

PROCEEDINGS

**5th MEDITERANNEAN INTERDISCIPLINARY FORUM
ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES,
MIFS 2017,
*18-19 May 2017, Barcelona, Spain***

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Water Privatization in Developing Countries: Case of Albania

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Abstract

A safe, clean, accessible and affordable drinking water and sanitation service for all individuals is a human right recognized explicitly from the United Nations General Assembly (Resolution 64/292, July 2010). Access to clean drinking water is so crucial for development that developed countries have made significant investments in water infrastructure (production, distribution investments in investments in piping, pumps, water purification systems and wastewater treatment plants etc.), managerial structures and capacities.

The picture is very different in developing countries. One of the main problems is the lack of efficiency of the water systems, leading to a higher loss rate (from system leakage and illegal connections to the system) and cost-recovery failure because of the low revenues from tap water sales. In most of the cases governments fail to finance the financial loss of the water suppliers and in this way fail to fulfill the public need for drinking water and sanitation and water treatment services. So an alternative to solve the situation is seen the privatization of drinking water sector.

The paper will give a summarized picture of the phenomenon in the world having as the case study the situation in Albania during years starting from the legislative frame, previous attempts to future tendencies related to the privatization of drinking water sector. The main objective is to explore the arguments pros and cons related to the privatization of “an economic good” such as water suggesting different alternatives in this context.

Keywords: Water sector, privatization, financing, human rights

Introduction

Providing clean, safe and affordable drinking water and sanitation and water treatment services is extremely costly in developing countries. If developed countries have invested a lot in this sector, in the developing countries the situation is in reverse.

Privatization of public water sector has emerged as a possible alternative. There are some pros and cons. Private sector participation in water sector (a public sector), is seen as a solution since private agencies are better equipped to deliver clean and safe water and sanitation services to the public compared with government bureaucracies and lack of financing losses of the sector. From the other hand many others think that this is a source of pure business opportunities and to do this with a public good as drinking water is risky enough.

Since the late 1980s, the main objective of different financial institution (international ones!), or donors from different development agencies was public infrastructure privatization. The tendency started with electricity and telecommunication sector but water sector is not fully explored in this aspect. It's a wrong perception that investments in this sector are risky and not stable. For the case of Albania, there are a few empirical studies of the sector to support any real incentive for privatization even that a few incentives are made.

The main objective is to explore the arguments pros and cons related to the privatization of "an economic good" such as water suggesting different alternatives in this context. The paper will review the literature on impact of privatization of the water sector in section 2. The section 3 will review the case of privatization in Albanian water sector from the first incentives in the sector from 2002 and on. The last section will conclude and suggest some alternative solutions for the case of developing economies.

Literature review

There are different empirical and theoretical works about the impact of privatization of firms and sectors and specifically of the water sector.

One known work was Megginson et al. (1994) that examined a set of 61 companies for the period 1961 and 1989. He proved that a decrease in leverage lead to an increase in the median level of employment. This was a micro firm-level data that didn't ensure explanation for particular sector such as water supply.

Boubakri and Cosset (1998) studied 21 developing countries between 1980 and 1992 (with a sample of 79 companies) and measured statically significant increases in output (real sales) after privatization. The increase was documented also in profitability and capital investment. They repeated the study later on 2002 for 16 African companies between 1989 and 1996.

Bayliss (2002) has seen the complex part of the privatization process and argues in favor of case-by-case studies. There are studies focusing on the water sector such as case studies or pure empirical works. These last ones have a result in common: privatization increases economic performance;

meanwhile the works based on case studies documented not a overall benefit from the process.

Alcazar, et al. (2000) studied concession contracts in Buenos Aires for the water sector documenting an increase in investment more than 2 times, higher coverage with service and improved quality of services.

Galiani (2005) studied in Argentina the link between infant mortality rate and water privatization during the period 1991-2000 (on this period was privatized one third of the Argentinean water providers). The results were impressive: the infant mortality rate dropped from 5-24% and also there was an increase in investment and efficiency of the sector.

Estache et al. (2001) were concerned that privatization process (including the consequences such as an increase in prices or investment level) may affect only the poorest individuals; private providers may forget to include also marginal effects in the decision making. So, for the poor part of the society the increase in efficiency of the sector due to privatization will come at the cost of the quality of their life.

For the situation in Albania there are no similar empirical works of water reform impact.

Albanian water sector privatization

An overview

The lack of internal investment in Albanian water sector from 1970s, leads to an old and amortized production and distribution water system unable to fulfill the increasing need of population for drinking water and sanitation services. From the period after World War II up to the fall of communism regime in 1991, the water sector was administrated by the Ministry of Construction for the main issues such as tariffs, collection of bills, investments etc. Since tariffs were low artificially, this meant from one hand lower revenues from collected bills and not coverage of operating costs for providers and from the other hand this increased wasted water from consumers (World Bank 2003).

From the history is known that the first limited water network in Albania was constructed by Italian companies in 1930. From 1950-1978 there was an improvement and development in the sector with the funds by socialist European countries and China. From 1978-1991, the period of isolation led to lack of funds in the sector and massive deterioration of water supply infrastructure. Again low water tariffs lead to massive water waste from consumer and commercial sector. After the fall of communism regime up to 2003 is known as a start period of water reform in Albania. The open economy led to more international financial aid (World Bank 2003).

The support from World Bank dedicated to water sector started from 1994s in the form of private sector partnerships (PSPs). The first project was

implemented in the city of Durrës ensuring local government support and rehabilitation investment in the system. The project was closed in 2000. The next project provided funds for improving the water system in regions of Fier, Lezhe, and Sarandë city from which benefited around 140,000 inhabitants. The year 2004 is the one of implementing pilot projects PSPs (World Bank, 2005).

In Albania water sector there are two forms of private – public partnership: concession and management contract form. One concession contract in 2002 was awarded from Berlin Wasser international company, supported by KfW Bankengruppe to the Elbasan city water provider and expired after two years. A management contract was signed in 2003 awarded to AquaMundo in the Kavajë city and many others awarded from World Bank in four more different cities. From 2008 and on there is no presence of private sector in the water and sanitation sector in Albania (Zeneli F. 2017).

Pros and cons about water sector privatization:

With the increasing rate of population and the amortization rate of water infrastructure, suggesting privatization is convenient for the government. A private partnership in the water sector will bring new funds for financing development of water production and treatment plants, or increasing efficiency and quality of water supply. These benefits are in macro level and maybe not very convenient for the corporate and its financial situation. This situation can lead to decisions not in synchrony with public interest and provision of drinking water (considered a public good).

Another aspect related to the privatization is the nature of water sector very different from telecommunications or electricity sectors where a tendency for privatization is common. A higher required capital for infrastructure investment puts the corporate in a monopoly position: there is no real competition between piped water systems.

Also, the water sector doesn't follow the normal laws of market. The demand for the mentioned services is inelastic to the price (since drinking water is a necessity good); the prices come in the form of tariffs set by governments (not based on supply and demand).

There is a risk that poor people will not get access from water systems because of the tariffs that are increasing for the sake of recovering the operational costs of water providers. The World Bank states that in the developing countries there are not enough funds to minimize the gap between different economical categories of population in terms of water supply. It's believed that privatization can boost efficiency if two conditions are fulfilled:

1. Investment projects in water infrastructure or management activities should generate revenues to completely cover operational and maintenance costs;

2. If there are risks, they should be identified and delegated to the party that can deal with them.

There are some international institutions that can play the role of intermediaries for water privatization formulation and design contracts. World Bank is one of these, acting as an international lender for different contracts in the utilities sectors.

Also the partnership contracts between private and public sector should be formulated not only in the perspective of a choice taking but also on the lens of contract/private ordering that produce implications and have public-policy lessons that go beyond industrial organization (Avinash, 1996).

There is a wide literature that it's related with the importance of government level of credibility and the effects of regulatory frameworks on private participation in provision water services that are public managed. The relation between both of them on the managing of publicly owned water system reflects also the incentive problems such as low coverage, limited investment, and poor quality service (Savedoff and Spiller, 1999).

The ways how the two entities react to regulatory frameworks or/and incentive structures are different: while private companies use them to maximize the return minimizing the risk, public entities (that do not ensure direct profit from asset ownership) can dissipate rents through different inefficient forms of resource usage (i.e. excessive employment). So there is room for governmental opportunism and if this one could be minimized, the public ownership will be limited in providing services in the water sector.

In the figure 1, is shown the downward spiral of low prices (so low that they fail to provide the operator -public or private – with the ability to finance its business expansion) (Savedoff and Spiller, 1999). This brings a stable equilibrium even with low prices and low quality.

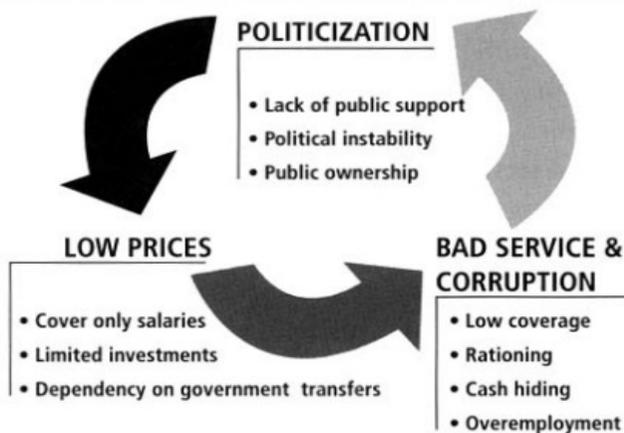


Figure 1: The downward spiral of low prices
Source: Savedoff and Spiller (1999)

In the above equilibrium the prices are low, also the coverage rate and quality is low including the limitation of government transfers. But it seems that no agent (the government, the consumers or private entities) want to change the achieved position. There are three main reasons that this equilibrium is stable: (i) no motivation for increasing prices to cover operating costs, (ii) lack of governmental expenses for a bad-managed entity and (iii) unless there are some basic changes in institutional level, every tendency to improve management will fail.

How to move from these equilibriums? First of all this is a governmental obligation. The initial thing recommended from international agencies is that prices should cover operating, maintenance and investment costs. This reform should be done together with improvement of services because otherwise will have social costs. Second there are the so-called performance contracts signed between government and management board in exchange of a profit portion. For increasing the performance of public sector these contracts have failed (Shirley and Xu, 1996). The reason beyond this is the asymmetry of information between the two agents. Third, what it's suggested is the decentralization of the service provider even with no significant impact in improving quality in Latin America. Finally, what literature suggests is the implementation of BTO-s contracts that add capacity with no fundamental changes in management and any direct transfer from the government required this in context of no effects on the political interests. Because of the government credibility issue these contracts are wrongly perceived as expensive.

There is no a right, unique model designed for the privatization of water and sanitation facilities: there are concession contracts or management ones, assigning completely commercial risk to the operator or not. Also will more productive to look for policies and implications that solve the situation rather than to discuss about the importance of access to water as a human and natural right. One alternative suggested by the recent literature to Public Private Partnerships is public finance. As a concept is new implemented that allows governments to improve water and sanitation infrastructure using public finance for investment. From the other hand private corporate are able to deliver the service with more flexibility, higher control and efficiency. And they can be repaid back in the long term, due to user charges (tariffs). This practice could also help with the unemployment issue (Zeneli F. 2017).

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Conclusion

If we speak theoretically the process of privatization seems a convenient economical opportunity to finance domestic water supply and sanitation infrastructure. There are some successful private-partnership in this sector and some failed ones as well.

The process itself is very sensitive and should be designed taking in account the specifics (economic, political and cultural) of the operational environment. Also it should be relevant to take in account that in developed economies, citizens are used to pay the right and real cost of the water, so an increase in tariffs because of the presence of private sector in the water infrastructure will raise their awareness for conserve water. Meanwhile in developing countries people are high sensitive to higher water tariffs and this fact can increase the risk of poorest people not to have access in drinking water systems.

