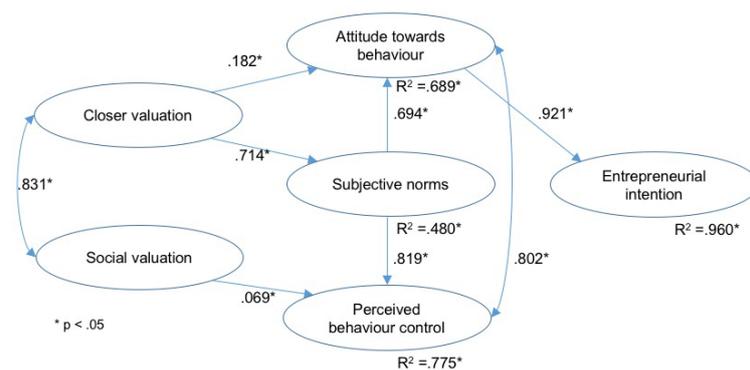


Figure 4. SEM results of Central Anatolia Region

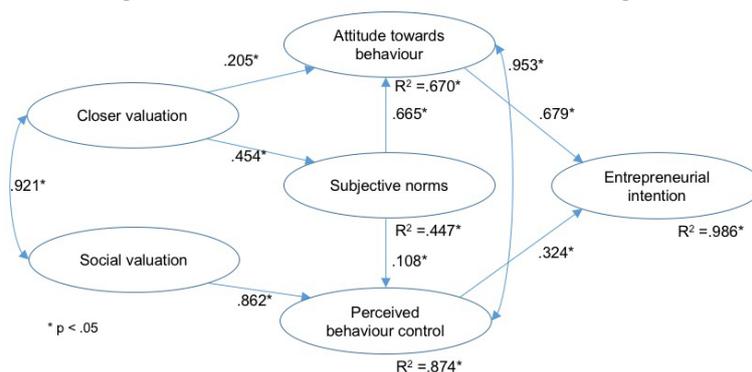


Figure 5. SEM results of South Eastern Anatolia Region

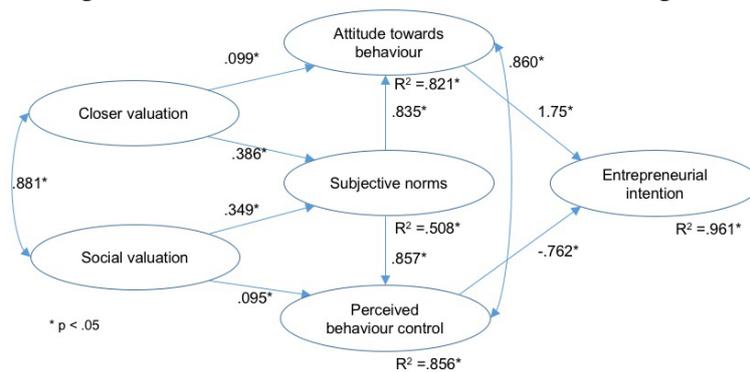


Figure 6. SEM results of Mediterranean Region

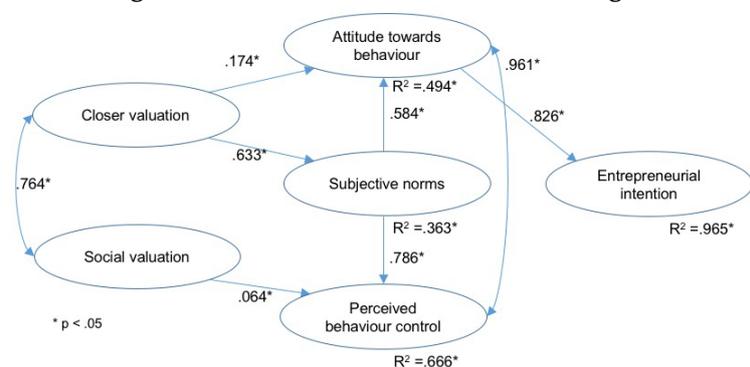


Figure 7. SEM results of Aegean Region

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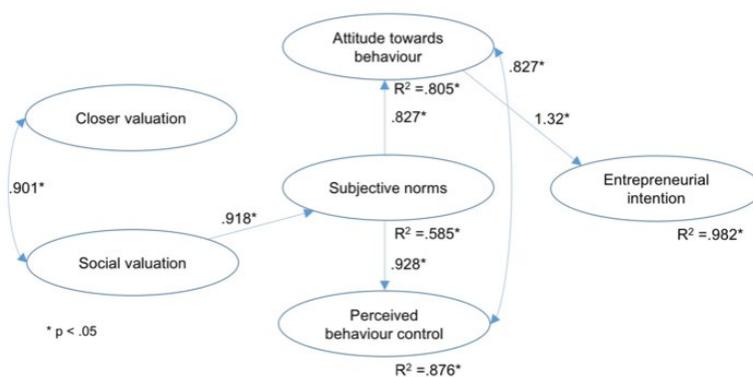


Figure 8. SEM results of Eastern Anatolia Region

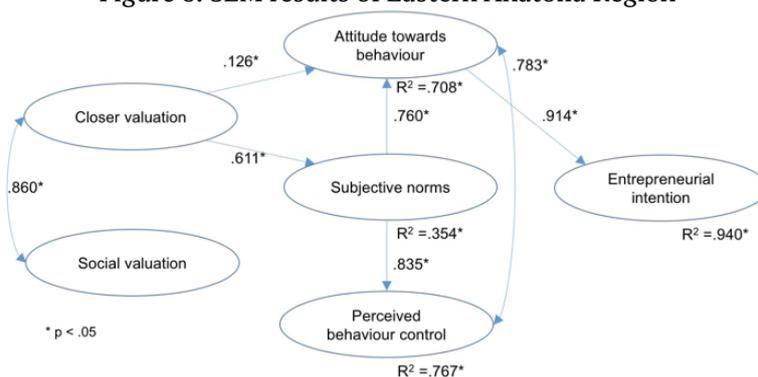


Figure 9. SEM results of Black Sea Region

In all regions, the most powerful link is between attitude towards behavior and entrepreneurial intention. Affect of subjective norm on attitude towards behavior is also significant. Closer valuation has an affect on subjective norms in all regions except Eastern Anatolia Region. It should be noted that the rate of internal migration can not be ignored in Marmara Region, Aegean Region, Mediterranean Region and Central Anatolia Region. Following analyses to understand the effect of migration is planned based on the migration statistics of Turkish Statistics Institute.

As noted before, the links between closer valuation & social valuation and attitude towards behavior & perceived behavior control are significant, it can be said that environment in which the entrepreneur candidate lives has a strong effect on all the factors of the model and on entrepreneurial intention in all regions of Turkey.

- H1a is confirmed, attitude towards behavior has a positive impact on entrepreneurial intention in all regions.
- H1b can not be confirmed since the only statistically important link between perceived behavioral control and on entrepreneurial intention is found in South Eastern Anatolia Region.
- H2a is confirmed, subjective norm has a positive impact on the attitude towards the behavior in all regions.
- H2b is confirmed, subjective norm has a positive impact on perceived behavioral control in all regions.
- H3a can not be confirmed, the result of Eastern Anatolia Region does not have a statistically important link between closer valuation and attitude towards the behavior.
- H3b can not be confirmed, the result of Eastern Anatolia Region does not have a statistically important link between closer valuation and subjective norms.
- H3c can not be confirmed, the result of Aegean Region, Marmara Region, Central Anatolia Region, South Eastern Anatolia Region, Black Sea Region do not have a statistically important link between social valuation and subjective norms.

- H3d can not be confirmed, the result of Marmara Region, Eastern Anatolia Region, Black Sea Region do not have a statistically important link between social valuation and perceived behavioral control.

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# Labour exploitation and migration of the Indian Sikh community in Italy: results of an empirical research

Eugenia Blasetti

## 1. Introduction

Labour exploitation is a form of illegal labour recruitment and organization, mostly affecting migrants employed in the agricultural sector. Mainly developed in southern European countries, in recent years the phenomenon has also been recorded within the Italian agricultural sector, which together with construction and domestic work is among the sectors most concerned (Cavanna, 2018). Labour exploitation manifests itself within the Italian agri-food sector through a profound gap between the terms of employment set by the law and the actual working conditions in which food is produced (Cavanna, 2018). At the centre of this gap, migrant labourers are the central element of a well-developed and structured mechanism of exploitation, in which long working hours, underpayments, physical and psychological violence seem to be the means of production.

Between February and September 2017, a social research was conducted on the phenomenon of gang mastering in Italy. The aim was twofold: on one hand, the idea was to understand the major economic and political causes behind labour exploitation of migrants throughout the Italian national territory. On the other hand, narrowing down the analysis to a specific case study, the Indian Sikh community living in Agro-Pontino, the focus was on examining how exploitation occurs within a real contextual framework, underlying the importance of the sociological dimension of the phenomenon. What the research aimed at was not to deliver a mere descriptive analysis of what labour exploitation is, how and why it occurs. Rather, the idea was to develop a more profound investigation, taking into consideration the strong intersection between labour market's fragilities and the phenomenon of migration, through a sociological approach rather than an exclusively economic and political one. While labour exploitation certainly is linked to economic and political issues, there is a sociological dimension of the phenomenon, which cannot be simply overlooked. Beyond the working environment, migrants enter in a structured social context in which relationships with the hosting society take place. These relationships develop within a social context in which migrants are perceived as *outsiders* (Elias, 1994). The perception the hosting community holds of migrants is, indeed, a reflection of the role they play within society: distant and ambiguous social figures, exploited workers. Analysing the phenomenon of labour exploitation, thus, also meant taking into consideration the profound social implications that contribute to the perpetuation of such phenomenon and that must be investigated through means of social theory rather than economic analysis. In this regard the research, while taking into account economic and political aspects at the basis of labour exploitation, mainly took a sociological perspective, arguing how relationships of power amongst social groups play a fundamental role in defining migrants' social position within society and within the working environment, fostering a well-structured system of subordination.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the main results emerged from the research, highlighting the sociological findings at the centre of the analysis, in order to overcome the mainstream approaches to the phenomenon of labour exploitation. Suggesting a more interdisciplinary view, it challenges the stereotypical understanding of labour exploitation as made of the "bad ones" subjugating the "good ones", giving space to a more profound and structured understanding of the matter in which the whole society is involved. Only through such a comprehensive approach, real and long-term political and social strategies will be able to bring about change.

## 2. Method: a qualitative approach

The study, which took place between February and September 2017, was conducted through a qualitative methodology. It followed a non-standard process, supported by the use of semi-structured data collection techniques and through methods of data analysis based on processes of contextualization and interpretation. By taking the conceptual paradigm of interpretivism as the benchmark, the research was developed with the idea that reality cannot just be observed, rather it must be interpreted in order to fully understand it (Corbetta, 2003).

The choice of conducting a qualitative research rather than a quantitative one was mainly driven by the very aim of the study itself. The idea was to go beyond the mere and superficial description of the phenomenon through the analysis of its main characteristics. The final objective was not only to explain the dynamics of the reality taken into account, but also to deliver a rational and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of labour exploitation, by giving importance to some crucial and real situations in which the phenomenon takes place (Corbetta, 2003). On the empirical level, the study's ambition was to understand migrants' perception of the phenomenon. The main research question focused on deepening the analysis of all those factors that had led migrants towards the acceptance of certain working and living conditions. This meant orientating the analysis towards personal matters such as the migratory process and the relationship between the migrant and the hosting society. A qualitative methodology thus seemed the more adequate strategy to conduct the study.

Furthermore, from a first overview of the academic literature and secondary sources, it was clear that the complexity of the phenomenon and its hidden nature made it difficult to identify labour exploitation through generalizations based on quantitative data (Cavanna, 2018). At the national level, there is no systematic collection of information and no official data are available on different forms of exploitation in the country. It follows that all the available estimates and official statistics only show part of the picture, leaving many cases hidden and therefore, only delivering a partial image of the phenomenon. (Cavanna, 2018).

The extensive and in-depth description of the phenomenon the research proposed led to the choice of focusing on a specific case study: the Sikh community living in Sabaudia, Agro Pontino Italy. Borrowing Yin's definition (2009), "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" (p.18). Following the initial research question, the choice of using a case study precisely reflected the methodological need to fulfil the main cognitive purpose of truly and profoundly understanding those mechanisms behind labour exploitation, while also grasping victims' perception of the phenomenon. Indeed, like Yin (2009) suggests: "case studies are the preferred method when how or why questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over the events and when the research focus is on contemporary as opposed to historical phenomenon" (p. 2). Furthermore, case studies are also useful when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context of analysis are not evident (Ying, 2009). In our case, all the above-mentioned elements seemed to occur:

- the research aimed at understanding how labour exploitation takes place and why, putting migrants at the centre of the analysis;
- the boundaries of the phenomenon with the context of analysis were not clearly identified;
- the hidden nature of labour exploitation also entailed that the investigator had little control over events.

Therefore, the use of a case study helped circumscribing the contextual framework of the analysis. Choosing to investigate the phenomenon of labour exploitation through a case study not only helped defining the context in which the phenomenon was to be observed, but also served the distinctive need of the research to understand the complexity of labour exploitation, allowing investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life-events linked to it (Ying, 2009). Understanding the complexity of real-life events, indeed, entails to take into account important contextual factors that cannot be overlooked. In this regard, among the different applications of the case study methodology, what seemed relevant for the research was the advantage of explaining the presumed causal links in real-life interventions, which would be too complex to grasp through other research methods such as

a survey or experimental strategies (Ying, 2009). Using a case study, thus, contributed to give a closer glance at the phenomenon of labour exploitation, allowing a better understanding of its dynamics, also by taking into consideration all those contextual factors contributing to mechanisms of exploitation.

Data was collected through qualitative semi-structured interviews. The latter were considered to be the most adequate data collection technique in relation to the context and the community analysed, as the objective was to understand the main features of sikh migrants labour exploitation in Agro Pontino. The use of semi-structured interviews also helped dealing with some structural difficulties linked to the context of analysis, such as the language barrier. Within the Indian sikh community, most of the workers do not speak Italian and therefore, collecting data through structured interviews or a questionnaire, for instance, would have made the collecting process much more difficult as it would have been hard to correctly and precisely translate the questions. The use of semi-structured interviews, instead, led conversations with migrants flow more easily, helping making the situation less formal and therefore more comfortable for them, contributing gaining their trust more easily and therefore gathering more information.

Interviews aimed at investigating four main dimensions: the migratory process, the work, migrants' living and working conditions. The richness of the material and the cognitive potentialities that such technique offered, were the main advantages that emerged from the use of semi-structured interviews. The possibility to directly address the reality analysed through migrants' perspective, allowed grasping the contextual framework in its essence, leading to a higher level of knowledge, avoiding artificial manipulation of data.

The final step of the empirical process of the research was concerned with the definition of the unit of analysis. Regardless of the statistical representativeness, which is not the first concern of a qualitative approach (Gianturco, 2005), the definition of the unit of analysis occurred through what is generally understood as snowball sampling (Corbetta, 2014). According to this technique, data was initially collected on the few members of the target population that it was possible to locate. After engaging with these people, the latter were asked to provide information about other members of the community who could help with the research. The contextual framework in which the research took place, where access to the investigated population was hard to achieve, mainly imposed such process of accumulation.

In order to make the sample methodologically systematic, the selected subjects were then classified on the basis of two main variables:

- age;
- time of permanence in Italy.

This led to the definition of two dichotomies within the sample. One referred to the age range of the subjects interviewed: between 35-45 years old, and beyond 45 years old. The other referred to the migratory permanence of Indian sikh workers in Italy: between 8 and 15 years of permanence in Italy and between 16 and 20 years of permanence in Italy. Finally, as all the interviewed subjects were men, the gender variable did not seem relevant in the definition of the sample.

### 3. Results

The findings that came out of the research were a result of both a theoretical analysis based on the study of previous literature on the topic, and the empirical investigation carried out with the Indian sikh community. The analysis of labour exploitation from multiple perspectives allowed for a general and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, which took into account every aspect of it, attempting not to leave out any important and relevant factor. In this regard, the socio-economic perspective resulted to be as much important as the sociological one and both emerged at the empirical level. Concerned with different realms of society, labour exploitation is, at the same time, an economic as much as a political and sociological problem.

### 3.1 Causes and origins of labour exploitation: the socio-economic and political framework

From an economic perspective, labour exploitation emerges from the combination of a pre-modern conception of labour and the effects of labour precarization emerged from processes of globalization (Cagioni, Buscaglioni, Faenza, Mordini & Mechi, 2014). Its development is connected to processes of transformations occurred in the agricultural sector, within the context of a globalized and capitalist economy. The strong process of liberalization of the international market, political agrarian reforms such as Common Agricultural Policy and the predominance of the European food industry, led to the development of an agricultural model mainly based on exports, impoverishing the rural population causing conflicts over resources, with a strong pressure on labourers' working conditions (Corrado, De Castro, Perrotta, 2017). At the same time, the strong pressure exercised upon agricultural production by supermarket chains, and the shift from a producer-based model to a consumer-based model of production, led to significant market transformations, characterised by the constant activity of price reduction of goods. With the advent of large scale retail trade and the significant increase of power held by big supermarket chains, agri-food production systems have been subjected to a process of re-modelling, which mainly affected small scale companies. As competitiveness increased in the international market, supermarket corporations were the only one able to keep up with such a level of competition. Thanks to their strong purchasing power, supermarket corporations developed a monopoly within the agri-food sector, significantly hindering small-scale production. Small-scale producers' response was mainly to cut on labour costs, developing a system of informal recruitment that allowed them to find flexible labour at very low cost. This was done at the expenses of labourers, who worked long hours, in precarious conditions, receiving very low salaries, leading to a system of labour exploitation.

Within this context, flexible and low cost labour becomes one of the main features of the new model of agricultural production. In such a competitive universe, indeed, cutting labour costs through exploitation turns out to be one of the principal strategy to survive and to resist the international market liberalization process (Corrado et al., 2017). Migrants, whose main objective is to find a job, fall right into this system as, not having any other alternative, they find themselves obliged to accept certain living and working conditions.

In this regard, the political dimension also strongly contributes to migrants' economic subordination. Migration policies in Italy have mainly taken an emergency approach to the problem, not dealing with the idea that migrants were going to stay and that structured and long term political strategies were needed. The predominance of the security discourse in the political approach towards the phenomenon of migration, shaped Italian migration policies towards actions of criminalization rather than protection and integration, generally contributing to the development of labour exploitation. The attempt to regulate immigration through contrast rather than legal protection, on one hand led to a general penalization of the most vulnerable subjects within society; on the other hand, it contributed to the development of a system of injustice and illegality, precisely based on institutional political dysfunctions.

Labour exploitation, therefore, emerges as a structural necessity for producers as much as for migrants. The structural necessity of the agricultural system encounters the faults of the political system, leading to a mechanism of illegal labour recruitment in which it is the system itself, together with the subjects involved, that fosters conditions of irregularity, precariousness and exploitation.

### 3.2 The sociological dimension of labour exploitation

Beyond the economic and political realms, the other fundamental element in the analysis of migrants' labour exploitation is migration itself and the sociological dimension that the migratory process entails. The working environment in which migrants enter is, indeed, part of a wider context socially dominated by the hosting community. This social context is profoundly linked to those socio-cultural dynamics influencing the system of relations between old and new social groups. These relations, often linked to conflictual processes for migrants' integration (Cipollini, 2002) are one of the main element from which to observe the sociological dimension of labour exploitation, based on a profound marginalization of the weaker group. The imposed social role migrants assume is the result of a

defective relationship with the hosting society. The latter, rather than promoting migrants' integration, it excludes them, keeping them distant, contributing to the development of a duality "us-them" based on exclusion rather than integration.

From an individual perspective, the act of emigrating entails a fracture with the society of origin and the need to integrate into a new social context in which, however, the migrating subject does not belong to nor identifies with. The migrant finds himself at the mercy of two opposite forces: one represented by the separation from his context of belonging, the other one linked to the relationship with a new community in which he is physically present, yet not truly integrated (Park, 1928), leading to a state of ambivalence. He is part of the economic system of society, yet excluded from the community's social functions (Tabboni, 1986).

The economic relevance played by migrants within the local context, therefore, is not reflected in the social realm, not only in terms of rights, but also and mostly in terms of a real integration within the hosting society. The devaluation of labour through exploitation translates, within the sociological realm, as an act of de-socialize migrants by not recognizing their presence (Pugliese et al., 2012). The sociological element of labour exploitation shows how at the basis of migrants' economic subordination there are social dynamics, linked to the state of social irrelevance migrants experience within the hosting society.

Migrants' isolation and marginality recall their diversity, understood as otherness in relation to the established community. The latter, indeed, allocates the migrant within the outsider group of society, as opposed to the established one, thus defining migrants' social identity within society. Such declaration of distance is what defines the relationship between migrants and members of the hosting society (Cipollini, 2002).

It follows that, while group membership entails integration for some social subjects, at the same time, it confirms exclusion for the newly arrived (Cipollini, 2002). It is such membership, precisely, that defines processes of identification, guiding the established group in the relation with the outsider. Such relationship takes place on the basis of the outsider's diversity understood, as M. Wood suggests, as the exclusion from the hosting society's system of social relations (Cipollini, 2002).

Migrants' marginalization, thus, depends and is drawn upon what Elias calls the *established and outsiders* paradigm (Elias, 1994) in which power differentials amongst groups define a system of relations based on conflict and exclusion, rather than cohesion and integration.

### 3.3 The empirical observation: the Indian sikh community of Agro Pontino

The sociological dimension of labour exploitation was finally observed, at the empirical level, through the case study of the Indian sikh community living and working in Agro Pontino.

The community settles in Agro Pontino in the mid-80s, especially in the cities of Latina, Sabaudia, San Felice Circeo, Pontinia, Terracina e Fondi (Omizzolo, 2016). The community was initially composed of a nucleus of just few people, mostly men, coming from the northern region of Punjab. Through time, the community has grown and today it counts around thirty thousand people throughout the whole territory of Agro Pontino. They usually settle in the rural areas, where they replicate social customs and traditions of their Indian Punjabi culture (Omizzolo, 2016). Mostly composed of men, to whom only in recent years female figures have reunited with, the Indian sikh community in Agro Pontino is generally known as the "*community of solely arms*"<sup>44</sup> due to their employment in the agricultural sector. About 80% of the community, indeed, works in agriculture, in precarious and illegal working conditions, working long hours and receiving very low salaries (Cantaro & Carchedi, 2014).

Initially characterised by seasonal flows of migrants, in the last twenty years the community has permanently settled in the Italian territory. Today, the Indian sikh community is a very well-structured community in which the first Punjabi have acquired, through time, a major role, functioning as representatives of the community with the hosting society (Omizzolo, 2016).

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44 Translated from Italian: "Comunità di sole braccia"

Sikhs' presence is concentrated in specific regional areas and it manifests itself through a well-structured organization characterised by a strong sense of membership to the community. Such membership represents a strong declaration of identity, which influences and shapes the relationship with the Italian hosting community. The latter generally responds with a positive attitude, due to a general positive perception of Indians as “*good migrants*” (Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2016, p.5), publicly represented as a good community. However, such positive perception does not reflect the real dynamics behind the relationship of the established community with the Indian outsiders. Despite the apparent lack of conflict towards the sikh community, their social integration, understood as acknowledgment of their presence and, therefore, recognition of their rights, is totally absent.

Within this context, labour exploitation symbolizes the relational subordination between the sikh community and the hosting society, at the basis of which it is possible to find power differentials between the established and the outsider group. Sikhs' extremely precarious working conditions – characterised by long working hours, very low salaries and a profound lack of social welfare – together with their significant distance from the urban centre entail a situation of physical and social exclusion, symbols of those relations of power that define the role each group must play within the social context. The normalization of such condition of social invisibility is what shapes and defines the relationship between Indians and Italians in Agro Pontino. It follows that, despite the absence of manifested conflict between the two communities, the relationship between the Sikhs and Italians is based on the former's subordination and on the lack of an egalitarian conception in the encounter between the two groups. As it emerged from the interviews: “*one cannot argue there is integration in Agro Pontino. [...] The two communities live together yet are both aware of the existence of the dominant role the hosting community plays upon the Indian one*” (Omizzolo, May 2017)<sup>45</sup>.

The case-study of the Indian sikh community, therefore, shows those sociological aspects of labour exploitation that are often overlooked, reorienting the analysis towards the idea that labour exploitation is not only an economic issue, but also a matter of sociological concern. Indian migration, mainly driven by economic push factors is characterised by a deeply rooted system of exploitation and social exclusion, within the context of an illegal system of labour recruitment. Structured and organized mechanisms of exploitation thus persist and become more and more sophisticated throughout time, leaving Sikh labourers in a state of poverty and exclusion (Omizzolo; Sodano, 2015).

#### **4. A study on labour exploitation: an opportunity for new political strategies**

The importance of analysing the phenomenon of labour exploitation of migrants in the Italian agri-food sector goes back to political matters linked to migration and to the way societies can and should deal with it. The complexity of labour exploitation, indeed, relies in the general context from which it develops and in which it is embedded to. As the research showed, labour exploitation is intertwined with several other factors, all apparently associated to different spheres of interest yet strongly connected among each other. Studying the phenomenon of gang mastering in the agricultural sector, therefore, means reflecting simultaneously upon:

- the characteristics and the transformations within the agri-food sector itself;
  - the juridical legislation of the labour market as well as the institutional and political management of the phenomenon of migration;
  - the sociological implications of relationships of power between the established and the outsider group.
- Hence, the idea of analysing labour exploitation not only as an economic matter but also, and mostly, as a sociological issue seems to be a necessity more than a deliberate choice, in order to truly comprehend the complexity of the phenomenon so to understand its true essence.

If we take Parson's view of society as a system, which must guarantee a certain degree of internal cohesion and solidarity, ensuring an equilibrium amongst its component parts so to avoid its

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<sup>45</sup> Translated from the interview conducted with sociologist Marco Omizzolo in May 2017. The original text reads as follows: “*Non si può affermare che ci sia integrazione nell'Agro Pontino [...] Le due comunità convivono con la consapevolezza da parte di entrambi dell'esistenza di un ruolo di dominio da parte della comunità ospitante*”

collapse (Cesareo, 2018), then a multidisciplinary approach to labour exploitation also means overcoming the one-sided approach which only leads to partial and short-term resolutions. Acknowledging the complexity and the multidisciplinary character of labour exploitation is the only way to encourage long-lasting political strategies with the aim to completely eradicate the problem.

In this regard, it is not surprising that although legal measures have already been taken against labour exploitation, things have not changed as much as it was hoped they would. In 2011, the crime of labour exploitation was introduced, followed in 2012 by law 6 July 2012 n.95 – Legge Rosarno – that granted a residency permit to those workers reporting their exploiters (Leogrande, 2012). Again, in 2016 the Italian Parliament approved a new law, law n.199 2016 against labour exploitation, introducing significant changes to the penal normative framework (Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali, 2016). Despite all these legal initiatives, the problem of labour exploitation still strongly and significantly affects the Italian agricultural sector and the migrants who work in the field. This is precisely due to a too simplistic conception of the problem, which is not only a matter of legal concern. Rather, it is a matter of social and sociological regard, which must be addressed in its complexity, by taking into account all the factors involved. In this regard, the importance of this study lies in the opportunity it gives to analyse the phenomenon from a structural perspective, grasping its whole complexity and, thus, suggesting for more enduring social and political, as well as legal strategies.

Finally, from an academic point of view, this research allows to rethink the concept of migration abandoning the security framework and the idea of migrants as an unidentified category, in favour of a new migratory narrative in which integration plays a fundamental role and, therefore, should be taken into consideration in every political strategy linked to it. In this regard, analysing migration through the phenomenon of Sikhs' labour exploitation gives the opportunity to observe the issue within a real life context, directly acknowledging migrants' point of view, underlying the necessity to act on several and different levels of analysis in order to change the relationship between the migrant and the hosting society. Only by taking such structural approach and reallocating respect for human dignity and social inclusion at the centre of the discourse, it will be possible to eradicate phenomenon like labour exploitation, within a society in which economic progress should be put at the service of human beings rather than vice versa.

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# Taxes Paid and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation: An Evaluation on Turkey

Canatay Hacıköylü

## 1. Introduction

As for the financial obligations in importation, exportation and transit proceedings that constitute the term of foreign trade, the first thing that comes to mind is customs duties. However, the financial obligations in foreign trade proceedings are not comprised of customs duties only. Some duties and funds levied on according to foreign tradable goods and the origin thereof also impose significant obligations. In this study, the regulation concerning the duties levied during importation and the structure that is quite complex in terms of implementation will be emphasized on, and this structure will be explained numerically by providing some statistical information.

### 1.1. Some Fundamental Terms Regarding Customs Duty

The customs duty is a kind of tax levied on, and affecting the nature of, the goods that are subject to importation, over the quantities and ratios specified in customs tariff schedule. The customs duty is defined in Customs Law numbered 4458, Article 3, and Paragraph 8 so as to cover “all customs duties to be levied during importation and exportation of the goods and equivalent effect financial obligations as well as all import and export duties to be levied within the framework of special regulations regarding agricultural policy and processed agricultural products”. However, the export duty is left out of the scope throughout the world as a principle, and can be levied on the goods needed provisionally by the country in extraordinary circumstances such as wars. Hence, the customs duty has become a type of tax today, applied for importation only. The reason underlying the fact that Customs Law includes some provisions concerning export duties is to ensure compliance between regulations beforehand, as export duties might come to the fore, once foreign trade and agricultural policy will be adopted identically during the course of membership in the European Union. Indeed, no tax is levied during exportation today and our legislation includes stimulants for exportation (Çelikkaya, 2001, 7).

Giving above explanations, the customs duty can be defined theoretically as a kind of tax liability levied on goods and commodities over the quantity or the value while they cross (in the form of importation, exportation and transit) the boundary of a country.

### 1.2. Object of Customs Duty and the Taxable Event

The object of the tax can be defines as a factor taxed and hence directly or indirectly become the source of tax. The object of customs duty is in essence the foreign tradable commodity.

The object of customs duties is expressly stated in Customs Law numbered 4458. The first article of the Law clarifies that the object of customs duty is the commodity entering and leaving the customs zone of Turkey. In other words, the commodities and vehicles entering in the country crossing the customs frontier constitute the object of customs duty.

The lawmaker uses here the term of commodity instead goods. The term of commodity was defined as “all kinds of materials, products and values” in 3<sup>rd</sup> Article of mentioned Law. A commodity should enter in the “Customs Zone of Republic of Turkey” to be subject to customs duty. This zone covers the “lands of Republic of Turkey”. Turkey’s territorial waters, inland waters, air space are not included in the terms of customs zone (Tuncer, 2000, 18).

Thus, all commodities entering in, leaving from and transiting a zone constitute the object of customs duty. However, it should be noted that individuals are not objects of customs duty. Customs Law and Import Regime Decree define individual and commodity terms differently and stipulate that only commodity entrances will be subject to customs duty (Selen, 2007, 130). Because, the essential

point of customs duty is not the personal status of the individual who imports the commodity, but the commodity itself, which is internationally tradable. Therefore, the change or a special condition of the individual who will import the commodity does not affect the duty. The essential relation of individuals with customs duty is caused by their possession of the commodity. In other words, the crossing of individuals the customs zone will not subject to customs duty (Çelikkaya, 2001, 64).

For a commodity to be subject to customs duty,

- 1) Such commodity should be tradable between two countries at least,
- 2) Such commodity should be tangible.

It is not necessary for a commodity subjected to customs duty to be tangible or visible only, intangible values such as electric energy transported through electrical wires can be subject to duty (Nural ve Akçin, 2000, 17).

The term of taxable event is a term meaning the actualization of legal relation between object the tax and the person liable for it. The taxable event in terms of customs duty can be defined as an actualization of the entrance of a commodity subjected to tax into the Customs Zone of Turkey by the person liable to customs duty.

### **1.3. Customs Duty Liability**

The person liable to customs duty is the owner of the imported commodity. In case any person importing the imported commodity makes that for commercial purposes, such person adds the tax that he paid in the cost and reflects it to the person whom he sold the commodity to. For this reason, the customs duty is a kind of tax levied on the expenses for imports, and its bearer is its end user or end consumer.

In accordance with Customs Law, the person liable to customs duty is all real bodies who are responsible for fulfilling the obligations specified by the relevant regulation and who have their legal domiciles in customs zone of Turkey, as well as all legal entities having their workplaces, headquarters or branches registered in Customs Zone of Republic of Turkey.

### **1.4. Base of Customs Duty**

Base is a term used to express values or measurements that are predicated upon when calculating the tax. As for the customs duty to be levied on the value, the base is the customs value of the commodity. The customs value of imported commodity is the sales price of the commodity. In general, the price meaning the sales price of the commodity is the price of the commodity when delivering it to its buyer in the Customs Zone of Turkey. This price includes the expenses incurred by the seller until the point of delivery. Besides, it is mandatory to declare the value of the commodity to be taken as basis for the customs duty in Turkish Lira. Foreign currencies written on invoices and other documents are converted into Turkish Lira over the exchange sales rates of Central Bank of Turkey, applicable on the date when the customs duty liability was incurred.

The base structures and the base calculation of some funds and other taxes such as special consumption tax, value added tax that are levied during importation at the customs may differ. Even though it is mentioned that the base of customs duty is essentially "value-based", it is stated in Customs Law that customs duty may also be levied over "quantity-based" bases for some commodities. In the events customs duty is levied on quantity basis, then the basis is comprised of technical and physical properties of the commodity, such as its weight, quantity and length.

### **1.5. Tariff for Customs Duty**

Customs tariff is one of the most rooted and most used tools of external economic policy in broad terms, and of foreign trade policy in strict terms. Customs tariff involves two fundamental concepts. These are customs and tariff. The customs is the taxes and fees paid when certain goods cross the customs boundary. The tariff is the lists specifying the taxes to be levied on all internationally tradable goods. There are mainly three tariff systems in practice. These are single-column, double-column and triple

## Taxes Paid and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation

column tariff systems. If customs duties are protected by a law, such tariffs are called autonomous tariffs. If taxes are specified as result of international conventions and reciprocal discussions, such tariffs are called conventional tariffs. Once customs duties are specified by international conventions, they cannot be changed by unilateral decisions anymore.

### 1.6. Turkish Customs Tariff Schedule

Turkish Customs Tariff Schedule is a schedule avowed by the President in which the commodities are classified systematically by enumeration according to their types, species and qualities, and the customs duty rates to be levied are indicated.

Turkey, which used to apply value-based (ad valorem) customs tariff in the early years of Republic, adopted quantity-based (specific) customs tariff as of 1929, after the signing of Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey adopted Geneva Value Code application by February, 1994. Geneva Value Code system has an advalorem-qualified classification adopted by GATT member states.

The customs tariff that is based on Geneva Value Code system, which is still in practice in Turkey, is named as customs entrance tariff schedule. This tariff, which is still applicable, is a schedule comprised of sorting and enumeration by code numbers of the commodities according to their specifications. The customs entrance tariff schedule in question has 6 columns and 21 sections. Each section is divided into 97 chapters.

### 2. Some Other Financial Obligations

The taxes paid and other financial obligations imposed during importation within the scope of legislative regulations in Turkey are very disperse in the regulation. There are not only taxational obligations during importation, but also some financial obligations under various names such as fund, contribution, deduction etc.

All in all, having said "tax paid during importation", the customs duty is understood. However, the customs duty in classical terms is about to lose its importance due to global integrations and the improvements on the part of deregulation of trade. In this context, for financial or other purposes, notably for protecting local production, the countries apply taxes and other financial obligations that are not named as customs duty but create the a customs duty effect on the commodity applied (Bulut, 2007, 140).

Taxes paid and other financial obligations imposed during importation are quite various and complex in terms of our country. The taxes levied and other financial obligations differ in terms of the institutions carrying out the applications, the positions of such institutions within the financial regulation and the sanctions to be imposed in case of failure of the obligations.

The customs duty levied during importation is included in the definitions of import taxes, while the taxes such as value added tax and special consumption tax are mentioned within the scope of expenditure taxes instead import taxes, as they are applied both in importation and inlands. The countervailing duties, one of financial obligations during importation, some additional financial obligations, funds, contributions and deductions are taxes and similar obligations included in our financial regulation (Gerçek, 2008, 222).

One portion of such taxes and financial obligations are levied by customs administrations during the importation of the goods, and one portion is paid by the individual liable to the accounts opened under the name of relevant administrations before making declaration to the customs administrations.

Taxes paid and other financial obligations imposed during importation and the legislation regulating thereof as well as the administrations authorized to make collection are given in the table below (Taxes Levied During Importation and Financial Burdens, <http://www.gumrukportali.com/hakimizda/detay.aspx?SectionID 08.01.2015>).