If there is settled a partnership between private corporates and governments on the water sector, for it to be successful it should be reciprocally beneficent with unique suitable contracts, with policies of differential tariffs for poor areas, free quotas for basic requirements that can recover the costs, a contract that should identify risks ahead of time to be able to overcome unexpected obstacles effectively.

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The Importance of the Index Insurance for the Development of Agricultural Insurance in Georgia

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Abstract

Agricultural sector, unlike other sectors of the economy, is distinguished by specific risk factors, which largely depends on natural climatic conditions and the ongoing global meteorological changes. Insurance is the financial mechanism, with its considerable contribution to the country's social and economic stability. The insurance sector's prospects and problems today are vital issues for the agriculture as well as for the economy and employment. In case of Georgia, the development direction and the situation was not so successful, until 2014, the share of agricultural insurance in the insurance sector did not exceed 1%.

The article discusses the importance of the index insurance for the development of agricultural insurance and the need for Government Support in its promotion. The prospects and problems of agro-insurance development have been identified on the basis of comparative analysis of the insurance policies and compensation claims, regional distribution and dynamics of recent years in Georgia. Also, based on theoretical and practical analysis the essential recommendations have been designed to eliminate them and to promote development of the agriculture insurance. As well as, an attention is paid to the inclusion and use of the type of index insurance in the Georgian agricultural insurance sector.

Keywords: Agribusiness, Insurance, Index Insurance, Georgia

Introduction

The situation in the agricultural sector and the economic situation of the farmers involved in it are constantly changing for some important reasons. In the agricultural sector, there are several strategies for risk management: 1) Strategies for carrying out activities within the farm - **on-farm measures** (diversification of production), for instance, the introduction of appropriate or latest technologies of production, investment in irrigation systems, etc. Similarly, vertical integration is a method of minimizing the

risk factor of price changes. The third option to consider is stabilization reports (so-called reserves) for self-insurance, which the farmers periodically maintain according to certain percentage of income. **2) Risk sharing strategies**, such as marketing and production contracts, hijacking on the futures market or participation in mutual funds and insurance (**Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006**).

Insurance is the most famous risk sharing instrument. In order to carry out risk insurance, it has to be performed simultaneously two conditions - it should be possible to mitigate side effects of "asymmetric information" and, also, must be overcome "systemic risk". Čolović Vladimir and Petrović Nataša Mrvić Agree and give the opinion of Markovic T. and Jovanovic M. that the insurance is the best tool for the risk management, which represents guarantees and stability factors for any production (**Čolović & Petrović, 2014**). Natural disasters and epizootic diseases are a big problem for an insurance company. In the absence of reinsurance or state guarantees to insure natural and systemic risks it is linked to high premiums by the insurance companies. Most of the farmers can not afford to repay it, as well as the insurer to reserve a large amount of capital to maintain the solvency. This means by itself, to form a comprehensive agricultural insurance scheme it is necessary to support the private sector by state structures at a legislative and fiscal level. However, if the government provides unscheduled payments to cover claims caused by natural disasters will negatively affect the development of agro-insurance products.

Main Types of Agro Insurance

Čolović and Petrović In their work have cited Manić's opinion that the insurance products developed for the agricultural sector can be divided into several groups in accordance with compensation methods. These methods are as follows: **1)** payment of the sum insured is made in accordance with the damage inflicted; **2)** payment of the sum insured is measured by the index; **3)** payment of the sum insured is determined based on realized yields and product prices. The insurance features are fundamentally different in the crop production and livestock sector (**Čolović & Petrović, 2014**).

The crop insurance

One of the most common types of insurance in this direction is **single risk insurance** which covers against one peril or risk, or even two but of a non-systemic nature (most often hail, or hail and fire) (**Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006**). Some insurance policies cover together the risks of different meteorological phenomenas, the service offered in this way represents a **combined risk insurance**. Their types also

should be considered: **1) Yield insurance** - guarantees the main risks affecting production. **2) Whole-farm insurance** - combination of guarantees for the different agricultural products on a farm; **3) Price insurance** - covers an insured amount of production against price decreases below a certain threshold; **4) Revenue insurance** - combines yield and price risks coverage (**Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006**); **5) Index insurance**. Let's overlook the last one.

- **Index insurance** - Is based on a specific calculation of the index assigned to the insured territory or region. Several types of insurance may be distinguished: **1) Combined insurance for territories and yields** - provides compensation for the farmer for a particular area or a statistically calculated annual harvest indicator for the administrative unit (**Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006**); **2) Combined insurance of the territories and income** - is based on the multiplication of the given area on the price scale. If within a certain period the average yield/income for a given area will be low level for a certain margin, farmers who carry out their activities in the given area and have insured a specific culture should be subjected for full compensation of loss; **3) Indirect index insurance** - does not provide a medium yield or a price scale according to a specific area or region. For insurance coverage to determine riskiness, meteorological indicators and satellite images are defined.

Creation of the map and agro-meteorological model according to the risks is an important tool for the preliminary determination of risks and the minimization of expected losses. It is possible to divide the regions of the country according to the frequency of occurrence natural disasters. This model is based on the relationship between physiological data of specific culture, soil mapping and climate change indicators. The data of climate change observations are collected over the years and are summarized.

In order to determine the development of agro-insurance in the country we can outline several indicators: **1) The share of agro-insurance in the entire insurance sector** - penetration rate; **2) Loss ratio**; **3) Premium rates**; **4) Level of subsidies**; **5) Other technicalities**.

The difference between the countries is quite large according to the share of agro insurance in the entire insurance sector, but only this penetration rate is not the best indicator for assessing the level of agricultural development. Significant indicator can be outlined in this regard as crop insurance type, because in most cases the majority of insurance policies are only single risk insurance policy.

The tariff rate is a percentage of the sum insured that is paid by the policy holder when purchasing the insurance policy. This rate is quite variable by countries. According to the Agricultural Insurance Schemes - Summary report (**Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006**)

there are several factors influencing the determination of this rate: 1) The frequency of risk occurrence according to time and territory; 2) risk type (hail, drought) and the number of risks covered by the insurance policy; 3) sensitivity of the crop; 4) Number of insured farms; 5) The presence of a franchise in the insurance policy.

The loss ratio is an indicator between the paid compensations by insurer and the premiums paid by the policy holders. For healthy and profitable activities of the insurance company, this indicator should be less than 1 (100%) to enable the company to cover the acquisition and administrative expenses. On average, for agro-insurance the loss ratio varies in the middle of the range 60-75%, except for some exceptions. For example, according to the Agricultural Insurance Schemes - Summary report **(Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006)** the figure in Cyprus was 95% before 2005, while in Slovenia it was - 148%. In the conditions of high ratio of indicators reinsurance and promotion programs of the state are vital.

The other formal technicalities can be outlined: reinsurance, limits and franchise, bonus/malus system, compulsory insurance, mechanism for remuneration. In most countries, the reinsurance of the insurance policy is carried out by private companies, but the exception is Portugal, where reinsurance is carried out by the public sector **(Bielza, Conte, Dittmann, Gallego & Stroblmair, 2006)**.

As for what is the role of insurance in agriculture: the one of the main factors is the function of the stabilizer of income for peasants or farmers. The second most important function is the availability of the loan. Microfinance Organization or Bank that grants agro credit must be sure that this loan will be returned. Since the borrower's only income is to sell agro products, if he could not produce these products and sell, he will not be able to repay the loan. Therefore, if the farmer presents the agro-insurance to the financial institute, easily gets a loan.

It also should be noted that the insurance company, which is interested in to have as less as possible a few insurance cases, ie, potential loss forces the farmers to use modern and most efficient technologies which minimize the risk of losses. In the end, this will serve and be helpful for the farmers and the economy in general. As for the level of knowledge, it is very low - the farmer does not have the proper knowledge, even knowing what it is productivity, how is fertilizer applied to the ground, how the land is resting and what will come after different types of cultivation - all these problems in complex creates that, in many cases, the agro sector is the means of self-sustaining and not the business in Georgia.

Insurance in Georgia

In Georgia, nearly 85 percent of the land is owned by small farmers who do not produce even accounting, at the same time relatively large farms due to high cost of insurance do not insure the harvest. Therefore in September 2014, the Ministry of Agriculture developed and implemented agro insurance project, which currently subsidizes insurance premiums 70 - 80% within (according to Agro Insurance Program - Decree # 524 of the Government of Georgia on March 28, 2016). Until 2014 only a few insurance companies were offering agricultural insurance products to farmers and the agricultural insurance penetration rate in the insurance sector was too low (less than 1%). In such situation the state must assist the insurer in collecting statistical data, which is necessary for the agro insurance business: land mapping, description of natural phenomena and statistical analysis, regional harvest statistics, price statistics, etc.

In 2012, Insurance Company Aldagi Bci became an owner 85% of the shares of the insurance company Imedi L. Imedi L had already implemented agro-credit insurance for more than 10 years. The company's approach meant that the company insured all the cultures that come to this land and are typical for this land. For example, banana insurance was not the company's interest.

In 2014 the agricultural insurance pilot program was initiated by the Ministry of Agriculture. Program compensates the damage caused by hail, excessive rainfall, hurricanes and the autumn frost. In the first year of the project budget was 5 million GEL. Co-financing maximum amount of insurance premium is 30 000 GEL, in the case of agricultural cooperatives - 50 000 GEL (<http://eugeorgia.info/ka/article/107/agrodazgvevis-saxelmwifo-programashi-5-sadazgvevo-kompania-chaerto/>). Within the framework of the program, land is insured only with Extract of the Public Registry indicating the cadastral code of the land, land drawings and GPS coordinates. More than 21,000 Policies have been issued in 2014 within the program, 34 different cultures worth more than 150 million GEL were insured on the 19 thousand hectare land area.

In 2016 several changes were made in the project. Since 2016 minimum and maximum insurance tariffs have been identified. For example tariffs for: 1) grain cultures - increased from 8% to 8.50% 2) leguminous crops - decreased from 8% to 7.20%; 3) vegetable crops - decreased from 12% to 11%; 4) citrus - remained unchanged at 11% and others. Also, from this year have been improved and adjusted insurance compensation and deductions for a franchise (unpaid minimum) to customer requirements (<http://apma.ge/newsletter/projects/read/agroinsurance>).

In 2014 29,514 plots (with 18,498 hectares) were covered by insurance project and totally 12,409,225 Gel premiums were paid, out of

which 11,637,013 Gel was subsidized by the state, the insurers have paid 18,498 Gel. The largest amount insured by land area was citrus cultures - 12,391 hectares and by payed premiums leading culture was vine with total 5,376,636 Gel premium. As for the territorial distribution, the largest number of insured land plots were located in Kakheti 9,863 plots, the lowest - 1 plot in Tbilisi. During 2014 damage was caused by natural disaster - hail in Guria and Adjara districts, total loss amounted to 1,879,298 GEL (6,879 insurance claims)

Cumulatively, in 2014-2015 under the project were covered 40,013 land plots (with 23,667 hectares of land area) (Source: Association of Georgian Insurance Companies). It should be taken into account that in 2015 was made an amendment in the project according to which the state subsidy share in insurance premium decreased from 90% to 60%. As a result, it caused 64% decrease of insured land number in 2015 comparison with the indicator for 2014.