**Table 1.** Taxes Paid and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation:

## Canatay Hacıköylü

<b>Tax/Other Financial Obligations</b>	<b>Legal Ground</b>	<b>Administration Collecting Tax</b>
Customs Duty	Law in Customs Entrance Tariff Schedule numbered 474	Customs Administration During Importation
Value Added Tax	Value Added Tax numbered 3065	Customs Administration During Importation
Special Consumption Tax	Special Consumption Tax numbered 4760	Customs Administration or Tax Office according to the lists annexed to Special Consumption Tax Law and the Sought Documents
Stamp Duty	Stamp Duty Law Numbered 488	Relevant Customs Administration during Importation Depending on the Registration of Declaration
Anti-Dumping Tax	Law On The Prevention Of Unfair Competition In Imports numbered 3577	Customs Administration During Importation
Countervailing Taxes Against Subvention		
Additional Financial Obligation	Law on Regulating Foreign Trade numbered 2976	Relevant Customs Administrations During Importation
Additional Countervailing Tax	Customs Law numbered 4458	Relevant Customs Administrations
Mass Housing Fund (Agriculture Share)	Law on Regulating Foreign Trade numbered 2976	Customs Administration During Importation
Resource Utilization Support Fund (KKDF)	Law numbered 4684 on Amending Some Laws and Statutory Decrees and Decision on Resource Utilization Support Fund numbered 88/12944	Financial Organizations before Importation
Tobacco Fund	Provisional Article 1/A of the Law on Liquidation of Some Funds numbered 4629	Customs Administration During Importation
Mine Fund	Provisional Article 1/A of the Law on Liquidation of Some Funds numbered 4629	Customs Administration During Importation
Deduction to be made from the Import Price of the Carrying Materials in which literary and artistic works were found as well as the technical devices intended to reproduce them	44 <sup>th</sup> Article of the Law of Intellectual Property Rights	Financial Organizations before Importation
Environment Contribution	18 <sup>th</sup> Article of the Environment Law numbered 2872	Financial Organizations before Importation

## Taxes Paid and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation

Banderole Charge	Cabinet Decree numbered 2011/1406	Relevant Customs Administrations During Importation
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Source: <http://www.gumrukportali.com/hakkimizda/detay.aspx?SectionID,08.01.2017>

As shown in Table 1, there are at least fifteen taxes and financial obligations paid during importation. The reason for providing the legal grounds of the taxes and financial obligation shown in the table is to show the dispersion in our financial regulation regarding importation, as also mentioned in the introduction chapter of the study. The taxes and financial obligations provided in the table vary according to the quality of the commodity subject to importation. For example the country, from which the commodity comes or the origin thereof, is important for customs duty, while the quality of the goods is important for the special consumption tax. Nevertheless, the product group from which mass housing fund (agricultural share) is charged and the import commodity from which the banderole charge is collected do vary.

### 2.1. Value Added Tax and Special Consumption Tax

Value Added Tax is a distributed proceeding tax levied on all kinds of import commodities as well as the services procured from abroad for import commodities, in accordance with the provisions of Value Added Tax Law numbered 3065.

The liability to the value added tax during importation incurs when liability to pay customs duty starts according to Customs Law, and when the customs declaration is registered for the proceedings that are not subject to customs duty.

In line with the implementation of Value Added Tax Law, the Special Consumption Tax Law numbered 4760 has four lists annexed. Customs administrations levy special consumption tax during the importation of the commodities included in such lists, for once only. In accordance with the nature of special consumption and value added taxes, if both taxes are required to be levied on the imported commodity, first the special consumption tax and then over the total sum the value added tax will be calculated and collected (Gerçek, 2008, 224).

Under the current regulation, the value added tax is levied on taxable proceedings in the rate of 18% except those included in the lists numbered (I) and (II) of the Value Added Tax, 1% for the deliveries and services included in the lists numbered (I), and 8% for the deliveries and services included in the lists numbered (II). As for the special customs tax, a tax is levied on the commodities included in the lists numbered (I), (II), (III) and (IV), in different amounts and rates as fixed and relative.

Value added tax and special consumption tax levied during importation are subject to the provisions of the Tax Procedures Law numbered 213. However, Customs Law numbered 4458 applies to the value added tax and special consumption taxes that are not levied at all or levied partially for the commodities brought into customs zone without paying the tax or paying it less.

### 2.2. Anti-Dumping Tax / Countervailing Tax

In accordance with Law On The Prevention Of Unfair Competition In Imports numbered 3577; the tax against dumping and the countervailing tax against subvention are levied during importation of a commodity which is found to be subject to dumping or subvention as result of the investigation made by the Board of Prevention of Unfair Competition in Imports against the damages caused by the importation that is subject to dumping or subvention because of unfair competition in imports.

Apart from Anti-Dumping Tax and the countervailing tax against subvention, some additional financial obligations are also applied in order to prevent tax losses arising from importation or to protect local manufacturer in accordance with Law on Regulating Foreign Trade numbered 2976 and the countervailing tax required to be paid in some cases in accordance with Customs Law numbered 4458.

World Trade Organization (WTO) allows all member states to take necessary measures to protect their local industries against "unfair" trade applications of foreign exporters. In case an importer

country finds out as result of an anti-dumping investigation that (i) the importation of a product is dumped and (ii) the importation of such dumped product poses damage or threat against local manufacturers of similar products or physically retards the establishment of a manufacturing branch; it may apply anti-dumping tax or anti-dumping measures in the form of price undertaking for the importation in question.

The amount of anti-dumping tax required to recoup is calculated based on “target prices” or “harmless FOB-margins” indicating the export price levels that will not jeopardize the local industry in general (Anti Damping Uygulamaları, İthalatçı ve İhracatçılar İçin El Kitabı, <http://www.orgtr.org>, 08.01.2015).

Subventions are defines as uncovered financial aids granted by a WTO member state in the form of money or other means that can be expressed in money in order to influence the production and exportation in various ways and case by case to protect and promote manufacturers/exporters, considering the benefits of the society. (GATT Information Handbook, 2009, 19).

According to countervailing measures convention, an investigation is required to be conducted to levy countervailing tax against the subvention. Those investigations conducted should be completed within one year according to the convention, except exceptional cases. Under relevant conventions, the termination of the countervailing tax application is ensured within five years following the date on which it came into force, in the events the subvention is terminated or there is no possibility to make a re-application (İGEME, 2010, 238).

The anti-dumping tax and countervailing tax against subvention are levied or bound by the customs administrations separate from other taxes levied during importation. The accrual and collection of anti-dumping tax and countervailing tax is made in accordance with the provisions of customs regulation (Öner, 2014, 523).

Apart from above-mentioned anti-dumping tax and countervailing tax against subvention, there are also some additional financial obligations and countervailing tax in accordance with Customs Law numbered 4458 in practice. In accordance with the Law numbered 2976 on Regulating Foreign Trade, the Council of Ministers was given the power to impose additional financial obligations other than taxes and similar obligations imposed on import operations in order to protect the local manufacturers and to prevent tax losses due to imports.

It is very difficult for WTO member countries to increase their customs duties in accordance with the provisions of international agreements and bilateral free trade agreement. In this case, the countries may apply additional financial obligations to the commodities subject to importation in accordance with the provisions of international agreements, in order to protect local manufacturers or to prevent the tax losses due to imports.

The countervailing tax required to be paid in accordance with Customs Law numbered 4458 is a tax paid regarding the imported commodity in cases a commodity from a third country origin, after importation within the scope of Inward Processing Regime, is exported to EU member states, to countries with which free trade agreement is signed, to the countries which are parties to Pan-European System of Cumulation of Origin, as an export product following its production phase (Dahilde İşleme Rejimi ve Telafi Edici Vergi, <http://www.ithalatihracat.biz>, 05.01.2015).

### **2.3. Funds and Other Obligations**

The number of the funds applied during the importation of a commodity is not known as they are not collectively included in our legislation, even some of them do not even have a legal basis, and that they vary according to the quality of the imported commodity. For this reason, the most common funds, namely Mass Housing Fund (Agricultural Share), Resource Utilization Support Fund (KKDF), Tobacco Fund and Mine Fund will be discussed here (Hacıköylü, 2015, 24).

Mass Housing Fund is a financial obligation collected during importation over the agricultural share specified after separation of agriculture and industry share included in the commodities that take place in the list which is annexed to Import Regime Decision, and is consisting of processed agricultural products (İthalatta Alınan Vergiler ve Mali Yükler, <http://www.gumrukportali.com>, 08.01.2015). The amount/percentage of the Mass Housing Fund which might apply to processed agricultural products,

## Taxes Paid and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation

the list number (III) annexed to Import Regime Decision, and to fish and other fisheries, the list number (IV), is included in the lists annexed to Import Regime Decision.

Resource Utilization Support Fund (KKDF) which has been in use in Turkey since 1988 is a fund that is collected by the banks over the principal, interest or the price of imported goods during both local and foreign loan usages, and is paid to the Central Bank of Turkey. As for acceptance credit, deferred letter of credit and cash against goods payments, a fund is collected in the rate of 6% because the importer is provided with loan through payment of import price after the actual importation of the goods is carried out (Yurtsever, 2012, 256). The rate of KKDF deduction is specified as 0% (zero) by the Cabinet Decree numbered 2015/7511 for the deferred importation of some goods specified in the list that takes place in the annex of the Decree.

Tobacco Fund is another fund during importation. This fund is a financial obligation levied, and recorded as revenue directly in the budget, during the importation of tobacco and cigarettes included in the Cabinet Decree that was enacted depending on the Law numbered 4629. Likewise, the fund named as Mining or Mine Fund is an obligation during importation of some mines to be made from the countries out of European Union.

The legal ground of the deduction to be made from the import price of the carrying materials in which literary and artistic works were found as well as the technical devices intended to reproduce them is the Law on Intellectual and Artistic Works numbered 5846. This is a financial obligation on the importation of carrying materials such as blank video tape, audio cassette, computer floppy disk, CD, DVD etc. as well as all kinds of technical devices intended for reproducing intellectual and artistic works in accordance with the relevant law. Likewise, an environmental contribution is paid over the fuels and wastes subject to control, that are allowed to be imported in accordance with Environmental Law numbered 2872 (İthalatta Alınan Vergiler ve Mali Yükler, <http://www.gumrukportali.com>, 08.01.2015).

The last obligation that we can discuss under the heading of other financial obligations during importation is the Banderole Charge of Turkey Radio and Television Institution (TRT). The banderole charge of which legal basis is Turkey Radio and Television Institution's Revenues Law numbered 3093 has to be paid before the sales by those who import the devices specified in the law for commercial purposes, and before the importation proceedings for those who bring them into the country for any purpose other than commercial purposes (TRT Banderol Ücreti Oranlarının Tespitine İlişkin Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı, 2011). Banderole Charge is an amount charged once only, for radios, televisions, videos and combined devices that can receive TRT broadcast, over the value added tax base, excluding special consumption tax, appearing on the customs entrance declaration of the device that is subject to banderole. It was decided by Presidential Decree dated April, 25, 2018 numbered 499 and in accordance with TRT Revenues Law numbered 3093 to impose banderole charges on televisions, radios, video and satellite receiver devices and other devices that can receive audible and visual broadcasting to be brought from abroad not for commercial importation purposes in the amounts specified in the list annexed to the Decree for once and as effective in 2019.

### 3. Descriptive Statistics Regarding Taxes and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation

Statistical information regarding taxes and other financial obligations imposed during importation in Turkey are kept and published by Ministry of Commerce. However, statistical information regarding special consumption tax and value added tax levied during importation are published also by Ministry of Treasury and Finance. The share of taxes and other financial obligations imposed during importation in total tax revenues in the period covering 2014-2018 is given in Table 1.

**Table 2.** The Share of Taxes and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation in Total Tax Revenues (%)

	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014
<b>VAT levied in importation</b>	<b>17.92</b>	<b>15.36</b>	<b>13.16</b>	<b>15.32</b>	<b>16.19</b>
<b>Special Consumption Tax levied in importation</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>0.82</b>	<b>0.84</b>	<b>0.86</b>	<b>0.86</b>
<b>Customs Duty</b>	<b>1.30</b>	<b>1.22</b>	<b>1.14</b>	<b>1.21</b>	<b>1.21</b>
<b>Stamp Duty</b>	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04
<b>Anti-Dumping Tax</b>	0.12	0.09	0.07	0.06	0.05
<b>Environment Contribution</b>	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03
<b>Additional Financial Obligation</b>	0.08	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.30
<b>TRT Banderole Charge</b>	0.20	0.20	0.13	0.04	0.00
<b>Additional Countervailing Tax</b>	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02
<b>Mass Housing Fund</b>	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02
<b>Tobacco Fund</b>	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02
<b>KKDF</b>	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.02
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20.65</b>	<b>17.86</b>	<b>15.53</b>	<b>17.70</b>	<b>18.76</b>

Source: Prepared by me based on the data obtained from Ministry of Commerce.

When Table 2 is examined, it is observed that the value added tax levied during importation has a significant share in the total tax revenues, comparing to other taxes and financial obligations. In fact, the value added tax levied during importation constitutes 86,30% of taxes and other financial obligations imposed during importation in 2014, and likewise 86,77% in 2018. The value added tax levied during importation, the special consumption tax and the customs duty levied during importation, as appearing in the first three rows of the table, are considered; it is observed that such rates increased up to 97,33% in 2014 and 96,94% in 2018.

Nevertheless, as seen in the Table, the share of the revenues gained from other financial obligations imposed during importation, notably stamp duty and namely anti-dumping tax, environmental contribution, additional financial obligation TRT Banderole charge, countervailing tax, mass housing fund, tobacco fund and resource utilization support fund, in the taxes and other financial liabilities imposed during importation was 2,66% in 2014 and 3,05% in 2018.

#### 4. Conclusion and Recommendations

The foreign trade proceedings cover the importation, exportation and transit proceedings in general. The proceedings regarding importation contain more different and more outnumbering applications comparing to exportation and transit proceedings. The taxes and other financial obligations during importation are imposed or released in compliance with international trade rules for the purposes such as fixing balance of payments, protecting local manufacturer and promoting local production.

It is a prime importance of to decrease the number of the most of taxes and other financial obligations applied within the framework of Import Regime Decree, of which purpose is to regulate importation in line with the benefits of the national economy and in accordance with the requirements of international trade, to review legal basis thereof, to evaluate whether or not they are in compliance with the purpose of their imposition, and to get them in a more simple and plain form.

The subject of taxes and other financial obligations, notably the customs duty, in foreign trade proceedings is not a field on which studies are conducted and are being conducted much in the academic literature. Besides the lack of studies, this is a field not appropriated by the instructors who will conduct the study. One of the major reasons for this is the complexity of the regulation that we tried to dwell on in our study. I am in the opinion of that more instructors will conduct studies and

more scientific studies will be done on this subject and the relevant bodies and institutions will understand it much better, once the mentioned complexity of the regulation is ironed out.

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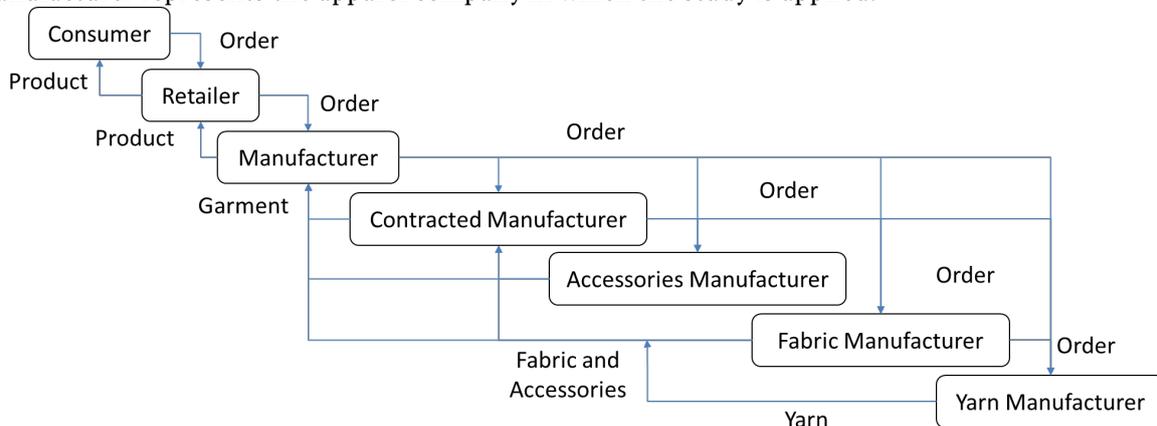


# Neural Network Approach for Estimating the Delivery Time in Apparel Company: A Case Study

Aysegul Kaya

## 1. Introduction

In the textile industry, a comprehensive Supply Chain Management (SCM) is required to execute an order. To gather all necessary material on time (Romano & Vinelli, 2019), management of the supplier network, logistics, quality of material, material flow and time are important. After determining the order, the apparel manufacturer either carries out raw material procurement of the related order or produce raw materials. Raw material procurement is the process that includes taking various materials into the company, according to the order's delivery time appropriately. In order to make orders, the needed raw materials should be turned into a semi-product or the final product. These semi-products and final products are aimed to be produced in the production lines of the garment/apparel company. Once the necessary control process is established, the order is completed and delivery to the customer takes place. Table 1.1 shows the SCM structure in the textile and apparel industry. In the table, the manufacturer represents the apparel company in which the study is applied.



**Table 1.1.** Supply Chain Management in the Textile and Apparel Industry (Karabay, 2006)

Throughout all this process, an inclusive master plan is applied for supplying and producing needed materials. Since the most problematic and important part of the master plan is the material supply, it is needed to supply materials according to the order's delivery time. These materials, raw materials, semi-products, products consist of those constituents; yarn, fabric, accessory, printing, and embroidery etc.

In this study, time estimating is examined by means of analyzing the data of previously performed orders in order to manage a suitable supply chain, fulfill the customer's promise, and to carry out the appropriate order in accordance with the delivery time.

Determining the time is important and the speed of giving an offer for an order to a customer is much more important in the business sector. For merchandisers, it may take time to collect all needed data to specify a delivery time. This delay may result in losing an order. This study aims to predict the delivery time of order quickly for those who are working in the company. If this prediction method is used effectively, it is not important whether or not merchandisers have experience. To estimate the delivery time (time prediction) of an order, it has been used Excel spreadsheets with the help of Solver, which is an Excel tool that uses the logic of artificial neural network.

## 2. Method

Artificial neural network (ANN) generally known as neural network works alike a human brain. Moreover, the human brain works like a computer which is complex, nonlinear and comprehensive with neurons like ANN. The principle of the ANN is similar to the human brain. In that, both ANN and the

human brain can see only inputs of the problem and outputs of the solution rather than detailing of the process (Haykin, 1999). What is meant by details is interneurons that function to calculate the solution.

The neural network learns through samples and behaves like an expert while producing possibilities, which is a unique characteristic of it (Albino & Garavelli, 1998).

After getting results with determined inputs, this system uses hidden neurons as well as nodes, which means coefficient between neurons. As the number of trials increases, the coefficient will change as well, so there will be a more proper prediction.

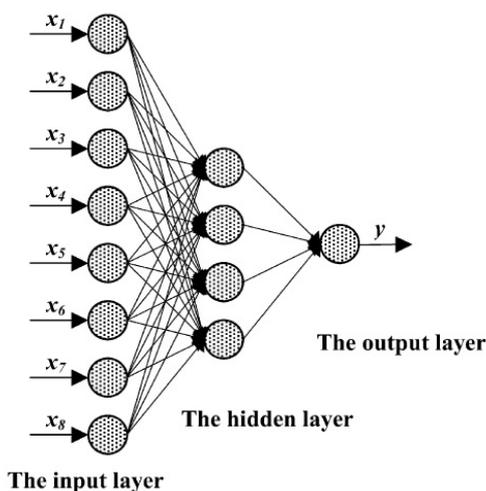


Figure 1.1. Principle of ANN (Günaydın & Doğan, 2004)

In figure 1.1. above, Günaydın and Doğan (2004) explain the basic running principle of ANN. Interneurons and nodes are shown as the hidden layer in Günaydın and Doğan's ANN definition. On the other hand, Hegazy and Ayed (1998) state ANN in a more detailed way in figure 1.2. and figure 1.3. below.

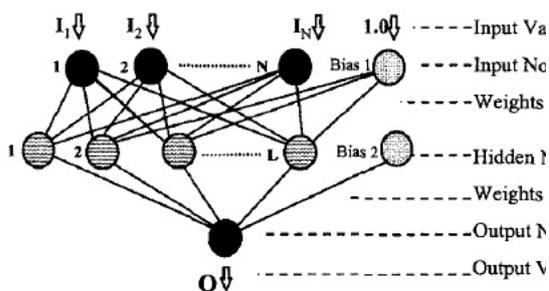


Figure 1.2. Principle of ANN (Hegazy & Ayed, 1998)

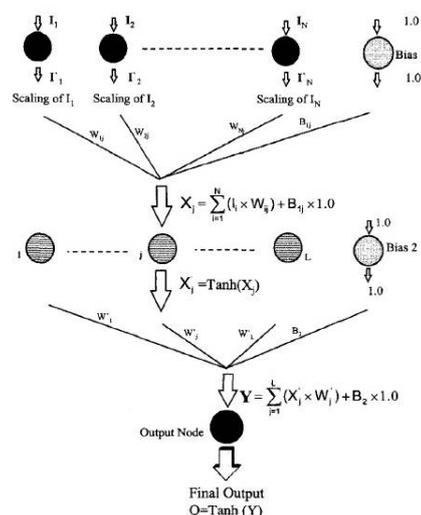


Figure 1.3. The detailed depiction of ANN with 3 layer formulas (Hegazy & Ayed, 1998)

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Artificial neural networks were accelerated via Solver, which is used as an attachment to Excel. Solver provides a solution for certain variables of an aimed function under given constraints. With the help of the Solver, it is also possible to solve an equation of the  $n$ th degree between  $m$  such quantities as well as solving the  $n$ th degree equation with one unknown. In this study, by means of Office XP, the solution of non-linear programming problems from mathematical programming models will be presented with the help of the Excel Solver. (Alan & Yeşilyurt, 2004)

The Solver documentation was created through Hegazy and Ayed's methods in the article. The first trials were obtained using GRG Nonlinear Solving method to set to limit the percentage error on the training and test cases to 2 and 5% or lower, respectively. Figure 1.4. below.

In this study, Hegazy and Ayed's (1998) method is applied in the following steps;

1. Data organization: Factors affecting the order were listed.
2. Data scaling: The categorized information transformed into numeric data.
3. Weight Matrix: to construct and initialize the weight matrix between the inputs and the hidden layer.
4. The output of Hidden Nodes: to allow the hidden nodes to process the input data and produce values to be forwarded to the next layer.
5. Weight Matrix
6. Final ANN Output
7. Scaling Back ANN Output and Calculating the Error

**Figure 1.4.** Solver Parameters

First, determinant attributes on the order's delivery time were determined. The next step was to select a customer group that has all the information on the system. Thus, the orders given in the past year by this customer group were selected. By categorizing selected orders into input values (mentioned in Hegazy and Ayed's method of ANN), a format supporting artificial neural networks to work accurately was established.

The factors which determine the order's delivery time were obtained and transformed into input values of the ANN method. These input values are described as  $x_1, x_2, x_3$ , etc. in Günaydın and Doğan's study while they are illustrated as  $I_1, I_2, I_3$  etc. in Hegazy and Ayed's study. These factors include such as; yarn type, yarn composition, color type, knitting type, processing type of fabric, accessory,

printing, embroidery, type of the product, special process, order amount. Among these factors, another important point is whether these materials supplied from outside of the country or inside of the country and used from the store. For example; product types are the dress, jacket, sweatshirt, shirt, hoodie sweatshirt, trousers, t-shirt, polo t-shirt etc. The company focuses on knitted fabric so in this study orders consist of knitted fabric. Furthermore, examples of knitting types are supreme, interlock, pique etc. The accessory category is taken into consideration in two groups; standard and extra accessories. Extra accessories also consist of sub-groups.

After organizing the data specifically for this study, which was the most challenging phase, with the help of Hegazy and Ayed's method, formulas and data sheet were developed.

### 3. Findings

Solver was run in three groups; first, second and third trial set. In the first and second trial set, the purpose was to learn formulas and create the Excel spreadsheet template and to figure out how it works. Thus, solver was run eight times with different variables in order to perform estimating order's delivery time.

In the first trial set, 30 different orders were used; 25 of them was determined as an education test group while 5 of them was designed as a training test group. Education test group means the core data for the solver to calculate and training test group means data for estimating. By using the inputted data, Solver was activated twice. As a consequence, Solver estimated the order's delivery time in the first trial set, resulting in a weighted error of 41,6% and 16,9% in the second trial shown as table 1.2. In the first trial, there occurred a high percentage of error (41,6%). Additionally, in the second trial, the error percentage appeared as 16,9%. However, this error percentage was quite high.

	First Trial		Second Trial	
	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
Education Group Error	24	14,3	24	28,5
Training Group Error	6	68,9	6	4,91
Final	30	41,6	30	16,9

**Table 1.2.** First and Second Trial of the First Trial Set

Since the attributes of 30 orders are too different from each other, it is assumed that those differences have caused a high estimating rate. While defining the parameters of Solver neurons, it was thought that Solver could estimate similar characteristics more easily. Therefore, it was decided that the number of orders would be increased and sub-groups having similar characteristics would be determined, and thus enabling Solver to be retried.

In the second trial set, Solver is run 8 times. The number of orders was increased to 100; 90 of them was defined as the education test group and 10 of them was defined as a training test group. Once Solver was performed, in the second trial of the second trial set, it resulted in a weighted error of 73,64 %. The consecutive results of first trial set came up with 39,11%, 24,56%, 19,6%, 16,14%, 16,08%, 15,94%.

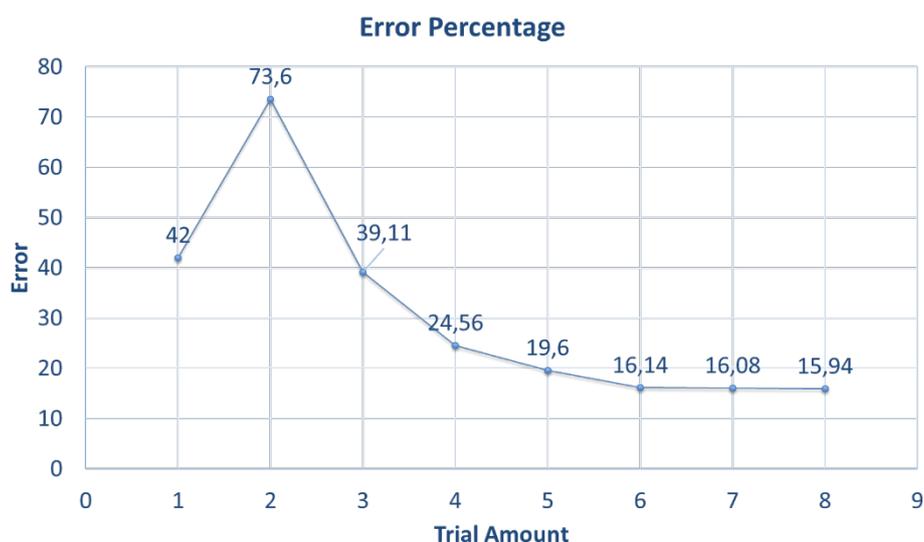
In the fifth trial, the same amount of orders, which is 100, arranged in a way that education group consists of a sub and upper limits than the training group. When Solver was reactivated, the result came up with 19,6% error. Thus, the order characteristics that are not previously included in the training group were tested. This outcome showed up in a weighted error of 2,58% in the training group. In addition, there appeared a weighted error of 36,61% in the education group. It can be concluded that there is an error in the selected education group.

By changing the problematic parts of the training group in the previous trial, when Solver was started again, it was reached that the estimation result in a weighted error of 16,08%. After these

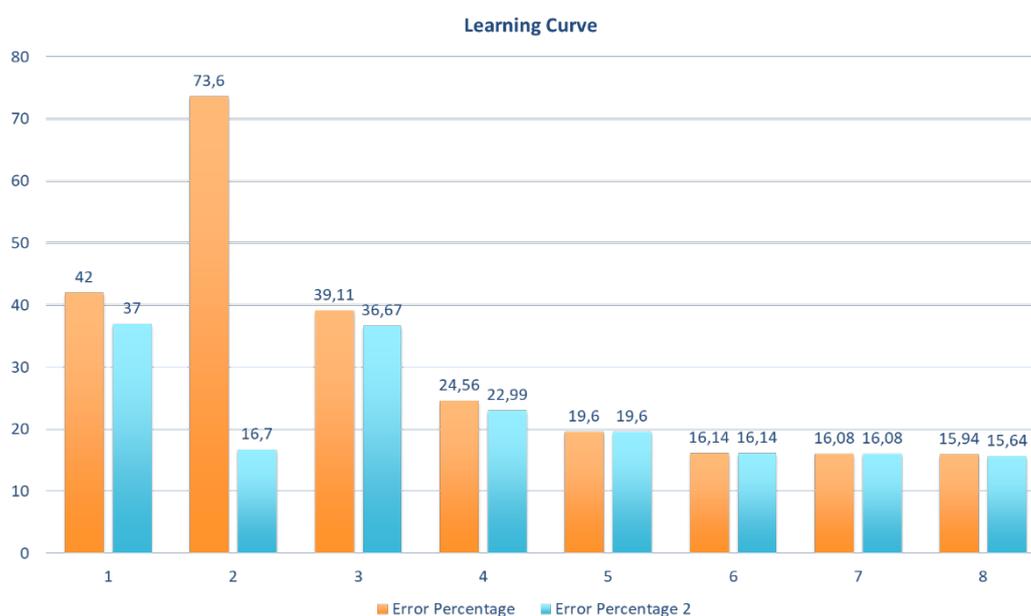
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experiments, the numbers of the orders were thought to be inadequate, so it was increased in 144 and the trials were continued. In the figure 1.5., there is a second trial set results which have 8 trial. The results are shown as error percentage of estimating delivery time and they are quite satisfying. These 8 trials include changing different variables.

After a while, the same orders and the same methods were uploaded to Solver. However, in the second trial of the second trial set, it calculated estimating with the error of 16,73%. The reason for this result was supposed as artificial neural networks were learning the process and estimating better results. So, the second trial set was run once more in order to find out the learning curve shown in figure 1.6.



**Figure 1.5.** Results of 8 Trials in the Second Trial Set

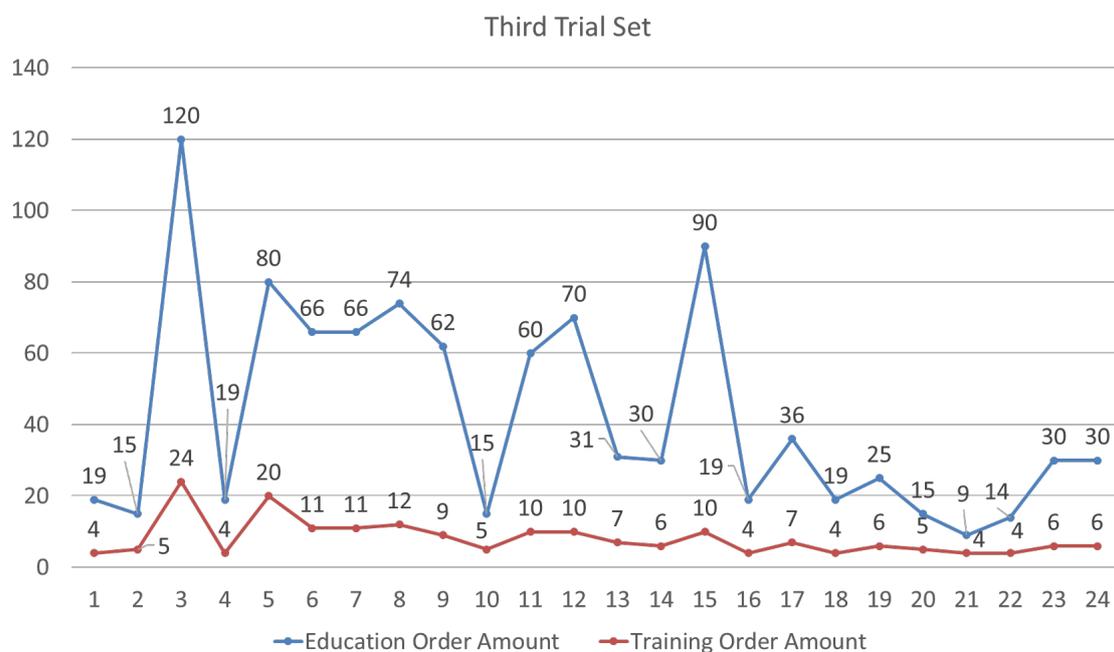


**Figure 1.6.** Learning Curve of the Second Trial Set

The highest rates of error have resulted from two possible reasons; the wrong enumeration of the input values that is order characteristics (it should have been enumerated in order of priorities), the lack of criteria in terms of being correct and sufficient. Considering those possibilities, input values were prioritized and the criteria were evaluated and revised.

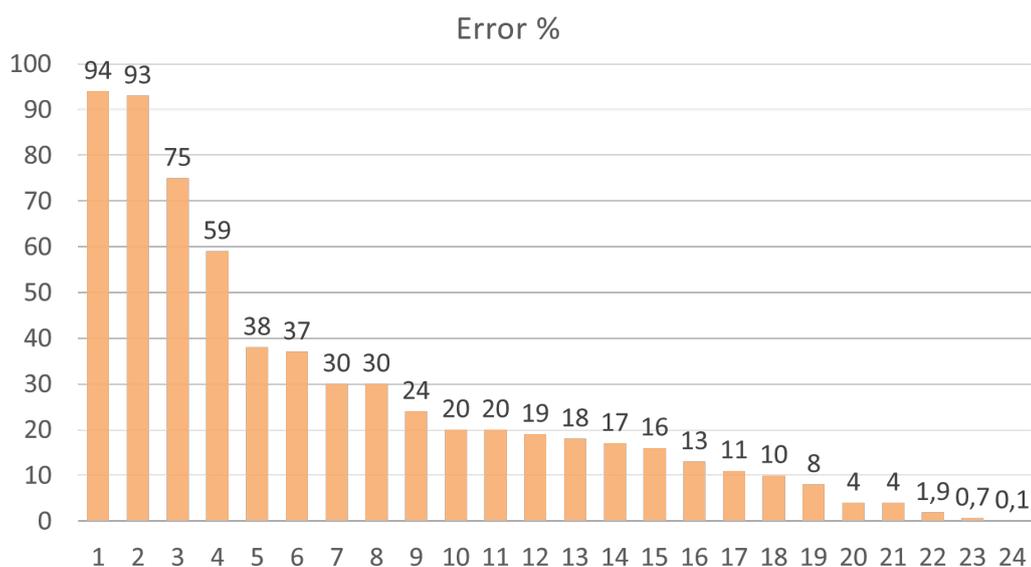
What is meant by the order of priorities is from the most determinant raw material procurement to the least determinant raw material procurement in the delivery time. This flow had been created while determining the input values of possible delivery time. Those possible delivery time were not included in the study because they were aimed to be calculated in the ratio through artificial neural networks. However, this duration has been affected by factors such as whether raw material in the columns is domestic or overseas, whether these raw materials are used from the store etc. In the light of this information, Solver was activated by ranking the input values in terms of priorities. On the other hand, another different customer group's order information was gathered in case there could be an unforeseen factor.

After the second trial set, many trials were executed in terms of the arrangement of order parameters, the varieties and the numbers of the orders with the name of the third trial set. These trials are summarized as below in figure 1.7. There are 24 trials in the third trial set which includes a different amount of order both in education and training group. Each trial has different variables in order to find the best prediction. Figure 1.7. shows 24 trial's education and training amount and figure 1.8. shows each trial's results. The error rate is gradually decreasing.



**Figure 1.7.** Third Trial Set Amount of Orders

## Taxes Paid and Other Financial Obligations Imposed During Importation



**Figure 1.7.** The Error Percentage of the Third Trial Set

To be more precise, the trial numbered 22 might be given as an example of third trial set. The details of the trail can be seen in table 1.3. The estimation occurred with the weighted error of 1,9% in the number 22 trial. Additionally, in this prediction, education group was predicted with the error of 1,96 while the training group was estimated with the weighted error of 1,84. This trial might be accepted as a successful trial.

22nd Trial of Third Trial Set	Amount	Percentage
Education Group Error	14	1,96
Training Group Error	4	1,84
Final	18	1,9

**Table 1.3.** 22nd Trial Details 1

In order to analyze 22nd trial more elaborately, it is recommended to see table 1.4. This table shows the estimated delivery time of 18 pieces of orders, which was performed via Solver. The first 14 orders were used for education group. Likewise, the last 4 orders were used for the training group. To explain the table clearly, for instance, the real delivery time of order 15th is 78 days and Solver calculated the delivery time as 78,18 for the order 15th. On the other hand, the real delivery time of order 17th is 72 days, but Solver calculated the delivery time as 75,6 for the order 17th. By looking at this table, it is possible to analyze in which areas Solver makes an error in prediction at most. Based on these examples of the errors, it is possible to reorganize the data group.

Number	Solver Findings	Actual Delivery Time	%ERROR
1	119,56	122	2,00
2	78,73	81	2,80
3	84,28	86	2,00
4	82,32	84	2,00
5	79,36	82	3,22
6	85,21	89	4,25
7	77,60	79	1,77
8	109,14	107	2,00
9	110,19	110	0,17
10	114,94	116	0,92
11	103,67	104	0,32
12	98,94	97	2,00
13	106,08	104	2,00
14	75,48	74	2,00
15	78,18	78	0,23
16	105,42	105	0,40
17	75,60	72	5,00
18	118,87	121	1,76

**Table 1.4.** 22nd Trial Error Details 2

At the end of the analysis, the best estimating result is 0,1%, 0,7%. The results between the actual delivery time, the estimated delivery time and error percentage are shown in the table below.

Best Trials	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
Education Group Error	30	1,55	30	0,17
Training Group Error	6	0,01	6	0,02
Final	36	0,78	36	0,1

**Table 1.5.** Best Trial of the Third Trial Set

When it is to formulate an idea from the table above, it might be supposed that ANN has reached a successful conclusion throughout the project process.

#### 4. Conclusion

It might be concluded that when Solver performs more estimation, it reaches more accurate results in the phase of estimating by using artificial neural networks.

While the high numbers of the selected education group create an advantage during estimating, the contrary examples of training group lead to disadvantage. When selected orders have similar characteristics, there appears to be a decrease in the estimating rate. The type of order such as pyjamas, trousers, T-shirt have importance on the estimation accuracy; on the other hand, foreign-sourced (supplied from outside of the country) yarn, accessory have influenced delivery time more. Additional operations on the product such as printing, embroidery have much more influence on the estimating process than the type of fabric.

Each of the trials might be observed as above. However, in this study, the key point to consider is that there is a method to enhance the raw material procurement for the benefits of the company. These enhancements also beneficial for the supply chain management system of the company. One of

the significant results of this study is the company's corrective improvements in the points that have a huge impact on the delivery time. Additionally, accepted as the pre-study, this study helped the company to learn know-how process by means of Solver.

In further studies, designing a study of artificial intelligence, which aims to be integrated with the company's ERP system, will be an effective step towards industry 4.0. In the next studies, the same trials will be applied to the different customer groups of the company, and thus increasing the accuracy rate of estimation by means of more data. The study of prediction is one of the suggested studies as well as estimating the delivery time. It is possible to conduct formulas and spreadsheet in a way that predict the preliminary cost of the orders. For further studies, through Excel spreadsheets and formulas, this study can be transformed into software, and so when merchandisers enter the qualification of the order, they can reach the delivery time within seconds.

## 5. Acknowledgement

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# Loss of Books and Documents and its Legal Consequences

Zeynep Arıkan

## I. Introduction

In order that the declaration principle is to function properly, the (tax) base amount must be fully and correctly declared and should be provable in books and documents. It is important that the books and documents are kept and presented for the purposes of the obligation to prove.

It is essential that the books and documents are kept within the time limit and submitted, upon request, to those who are authorized to review them. Time-limit periods are 10 years according to the Turkish Commercial Code (TCC) and 5 years according to the Tax Procedure Law (TPL). Taxpayers face fines and imprisonment in various amounts if they destroy any of the books and documents before the expiry of the period stipulated or if they do not submit the books to the authorities excluding force majeure circumstances. For this reason, taxpayers should pay attention to the timely and complete submission of books and documents. In case of loss of books and documents due to natural disasters such as fire, earthquakes, flood, or theft, it is necessary and important for the protection of the rights of the taxpayers to obtain a document called "certificate of loss".

In our study, reasons for the loss of the books and documents and the actions to be taken for the lost books and documents were discussed. In this sense, the legal and tax qualification of the certificate of loss has been emphasized, and the matters required to be considered for issuance of such certificate are stated. On this way, actions required to be done by the taxpayers within certain periods are stated, and our opinions and suggestions about the subject are given.

## II. Obligation to Conservation and Submission of Books and Documents

Natural and legal person merchants (collective, limited, limited partnerships and limited partnerships and cooperatives) have to keep the legal books and the documents used as the basis for any registration in such books for 10 years according to the TCC and 5 years according to the TPL. After the expiry of this period, this storage obligation shall also be ceased.

The starting dates of the retention periods are based on different criteria in the TCC and the TPL (Tax Procedure law). In the TCC, the time limit stipulated is 10 years for the books starting from the registry date of the last record and for the documents used as the bases from the dates of any such document, as such limit is prescribed as 5 years starting from the beginning of the calendar year following the year of transaction in the applicable tax legislations. It is very important to keep books and documents as they will be used as evidence in case of any dispute. TPL is different from TCC in terms of storage period and in terms of the beginning of the storage periods.

It is always possible that the books and documents which are required to be kept statutorily are lost due to a number of reasons beyond the control of the taxpayer. Taking this into account, the legislator gave the taxpayers the right to receive a "certificate of loss" in the TCC. In case of a receipt of a certificate of loss, the merchant shall be relieved of the burden of submitting books and documents. In such a case, important obstacles may arise in terms of the function of evidence of the books and documents. For this reason, courts must be very cautious in issuance of the certificate of loss.

The obligation to keep the books and documents has been assigned to those who are obliged to keep the books according to the TCC. If the merchant is dead, the books must be kept by the heirs (TCC, Article 82 / I).

There is no regulation on where to keep books and documents. It is at the discretion of the taxpayer. This is why it is important for the merchant to act cautiously to keep the documents.

The obligation to keep the books and documents and to present them when requested is also applicable for the electronic books and documents. Those keeping books, issuing documents and receiving documents in electronic environment, are under obligation to keep and furnish them in full when required in accordance with the regulations of the TPL and TCC.

Books kept in electronic environment and the equipment in which the e-invoices issued and received are stored may be destroyed in natural disasters, or stolen or exposed to cyberattacks, and they may become unavailable for this reason. However, the possibility of loss of electronic records and documents is very low compared to the legal books and documents kept in hard format. Before starting electronic applications, all precautions must be taken, scenarios about how to bring back the missing records and documents are reported and commitments are given. For this reason, in the event of the disappearance of electronic books and records, there are various difficulties to deal with (Bıyık, 2017). However, despite all the precautions taken, despite being backed up in different environments, records and documents may be destroyed due to a catastrophic disasters or cyber-attacks.

### **III. Loss of Books and Documents and Conditions to Receive Certificate of Loss**

The term “lost” is being lost, disappeared, become out of order (Türk Dil Kurumu). In our tax legislation, there is no definition of lost goods and loss documents but in TPL the causes of loss of books and documents are listed.

Taxpayers may not be able to submit books and documents due to force majeure conditions stated in Article 13 of the TPL. In the presence of one of these reasons, the taxpayers shall have the right to not submit the books and documents. The force majeure circumstances listed in Article 13 of the TPL are:

- Severe accident, severe illness and detention to the extent the fulfillment of any of the tax duties is prevented,
- Disasters such as fire, earthquakes and flooding that would prevent the fulfillment of tax duties,
- Force majeure circumstances beyond the control of the person
- As if the owner of the book were found to be out of the possession of the books and documents due to any reason beyond the control of the book owner.

After listing the force majeure circumstances prescribed in the law, it is stated that any circumstance “similar” to those force majeure circumstances should be interpreted as "force majeure circumstances". The reasons for the loss are to be considered as not exhaustive.

If any of the force majeure conditions set out in Article 13 of the TPL come to the fore, the reason does not extend until the start. In this case, the storage period of the books and documents is extended by the non-working periods (Şimşek, 2018).

According to article 82 of the Turkish Commercial Code 6102; if the books and documents that the taxpayer is obliged to keep shall be lost due to a disaster such as fire, flood or earthquake or theft, the merchant may request a certificate from the court of competent jurisdiction within 15 days from the date of the discovery of the disaster by the Merchant. This certificate is called "Certificate of loss". Stealing of Book and document is also a reason to get certificate of loss. In the Article 68 of the former Turkish Commercial Code, fire, flood, or earthquakes were mentioned; in the new TCC stealing is included to such reasons.

A claim is filed without any hostility for issuance of certificate of loss. The court may also request the collection of evidence where deemed necessary. In such a case, it is necessary to apply to the court together with the document proving the event (i.e. fire service report, the appraisal report, the police report, the crime investigation report or the letters and / or reports to be taken from the mukhtars).

Merchants who are liable to keep commercial books and documents are obliged to apply for certificate of loss within 15 days. The merchant who has not received such a document shall be deemed to have refrained from submitting the books and documents. The claims for issuance of certificate of loss is to be filed with the commercial courts of first instance at the place of the head office. Pursuant to the article 5/4 of the TCC, in the places where there is no commercial court, the civil court of first instance shall be authorized. However, any court may deny issuing a certificate of loss. It is also possible to cancel the certificate of loss given by the court subsequently. For this reason, it is necessary to file the claim so that no rejection or cancellation shall occur in the future.

Requests made after the expiration of this period will not be taken into consideration by the court, since the time bar for filing a claim is 15 days. However, this 15-day period may more than such 15 days according to the event date. The 15-day period here starts not from the date when the event happened

but rather from the date when the merchant has become aware of it (Aykın, 2017). If, after the expiration of the deadline, any certificate of loss is issued, then the document may subsequently be revoked by the court upon the request of the counter-party.

The issuance of a certificate of loss is linked to the loss of books and documents due to natural disasters or theft. The claim for a loss of certificate should be "sincere" and "credible" whatever the cause for the claim. In other words, the merchant should not be faulty in loss of the books/ documents. Accordingly, the claim for loss of the books and documents must be credible, sincere, and reasonable (Topçu, 2010). For example, it is not convincing to claim that the books were fallen in the sea or the thieves who broke in a building stole legal books and documents only.

Anyone who lost the books and documents would not able to take the certificate of loss. However, natural or legal person may claim therefore. The merchant is also entitled to have such certificate upon loss of the books or documents. Tradesmen and craftsmen are not allowed to obtain a certificate of loss, or self-employed persons may not claim this document when the books and documents are lost. For this reason, it is necessary to determine by the court whether the claimant who filed a claim for the certificate of loss is a tradesman. An expert opinion may be requested whether the claimant is a tradesman or a craftsman. There is a gap in tax legislation in this regard. Therefore, it has to be arranged in TPL.

The books and documents that are lost should be legal (commercial) books and documents that tradesman is obliged to keep. Certificate of loss is not required for books and documents that are not of commercial nature. For example, a merchant may not ask for a certificate of loss by claiming that his checks are lost. Again, it is not possible to claim certificate of loss for empty books or documents even if they were attested (Şener, 2004).

Books and documents should have been lost within the storage period. For example, after 10 years of storage, it is not possible to receive a certificate of loss for any legal book since it will be no use.

In order to obtain a certificate of loss, the tradesman must have kept his books duly. No certificate of loss is issued to any taxpayer who failed to keep the books or kept such books unduly.

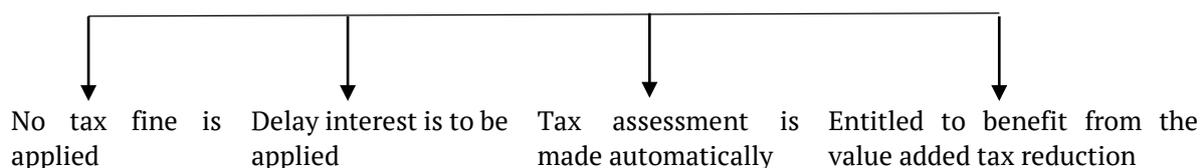
A certificate of loss is a document to prove the existence of force majeure circumstances and burglary situation and should be respected unless proven otherwise. The tradesman does not necessarily have to have this document. It is voluntary to get this certificate. However, their rights will be reserved if issued.

#### **IV. Consequences of Issuance of Certificate of Loss in Terms of Tax Laws**

In case of issuance of a certificate of loss for loss of any commercial books and documents, it shall have its legal consequences. The certificate of loss that the taxpayers incurring damages/losses due to force majeure conditions or burglary shall prevent suffering of the tradesman in the future preventing occurrence of any confusion in the future. Because this document is a proof of the force majeure circumstance or burglary and should be respected unless proven otherwise.

The most important consequence of obtaining a certificate of loss is that taxpayers will not necessarily be subject to tax penalties if they receive this document and submit it to the investigator (TPL, Article 373). However, the delay interest shall be accrued. On the other hand, it is required to assess tax payment automatically, even if a certificate of loss is issued due to any force majeure circumstance or theft, according to article 30 of TP. In other words, according to the provisions of the TCC, a certificate of loss will not prevent tax assessment automatically. It shall have its consequences only in terms of fines to be applied.

The consequences of issuance of a certificate of loss for a tradesman are illustrated in the Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1: Tax Consequences of Issuance of a Certificate of Loss for The Taxpayer**

**Source:** Issued by us considering the legal fine applications.

A Certificate of loss is a document of private law. Even if it is received, it is not a definite provision. In cases where this document has not been taken or has been neglected, it is possible to claim and prove that the books and documents have been lost (provided that they are convincing and sincere) in criminal cases to be filed (Doğrusöz, 2015).

A merchant who does not receive a certificate of loss for legal books and documents will be deemed as refrained from submission. The certificate of loss protection protects the merchant from the negative consequences of not submitting the books. In this case, the possibility of using the taxpayer's books as evidence against it also disappears (Şener, 2004).

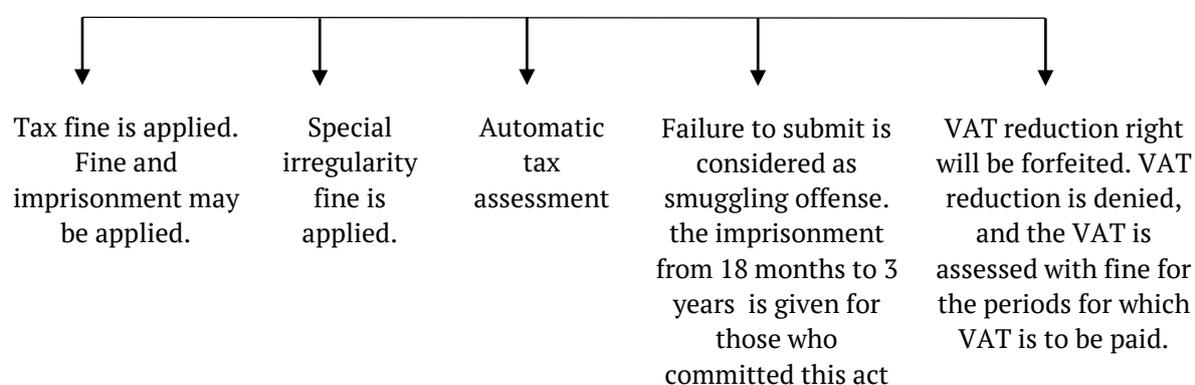
### V. Consequence of Issuance of A Certificate of Loss As Per The Tax Laws

Where books and documents will be lost, taxpayers sometimes do not receive "certificate of loss" due to ignorance under the conditions. Sometimes the excuses suggested by taxpayers applying for certificate of loss are not convincing. For example, certificate of loss is not given in such cases where books are accidentally chucked out. The acceptance of the certificate of loss claim must be convincing, and the taxpayer is to be sincere.

There are sanctions to be applied for failure to submit the documents and books to those authorized to review such books and documents due to any force majeure circumstance or burglary. Accordingly, in the event that books and documents may not be submitted as defined in the TPL, a special irregularity penalty is imposed (TPL, Article 355). In addition, income and corporate tax bases shall be assessed automatically (TPL Article 30.). The failure to submit the legal books to the auditors shall cause assessment of tax automatically, on the other hand, failure to submit the optional books, other than legal books, is not considered as a reason for assessment of tax automatically.

Taxes deducted are denied from the point of value added tax and the assessment of tax shall be made with fine for the periods for which value added tax shall be payable (VAT Law, Article 29, Article 34). Failure to submit the books and documents shall be considered as act of "hiding". A smuggling offense is deemed to have been committed and the imprisonment from 18 months to 3 years (TPL, Article 359 / a-2) is given for those who committed this act.

The tax consequences for taxpayers not receiving certificate of loss are illustrated in the Figure 2 below.



**Figure 2: Tax Results for Failure to Issue Certificate of Loss for The Taxpayers**

**Source:** We illustrated considering the legal fines applied.

As you may see, a certificate of loss is an important document with significant functions. There are sanctions with negative effects of the taxpayer who fails to get this certificate. Therefore, it is important to use due care for taking this certificate within due time.

## VI. Conclusion

An effective tax audit begins by submitting the books and documents to the auditor. In this way, in the tax audit, it is possible to distinguish between those paying their taxes and not paying their taxes, and the amount of tax payable is confirmed. There may be taxpayers who fail to fulfill their obligation to report due to negligence or malice. In case of loss of books and documents due to force majeure and burglary, issuance of certificate of loss will protect the rights of the taxpayers and prevent application of penalty on them. For this reason, taxpayers fulfilling the conditions for issuance of a certificate of loss shall prevent problems for the taxpayer in the future. In case of issuance of certificate of loss, no liability shall occur due to claiming for failure to hide the books and documents.

In order to be able to get a certificate of loss, a 15-day qualifying period is started to start from the moment of finding out the loss. However, this period is rather short when we consider taxpayers' victimization. It is very difficult for a taxpayer who pays pecuniary and non-pecuniary damages to get a certificate of loss from the court within 15 days. For this reason, this period must be extended by amending the legislation.

There is a gap in our tax laws in issuance of certificate of loss, how it should be issued and for loss of documents and books. Such gap is attempted to be filled with the article 82 of TCC. It is compulsory to issue such immediately with the details in TPL. Reasons for loss of books and documents should be indicated and the framework is to be drawn for how the taxpayers shall act. In this way, the rights of the taxpayers shall be protected.

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# Tax Incentives given to the Entrepreneurs in Turkey and its Effects

Hakan Bay

## I. Introduction

Entrepreneur started to conduct work by investing capital in trade and industry areas and taking risk for profit target is the leading actor in organizations where business opportunities are converted into new values, and entrepreneurial economic opportunities that take on risk with profit are transformed into new values. The success of the entrepreneur depends on the ability to gather all the production items under the best conditions to produce goods and services. The place and the importance of tax incentives in establishing these conditions and in the success of the entrepreneur is essential.

Tax incentives are used to provide economic development as a means of fiscal policy by reducing the tax burden on entrepreneurs and to help the society reach a certain level of prosperity. Tax policies are important to support your entrepreneurship and to establish successful businesses. For this reason, tax incentives should be applied in such a way as to provide an entrepreneur convenience and to open the way. The entrepreneur acts for profit making when making investment decision, and invests if he believes that his investment will be profitable. If the region to be invested has the advantages that can affect the profitability of the investment, investment in that region is preferred and regional entrepreneurial activities are increased. Tax incentives are effective incentive advantages on entrepreneurial decisions. These incentives have an important place in the growth of domestic and foreign markets, in the entrepreneurs' ability to compete in foreign markets, in increasing the investment rate and in reaching high levels of exports.

This study discusses what are the tax incentives that are influential on the decisions of the entrepreneurs, the purpose, the types, the advantages and disadvantages of these incentives, and the general evaluation of the effects on the entrepreneurial decisions of the incentive policies. In addition, the problems that tax incentives brought out to the entrepreneurs in our country have been put forward, and the solution proposal related to encouragement of entrepreneurship has been emphasized.

## II. Incentive Concept in General Terms

Incentives are classified in different ways in terms of their purpose, scope, means of use, sources or periods of granting (Duran, 2003, pp. 23-24). For this reason, it contains its own criteria according to the institution or person who makes the definition. However, it is not possible to find a generally accepted incentive concept or definition at the international level (UNCTAD, 2004, p. 5). According to the Turkish Language Dictionary issued the Turkish Language Association, incentive means motivation or encouragement. According to the dictionary of economic terms, incentive is the award given in the form of financial support and legal facilities to achieve a certain economic or social purpose. In other words, the incentive refers to pecuniary or non-pecuniary financial support, assistance and encouragement given by the public through various methods in order to ensure that certain economic activities in the economy grow more and faster than others (Çiloğlu, 1997, p. 1). In the literature, the concepts such as "subsidy", "financial aid for economic purpose", "transfer expenditures made for the producer", "premiums", "cheap loans", "in kind benefits" are also used (Aktan, 2001). In particular, subsidy is generally used instead of incentive, and state aid is used in European Union legislation, in the multilateral international agreements prepared under the auspices of the World Trade Organization, (Aykın, 2006, p. 44).

There are many means of incentives used to promote investments. The OECD considers incentives for attracting foreign direct investments as competitive and wasted practices (Savaşan, 2006, p. 1). According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, there are three main incentives that are frequently used according to the level of development and economic development

needs of countries. According to this, incentives are classified under three groups: financial incentives, fiscal incentives and other incentives (UNCTAD, 2004, pp. 6-7).

**Table 1. Incentive Tools and Incentive Types**

Incentive Tools		Incentive Types
<b>1. Financial/Cash Incentives</b>	Mutual	- Donations - Premiums
	Gratuitous	- Loans with suitable conditions
	Guarantees and Sureties	- Credit guarantees - Risk capital participation by public in projects with high commercial risk - Privileged public insurance covering economic and commercial risks (devaluation, political confusion, etc.)
<b>2. Fiscal/Tax Incentives</b>	Income and Corporate Tax Incentives	- Low-rate income and corporation tax - Tax exemption - Reservation of losses - Accelerated depreciation - Investment - Deducting some expenditures from taxes (social security contributions, employment related expenditures, advertising, promotion and marketing, health expenditures, etc.) - Tax credit (financing fund)
	VAT Incentives	- VAT exemption on capital goods - Lower VAT rate for underdeveloped regions and/or some product(s)
	Customs Duty Incentives	- Customs exemption of capital goods such as machinery-equipment, raw materials, parts and spare parts - Custom tax refund
<b>3. Other Incentives</b>	In-kind Incentives	- Land allocation - Building acquisition
	Other Incentives	- Preparation of infrastructure - Cheap energy support - Privileged public agreements - Pre-investment services; financial resources, investment project preparation and management, market research, raw material and infrastructure status, production process and marketing techniques, training, know-how or quality control development techniques

**Source:** (Yavan, 2011, p. 35).

The incentive system has a prominent place in the economic policies applied by the countries. The availability of a balanced development and establishment of a competitive structure require a flexible, changeable in the short run, multi-purpose and multi-tool incentive system (Akan & Arslan, 2008, p. 109). The incentives to be given for the investments in our country are classified under five main headings.

**Table 2: Investment Encouragement System in Turkey**

<b>Regional Incentives</b>	<b>Priority Investments</b>	<b>Large Scale Investments</b>	<b>Strategic Investments</b>	<b>General Incentives</b>
Aims to reduce the development distinction between provinces and to increase the production and export potential of the provinces.	Aimed to support certain investment topics with the 5th region support.	Investments to enhance competitive power and increase technology and R & D capacity are supported.	High value-added investments that contribute to reducing the current account deficit are supported.	Includes all other investments excluding the investment subjects not to be encouraged.

**Source:** (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy).

At present, since it is possible to get result in short period with the incentives transferred to the economy directly, they are used in wide array of applications as compared to other public policies. In the studies it seems that developing countries seem to resort to fiscal incentives as developed countries apply financial incentives (UNCTAD, 2004, p. 5). In other words, developing countries are turning to tax incentives to increase their exports, to give their resident companies competitive advantage in global markets and to attract foreign investors to their countries.

### III. Tax Incentive Concept

Several factors, such as the tax system's approach to incentives and public pressure on incentive politics, are important in terms of achieving the incentives (Tosuner, Bay, & Sirkeci, 2009, p. 135). Tax policies implemented by governments are important tools for directing business investments, encouraging research and development, innovation, productivity improvements and product commercialization. As a matter of fact, when industrialized countries and rapidly developing economies are examined, it is seen that new business investments are closely related to incentives for innovation and productivity (Kutbay & Öz, July-December 2017, p. 332). For this reason, one of the incentive instruments frequently used in our country is the tax incentive regulations.

It is allowed to define tax incentive arrangements as providing tax advantages and privileges to certain economic elements or activities by making changes in tax legislation in order to reach predetermined macroeconomic targets (Benk, 2005, p.184). Tax incentive arrangements have been a long-standing process since the introduction of some tax incentives for those who are engaged in fabric weaving in Biella, located in the Piedmont region of Northern Italy in 1160 (Morisset & Pirnia, 2000, p. 3) (Footnote 2)). Tax incentives have been included in the tax systems of all countries in almost every epoch of history (Giray, 2005, p. 95). These arrangements are made to ensure that entrepreneurs invest in designated projects or sectors and are an integral part of the overall economic system.

Investments are often supported in our country by the Decision of the Council of Ministers and the provisions of the Communiqué on the implementation of such decisions. Hence, incentive arrangements have a structure that complements or supports existing development programs. It is aimed to encourage investors to invest by changing the cost of investments to be made by directly or indirectly influencing the market conditions within the framework of the decisions taken, the potential profitability relative to other sectors or the possible risks related to the investment. In this sense, tax incentives may also be defined as state measures designed to influence the size of the investment, the region and the industry (Kızılot, 2009). In the country where cash incentives have been taking place since 1985, it is seen that tax incentives are mainly used in incentive instruments in our country.

### IV. Purposes of Tax Incentives

Tax incentives are mainly for the purposes of increasing regional and sectoral investments, improving technology transfer and business performance, while changing the country from country to country. Just like in other developing countries, encouragement policies are applied in order to increase production of high added value products, to provide economic development and industrialization, to

develop backward regions, to gain international competitiveness, to reduce external dependency, to increase productivity, to expand employment opportunities, to transfer technology, to increase exports and to attract foreign capital.

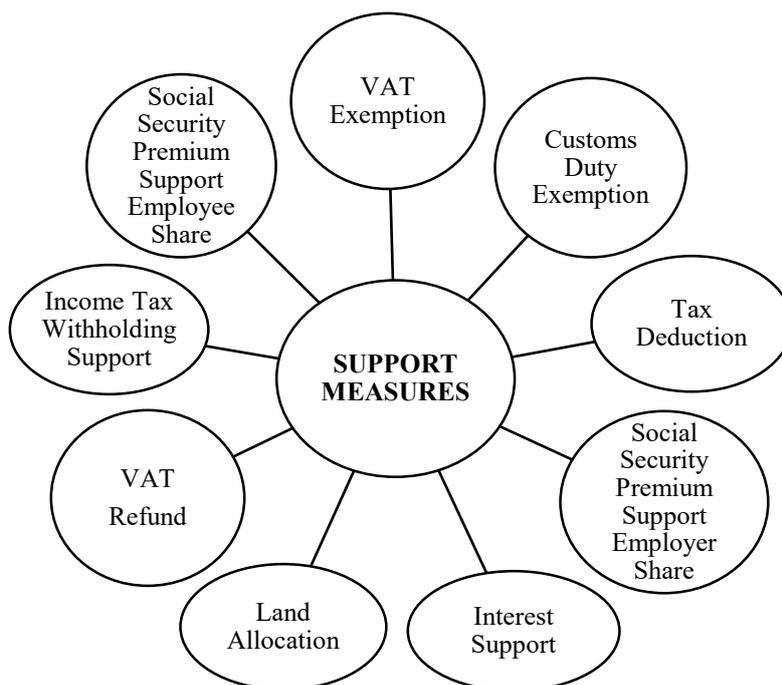
**Table 3: Purposes of the Tax Incentives**

<b>Purposes of the Tax Incentives</b>		
<b>1- Economic Purposes</b>	<b>2- Financial Purposes</b>	<b>3- Political, Social and Administrative Purposes</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increasing savings,</li> <li>- Increasing the investment,</li> <li>- Directing investments to specific areas and regions,</li> <li>- Eliminate of Negative effects of taxes on economic decisions,</li> <li>- Ensuring economic stability and reducing inflationary effects,</li> <li>- Encouraging employment,</li> <li>- Protecting newly established industries,</li> <li>- To increase exports, foreign exchange earning operations and international competitiveness.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ensure optimum taxation,</li> <li>- Increase tax revenues,</li> <li>- Providing continuity in tax revenues by encouraging efficient investments,</li> <li>- Ensure that the tax burden is distributed fairly among the taxpayers,</li> <li>- Reduce the tax collection costs of tax administrations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ensure fair distribution of income among persons,</li> <li>- Ensure that all services of social services such as education and health are contributed by the people and institutions to the cost,</li> <li>- Provide the conditions necessary for the taxpayers themselves to maintain their lives and the lives of those whom they are obliged to maintain to a minimum level,</li> <li>- Not to lose potential voters,</li> <li>- Increase the efficiency of the functions of the Tax Administration.</li> </ul>

**Source:** Tax Incentive System (Giray, Tax Incentive System, February 2008, pp. 35-52) is made by me by using the referred system.

In order to achieve these goals, they are embodied in low rate taxation of earnings by the governments, accelerated depreciation, tax holiday, reduced tariffs, loss deduction, investment reduction, exemptions and exemptions, tax incentive schemes. Hence, these incentive arrangements are not covered by the general taxation regime.

Supports that investors can benefit from in our country are determined in the following manner within the scope of the incentive system, partly or wholly, at varying rates and durations depending on the size, region and subject of the investment.



**Figure 1. Supporting Measures for Investors within the scope of Incentive Practices**  
 Source: (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy).

When the incentive instruments provided to investors are examined according to the legal regulations, it is seen that support for VAT exemption, customs duty exemption, tax deduction, support of VAT refund and income tax withholding are tax incentives; social security premium employee and employer contribution supports are social security incentives as interest support is financial incentives.

#### **V. Supporting Measures Provided to Investors within the scope of Encouragement Practices**

The most recent statutory regulation for the promotion of investments was made with the Law No. 6745 on the Project-based Support and some Laws and the Law on the Amendment of the Decrees was published in the Official Gazette dated September 7, 2016 and numbered 29824. In accordance with Article 80 of the Law, the Council of Ministers has been authorized to implement one or more of the supports specified in the Law for the investments which are determined to be supported by the Ministry of Economy on the basis of the project and in accordance with the targets set forth in the development plans and annual programs. Accordingly, the elements of support and implementation are as follows.

- ✓ **VAT Exemption:** As per the Value Added Tax Law no. 3065, it is applied in the form of non-payment of the value added tax for the sale of the software and intangible rights within the scope of the document with the investment goods machinery equipment to be procured from domestic and abroad within the scope of the investment incentive certificate.
- ✓ **Customs Duty Exemption:** It is applied in the form of non-payment of customs duties to be paid by the Ministry of Customs and Trade for investment goods and equipment to be procured from abroad within the scope of investment incentive certificate.
- ✓ **Tax Deduction:** The Ministry of Finance applies the income or corporation tax at a reduced rate up to the amount of contribution foreseen for investment. This support is provided in the context of incentive documents issued for strategic investments, large scale investments and regional incentives.
- ✓ **VAT Refund:** Fixed investment amount is the return of VAT collected by the Ministry of Finance for building-construction expenditures realized within the scope of strategic investments above 500 million Turkish Liras.

- ✓ **Income Tax Withholding Support:** The investment incentive certificate is for the Ministry of Finance to be abandoned by the Ministry of Finance for a period of 10 years for the minimum portion of the income tax withholding that should be paid for additional employment provided by the investment. It is only for incentive documents for investments to be realized in Region 6.
- ✓ **Social Security Premium Support Employer's Share:** The investment incentive certificate covers the minimum portion of the social security premium employer's share that is to be paid for additional employment provided by the investment for a certain period of time at the Social Security Institution. Large scale investments are applied for incentive documents issued under strategic investments and regional incentive applications.
- ✓ **Social Security Premium Support Employee's Share:** The investment incentive certificate is to cover the minimum premium portion of the social security premium worker's contribution, which must be paid for additional employment provided by the investment, for 10 years by the Ministry of Economy. It is applied for incentive documents for investments to be realized in the 6th region except general incentive applications.
- ✓ **Interest Support:** Financing support provided for loans with maturities of at least 1 year used in the scope of investment incentive certificate. The Ministry of Economy receives a portion of the interest or dividend payable on the credit used up to 70% of the fixed investment amount recorded in the incentive certificate. This support is applied for investments to be made within the scope of regional incentives in strategic investments, R & D and environmental investments, and in 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Regions.
- ✓ **Land Allocation:** An investment place may be allocated within the framework of the procedures and principles determined by the Ministry of Finance for investments to benefit from large scale investments, strategic investments and regional aids for which investment incentive certificates are issued.

These supports are not limited to the arrangements made in the Law, but in addition to these supports, on the basis of project-based investments eligible investments;

- ✓ Qualified personnel support,
- ✓ Interest support or grant support,
- ✓ Energy support,
- ✓ Capital contribution,
- ✓ Public procurement guarantee,
- ✓ Infrastructure support,
- ✓ Exemption for permits, assignments, licenses, licenses and registrations and other restrictive provisions brought by law or facilitation arrangements in legal and administrative processes

may be provided as support to investors within the framework of the Council of Ministers Decree on the Grant of Government Assistance for projects based on Projects 2016/9495 was published in the Official Gazette No. 29900 dated 26 November 2016.

**Table 4: Comparison of the Incentive Programs Applied in the Recent Years**

Scope of Incentives		
2009	2012	2016
Overall Turkey (26 NUTS 2 region is divided into 4 different regions according to socio-economic development level)	Turkey General (Turkey is divided into 6 zones using socio-economic development index released by the Ministry of Economy)	Investments are supported by project
Investment Tools		
2009	2012	2016

## Tax Incentives given to the Entrepreneurs in Turkey and its Effects

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tax deduction,</li> <li>- Customs duty exemption,</li> <li>- VAT exception,</li> <li>- Social security premium support,</li> <li>- Interest support,</li> <li>- Land allocation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tax deduction,</li> <li>- Customs duty exemption,</li> <li>- VAT exception,</li> <li>- Social security premium support,</li> <li>- Interest support,</li> <li>- Land allocation,</li> <li>- <b>Income tax withholding tax support.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tax deduction,</li> <li>- Customs duty exemption,</li> <li>- VAT exception,</li> <li>- Social security premium support,</li> <li>- Interest support,</li> <li>- Land allocation,</li> <li>- Income tax withholding tax support,</li> <li>- <b>Energy support,</b></li> <li>- <b>Salary Support.</b></li> </ul>
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**Source:** (Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey, 2016, p. 92)

## VI. Minimum Amounts in the Regions and Investments within the scope of Encouragement Practices

In a review of the development plans in our country, it is seen that the development of national resources to provide the highest economic and social benefits and the minimization of the imbalances between the regions is one of the primary objectives. The Ministry of Development works regularly in line with the main objectives and targets set out in the plans. According to these studies in which development levels are measured comparatively, the Socio-Economic Development Ranking (SEGE) of the provinces and regions is determined. In this way, the analysis infrastructure required for more efficient use of resources and balanced development is ensured (TR Ministry of Development, 2013, p. 1), in other words, the spatial dimensions of the incentive system are drawn.

Our country has been divided into 6 different regions for utilization of the support elements within the context of the investment incentive system. This distinction was made by considering the socio-economic development levels of the illicit and it is shown in the annex number 1 of the Council of Ministers Decree No. 2012/3305 (Gökmen & Kartaloğlu, 2012, p. 31). Accordingly, in terms of investment incentive practices in our country, the regions and the provinces in these regions are as follows.

**Table 5: Investment Incentive Application Regions**

1 <sup>st</sup> Region	2 <sup>nd</sup> Region	3 <sup>rd</sup> Region	4 <sup>th</sup> Region	5 <sup>th</sup> Region	6 <sup>th</sup> Region
Ankara	Adana	Balikesir	Afyonkarahisar	Adiyaman	Ağrı
Antalya	Aydın	Bilecik	Amasya	Aksaray	Ardahan
Bursa	Bolu	Burdur	Artvin	Bayburt	Batman
Eskişehir	Çanakkale (Excluding Bozcaada and Gökçeada Districts)	Gaziantep	Bartın	Çankırı	Bingöl
İstanbul	Denizli	Karabük	Çorum	Erzurum	Bitlis
İzmir	Edirne	Karaman	Düzce	Giresun	Diyarbakır
Kocaeli	Isparta	Manisa	Elazığ	Gümüşhane	Hakkari
Muğla	Kayseri	Mersin	Erzincan	Kahramanmaraş	Iğdır
	Kırklareli	Samsun	Hatay	Kilis	Kars
	Konya	Trabzon	Kastamonu	Niğde	Mardin
	Sakarya	Uşak	Kırıkkale	Ordu	Muş
	Tekirdağ	Zonguldak	Kırşehir	Osmaniye	Siirt
	Yalova		Kütahya	Sinop	Şanlıurfa
			Malatya	Tokat	Şırnak
			Nevşehir	Tunceli	Van
			Rize	Yozgat	Bozcaada and Gökçeada Districts
			Sivas		
<b>8 provinces</b>	<b>13 provinces</b>	<b>12 provinces</b>	<b>17 provinces</b>	<b>16 provinces</b>	<b>15 provinces</b>

**Source:** (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency).

Minimum investment amount changes by incentive applications and regions. According to such;

- Minimum fixed investment amount in the general encouragement system;
  - ✓ 1.000.000 TL for Ist and IInd Regions,
  - ✓ 500,000 TL for IIIrd, IVth, Vth and VIth regions.
- Although varies by the amount of the fixed investment, it is specified as 50,000,000 TL for large scale investors.
- Minimum fixed investment amount is 50,000,000 TL determined for strategic investments.
- For regional incentive applications, a minimum of 500.000 TL is set for each sector and each province to be supported. In some sectors (tourism, livestock etc.) there is also a minimum capacity requirement other than the minimum fixed investment amount.

**Table 5: Incentives given in the context of Investment Incentive System**

Support Elements	General Investment Applications	Regional Investment Applications	Encouragement of Priority Investment	Encouragement of Large Scale Investments	Encouragement of Strategic Investments
VAT Exemption	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Customs Duty Exemption	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tax Deduction		✓	✓	✓	✓
Social Security Premium Support (Employer's Share)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Income Tax Stoppage Support *	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Social Security Premium Support (Employee's Share)*		✓	✓	✓	✓
Interest Support**		✓	✓		✓
Land Allocation		✓	✓	✓	✓
VAT Refund***					✓

**Source:** (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy).

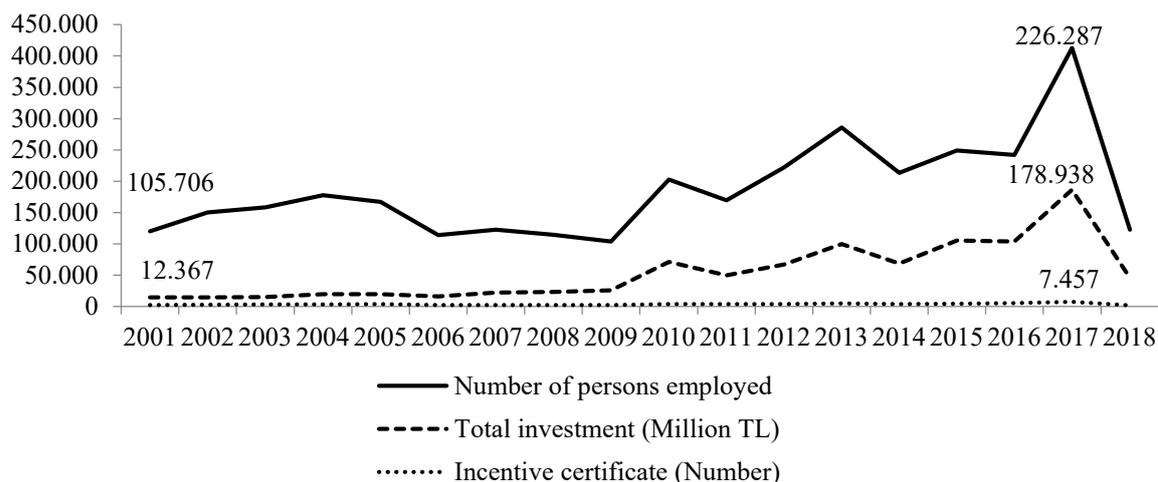
\* Provided when the investment is made in the 6<sup>th</sup> region, Organized Industrial Zones in the provinces in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> regions in the 6<sup>th</sup> Region within the Attraction Centers Program and in the Organized Industrial Zones in Kilis.