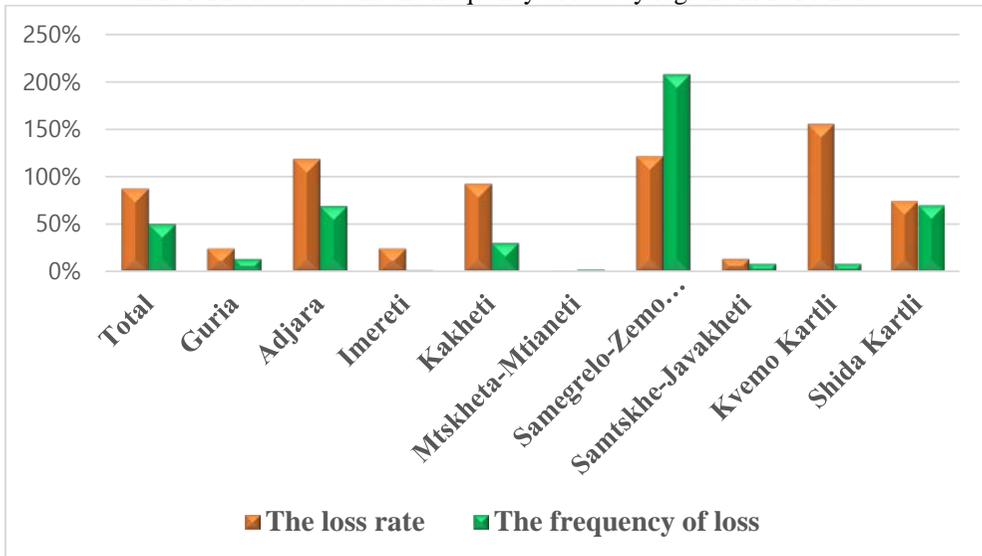
The premiums accumulated by insurance companies during the given two years amounted to 16,031,039 Gel. In 2015 the indicator was defined by 3,621,814 GEL, 71% less than the 2014 results. As for the paid claims, the total amount was 14,178,445 GEL (20,026 claims number) in two years. The loss ratios was 88%, while the frequency of loss - 51%. According to the insured risks, the most cases were caused by hail - 15,334, with total paid claims 13,414,317 GEL. We should pay attention to the issue of risk separation by regions. The most risky in this regard was Svaneti (Mestia, Lentekhi, etc) region. The loss ratio in Svaneti reached 122% and the frequency of loss - 208%, while in Mtskheta-Mtianeti (Tbilisi, etc) loss ratio was – 1% and the frequency of loss - 3%. If we glimpse the frequency of natural phenomena by regions (see **Chart 1 & Chart 2**) we will see that Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti is the most risky region.

Table 1 Percentage Distribution of Natural Hydrometeorological Events Registered on the territory of Georgia in 1995-2012 and number of claims during 2014-2015

Natural disaster	Amount paid claims (Gel) during 2014-2015	Number of claims during 2014-2015	Percentage Distribution of Natural Hydrometeorological Events Registered on the territory of Georgia in 1995-2012
hail	13,414,317	15,334	31%
Hurricane	392,609	4,498	12%
Excess sediment	344,757	152	32%
Other	26,762	42	25%

Source: National Environmental Agency and Association of Georgian Insurance Companies

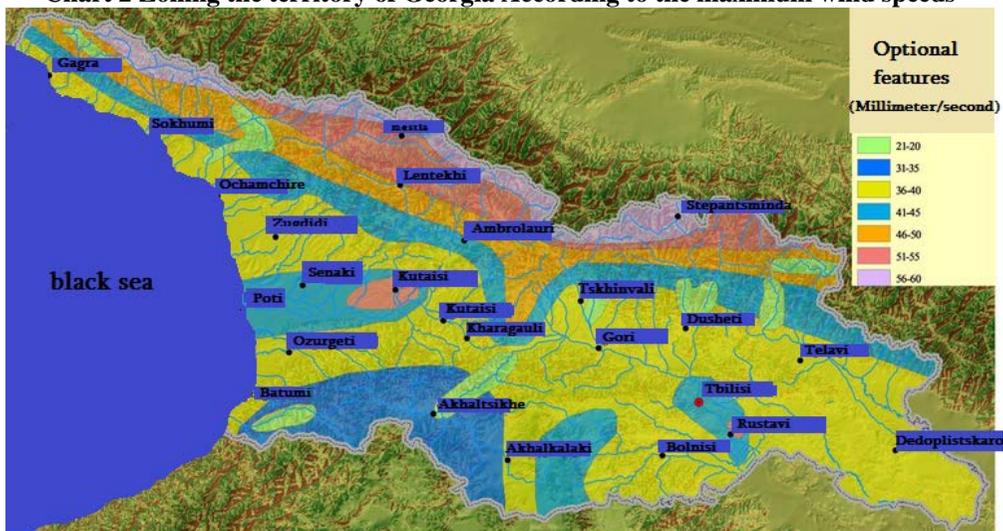
Chart 1 The loss rate and the frequency of loss by regions in 2014-2015



Source: Association of Georgian Insurance Companies

The share (penetration rate) of agri-insurance in the entire insurance sector over the last two years is as follows: 2014 - 4.1%, which is a good indicator on the background of 1% of the previous periods. In 2015 - it represents still 1%. The indicator shows that farmers are not ready to insure the harvest, which, on the one hand, is due to financial support problems and low level of insurance culture and, on the other hand, cause of distrust towards insurance companies.

Chart 2 Zoning the territory of Georgia According to the maximum wind speeds



Source: National Environmental Agency

Hail comes to the whole territory of the country. Its intensity and frequency are especially high in eastern Georgia. Annually, there are 5 to 15 accidents of this disaster and the destroyed agricultural lands are from 0.7 to 8.0%. In the last 10 years, the damage inflicted by the hail to the country is more than 130 million Gel (Source: National Environmental Agency). Strong and long storms are observed throughout the country. Their frequency and intensity are especially high in Eastern Georgia and Imereti regions. The frequency of recurrence of these events has increased 2 times and is repeated in every 4-5 years. Strong hurricanes make special damages to agricultural lands. In 1995-2008 the damage inflicted to the country from this disaster reached 90 mln Gel (Source: National Environmental Agency).

In addition, we should also consider productivity, recently the output of one-year crops (maize, potatoes, except wheat) and the size of the cultivated land area have significantly decreased. In perennial crops (fruits, citrus, except for grapes), the same decline is observed. This aspect indicates a truly unfavorable trend for agriculture and agro-insurance in Georgia.

Drought is not insured within the program, but considering it as a significant risk factor, it is necessary to be taken into account. The drought is observed on the whole territory of the country. In the early periods, the drought was once in every 15-20 years, in the recent period it occurs every 6-7 years. In 1995-2008 the damage inflicted by drought on agriculture reached up to 400 mln Gel. In terms of rainfall, Georgia is a contrasting region. In Guria-Adjara and Kolkheta lowland rainfall is more than 1000 mm per year. In other regions the sediments are less than 300-750 mm (Source: National Environmental Agency). That is why the problem of desertification, the main cause of the drought is actual for Georgia and of course, it is essential that the risk factor should be involved in the insurance program.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis and compilation of the above, we can conclude:

1. There is a lot of work to be done in marketing by insurance companies. Also, an educational work is not only the prerogative of insurance companies, but also the effective measures of the government should be strengthened. Trend is observed in the insurance market to operate with only a few types of products. It is necessary to analyze the needs of consumers and take into consideration further refining the product or offer a new one. In connection with agro insurance, they can also share western experience, even in terms of novelty: Index insurance is an innovation offered on the insurance market based on price and aggregate calculations for the index assigned to the particular region. This insurance product includes, as well as satellite mapping, determining the meteorological risks

of regions that characterizes particular regions and granting them the relevant index. This product allows to differentiate the pricing scale according to the risk level for each region. For example, if we look at the frequency and loss ratio of the claims by the agri-insurance policies issued in 2014-2015, according to the regions, we should note that total loss ratio amounted to 88%, the frequency of loss - 51%, but according to separate regions, Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti was distinguished with 122% and 208% of the losses and frequency rates when the similar indicators of Mtskheta-Mtianeti were equal to 1% and 3%. To create a complete picture of risk factors for natural disasters and predicting them, it is necessary to establish permanent and sustainable cooperation with the National Environmental Agency, which predicts the country's natural hydro meteorological and geodynamic processes and events. In cooperation according to insurance risk factors mapping can be done for retrospective and forecast analysis. It will be welcomed to form an information platform for agro insurance, which will unify the information received from the contractors engaged in the system and provide the information materials required for the analysis from the stakeholders;

2. For the agro insurance it has great importance to determine exact coordinates of insured land plot. For this several methods are used: Extract of the Public Registry indicating the cadastral code of the land, land drawings and GPS coordinates. In Georgia lack of land plots registered in the Public Registry makes it is necessary to use the GPS coordinates recording system when insuring. The formatting of these coordinates data is available in different ways: **Degrees, minutes, and seconds (DMS) - 41°24'12.2"N 2°10'26.5"E**, **2) Degrees and decimal minutes (DMM) - 41 24.2028, 2 10.4418**; **3) Decimal degrees (DD) - 41.40338, 2.17403**. Using a different system of coordinate formatting and putting into one particular platform/system, which is customized to another particular format determines the incorrect final coordinates. As a result, the insurance company has insured a different land from the land plot specified in the policy. In such cases in the accounting program for policies an automatic transmission mode can be built in, which will transfer the exact information and the map from the Google Map about insured land areas according to the GPS coordinates;

3. The physiological and vegetative picture of the plant growth differs by the climatic zones, So that cultural plants should be distinguished by climatic zones, which are related to the specific zone (Georgia is characterized by 11 climatic zones from 14 climatic zones worldwide). Also, must be defined favorable soil type (in Georgia there are 49 soil types) and region of land for specific crops. This gives the opportunity to reduce the risks of climatic conditions and to encourage more growth in relation to

specific crops. Enrollment of existing nuances in insurance policy allows to reduce the cost of insurance policy according to certain risk factors;

4. The wrong assessment of the risks. In this respect there is a lot to be done by companies and the government itself. The function of the government in this case requires setting up high standards of education and promotion and licensing of high level specialists in insurance and actuarial activities.

In conclusion it can be said, that there is still much to be done in order to minimize the factors and risks associated with the development of agro-insurance in Georgia. If the relevant legislative-regulatory activity has not been started, it is possible that this process can not give the expected positive results and all efforts could be in vain.

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Implementing Telework Agreement in Slovakia¹

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Abstract

The Telework Agreement was signed by the European social partners (ETUC, UNICE/UEAPME and CEEP) on 16 July 2002 after eight months of negotiations. It is an autonomous framework agreement regulated through social dialogue, so it is a form of soft law. The Telework Agreement offers a range of implementation methods which have been used in the Member States. We have followed our national traditions by transposing the telework agreement into legislation. The submitted paper attempts to analyze the national regulatory framework of the status and working conditions of employees performing telework in the Slovak republic and examines how the Slovak legislator approaches the implementation of this phenomenon in the current world of work.

Keywords: Telework, employment relationship

Introduction

Advancement of any kind always permeates through the world of work and employment in various directions. Every industrial revolution in the past contributed to various social and technological changes influencing the nature of employment arrangements and the situation is no different even today. Steam, electricity and computers played crucial roles in the first through the third industrial revolutions. Some maintain that we are at the threshold of the fourth industrial revolution, which is connected with the term *Industry 4.0.* and the concept *Internet of Things* (Buhr, D., 2015). Expressions like digitalization, electronization, automatization, robotization, etc. can frequently be encountered here (Dau-Schmidt, K. G., 2015). Employers adapt to new trends and their investments into modern

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technologies yield new flexible models in the production processes. Computers and internet are routine operational tools; mobile phone is frequently taken as a material benefit for the employee, networks and their software programmes well-established equipment of every modern employer.

Increase in use of information and computer technologies at workplaces introduced innovative practices and challenges in the branch of labour law; the strict adherence to the regular eight-hour presence of the employee at the workplace was relaxed, but it also highlighted the necessity to regulate various legal, economic and social aspects of work at anytime and anywhere. These are the characteristic features that identify telework, i.e. dependent work performed by an employee using information-communication technologies at an alternative workplace other than the premises of the employer. The paper analyses the national regulatory framework of the status and working conditions of employees performing telework in the Slovak republic and investigates the approach of the Slovak legislator to implementation of this phenomenon in the current world of work.