\*\* Provided when the investment is realized in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> regions in the Regional Encouragement Practices.

\*\*\* Provided for strategic investments with fixed investment amount over TL 500 million.

## VII. Effects of Tax Incentives

In order to benefit from the investment incentives determined by the Incentive Decision, it is necessary to have an investment incentive certificate issued / approved by the Ministry of Economy for this investment to be made and supported. The incentive certificate certifies that the investment characteristics, conditions, duration and projected state support for the investment project decided to be supported on a project basis with the Council of Ministers Decision are registered. It is essential that the investments are realized in the period stated in the incentive certificate. If the investment may not be realized within the foreseen period, the additional period may be granted up to the half of the initial period of investment registered in the incentive certificate.



**Figure 2: Contribution of the Investments with Incentive Certificate to Employment (2001-2018)**

**Source:** Made with the statistics (at the web address of Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy).

Supporters of tax incentives agree that this practice is a necessary practice for increasing employment, improving income and wealth distribution, reducing poverty and increasing other social and economic benefits (Tekin, 2006, p. 309). In the review of the period from 2001 till March / 2018, the total number of incentive certificates awarded to domestic and foreign capital was 2,050 in 2001, reached to 7.457 in 2017. The fixed investment amount being 12.367.000.000 TL in 2001 was increased to 178.938.000.000 TL in the year of 2017. In addition, the number of employed workers was 105,706 in 2001 as compared to 226,287 in 2017. And, when the period of 01.01.2001-31.03.2018 was evaluated collectively, it is seen that 62.670 investment incentive certificates were given to domestic and foreign capital owners in our country, and the total fixed investments were reached to TL 903.057.000.000, ensuring employment for 2.381.478 persons as a result of such investments (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy).

### VIII. Conclusion

As in other developing countries, our country also uses tax incentives based on benefit-cost analysis to attract investments or to increase existing investments. Therefore, the government transfers some of the taxes, the most important income item, to the private sector or gives up some of the income. When the effectiveness of incentive policies and tax incentives applied in our country is evaluated in general, it is seen that incentive policies are successful in some periods and sometimes far from the expectations. The most important problem of current incentive policies is that they are not well designed. Again, frequent changes prevent applications from being transparent, understandable and simple, reducing the applicability and efficiency of the system with high transaction costs.

In order to increase the effectiveness of tax incentives policy in Turkey, it is required to, in particular, to promote long-term investments, give guarantee for application of the incentives for a certain time, make the incentive system easy to understand, simple and transparent, to execute incentive policies from a single, avoid frequent change of institutions that execute the incentive policies, and generalize the incentive practices linked to the incentive certificates for all investments. Because, trust in state policies is more important than the size or diversity of incentives. Again, using tax incentives for activities that are far from the national economy and that have no impact on the tax base will cause the incentives to move away from the expected benefits.

Considering the competitiveness of the provinces in the incentive schemes made in the last years, some results have been obtained to reduce the developmental distinction among the provinces. Although it can be argued that micro scale local or regional incentive practices are more effective in this respect, it is not enough. For example, the minimum wage, which is a cost element, and the tax wedges on this wage are applied on all over the country in the same manner, creating a serious burden on the employers. As a result, the investor, who is trying to maximize the profit, decides to invest / not to

invest by comparing the alternative costs and benefits of investing. It is even more difficult to invest in small and medium-sized enterprises when it is thought that incentives have not been applied for investments that do not exceed certain amounts. For this reason, in order to increase the effectiveness of the tax incentives frequently used, the minimum wage must be determined and applied in different amounts according to the regions. Regulations in this direction will also increase the social security premium income as it will also facilitate the reduction of informal employment. In fact, the reduction in the number of persons receiving welfare benefits due to unregistered work will help to reduce the social transfers of the state.

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# Trends of new digital economy in 2019 and beyond

Natalia Raksha

## Introduction

Digital economy is a common term with a range of meanings, often used to describe economic activity involving online transactions, implemented through online marketplace.

In recent years, Smith (2016) point out that a number of online services have emerged that promise to reshape the way that population shop, eat, earn a living, go on vacation, get from place to place, and share goods, services and money with each other. Commercial juggernauts like the ride-hailing app Uber or the home-sharing platform Airbnb represent some of the most well-known examples of these new services, but they encompass the host of services, apps and online platforms of various sizes that are generally considered to be part of the shared, on-demand and collaborative economy. These new platforms serve a wide range of markets and objectives, but several characteristics help to define the landscape of this corner of the digital economy.

This study provides an overview of definitions of digital (shared, collaborative and on-demand) economy distinguishes the key criteria of digital economy business model, describes main motives of a new economy model using and analysis the impact of digital transformation on the economy.

## Definition, business model and the impact of the digital economy

Concept substitution often occurs terms such as “collaborative economy”, “sharing economy”, “collaborative consumption”, “circular economy”, “gig economy”, “peer economy” and “shared capitalism” though they mean very different things, as are the ideas they go hand-in-hand with, like “crowdfunding”, “crowdsourcing” and “co-creation”. To get clear on terminology Botsman (2015) proposes definitions to make sure they best encapsulate the behaviors, business models, economic principles and companies typically used under the term.

**Collaborative Economy:** an economic system of decentralized networks and marketplaces that unlocks the value of underused assets by matching needs and haves, in ways that bypass traditional middlemen (examples: Etsy, Kickstarter, Vandebrom, LendingClub, Quirky, Transferwise, Taskrabbit).

**Sharing Economy:** an economic system based on sharing underused assets or services, for free or for a fee, directly from individuals (examples: Airbnb, Cohealo, BlaBlaCar, JustPark, Skillshare, RelayRides, Landshare).

**Collaborative Consumption:** the reinvention of traditional market behaviors—renting, lending, swapping, sharing, bartering, gifting—through technology, taking place in ways and on a scale not possible before the internet (examples: Zopa, Zipcar, Yerdle, Getable, ThredUp, Freecycle, eBay).

**On-Demand Services:** platforms that directly match customer needs with providers to immediately deliver goods and services (examples: Instacart, Uber, Washio, Shuttlecook, DeskBeers, WunWun).

Botsman (2015) also identifies five key criteria for a digital economy platform:

1. The core business idea involves unlocking the value of unused or under-utilized assets whether for monetary or non-monetary benefits;
2. The company should have a clear values-driven mission and be built on meaningful principles including transparency and authenticity, which inform short and long-term strategic decisions;
3. The providers on the supply side should be valued, respected and empowered, and the companies behind the platforms should be committed to making the lives of these providers economically and socially better.
4. The customers on the demand side should benefit from being able to access goods and services in more efficient ways, with payment for access instead of ownership.

5. The business should be built on distributed marketplaces or decentralized networks that create a sense of community, collective accountability and mutual benefit.

Summarizing all the above definitions, we can say that the key characteristic of the digital economy is a new economic model where ownership and access are shared between individuals, startups, enterprises and corporations through digital platform without entry market and other barriers.

### **Main motives of digital economy using**

A Eurobarometer (2016) study found that sharing benefits are largely based on convenience and monetary benefits, "When asked about the main benefits of collaborative platforms, around four in ten respondents of those who are aware of collaborative platforms (41%) say that access to services is organized in a more convenient way. Around a third mention the fact that it is cheaper or free (33%), and around a quarter identify the ability to exchange products or services instead of paying with money (25%) and the fact that these platforms offer new or different services (24%) as the main benefits of collaborative platforms" (p. 15). A study conducted by Deloitte (2015) on the state of the sharing economy in Switzerland found that 65% of the surveyed population considers lower costs a key benefit of sharing services, while 63% believe it may offer more sustainable consumption. 49% of the population welcome an increase in choice and 40% welcome an increase in convenience. A Pew study (Smith, 2016) of the US population found that 86% saw convenience (i.e., less time and stress) as a major benefit of ride hailing services, followed by job opportunities (80%), mobility for the elderly (73%), affinity to chosen drivers (70%), and lower costs (68%). Home-sharing services were judged as family-friendly (87%), a convenient source of income (85%), and inexpensive (73%). A US study by consultancy PwC (2018) found similar results, with low costs (86%), convenience (83%), community (78%), and sustainability (76%) as the most widely perceived advantages of collaborative services in general. Similarly, based on a survey of Lithuanian millennials, Grybaitė and Stankevičienė (2016) identify a number of key benefits of various collaborative services, including monetary incentives, altruism/mutual support, social connections, and entertainment.

In a conceptual piece on sharing and collaborative consumption, Belk (2014) points out that sharing is characterized by both functional and altruistic motives. In other words, individuals engage in sharing because they require an object or service. At the same time, sharing implies social quality, bonding, and reciprocity, whereby sharing can be understood as a communal phenomenon. Accordingly, altruistic motives for sharing tend to complement functional ones. Norms of caring, generosity, and kinship play an important role in sharing. In this vein, Möhlmann (2015), based on two quantitative surveys of German users of Airbnb and B2C car sharing service Car2Go, finds that community belonging and utility are key drivers of repeatedly employing a sharing service. In a survey of US users of accommodation sharing services, Tussyadiah (2016) finds that enjoyment and economic benefits are the strongest predictors of repeat use. Based on qualitative interviews of both consumers and providers active on a range of sharing platforms, Bellotti et al. (2015) identify eight distinct use motives: value/morality (including community-orientation and sustainability), social influence (reciprocity and social norms), status/power (social capital, self-improvement), social connection, intrinsic motives (enjoyment, flow), safety, and instrumental motives (cost, convenience). The authors find that while providers frequently cite social, moral, and altruistic motives, consumers are primarily geared towards instrumental motives. Bucher, Fieseler & Lutz (2016) conducted both a qualitative and quantitative survey of active sharers, recruited from users of Amazon Mechanical Turk. They identify three key motives for sharing: a monetary motive (generating income or saving on costs), a moral motive (altruism, sustainability, community support), and a social-hedonic motive (bonding, community participation).

To summarize, three motives tend to dominate the state of research on motives for participating in the collaborative economy: instrumental motives (economic/monetary, sometimes in combination with functional motives, such as convenience), normative motives (primarily geared towards sustainability, but also altruism), and social-hedonic motives (including enjoyment as well as community/social motives). The respective importance of these motives (or clusters of motives) depend on the collaborating service in question as well as on personal characteristics of the users, the latter

indicating the mediating role of motives in socio-economic distinctions of participation, Andreotti et al. (2017).

### **Main impacts of digital economy growth**

#### **1. *Business innovation as a driver of digital economy growth***

In the beginning of the digital economy development, economic growth was fueled by the introduction of new services and applications such as Internet information searches, electronic commerce, distance education and social networks, notices Atkinson et al. (2017). This initial move has achieved considerable impact. For example, in countries with high broadband penetration, by 2018 the percentage of total retail trade conducted through electronic commerce had already exceeded 10% (South Korea: 15.09%, Denmark: 12.63%, United Kingdom: 13.41%).

Beyond this initial spur, empirical evidence supports the existence of a second “innovation” effect triggered by the combined adoption of platforms, broadband, and cloud computing. This results in the development of new products and services, such as the whole range of collaborative businesses that characterize the digital economy (Uber, airbnb, etc.). In addition, the development of Internet platforms has resulted in the emergence of a large market for creating local Internet content and applications in native languages. In addition to creating jobs in the production, distribution and management of a local content digital industry, its development has multiple benefits, including helping to strengthen national cultural identities, reducing foreign trade imbalances, and promoting demand for local ICT infrastructure services (e.g., domestic ISPs and cloud services to support domestic content). The development of local digital content entails enormous opportunities not only to develop a vibrant domestic content and applications industry but also to meet the needs of population that would only adopt broadband if they were to find a product that is culturally relevant to its needs.

On the other hand, the increased use of digital technologies associated with the digital economy wave has raised the potential negative economic effect of an Internet disruption, because of natural emergency, cybercrime, technological failure, or politically motivated blackout. World economies are increasingly reliant on the Internet, while, as explained above, the Internet is vital for economic development. In this context, it is reasonable to consider what the economic impact might be of a disruption of the Internet as a result of either natural or man-made causes. These appear to be fairly common as documented by Howard, Agarwal, and Hussain (2011). The authors identified 606 government-imposed shutdowns of the Internet between 1995 and the first part of 2011, for a total of 99 countries. In 2010 alone, the number of man-made shutdowns reached 111. Between July 2015 and June 2016, West (2016) counted 81 government-imposed disruptions, of which 36 affected the national broadband network and 22 impacted subnational mobile networks. Beyond government-initiated downtime, the Internet is constantly affected by localized downtimes. According to the disruption tracking platform Pingdon, at any hour period worldwide, the Internet is affected by approximately 16,000 outages. Man-made and technology disruptions have an economic impact. The economic impact per day varies by the type of disruption, ranging, according to West (2016), from US\$ 3,816,000 for a national platform (such as Twitter or Google) to US\$ 14,968,000 for the national Internet.

#### **2. *Effect on Traditional Competitors***

The immediate effect is the loss of jobs in traditional sectors. Much of the row over the expansion of the digital economy is related to traditional sectors faced with higher transaction costs for the reasons noted above. Traditional companies, such as taxi services, often must buy and service their assets, provide a dispatch center and administrative management, and offer long-term employees benefits such as health care and pensions. Companies such as Uber rely upon drivers to provide and service their own autos, thus considerably cutting such expenses. Dispatch is mediated through the software, eliminating most administrative jobs, outside of software management, updating, and operations research. While a center for handling customer and driver issues is needed, that is also true of traditional companies (Pacini, H., Hira, A., 2018).

### 3. *Labor force impact*

The other direction of social and economic impact of the digital economy focused on the restructuring of labor markets in certain sectors of the economy. Along these lines, the extensive evidence can be categorized along three clusters: disappearance of jobs resulting from task automation; job creation resulting from enhanced demand for labor in certain occupations linked to the development of digital services or the emergence of collaborative business models and labor force polarization resulting from “hollowing out” of middle-skill jobs.

### 4. *Welfare impact*

We can see also the negative effects of digital economy growth. The first risk is the degradation of human relationships resulting from intense digital consumption. Americans spend an average of five and a half hours a day with digital media, more than half of that time on mobile devices, according to the research firm eMarketer. Moreover, users check their phones 221 times a day—an average of every 4.3 minutes—according to a UK study. This number actually may be too low, since population tend to underestimate their own mobile usage. Research by Katz (2012) argues that the digital revolution, by its intensity, is degrading the quality of human relationships. Katz finds the ability of children to separate from their parents, and raise other obstacles to adulthood. Because they are not learning how to be alone, author contends, young people are losing their ability to empathize.

### **Conclusions**

Technological advances have facilitated the development of platforms to more efficiently connect buyers and sellers, lower transaction costs, and allow instantaneous communication and product reviews, increasing the transparency of trade. Greater acceptance of digital economy business models by consumers and the government has allowed businesses to take advantage of these advances.

Over the past year, key businesses in the digital economy experienced an average growth in revenue of around 68%. This growth was largely being driven by the transport and automotive and financial services sectors. In particular, the revenue of key collaborative businesses in the financial services sector increased over fourfold. The rapid growth in transport and accommodation, as well as financial services over the past year has coincided with increasing clarity around the regulatory framework in these sectors. Additional certainty for businesses operating in this sector may have supported participation. Indeed, more people have earned income through a sharing platform in the past year.

Over the past year, some of the smaller businesses have also experienced growth, and there is evidence of new businesses being established in existing sectors. New businesses such as GoCar and Spare Workspace, and the emergence of a market for peer-to-peer storage space solutions have all contributed to the rise of sharing economy activity.

The success of existing platforms and increased competition has also coincided with digital economy businesses looking to new business models. This has included businesses, which started operating in one sector expanding into adjacent sectors, providing new services. Some collaborative businesses have also established partnerships with incumbent businesses with the objective of reaching a wider consumer base. Digital economy activity is more mature in some sectors, and therefore the pace of growth has varied significantly in different sectors.

Nonetheless, it has been broad-based. It also seems that there is further room to expand, which likely means that the new economy will continue to experience disruption from the collaborative economy businesses in the future.

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# Ali Rıza Pasha Government's Approach to the National Struggle

Gurbuz Arslan

## Introduction

The National Struggle movement, which emerged in response to the Allied Powers' wanting to dismantle the Ottoman Empire by making use of the Mondros Armistice Agreement, became an important political force in a short time thanks to the leadership and organization of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The principles and objectives of the movement were revealed with the congresses held in Erzurum and Sivas. The principle of National Will and the element of activating National Forces were adopted to ensure the indivisible integrity of the Turkish state and nation (Ural, 2003: 231).

The National Struggle continued under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, despite impediments such as Damat Ferit Pasha Government's taking back the designations held by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, abolishing the rank of honorary adjutancy and the Ali Galip Incident (Türkmen, 2000: 202). Following the Sivas Congress, the waste of the efforts of the Minister of Internal Affairs Adil Bey and the Minister of War Süleyman Şefik Pasha against the movement of National Forces, had a deeply traumatic effect on the state of the Damat Ferit Pasha Government. Disagreement arose among cabinet members. Telegrams were sent from all over the country, calling the government to retire from office. As a result of these developments, Damat Ferit Pasha was forced to resign from the government on 1 October 1919 (Ayıışığı, 2002: 1183). Sultan Vahdettin first offered the task of establishing the new cabinet to Tevfik Pasha. However, upon his refusal to accept this offer, Ali Rıza Pasha was offered the task of establishing the cabinet (Akşin, 1992: 589).

## Establishment of Ali Rıza Pasha Government and the First Contacts with the National Struggle Movement

When Ali Rıza Pasha accepted Sultan Vahdettin's proposal to form a government, the new government took office on 2 October 1919 (Tasviri Efkar, 3 Teşrini Evvel 1919). The first priority of the government was to eliminate the division and disagreement observed among public for a while as the Sultan mentions in Hattı Hümayun, to ensure unity in the country and to hold the elections as soon as possible and convene the council (Tasviri Efkar, 3 Teşrini Evvel 1919). In the program he published in the government, he had already emphasized that he would strive to strengthen constitutionalism and find a basis for reconciliation and rapprochement with Anatolia.

The most important feature of Ali Rıza Pasha and his fellows in the cabinet who set out to realize the goal in question was that they defended the independence of the nation (Tansel, 1973: Volume 2, 145) and believed that the National Forces movement emerged as a result of a need (Demirbaş et al., 2003: 87-88).; BOA, BEO. SYS, 34-64/III\_5). In other words, they did not characterize the National Forces movement as treacherous as Damat Ferit Pasha did; on the contrary they saw it as legitimate and reasonable (Türkmen, 2000: 207).

Both the government's perspective regarding the National Forces movement and the gathering of people who sympathized with the National Forces and stood up for it, also gave hope to the Representative Committee, which is the executive organ of the National Struggle (Ayıışığı, 2002: 1183). The establishment of Ali Rıza Pasha Government was perceived as a good sign in favor of the National Struggle (Selek, 1968: 52). Especially Cemal Pasha, who was appointed as the Minister of War, also being one of the leading commanders of the First World War was an entity who could communicate with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his commander friends and this was the reason why he was appointed to this position (Akşin, 1992: 11).

Under these circumstances, the first attempt to establish contact came from the Representative Committee. Because the Representative Committee had broken all the connections of Anatolia and

İstanbul, particularly communication, and had the intention of rendering the re-establishment of these connections a matter of negotiation with certain conditions (Akşin, 1992: 12). Mustafa Kemal Pasha demanded that the government respect the decisions taken in Erzurum and Sivas Congresses in the telegram he sent to the Ali Rıza Pasha Government on 3 October 1919 in the name of the Representative Committee. He asked the government not to make an exact decision regarding the fate of the nation and to select those to be sent to the peace conference from among the knowledgeable and talented until the gathering of the assembly. He stated that the Representative Committee would support the government on condition that these demands were met (Atatürk, 1960: 195-196).

On the other hand, Ali Rıza Pasha, in his telegram sent to the Representation Committee on 4 October, stated that the government did not know about the content of the decisions taken in the Erzurum and Sivas Congresses, and therefore requested that the decisions taken at these congresses be notified to him (Atatürk, 1960: 200). Although this request of Ali Rıza Pasha was received with astonishment by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, reflected in his words "How can the government not have known what the national purpose consists of up to know?" (Atatürk, 1960: 200), eventually a door of communication was opened between the two parties (Orbay, 1993: 280).

Mustafa Kemal Pasha fulfilled the government's request on the same day to see clearly the attitude that the government would adopt on the route to ensuring unity and solidarity. In the telegram he sent to the government, he presented the congress decisions as they are as well as the main points of the congress guidelines (Atatürk, 1960: 201). In the telegram coming from Istanbul on the same day, there was information that the government would make every effort to ensure the integrity of the country, that it would make peace in line with the Wilson Principles and that it would not make a commitment about the fate of the nation until the assembly was convened (Atatürk, 1960: 201-202). Although this telegram by Ali Rıza Pasha shows that the decisions taken at the Sivas Congress and the steps taken for the National Struggle were first adopted by the Istanbul Government (Küçük, 1989: 441), it was not accepted by the Representative Committee since it was not signed (Atatürk, 1960: 202).

Following the correspondences, when it was understood that the telegram was sent by Ali Rıza Pasha, Mustafa Kemal Pasha sent a new telegram to Ali Rıza Pasha on 5 October on behalf of the Representative Committee. In the telegram he sent, he again made some requests for the resumption of relations between the two parties. Accordingly, a declaration on the legitimacy of national ambitions would be issued, those who served as instruments to the betrayals of the former governments would be punished, the officers who were nominated for a bad purpose would be retired and the pressure on those who supported the national movement would be ended (Atatürk, 1960: 206-207).

However, Ali Rıza Pasha left these requests of the Representative Committee unanswered. In time, when the negotiations pursued with the telegrams came to a deadlock (Küçük, 1989: 441), Cemal Pasha invited the journalist Yunus Nadi to his office. He asked him to act as a mediator in reaching an agreement with the Representative Committee. Yunus Nadi accepted this request and immediately met with Mustafa Kemal Pasha. During the meeting, Mustafa Kemal Pasha said that the problem stemmed from the government, which had been indecisive for four days. He stated that if the government accepted the requests of the Representative Committee and acted sincerely and seriously, an agreement would be possible between the two parties (Atatürk, 1960: 208-214).

Upon this, in a telegram sent to Mustafa Kemal Pasha on behalf of the government on October 7, Harbiye Nazın Cemal Pasha stated that the government agreed with him and accepted the sovereignty of the national will. He expressed that he deemed it more appropriate to legally punish the criminals, because he refrained from being a cabinet of revenge. He said that the government would rely on the National Will and Representative Committee to restore the state's dignity against external powers. He wanted the Representative Committee to help the government in the face of both external and internal powers (Atatürk, 1960: 214-215).

In the telegram he sent to Cemal Pasha on the same day, Mustafa Kemal Pasha presented his thanks on behalf of the nation because the government would act with the Representative Committee and adopt the principle of national sovereignty. He stated that, against the seriousness and sincerity shown by the government, the Representative Committee would never be superior either inside or outside, on the contrary, it would be consider strengthening and increasing the influence and power of

the government a duty for the welfare of the country and the nation. He pronounced that, since accord and solution solidarity was established at all points between the government and the national organizations, the restrictions on communication would be removed (Atatürk, 1960: 215-217).

Also, in the telegram he sent to Sultan Vahdettin in the name of the Representative Committee Mustafa Kemal Pasha mentioned the gratitude the Representative Committee felt because of the removal of the Damat Pasha Government and stated that the nation welcomed this decision (Demirbaş et al., 2003: 92., BOA, BEO. SYS, 34-64 / III\_ (7). In a telegram he sent to the government on 8 October, he once again stated that he had united the government with the nation because the new government announced that it would act for national purposes (Demirbaş et al., 2003: 93., BOA, BEO. SYS, 34-64 / III\_8). Thus, the contacts between Ali Rıza Pasha Government and the Representative Committee were concluded positively following a process of five days.

### **Supporting the National Struggle Movement and the Strengthening of Relations**

Within the scope of the positive relations established with the Representative Committee, the movements made in the name of National Struggle in Anatolia at the first stage were revealed from the beginning. Erzurum and Sivas Congress decisions were published in newspapers. The government did not object to the meetings that served to strengthen national sentiment. It did not object to some of the administrative superiors who were opposed to the national movement leaving the office as a result of the pressure of the Representative Committee (Tansel, 1973: 146-147).

He tolerated the smuggling of arms and personnel from Istanbul to Anatolia and allowed the transfer of military units from one place to another (Türkmen, 2000: 206-207). Turkish regular troops and National Forces were ensured to provide more assistance to each other (Tansel, 1991: 21). In many provinces such as Eskisehir, Bilecik, Bursa and Balıkesir, important studies were made to establish national organizations and take military measures (Atatürk, 1960: 239-240). In order to strengthen the relations with the Representative Committee, Cevat (Çobanlı) Pasha was appointed as the Chief of General Staff. On 12 October 1919, the restriction procedure introduced by the Damat Ferit Pasha Government regarding the control of telegrams related to National Forces was abolished (Ayışığı, 1997: 218).

Thus, the point where the relations starting positively between the two parties reached the highest level was the meetings held in Amasya between the Representative Committee and the Minister of Navy Salih Pasha on behalf of the government on 20-22 October (Demirbaş et al., 2003: 99-102., BOA, BEO. SYS, 34-64 / III\_9). During the meetings, which were held to discuss issues regarding the domestic and foreign policy of the government (Orbay, 1993: 283) and which lasted three days, five protocols were made, three of them being open and signed and two of them confidential and unsigned (Atatürk, 1960: 243-248). In the protocol, principles were accepted such as that there were no more disputes between the Representative Committee and the government, that the integrity of the country and the preservation of independence was essential and that non-Muslims would be granted no privileges. It was agreed that the Anatolian and Rumelia Defense of Rights Association would be seen as a legal entity by the Istanbul Government; that the delegates to be sent to the Paris Peace Conference would be selected among the persons deemed appropriate by the Representative Committee and that the the Sivas Congress decisions would be accepted on condition that they were approved in the parliament. Besides, it was not deemed appropriate for the first Parliament to gather in İstanbul for security reasons (Tansel, 1973: 148).

Eventually, among the decisions reached in the Amasya meeting, the only decision the government did not accept was the convening of the parliament at some other place than İstanbul, because it would contradict the Constitution and the positive relations continued (Tansel, 1973: 148-149). In such an environment, Mustafa Kemal Pasha sent a telegram to the Minister of War Cemal Pasha on 2 November 1919, when steps were taken to establish a new government under the rule of Müşir Zeki Pasha. In the telegram, he wrote the news that Grand Vizier Pasha had been offered a resignation and that he had refused. He emphasized that the Grand Vizier should not be removed for unreal reasons, and that if he was removed the whole country would finish with İstanbul (Demirbaş et.al, 2003: 99-102.; BOA, BEO. SYS, 34-64/III\_24).

Even though it is not certain to what extent the telegram in question was effective, the Ali Rıza Pasha Government remained in office (Tansel, 1973: 151). During this period, the government kept sending soldiers, guns and money to Anatolia secretly, disregarding the warnings and protests of the Allied Powers. It predominantly dealt with the board, supplies and equipment of the armies in the regions, which had not yet been subdued by the Allied Powers in Anatolia and Thrace (Türkmen, 2000: 207-211). Cemal Pasha and Cevat Pasha increased their support of the National Forces, who stood out against the French in Cilicia and the Greek in İzmir (Tansel, 1991: 21-22).

The note of General Milne dated 3 November 1919, for the attack of the National Forces in the western front to be stopped, was rejected by the Ministry of War. It was stated that the tyranny and ferocity of the Greek caused the relevant situation and that nobody could afford to prohibit the Turkish public from trying to protect their country (Ayışığı, 2002: 1185).

Another indicator of the positive feelings of the Ali Rıza Pasha Government towards the National Struggle was that he rehabilitated Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was the leader of the National Struggle. As is known, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was dismissed when he was the 3rd army supervisor and he resigned from the soldiering profession and he was dispossessed of his designations and medals and honorary adjutancy rank by the command of the Sultan on 9 August 1919 (Türkmen, 2000: 2004).

In a note he wrote to the Prime Ministry on 28 December 1919, the War Minister Cemal Pasha stated that the action taken was against the law since it was not based on any verdict and that it had to be adjusted and requested that the designations and medals and honorary adjutancy rank of Mustafa Kemal Pasha be given back. He emphasized that Mustafa Kemal Pasha should be deemed as someone who resigned from the army not drummed out of the army (Türkmen, 2000: 204). Eventually, the Sultan enactment indicating that Mustafa Kemal Pasha would be deemed as someone who resigned from the army and that his designations and medals would be given back was published on 5 February 1920 (Demirbaş et al., 2003: 149., BOA, BEO. SYS, 34-64/II\_4).

There is no doubt that one of the most important developments in favor of the National Struggle in the era of the Ali Rıza Pasha government was that the first Parliament announced the National Pact on 17 February 1920. Because, during the period when armistice was performed, the National Pact, which emphasized the indivisible integrity of the Ottoman territories, demanded referendum for the legal status of Kars, Ardahan, Batum and Western Thrace, mentioned the necessity of providing the security of İstanbul and the sea of Marmara and was grounded on the abolishment of capitulations (MMZC, 17 February 1920: 143-145) were also guidelines, which the representative committee tried to put into practice. Therefore, it was very brave of the Ottoman Parliament to publish these decisions which conflicted with the interests of the Allied Powers. Because, the Ottoman Governments, which acceded following the İzzet Pasha Cabinet had accepted almost every request put forward by the Allied Powers (Tansel, 1991: 19-20).

### **The Dissidences Experienced with the National Struggle Movement**

Even though Ali Rıza Pasha Government sided with the National Struggle, its relations with the Representative Committee, which was the executive organ of the struggle did not always proceed positively and differences of opinion were experienced from time to time. The primary reason behind the differences of opinion was the lack of reconciliation in the assignments. For instance, the government insisted on sending Suphi Bey, who was among the members of English Friendship Association to Konya and sending Ziya Pasha who did not have the necessary background as a governor to Ankara despite the opposition of the Representative Committee (Tansel, 1973: 150).

The second reason was that the Representative Committee defended a harsh attitude, whereas Ali Rıza Pasha Government sided with a milder attitude against invasions. For instance, in the demonstrations held following the withdrawal of soldiers from Merzifon and Samsun, the public shouted "Down with invasion!" and İrade-i Milliye Newspaper wrote the event as it was. Thereupon, Minister of Internal Affairs had warned the governor of Sivas and stated that such a policy was against the statesmanship of the government (Atatürk, 1960: 235).

The third reason was that, the government dragged its feet regarding the arrest and punishment of the National Struggle opponents and did not meet the demands. For instance, Mustafa Kemal Pasha

had demanded that the members of Nıgdehan Association, which tried to wear out the National Struggle be punished in his telegram to Cemal Pasha on 12 October 1919. Although Cemal Pasha said that a decision was taken regarding the situation in question, the decision was not implemented (Atatürk, 1960: 236).

The fourth reason was that the government regarded the Representative Committee's requests regarding the appointments as interference with their internal affairs and did not accept them. For instance, the Representative Committee had conveyed to the government its discomfort regarding the reappointment of Hamdi Efendi, known for his opposition to the National Struggle to this position. On the other hand, Cemal Pasha had expressed the discomfort of the government in the telegram he sent on 24 November 1919, where he wrote "*The internal affairs and policy of the government never accept partnership*" (Atatürk, 1960: 290).

The fifth reason was that the government wanted to change the commanders' place of duty. Although the generals and officers in Istanbul were superior in terms of seniority and degree, Mustafa Kemal Pasha opposed the change. Because, in case of a change, young generals and officers who gained experience in World War I and proved their commitment to the National Struggle would be dismissed (Atatürk, 1960: 346-350).

The sixth reason was that the Minister of War Cemal Pasha and the Chief of General Staff Cevat Pasha decided to resign due to the note given by the Allied Powers. Mustafa Kemal Pasha said that the decision to resign was against political independence and demanded that this decision be abandoned. In return, Cemal Pasha submitted his resignation, stating that he had to withdraw from the office due to the decision taken by the government (Atatürk, 1960: 363-370). The decision to resign led to the formation of the idea that Ali Rıza Pasha Government could no longer protect national independence with Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Gökbilgin, 1965: 320).

The seventh reason was the circular issued by the Ali Rıza Pasha Government to the provinces on 14 February 1920. In the circular, where it was emphasized that there was no need for the Representative Committee (Cebesoy, 2000: 338), it was written that the first Parliament, in which any kind of national goal would be determined had taken office and therefore there was no need to speak and assert requests on behalf of the national will. It was reported that all kinds of work and behavior aimed at intervening in government affairs would be punished (Atatürk, 1960: 378-379).

The eighth reason was that the Representative Committee did not accept the request of the Ali Rıza Pasha Government to end the struggle of the National Forces. In a telegram sent to the Representative Committee, dated 19 February 1920, the Government stated that İstanbul was left to the Ottoman Empire, but that the attitude towards the forces of Allied Powers had to change, otherwise the conditions of peace would be against the Ottoman Empire. In return, Mustafa Kemal Pasha maintained that the arms would be laid down and the national case would end if not only İstanbul but all the lands occupied were left to the Turks (Atatürk, 1960: 380).

### **Pressure of the Allied Powers and Resignation of the Government**

The Allied Powers, who closely followed the activities of the Ali Rıza Pasha Government, were quick to see the rapprochement between the Allied Powers and the government and were swift to see that Turkish regular troops and the National Forces switched into a state in which they helped each other more. They were particularly disturbed by the activities of the Minister of War Cemal Pasha and the Chief of General Staff Cevat Pasha. Because General Milne complained that these pashas had organized the Nationalist Forces in Anatolia and the British High Commissioner, Admiral Webb, complained that he did not comply with the "High Council resolutions and truce conditions" (Tansel, 1973: 382-383).

In this context, they first asked that Cemal Pasha and Cevat Pasha be removed from their posts within 48 hours with a note they gave to the government. The government, which defended itself in the face of the accusations, considered resignation at one stage but could not find any other way out than the resignation of the pashas because of the possibility of Damat Ferit Pasha to form a government and reported the resignation of the pashas on the evening of 21 January 1920 (Tansel, 1991: 21- 22). Although the resignation of the Pashas softened the stance of the Allied Powers, the acceptance of the

National Pact on 28 January 1920 re-strained the relations between the government and the Allied Powers (Ural, 2003: 232-233).

In this process of strained relations, representatives of the Allied Powers gave a note to the government and demanded that the national forces in Western Anatolia comply with the General Milne Line and withdraw three kilometers from their places in order to prevent further bloodshed between the Turks and Greeks. However, at a time when the Greeks strengthened their fronts by sending new troops to Western Anatolia, this did not mean a request for a well-intentioned withdrawal, but leaving all the strongholds in the hands of the Turks to Greek occupation. Under these circumstances, even if the government wanted, it was not possible for the National Forces to accept to withdraw to this line. As a matter of fact, following its investigation, the government informed the Allied Powers that it was not possible to accept the request (Goloğlu, 2014: 106).

Thereupon, the Allied Powers began to intervene in the affairs of the government more. Meanwhile, the relations between Ali Rıza Pasha Government and the Representative Committee were getting increasingly tense (Türkgeldi, 1984: 256). In such a period, the occupation of Gölcük Plateau and Bozdağ by the Greeks left the government in a difficult position (Goloğlu, 2014: 107). Finally, Ali Rıza Pasha offered the resignation of the government to the Sultan on 3 March 1920 and the duty of his government ended (İleri, 4 March 1920).

### Conclusion

The moderate attitude and behaviors of the Ali Rıza Pasha Government, which was appointed to solve the conflicts between Istanbul and Anatolia and provide national unity were in favor of the National Struggle. During the reign of Ali Rıza Pasha Government, the National Forces movement gained legitimacy and the ground of agreement between Anatolia and Istanbul was established. Especially with the Amasya meetings, the two parties came closer. Despite pressure from the Allied Powers, the Government supported the National Forces and sent weapons and supplies. The government rehabilitated Mustafa Kemal Pasha and proved its good intentions towards the National Struggle and its leader. Besides, during the era of this government, the establishment of the first Parliament was provided, the National Pact, which reflected the spirit of the National Struggle was accepted and the rightful cause of the Turkish nation was announced to the whole world.

However, the relations of Ali Rıza Paşa Government with the Representative Committee, which was the executive organ of the National Struggle were not always in compliance. The reason for this was that he did not want to adopt a concessive attitude while reestablishing the broken down relations with Anatolia. For instance, the requests of the Representative Committee regarding the appointments, assignations and on issues like the arrest and punishment of the opponents of the National Struggle were generally perceived as interference with their domestic affairs and rejected with the idea that the integrity of the state would be imperiled.

After the first Parliament was opened, it was stated that the Representative Committee was no longer authorized to speak and make requests on behalf of the nation. It was thought that instead of benefiting from the Representative Committee on the way to independence, it would be better to continue without it and thus the two-headed administration would be eliminated. This understanding caused the relations between the two parties to deteriorate gradually.

It is evident that the Ali Rıza Pasha Government could not show the hoped and expected strength even though it was useful in the name of the National Struggle and that despite its support for the National Struggle, it tried to get rid of the requests and interventions of the Representative Committee, which was its executive organ. Finally, the Government made the decision to resign in an era when it was impossible to satisfy both the National Movement and the Allied Powers.

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# Re-Analyzing the Causes of War Phenomenon through the Nature of War

Kivilcim Romya Bilgin

## 1. Introduction

The ongoing debates in the war literature to comprehend the phenomenon of war are developing in two main axes. On one hand, there are new war studies that try to understand the new wars by focusing on the post-Cold War period. The new war studies in particular deals with the fact that war is changing in an unexpected way and how this change takes place in the new world order. On the other hand, new-Clausewitzian approach, which tries to reveal the nature of the war by reconsidering Clausewitz's views on war, emerges. This approach reinterprets Clausewitz's trinity and tries to prove that the nature of war has not changed. According to new war theorists, Clausewitzian theory is the result of the phenomenon of war.