European and national legal framework of telework

The status and working conditions of employees performing telework are stipulated in the Framework Agreement on telework, which was adopted by the European social partners (ETUC, UNICE/UEAPME and CEEP) on 16 July 2012 (hereinafter referred to as 'Telework Agreement'). Its specificity rests in the form of implementation which is not through the directives of the European Union, but it is transposed by autonomous methods, i.e. in compliance with the procedures and practices that are typical of social partners of each Member State. In principle, Telework Agreement offers three types of implementation tools. The application in a Member State is admissible *i)* by means of binding and enforceable legal regulations, *ii)* by means of collective agreements of social partners or *iii)* by means of good practice guides (voluntary measures, directions and codes issued by social partners or by the employers themselves). Slovakia has no established tradition of leaving labour market regulation onto the social partners, since our labour market regime is of etatistic nature, so the responsibility for the implementation of the Telework Agreement cannot be attributed to the social partners.

The Slovak legal order introduced the legal regulation of telework by the Act no. 348/2007 Coll. effective of 1 September 2007 amending the Act no. 311/2001 Coll. Labour Code as amended (hereinafter referred to as 'Labour Code'). The Slovak legislator opted for the first implementation method which can be evaluated positively. As a result of the selected

mechanism and general application of legal rules, the regulation of telework concerns all employment arrangements without any distinction. This eliminates the problem of low representation of social partners at certain workplaces and the limited territorial impact of the negotiated collective agreements.

The provision of the section 52 subs 1 of the Labour Code defines telework as *work performed for the employer according to the terms and conditions agreed on in the Employment Contract either at home or at any other approved workplace using information technologies*. The scope of the cited provision, however, limits the provision of the section 52 subs 5 of the Labour Code pursuant to which *telework **cannot be considered** such work which the employee performs occasionally or under extraordinary circumstances with the consent of the employer or upon agreement either at home or at alternative location other than the usual workplace on condition that the type of work performed by the employee under the Employment Contract permits it*. Telework presupposes work being performed at an alternative workplace other than the premises of the employer, the work duties performed using information technologies² and stability and regularity of telework performance. Occasional, irregular performance of work at alternative location other than the premises of the employer is not deemed to be telework. Regularity, however, does not imply exclusivity. The performance of telework can be approved alternatively; part of the duties can be performed at the workplace and another part at the approved alternative location.

The definition of telework provided by the Slovak legislator fully corresponds to the concept enshrined in the Telework Agreement and to the attempt to subsume the various types of regular telework and a wide range of rapidly growing technological practices used for such type of work under one flexible definition.³

Telework (synonymously designated also as teleworking or telecommuting) refers to flexible arrangement of employment which emerged due to the development of information technologies and which uses electronic communication means as the basic operational tool. Telework together with home office and homeworking⁴ belongs to the category of so-

² It concerns various computer and communication equipment (desktop computers, notebooks, tablets, printers, mobile phones, smartphones, internet telephony, teleconferences, etc.)

³ Art. 2 Telework is a form of organising and/or performing work using information technology in the scope of the Employment contract/relationship, where work which can also be performed at the employers' premises, is carried out away from those premises on a regular basis.

⁴ Home office is occasional performance of work from home, homeworking designates regular or permanent work from home in which the approved place of work is the residence

called remote work which is characterized by the performance of work at an approved alternative location other than the office or premises of the employer for several working hours at least. The approved work is to be performed from the residence (home) of the employee or from alternative approved location,⁵ either permanently or temporarily – regularly on certain days of the week. Similar criteria for differentiating individual types of telework were applied in the research report of the Eurofund and the International Labour Office entitled *Working anytime, anywhere: The effects on the world of work*.⁶ The report classifies telework or ICT-mobile work employees in relation to their place of work (home, office or another location) and the intensity and frequency of their work using ICT outside the employer's premises. The following groups were identified:

- *home-based teleworkers* - employees working from home regularly, using ICT;
- *high mobile teleworkers* (or ICTM workers) - employees working in several places regularly, with a high level of mobility and using ICT;
- *occasional teleworkers* (or ICTM workers) – employees working in one or more places outside the employer's premises only occasionally and with a much lower degree of mobility than the high mobile group.

If we make a distinction between teleoffice and telework along the line of home office and homeworking, modifications of the employment relationship which the Slovak legislator introduced for telework in the provision of the section 52 subs 1 through 4 of the Labour Code, apply to telework exclusively, i.e. regular or permanent performance of telework. With respect to the types of telework introduced by the research report of Eurofund and the International labour organization, the provision of the section 52 of the Labour Code excludes occasional teleworkers from its application.

of the employee. Viz: SEEMANOVÁ, Jana. *Práce z domova z pohledu legislativy*. Available at: www.pracenadalku.cz. The question is whether any work from home which does not require the use of information technologies exists.

⁵ Another alternative work location can be considered work at the premises of the client, in a car or in another means of transport, in public or at alternative location where the employee has access to information-communication technologies. The so-called 'remote office centres' have recently gained on popularity and are deemed to be rented professional premises other than the head office location usually near the place where the employee resides.

⁶ Eurofund and the International Labour Office: *Working anytime, anywhere: The effects on the world of work*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, and the International Labour Office, Geneva, 2017, p. 7. ISBN: 978-92-897-1569-0.

The status and working conditions of teleworkers

The Slovak legislator decided to lay the performance of telework on formal foundations. The definition of telework pursuant to section 52 subs 1 of the Labour Code explicitly states that „... *it concerns work performed under the terms and conditions of the Employment contract...*“.⁷ We believe that telework can also be arranged for by a contract, either in the form of an agreement to work outside the scope of employment. The Labour Code permits dependent work, which undoubtedly includes telework despite the fact that some of its identification features are not manifested very intensively,⁸ be carried out based on employment relationship but also based on similar labour relationship or occasionally as different employment arrangement (section 1 subs 3 of the Labour Code). Different employment arrangements are relationships based on agreements to work outside the scope of employment. Where the subject-matter of any agreement to work outside the scope of employment is the performance of telework, *ad) 1* the application of section 52 of the Labour Code and of the working conditions under which telework is to be carried out must be explicitly stated in the agreement⁹ and *ad 2)* these working conditions cannot be in contradiction with an provision of the Part Nine of the Labour Code, i.e. the specific regulation of agreements to work outside the scope of employment and thus place the employee in a more favourable position compared to other employees.

Contractual arrangements concerning telework are connected with the voluntary nature of its performance. The employer cannot order the employee to perform telework or to force him to perform it. Similarly, the employer is under no obligation to accept the request of the employee to perform telework from home using information technologies. This form of performance of work is subject to the agreement between the Contractual parties.

The Employment contract concluded with the employee performing telework contains the same formalities as in case of typical employment relationship. The distinction concerns the place of work, since it is not the registered office of the employer, but, for example, the address of permanent or temporary residence of the employee (the most common form of telework

⁷ Telework is a form of organisation of work and not another form of work contract.

⁸ The management of the employee carrying out telework takes the form of assignment of tasks not giving orders. New technologies bring along a new form of subordination, where the employee is attached indirectly to the employer, it is called "parassubordinação" or "telesubordinação." IN: WINTER, Vera Regina Loureiro. Telecommuting: an alternative job. São Paulo: LTR, 2005.

⁹ Under section 223 subs 2 of the Labour Code, agreements shall in be regulated by the first part of the Act in full scope; from the systematic point of view section 52 of the Labour Code is included in the second part of the Act.

performance), or another location where the employee remains when carrying out his/her work duties. The Employment contract may not expressly provide for performance of telework, if it can be implied from other working conditions.

Working time of teleworkers and right to be disconnected

The biggest advantage of telework, which at the same time defines this type of atypical employment arrangement, is the autonomy of the teleworker in organizing his own working time. According to the Slovak legal regulation, the following provisions cannot be applied to the performance of telework: provisions that govern the organisation of weekly working time, i.e. rules of balanced and unbalanced organisation of working time (sections 86 and 87 of the Labour Code), rules determining the beginning and end of working time in work shifts (section 90 of the Labour Code) or the provisions governing breaks at work, uninterrupted daily rest and uninterrupted rest during the week (sections 91 through 93 of the Labour Code). According to us, the formulation of the Act is rather vague in wording and induces misunderstanding of certain social rights of teleworkers. Telework has impacts *ad 1)* on the duration of working hours and also *ad 2)* on the organization of working time. Teleworkers have time sovereignty which means that employees can manage and influence their work schedules to a certain degree. However, the maximum weekly working time¹⁰ or the minimum uninterrupted daily rest or uninterrupted weekly rest must be observed. The right to maximum admissible duration of working time and right to corresponding rest after work¹¹ are the basic constitutional rights which can be exercised by any employee, and despite the fact that they can be restricted by the law, no one can be deprived of them. A modern expression denoting the right of the teleworker to rest breaks at work, rest after work and the connected social rights to maintain work-life balance is the **right to be disconnected**, which can be implicitly inferred from the mentioned provision of the Constitution of the Slovak republic (Nascimento, C. B., 2010). The Slovak legal regulation of working conditions of teleworkers is in many respects of framework nature (see below), thus the employers themselves decide on the procedure to implement these rights. In line with various software programmes that allow remote access to computer through which the employee can monitor the employee, there also exist

¹⁰ Maximum weekly working time of an employee shall be 40 hours. The employee's average weekly working time including overtime may not exceed 48 hours.

¹¹ Article 36 of the Constitution of the Slovak republic.

programmes which limit or suspend the operation of mail servers or other communication technologies used by the employee.¹²

In compliance with the Slovak legal regulation, teleworkers perform the assigned work duties during working time organized according to their preferences and they may decide whether they wish to work on Saturday, Sunday or during the public holiday or at other unsociable hours, for instance, at night. However, compared to an employee present at the premises of the employer, the teleworker is aware of the fact that pursuant to section 52 subs 1 par c), s/he may not be entitled to wage compensation for overtime work (section 121 of the Labour Code), wage compensation for work during the public holiday (section 122 of the Labour Code), wage compensation for night work (section 123 of the Labour Code) or wage compensation for work under difficult circumstances (section 124 of the Labour Code). Nevertheless, the employer and the employee can make an agreement on the mentioned wage compensation. This statutory provision contains certain discrepancies that may lead to problems in their interpretation. According to section 121 of the Labour Code, the „normal“ employee shall be entitled to wages earned and wage surcharge equal to at least 25% (35 % at risk work) of his/her average earnings for the performance of overtime work or to substitute time-off equal in length to the period of overtime work; in this case the employee shall not be entitled to a wage surcharge. The first possible interpretation implies that the under the law, the teleworker is entitled to wage compensation for overtime work, or alternatively, s/he is entitled to compensatory time-off for overtime work instead of wage compensation for overtime work. According to the second interpretation, which we are also inclined to favour, the application of the section 121 of the Labour Code is excluded as a whole and the teleworker is not entitled to wage compensation for overtime work, preferential wage rate for overtime work or compensatory time-off.

The Slovak legislator explicitly regulates other working conditions of teleworkers, such as impediments at work interfering with the working time of the employee and temporarily hindering the performance of work. In compliance with section 52 subs 1 par a) and b) of the Labour Code, the provisions of the Labour Code on downtime do not apply to telework and in case any important personal impediments at work occur, the teleworker is

¹² Several examples of good practice, such as how the employee's right to be disconnected can be exercised is provided in the research report of Eurofund and the International Labour Office: *Working anytime, anywhere: The effects on the world of work*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, and the International Labour Office, Geneva, 2017, p. 51-53. ISBN: 978-92-897-1569-0.

not entitled to wage compensation from the employer.¹³ In our view the cited provision does not correspond to the rule that the working conditions of the employee at telework cannot place the employee into a less favourable position in comparison with the similar employee in working at the premises of the employer. Downtime, i.e. temporary interruption caused by technical failure, non-availability of materials or power, erroneous work documentation or other similar operational defaults may hinder the performance of work by the employee at the workplace; dysfunction in information technologies used by the teleworker is of the same nature. Different treatment in the event of personal impediment on the part of the employee also lacks deeper meaning, such as the wedding of the employee. The „classic“ employee, and the teleworker as well, shall be excused from work when their wedding day falls on a working day, however, it is the „classic“ employee only who is entitled to wage compensation for this excused absence.

Other working conditions of teleworkers

The regulation of other working conditions of teleworkers in the Slovak republic is of framework character, and is considered to be the transcription of the provisions of the Telework Agreement. For this reason, it is subject to the agreement between the employer and the employee to negotiate their mutual ideas and duties specifically connected to the performance of telework. As a general rule, the employer shall take appropriate measures to carry out telework (section 52 subs 2 par a) through c) of the Labour Code), especially:

- a) he/she shall provide, install and perform regular maintenance of hardware and software necessary for the performance of telework, except in cases where an employee performing telework uses his/her own equipment,*
- b) he/she shall ensure, especially with regard to software, protection for data processed and used in telework,*
- c) he/she shall inform the employee of all restrictions on the use of hardware and software and also of the penalties for any breach of these restrictions.*

Before starting telework, the employer is obliged to state whether the employee is to use his/her own technical and software equipment for telework or whether the equipment is to be provided and installed by the employer. The person who provides the equipment shall be responsible for its regular maintenance. The employer shall provide the employee with compensation in accordance with the terms and conditions stipulated in the

¹³ Except for the death of a family member pursuant to section 141 subs 2 par d) of the Labour Code, when the entitlement to leave is in the duration of one to three working days with wage compensation and the duration depends on who died and whether the employee makes the funeral arrangements.

Collective agreement or in the Employment contract (section 145 subs 2 of the Labour Code) for using his/her own equipment (tools, furniture and objects required for the performance of work). Costs connected with the performance of telework such as internet, telephone or electricity are also included therewith. The Telework Agreement emphasises that irrespective of the owner of the equipment, the employer is obliged to provide the teleworker with an appropriate technical support facility.¹⁴

The ownership of the equipment for telework shall determine the important scope of authorization of monitoring of the employee, the security of protection of personal data which are processed and used at telework as well as the scope of restrictions on the use of such equipment. Under the Telework Agreement, such sanctions shall be defined in accordance with the national legal framework.

The duty of the employer to ensure healthy and safe working conditions for the teleworkers and to bear the expenses connected with the protection of health and safety at work, despite the fact that it concerns the residence of the employee, seems to be rather problematic. The teleworker performs his work duties in the domestic environment, where, in respect of protection of health and safety of the employee, the employee may encounter completely different events compared to employees working in the premises of the employer. In this connection, in the event any industrial accident occurs, it would be problematic to settle the issue whether the accident happened during the working time and in connection with the performance of work, since the teleworker organizes his/her working time alone. For the above given reasons, the employer cannot be equally responsible for the safety of the employee who can perform telework along with other „activities at home“. However, the employer cannot be completely released from this duty, since the employee is still at the workplace, even though the teleworker carries the work away from the employer's premises. The Slovak legislator does not define the protection of safety and health of the teleworker in special provisions, thus it is at the discretion of the employer to take concern in the workplace of the employee taking into consideration his duty to protect the health and safety at the workplace and liability for industrial accidents. Slovak employers should have this in contemplation when concluding employment contracts to carry out telework and request the consent of the teleworker with the inspection of his/her performance of telework in his/her household.

¹⁴ Art. 7 Framework agreement on telework: The employer provides the teleworker with an appropriate technical support facility.

Conclusion

In connection with the development of information technologies, another atypical (flexible) employment arrangement was created – telework. As the case may be, not all working conditions applicable to typical employees are also compatible with the performance of work in these atypical forms. Telework is no exception to this, it is appropriate for all works which do not strictly require the presence of the employee at the workplace (accountants, programmers, employees of e-shops, etc.). The Framework Agreement on telework pinpointed the „weaknesses“ in the employment status of teleworkers to the Member States and delimited the areas in which detailed statement of their specific working conditions is required. The Slovak republic implemented the Telework Agreement through national legislation. The Slovak legislator concentrated especially on the aspects of working time of teleworkers and due to imprecise linguistic formulation, it failed to admit the right of teleworkers to be disconnected (right to uninterrupted daily rest and uninterrupted weekly rest), it omitted the fact that the issue of downtime may also affect teleworkers, especially, when the default is in the technical equipment in the ownership of the employer, and it failed to give wage compensation in cases of important impediments at work and thus placed the teleworker in a less favourable position in comparison with the „classic“ employee (working at the employers' premises). On the other hand, the specific issues of protection of health and safety of teleworkers at work, the possibility to inspect the employee at home, the liability of the employer for industrial accidents, the protection of personal data have been neglected or received very limited attention. Framework legal regulation serves as a very good basis for collective bargaining, however, at workplaces where no trade unions operate, such general regulation appears to be deterring for the employers. Moreover, as no tradition of good practice guides and codes exists, the employers are very reluctant and hesitant to determine working conditions of telework and opt for more traditional forms of employment.

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The Impact of GDP, FDI, and Import on Carbon Dioxide Emissions in of GCC Countries: A Panel Data Approach

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Abstract

The GCC countries' unified economic agreement which has been signed on 1981 and activated in 2002 aimed for easing free trade and attract more FDI to enhance the level of economic growth. This agreement has also emphasized on reducing levels of pollution and achieving a sustainable economic growth.

In reality, there is an increase in the level of emissions along with the level of rising of economic growth in GCC countries. Accordingly, in this study we will test the most significant variables pertaining to the increasing carbon dioxide emissions in GCC countries.

The research objective is to determine how much the FDI inflows, economic growth, and commodity imports influenced the increasing level of emissions, and which variable has most effect? For this purpose, an empirical model is specified as a function of FDI inflows, per capita GDP growth rate, and commodity imports. However, we have built this model based on Environmental Kuznets Curve assumption (EKC), as well as Pollution Haven Hypothesis (PHH). It will be examined simultaneously a 66 balanced observation of the six GCC countries within the panel data technique using cross-section random effects.

Keywords: Carbon dioxide emissions, GCC, Growth, Panel data. Environmental policy

Introduction

The GCC countries are among the top 25 countries¹⁵, which contribute to the increasing level of carbon, and emit from 45% to 50% of the total emissions of Arab countries¹⁶.

Over the period 1998-2008, the GCC countries witnessed high rates of emissions. These emissions amounted to 254 million metric tons, due to their reliance on fossil fuel and other industries associated therewith. In 2003 the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait emitted about 13, 9, 8, and 7 times, respectively, more than the world average. Furthermore, the emissions of these countries exceeded the world average¹⁷. This implies that these countries are still significant contributors to environmental pollution and climate change. Therefore, this study tries to measure the important variables concerning the key reasons for air pollution. In addition, we attempt to identify how much these variables have contributed to pollution in the GCC countries over the period of study, and which variable is most significant in this respect.

This paper examines the effect of economic growth, FDI, and commodity imports of the GCC countries in order to identify their impact on air pollution represented by carbon dioxide emissions. Selecting the air pollution as a dependent variable comes from its major role in the environmental pollution of the GCC countries over the period of the study.

The model of this study relies on the environmental Kuznets curve assumption (EKC) and pollution haven hypotheses (PHH). Moreover, we added two further variables, FDI inflows and commodity imports, to determine the impact of these variables on the environment in the GCC countries, where a positive sign of FDI inflows coefficients will confirm that the FDI inflows of the GCC countries have not used advanced technology over the period 1998-2008, and vice versa in terms of obtaining a negative sign. In addition, in respect of commodity imports, the model will examine the effect of these imports in terms of its relation with the environment.

However, to indicate whether the GCC countries have taken into account the environmental consideration, the negative signs reveals that these imports are friendly to the environment, and accompanied by technological transfer, where it will embody its effect on pollution over the study period.

¹⁵Reiche, D. "Energy Policies of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries—Possibilities and Limitations of Ecological Modernization in Reinter States." *Energy Policy* 38, no. 5 (2010): 2395-403.

¹⁶ *ibid*

¹⁷ Farid B. Chaaban, Report of Arab forum for environment and development 2008, Dubai. P47.

Literature review

The linkage between economic growth, foreign trade, and pollution usually indicates that the trade may influence the EKC relationship both positively and negatively. It also reveals that GDP has a high positive significant impact on the environment, while trade is not a significant factor¹⁸. Moreover, the income variable indicates that there is an EKC implication. In this respect, Bruyn¹⁹ and Nickerson²⁰ stated that environmental pollution is linked to the direct relationship with economic growth. These two studies indicated that the best way to reduce the effect of environmental pollution is to increase the level of investment in high technology to achieve rapid economic growth and increase the level of value added. This leads to fast economic growth and reduces the effect of the emissions resulting from the increased production. Whereas Stern²¹ revealed that there is an inverse relationship between environmental degradation and per capita national income, where economic growth reduces the environmental impact resulting from various economic activities. While, trade has a neutral impact in this respect.

Mukhopadhyay²² found that Thailand is a pollution haven and the effect of FDI on the environment is not friendly. His study suggests several policies; the most important is paying more attention to the environmental quality of exported goods, and creating sustainable trade development, as well as providing financial incentives to establish green industries and encourage using imported technology for the production of green products in order to mitigate the level of pollution in the country.

Thomas²³ revealed a significant relationship between GDP and carbon dioxide emissions (CO₂), in which the data analysis shows that

¹⁸ Abdulai, Awudu & Ramcke, Linda, The impact of trade and economic growth on the environment: revisiting the cross-country evidence, Kiel institute for the world economy, working paper, No. (1491), 2009, German

¹⁹ Bruyn, S.M., Bergh J.C Van Den., & Opschoor, JB, Economic Growth and Emissions: reconsidering the empirical bases of Environmental Kuznets Curves. *Ecological Economics*, (25),1998,p161.Netherlands.

²⁰ Nickerson, Brian Anthony, Modeling carbon dioxide emissions: Applying empirical and economic analysis to a global environmental issue (Ohio state university, 2004).

²¹ Stern, David I., Michael S. & Barbier, Edward B., Economic Growth and environmental degradation: the Environmental Kuznets Curve and Sustainable Development, world development, 1996, Vol. 24, No. 7 pp 1151-1160. UK.

²² Mukhopadhyay, Kakali, Environmental impact of Thailand's trade with OECD, The Asian scholar e-journal, (2008) issue No.3.

²³ Thomas, Stacey M. Impact of economic growth on Co2 emissions: Trinidad case study, 45th ISOCARP Congress 2009; from: http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/1598.pdf

Trinidad produced 12 times the CO₂ per unit compared to Uruguay and Kenya, and over 20 times more than Sri Lanka and Uganda. The rapid movement of capital and expanding industrial base positively affect the increased level of carbon dioxide emissions.

Dinda²⁴ suggested that achieving sustainable economic growth could be through the protection of natural resources and optimal exploitation, which reduces the impact of climate change. He examined several variables, which are the cumulated per capita CO₂ emission, and per capita protected forest area within the country. The study result showed that the cumulated per capita carbon dioxide emissions, and per capita area of protected forests is linked to a positive economic growth rate.

Ekins²⁵ found that the relationship between economic growth and the environment could be positive, and that the government should pay more attention to the environment. Moreover, Ekins indicated that population growth combined with an increase in the level of economic activity cause harm to the environment as a result of the high level of production and consumption, which present a major challenge.

Copeland and Taylor²⁶ concluded that when GDP increases, the greater scale of production leads directly to more pollution, but at a higher level of income per capita, the demand for health and environmental quality rises with income, which could be translated into environmental regulation. The study result shows that trade liberalisation leads to an increase in the volume of economic activity by 1% and raises the level of pollution between 0.25 per cent and 0.5 per cent, however, this is associated with an increasing level of per capita income between 1.25 per cent and 1.5 per cent, which is limited by the advanced technologies.

Wen Chen²⁷ tested the availability of the environmental Kuznets curve in China by using provincial panel data. The study analysed the relationship between GDP per capita and the emissions of five kinds of industrial pollutants, solid wastes, wastewater, SO₂, soot, and smoke. It found that the relationship varies depending on the types of pollutant and region. Furthermore, this study confirms that the EKC hypothesis is not clear in China, where the inverted U-shaped curve cannot be generalised for all emissions.

²⁴ Dinda, Soumyananda, Does environment link to economic growth? 2005 From: <http://www.pdfio.com/k-961069.html>.