The main differences between the new war studies and the new-Clausewitzian approach are regarding the nature and the character of the war. The difference between the two advents in the literature leads to the development of different approaches to the causes of the war, as well. At this point, debates on the nature of war and the issue of the character of war in of new-Clausewitzian and new war studies literature, which are trying to understand the wars of the present day, are gaining importance. If the nature of the war has changed, as it is portrayed in the literature of the new war studies, have these new bearings echoes the revision in the causes of the war? Or is there an urge to develop a recent and comprehensive perspective for the causes of war? As a matter of fact, when the causes of war are included in the ongoing discussions about the nature of war, the framework of the debate is expanding.

In the literature, the authors such as Black (1998) or Suganami (1996) draws attention to an important issue to be considered when addressing matter of the cause of war. Suganami (1996, p. 8) asserts the questions of “(1) what are the conditions in the absence of which war could not happen at all? (2) Under what sorts of circumstances have wars occurred more frequently? (3) How did a specific war come about?” Similarly, Black (1998, p. 13) differentiates the causes of war, wars and specific wars. Even though they all raise questions about the nature of war and also about the character of war, the debate on the causes of war do not address both the two main axes that make up the ongoing debate on understanding war in literature. The question of war is a broad one since the time of Thucydides. This study is focuses on the abstract philosophical quest of “nature of war and the causes of the war” – that is a quest of re-analyzing the constant recurrence of war. While the answer to this question is given, the discussion on the nature and character of the war will be based.

## 2. Developments of Debates on the Causes of War Phenomenon

War is a social phenomenon belonging to people and communities long before it took place at the state and system level. Because of this situation, the efforts to understand the war are based on old times. An important part of the efforts to understand the war is inevitably focused on understanding the causes of war as well. Thucydides (460-395 BC) was the first thinker to analyze the causes of war through the concept of power by separating the relationship between the sudden causes of war and the root causes (Lebow, 2003, p. 26). Plato (428/427-348/347 BC) is another thinker known by Thucydides for his views on the causes of war. According to Plato, the cause of the war is the result of the need to expand borders (1995, pp. 63-65). Aristotle (384-322 BC) continued to discuss the causes of war from where earlier thinkers Thucydides and Plato have left. Aristotle mentioned a kind of war that is justified. According to Aristotle, the fact that the art of war is one of the ways to acquire property and this is also the cause of war (2000, p. 19).

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) stated that wars should be a tool to be resorted to when it is needed. Machiavelli developed a different approach to the war and its causes at a time when the idea of war was a purpose (2012, pp. 70-73). Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), on the other hand, stands out in

the discussion of the relationship between human nature and the causes of war. Hobbes defines war as an extension of the state of nature and emphasizes that human beings are equal to each other without any significant differences between them and that distrust arising from this equality is the cause of war (1993). Hugo Grotius (1592–1670) develops a very different approach to the causes of war, revealing the distinction between just and unjust causes of war (1967).

In the Enlightenment age, the causes of war were discussed in terms of the role that war has played to ensure or protect the social order. However, these discussions were shaped by the conditions created by the wars of the period. For this reason, the debates were made on the causes of each of the battles at that time rather than the causes of war phenomenon. On the other hand, Carl Von Clausewitz (1780-1831), one of the important figures of the Enlightenment, with his thoughts based on his contemporaries Max Hegel and Immanuel Kant, was also at the center of the discussions about the causes of the war. Clausewitz's famous trinity has provided a framework both for understanding the nature of the war and the causes of the war. Clausewitz's trinity is one of the most important parts of the debate about whether the character of war or the nature of war is changed.

In Clausewitz opinion, trinity is the constitutive element common to all wars, Clausewitz defines the components of the trinity as (1) primordial violence, hatred, and enmity; (2) the play of chance and probability; and (3) war's element of subordination to rational policy. Clausewitz then develops a linkage for each of those forces to one of three of human actors: the people, the army, and the government. That constitutes second part of the trinity. The people are paired mainly with irrational force of the emotions of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity. The army and its commander are paired mainly with the non-rational forces of friction, chance, and probability. The government is paired mainly with the rational force of calculation-policy is, ideally, driven by reason. These three tendencies are like three different codes of law and yet variable in their relationship to one another. A theory that ignores any one of them or seeks to fix an arbitrary relationship between them would conflict with reality of war (Clausewitz, 2007, pp. 30-31; Villacres and Bassford, 1995, p. 12). Precisely for this reason the trinity provides a complete frame to understand the nature of war because it stands at the core of all wars. The idea that the trinity constitutes the nature of war is the reason why the trinity has been re-examined in modern debates.

### 3. Modern Debates on the Causes of War Phenomenon

The age of 'old wars' is commonly associated with Clausewitz and the terminology he introduced in his seminal work "On War". In the 20th century It is argued that modern debates on the causes of war elude these traditional conceptions. Richardson, one of the leading names in the war studies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, discussed the causes of war through mathematical models. In his studies titled *Arms and Insecurity* and *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*, Richardson hypothesized about global arms racing. Shortly after Richardson, Wright initiated a study to analyze the war with a group of researchers in consideration of the studies done in different disciplines of war (2001, p. 30).

The effects of realism on the causes of war, which dominated the literature after World War II, have revealed new perspectives. Kenneth Waltz, in his 1954 book *The Man, The State and War*, discussed the causes of war and interpreted the causes of war with a realist perspective and structured the relationship between the discipline of war and the international relations that started to develop at that time (2001). The studies on causes of the war, which began with Waltz and dominated by Hans J. Morgenthau and Robert Gilpin in the period when realism was dominant, has been influential in the discussion of the nature and causes of the war for a long time.

In addition to these, Stoessinger with his book *Why Nations Go to War* (1974) and Howard with his book *The Causes of War* (1983) have tried to draw conclusions about the causes of the war. Similarly, Jack Levy's study of *Alliance Formation and War Behavior* (1981), in which he examined the wars between 1495 and 1975 and attempted to establish a relationship between alliances and wars, was one of the most debated works with the fact that realists opposed arguments that alliances prevented the balance of power and war.

These studies, which constitute the backbone of war studies, can be described as early studies which are the basis of the studies carried out for understanding the causes of war. The early discussions

on the war in different directions, including the causes of the war, also revealed the question of what should be the focus of the war. LeShan classifies thinkers discussing the causes of war in two groups. According to some, the cause of the war is so clear that it is not necessary to look for the answer. According to the other part, there is a complicated question that cannot be answered. Leshan justifies both groups. However, according to him, the real problem that researchers should actually focus on is not the cause of war, but why people prefer fighting for solving problems.

Debates over whether the nature of the war has changed or not are also placed in the debates of the modern era. On one hand, new Clausewitzian approach is discussing the importance of Clausewitz and his trinity in understanding the nature of war. According to new Clausewitzians, the nature of the war has not changed, but its character has changed by the effect of modern technological, political and social conditions (Bassford, 1994; Echevarria, 2007; Strachan, 2007). On the other hand, there is a totally different approach claiming new perspectives needed in order to understand today's wars. This approach, known as new war studies in the literature, has focused on the changing character of war (Creveld, 1991; Gray, 1997; Kaldor, 1999). The most important point of the discussion between the two sides is that they consistently and persistently reconsider Clausewitz. However, these debates focused on the nature and character of the war did not stand on the causes of war. Whereas the causes of war issue is one of the most fundamental issue to be addressed in these discussions.

As a result of the discussions, the approaches emphasizing the need to develop a system for the causes of war gained importance in the literature. These debates can be accepted as a result of the need to develop a strong understanding of the causes of war in terms of whether the changing character of war or nature of the war.

#### **4. Re-analyzing the Causes of War Phenomenon**

It is possible to categorize the approaches put forward in the discussions on the causes of war phenomenon until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On one hand, there are more structuralist approaches arguing that war is a universal rule or instinctive; on the other hand, there are approaches that seek factors of the causes of war such as economics, politics or diplomacy. However, these monistic theories, which try to explain the cause of the war on a single element, through structures or factors, are insufficient. Because of these insufficient monistic theories, approaches to the need to address the causes of war in multidimensional terms have come to the fore. In addition, the importance of creating a systematic approach to the causes of war was highlighted in order to demonstrate the interrelated aspects of the causes of the war (Caroll and Fink, 1975, pp. 56-58). To do this, many scholars have analyzed the causes of war on a state-by-state-basis, whereas the other writers believe that it was possible to provide a wider, more generalized explanation (Baylis et al, 2017, p. 239).

On the other hand, a broader framework needs to be addressed in order to develop a systematic approach to the causes of war. Black has developed an approach to the causes of war in this respect. According to Black, there is an important point to be considered while systematically discussing the causes of the war. 'The causes of war, 'the causes of wars' and 'the causes of specific wars' are quite different from each other, although they all ask questions about the nature of political societies and the functioning and character of international systems. (Black, 2005, 13). Like Black, Suganami deals with the matter from a similar perspective and delivers three questions. The first one is for comprehending what are the conditions which must be present for wars to occur? The second question is to understand for under what sorts of circumstances have wars occurred more frequently? The last one is about how did a specific war come about? Briefly, Suganami's questions are concerned with the necessary conditions of war, correlations of war and the full sequence of events which led to a particular outbreak of war (Suganami, 1996, pp. 5-6).

When their perspective on the causes of war is improved, a more comprehensive explanation system can be built in order to describe in detail the issue of causes of war from different levels.

- The causes of war might be discussed in more abstract concepts as it is about the phenomenon of war which stands at the top. The term 'the causes of war' is implicitly taken to mean 'the necessary conditions of all wars', and accordingly the question on that level is what causes war?.
- The causes of the 'wars,' which are discussed in relation to the levels of analysis or theory.

- At the bottom, the causes of specific wars, which are also discussed separately for each war, depending on certain periods, geographies and societies.

Each level within this system allows us to grasp the causes of a war that has happened at any time in the world with an overall understanding. In addition, this explanation system allows us to answer new questions as a result of ongoing discussions in the literature. If the mere thing changed is the character of the war, not the nature of war, it is possible to adopt a new perspective from the level of analysis of the causes of war about the nature and character of war discussion. On the other hand, as each level of explanation is examined in detail, the difference among the three will be more clearly revealed.

#### 4.1 The Causes of War

Comprehending the causes of war at the top in the explanation system is a prerequisite for understanding the other two levels of explanation. A common cause must be considered for all wars in history as dealing with the issue over the causes of war. The search for a common cause for all wars in history essentially requires a focus on the nature of war. According to Howard, there have been two main causes of war throughout history. Howard stated these as taking power and fear of others' getting strong (1983, p. 10). According to Bassford, whatever the apparent causes of the war are, war is about getting power. In the opinion of Bassford, Thucydides recognized this when he wrote the *The History of the Peloponnesian War* and stated that the relation of war and power was a form of relationship that existed in every age (2012).

Evera discusses the role of power in the cause of war in more detail. Evera argues that the relationship between war and power has a special interest, because it has an effect on the probability and intensity of war. From this point of view, Evera has linked the war to the phenomenon of power and has gathered the, the cause of war under five hypotheses over states and international system. The first is the hypothesis of what is called false optimism, and states that governments exaggerate their chances of winning wars or they underestimate the cost of war. The second hypothesis, named as jumping gun, is that the parties' intention to use a first move advantage rarely causes a reciprocal fear of surprise attack. The third hypothesis is power shifts. It argues that fluctuations in the relative power of states cause war by tempting states to launch preventive attack or by making agreements less valuable. The fourth hypothesis, cumulative resources, is that wars are related to the control, acquisition and protection of resources. The last one is called offense, defense and the security dilemma. States implement more expansionist foreign policies, for both defensive and opportunistic reason, when conquest is easy (2013, pp. 4-10). The first two hypotheses, which are called Evera's false optimism and jumping gun, are related to the fear of the empowerment of others, while the last three hypotheses can be to be seen about the seizure of power.

The main point to be considered here is the importance attributed to power while discussing the causes of war. Evera, with his power-oriented approach to the cause of war, also provides a framework for 'the causes of wars' as well. Evera's approach, however, offers a limited understanding the causes of war. For this reason, when the trinity of Clausewitz is considered with a new-Clausewitzian perspective, the tool needed to understand both the nature and causes of all wars are obtained. However, the new-Clausewitzian perspective is just one of the parts needed to understand the causes of war in a holistic way. It is necessary to move to the next explanation level by distinguishing the causes of the war from the causes of the wars.

#### 4.2. The Causes of Wars

In the context of the causes of wars, it is possible to deal with the war through the individual, society, state and international system. Level of the causes of wars is a bridge between the levels of the causes of war and the causes of specific wars. Wright's believes that the cause of the wars can be addressed under the title of the causes of war. According to Wright, there are four main causes of the wars. The first cause is that the development of technology and, in particular, in the military sense, triggers the wars. The second one is that the legal arrangements are insufficient or the existing regulations cause wars. Social and political institutions also play an important role in the outbreak of wars. Finally, ideas

/ ideologies and the core values of a particular group are another cause of wars (1965). This framework of Wright's causes of the wars not only is inclusive, but also is the first systematic view on the war and its causes in the context of the post-World War II conditions. Wright's approach of the causes of the wars are constantly debated. In particular, the view that the core values of a particular group are the cause of wars has been one of the most prominent stances in these discussions.

According to Hinde, the fact that war is a social phenomenon is just a beginning. The social structures and physical conditions that changed and developed together with modernization have caused the war to become more complicated. (1992, p. 6). A natural consequence of this is that the causes of wars should be examined in more detail. Similar to Hinde, Cashman and Robinson state that there is no single big theory about the causes of war and three things become clear when the causes of wars are discussed. There are multiple causes of wars. These reasons are interrelated with each other and each of these causes can be found at different levels of analysis (2007, p. 4). Cashman, Robinson and Hinde's views can be found in the studies of Waltz and Singer. For the first time, the level of analysis model emerged when Waltz discussed the causes of war in the nature of the individual, the state structure and the international system (2001, p. 263). Like Waltz, Singer dealt with the level of analysis and the causes of wars. However, unlike Waltz, Singer did not divide the level of analysis into three categories and chose to deal with two topics, namely state and international system (1961).

As a result of the discussions that started with Waltz and Singer in the literature, different approaches to the model of the level of analysis were introduced. For example, Deutsch and Senghaas extended the tripartite approach put forward by Waltz and increased the level of analysis to five (Deutsch and Senghaas, 1971, 26-29). These are prioritized by the character and functioning of the international system as a whole; the character of some regional, political or social sub-systems within the international community; the characters or national interests of the nation-states; the social interests of individuals, and the special interests of the strong interest groups within the national sub-system and also characteristics, information, decisions and behaviors of small groups or communities.

In all the discussions about what levels of analysis should be, Levy discussed the issue from a different perspective. According to Levy, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the level of analysis. In this context, according to Levy, what is meant by level of analysis are structures and outputs in the international system at the level of systemic analysis; the strategic interaction between the two states at the level of diadic analysis; foreign policy behaviors of the state at the level of national analysis; behaviors of organizations and / or organizations at the level of organizational analysis (1998, p. 144). Although there are some differences in the level of analysis among the researchers, it is seen that while the causes of wars are discussed, individuals, society, state and system are main parameters for the level of the analysis. In this way, it is possible to explain the causes of specific wars, especially with the questions about which levels of analysis should be addressed or what the basic elements of the interaction between them are.

#### **4.3. The Causes of Specific Wars**

It is possible to determine the causes of specific wars by the causes of war and the causes of wars. In particular, the causes of specific wars can be addressed more clearly by taking advantage of the level of analysis presented in the causes of wars. For example, when the causes of the Kosovo war are analyzed from the level of analysis model, leader of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milošević and leader of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova should be discussed at the level of individual analysis; at the social / national level Yugoslavia and Kosovo should be considered and at the international level, it should be focused on United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), European Security and Cooperation Organization (OSCE).

What is important is that this level of analysis can be used not only for wars in a particular region and at a particular time, but also for understanding the causes of different forms of war, in other words the character of war. Different wars have different causes, and these different causes can have different consequences in different kinds of wars. Variables at the social level can be more effective in civil wars or in colonial wars than in wars between states. In contrast, variables on international system-level can be more effective in wars between states. On the other hand, different regimes require different levels of analysis to address the causes of specific wars. For example, as leaders in autocratic

regimes are at the forefront, the level of individual analysis stands out, unlike democratic regimes. (Levy and Thomson, 2010). Therefore, different approaches can be introduced to explain the cause of each war.

All levels used in the level of analysis are related to each other. In addressing the causes of wars at the level of individual analysis, there is inevitably a need to understand the issue at the level of social analysis. When we talk about the level of social analysis, the state organism inevitably enters into the discussion. The level of state analysis inevitably carries the issue to the international system level. An important benefit of addressing the causes of wars from the level of analysis is that this model can be used not only in the wars between states but also in civil wars. In particular, individual and social levels of analysis can provide the theoretical background necessary to understand civil wars. In particular, it is a level of explanation that corresponds to the approach of new war studies on changing wars. In other words, it is possible to draw the limits of the subject of the causes of specific in the context of the discussions in the literature about the changing character of the war, called new wars.

## 5. Conclusion

The phenomenon of war can be deeply understood by holistically re-analyzing the debates on the nature of the war and the causes of the war. Especially, the explanation system built in order to describe causes of war from different levels gives a wider perspective. A few conclusions can be reached on explanation system, when re-analyzing the causes of the war issue. The first one is that there are no complicated but inconsistent relations between the causes of the war and the causes of wars. While the debates of the cause of the war are marching through the nature of war, the causes of certain wars depend on the changing character of the war, from the individual to the international system, in a broad framework. The second one is that while the causes of the wars are understood, a single level of analysis is not enough alone. Each of the wars needs to be examined in particular when looking at all levels of analysis and different explanations at these levels. For this reason, it can be approached with an understanding that considers different variables depending on time, place or people related to the causes of specific wars.

Therefore, a theoretical relationship can be established with the help of the explanation system between the causes of war and the nature of war. In the same way, it is possible to establish a theoretical relationship between the changing character of war and the causes of wars and the causes of specific wars. These theoretical relationships indicate that new war studies and new Clausewitzian approaches can be comprehensively used in interpreting both the war and the causes of the war. An important benefit of re-analyzing the causes of wars with this system of explanation is that this model can be used not only in the wars between states but also in explaining civil wars. In particular, individual and social levels of analysis can provide the theoretical background in order to understand civil wars. It is also able to demonstrate the distinction between the debate on the nature of war and the changing character of war.

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# Identity and Populism in Turkey through Foreign Policy: The West as the “Superior Mind” as a Conspiracy Theory

Asli Ege

## 1. Introduction

“Turkey was introduced to the “superior mind” (*üst akıl*) concept toward the end of 2014 and it was in 2015 that the use of this concept was intensified” (Akyol, 2016). Here, the conceptualization of the “superior mind” is used to express tactics and redirects of the US-Israeli alliance to steer Turkey in line with its goals. Depending on such narrative, it could be asserted that,

*“the superior mind is a tutelage. It is the mind that determines the boundaries of the geography we live after the First World War, forms the regimes of countries, and maintains the tutelage management for a hundred years. This audit has decided on everything from the foreign policy of these countries to security strategies, from the control of resources to internal social cohesion or incompatibility”* (Karagül, 2014).

In Turkey, especially after the failed July 15 coup that the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ) was responsible for, a discourse spreading through the media to domestic politics and that this coup was designed by a “superior mind” turned foreign policy into a popularized field. The essence of the question, is in the fact that the chief of the FETÖ is resided in the United States. The connection established between FETÖ and the USA administration, explains this “superior mind” rhetoric. According to this rhetoric, the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ) is masterminded by the “superior mind”. Precisely,

*“the Gülen movement was directed by ‘the master mind’ (*üst akıl*), an abstract term used by Erdoğan and his followers, usually associated with ‘the Western powers’, particularly with the US secret service, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This narrative was supported by two additional arguments, according to which the – July 15 failed coup – attempt was aimed at the country as a whole, not solely at Erdoğan or his AKP, and the threat remained”* (Akin, 2017, p. 521).

*“In this environment, government and Erdoğan were able to justify extending operations, targeting not just the organizers of the coup attempt but those who were apparently unrelated with the coup or the Gülen network, but opponents of the government. For 2 months after 15 July, the narratives engineered from the top of the government, that Turkey was under continuing threat orchestrated by the ‘master mind’, have united the majority of Turkish public”* (Akin, 2017, p. 528).

As regards, the “superior mind” rhetoric in Turkey is reinforced by the chaotic environment of the Middle East, given by the U.S. support to YPG to fight against ISIS. Turkey claims that YPG and the PKK are the same terrorist organization, as Ankara is struggling with the PKK terror since the 1980s. The “superior mind” narrative suggests that, *“the coup attempt was only one of many threats, and since its failure, the new players – Kurdish paramilitary groups and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), were brought into play by ‘the master mind’”* (Akin, 2017, p. 524). Accordingly, as a highly popularized discourse, it is suggested that the West as the “superior mind” intends to overthrow Turkey and manages its secret plans through the FETÖ on Turkey’s domestic level, while on the international level YPG is put into effect, by supporting these organizations surreptitiously.

The subject matter here is not the portion of reality in this observation, but the fact that foreign policy is explained through a populist discourse rather than being evaluated through the profit-loss analysis of the countries. The “superior mind” rhetoric, which is a great demand in the eyes of the public, explains almost everything. But precisely who or what institutions or organizations manage this “superior mind” is not clearly mentioned in this discourse.

*“It is impossible to know where the mysterious powers are because they are mystic and unreal. It is not possible to sit down and talk to them like we do with Russia and Israel. It does not have a known policy so that you could plan ahead... Karl Popper linked conspiracy theories to astrology and horoscopes: When it coincides with reality, we assume it has come true”.* (Akyol, 2016).

The attractiveness of the “superior mind” narrative is that it is simple and proposes in a binary logic of “them against us” easy to comprehend. The events are simplified in a language that can be understood by everyone about every disaster that happens to the country without being analyzed in depth. In this sense, “superior mind” rhetoric establishes Turkish foreign policy in an understandable language before the public. Interestingly, those who resort to the “superior mind” narrative are also the thinking elites of the country, as this discourse puts the course of events into a “smart” framework. In international relations, countries can try to influence the domestic and foreign policy of another country or countries. But here, as a populist discourse, the “superior mind” rhetoric is so powerful that the whole world is at the tip of the “superior mind”. The “superior mind” is simply the West. It is not only the US, but also the European countries, which mainly host the PKK terrorist organization and the members of the FETÖ. Here, there is a Western phenomenon that is completely securitized in the US axis. The U.S. response rejecting to extradite the chief of FETÖ, despite Turkey’s demands is the core matter of securitization.

This article investigates the “superior mind” rhetoric as a populist discourse in the sense that it could be especially apprehended within the framework of conspiracy theories. In Turkey, the mainstream media *participated* actively in such a speech act revolving around conspiracy theories especially after the July 15 failed coup attempt. Instead of showing an example of investigative journalism, searching for the roots of the process leading to the failed coup attempt, Turkish journalism had a general tendency to link this incidence directly with the “superior mind”. In doing so, mainstream media reproduced the cultural – national boundaries of the “community inside”, this is by virtue of a particular “national security concept” that *“defines the threat, the enemy, the outsider and the foreigner”* (İçduygu & Kaygusuz, 2004, p. 35). In this article, it is therefore suggested that the “superior mind” narrative as conspiracy theory is as well part of the effort to define the West as the outsider which in turn defines the boundaries of Turkish identity as part of the East.

For, behind Turkey’s identity perception, lies the Western phenomenon as perceived in Turkey, which should be evaluated through a historical analysis. The Ottomans, preceding the Turkish Republic, rose against the West, regressed as compared to the West and the national liberation war of the Turkish people was won against the West. It is interesting to note that in between the lines of the Turkish national anthem the West is referred to as “the monster”.

Over this background, here below the “superior mind” rhetoric is first examined with its conceptual roots, establishing its relationship with populism and conspiracy theories. It is proceeded from there, to the identity considerations behind such a discourse through socio-historical analysis. The “superior mind rhetoric reproducing Turkish identity face to the West” is then the next title, which is analyzed as well in relation with the Turkish stand on the international scene against the global hegemony of the West. Finally, the last section is an analysis of the “superior mind” narrative as reflected on Turkish foreign policy. In this section, it is suggested that the reference made to the “superior mind”, is not only an example of populism in foreign policy but it serves to several other incentives underneath, such as the reinforcement of Turkish nationalism and nation-state, and the legitimization of reel-politics.

## **2. Conceptual Roots of the “Superior Mind” Discourse: Populism and Conspiracy Theories**

*“Conspiracy theories provide populists with an explanation for the problems that populists have in sustaining themselves as political movements and parties. They provide explanations that fit well with the world-view of populism, as it is one step from being opposed to dominant elites to being opposed to secret elites controlling politics”* (Taggart, 2000, p.106).

Affirmed otherwise, through conspiracy theories, populism steps back from opposing the dominant elites and instead opposes the hidden elites that control politics.

In this article, it is suggested that the attitude taken by populism against the hidden elites in domestic politics includes a similar tone as regards the hidden elites of the international system, especially for a regional power like Turkey that wants to influence the international system in its own values and interests. Such an attitude is based on the conspiracy theories of the foreign policy scene. In short, as the elite structure of the international system structured around Western powers, could not be easily challenged by a regional power like Turkey, wanting to influence its environment in line with its values and interests, through the conspiracy theories on foreign policy, Turkey steps back from directly opposing those “elite” countries. Instead, through the “superior mind” rhetoric which is about hidden forces attributed to the West, Turkey reproduces conspiracy theories on foreign policy intertwined with populism. This way, it can indirectly raise its opposition to that elite structure while it could have been difficult for this country to enter into a direct conflict with the Western powers.

Another relation of populism with conspiracy theories is that both contain the same sort of psychological element. “*The rise of populist movements, we are told, is an expression of often intangible and irrational forces of anxiety, fear, rage, and resentment*” (Postel, 2017, p. 141). Conspiracy theories reveal as well profound social anxieties resulting from social tensions. Because conspiracy theories help reduce those complex tensions and conflicts by simplifying them, especially to a binary opposition, those theories take a populist form (Butter, 2014). As such, conspiracy theories are complex cultural symptoms, and while they are rarely true in a strict sense, they often reveal real anxieties and contribute the real ‘cultural work’ of constructing communities and framing social conflict (Butter, 2014).

Conspiracy theories do frame social conflict as they provide an easy understanding of the world around us. As regards, for Jameson (1991), ‘conspiracy theory’, helps understand ‘the impossible totality of the world system’. As such, conspiracy narratives involve a psychology of ‘believing without knowing’ (Dean, 2000, p.15).

Then why do people believe in conspiracy theories? When groups find themselves out of power or perceive themselves to be under threat, they are more likely to propose and to believe conspiracy theories (Moore, 2018, p. 5). It makes sense to be especially sensitive to potential threats coming from powerful oppositional actors, even if it doesn’t always turn out to be correct. On this account, conspiracy theories look like an ‘early warning system for group security’ (Moore, 2018, p.4,5).

In this article, the “superior mind” narrative in Turkey is taken as a category of conspiracy theory, the reason for which it is useful to underline the relationship of foreign policy and conspiracy theories. In this sense, the “superior mind” rhetoric as a conspiracy narrative is strictly part of the larger framework of foreign policy making. Conspiracy narrative provides a unique insight into the social production of foreign policy knowledge, especially at moments of crises (Aistrope & Bleiker, 2018, p.178, 179). Therefore, in this article, conspiracy theories are taken as part of foreign policy making but rather within a populist form, which intends among other incentives, to simplify the complex nature of foreign policy events into a binary opposition to gain adherents.

Especially, “*claims about conspiracies made by high-level national security officials are often assumed to be accurate and legitimate, since they are thought to rely on special information unavailable to others.*” (Aistrope & Bleiker, 2018, p.172). In Turkey, the fact that the “superior mind” rhetoric is affirmed by the high rank state officials, including some intellectuals of the country, reproduced such discourse as legitimate knowledge, constructing foreign policy.

On the other hand, the notion of “heartland” is also to refer to, so as to establish the link between populism and conspiracy theories. Paul Taggart’s book “populism” is especially useful in this sense, because it establishes the meaning of people widely referred in populism through the concept of heartland which he then links with the conspiracy theories. According to Taggart, the reason the populist rhetoric uses the discourse of “people” is because “people” live upon a heartland. Heartland symbolizes the territory of imagination where in the populist imagination a virtuous and unified population resides. Its explicit invocation occurs at times of difficulty and it evokes those qualities worth defending, but it is different from ideal societies or utopias as it is not a forward projection but an attempt to construct what has been lost by the present (Taggart, 2000, p.95).

Having put the essentiality of heartland in populist rhetoric, Taggart also establishes the relationship between the heartland and conspiracy theories. Accordingly,

*“Conspiracy is the counter to the heartland. Just as the heartland is an essentially vague and obscure concept but with great resonance, so a conspiracy theory is the iteration of vague threat to the heartland, but one that is both real and profound”* (Taggart, 2000, p. 106).

That the West creates a threat perception to Turkey is because, it does not coincide with the conception of Turkish heartland which is assumed as belonging to the Eastern world. In this sense, the East symbolizes the territory of imagination remounting to the past, with qualities worth defending. This is because the concept of heartland, present in populism, that is evoked here above, *“is constructed not only with reference to the past, but also through the establishment of its frontiers”* (Taggart, 2000, p.96).

With this approach, this article proposes that the Eastern world constitutes the larger framework of the Turkish heartland which abundantly perceives the West as the outsider beyond its frontiers. Precisely, it is defended in this article that the notion of heartland in populism not only draws borders with the outsiders inside but as well with the outside world through a perception of threat. Therefore, Turkey’s Eastern identity, is reproduced through a conspiracy theory such as the “superior mind”. This topic will be examined below.

### **3. “Superior Mind” Rhetoric Reproducing Turkish Identity**

Under this section, the reproduction of Turkish identity is investigated in its opposition to the West, resulting from Turkish people’s perception of Turkish history is linked to the role the Western phenomenon played in the national historiography. History writing has been a powerful element of the foundation of the nation-state identity and unity in Turkey. As regards, although Kemalists who are the founders of Turkish Republic, took the West as a model and the Western modernity as the single universal civilization, Kemalism is in fact in conflict with the West from the very beginning. Given the struggle against the colonialization of the Ottoman territories and economy, by the Western powers, Kemalism both idealizes the West as a model to imitate with an implicit orientalism, and stands against the Western imperialism. In this sense, Kemalism intends to stand against the West by becoming Western. The success of the Turkish liberation war which ended the Ottoman Empire and resulted with the construction of the Turkish Republic provided for a sense of national pride for the Turks as, if the liberation war had not succeeded, Turkey could have inevitably been a mandate of the West. Yet, in the Kemalist historiography, because the new Republic is taken as the antithesis of the Ottoman Empire by its secular, nation-state structure, the Ottoman period of Turkish history is assumed as non-existent. One reason for this, was the Ottoman regression before the Western continent, the Kemalists blaming religion for this regression. The most distinguishing element in Kemalism is the reclamation of the Republican Turkey’s split from the Ottoman Empire, as a religious state and society.

Revisionist historiography which became popular by 1990s, with the Turkish-Islam synthesis of 1980s, therefore with the popularization of religion as an element of national unity both on official and civil society levels, claims one step further that the Ottoman paradigm of decline is also a perception that is loaded by the West. According to the Turkish revisionist historiography, the Ottoman Empire first of all represents an imperial history. The revisionist historiography avoids representing such an Islamic, great empire as backwards and its will as lost and defeated by the West. In this sense, the revisionist historiography criticizes as well the implicit orientalism of Kemalism.

Therefore, Western phenomenon also plays a founding role in the definition of identity of the Turks, instilled by history lessons taught in schools. In Turkish schools, the conception of Turkish history processed the Kemalist historiography until the 1990s. Especially with the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) in 2002, the glorification of the Ottoman past made this revisionist historiography, become streamline. Therefore, Turkish revisionist historiography, reveals that the Republic is not a split from the Ottoman Empire but it is an extension of the Ottoman Empire. Such a tendency found its expression in Turkey’s foreign policy orientation under “New Ottomanism” which became a concrete political orientation by 2009. The New Ottomanism sees the Islamic identity as the unifying supreme identity for Turkish society, just as it was in the Ottoman Empire. It seeks leadership in the Middle East as a reflection of its foreign policy.

Therefore, New Ottomanism is a foreign policy orientation but it is above all, a perception of identity. This perception of identity, which is clearly oriented towards the East as opposed to Kemalism, is not an extension of the West, but on the contrary sees the West as an extension of the East. As a consequence, the new Ottomanism has taken the West out of the center. The de-centralization of the West, reflects the overall perception of Turkish identity, as supported by the JDP government. The JDP government by its attachment to the traditional values of Islam, promotes a Turkish nation which would find pride in its Ottoman past. It is to note that the Ottoman past is evaluated as part of the Eastern World which is defined by the reunifying Islamic religion.

Over this background, within the “superior mind” narrative which is about the mind map of the global grand game-setter structure, the Islamic world holds a special place. Three important reasons are put forward for this:

*“The Islam-based liberation prescription, the continuation of the existence of Israel in this region, the world’s richest underground resources and transition / connection roads in this geography. – In this approach – it can be said that the “superior mind” consists of a consortium consisting of a number of Zionist, British and the US idea and money barons, who see themselves as the “elected”* (Kuzu, 2016).

Consequently, it could be deduced that the “superior mind” is simply the West along with Israel and the struggle against such “superior mind”, reinforces Turkish identity in the sense of civilization to be belonged to namely the Islamic World. This is especially for a power like Turkey, that sees Islam as a part of the East. Obviously, the reference to the “superior mind” becomes a form of self-expression of the Eastern identity. In this sense, the Western phenomenon in Turkey could be apprehended as the external constructor of the East. This means that, the West perceived as a threat to the Turkish nation and state within the “superior mind” narrative, reinforces at the same time Turkish identity as part of the East. In this sense, the West externally constructs Turkish identity.

In this context, especially in the governing party JDP’S discourse, while the values such as international justice, equality, and pluralism reflect the characteristics of the Eastern identity resulting from the normative order of Islam, the West is discussed as a self-centered, egoistic entity pursuing its own interests. This is particularly expressed in Erdoğan’s rhetoric “the world is greater than five”. This rhetoric is in fact a reaction against the Western-centric international system, represented as an unjust international structure in service of Western powers’ interests. In this sense, Turkey, by the values it assumes such as international justice, equality and pluralism, claims itself also as non-Western. This approach as expressed by the JDP, also locates itself next to the oppressed against the West, taken as the oppressor. Turkey’s immigration policy to host three and a half million Syrians in the country and to provide the most foreign aid in the world in reference to its gross national product, is also a declaration of such a position. In Erdoğan’s rhetoric, the West, which is known by its colonial history, exploits the rest of world and is far from a humanitarian foreign policy concept as confirmed by the politics it has adopted on the question of immigrants. Therefore, the reproduction of Turkey’s Eastern identity is also shaped by the JDP’s discourse in its opposition to Western global hegemony.

In this context, the “superior mind” narrative, especially since the 2000s, feeds the conception of the West as the external constructor of the East. As a consequence of the failure of the international system to provide justice on the global level, Turkey’s critique of Western-centrism and the politics of interest is reproduced through a populist discourse, such as the “superior mind”, as the “superior mind”, being the powerful West would only want to pursue its ego-centric intentions over less powerful countries.

The “superior mind” narrative therefore claims that such Western phenomenon would also want to break down, to carve and to disrupt order in Turkey in their own interest. This discourse contains a whole set of pejorative meanings attributed to the West as a whole. In all these meanings, the dominant sense of identity in Turkey actually reveals its difference with the West and this difference is affirmed through a moral rhetoric that Turkey assumes. The West is the outsider in the dominant civilizational perception based on the Turkish-Islamic identity and this identity is established and legitimized on the boundaries it draws with this outsider, meaning the West. In Turkey’s criticism of

the West, the discourse of “superior mind”, establishes not only Turkish foreign policy but also its non-Western identity.

While this does not refer to xenophobia, a feeling of insecurity towards the foreigner, paradoxically, remains at the same time with the attractiveness of the “foreigner” as it is in the orientalism of the West. In this sense, for example, the American president Trump is perceived as a “hangman” as well as a intriguing “crazy” man to follow up. In the relationship of Turkish identity to the West, the West is an outsider but it is intriguing that attracts for so many different reasons. Against such a West, the Turkish identity sees itself also as attractive and intriguing. The pejorative perception of “Turk” in Europe, which is settled in the perception of identity of the average Turk, is thus appeased. In this sense, the narrative of “superior mind” is also much appeasing, as the “superior mind”, on the one hand, creates the impression that the reins of the country are in the hands of the West, while on the other hand it brings with it the then “I am important” psychology.

#### 4. The “Superior Mind” Rhetoric as Reflected on Foreign Policy

Over the observations mentioned above, the image of a standing, resisting Turkey before the West, goes hand in hand with nationalism especially in the discourse of the ruling party. In this context, the discourse of “superior mind” nourishes nationalism as if there is a threat perception for the existence of the country at any moment; for, the “superior mind” discourse mobilizes national mobilization, national integrity and unity against the “enemy”. But this “enemy” in the discourse of “superior mind” never shows itself and “war” never ends. Such a populism over foreign policy in the framework of the “superior mind” discourse serves rather to the securitization of identities and revitalization of nationalist sentiments.