²⁵ Ekins, P., Economic Growth and environmental sustainability- The Prospects for Green Growth, 1999, London.

²⁶ Copeland, B. R. & Taylor, M. S., Trade, Growth and the environment, NBER working paper series, 2003 No.9823, p.4.

²⁷ Wen Chen "Economic growth and the environment in China: an empirical test of the environmental Kuznets curve using provincial panel data" Annual Conference on Developing and Change (Capi town, 2007).

Jie He²⁸ analysed the relation between FDI, emissions, and three economic determinants of emission. The estimated model of this study includes panel data for 29 industrial provinces in China. It found a small total impact of FDI on industrial SO₂ emission, where a 1 per cent increase on FDI capital stock will lead to an increase in industrial SO₂ emission by 0.099 per cent. The study confirms that the increase in the level of emissions is caused by the impact of FDI on economic growth.

Frankel and Rose²⁹ discussed the determinants of foreign trade and their effect on the environment by using a gravity model. This study found that trade has a beneficial effect on some measures of environmental quality, in that it supports the environmental Kuznets curve (EKC).

Lee, et al.³⁰ examined the impact of income on the environment. The examination results showed that the income has a positive impact on pollution, where it has specific effects on most of the criteria of environmental efficiency. Moreover, this study explained that environmental policies often focus on how to control pollution, which is not sufficient. The study confirmed the importance of creating a consistent situation between the economic policy and aspects of environmental efficiency.

From the above related literature, we see that economic growth has a direct influence on the level of pollution. This pollution could decline over the time via the economic progress that occurs at the level of advanced technology. In other words, in the long-term, the continued economic growth will lead to the accumulation of advanced technologies, which replace the old technologies, and this progress could reduce the level of pollution.

However, solving the pollution problems does not necessarily have a reverse effect on economic growth. In addition, it has been reported that when a country does not have the institutional capacity to set up proper environmental policies and protect certain sectors, in this case the environmental problem, it will still affect the country even though the level of income might rise. Moreover, the environmental issue needs international cooperative action to unify policies for achieving suitable economic growth with less pollution. Carbon dioxide emissions are the most widespread greenhouse gases (GHGs), in which the extractive industry and mining are highly related to CO₂ emissions resulting from oil and gas combustion in the

²⁸ Jie He "Pollution haven hypothesis and environmental impact of foreign direct investment; the case of industrial emissions of Sulfur dioxide (So₂) in Chinese provinces" (CERDI, University of Auvergne, 2005).

²⁹ Frankel, Jeffery A., & Rose, Andrew K. "Is trade good or bad for the environment? Sorting out the causality" (Harvard University, 2002); from: <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/fs/jfrankel>.

³⁰ Lee, Hyun- Hoon., Chang, Rae Kwon & Koo, Chung Mo. "On the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability" 5th Ministerial Conference on Environment and Development in Asia and Pacific, (26, March, 2005, Seoul, Korea).

GCC countries, which substantially affect the increasing level of air pollution. These countries contribute significantly to the global CO₂ emissions, in which the majority of their emissions are concentrated in the energy extraction and manufacturing sectors³¹. The relationship between economic growth and the environment could be positive³² when the government pays more attention towards the environment by engaging this growth and subjecting it to the consideration of maintaining the environment³³. Also, the negative impact of environmental regulation on FDI could lead to an increasing level of pollution emissions in the host countries. However, the linkage between GDP and the emissions could vary based on the types of pollutant and region.

Hence, it is obvious that FDI and foreign trade and their effect on pollution have an effect on environmental quality, albeit each contribution does not necessarily support PHH and EKC, and that trade assists economic growth, which, in turn, is an indirect channel of the effect on the environment. In addition, the environmental policies are a major factor in controlling pollution; in this context, income represented by real GDP can positively affect most of the criteria for environmental efficiency³⁴.

However, many environmental studies have been based on the assumptions of the environmental Kuznets curve (EKC) to measure the impact of growth on pollution; such studies were conducted in respect of countries that applied a strict environmental policy. The current study will be distinguished from previous contributions in several aspects. The sample adopted for the dataset is related to the GCC countries whose unified economic policy focuses on enhancing the foreign trade sector and attracting more foreign direct investment as a major means for achieving a high level of economic growth. Accordingly, and in order to continue with the related literature, this study tries to link key topics – commodity import, foreign direct investment, growth and carbon dioxide emissions. For this purpose, we will use two approaches; firstly, the analytical approach, which is enhanced by tables and figures. This approach focuses on analysis of the data of study, which will be used in the quantitative approach to provide a clear picture about the GCC economies during the period 1998 to 2008. Secondly, the quantitative approach is based on two theories, EKC and PHH. It is an

³¹ Qader, Mohammed Redha “Electricity consumption and GHG emissions in GCC countries” *Energies* 2, 1201-1213 (MDPI 2009). From: <http://www.mdpi.com/journal/energies>.

³² Ekins, P., 1999, Op cit.

³³ Kheder, Sonia Ben. French FDI and pollution emissions: an empirical investigation, (University of Paris Press, 2010).

³⁴ Lee, 2005 Op cit.

attempt to obtain findings by theoretical and empirical methods, as well as to identify the policy implications to enhance the value of this study.

Based on the above, the significance of this study comes as it deals with an important bloc in the Arab countries and Middle East in general. It provides empirical evidence for the linkage between trade and FDI, and their impact on emissions, as well as an assessment of the unified economic policy of the GCC countries and their environmental policy. Moreover, this study determines the real attitude of these countries and their world commitments in reducing emissions based on an examination and analysis of one of the most significant factors of air pollution in the GCC countries, as represented by carbon dioxide emissions. Thus, it contributes to filling the gap empirically in respect of the oil economies by analysing foreign trade and FDI and their impact on emissions of GCC countries.

Study background

As well-known, GCC countries are considered as among the main contributors to climate change because of their huge reserves of oil, which account for 40 per cent of the world's proven reserves, and 23 per cent of the world's reserves of gas³⁵. These significant percentages emphasize the importance of the comparative advantage of the GCC countries in investing in the oil sector, as well as in sectors related to the oil industry, which could have an adverse impact on the environment. Therefore, we can explain whether or not there were strict environmental policies through analysing the effect of FDI on carbon dioxide emissions over the period 1998-2008. Moreover, it tackles the relation between commodity imports and air pollution, and, finally, the researcher will examine the said variables quantitatively to determine their impact on air pollution, which is represented by carbon dioxide emissions.

The rate of carbon dioxide emissions in the GCC countries exceeds the global rate, where, in 2003, the emissions rate in the UAE, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait was, respectively, about 13, 8, 9, and 7 times more than the world average; the GCC's emissions rate amounted to 254 million metric tonnes³⁶. This confirms that the GCC countries are a significant contributor to the increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions.

However, the study period, 1998-2008, witnessed a high increase of crude oil revenue in the GCC countries, especially the years 2002-2008, where the contribution of the oil sector in the GDP rose from 30.8 per cent in 2002 to 40 per cent in 2006. This revenue constitutes 77.4 per cent of the public revenue in 2002 and reached 86 per cent in 2006³⁷. In contrast, we

³⁵ Reiche, 2010, Op. cit.

³⁶ Farid B. Chaaban, 2008, op. cit.

³⁷ Saif, Ibrahim, "The oil boom in GCC countries, 2002-2008"(CARNEGIE, 2008) P.13.

note that there is an increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions over the said period, in that the carbon dioxide emission level rose in the UAE from 83.6 million metric tonnes in 2002 to 128.5 million metric tonnes in 2008. In addition, in Saudi Arabia, it rose from 323.4 million metric tonnes reaching 393 million metric tonnes for the same period. The other GCC countries, also witnessed an increase in carbon dioxide emissions³⁸.

The data^(*) shows that both Saudi Arabia and the UAE represent a significant contribution, where their emissions average about 324,421.18 and 112,045.5 thousand metric tonnes, respectively, for the period 1998-2008. Kuwait has come in the third level with 73471.64 thousand metric tonnes, followed by Qatar, the carbon emissions of which increased from 32,402 thousand metric tonnes in 1998 to 56,297 thousand metric tonnes in 2008 due its high production level of natural gas, which led to more pollution during the study period.

In Oman, the carbon dioxide emissions rose from 16,667 thousand metric tonnes in 1998 reaching 38,518 thousand metric tonnes in 2008, also in Bahrain from 98,892 to 128,501 during the period of study.

Based on the facts above, we can say that there is a significant increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions in the GCC countries in general, accompanied by the growing levels of real GDP of the GCC countries during the period 1998-2008. In other words, we note that there is a positive relation between economic growth, as represented by GDP, and the increasing level of carbon dioxide emissions over the period of study.

Furthermore, we see that there is a positive relation between the size of GCC economies and the carbon dioxide emissions. This implies the high reliance on the mining, quarrying and fuel sectors in the GCC countries, so we note that the size of GDP reflects a high level of carbon dioxide emissions, which exceeded the average rate of world emissions, and explains the large negative impact of these emissions on the environment.

There is no doubt that the most polluting sectors in the GCC countries are the mining, quarrying and fuel sectors, as well as the manufacturing sector³⁹ which contributed, on average, between 25 per cent in Oman and 58 per cent in Qatar, as a ratio of total GDP. Moreover, the electricity and gas sector, which consumed a high level of oil, is also considered to be the third sector that emitted carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

³⁸ SESRIC, The database of Statistical economic and social research and training center for Islamic countries, Ankara –Turkey. From:<http://www.sesric.org/index.php>

^(*) Look at table (3) p. 24.

³⁹ ESCWA “The environment in the trans boundary context in the ESCWA region: situation and recommendation”, United Nations Economics and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA 2005).

Moreover, mining, quarrying and fuel sectors represent a significant share of the total commodity sectors in GDP for the period 1998-2008, which represents the high importance in the GCC economies, especially in Qatar and Kuwait⁴⁰. This fact confirms that these two countries depend too much on the extractive industries, which contributed about 58.1 per cent and 50.8 per cent, respectively, on average, of the total GDP over the study period^(*).

In addition, the manufacturing industry is the second main sector, especially in Bahrain and the UAE, where it represents considerable relative importance in the total GDP, in that this sector contributed 12.9 per cent and 12.8 per cent of the GDP of the mentioned countries, respectively, during the period 1998-2008⁴¹.

However, we can say that the high reliance on extractive and manufacturing industries are a major cause of carbon dioxide emissions, the level of which exceeds the emissions rate for the world. In other words, the economic activities in the GCC countries are considered as polluting activities compared to other sectors that can achieve a significant value added with less pollution, such as the agricultural and construction sectors, which represent very modest percentages^(**) compared to the main sectors in the GCC countries. We note Qatar has the highest share in terms of per capita carbon dioxide emissions over the period 1998-2008, where the average of these emissions is about 51.33 metric tons⁴². This result reflects a high reliance on fossil fuel and other polluting industries, particularly the oil and gas industries.

In addition, Kuwait comes in the second level, with 31.78 metric tonnes, followed by the UAE, which falls in the third level, 30.39 on average, for the years 1998-2008. While Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Oman show a lower share compared with the other GCC countries, representing 27.34, 14.58 and 11.31 metric tonnes, respectively.

⁴⁰ Based on data of Arab Monetary Fund, AMF, Kuwait; www.amf.org.ae.

^(*) The ratios calculated based on statistical data of the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF). From: <http://www.amf.org.ae>

⁴¹ Ibid.

^(**) For example, the average share of the agriculture sector to GDP in the GCC countries over the period 1998-2008 is as follows: UAE (0.01), Bahrain (0.003), Saudi Arabia (0.02), Oman (0.01), Qatar (0.000) and Kuwait (0.001).

Average share of construction sector to GDP is as follows: UAE (0.08), Bahrain (0.04), Saudi Arabia (0.04), Oman (0.05), Qatar (0.05), and Kuwait (0.01) "Calculated by the author based on Statistical Bulletin of Arab Countries, Arab Monetary Fund (AMF 2010), Kuwait, pp 37-58".