As regards, not only the July 15 coup, the Turkey’s the whole history of coup is fit into the discourse of “superior mind”. This discourse has become so popular with the public that, for example, the results of the elections are attributed to a superior will by the people, which governs the affairs from above, regardless of the direction. In this context, the Color Revolutions, Afghanistan and Iraq wars, the Arab Spring, Proxy War in Syria, Ukraine Civil War, developments and finally the developments in Turkey in the Asia-Pacific region are always the acts of the superior mind (Ertürk, 2016). With regard to Turkey, attacks on the government on February 7, 2011, Gezi uprising of 2013 against the government and the July 15, 2016 coup are only some among other incidents that are evaluated through the “superior mind” discourse. According to Türker Ertürk (2016) from Oda tv.,

*“Superior mind, works for the destabilization of the region, creating smaller states out of the ethnic, religious and sectarian fault lines, establishing Kurdistan by tearing a part of our country, blockading Russia, by putting it into the arms race and pushing it to consume its resources just like the disintegration of the Soviet Union”.*

According to this view, the power centers of the “superior mind” are also evangelical Jewish and capital-finance. In particular Zionism wants to prevent the rising Islam in Turkey which is the last fortress of correct Islam. In this sense, the economic crisis that caused the Turkish lira loose almost half of its value in summer 2018 against US money, is the work of capital-finance, behind which there is the Western capital. Of course, this also has a share in the exchange rate fluctuations. But what is highlighted here is the highly popularized nature of the “superior mind” rhetoric.

In the presence of such a “superior mind” as a popularized discourse, Turkey’s approach of alliance with the West also contradicts Turkey. Turkey is still addressing the West and the ongoing dialogue with the West although the Turkish-Western relations are not at its best is a matter of contradiction in the public opinion. For example, when the Minister of Finance Berat Albayrak applied to the US origin McKinsey company for intellectual consulting in September 2018, in order to manage the economic crisis, this situation has received a great reaction and therefore the government declared within a month that there has been no contract with this company except for onetime service. On this subject, Meral Akşener, head of the Good Party, who broke away from the Nationalist People’s Party, stated: “Gentlemen, you are delivering our state to foreign countries. The Turkish nation will never forgive you!” (Akşener, 2018). Behind this statement is the perception that the Turkish economy would enter

under the guardianship of the West. As such, Turkish nationalism clearly constructs the West as a threat which the “superior mind” discourse nourishes even further.

This sense of nationalism, fueled by the “superior mind” rhetoric, pushes the ruling party into a crisis of legitimacy in its relations with the West, and at the same time it also provides legitimacy in the maintenance of its power. Because if there is a “superior mind” to put Turkey in a difficult situation, the ruling party would emerge as a unifying force in defense of Turkish sovereignty. The “superior mind” concept actually raises the sovereign character of Turkey. As a sovereign country, Turkey will not accept to be controlled and it will use all its possibilities in this direction. As seen, this discourse plays a significant role as regards the protection of Turkey’s independent character. It is not possible for a ruling party not to take its share from this kind of discourse. As long as the issue is a matter of sovereignty, a whole people, regardless of the political tendency, presents their support to the ruling party as the governing body, in the perception of threat brought by the “superior mind” discourse.

On the other hand, the idea that the “superior mind” creates all the problems that Turkey struggles, serves to redirect attentions away from the internal problems as concerns the ruling party. For example, in the perception of the terrorism caused by the PKK, which represents the separatist wing of Kurdish ethnic identity, there is the idea that the root of PKK terrorism, which had been continuing since 1983, would be dried up if it was not the “superior mind” behind the PKK. But because the superior mind continuously feeds the PKK in the background, the terror environment continues. In this perception, the Kurds are actually manipulated by the “superior mind”, and in the balances of the Middle East, the West is supporting the PKK to create a state for itself. The fact that the phenomenon of terrorism has been temporarily alleviated during the periods of opening towards the Kurdish identity is not covered.

According to the perception in the public mind the high interest of the “superior mind” towards Turkey is due to its geographical location itself. Accordingly, as a country situated in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East and on the Mediterranean basin, Turkey is in the sphere of the West’s vital interests, all this also explaining “why the West does not pull his hand out of the country since the Ottoman Empire” as suits the “superior mind” rhetoric. Such discourse suggests that in order to understand the West’s ambitions on these regions, it is enough to look at the Ottoman history. In this sense, the reference is made to the famous Eastern question of the 19th century to remind the Western intentions on Turkey. The so-called Eastern problem corresponds to the collapse period of the Ottoman Empire. According to this, the satisfaction of the interests of the European states on the Ottoman Empire without allowing the collapse of the Ottomans and if this collapse is unavoidable, the resolution of this issue without allowing a war between the European states constitutes the essence of the Eastern question.

And the conviction caused by the “superior mind” rhetoric remains exactly within the boundaries of the Eastern question. Accordingly, the satisfaction of the ambitions of the West over the Ottoman Empire without causing a war within the Western World, and the interests of the “superior mind” over Turkey continues today, with the same goals and methods. Here, in the framework of the “superior mind” rhetoric, the scope of so-called Western phenomenon as if it represents a unity of interests and as if undermining Turkey’s integrity constitutes a common purpose for the West, must be sought within the relationship established with the Ottoman past: The Ottoman Empire, which tried to advance its territories as far as the gates of Vienna, was a considerable force whose support was sought within the Western diplomacy itself, but from the moment it lost its power, the West entered a race on the Ottoman lands. This is why, “the superior mind” rhetoric reminds that Turkey must always stand vigilant, should not lose its power.

The widespread “Sèvres Syndrome” in Turkey, traces the reasons for and origins of this “siege paranoia : the Sèvres Syndrome inevitably compromises Turkish intellectuals’ perception of reality and influences their ontological understanding of politics and world affairs (Guida, 2008, p.37).

*“The Treaty of Sèvres was a watershed in Ottoman–European relations and, of course, in the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire. Even if the Treaty of Sèvres was not fully implemented—due to the brave struggle for independence and the contrast between the signatory countries—the experience influenced Turks and Turkish opinion of the West for years to come. The siege mentality*

*persisted in Turkey despite economic gains and defense alliances with various Western European countries” (Guida, 2008, p.44).*

For this reason, the “superior mind” rhetoric arouses the necessity to remain vigilant at all times and privileges securitization and the realist paradigm of international relations instead of moderation and lowering tension. Here, it is not important who the ruling party is or who uses this “superior mind” discourse and which political tendencies it shares. The “superior mind” addresses everyone, including the general public, and provides an understandable explanation to everyone.

In this context, the Gezi events of summer 2013, which started with an environmental cause and evolved into an uprising against the government and the July 15 coup, are all represented in the same line, in the proclamation that they were designed by a “superior mind”. While Gezi and the July 15 coup are perceived as a mechanism of the West, it renders securitization a new dimension in relations with the West. The East, which was securitized in the Turkish foreign policy during the Cold War, is replaced by the West, which is now securitized since the last decade. From a Western discourse that the Kemalist Turkey has adopted as an objective, to the securitization of the West, the point reached today, especially concerns Western contradictory attitude on Turkey’s terror question. This process is developing in interaction with the rise of anti-Turkey rhetoric in Europe.

As such, the public perception created through the securitization of the West within the “superior mind” discourse, lend legitimacy to Turkey’s usage of hard power on the question of terror. Therefore, in the aftermath of the failed coup attempt, *“it was claimed that the measures introduced under state of emergency were indispensable, and those who cared about their country should wholeheartedly support them” (Akin, 2017, p.521,522).* By recontextualizing Turkey’s domestic Kurdish insurgents and the PKK, and its ally in northern Syria, YPG in relation to the coup attempt through the “superior mind” discourse,

*“the government was able to extend its actions under the state of emergency, particularly related to the Kurdish political movement in Turkey. At the same time, operations targeting the Gülen network members took a harsher tone”... In accordance with this narrative, Turkey had to move into bordering northern Syria to fill in the power gap, brought about by the Syrian conflict since 2011” (Akin, 2017, p. 524).*

Consequently, the “superior mind” discourse legitimizes reel-politics.

## 5. Conclusion

*“There is a widespread opinion among Turkish intellectuals (and the common people) that foreigners and minorities are plotting against both Turkey and Islam, a kind of paranoia that can be compared to the so-called “Sèvres Syndrome.” The Sèvres Syndrome is an expression used in international relations to describe the paranoia of the Turkish secular bureaucracy and its politicians. This takes the form of an irrational fear that Western powers are bent on dismantling Turkey visà- vis the abortive Treaty of Sèvres in 1920” (Guida, 2008, p. 38).*

Such paranoia towards the West, is the reason underneath conspiracy theories such as the “superior mind”. In this article, it therefore suggested that the “superior mind” discourse widespread among Turkish officials, the media and the general public could be evaluated as a conspiracy theory given the tendency in Turkey to explain every negative incident, whether about politics, international relations and economics through such discourse. This Turkish tendency is generated by a threat perception towards Western powers, as linked to the major problematics of Turkey’s security considerations. In this context, especially after the failed coup attempt of July 15, in Turkey, the “superior mind” discourse attained a large public as this discourse as a speech act of the mainstream media and the high ranks of the state, provided the social production of the “legitimate” foreign policy knowledge.

It is in this sense that this article has arrived to the conclusion that the “superior mind” discourse as a conspiracy theory could be labelled as a foreign policy populism as this discourse rather than proposing an investigative approach to the incidents, serves to several other underlying incentives, mentioned below, especially at times of crises, related to a general psychology of anxiety, fear, or resentment. Those are psychological elements found both in populist and conspiracy theories and serve distort attention from real conflicts or tensions. Within this framework, conspiracy theories

are also part populism and their attraction results from their ability to propose an understandable framework of the conflicting dynamics underneath the incidents. Conspiracy theories do this within a binary logic proposing that the hidden forces are at work against what Paul Taggart names the “heartland”.

The heartland, according to Taggart is the abstract cœur of the nation resulting from the past, where a united and virtuous population lives. It is therefore something to defend and provides legitimacy to the exclusion of demonized groups by drawing borders. Conspiracy theories by raising a threat perception to this heartland, serve populist discourses. In this article, the concept of heartland is attributed to the dominant identity perceptions which are examined through a historical perspective. The conclusion arrived, is that because the Turkish heartland feels itself as part of the Eastern world, a threat perception emanating from the West constructs the logic behind conspiracy theories such as the “superior mind”. In this sense, it is concluded that the “superior mind” discourse serves as well the reproduction of Turkish identity oriented towards the East.

Another major conclusion drawn out from this article is that several other incentives reside underneath the creation of such discourse of “superior mind”. Consequently, those objectives are defined as the assurance of the national unity and integrity, reinforcement of Turkish nationalism, appeasement of the Turkish identity in its encounter with the “foreigner”, reinforcement of the public support to the government and the state, distortion of attention from the concrete socio political and economic problems, and the legitimization of reel politics. All those elements remain efficiently supported behind the “superior mind” discourse. Lastly, it could be concluded that the relationship of the “superior mind” discourse with identity considerations, results as well from the Turkish intention to resist to the Western system of values that the Turkish state pejoratively presents and associates with Western-centrism in global affairs. Briefly, this article investigates the “superior mind” discourse with its conceptual and historical roots and incentives.

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# **The President of the Independent Azerbaijani Response, Mr. Ilham Aliyev, in the implementation of the world political multicultural model in the scientific concept such as the life philosophy of society**

Khatira Guliyeva

## **1. Introduction**

The first simple dialogue that has been transformed into the present day by our ancestors and the rise of *svilizasiyas* - me and you, we, from here, the surrounding people, the neighbors, the friends of the communication department, then the nations, the religious-cultural relationship of the nations, then the political, economic, cultural as well as national conquests the multiculturalism, which is now the focus of attention of the world and the politicians, has created the political movement of tolerance. In fact, this phenomenon is not new, but as a modern form of historical experience, it constitutes a special dominant and dynamic solid in the philosophical point of view that includes the psychological-moral, moral-moral and aesthetic qualities of our people.

From this pain to the general public of Azerbaijan, communication, solidarity, peace, such as common life that determines the characteristics of the common life and fathers formed by folk contemplation, *bayatılarımız*, expressions and so on. rich folklorumuz, our monolithic stone monuments, *dastanlarımızız*, our national music, usually colorful and full ethnosomeuz, yet carpet, ceramic and other hand is the intellectual manifestation of our philosophy of dialogue. This deep. Ethnomized encyclopedia et reflects the Azerbaijani people's skies-places-rivers-forests and even colors, the melodic fields of integrity and planitarism codes.

Our national customs traditions that can be considered as the code of the people's rights are also philosophical sources from the point of view of our people. For example, the most basic in Member lülük, ers neighbor ers content of our people throughout history and now the protected population of our society in Azerbaijan, the un life un policy of the modern nature of the modern terminalogiya and starting from the approach determines the principles of culture.

With the emergence and spread of religions and the simple communication system, our people, who switched to the more serious culture program of the traditions codex, have further strengthened the generality of the *ciddicoxmədəniyyətlilik*, with the effect of this giant spiritual event. Progress in the way of development, *svilizasiyadan* civilization in the name of the wise men, poets and thinkers naturally in the art of multiculturalism, other peoples, tolerance, respect, respect to people of other religions, friendship, brotherhood relationship in this context to find the place of historical literary-aesthetic, but also systematic philosophical resources.

With a sense of national pride, we can say that the people of Azerbaijan have been indivisible traces in the history of human civilization, and our philosophical view of our nation, our nation, our moral values, our nation's philosophical point of view. Thus, our Islamic religious culture, our first written literary examples, and thus the works of our national pillars sprinkled like seeds from the skies on our torches, are always up-to-date, as a solid foundation of our philosophy of life, but also for new research in the context of multikulturalism-culturalism. is a full scientific resource.

Non-verbally, the basis of Azerbaijani culture is initially the religious-spiritual-psychological phase of the cluster in georegional nature - ethnoidentic existence constitutes the traditions of Islamic culture, and the role of this giant in human dialogue is misleading. The historical quote of the Azerbaijani people, the importance of the Great Leader Heydar Aliyev, as is today, will always be remembered. The spiritual values of Islam are very important for the education of the young generation at these stages in order to create in the Azerbaijani law Azerbaijan (11).

Today, the Republic of Azerbaijan is implementing the policy of multiculturalism, intercultural dialogue, multiculturalism of our people, the 40 years of the Great Leader Heydar Aliyev. by using the philosophy of dialogue model in a creative way, Peace, Solidarity, Friendship, Tolerance-New Content Multikulturalism model is reviving on the whole planet.

All this note is a natural and characteristic traditional event in the internal and external policy of the Independent Republic of Azerbaijan, where the global world's judges, who are united in the nation-state, state-nation rule, give special importance to the Caspian-Black Sea basin and the countries with significant power in the South Caucasus region. time is the focus of attention.

Mr. İlham Aliyev The leadership of Heydar Aliyev, the political leadership traditions, the great Azerbaijani culture, the content of the program with the new content, which combines the conception of *çökmədən dayanıqlı liderlik* with the professional-professional leader skill - Multikulturalism - the concept of intercultural dialogue is now the most global dialogue of the XXI century in the 15-year history. The problem is solved in the solution of the culture, and our country is recognized all over the world as a guarantee of national security, peace, peace, solidarity and high democratic values of tolerance.

In his speech on human and worldly importance, President İlham Aliyev summarizes his thoughts on the concept of multikulturalism in the state administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan as follows: "The national and religious tolerance in Azerbaijan and the high level of tolerance are now a reality, and this is our power. We are absolutely confident that it is possible to establish normal relations in every society based on religion and nationality, of course, traditions need to be done, at the same time, state policies should be made at the required level. it is for us to create the conditions of today, and our state policy in this field must be united için (1).

It is not coincidental that cenab İlham Aliyev has signed the 32 th clause of article 109 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan for the purpose of protecting the traditions of multiculturalism in Azerbaijan, further development and wide notification. Azerbaijan President's decision to hold the 7th Global Forum of the United Nations Civilizations Wedding Ring in Baku in 2016 stems from Azerbaijan's special emphasis on the philosophy of human intercultural dialogue-multiculturalism.

The first president of Azerbaijan, Mehriban Aliyeva, in the Heydar Aliyev Fund in 2006, gave a speech at the international conference on "Azerbaijan: the past and the present of the intercultural dialogue." Today, humanity is confronted with a very complex dilemma, a problem both politically and scientifically, and some modern academics are talking about the clash of civilizations and trying to justify it scientifically, people think in a different position that our rich diversity is the greatest asset of humanity. In order for such a dialogue to take place, concrete work must be carried out in each country, the environment in which the society is established, the enemy or We know very well that they are capable of being a team, and I would like to emphasize the most important factors in education and culture. Today, in the modern world, we must try to establish a system of education that will support a citizen who lives faithfully and lives a life of good faith y (4).

All this is of great importance in terms of history and modernity as the victory of the Azerbaijani model of multiculturalism.

The sense of ownership of Azerbaijani citizens in the Islamic religion, Islamic ethics and culture has created an environment in which people of mutual respect, civil rights, spiritual feelings and traditions of other peoples, nations and ethnic groups have long lived in mutual respect for centuries. In this respect, there is no dispute in the direction of the solution of the cultural diversity problem under the conditions of the globalization stage, in which traditional values are evolved with non-traditional values, since they have a fixed place in the states such as solidarity, unity, peace, love, friendship and Azerbaijan. invisible.

Thus, we can say that multikulturalism, which is a cultural event of nations and peoples united under a general skies, continues its own development in the context of new and continuous life philosophy by adopting state policy as the primary concept in the Republic of Azerbaijan. At the same time, the model of multiculturalism in Azerbaijan is solved as a scientific idea and methodology.

Aile Again, I want to say that our power is in our unity, regardless of national or religious affiliation, everyone in Azerbaijan is our precious citizen. I doubt that the national and religious tolerance issues

in Azerbaijan will find a solution after that, Azerbaijan citizens and then a family. they will live like "(1).

Mr. İlham Aliyev's speech on "Let's share the culture in the name of common security". The following ideas, which he specifically emphasized in the official opening of the World Intercultural Dialogue Forum, are as follows: he also determined the duties standing in front of him: "In 2008, we started with our initiative" Baku Process. " Later - in 2009, the Ministers of Culture of the Council of Europe were invited to the meeting of the Ministers of Culture of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation, which were our initiatives and they were called the in Baku Process. bir The issues of multiculturalism and multiculturalism include the bu process of Baku cil. We will try to contribute to the issues of friendship, peace, partnership and cultural diversity ortaklık (3).

## 2. Theoretical Framework

This is the result of this socio-political position that aims to support worldly and human ideas at a high level in the country's political arena, which is now composed of intercultural dialogue, multiculturalism, as well as a multidisciplinary scientific library practiced by modern world science. Written works, organized scientific conferences and other events confirm our country's commitment to the DIALOGUE tradition and its active participation in the modern global cultural environment.

This is primarily the Constitution of Azerbaijan, which ensures the equality of all citizens, regardless of ethnicity and origin, as well as the legal regulations of our Republic - the UN "General Declaration of Human Rights", the Council of Europe's Convention "on the protection of fundamental freedoms and rights", UN "Economic, social and "International Pact on cultural rights", "Final draft of security and cooperation in Europe", "Copenhagen document of the Conference on human criteria of the OSCE", Council of Europe's "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities", adopted by members of the Commonwealth of Independent States "The Convention on the Rights of Persons belonging to National Minorities", as well as the state document on the national policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan - "Protection of the rights and freedoms of the national minorities, minorities and ethnic groups living in the Republic of Azerbaijan r concern about the development of the state "Decree of the President of Azerbaijan Republic represents a fuller way.

In this direction, the creation of the "Multiculturalism and Tolerance Philosophy" section in the Philosophical Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan also envisages the history of the Azerbaijan multikulturalism model, which has been successfully implemented in the world, as well as the development of new and current issues and the development of scientific staff for the problem.

## 3. Findings

The stage of globalization, the second half of the twentieth century, concretely laid the foundation of the theory of communication in QAIInnes in the United States, then theoretically systematized with the activities of the Roman Club. The en White Book oturum project on Intercultural Dialogue entitled "Living Equally With Respect ası adopted at the 118th session of the Foreign Foreign Ministers

The ideas in the preface of the zorunluluk White Book ları give concrete information about its nature, goals and objectives: onun Intercultural dialogue is a must for our time. In a world where diversity and dangers are increasing, we need talks around ethnic, religious, linguistic and national borders to strengthen social cohesion and prevent conflicts"(18).

The moral attributes mentioned in this excerpt from the m White Book-have historically existed in the national ethnic-cultural existence of the Azerbaijani people and have been systematically systematized.

In this respect, the purpose of this article is to clarify these issues and to apply this problem to modern world politics in modern scientific aspects.

From this point of view, it is of great interest that only the Independent Republic of Azerbaijan considers this subject as state policy after Canada and Australia and it evaluates it as a life style and philosophy of life. In fact, the scientific conceptual importance of Multiculturalism in the Independent Republic of Azerbaijan has been brought forward and a wide range of opportunities have been opened for research.

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, has adopted the Azerbaijani model of Multiculturalism in the world political arena by applying the of Azerbaijan in a period 15 years.

#### 4. Discussion And Conclusion

We consider it necessary to bring the attention to reality when completing the article. Thus, the President of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev in a period of not less than 15 years at least in no time the idea of the idea of multikulturalism with the idea of multikulturalism in the world political arena in the political model of multikulturalism Azerbaijan has managed to recognize and support the systematic studies in this field in our country and is currently The reality of teaching the multiculturalism model of Azerbaijan in the 19 states of the world is the visual result of the fact that our country and our people give a broad sense of the in Dialogue.

All of this is due to the fact that the global world's judges place special emphasis on the Caspian-Black Sea basin and the countries with significant power in the South Caucasus region. The world demonstrates that the ticulturalism model has serious principles for the full implementation of the philosophy of "dialogue".

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# The EU and Turkey at the Time of New Geopolitical Tendencies

Sezgin Mercan

## 1. Introduction

In order to contribute to international security, the European Union (EU) member states, candidates and partners of the common EU policies are thought as basic actors to promote or reflect the EU's global mission with reference to foreign policy partnerships. However the link among the EU members, candidates and other partners is affected by internal and external political and bureaucratic processes. Turkey can also be considered as such, an affected EU candidate.

The EU members had difficulty in perceiving the Turkish government's transition from the use of soft power to hard power starting in the late 2000s due to Turkey's security vulnerabilities. The diverging threat perceptions of Turkey and the EU are the basic elements of this paper. In this context; emphasizing on 'unilateralization' and 're-nationalization', this study gives us an opportunity to analyze the EU's liberal approach to global as well as regional policies and its security culture, and furthermore Turkey's realist military-centered strategy with reference to realism and security approaches by investigating threats created towards Turkey and the EU by the Syrian civil war. 'Unilateralization' within the Turkish foreign policy has become a distinctive political practice in its regional inferences after 2007. Turkey and the EU have begun to perceive concepts of military security and threat perception in different ways. This has also been a result of 're-nationalization' in the EU. In this way, the EU's potential as a regional and global diplomatic and security actor at a time of geopolitical shifts have become valuable to examine.

The principle goal of this paper is to make a contribution to the views on relations between the EU and its partners by drawing attention to the importance of national and local vulnerabilities in the foreign and security policy making, to form sustainable and peaceful partnerships and to ease erosion in closer unions because of uncommon foreign and security policies. The aims are also to assess the unilateralization process of Turkey and the renationalization process of the EU in terms of foreign and security policies; to contribute towards developing a common security and threat perception between the two sides considering the integration process; to contribute to strengthening partnerships to find a peaceful settlement to regional crises like the Syrian civil war.

This study tries to answer the first question of why alienation has increased between Turkey and the EU since 2007, despite the accession negotiations which lead to an anticipation towards the establishment of a greater integration with the EU. The second question is about the possibility of reaching a common-denominator. Wherein which Turkey and the EU perceive similar political perceptions in an agreed environment to draw Turkey and the EU to a 'functional partnership' by means of a division of labor in specific policy areas such as the common foreign and security policy, while they have security problems. In this way, the paper tries to make connections between national vulnerabilities and EU based policy partnerships. The third question is why the EU and its members could not perceive Turkey's reference to use hard power despite its security vulnerabilities. Diverging threat perceptions of Turkey and the EU are basic elements of the research with reference to different geopolitical perspectives.

## 2. International Signs of Unilateralization and Re-nationalization of Turkey and the EU

Today's world is competing with different political, economic and social crises. The EU claims to be a global power as emphasized in the current "EU Global Strategy (2016)". The EU is also installing a mission in itself to solve the global crises. It has some references such as peace, prosperity and democracy for its mission. While examining the EU's mission, it can be recognized that the EU is focusing on protection of the European security order. To contribute for security order, the EU is insisting on making the world guided by shared European interests and principles. But, global, regional

and local dynamics make it difficult to realize this guidance and the EU's mission faces failure under this strain. International security nearly becomes a trial for the EU's global power.

To contribute to international security, the EU member states, candidates and partners of the common EU policies are thought as basic actors to promote or reflect the EU's global mission with reference to the foreign policy partnership. But the link among the EU members, candidates and other partners is affected by internal and external political and bureaucratic processes. The renationalization process in the EU is a current dynamic which affects this link. This process means that the national preferences and borders of the EU members have a greater impact on the EU resolutions. Economic crises, social problems, security problems defined by the Global Strategy, arguments of two-speed Europe, duality of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, increasing far-right politics which underpins the EU conservatism, separatist movements and Brexit have created touchstones of renationalization process of the EU. This may have affected negatively the relations between the EU and its members, candidates and other partners. Turkey may be considered such a state. Negotiations and membership issue between Turkey and the EU reflect this conservatism.

### 2.1. Two Conservatism

The EU's current conservatism may be examined by analysing the quality of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism means equal opportunities for different cultural identities and recognition of the equal value of all cultures. It assumes that cultures have identical worth, but their worth is based on relations with universal principles. The radical form of multiculturalism emphasizes that each culture has a worth and it must be recognised independently from any other universal principles. Its opposite side is monoculturalism, which is based on unifying and homogeneous culture in territorial boundaries (Cesareo, 2004).

The multiple identities of the EU are an attempt to prevent historical European nationalisms which aim to unify people under one identity (Whitman, 2013). But, right-wing political elites see three major constituents of the European identity as geography, history and religion. Geography draws the definitive territorial boundaries, borders or frontiers of Europe. History dates back to ancient Greece and Rome. Religion is thought as Christianity. Yılmaz (2007) said that "a second, and post-Second World War, connotation of Europe's religious tradition is conceptualized as the Judeo-Christian tradition, adding the Jewish tradition to the Christian one and positioning both against Islam."

The topic is the relations between Turkey and the EU with special reference to foreign policy partnership. 'Unilateralization (meaning to follow its own way) in Turkish foreign policy has become a distinctive political practise in its regional inferences after 2007. Turkey and the EU have begun to perceive concepts of military security and threat perception in different ways. Technical dimensions are based on negotiation chapters, organic dimensions are based on political, cultural, etc. factors, and geopolitical dimension have drawn apart Turkey and the EU. Increasing conservatism and Euroscepticism in Turkey, which underline dilemmas of the EU, counter-terrorism, Readmission Agreement and visa liberalization problems between two sides which cause reactions from Turkey to the EU have underpinned the unilateralization process in Turkey. This involves a risk of the 'bureaucratization trap' which routinizes the relations between Turkey and the EU except for the integration.

Conservatism has always been associated with Islam in Turkey. As Kalaycıoğlu emphasized, "thus, it has stressed adherence to religious values, and social customs and traditions, as opposed to reasoning and rational inference in reforming the established institutions and practices of socio-political life. In a rapidly changing environment conservatism functioned in converting and adapting old concepts and practices into the new social milieu Turkey has come to experience" (Kalaycıoğlu, 2007). Turkey's current conservatism is represented by the Justice and Development Party (JDP). Turkey has begun to support the JDP government since 2002. This party was composed of politicians who adopted a conservative-democratic vision and tried to fulfill political reforms, economic recovery, and Turkey's EU membership. The JDP's successful election results in 2007 and 2011 encouraged it to argue that Turkish modernity need not follow the traditional model of eliminating religion from public life. This was a conservative argument. The conservative vision emphasized the nation as a Turkish-

Muslim entity in Turkey (Bakiner, 2013). A JDP type right-wing political movement has grappled with the ambiguities of ethno-nationalist legacy. In Turkey, on the one hand, the nation's past and present accepted from the perspective of the ethnic Turk with language, religion and collective identity. On the other hand, with the JDP, nation defined with reference to non-Turkish populations, religious conservatives and shared religious identity (Bakiner, 2013).

The JDP's conservative-democratic identity had a reformist agenda on the way to the EU membership. This agenda included to create a harmonious fusion between conservatism and democracy on the way of searching an effective synthesis for Turkey's politics by preserving the essence of culture with an emphasis on Islam. However, the party emphasized that Turkey's EU policy targeting membership would continue. The negotiation process was instrumentalized by the JDP for this synthesis indeed (İçener and Çağlıyan-İçener, 2011). But, according to İçener, "almost no attempt is made to develop ideas on how to cope with the cultural identity problems that might occur on the levels of individual and society as a result of Europeanization. For a conservative party, such as they claim to be, this would normally be of great importance. This may lead any observer to question whether the JDP's rhetoric and discourse reflect a real political agenda or rest on pure symbolism for Turkey and Europe" (İçener and Çağlıyan-İçener, 2011).

On the other hand, Öniş (2009) said that, "the term conservative globalism signifies an unusual synthesis of liberal and conservative elements. It signifies a favourable attitude towards engagement with global markets, democratization reforms and progress towards EU membership." He added that "the JDP's conservative globalism represents a successful synthesis of the global and the local. The JDP has effectively managed to develop a strategy based on an unusual and paradoxical synthesis which allowed it to project a progressive and modern outlook combined with a concern for the sensitivities and core values of large segments of society" (Öniş, 2009). In addition to this, as İçener indicates, "the JDP utilized its conservative-democratic identity and an identity based discourse to achieve the opening of EU accession negotiations. A post-September 11 political context helped Turkey's efforts as the EU's decision on Turkey was portrayed and seen as a test case for the EU's identity, its ability to promote democratization based on European norms and values in Muslim-populated countries, the West's perception(s) of Islam and global perception of the EU's image" (İçener and Çağlıyan-İçener, 2011). But this test has not been accepted as reaching successful result for Turkey and the EU because of increased alienation between them.

## 2.2. Power Politics

Despite the EU-anchored constitutional amendments of 2002-2007, harmonization packages and the promotion of soft power by the EU conditionality in Turkey, hard power has persistently existed in Turkish foreign policy-making starting from 2007 on. In fact, during mid to late 2000s, Turkish government pursued soft power policies by attempting to establish stability and security in the Balkans, Caucasus and the Middle East, supporting the roadmap for peace between Israel and Palestine, improving its own relations with Syria as well as helping Iraq to find a peaceful settlement to its crisis through diplomatic means. Nevertheless, in spite of these peaceful policies, by the end of 2000s Turkey has again resorted to use of hard power in foreign policy particularly concerning the Syrian civil war and the Iraqi crisis falling short of the EU's expectation.

Starting with 2007 on alongside the use of soft power, the Turkish government and military have again started to resort to hard power visibly. This was a surprising outcome since the civilians were able curtail the institutional power of the military through the constitutional amendments and harmonization packages. The EU's liberal approach necessitated that the subordination of the military to the civilians would lead to the use of soft power in foreign policy. While the military was subordinated to the civilians in domestic politics, this has not been the case in foreign and security policy spheres. It started to resort to hard power alongside the use of soft power. Consequently, the decrease in the military's power in politics did not lead to its reference to soft power in foreign and security policy. Because, regional security threats arised from neighboring countries necessitated her to confer responsibilities to military actors and instruments by the government in Turkey.

Soft power necessitates a normativeness in foreign policy practices for the ability to influence and conduct one's aims to do something. After 1999, Turkish foreign policy became a norm-follower accepting the EU's norm-entrepreneurship (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Dal, 2013; Mercan, 2016). The recession of Turkey and the EU relations based on membership in 2006 mainly due to the Cyprus issue and the change in the power relations between them as an outcome of Turkey's rising soft power revealed its criticism to the EU's normativeness. Then, Turkey has begun to follow its own way (Dal, 2013). This way was emulated by Turkish foreign policy practices which considers regional security challenges. So, in Turkey, interest-based considerations have become strengthened than normative ones in regional and international areas because of security threats. Turkey's normative considerations have given an appearance of using normative instruments in a realpolitic way (Dal, 2013).

Turkey's use of soft power in foreign policy was realized through the pursuing of securitization policies with reference to 'zero problems with neighbors' policy. This policy was designed to minimize the problems in its neighborhood. Turkey focused on approaching its goals by using diplomatic means rather than military force in the 2000s. So, it began to change its foreign policy objectives and practices which differentiated from the securitized and militarized objectives and practices of the 1990s. However, regional security threats arisen from the neighborhood necessitated to confer the responsibilities to military actors and instruments after 2007. Then, Turkey began to follow its own way. National interest-based considerations have become more strengthened than normative ones in regional and international areas because of security threats.

Aforementioned considerations were seen in the Turkish Armed Forces defense concept. In 2012, this concept determined the methods for intervening in crises. New threats concerning terrorism, cyber attacks, and the existence of intercontinental ballistic missiles have showed to people that threats have extended beyond geographical borders. In July, the Chief of General Staff of that period, Necdet Özel stated that the purpose of terrorism was to harm the territorial integrity of the country, which would not be permitted by the Turkish Armed Forces. In other words, the military would continue to fight against terrorism in all conditons. The most significant aspect of this fight was border control over the Syrian, Iraqi and Iranian lines to stop the transition of terrorists into Turkey. These factors indicate why hard power increased in Turkey. In 2005, the National Security Policy Document had underlined this orientation by suggesting that the military could be utilized to alleviate security threats when necessary (Açıkmeşe, 2013; Özcan, 2006; Mercan, 2016).

There were also differences between the norms which determined the terrorism definitions and enforcements of Turkey and the EU countries. It was pointed out that Turkish legislation was required to comply with EU legislation from the point of terrorism definitions and enforcements within the cooperation of counter-terrorism. By accepting that there is a possibility of disagreement between Turkey's interests and policies and EU policies, it may be foreseen that Turkey focuses on its own region and cares about its regional, particularly security, interests without giving priority to the requirements concerning its relations with the EU. Hence, Turkey's regional interests may be naturally separated from EU's interests. It may be predicted that the perceptions of threats of Turkey and Western countries may increasingly differ in the longterm (House of Commons, 2006).

According to Turkey, local conditions of Syria underpin Turkey's securitization of the relations between them. This securitization requires the usage of hard power over security threats. It seems that Turkey will continue securitization as long as she is surrounded by international crises and terrorism and constantly facing the danger of its territorial integrity. Geopolitical and geo-strategic location of Turkey necessitates a hard security perspective in foreign policy. The increase in security problems lead the government to instrumentalize military methods beyond civilian ones. In other words, security threats have necessitated a more 'operational' Turkey which was triggered by terrorism. It has begun to concentrate on global and regional issues beyond the EU.

The Syria case demonstrates that Turkey has the potential of desecuritizing its securitized relations and securitizing its desecuritized relations. Turkey's securitized relations with Syria with reference to terrorism in 1990s has been desecuritized in the beginning of 2000s. However the Arab Spring in the Middle East, PKK/PYD and ISIS/ISIL existence in Syria has securitized the relations again. Turkey's reinforcement of a military intervention against Syria was induced by Syrian refugees crossed

into Turkish borders as a basic security threat. This was another securitization affect. In May 2018, the total Syrian refugees in Turkey have become 3.588.877 in accordance to the UNHCR source. The beginning of securitization was obvious when the Turkish National Grand Assembly accepted a bill which authorized the government to send troops to different countries in 2012. In 2018, Turkey launched Operation Olive Branch to clear Syria's Afrin region of the YPG/PKK. These were indicators of limits for Turkey's soft power. In other words, developments in neighboring countries have weakened Turkey's ability to sustain a Western type of security understanding.

On the otherhand, liberal approach reminds the EU's usage of social and economic instruments. The EU also has hard power tendencies beyond soft power as understood from Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) Project. PESCO is an instrument to deepen defence cooperation between EU Member States. It includes binding commitments to invest, plan, develop and operate defence capabilities in the EU. Considering nearby, the EU has also a potential of desecuritizing its securitized relations and securitizing its desecuritized relations with Syria. There were securitized relations between the EU and Syria in Hafiz Asad era. The relations were desecuritized in Bashar Asad era, but resecuritized in the Arab Spring.

International policies of Turkey and the EU have both compatible and incompatible contents. While compatible contents make them closer, incompatible ones make them distant. While the former underpins normative partnership, the latter creates normative dilemmas between them. These may obviously be understood from some points. Firstly, Turkey's 'Operation Sun', the biggest operation after the one in 1995, in 2008 against PKK terrorism triggered the EU's normative advices against her hard practices. Secondly, stagnation and intensity of stress between Turkey and the EU from the beginning of the negotiation process from 2005 to 2013 renewed after the Readmission Agreement. Besides, Turkey's assertion into the Middle East made her follow a more active regional policy. The EU was satisfied with this renewal because of its 'conditionality' principle and its Global Strategy as an 'ambitious global' rather than an 'exclusive security' strategy. In this way, Turkey would be in the way of the EU and they would cooperate politically and economically in the face of regional and global issues.

Within this framework, it should be suggested that a common denominator between Turkey and the EU may underpin qualified and sustainable relations. Turkey's current EU accession process has been damaged by contradictory problems and attitudes. The relations between Turkey and the EU have a risk of sinking into bureaucratized procedures which routinize the relations as diplomatic visits, except for meetings on deep integration. The relations have also a risk of being converted into bilateral relations between Turkey and the European countries, almost bypassing the EU. The parties' own interests have become a challenge for longterm partnerships by means of a division of labor in foreign and security policy, as in terrorism problem which affects Turkey and its national integrity profoundly.

### **2.3. Strategical Views**

After 2011, a Positive Agenda was launched to eliminate the weakness resulting from the absence of progress in Turkey and the EU negotiation process and to provide increased cooperation in foreign policy. Hence, the existence and development of Positive Agenda have pointed out the weakness of partnership in foreign policy and of the common perception. In this framework, EU wanted to enhance the cooperation with Turkey regarding its own security issues and fight against terrorism. Two meanings can be assigned to this matter. First, EU tries to approach Turkey's terrorism agenda and to transform its issue of terrorism as well as its fight against terrorism into common concerns, since EU heavily condemns terrorism and declares that it understands Turkey's priorities. Secondly, EU desires to integrate Turkey's legislative regulations, methods and instruments to its own perspective and implementations. This can be understood from its institutional statements that Turkey needs cooperation for the issue of terrorism and fight against terrorism (Füle, 2012). In addition, Positive Agenda would have intensified dialogue and cooperation on political reforms, freedom of movement, migration and energy. It would have provided benefits through social programs, coordination for revision in customs union.