⁴² SESRIC, The database of Statistical economic and social research and training center for Islamic countries, Ankara –Turkey. From: <http://www.sesric.org/index.php>

The per capita carbon dioxide emissions witnessed evident fluctuations during the period 1998-2002, especially in Qatar, Kuwait and the UAE. These changes are attributed to the volatility of economic activities that generated these emissions in that period. For the years 2002 to 2005. Based on table (4), we note a significant increase in the per capita carbon dioxide emissions by 12 per cent, where Qatar has the highest increase compared with the other GCC countries. Hence, we see that the main reason for the increase in the per capita carbon dioxide emissions is due to the increase in economic activities that depend mainly on crude oil and gas resulting from the increased global demand, which stimulated the oil and gas sectors to increase the production level, as well as the other related sectors, such as petrochemicals.

In the last two years of the study, 2007-2008, the per capita carbon dioxide emissions show an insignificant decline for Qatar, Bahrain, UAE, and Saudi Arabia. This decline can be explained by several initiatives ^(*) taken by the GCC countries in an attempt to reduce the level of pollution as a part of their commitment towards the global community.

In Oman and Kuwait, we note an increase in the per capita carbon dioxide emissions, which reflects failure in the efforts of these countries to adopt successful policies to reduce carbon emissions. The following figure shows the per capita real GDP in GCC countries over the period 1998-2008. However, there is an obvious increase of per capita real GDP in Qatar, the UAE, and Kuwait, compared with the per capita carbon dioxide emissions ⁴³. This case is considered a good indicator, and, accordingly, we can say that these countries have good motivations towards improving the environment because the growth levels are better than in Saudi Arabia, Oman and Bahrain.

Finally, it is noted that the increase in real GDP is accompanied by a positive increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions. This means that GCC countries have not tried to use advanced technologies in their production process. Furthermore, these countries are not following a strict environmental policy, which could be enforced by foreign investors to use it in order to mitigate the level of carbon dioxide emissions.

The economic literature indicates that liberalization of the commodity trade could lead to pollution of the environment when the traded goods lead to more pollution ⁴⁴. However, this issue remains subject to the role of the economic policy towards the environment in the attempt to reduce the pollution that may be derived from these commodity imports. For example, in the early 1980s, the United States of America tried to reduce the import of

⁴³SESRIC, op cit.

⁴⁴ Raouf, 2011, op. cit.

Japanese cars, as a result, the demand for American cars increased and led to more pollution, because the American cars emitted more carbon gas compared to the Japanese cars⁴⁵. Hence, we note in this example that the adopted policy in this regard led to more pollution. However, without doubt, the economic policy has a significant role in caring for the environment and achieving a balance between the economic growth and environmental considerations, especially air pollution.

In the same way, free trade could lead to protection of the environment through liberalization of importing capital goods that have advanced technology and are friendly towards the environment. In this case, we see that the economic policy contributes in maintaining the environment by encouraging the importing of capital goods instead of old capital goods that have a technological disadvantage, and that this policy contributes to bringing new technologies rather than old polluting technologies.

Consequently, we cannot say definitely that foreign trade will lead to environmental pollution, as this issue is linked to the economic policy and its attempts to reduce the air pollution level while maximizing economic growth and per capita GDP. In other words, activating the economic sector and paying adequate attention to the environment to achieve sustainable economic growth, depends on the role of the government to follow a suitable economic policy that permits importing advanced capital goods to reduce the pollution that occurs from importing (*imported pollution*). This target could be achieved by providing incentives to the importers to encourage importing goods that have advanced technology, especially when used in production. In the GCC countries, the commodity imports, like machinery and transportation equipment, had considerable relative importance in the total commodity imports over the period 1998-2008, where these imports represent about 34.8 per cent, on average, of the total commodity imports of the GCC countries. The manufactured goods fall in the second level, which constitute 21.6 per cent of the total commodity imports.

Furthermore, Saudi Arabia dominates on 49 per cent of the total commodity imports for this country during the study period 1998-2008. Oman and Kuwait fall in the second and third level, with 41 per cent and 40 per cent, respectively, while Bahrain and the UAE represent a relatively low contribution, 28 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively. These percentages are not modest in comparison with the imports of food and beverages for the same period, which amounted to 16.1 per cent of the total commodity imports. Furthermore, from figure 3, we also see that manufactured goods come in the second rank in terms of relative importance, where the UAE

⁴⁵ Pugel, Thomas. "International Economics", twelfth edition, (Mc Graw Hill Irwan, 2004) p36.

dominates with the main share, which amounted to 31 per cent, on average, of the total commodity imports, followed by Qatar and Oman 24 per cent for both. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Kuwait show ratios of 20 per cent, 15 per cent, and 13 per cent, respectively.

In addition, machinery and transportation equipment is one of the reasons for pollution because of their high relative importance in total commodity imports over the period 1998-2008, especially in Saudi Arabia, Oman and Kuwait.

The effect of commodity imports towards the environment is dependent on the size and type of these imports, as well as the environmental consideration taken by the governments of these countries. In this respect and according to figure 2 we see that the polluted commodity imports have significant relative importance, which dominate the major contribution of total commodity imports. Consequently, the commodity imports could be contributing increasingly to pollution of the environment.

Through the above, we can report that the increase in the import of machinery and transportation equipment indirectly indicates the increase of energy consumption consumed by this machinery, which, ultimately, leads to an increase in carbon dioxide emissions as the main source of air pollution in the GCC countries. Particularly, in Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Kuwait, which have a high level of energy consumption⁴⁶.

Methodology

Dataset and variables

The model data were collected from different official sources. In respect of carbon dioxide emissions over the period 1998-2008, they were collected by the Statistical and Social Research and Training Centre for Islamic countries (SESRIC). We obtained the data for foreign direct investment inflows from the database of the Arab Investment and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation (AIECGC), while the data for commodity imports were derived from the statistical data of the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF) in Kuwait. In addition, the per capita GDP growth rate was obtained based on the data of the Joint Arab Economic Report that was issued by the League of Arab States.

The study uses a panel data approach, the cross-sections included six GCC member countries and involves a 60 balanced observations for the period 1998 -2008 ($t = 1 \dots 11$). In the panel data technique, the empirical model will be regressed for the full observations of each country selected in this study. The variables used in the model are; air pollution (AP) proxied by carbon dioxide emissions, real gross domestic product (*GDP*), FDI inflows

⁴⁶ Qader, 2009, op. cit.

(*FDin*) and commodity imports (*M*), and environmental awareness (*hth*) measured by health expenditure.

Model Specification

The variables of this model is based on a different theories. Real GDP (*GDP*) is specified due to hypotheses of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC), and FDI inflows (*FDin*) is selected to examine its linkage with hypotheses of the pollution haven theory (PHH). While commodity import (*M*) has been added to check the possibility of the role of imports as a cause of air pollution^{47, 48}. And health expenditure (*hth*) will be measured as an indicator of the potential for increased environmental awareness in GCC countries over the period of study. Where, environmental programs can be supported by spending on health to reduce the impacts of human actions^{49, 50}, and production process⁵¹.

Therefore, we will test four independent variables, which are: *GDP*, *FDin*, *M* and *hth*. All data of the study will be subjected to the Augmented Dickey fuller test (ADF) in order to ensure the level of stationarity of all data used. However, obtaining a positive signal for FDI inflows will reflect that these inflows have not used advanced technology over the period 1998-2008 and vice versa in terms of a negative signal. In respect of GDP and commodity imports, the model will examine these variables in order to extrapolate whether the GCC countries have taken into account the environmental consideration and their impact on carbon dioxide emissions over the period of study.

$$AP = a + b_1 (GDP) + b_2 (FDin) + b_3 (M) + b_4 (hth) + ui \quad (2)$$

Where:

AP: Air pollution, measured by carbon dioxide emissions (*CO₂*).

GDP: Real gross domestic production (*Million USD*).

FDin: Foreign direct investments inflows, measured as a ratio of real GDP.

M: Commodity imports, measured as a ratio of foreign trade.

⁴⁷Magee, S. P., & Ford, W. F. Environmental pollution, the terms of trade and balance of payments of the United States. *Kyklos*, 25(1), 1972: 101-118.

⁴⁸Munksgaard, J., & Pedersen, K. A. CO₂ accounts for open economies: producer or consumer responsibility? *Energy policy*, 29(4), 2001: 327-334.

⁴⁹Elsabawy, Mohamed. Environmental health awareness scale: a proposed model for Egypt as a developing country, *The Egyptian Journal of Environmental Change*, 3 (1), 2002: 46-61.

⁵⁰M Jerrett, J Eyles, C Dufournaud, S Birch. Environmental influences on health care expenditures: an exploratory analysis from Ontario, Canada, *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 57 (5), 2003: 78-84.

⁵¹Grossman, G. M. and A. B. Krueger. Economic growth and the environment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110(2), 1995: 353-377.

Hth: Environmental awareness measured by health expenditure as a ratio of real GDP.

U_i: Error term

Diagnostic tests and results:

In order to ensure the validity of the data of study, we have conducted several diagnostic tests such as unit root test, Hausman test. These tests infer that the variables are statistically valid, however, the Dickey Fuller test (ADF) proves the stationarity of the panel data series, and this implies there is no unit root. Moreover, to determine an ideal option between fixed effect and random effect in panel data context, the Hausman test is used. We have found that the probability is more than 0.05 (Prob. > 0.05) as shown in table 1.

Therefore, random effect regression is preferred. Based on that, the model of this study is reliable and could be used for analysing the estimated results.

Model Estimation

The regression result of the model above is statistically significant at the (0.01) level, and the estimated result confirms that the model has no auto-correlation problem, where the D.W. value amounted to about 1.77, which means that the estimated model is located in the acceptable statistical area. Based on the above indicators, we find that this model is significant, and can be used for analysing the variables of the study.

Results analysis

All of the estimated real GDP coefficients of the model were statistically significant at the 0.01 level, which reflects its major impact as the main agent of the increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions in the GCC countries over the period studied. However, the effect of each one was different from one country to another, as follows:

The UAE

The estimated value of real GDP confirms the strength of the influence of this variable to positively affect an increase in the pollution level, where an increase in the real GDP by one time leads to an increase in the carbon dioxide emissions by 0.697 times. This result shows the real economic situation of the UAE, where the oil sector is the main factor that affects economic growth in the UAE over the period 1998-2008, which contributes significantly to the effect on the environment. In other words, the economic growth in the UAE has increased the level of carbon dioxide emissions, and, furthermore, the UAE is considered as the second producer

of the petrochemical industry⁵², which is characterized as a highly polluting industry that led to environmental damage during the study period.

In addition, the estimated model has also proved that the coefficient of FDI inflows, FDI outflows, commodity imports, and environmental awareness are statistically insignificant. This means that these variables do not contribute to the increasing or decreasing level of carbon dioxide emissions in the UAE. In this context, we can explain that this result is because most of the foreign direct investments in the UAE are concentrated in the non-oil industries, such as the building and construction sector, which, on average, represents 90 per cent of the total FDI inflows to the UAE⁵³, as well as to other industries, such as garment industries.

However, it is worth noting that after 1999, the UAE started encouraging establishing projects that were environmentally friendly, such as projects for solar energy that are used for a variety of purposes⁵⁴. Accordingly, we can say that the FDI inflows in the UAE have used advanced technology that keep the per capita carbon dioxide emissions at a certain level, and, thus, the air pollution in the UAE is attributed to the oil sector, which grew rapidly over the period 1998-2008.

Bahrain

In Bahrain, all of the coefficients are statistically insignificant except real GDP, which has a modest impact in comparison to the other GCC countries. This result can be explained due to the small size of the Bahraini economy, it represents only 2 per cent as a ratio of the total average of GDP in the GCC countries for the period 1998-2008. However, an increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions by one time will lead to a rise in emissions level by 0.545 times. Consequently, the low level of oil products confirmed its weak effect on the environment over the study period. Whereas other variables did not play a role in polluting the environment.