Similarly, in March 2018, EU and Turkish leaders met in Varna to discuss future of EU-Turkey relations. Varna Summit had a spirit of Positive Agenda. Its basic topics were cooperation on the management of migration flows, the shared interest in combating terrorism, the rule of law in Turkey, Turkey's recent actions in the Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Sea, Turkey's involvement in Syria. The result was to show readiness to keep up the dialogue and consultations to cooperate on hard regional issues.

As Global Strategy (2016) of the EU emphasizes, "the European project which has brought unprecedented peace, prosperity and democracy is being questioned. To the East, the European security order has been violated, while terrorism and violence plague North Africa and the Middle East, as well as Europe itself." These new developments are questioning the EU's global and regional performance. In this conditions, relations with Turkey becomes more important for the EU in a world which includes geopolitics and power politics. Global Strategy includes that the EU will pursue the accession process while coherently engaging in dialogue on counter-terrorism, regional security and refugees. On counter-terrorism, the EU has strengthened cooperation with its partners in the Middle East, North Africa, the Western Balkans and also Turkey." This necessitates to consider the EU's potential to evaluate new geopolitical developments in the world with special reference to the relations with Turkey and its reactions toward her policies in an international area.

Global Strategy (2016) of the EU emphasizes that "it will deepen sectoral cooperation with Turkey, while striving to anchor Turkish democracy in line with its accession criteria, including the normalization of relations with Cyprus. The EU will therefore pursue the accession process -sticking to strict and fair accession conditionality- while coherently engaging in dialogue on counter-terrorism, regional security and refugees. We will also work on a modernised customs union and visa liberalization, and cooperate further with Turkey in the fields of education, energy and transport." Besides, it is mentioned that "on counter-terrorism, the High Representative in cooperation with the European Commission, the EU Counter-terrorism Coordinator and with the contribution of relevant Justice and Home Affairs agencies (starting with Europol, Eurojust, CEPOL and Frontex) has strengthened cooperation with priority partners in the Middle East, North Africa, the Western Balkans and Turkey" (implementing the EU Global Strategy). These are some reflections of the EU's strategic perspective towards Turkey. But it is not enough for positive relations.

From the EU point of view, enlargement should be a rational behavior. In other words, enlargement should be based on rational foundations. If it is not, it should be based on normative behavior and foundations. For example, EU membership of the Central and Eastern European countries were not based on rational foundations because of their disabilities to realize reform processes in a short time. But it was normative behavior based on a discourse including the aim of 'uniting Europe', 'making an end for divided Europe'. Nevertheless the membership of Turkey has been accepted neither rational nor normative. In other words, probable enlargement of the EU towards Turkey has not been accepted as rational or normative. However, one had to be accepted. A strategical view of the EU has been developed towards Turkey. There have been some reflections of the EU's strategical perspective for Turkey. In order to understand these reflections, basic geopolitical references should be made visible at this point.

### **3. Geopolitical Roots for the Visions of Turkey and the EU**

Geopolitics offers a way of relating local and regional dynamics to the global system (O'Tuathail, 2003). For some scholars, after the Cold War, a new geopolitical order dominated by geo-economic questions and issues emerged. The globalization of economic activity and global flows of trade, investment, commodities and images have remade states, sovereignty and the geographical structure of the world. For others, the new geopolitics describes a world dominated by problems like terrorism, nuclear proliferation and clashing civilizations. Territorial struggles between competing blocs left behind. In addition, some scholars accept new geopolitics with reference to ecological politics. People have begun to struggle with environmental degradation, resource depletion, transnational pollution and global warming. So, it is seen that there are many competing visions of the new geopolitics (O'Tauthail, 2003). Turkey and its relations with the EU are affected by this competition.

### 3.1. Classical View

Turkey is a buffer state from the point of theory of rimland. Geography is important on politics from this view. Geopolitics is threat oriented and defensive. According to Nicholas John Spykman and his theory of rimland, power of Eurasia is based on heartland and rimland which surround it (Spykman, 1969; Gray, 2015). He accepted Turkey as a rimland state. Its memberships to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) are basic indicators of this situation. If the EU moves on the basis of geopolitical principals, it should give more attention to the relations with Turkey to become more powerful on Eurasia. This necessitates an eastern enlargement for the EU by making Turkey as a member state. But this is not the current case. In other words, the EU's understanding of Turkey is not only based on classical geopolitical principals. It is also based on some discourses, constructions and also norms. Classical geopolitics does not consider deep meaning of European integration beyond continental Europe. There is a difference between geography of continental Europe and geography of the EU members. Some European countries are not member of the EU. Classical view may propose EU membership for all European countries, but this is not the case. At this point, critical geopolitics is engaged.

### 3.2. Critical View

*Critical view treats geopolitics as a discourse, as a culturally and politically varied way of describing, representing and writing about geography and international politics. Critical geopolitics does not assume that 'geopolitical discourse' is the language of truth; rather, it understands it as a discourse seeking to establish and assert its own truths. Critical geopolitics, in other words, politicizes the creation of geopolitical knowledge by intellectuals, institutions and practicing statesmen (O'Tuathail, 2003).*

Gerard O'Tuathail and John Agnew, as pioneers of critical geopolitics, were against geographical and nation-statist determinism on politics. Critical geopolitics accepts geopolitics as a discourse. Discourse is based on interests. Power relations and structures are important factors for it. The way of structuring is formed by a geopolitical vision based on culture. So, cultural narratives outshine when the concept of state is concerned. Critical geopolitics claims there is a politically constructed space which makes a distinction between internal and external, domestic and foreigner. Thus, it contains visible and invisible border producing foreign policy (O'Tuathail, 1999). According to Klaus Dodds,

*Critical geopolitical writers have argued that geopolitics is a discourse concerned with the relationship between power-knowledge and social and political relations. ... They propose that understanding world politics has to be understood on a fundamentally interpretative basis rather than on a series of divine 'truths' such as the fundamental division of global politics between land and sea powers. For the critical geopolitician, therefore, the really important task is interpreting theories of world politics rather than repeating often ill-defined assumptions and understandings of politics and geography (Dodds, 2000).*

The issue of Turkey's EU membership is a geopolitical subject. Some points are important for this issue according to Immanuel Wallerstein (2015). Firstly, the Ottoman existence in Europe in 16th and 17th centuries should be remembered. But its downfall changed this existence. The Ottoman Empire became a sick man of Europe, but not a sick man of the Middle East. The Republic which followed the aims of Westernization and modernization faced with many political, social and economic problems. While European countries were following the process of political integration, Turkey was kept away from this process by military interventions and other political crises. Although it made lots of political and judicial reforms after the candidacy status, this background had bad effects on the relations between Turkey and the EU. Another point is the existence of the Turkish population in Europe. This existence was beneficial for some European countries like Germany because of the

necessity for a labor force. But this existence is not beneficial so much today. It became a source of political and cultural conflicts between Turkey and the European countries. As final point, the government which was ruled by JDP, as a conservative and liberal political party, made political and judicial reforms in Turkey in the way of EU negotiations. Many European governments believed depth of these reforms. But the situation has been changed. These are significant points in the way of making evaluations on the relations between Turkey and the EU with reference to critical geopolitics.

Turkey's traditional view of geopolitics reflects classical version which is threat based construction. It is defensive geopolitics. Governments of Turkey have underlined her international position referring to discourse of being a 'bridge between Europe and Asia'. This discourse rises the thesis of 'always important Turkey for the EU'. Critical perspective points out two questions: What is the meaning of being a bridge? Is the thesis of 'always important Turkey' real? To answer these questions critical geopolitics becomes a leading theory under the condition of critical directed EU geopolitics. The EU's view of critical geopolitics contains a difference between continental Europe and the EU. Under this view, political, cultural and judicial structures have a considerable position. 'Europeanness' or 'European identity' has become a basic reference point for defining European integration. But, Turkey has been seen as foreigner, external and other. So, being a bridge is not enough for the EU membership. Thus, observers of this subject should recognize the conflict between 'classically important Turkey' and 'critically weak Turkey'.

At the time of global and regional crisis, an ad hoc and partial cooperation and ad hoc recovery through bilateral summits may be seen between Turkey and the EU. At the time of agreement on norms and values between them, a cooperation and recovery which are necessitated by the EU conditionality may be seen also. When disagreements are raised, the two parties may face with limited and unqualified relations. Enlargement issue reflects a significant disagreement point between them.

Some other geopolitical inferences would be contributory to analyze the relations between Turkey and the EU. Firstly, Turkey has contributed to the EU policies at both global and regional levels in the Middle East for migration, disarmament, energy security and democratization. Secondly, political, economic and social failures in the Mediterranean countries and the Arab world have regarded as problematic developments which lay an obstacle for the common policies between Turkey and the EU. Thirdly, the case of Syrian civil war has become a check tool between two parties triggered by Syrian refugee problems with the high number of refugees. Fourthly, the disruption of Turkey and Syria relations has led to loss of Turkey's authority and its role as a mediator in the region which produces a risk of nonfunctionality in Turkey's regional role in the eyes of the EU. The result is; while the EU desires to integrate Turkey's legislative regulations, methods and instruments to its own perspective and implementations for foreign and security policy issues, developments in its neighbourhood weaken Turkey's ability to sustain European type of foreign and security policy understanding.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Alienation has increased between Turkey and the EU since 2007 because of a lack of common future vision. Although the accession negotiations have been expected to lead an anticipation towards the establishment of a greater integration with the EU, differences on normative and realist improvements have separated the two parties. Strong reminders of classical view of geopolitics produce a common attitude and cooperation on security issues between Turkey and the EU. In terms of 'functional partnership' by means of a division of labor in specific policy areas like common foreign and security policy, practice derived from classical view of geopolitics promotes a common denominator with reference to border security. But, the EU and its members could not perceive Turkey's reference to use hard power despite its security vulnerabilities because of the EU's critically directed geopolitical view. Dominance of critical geopolitics between Turkey and the EU prevents Turkey's full membership and, more importantly, sustainable optimism.

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# The Neo-Medieval Europe and the Concept of Empire

Aleksandra Spalinska

## 1. Introduction and Methodology. Europe in the Clash of Concepts

Almost from the beginning of integration process in Europe there is a strong controversy between federalists and supporters of intergovernmental mode of cooperation. Federalists dream about the great, at best homogeneous European state, realists – about the great come-back of nation-states and their international system. Is it really the only choice? Should we really believe that the Westphalian nation-state is the only one possible form of political organization? The paper puts out a thesis that there is a chance for compromise between the federal and realist approach to integration to ensure the heterogeneity and diversity in EU political system. This compromise could be the form of integration which would appeal to the solutions presented by the model of Europe as the neo-medieval empire created by Jan Zielonka (Zielonka, 2007). In this case, empire as the form of authority and power – in the contrast to the nation-state – is not designed to be homogeneous. Moreover, the main issue is the distinction between the nation-state and empire (neo-medieval empire, not Westphalian like the United Kingdom in 19<sup>th</sup> century) in terms of administrative organization, economic governance, structure of borders, means of law enforcement, factors which create the common polity and features which are distinctive for a demos, and model of connections and relationships (*de facto* and *de iure*) between subjects which create the nation-state and the empire. The empire in this case is an alternative option to the state and indicate that we would be able to establish political organization which would not be a kind of state.

The term “empire” in that way is understood as a political organization which is not the state (Waever, 1997) (Buzan & Little, 2000) but – like the state should be itself – is effective and based on social contract between subjects who agree to deliver their competences and freedom to authority of empire. From this point of view, the notion of empire is a kind of metaphor, which “points to centredness, a centredness which is not that of the sovereign state; not sovereign equality, but diffuse patterns of centres with power fading off” (Waever, 1997, p. 61). That’s why the subjects of empire are not fully independent – the sovereignty is divided between various units to provide security, peace and development. In long perspective these units create common polity which is highly diverse and divided into the core and periphery in various aspects of politics. In this way European integration has been perceived by Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande (U. Beck, 2011), and also by Michael Doyle, who defines the empire as “a relationship, formal or informal, in which one [community] controls the effectiveness of political sovereignty of another one” (Doyle, 1986, p. 45). According to Doyle, such a polity can be established by the military conquest, political or economic co-operation, or cultural influences. In the ways how empires work, was interested also Alexander Motyl who indicated that the empire is rather a link between the elites of the center and the periphery than the geopolitical control *expressis verbis* (Motyl, 2001, p. 4).

Moreover, not only the territorial parts like contemporary states could be the subjects of an empire. Regions, megacities (metropolis) or even local communities with their own identity are also invited to be included in decision-making processes in the chosen policies. What is important, this is due not only to transformation of social and economic geography of Europe but to its reshaping on the whole world. The paper support Jan Zielonka’s argument that the European Union could be seen as a form of empire because as a vast supranational and diverse subject is too large and too complex to be the state ever. Moreover, I would try to prove that this thesis is still true and that it would provide us a new direction for integration after the current crises. Therefore, the aim of the paper is to outline the solutions of the model of Europe as empire in a few aspects: political system, political representation and economic governance. This aim will be achieved through the critical analysis of literature, including the main reference source which will be works of Jan Zielonka which presents the whole model of Europe as Empire as well other possible alternative ideas, concerning the changes in politics

and power, identified with the concept of new medievalism. Moreover, important will be the method of desk research which applies both to the conceptual and theoretical literature and empirical sources (reports, statements, white papers). Taking into account the conceptual and theoretical nature of research, the paradigm – in context of which the research has been conducted – this work belongs to interpretivism (antipositivism). Next, regarding the purpose of the paper below, the theoretical model of Europe as empire will be interpreted as a normative concept of how the EU should work. In this context, model of neo-medieval empire is expected to provide a scenario of desired *finalité politique* of the European Community. Of course, the theoretical assumptions, as well as the normative imperatives, always have to be clashed with reality if we want to know something of its actual possibilities. It concerns also the model of Europe as empire.

The forecast made by “The Economist” (The World in 2017, 2016) attaches great importance to migration flows, unclear trajectory of US foreign relations and crisis of political representation in general. In Europe it concerns refugee crisis, outcomes of recent economic crisis and crisis of democracy. How to respond to such challenges? Of course, both theoretically and practically – firstly we have to change our point of view, the way how we perceive politics and European integration. Firstly, it is necessary to rethink the “traditional” options for integration, e.g. federalism and intergovernmentalism which are highly state-centric. What is important, this change would be relevant to the theoretical shift in the field of social sciences (cognitive revolution and the case of postmodernism as the new comprehend-sive paradigm). In fact, the “traditional” way of thinking about authority and power is changing since II World War, especially in Europe (Cooper, 2000). What about European integration theory due to this change? What about moral dilemmas and drivers for the future? This question includes the unclear prospect for the EU and indicates that we need concepts which in practice will make the European compromise possible and will ensure more heterogeneity in EU system. The model of Europe as neo- medieval empire responds for both the needs of political practice and theoretical considerations of authority and power.

## **2. Model of the Neo-Medieval Empire – its Sources and Assumptions. Analysis and Findings**

New medievalism in the field of European studies (and also in the international relations theory) has its source in the premonition about the significance of the transition period after World War II, inter alia in the works by Hedley Bull (Bull, 2002), created on the assumption that the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century could be seen as similar to the times of the Middle Ages in political aspects – mainly in the supposed “End of Westphalia”. It means mainly falling domination of the nation-state as the one and only formally recognized sort of actors on the global stage (Matthews, 1997, p. 65). In addition, it is inevitable to mention that Arnold Wolfers, writing in the 1960s about the condition of international relations as an academic discipline, saw a trend that, as he stated, was a sign of blurring of the borders between that what we recognize as the external and the internal. According to Wolfers, the reason for this “destabilization” – of course in terms of previous international system’s “stability” – were social, economic, political and technological transformations that affected the world after World War II, and in which we can find complex and seemingly contradictory issues like internationalist ideologies and homogeneous nation-state, transnational co-operation and selfish nationalism, and foreign yet civil wars, therefore difficult to classify as external or internal (Wolfers, 1962, p. 242). This trend Wolfers called “new medievalism” (Ibidem). However, it is Hedley Bull to be recognized as the author of mentioned concept. In his works, new medievalism is more precise and futuristic, based on imagination and intuition of his creator, and described as *the system of overlapping authority and multiple loyalty* (Bull, 2002, p. 245). “Westphalia” in this context is seen as a metaphor for the origin of the European system of states in the Early Modern Period and as a symbol of political order based on the nation-state as the main and only subject of international politics. The “New Middle Ages” instead is a metaphor for the future of international system and its evolution in terms of its organization, governance, and its subjects in a way that can make the system similar to the medieval one (Kobrin, 1998, pp. 365-366).

In the field of European integration theory, insights about internal transformation of adopted model of European integration began to appear long before the financial and economic crisis had hit the European societies, and even before the Lisbon Treaty had been accepted. It was mainly the

expected Eastern enlargement that raised doubts about the relevant mode of integration. From the other hand, there were attempts to deepen cooperation within the EU, including the Community's political ambition - the Union seemed to be taking the form of a nation-state, regarding the expanding scope of competences of institutions, especially the European Commission. At the same time, along with the process of acceptance and implementation of the Maastricht Treaty, there appeared exception clauses, widely known as the "opt-outs". In turn, there raised questions about the homogeneity of the integration process. Social inclusion and the lack of the "European awareness" among EU citizens have also become important issues. Then the economic breakdown and, in particular, the currency crisis of the Eurozone indicated the mistakes of common projects. Also revolutions of the Arab Spring and the war on Ukraine have raised many doubts, especially in terms of unclear EU diplomatic capacities, relationships with neighborhood and policies towards it, and future of further enlargement itself as well as migration and asylum policy. As we can see, currently the most serious challenge for integration is the rising populism, based on distrust of citizens towards liberal elites as well politicians at all and, of course, towards the integration project.

A way to respond to the changes taking place in the world and within the Union itself, are concepts of European integration that refer to political, social and economic turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. Among them we can distinguish the model of Europe as the neo-medieval empire, created by Jan Zielonka, which was based on the assumption that EU *finalité politique* would resemble the neo-medieval empire rather than the Westphalian nation-state (Zielonka, 2007). In the scientific research on European integration the neo-medieval paradigm of integration is recognized an intellectual try of replacing the prevailing conceptual apparatus and worldview of the Westphalian nation-state. It is because, in the model of Europe as empire, the Union is not be perceived and studied as the nation-state as it is too complex and too vast to become the one ever (Zielonka, 2007, pp. 10-11). This complexity (as well as diversity) affects not only culture, but also social or economic systems, political traditions, technological development or political regimes. In this context, the main problem of thinking on the future of the EU is the involuntarily reference to the notions and phrases which are being applied for the nation-state in Westphalian model. In the maze of conceptual connections one can claim that the model neo-medieval empire is only an abstract theory, referring only to a small extant to the real political units which functioned in the Middle Ages. An example (however controversial) might be there the 1<sup>st</sup> German Reich, which political, social and economic shape and range of cultural influence can be a good reference point for the EU vast and complex structure. The contemporary model of the nation-state (Westphalian or, rather, neo-Westphalian), which Zielonka opposes the construction of empire, is also the ideal type and concerns the political community that started to develop in the Early Modern Period after the religious wars and power rivalry of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

But where we can find the main point of reference for the model of neo-medieval empire? Where the research of its author did begin? As it was mentioned above, as the first "impression" of new medievalism, the blurring of borders has been recognized. The same applies to European integration project. As Zielonka himself has stated, it was the shape, construction and actual mode of functioning of EU borders that has prompted him to think of a new approach to European integration (Zielonka, 2007, p. 4). The main case for that, was Eastern enlargement of 2004 as well as expanding scope of EU neighborhood policy and new formulas of cooperation that were to enhanced EU influence on the continent and global arena. The shape of borders is the crucial factor here because it reflects the way in which power of chosen authority is enforced. The borders of the Westphalian states are tight and precise, both on maps and on the ground, and the territorial scope of the Westphalian states overlaps with the boundaries of a particular legal, administrative and economic order. On the other hand, in the case of medieval empire, borders are semi-open, fuzzy and permeable, and the territorial scope of the formal authority does not overlap with legal or economic jurisdiction. Moreover, in the neo-medieval empire boundaries do not have a determined shape and can resemble the form of medieval Marches. Taking into account the territorial spread of the Union, saving the boundaries typical for nation-states will be a very difficult task. A good example can be here an existing complexity of scope and content of adopted forms of integration and cooperation – e.g. the single market as well as the Schengen system

includes third states which are not members of the EU. From the other hand, members of the EU, together with neighboring countries form the European Economic Area (EEA) which a wider formula of inter-state cooperation in Europe. Another example, certainly easier to notice for citizens, can be the agreements on local border traffic that let the residents of external border districts enter the EU without a visa – this solution has been applied, e.g. for border traffic between Poland and Russia and between Poland and Ukraine. In fact, their adoption is an evidence that confirms semi-open and flexible nature of EU's borders.

The result of a new formula of authority and borders are also the modes of functioning of the political system. Still, it is a democratic regime, but can we really be sure that democracy in the neo-medieval empire will be the same as democracy within the nation-state? Lack of overlapping jurisdictions strongly changes the way how democracy works. First and foremost, the structure of authority is different – in the Westphalian model we are dealing with hierarchical and closed governance, whilst in the neo-medieval empire power is dispersed and disjoint, creating multi-layered structures with a variable number of “rungs” and with varying territorial and functional range, that shapes them into a form of “concentric circles” (Zielonka, 2007, pp. 153-159). It is worth to notice that such a “cascade” layout of governance really corresponds with current deadlocks within the Community, taking into account weakness of European leaders and social distrust. Of course, this is connected to the issue of common identity among European citizens, especially in terms of – still absent – “European demos” which would bind people from different states and which would create a real public sphere within a Union.

Changing structure of authority and governance translates into the quality of political representation and the position of representative bodies – in the Westphalian model parliaments have broad powers and their role is crucial to the system, while in the neo-medieval empire their influence is limited to the institutions that are not directly elected. This condition regards technocratic bodies, representatives of governments, regional authorities and other subjects, smaller or larger organizational units of varying impact, which are susceptible to the influence of pressure groups and do not have a single center of authority. We can see it perfectly in the EU, where particular institutions and agencies are located in different parts of Community (the European Parliament has even two headquarters). In the case of empire, the weakness of the representative bodies is mainly due to the vast territorial spread, as well as to the increasing scope of competences of supranational and transnational institutions, and the number of issues that require regulation and management because of societal needs and technological progress. The cultural and economic differentiation of particular parts of the empire also is worth to mention, as it translates into a different way of perceiving politics and different needs of people. Thus, representative bodies of the empire are not the primary point of reference for citizens who direct their attention to the national or regional authorities – for the questions about democracy in the EU, the answer, which is presented in the model of neo-medieval empire, sounds very reasonable. This particularly concerns the countries that joined the Community after 2004, where the electoral turnout in the European Parliament elections is very low. Jan Zielonka points out that if we want to have a true democracy in Europe, we need a society of similar convictions and values, not new institutions. What is important, in case of EU, “these beliefs should be not only democratic but also ‘European’, which means both common and supranational” (Zielonka, 2007, p. 176)

Shape of political system corresponds to the economic system, which conditions are particularly important for the EU because of crisis turbulences. While in the Westphalian model we are dealing with central economic governance in a specific timeframe, in the neo-medieval Union the emphasis would be placed on greater deregulation and decentralization to stimulate economic growth. EU financial aid would be limited and would support the efficiency, not the purposes of convergence (Zielonka, 2007, pp. 119-123). As in the political sphere, there would be no single, hierarchical system of institutions in economic matters, but a strongly differentiated and decentralized network of units. According to Zielonka, the Union must meet three challenges in the economic sphere: internal development gaps, global competition and interdependence in its environment (Zielonka, 2007, pp. 123-150). Wider scope of liberalization and decentralization would support competition and “the export of regulations and laws to neighboring countries in order to gradually expand the geographical

coverage of European economic governance” (Zielonka, 2007, p. 122). Thanks to this, the Union could have an impact on its environment, providing friendly conditions and respect to economic governance standards, and could contribute to growth in neighboring areas. Transfer of European solutions outside the EU would also facilitate liberalization of trade relations and movement of goods and labor (Zielonka, 2007, p. 122). In this case, structure of borders would be a favorable factor – the functioning of spontaneously developing border zones instead of tight external borders would support the development of cross-border trade. Thanks to that, local centers of commerce could emerge, centers, which would only be loosely linked to a larger regional one.

However, there are other internal problems, especially important from the perspective of new medievalism. A good example, connected to economic governance, can be here Eurozone crisis itself. During the breakdown, there appeared questions of hierarchy and power within the EU. In this case, Germany has become the “core” of the European center and the actual hegemon. Thanks to their dominant position, they managed to impose austerity requirements on the other states, combined with financial aid. Taking into account the position of Germany in the world economy, their decisive influence on the actions taken to overcome the crisis seems justified. But, when it comes to question of institutional leadership on economic issues, the problem is much wider. Who is in power in the euro area? Economy is the cornerstone of European integration, so we should know the answer to this question. However, this is not so obvious. We have several candidates for Euroland leadership: the Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs, the Minister of Finance of the current presidency, the President of the European Central Bank or the President of the Eurogroup (which was created outside the treaties), and also, because of political practice – German chancellor (Nugent, 2012, p. 423). A form of the economic superior power has become Economic Troika, but the participation of a representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in its decision-making process during the crises led to questions about the EU independence in key decisions. The “Five Presidents” report points out the necessity to tackle the problem of external representation of the euro area - according to the authors of the report, the Eurozone should have a unified position in international summits (primarily at the IMF) to strengthen its impact on the global scene and to force decisions according to their expectations (European Commission, 2015, p. 17). This problem is in some way connected to the phenomenon of “fleeing” or “escaping” power from the Union that contributes to system change and causes some anxiety (Ruszkowski, 2015). There are formal and informal solutions based on the Treaties or on the political practice, stormy negotiations and behind-the-scenes talks. On the other hand, the problem who has the actual leadership in the euro area indicates that we even have to deal with “flows” of power within the Union itself. Of course, this conclusion indicate that the structure of organization is to be reconsidered. Additionally, it should be noted that in the case of EU decision-making system, referring only to the Treaties is insufficient because of its complexity and informal solutions.

Could settlements and solutions of the model of Europe as Empire be a response to the question of EU future after the crises? Maybe yes, although their application in practice might lead to the resistance of groups that benefit from the current system (e.g. farmers). On the other hand, relieving the EU institutions could be restorative for integration. The current crisis is also a crisis of governance, so it is worth to ask whether it is sensible to expand the competences of EU institutions. As it was noted by Jan Zielonka, integration of markets does not necessarily mean the unification of the institutions, as it has been already pointed by economists such as Paul Krugman (Zielonka, 2007, p. 123). The internal market itself, in its present form, requires a lot of detailed regulations. Temporary reinforcement of the Commission's mandate to cope with pressing issues seems necessary, but – after solving crucial problems – institutional integration should be pushed into new pathways that will lead to more cooperative forms of organization in order to avoid similar crises in future. This concerns not only economic governance, but also e.g. migration and asylum policy, border management, and security issues.

### **3. Conclusions. Concept of Empire and Questions about European Future**

Will the European Union come out of the crisis? If so, when, and what solutions will be a prescription for economic, political and social challenges? In case of the economic sphere, we can say that the crisis

is over, but there is still a question of unresolved issues connected to migration and social policy. Along with the economic and migrant crisis, the populism appeared – thus, we have another crisis, the crisis of democracy and liberal politics. It is particularly dangerous because it could lead to disintegration of the EU, taking into account a populist background for Brexit referendum and for national politics in Poland and Hungary. Full, deep integration has been a dream for creators of the United Europe. Meanwhile, the belief of unity turned out to be elusive, as it was proved by recession of the Eurozone. Difficulties in solving financial problems also indicated that supporting the social legitimacy on the effectiveness and prosperity has been a mistake. Undoubtedly, the EU remains one of the centers of the world economy (even in the times of crisis) and is still regarded to be a paradise in terms of social development. That's why the EU is especially affected by the global inequalities, becoming the target of migration of thousands of people.

Another controversy concerns a question of a future scenario for integration process, regarding concepts of “multi-speed integration” or “variable geometry” that would affect the principle of European unity. In future scenarios for the EU that has been outlined in the white paper prepared by European Commission for the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Treaties of Rome (Commission, 2016) one of considered options is variable geometry (Commission, 2016, p. 20), which can be easily associated with the model of empire because of unstoppable process of division the EU into center and periphery in long perspective. However, it does not change the way how we perceive governance and authority because variable geometry integration is the integration only for nation-states. Moreover, it is worth to mention that question about future shape of the EU has arisen much earlier – in discussions between France and Germany when a solution for economic recession was sought. Today also it is necessary to consider if the EU will remain a single (homogenous) organization with one (Germany) or possible two (Germany and France) centers of actual power. On the other hand, the project of establishing a full political union caused controversy even before the crisis, taking into consideration the belief that its main target would be European nation-state. Is it possible to find a compromise between the dreams of united Europe and the fear of changes, impossible to control? According to J. Zielonka, the internal international system of the EU is not anarchic and European integration itself has contributed to contestation of the Westphalian rules (examples: Qualified Majority Voting, prerogatives of the Court of Justice, participation in ECB capital, procedure for monitoring the rule of law). In addition, European policy of member states is based on negotiations that depend on political preferences, not on military alliances (Zielonka, 2007, p. 203). Decision-making mechanisms are most often based on consensus. Of course, the economy, territorial scope and diplomatic experience of each state has a great importance.

Undoubtedly, such conditions enhance the necessity of looking at the model of empire in a normative way because – if the EU really has neo-medieval nature – putting this ideas into practice would be the only effective and right answer to the crises, and could help to establish a dialogue between euro-enthusiasts and euro-skeptics. Other normative concept for European integration, referring to the idea of new medievalism, is cooperation in form of polyphony – often it is identified with model of integration *à la carte*, but it's not the same (Zielonka, 2014). Other important issues to be discussed in case of heterogeneity and crises concern the question of democratic deficit in EU institutional and political system, and crisis of democracy in European societies in general. Detailed considerations of social policy in hand with the educational one are also to be taken into account, as well as the challenges of present foreign policy and proposed ideas of common defense for the EU. Nevertheless, the purpose is to adjust the European project the challenges of 21<sup>st</sup> century, not the other way around (Zielonka, 2007, p. 117). What if it is too late even for a compromise model of integration in the face of new turbulences in politics and societies? The scenario of possible disintegration should also be taken into account.

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# Polemological barometres as a tool for analyzing wars and armed conflicts

Milena Palczewska

## 1. Introduction

Polemology is considered a relatively young scientific specialty, however, various concepts of wars have appeared almost since the dawn of our civilization. Polemology deals with the study of armed conflicts and wars of past, current and future times. The creator of the concept of polemology, G. Bouthoul, is the author of the concept of forecasting armed conflicts and wars. It is based on predicting the possibility of a war outbreak by analyzing symptoms based on historical experience. Polemology in its research on the possibility of future possible wars or armed conflicts uses five polemological barometers: geographic/geopolitical factors (include geographical properties-space and time-duration), long-term factors (concerning periodicity theory of wars), cyclical factors (include projects that disturbs the structural balance), barometers of national structures (linked, inter alia, with the state structure, statistical indicators of development, demographic indicators), short-term barometers (include the search for the causes of wars and armed conflict in the spheres of motivation).

Main goal of research was an indication of how polemology and polemological barometers can affect national security. Subject of study in article were concepts for improving the national security system with polemological approach. The main research problem is presented in the question: how to apply the theory of polemology to the optimization of the national security system of Poland?

## 2. Method

The research was aimed at familiarizing with the opinions of experts specializing in broadly understood security and defense. The research involved 7 people - lecturers of the National Defense Academy in Poland. While selecting the group, the diversity of the directional education as well as the occupied position that could influence the views of the respondents were guided.

Due to the subject and the type of data that were wanted to be obtained in the research used for this article, the expert interview method was used. It was a structuralized interview or otherwise referred to as a categorized one, which consists in sending mostly closed questions and always only in accordance with the previously prepared set, ie with the obligation to provide them in the same order and without the possibility of asking additional questions to the respondents. Using this method in the research process, it was necessary to use the intelligence sheet as a research tool that was drafted adequately to the needs of the research. The form of an individual, open sheet was used, however the data of the respondents will not be published.

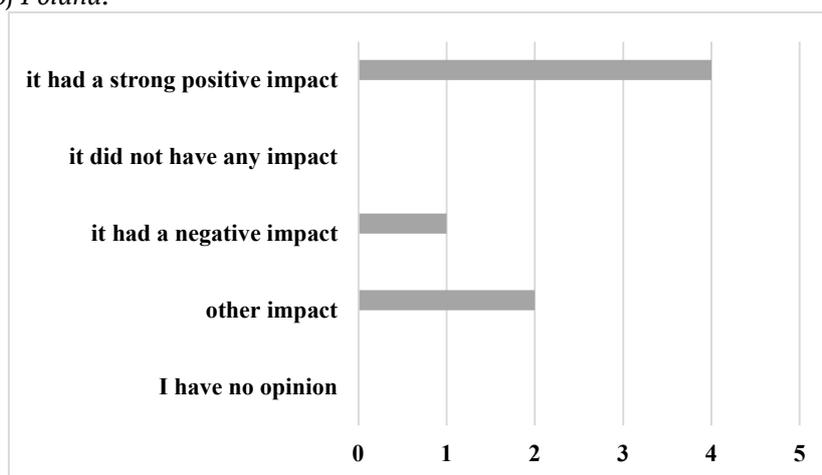
## 3. Findings

Nowadays, we experience a rapid, unusually accelerated growth of information potential. Modern means of communication, reconnaissance, radio-electronic warfare, computerization and automation of command systems, etc. cause that a revolution in the art of war is noticeable. Today's assurance of security is no longer based on the same principles as in previous centuries. Therefore, it was decided to ask the surveyed group *Does the contemporary international security environment, which is becoming very volatile, turbulent and unpredictable, force countries to make organizational changes in their security systems?*

In the opinion of all the experts, changes in security systems, both state and collective, are necessary. This fact can be interpreted as an imperfection of current security guarantors that constitute national armies and collective security systems. New conditions of security require a departure from classical theories, both in the conduct of activities and in the formulation of treaty provisions. It is necessary to create sophisticated and conceptually flexible solutions. It is important to include in their content two new dimensions of armed struggle - energy and information that have affected the present world after the biological and mechanical era.

With regard to the security of the Republic of Poland, it is important to give the Polish defense and security system a single direction towards which one must strive. It is suggested that this is a trend related to polemology and irenology. However, it does not have to dominate the whole concept of security, it is possible to include only some of its aspects. "While in the Polish discussion specific, though sometimes chaotically formulated, priorities for the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland break through, our weakness is the lack of consistency in their implementation. First of all, there is a lack of assigning tasks for individual state or non-governmental institutions, which also have their place, eg in the sphere of cultural, scientific or humanitarian cooperation" (Kudlicki, 2008).

In the case of analyzing only the security and defense system of the Republic of Poland, specific historical conditions should be taken into account. However, in the face of contemporary geopolitics and the international situation, it is necessary to focus on the latest history. After the collapse of the bipolar world, the end of the Cold War and sovereignty by the Republic of Poland, our country faced the historic problem of having to formulate its concept of security. In relation to Poland, the danger of a global conflict, which would threaten national security, differed, but at the same time new challenges and threats appeared that had to be taken into account during the creation of the security and defense system. Currently, the strategic goal of Poland (...) is the ability and ability to ensure existence and development in an international environment, including defense against external threats. Safety understood in this way realizes the existential, co-existential and functional interests of the state" (Jemioło, 2007). The new geopolitical situation in Europe caused that Poland was in the security zone between NATO, the European Union and Russia. Therefore, in the conducted research it was decided that it was necessary to determine *how the political transformation influenced changes in the defense and security system of Poland.*



**Chart 1. To what extent has the systemic transformation in Poland affected the defense and security system of the Republic of Poland?**

Source: own study based on research.

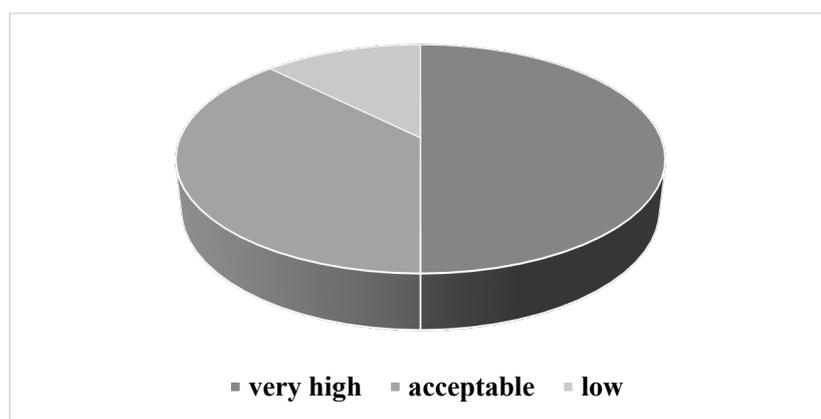
As the research results show, security experts represent the view that changes in the political system of Poland after 1989 had an impact on its defense and security. The vast majority think that it was a strong positive influence, only one person thinks that it was a negative impact. This pejorative statement can be interpreted as the lack of a permanent institution and a certain security guarantor that constituted the Soviet Union in the period after the Second World War. However, the results shows that Poland gained independence and independence after 1989, transformed its security system and did it correctly.

During the analysis of the research results, there were also opinions suggesting that the political transformation in Poland affected in a different degree than the positive or negative, on the security and defense of the Republic of Poland. It is to be assumed that these were dualistic changes in their approach. After all, introducing at least the slightest transformation into a given system will probably never bring positive effects. It is also worth paying attention to the aspect of Poles' attitude

to the state, army and defense. "The period beginning in 1945 stopped something. Although compulsory military service lasted, young Poles joined the army, choosing a soldier's profession, but all this lacked essential reference. This reference is the awareness of service to the fatherland: "devotion to the homeland". (...) Poles' military traditions have for centuries bound military service with the love of the Fatherland" (Dybciak, 2005). It is important to disseminate patriotic content and defensive training of society today, as citizens form the basis of the country's defense system.

Another issue that was examined was the level of national security of the Republic of Poland. This topic is also discussed in the National Security Strategy. It should be emphasized that the level of security is related not only to the state of war, but also to peace and crisis. It ensures the proper functioning of the state, including protection of the population, survival of the country and the nation. It is an important element in building social trust among the government. In the 21st century, "one should notice at the same time sources of threats, including those of a geopolitical, transnational and economic nature that may result in, for example, restriction of access to energy resources, markets for acquiring or selling goods, which can significantly determine the social, economic and political life of the country" (Batkowski, 2010).

All these factors, including opportunities, challenges, threats and risks, contribute to the level of security. Therefore, it can not be denied that this is an important issue for Poland. *How we should evaluate the current level of national security of the Republic of Poland?* - this is how the question for the surveyed experts was formulated, results are showed on chart nr 2.



**Chart 2. Current level of national security of Poland.**

Source: own study based on research.

When discussing research results, a positive trend should be marked. The vast majority, or 6 out of 7 experts surveyed, assess the level of national security as very high or satisfactory. It therefore follows that defense and national security systems are now able to guarantee an optimal level of security among the public. This does not mean, however, that Poland is able to stand up to any threats that may occur on its territory. In the future, the focus should be on the new threats that the 21st century brings, namely (Dawidczyk, 2001):

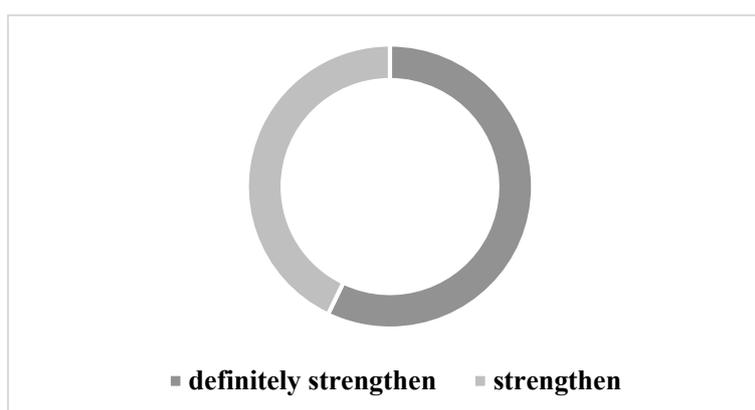
- international terrorism,
- proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and means of its delivery,
- organized international crime,
- natural disasters and catastrophes,
- cross-border migration,
- asymmetrical operations.

It is suggested that these threats should be included in future concepts of security and defense of the Republic of Poland. Such a solution should prove to be effective in using the polemological and irenological aspects, and mainly their historical bases. Undertaking such actions will definitely increase the level of Poland's security.

As a result of the conducted research, it was found that the currently functioning Polish security and defense system works correctly. Nevertheless, due to emerging new threats, we can not stay in the same place. It should strive for constant optimization, improvement and correction of elements that work inefficiently. In this article, polemological aspects are considered as new trends that should be included in the postulated changes in the national security system of Poland. A group of experts was asked: *Which of the areas of polemology can be helpful to optimize the national security system?* The most common answer was that it should be done by considering the complexity of the phenomenon of armed conflict, including political, economic and social issues. Thus, the opinion prevails that polemology should be considered along with other fields of science. This holistic approach is likely to make the current security system more effective. "An armed conflict is part of a social conflict that is usually expressed in carrying out joint and intentional actions or threatening action by organized, armed and adequately equipped groups or armed forces to establish a fight or adopt an aggressive stance against other groups or armed forces" (Paździorek, 2010). Considering armed conflict, including other fields of science, mainly polemology and irenology, it will be possible to build a system that is resistant to most military activities.

Among the opinions of the surveyed experts, other areas of polemology, ie forecasting wars and armed conflicts, will help to optimize the national security system; discursive analysis, which is a war research tool; considering the causes of wars on three levels: structural, conjunctural and occasional. It can therefore be said that polemology is a science that in all its essence and in all its aspects should be used to improve security systems, both in Poland and in other countries. The multiplicity of the form in which polemology can positively modernize security only speaks in its favor.

National security as a state should function on a continuous basis. It is important that national security and defense strategies are created in the long term perspective. It is important to divide the future into a closer and further one, which will allow to take appropriate action in a timely manner. Projects such as the professionalization of the Polish Army are carried out over several years, while individual procedures are implemented immediately or within a few months. As noted by S. Rybak, "contrary to appearances, the defense of the state is not a value that can be achieved and focus on the implementation of other goals. This is one of those values that you should strive for on a continuous basis - shape, modify and adapt according to the changing external and internal situation" (Rybak, 2010). Therefore, it was decided to ask the surveyed experts: *Can the use of the aspects of polemology and irenology in future concepts of national security and defense, strengthen or weaken Poland's security in the long term perspective?*



**Chart 4. How the use of polemology and irenology in the national security system will affect the security of the Republic of Poland in the long term perspective.**

Source: own study based on research.

As it can be seen on the chart, all surveyed respondents stated that polemology and irenology are the sciences which, if used properly in the security and defense system, will strengthen the security of Poland. In addition, this will happen in the long-term horizon, which positively affects the level of

security. A satisfactory and promising future is the fact that polemology and irenology are not able to weaken the defense system of the Republic of Poland. In connection with the conducted research, it is necessary to take firmly, both historical and modern aspects of these sciences, to properly optimize elements ensuring state security. What's more, in forecasting possible future conflicts and wars, we should take into account factors such as:

- civilization development,
- strength, activity, character of ideology,
- the possibility of internal meltdown,
- the character of international order,
- economic competition with the inclusion of military violence (Balcerowicz, 2002).

When making effective improvement of the defense system of the Republic of Poland, it is necessary to use the polemological and irenological aspects. Based on the data from the conducted research, it should be stated that this improvement can be implemented in the long-term perspective. The most important aspects when making the optimization of the national security system will be to consider the complexity of the phenomenon of armed conflict together with the issues of other sciences and to conduct discursive analyzes that are a war research tool. To expand the possibilities of polemology and irenology, it was decided to ask the following question to experts: *How can the scope of polemological and irenological knowledge be used to rebuild the defense system of the Republic of Poland?* The following are presented some of the respondents answers:

- knowledge of war (armed conflicts) will allow to develop optimal scenarios of possible conflicts, and thus indicate the need for organizational changes in the armed forces and the entire defense system;
- by learning the essence of conflicts and criteria for shaping peace, we can rationally influence and reduce the level of threats and at the same time strengthen the requirements of peaceful coexistence;
- for system analysis in the process of system improvement;
- thanks to the analysis of the causes and course of wars and armed conflicts, we can get information that way, use it to develop procedures and actions aimed at improving the defense system of Poland. It should be drawn primarily from the rich history of Poland and then from abroad;
- learning about the etiology, anatomy and function of wars; classification of wars - structural, conjunctural and occasional;
- the most important factor determining the design of the future system should be forecasting, consisting not in anticipating and determining the direction of changes to which we should strive. Thanks to this approach, we are able to successfully design and physically create an efficient defense system that will effectively combat modern and future threats.

Summing up the statements of experts, it can be said that the most important for an effective form of carrying out changes in the defense system of Poland is knowledge about the basis of wars and armed conflicts, and thus polemology. Its correct use will allow to reduce the level of threats, and thus increase the level of security. In addition, thanks to the polemological and irenological aspects, it is possible to perform a series of analyzes, studies, and conclusions that will show trends in the direction of change. Among the mentioned ranges of polemology and irenology, there were prognostic and scenario trends. This new approach in formulating the concept of national security and defense will allow to stabilize Poland's position on the international arena.

Poland, as a relatively large, specifically geopolitically located country, additionally having a number of historical conditions behind it, is an important point on the map of Europe. Due to the emergence of new challenges and threats, the Polish security environment is characterized by high dynamics of changes, which is highly unpredictable. As already noted, changes in the security and defense concepts of the Republic of Poland are necessary. However, how should this be done? Is it only with the help of the science of polemology and irenology, or maybe with the use of other methods? The following question was formulated for the purposes of the research, which was to resolve the uncertainties: *Is the use of the aspects of polemology and irenology in the defense and national security systems of Poland the best option for the security of the Republic of Poland? What other approaches, strategic*

*partnerships or coalitions, alliances would be more desirable?* The respondents, in this extended open question, gave the following answers:

- in the contemporary world, we can not distinguish one factor in the smooth functioning of the system. Hence, a comprehensive perception of security problems is required;
- polemology and irenology are one of the main elements that determine the improvement of Poland's defense and security. Analysis of the causes and course of wars and building peace must be the analytical basis for building contemporary systems;
- knowledge of many sciences and fields should be used in the design and construction of all systems. One should not limit only to polemological and irenological knowledge. Therefore, using only knowledge from the sciences dealing with war and peace is not the best option. An important approach is the geopolitical approach, which is worth noting, creating contemporary security or defense systems. Strategic partnerships, coalitions and alliances are undoubtedly important elements, but at the same time it must be remembered that in order to ensure effective defense, we should have our own strength and means to ensure it, and not just rely on outside help. The most desirable solution is to combine as many elements as possible into one coherent whole;
- we should have a strong and efficient state, which care is about defense and security; well-equipped and trained army and patriotic society. A brief analysis of the wars from our history tells us that defenses are not being built up with pacifism and disarmament. Poland should be an important center in Central and Eastern Europe. First we need to create a strong state, only later real alliances, which are not limited to the global situation.

Security as a field covering many aspects of other sciences should be considered in the same way with regard to states. In the opinions of experts, there is a visible trend of combining polemology and irenology with other sciences. A holistic approach to the subject of security will ensure the versatility of concepts that will be resistant to new threats and challenges of the modern world. Therefore, multilateral strategies should be formulated, based both on the science of war and peace, but also on other measures that could improve Poland's defense. Therefore, "it is right to engage Poland in various stabilizing and pre-emptive actions, but with the necessary limitation of our security interests. We are not and we will not be a global superpower and we have regional interests that we are able to cope with. A wider delineation of the area of our interests may lead to ineffectiveness of the decisions made" (Jemioło, 2007). Poland is able to achieve the position of a regional power, but it is important to do so in the political, economic, social and, above all, military sense. Optimizing the national security system using polemology and irenology will help achieve this goal.

Polemology and irenology are important sciences that can help optimize the national security and defense system of the Republic of Poland. However, we definitely should not limit to them. Both strategies in force in Poland: the National Security Strategy of 2007 and the Defense Strategy of 2009, are a response to new security conditions that emerged after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. They include new threats in their content, but also challenges and risks. In addition, they note the need for an integrated approach to security matters. Therefore, in order to prepare future security and defense concepts in a proper way, new factors that will affect the level of Poland's security should be taken into account. In order to determine how to strive to achieve this goal, experts were asked the following question: *Which of the listed security aspects help in improving the national security system of the Republic of Poland?*

The most frequent answers include: forecasting security threats, professionalization of the Armed Forces and participation in alliances supporting Poland's security. The indicated aspects prove a wide range of actions to be taken to effectively improve the security system of country. In addition, it is necessary to use legal safety regulations, modeling the functioning of the security system and data security in security systems. Consideration of all the factors listed above will allow for full optimization.

Another aspect that was decided to undergo the study was to determine future trends in improving the security and defense of the Republic of Poland. Due to the high dynamics of processes and events taking place in the contemporary security environment, it is necessary to design an information base in which an approach based on a long-term projection of the future of the state will

be used. The basic elements will be the vision and mission of the state. In particular, the vision refers to aspects of defense and armed forces. "The vision is to provide concrete content also for activities aimed at planning the strategy of the development of the armed forces. The long-term political intentions of the state determined in it are to constitute a real determinant of the situation of possible use and capabilities of the armed forces"(Dawidczyk, 2006). In addition, the vision should be a permanent determinant of the direction of the formulation of state documents. In addition to the vision and mission, it is also important to identify other trends in the defense and security system of the Republic of Poland. Therefore, the following question was addressed to the surveyed experts: *What are the possible directions for the development of Poland's national security system?* The most interesting answers include:

- contemporary national security systems are legitimately based on active participation in the global security system based on the idea of values, a liberal security system, and strengthened by regional and bilateral alliances. This will create a heterogeneous security system in which the determinant is respect for international law and multifunctional ties;
- increasing asymmetrical threats; an all-encompassing pacifism that breaks down the work of institutions related to security;
- involvement in the development process of all ministries/departments in the country;
- directions of development of the national security system of the Republic of Poland should take place at all levels of functioning of a given system. They should combine with each other to form a coherent whole. Legal solutions should be improved, the level should be raised in individual forms and institutions responsible for broadly understood security in the state. Significant investments should be imposed on the modernization and purchase of new technologies and specialized equipment. System development should be constantly dependent on the changing environment and should not stand out from the realities of the modern world. It can be said that it should be a system that has the characteristics of a living organism. Which constantly changes and introduces new solutions, thanks to which we will be able to successfully face the threats of the 21st century;
- strengthening existing alliances; strengthening the defense system; defensive preparation of society;
- professionalization of the Polish Armed Forces; development of the national achievements of technological thought; development of a multi-layered security strategy that takes into account new methods of struggle, eg electronic, economic, etc.

Summing up the statements of experts, it should be stated that there is no clearly defined canon of directions for the development of Poland's national security system. There are many trends that are aimed, for example, at the development of armed forces, opposing threats of a new type or the defense commitment of society. Therefore, during the optimalization of the security concept, it is necessary to involve as many specialists and consultants as possible in particular fields in order to implement this undertaking in a proper manner.

#### **4. Discussion**

The polemological and irenological approach is a good direction in creating an optimal system of national security and defense. Thanks to it, it is possible to effectively design and consequently, create an effective security system that will efficiently combat current and future threats. Knowledge of war and peace gives the opportunity to develop optimal scenarios of potential armed conflicts, and therefore indicates the directions for organizational changes of the entire defense system and armed forces.

The objectives of the research have been achieved. It was verified how the polemology and irenology can be used to optimize the national security and defense system. The answers to the main research problem as well as the questions posed were obtained.

The main conclusions from the conducted research include the fact that the experts assessed the contemporary international security environment as changeable, unpredictable and stormy. In addition, these conditions force countries to make changes in security and defense systems. This is

both legal, organizational and doctrinal transformations. With reference to the Republic of Poland, it should be stated that systemic transformation has had a strong impact on changes in the defense and security system. The permanent directions of the transformation of the armed forces and the striving to achieve a stable level of security, both through allied arrangements as well as internal regulations, are noticeable. It is satisfactory to conclude that, in the opinion of experts, the current level of national security of the Republic of Poland is high. This proves that there is no need to make profound changes in security and defense systems. However, it is necessary to introduce regulations that will make country more stable in terms of security.

Among the most important areas of polemology that can be used to optimize the national security system, consideration should be given to the complexity of the phenomenon of armed conflict, including political, economic and social issues, as well as forecasting wars and armed conflicts. In addition, discursive analyzes, which are a war research tool, will help in the most effective approach to system improvement. The use of these elements in future concepts of national security and defense will strengthen security in the long term. However, other areas of security-related sciences should not be forgotten, as optimization should be holistic.

Despite the completion of research and analysis, new areas have emerged that should be considered. First of all, this is a prognostic current, manifesting itself in the development of the science of polemology and irenology. Due to new threats, including asymmetric ones, contemporary concepts, strategies and doctrines are not adapted to new security conditions. One should not stop at a place and have to draw on historical experience, including analyzes of wars and armed conflicts. In addition, the development of polemology at universities will allow the dissemination of this field of science, which can bring so much to the current face of security. New generations, richer for polemological and irenological knowledge, will be able to create a system of national security and defense, which will be more resistant to contemporary threats.

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# Political irrationality between XX and XXI century

Andrea Millefiorini

## 1. Introduction

In this first part of our contribution we propose to carry out a survey, for comparative purposes with the present situation, of the main explanations and analyses produced, in a sociological and psychological key, by the most illustrious representatives of social sciences and the humanities, during the Twenties and Thirties. Our aim is an attempt to provide an explanation of the widespread wave of political irrationality that broke out at that time throughout much of Europe. The researchers in question witnessed first hand, or followed the news as it unfolded “live”, or had lived in Germany in the first phase of incubation before leaving the country, the facts and escalation that lead to the establishment of a totalitarian regime.

The aim of this survey is to establish, as mentioned, a parallelism between that period and our present times, the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In fact our starting hypothesis is that the emergence of forms of anti-politics and populism typical of those times can be seen as a symptom of the presence of certain psychological and social conditions that, albeit studied under new and different structural and cultural perspectives compared to those at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, may well contain elements and factors similar to the ones displayed at that time throughout Europe, plunging the old continent into an abyss that it would emerge from only decades later.

Let us be clear, there is no intention of suggesting or assuming similar developments to those mentioned above regarding the present situation, for two reasons: firstly because the regulatory and judicial systems in North American and European democracies (at least in western Europe) have achieved such levels of binding power, limiting the possibility of even the slightest deviation from this model, that it would be difficult to imagine any course of exit from democratic institutions, at least in those countries where this tradition and political culture is more rooted.

The second reason for excluding similar developments today is indeed the factor mentioned above: the political culture. In this case the value models, the interests, the views, the beliefs and the opinions of citizens would be affected. In this perspective, despite large sectors of public opinion and electorate are unhappy with the current policies and more in general with the political class in power over the past decades, signs of a cultural change in civil society are not such as to suggest a possible shift in citizens' political orientations towards a clear antidemocratic stance.

In other words, in the event of circumstances threatening any of the current democratic systems it is our belief that as a consequence of the two factors considered above, opposite mechanisms would be enacted at the regulative and institutional level (with the intervention of legitimate judiciary, constitutional and political powers) as well as on a cultural and political level, in the form of an answer by civil society (forms of spontaneous and self-organized protests but also the reactions of political parties and movements who have been present and are well known within the political scene), as well as, lastly, on the level of mass media and *new media*. These are types of antibodies that our political systems have been able to accumulate following the disastrous consequences of two world conflicts and of the two totalitarian regimes that took power in between them, as well as because of the long period of development and peace that these democracies have guaranteed, with a potential for defense against outside threats granted by Nato.

Hence, once the picture has been cleared of any hypothesis or speculation that we consider as presenting unrealistic scenarios, it is useful to highlight that, considering the premises outlined above, the presence of critical elements within the political entities and their constituencies in Western democracies is by now not only an established fact, but this has given rise to an intense debate in the fields of political science and sociology of political phenomena, also involving relatively new scientific fields – at least in Italy – such as political psychology, as well as fields with a stronger tradition such as juridical sciences and constitutional law.

The authors we have chosen to examine for this study are Erich Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Wilhelm Reich, Harold Lasswell and Kurt Lewin. According to us these authors share a common approach, intersecting sociological and psychological analysis and offering a significant perspective for our research aims, because psychological factors also play a crucial role and are among the conditions that, we assume, heavily influence the onset of today's anti-political and populist sentiments. This work intends to shed light on whether these factors share common traits with those highlighted by these renowned scholars during their times.

## **2. The lower middle class, social aspects and authoritarian personality**

If we were to point out one aspect, an element that can be found in all the authors taken into consideration, there would be no difficulty in identifying it in the issue of the middle-class, which constituted, at least initially, the main social base on which National Socialism in Germany and Fascism in Italy built their political-electoral fortunes to come.

From the point of view of its social basis, National Socialism was a lower middle-class movement, and this was the case wherever it appeared, whether in Italy, Hungary, Argentina, or Norway. Hence, this lower middle class, which was formerly on the side of the various bourgeois democracies, must have gone through an inner transformation causing it to change its political position. The social situation and its corresponding psychological structure in the lower middle classes offer an explanation of the basic similarities as well as differences between the ideology of the liberal bourgeoisie and the fascists (Reich, 1933, 44).

There were various reasons for which the lower middle-class constituted the original nucleus of consent for radical right-wing movements. The authors we have considered highlighted the different perspectives that contributed to make this class a tangle of feelings, passions and impulses that eventually identified with the aforementioned movements and parties.

It is unquestionable that these societies had recently emerged from a period of economic crisis (the First World War post-war in Italy and Germany; the crisis '29 especially in Germany) that had heavily impacted the social fabric. The economic crisis was undoubtedly a push factor but it also, however, provided the "support", at the political, social and psychological level, for a whole series of factors that were already present in the social scenario and, even more, within these social groups. It would otherwise be difficult to explain why the effects of the crisis proved much more devastating for the lower middle-class than they did for the workers, or even less, why these effects produced catastrophic consequences on a political level only in Germany and in Italy, but not in the United States and in Great Britain. It is certainly true that from a macroeconomic perspective the middle class probably paid the highest price in terms of the loss of the previous standards of living and purchasing power. It should not be forgotten, however, that following the crisis of '29 the unemployment level in Germany had reached 6 million people on an overall population of 40 million. Among those 6 million, many were workers and generally unskilled laborers who found themselves without work and a family to support, from one day to another.

Hence, once we have established that the economic crisis was the main factor that triggered the wave of resentment, the question to be asked is which were the other factors, pertaining more to the lower middle-class than to other social groups, that had such a strong impact as to progressively shift substantial portions of consensus towards extremely radical parties.

Erich Fromm helps us, perhaps better than the other authors considered, in understanding the psychological condition of a relevant portion of the lower middle-class:

The increasing social frustration led to a projection which became an important source for National Socialism: instead of being aware of the economic and social fate of the old middle class, its members consciously thought of their fate in terms of the nation. The national defeat and the Treaty of Versailles became the symbols to which the actual frustration--the social one--was shifted. [...] The resentment against Versailles had its basis in the lower middle class; the nationalistic resentment was a rationalization, projecting social inferiority to national inferiority (Fromm, 1942, 183).

In the post-war period it was the middle class, particularly the lower middle class, that was threatened by monopolistic capitalism. Its anxiety and thereby its hatred were aroused; it moved into a state of panic and was filled with a craving for submission to as well as for domination over those who were powerless. These feelings were used by an entirely different class for a regime which was to work for their own interests. Hitler proved to be such an efficient tool because he combined the characteristics of a resentful, hating, petty bourgeois, with whom the lower middle class could identify themselves, emotionally and socially, with those of an opportunist who was ready to serve the interests of the German industrialists and Junkers (Fromm, 1942, 186).

Harold Lasswell also focuses on the frustration perceived by the middle-class especially in terms of the loss of social status, perhaps even more that of the loss of purchasing power and the shrinking of the standards of living:

The lower middle class have become active factors in the struggle against the "proletarian" and the "Marxist" on behalf of an order of society in which the "profits system" though excoriated is none the less protected (Lasswell, 1933).

Hence in that period the lower middle-class harbored a strong sentiment of frustration. The main reason for these sentiments were the deprivations caused by the economic crisis, however the authors claimed that other factors were also directly or indirectly involved. Factors directly linked to the effects of the crisis were those, as we have seen, concerning the fear of social downgrade, and the risk of a "proletarianization" that was felt closer each day. Factors linked less directly to the economic crisis were related to a perceived threat to the sense of national belonging following the defeat and the Treaty of Versailles, and the sense of loss and anger because of the crisis of traditional values caused by the rise of mass society.

However, these elements alone would not suffice to give an exhaustive account of what happened in the 1920s and 1930s in Europe and, specifically, in Germany. They can be explained, as Vilfredo Pareto did dealing with the topic of fascism, as a basis of sentiments ("residues", as the author of the *Treaties of General Sociology* (Pareto, 1916) would have called them) on which political interpretations, perspectives for action and social programs were built, and on which some political entrepreneurs built their fortune (at least until the beginning of their decline during the war).

Basically, those sentiments provided fertile grounds for ideologies to develop and spread, offering explanations, solutions and the satisfaction of those sentiments. For example, the Germans' anger, caused by the French occupation of the Ruhr decided by President Poincaré, contributed to increase the weight of the nationalist ideology in the political framework of Weimar Germany. We could of course provide many more examples. For now, it is useful to consider the fact that certain sentiments can be met by certain interpretations of reality (ideologies) that are not necessarily rational. Pareto also explained that ideologies are functional precisely to the task of satisfying instincts and feelings that would not otherwise find any outlet within society, threatening to explode, sooner or later, in disordered and chaotic forms.

Therefore, given the fact that the lower middle-class was subject the most to feelings of frustration brought on by the situations and causes that we have tried to outline synthetically, we will now try to look even deeper, expanding the research perspective of the phenomena we are investigating.

The authors taken into consideration, especially Reich, Fromm, Adorno and Lasswell, do not limit their analysis to the observation of a simple correlation between the crisis (economic, political, of status) and the rise of ideologies and authoritarian, radical or irrational, messages. They aimed deeper in an attempt to understand a previous level than the one of manifest frustration tied to one reason or the other. In doing so, they also attempted to explain why, then, this category of subjects was oriented towards forms of authoritarianism or totalitarianism.

Hence, one of the issues that occurs most often, although not in a univocal form but depending on the different importance that each author attributes to it, concerns the role of inhibition and sexual repression as a typical trait inherent in the culture and typical education of these classes.

As we know, according to Reich sexual repression would favor the authoritarian mentality and facilitate conducts of spontaneous hierarchical subordination, both within family and in the workplace, as well as in relation to political authority. These traits were present to a greater extent within the lower

middle-class for reasons of distinction and status, for the latent fear, which has always characterized this class, of being confused with the "mass", with the proletariat, and with the fear of becoming proletariat itself.

So called civilized man actually did become angular and mechanical, and he lost his spontaneity, i.e., he developed into an automaton and "brain machine." Thus, he not only believes that he functions as a machine, but he actually does function automatically, mechanistically, and mechanically. [...] With his biological stiffening and the loss of his native function of self-regulation, he acquired all the characterological attitudes, which culminated in the outbreak of the dictatorship plague: a hierarchical view of the state, a mechanical administration of society, fear of responsibility, an intense longing for a fiihrer and craving for authority, insistence upon commands (Reich, 1933).

Reich more than any other author outlined the relation between the progressive affirmation of political sympathies towards authoritarian, nationalistic and totalitarian ideologies with the culture of inhibition and sexual repression. Fromm on the other hand gave a more prudent explanation. Albeit not underestimating the role played by the discouragement of sexual pleasure in lower middle-class culture, Fromm tends not to put this specific aspect in direct correlation with authoritarian attitudes and preferences.

If anything, he states, on a sexual level the element that may spur sympathy towards that kind of ideology is the presence, in certain subjects, of a strong sado-masochistic orientation:

The sado-masochistic person is always characterized by his attitude towards authority. He admires authority and tends to submit to it, but at the same time he wants to be an authority himself and have others submit to him (Fromm, 1942).

In any case, regarding the sphere of sexuality (Mosse, 1985) as a factor that may have favored the processes we are trying to explain, a few considerations are necessary in order to discourage the attribution, to this factor, of a clear role in creating the consequences we have mentioned. This is due to several reasons. Firstly, if we were to carry out a survey of the middle-class and lower middle-class cultures in the European nations of that period, we would find that in *all these countries* this value model had long been established. Why, then, didn't the authoritarian movements and ideologies erupt devastatingly in countries such as Great Britain, or France? This aspect alone helps us to us understand that even if we consider it as a significant variable, the sexual factor was not a push factor in Germany and Italy but, if anything, it summed up with other variables (we will try to understand which ones) which, not present in other countries and in other political systems, then led to the well known consequences.

Secondly, Reich and Fromm, as well as Kurt Lewin – as we shall see – remind us that unlike the lower middle classes, the working class had always had more relaxed, freer sexual habits. Now, if it is true that the Fascist and Nazi movements initially raised thanks to the support and consensus of the middle class especially, it is however also true that, once they were affirmed, their respective authoritarian models gained considerable consensus, especially in Germany, also among the proletarian masses, which were dazzled by the charisma of the (authoritarian) leader, perhaps even more than the rest of the German population.

It did not take National Socialism long to rally workers (...). To a large extent, however, these workers were revolutionary in a dull sort of way and still maintained an authoritarian attitude (Reich, 1933).

It would be more important to know in detail how deeply the Nazi culture is entrenched now within the various sections of the population. Although this question cannot fully be answered, at present, one can safely guess that Nazism is deeply rooted, particularly in the youth on whom the future depends (Lewin, 1943).

Therefore, on the subject of a possible link between sexual customs and an inclination towards authoritarian models, we must conclude that the variable in question only explains, if it does, a residual component of the phenomenon, certainly not the most central aspects. These aspects deal with the main role played by: a) political culture; b) political socialization (Parsons, 1942); and, last but not least, c) the structure of the "social character" (Fromm, Adorno) then present in the countries that experienced the authoritarian and totalitarian decline.

Regarding the first two aspects, it is not difficult to argue that German history and culture had always been imbued with authoritarian values, far more so than in countries like Great Britain and France. Following a period of Bonapartism, France had experienced a significant shift in the political culture during the Third Republic, with secular and radical leaders such as Leon Gambetta, Jules Ferry and Georges Clemenceau. Italy, on the other hand, remained closer to Germany than to France and Great Britain regarding educational methods and political socialization. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the closeness and preference that, throughout the period from the 1880s to the First World War, the political and ruling classes displayed towards the German model compared to the more advanced English and French models (the admiration that Francesco Crispi always had for the "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismarck is well known). This preference, among other things, was the basis of the political and diplomatic alliance between Italy, Germany and Austria, which goes by the name of Triple Alliance.

Points 1 and 2 are closely related to the third one, the one concerning the question of character structures and, more generally, of the "social character".

With the concept of "social character", Fromm refers to

a selection of traits, the essential nucleus of the character structure of most members of a group which has developed as the result of the basic experiences and mode of life common to that group (Fromm, 1942).

According to Fromm the distinctive element of social character is

to mold and channel human energy within a given society for the purpose of the continued functioning of this society (Fromm, 2009).

Hence,

if we want to understand how human energy is channelled and operates as a productive force in a given social order, then the social character deserves our main interest (Fromm, 1942).

Theodor Adorno basically identified two fundamental types of social character, or of "personality", as he himself defined the concept (which is similar to that of the social character in Fromm): the authoritarian personality and the democratic personality, each accompanied by many subtypes. Fromm, although not theorizing a clear-cut bipartition, came to conclusions substantially identical to those outlined by Adorno during the same period: the fact that in Germany in the Thirties, but also, according to what we have previously argued, in Italy in the Twenties and in the following years, the social character of an authoritarian type was widespread. However, Fromm adds a relevant consideration, one useful to account for the takeover of fascist and Nazi ideologies. The authoritarian substratum, already traditionally and culturally present within the two societies in question, at some point played a decisive role in tilting the balance towards an openly anti-democratic stance:

Changing social conditions result in changes of the social character, that is, in new needs and anxieties. These new needs give rise to new ideas and, as it were, make men susceptible to them; these new ideas in their turn tend to stabilize and intensify the new social character and to determine man's actions. In other words, social conditions influence ideological phenomena through the medium of character; character, on the other hand, is not the result of passive adaptation to social conditions but of a dynamic adaptation on the basis of elements that either are biologically inherent in human nature or have become inherent as the result of historic evolution (Fromm, 1942).

### **3. The effects of the process of individualization**

The picture traced so far with the contributions of the authors in question is quite clear. Feelings of frustration, aggressive impulses, instincts and "residues" of revenge against real or imaginary enemies, were channeled through a process in which extremist movements, parties and political leaders gave space and provided an outlet for the needs of identification with figures and authoritarian models. Such figures and models were able to take root because in those societies the social characters, capable of absorbing and being "worked on" further by similar messages, were already present, adapting themselves in such a way as to outline a new structure and a new level of complementarity between one and the other.

However, there is one last aspect that deserves to be considered in order to complete the picture that we have attempted to outline so far. Germany, like the rest of the Western countries, although characterized as we know by conservative and authoritarian tremors, until then had not escaped what Fromm called the "process of individuation", that is what contemporary sociology commonly calls the "process of individualization". In this regard a document quoted by Reich, which refers to a circular issued by the von Papen government in the spring of 1932 on the need for greater and better moral training of young people to discipline and sacrifice (*Sic! In Germany of 1932!*), is quite interesting: "Softness and exaggerated consideration of every individual inclination are misplaced" (Reich, 1933). In this regard Reich himself observes that

Around the turn of the century it would have been out of the question for a Christian woman to belong to a birth-control group. Today it is more and more the rule. *This process was not interrupted by the fascist seizure of power in Germany, but merely forced to go underground* (Ivi).

As Fromm explains quite well, individualization brought with it, in all the societies that it affected, the loss of traditional references, the erosion of social bonds and an atomization. If in the past

The social order was conceived as a natural order, and being a definite part of it gave man a feeling of security and of belonging (Fromm, 1942),

today

Modern man's feeling of isolation and powerlessness is increased still further by the character which all his human relationships have assumed. The concrete relationship of one individual to another has lost its direct and human character (Ivi).

Throughout the course of his work, Fromm never tired of pointing out and remembering how modernity, the effects of modernity, act on man, producing two types of consequences: "he becomes more independent, self-sufficient and critical, and at the same time he becomes more isolated, alone and frightened" (Ivi).

Throughout *all* Western societies, where this underlying dynamic is present, mechanisms of psychological "self-help" have been activated, explains Fromm, by the subject with regard to his state of isolation, insecurity and latent or manifest fear of the uncertainty typical of modernity:

There were factors to help him overcome the overt manifestations of this underlying insecurity. In the first place his self was backed up by the possession of property. Other factors backing up the self were prestige and power. For those who had little property and social prestige, the family was a source of individual prestige. Aside from the family, the national pride (in Europe frequently class-pride) gave him a sense of importance also. Even if he was nobody personally, he was proud to belong to a group which he could feel was superior to other comparable groups (Ivi).

As the author explains, other mechanisms are also at play, having developed especially in countries that have witnessed forms of authoritarian or totalitarian regimes. Mechanisms such as the need for submission to a leader, the projection of aggression and anger on weak minorities, hatred of enemies identified in other groups, in other nations or in obscure entities. As we have already observed above, these mechanisms were able to gain strength within those socio-cultural contexts in which social characters, and therefore cultural models and values, oriented by authoritarian traits, already existed.

Therefore essentially this is the crucial passage that marks the divide, that in Europe can be traced to the 1920s and 1930s, between countries that have not witnessed the collapse of democratic structures defending values and a culture of rights, and countries in which the wave of ideological irrationality sooner or later turned into the end of democracy and the establishment of authoritarian and/or totalitarian regimes. In other words, in England and the United States, in France, etc., the mechanisms of "escape from freedom", as Fromm called them, consisted essentially of attitudes that we all know well – also because they then developed especially in the second half of the twentieth century – such as conformism, mass consumption, and finally aesthetic narcissism. On the other hand, especially in Germany, these attitudes, rather than favoring the psychological defense of the self, explains Fromm, triggered a counter-reaction, thanks to the spreading of the authoritarian social character, which put those types of behavior in quarantine for a long time. Finally, it should be added

that in the countries where the democratic structures upheld, universal suffrage had been granted after the process of democratic legitimacy was concluded and assimilated in the political culture and in the consequent processes of socialization. Vice versa, in Italy and Germany universal (male) suffrage was achieved when the political culture of these two countries had not yet fully introduced the full legitimization of the democratic model as such, hence large sections of the population were easily attracted by political messages of an anti-systemic, extremist and violent nature.

#### 4. Conclusions

In concluding this first part of our contribution we shall attempt to answer the initial question from which we started. Can we detect or hypothesize, in contemporary Western societies, elements and factors similar to, or comparable to, those that, analyzed in detail through the perspectives of scholars who observed them directly in the 1920s and 1930s, contributed to determining conditions of instability in the social and political framework?

Hence, we can undoubtedly state that what had been the "platform", or rather, to remain within the metaphorical sphere, the "tugboat" that would pull with it the rest of what was erupting from the bosom of those societies – the onset of a severe economic crisis – has also given rise in our days to a very similar dynamic to that of the past. Aside from the economic crisis we must certainly consider the changes that have taken place within the social structure and organization, the phenomenon of globalization. However the most significant consequences in terms of political behavior and shifting electoral trends, the emergence of new parties and movements compared to the canons and traditional structures, in all Western democracies, can be dated essentially beginning with the crisis of 2007-2008. The economic crisis and globalization have caused a progressive quantitative erosion of the middle class, quantified in the order of about 15% compared to the weight that this social class detained, in the western economies, before the crisis. Needless to say, only a small part of that 15% increased the ranks of the wealthy sections of the population, while the majority flowed into an area of precariousness, low-skilled jobs, unemployment or inactivity.

We can therefore start from this framework in an attempt to understand whether and to what extent the impact of the crisis has had an effect on social feelings, on judgments, on the orientations of citizens, comparable to those described in the previous paragraphs.

To this end, we can proceed by exclusion. We can certainly exclude one factor, at least in the terms and in the dimension with which it was considered influential by Fromm, Reich and Adorno, that is the authoritarian social character. This is no longer able to determine one direction rather than another within the framework and the overall social order, as it has progressively vanished, intended as the presence of character traits in the populations in question.

A second element, actually considered marginal at the time, namely the presence of moral values related to sexual inhibition and repression, can also be considered completely absent, given the cultural changes that have taken place since the Sixties, with the sexual revolution. On the other hand the elements that in our opinion can be considered as still active in triggering if not anti-systemic sentiments, such as those that spread during the first half of the twentieth century, certainly anti-political, populist and ethnocentric sentiments, must be identified in the sphere of belonging to status, of identification – or not – with social and community references that are likely to be called into question, and finally on the ground of those that, as we will see better in the second part of this contribution, we can indicate as the modern forms of anomie, loneliness, and the uprooting from solid and lasting social ties.

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