Saudi Arabia

The estimated model shows that the real GDP variable is the major cause of environmental degradation, where its increase by one time leads to an increase in the carbon dioxide emissions by 0.724 times. In contrast, an increase in the commodity imports by one time induces a decrease in the per capita carbon dioxide emissions by 0.023 times. In fact, in the real situation

⁵²DMCC, Dubai Multi Commodities Centre (2007-2008), Plastics and petrochemical, UAE, Dubai, 2009, p10. From: <http://www.dmcc.ae>.

⁵³Ministry of economy- Abu Dhabi, Foreign Direct Investment in the UAE, 2008, P.11.

⁵⁴ Qader, Mohammed Redha, Electricity consumption and GHG emissions in GCC countries, *Energies* 2, 1201-1213 (MDPI 2009). From: <http://www.mdpi.com/journal/energies>.

we have noted already that most of the economic activities of Saudi Arabia are concentrated in the oil and petrochemical industry and oil-based industries⁵⁵, which are considered to be a significant factor that polluted the environment, and increased the carbon dioxide emissions over the period 1998-2008. Moreover, the key issue that we should focus on is the comparative advantage of Saudi Arabia, as represented by its energy resources, which encouraged foreign direct investment, in that many foreign companies preferred to invest in the oil sector and other industries that are associated with oil products, especially the petrochemical industries. This preference is attributed to the stringent environmental laws in the developed countries on the one hand, which have discouraged many investors in this field, and the lax environmental laws in the GCC countries, on the other, which have attracted more foreign direct investments to Saudi Arabia. In other words, the economic policy in Saudi Arabia does not focus on the importance of caring for the environment and creating a sustainable development, as much as focusing on achieving rapid economic growth without reducing the level of environmental degradation, as represented by the per capita carbon dioxide emissions over the study period. However, the result confirms that the GDP is the major factor of air pollution in Saudi Arabia.

In respect of the commodity imports coefficient, we note a negative relation between the increased level of imports and environmental degradation. This result reflects the substituted process of capital goods that have advanced technology instead of the polluting capital goods⁵⁶.

Finally, the FDI inflows and health expenditure variables are statistically insignificant, which indicates that there is no relation between environmental degradation and these variables as much of the emissions results from the increase in extractive industries that achieve a high level of pollution in Saudi Arabia.

Oman

The coefficient of real GDP and environmental awareness are statistically significant at the 0.01, 0.10 levels, respectively, where the effect of the GDP coefficient was positive because its increase by one time led to an increase in the carbon dioxide emissions by 0.711 times over the period 1998-2008.

In addition, the relation between environmental awareness and carbon dioxide emissions is negative, this means the environmental policy in

⁵⁵Abdul-Rahman, A. M, Determinants of foreign direct investment in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, King Saud University Press, 2010.

⁵⁶Hussein, Jasim (*in Arabic*), Foreign direct investment in the Gulf, Journal of Economic Vision (Alroya, 2010), No.47. From: <http://www.alroya.com/node/929>

Oman has succeeded in mitigation level of air pollution over the period 1998-2008. Thus, this result reflects the sound economic policy of Oman to treat the environmental problem, where Oman and the other GCC countries are considered as contributing considerably to air pollution due to their high reliance on the oil sector and other industries that are linked thereto. Therefore, the result of the specific model confirms that the carbon dioxide emissions result from the economic activities, while other variables, import (*M*) and FDI (*FDIn*) did not influence the increase of emissions within the period of study.

Qatar

Two coefficients – real GDP and FDI inflows – are statistically significant at the 0.05 and 0.01 levels, respectively, where the real GDP confirms its positive relation to the increase in the carbon dioxide emission in Qatar over the period of study. Therefore, the estimated model reports that increasing the level of real GDP and FDI inflows by one time leads to an increase in the carbon dioxide emission of about 0.501, and 0.026 times, respectively. The evident analysis of this issue is related to the growth of GDP in Qatar, which depends significantly on the oil and gas sector. In other words, the economic growth in Qatar has led to pollution of the environment.

In addition, the effect of FDI inflows on the environment in Qatar could be related to the fact that most foreign direct investments inflows are to the gas sector and petrochemical industry, which are considered as the main cause of air pollution. It is worth noting that Qatar has the third largest global reserve of natural gas. Qatar is considered as the principal supplier of liquefied natural gas in the world⁵⁷, and this feature is the main factor that encourages foreign companies to invest in the gas sector. However, the comparative advantage of Qatar led to more pollution over the study period.

In respect of commodity imports and health expenditure, the estimated result depicts that these variables are statistically insignificant. Therefore, we can say that the main cause of increased pollution is due to GDP and FDI inflows, this result indicates that the economic policy in Qatar did not show much concern for the environmental considerations over the period 1998-2008.

Kuwait

In Kuwait, the real GDP has confirmed its effect on increasing the carbon dioxide emissions, where the estimated model indicates that increasing the real GDP by one time leads to an increase in the emissions of

⁵⁷EIA, Energy Information Administration, Qatar energy data, statistics and analysis, EIA, 2010, P1.

about 0.767 times. This result proves the role of economic activities, which are significantly reliant on oil production and its process, in maximizing the environmental pollution. Therefore, the continuing dependency on the oil sector and its export will not achieve sustainable economic growth in Kuwait, which indicates the importance of diversification for improving the level of economic growth while reducing the carbon dioxide emissions gradually; this target can be achieved by an increase in the level of investment in the non-oil sector.

In addition, the estimated model shows that the environmental awareness variable was statistically significant at the 0.05 level, however, it has an impact of about 0.11. This implies that Kuwait has taken into account the environmental consideration over the period studied.

In regard of commodity imports, and FDI inflows the model results show that it is insignificant, and that there is no relation between the air pollution in Kuwait and commodity imports because the real GDP had the major role in pollution of the environment over the period of study.

Conclusion and policy implication

The real GDP confirms its positive effect in increasing the carbon dioxide emissions for all GCC countries during the period 1998-2008, where it was the main cause of air pollution. In addition, the econometric model indicates that a one-time increase in real GDP will lead to a positive significant influence on the carbon dioxide emission levels. Since the industrial sector shapes the high ratio of GDP for the GCC countries, the high level of economic growth of these countries will be accompanied by an increase in the level of carbon dioxide emissions. Furthermore, the FDI inflows of Qatar significantly contribute to an increase in the air pollution compared to other GCC countries. This result could be attributed to using non-advanced technologies, as well as the sectors that do pollute the environment, such as the gas and refineries sectors.

Furthermore, the commodity imports have affected the reducing level of emissions, which confirms that the economic policy has shown more concern to the environment in importing goods that cannot lead to emit more carbon dioxide. In this context, we can say that Saudi Arabia applied in practice its commitment on the unified economic policy, which is related to green economies as a main target of this agreement. We can say that these facts reflect a specific result for each country in this study, where the effect of imports in Saudi Arabia is friendly to the environment, which means that these imports are characterized by advanced technology. Finally, for both Kuwait and Oman, the environmental awareness variable (*Hth*) has contributed in reduction the air pollution, whereas the other GCC countries show an insignificant result in this respect. However, there are evident

differences in the environmental policies of GCC countries, as clearly seen in the case of Kuwait and Oman, where there is a significant linkage between environmental awareness and the level of emissions. While in the UAE, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, we reveal that the policy of these countries is not taking into account the high level of air pollution, in that, these countries have not achieved an important role to the decreasing level of carbon dioxide emissions over the period of study, 1998-2008.

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Appendix

Table (2): Regression result of the model 3- random effects

Dependent Variable: LOGAP				
Method: Panel EGLS (Cross-section random effects)				
Date: 01/25/14 Time: 22:41				
Sample: 1998 2008				
Periods included: 11				
Cross-sections included: 6				
Total panel (balanced) observations: 66				
Wallace and Hussain estimator of component variances				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
FDIN_Bahrain	7.41E-05	0.000257	0.288975	0.7741
FDIN_Kuwait	-0.037103	0.044489	-0.833986	0.4091
FDIN_KSA	0.015523	0.009771	1.588637	0.1198
FDIN_Oman	-0.005980	0.013025	-0.459101	0.6486
FDIN_Qatar	0.026752	0.013515	1.979400	0.0545 (**)
FDIN_UAE	-0.008613	0.009628	-0.894517	0.3763
GDP_Bahrain	0.545831	0.227356	2.400776	0.0210 (**)
GDP_KSA	0.724958	0.239497	3.027008	0.0043 (*)
GDP_Kuwait	0.767544	0.210500	3.646292	0.0007 (*)
GDP_Oman	0.711589	0.272586	2.610513	0.0126 (*)
GDP_Qatar	0.501283	0.171787	2.918055	0.0057 (*)
GDP_UAE	0.697893	0.239690	2.911652	0.0058 (*)
M_Bahrain	0.000794	0.004280	0.185589	0.8537
M_Kuwait	0.009147	0.006760	1.353186	0.1834
M_KSA	-0.023157	0.010274	-2.253905	0.0296 (**)
M_Oman	0.006997	0.008780	0.796943	0.4301
M_Qatar	8.55E-05	0.003298	0.025940	0.9794
M_UAE	0.000804	0.002834	0.283604	0.7781
HTH_UAE	-0.082814	0.121491	-0.681648	0.4993
HTH_Bahrain	-0.005869	0.059139	-0.099235	0.9214
HTH_KSA	0.060736	0.053210	1.141447	0.2603
HTH_Oman	-0.230565	0.119473	-1.929860	0.0606 (***)
HTH_Qatar	-0.013069	0.029686	-0.440249	0.6621
HTH_Kuwait	-0.111793	0.048616	-2.299511	0.0266 (**)
C	1.717381	0.891485	1.926428	0.0610 (***)
Effects Specification				
		S.D.	Rho	
Cross-section random		1.000936	0.9970	
Idiosyncratic random		0.054568	0.0030	
Weighted Statistics				
R-squared	0.821335	Mean dependent var	0.077945	
Adjusted R-squared	0.716750	S.D. dependent var	0.102705	
S.E. of regression	0.054661	Sum squared resid	0.122499	

F-statistic	7.853319	Durbin-Watson stat	1.776978
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000000		
Unweighted Statistics			
R-squared	0.257497	Mean dependent var	4.742571
Sum squared resid	8.834053	Durbin-Watson stat	0.024641

Source: prepared by using E-Views software and Panel data technique.
(**),(***), (****) indicate statistically significant at the (1%), (5%) and (10%) levels, respectively.

Table (1): Summary of Hausman Test

Correlated Random Effects - Hausman Test Test cross-section random effects			
Test Summary	Chi-Sq. Statistic	Chi-Sq. d.f.	Prob.
Period random	2.279007	3	0.5166

Source: By the author based on Eviews software.

Table (3): Carbon Dioxide emissions in GCC countries 1998-2008 (thousand metric tonnes)

Year	UAE	Bahrain	Saudi Arabia	Oman	Qatar	Kuwait
1998	98892	18405	207288	16667	32402	36421
1999	89038	18020	227229	20818	31408	66002
2000	126754	19758	297749	22057	34730	71107
2001	113783	15082	295843	20444	28001	67465
2002	83659	16824	323459	25544	28012	63982
2003	106365	17580	323697	31943	30564	73263
2004	112878	18056	346047	30971	40286	81338
2005	115628	19684	367067	34176	56820	89878
2006	121462	21294	384386	39717	49541	86343
2007	135540	22464	402450	37319	63054	86145
2008	128501	21879	393418	38518	56297	86244
98-2008	112045.5	19004.18	324421.18	28924.91	41010.45	73471.64

Source: SESRIC, The database of Statistical economic and social research and training centre for Islamic countries, Ankara –Turkey. <http://www.sesric.org/index.php>

Table (4): Per capita carbon dioxide emissions in the GCC countries 1998-2008 (metric tonnes)

Year	UAE	Bahrain	Saudi Arabia	Oman	Qatar	Kuwait
1998	34.16	29.62	10.52	7.19	57.03	31.29
1999	29.05	28.35	11.25	8.82	53.27	31.33
2000	39.15	30.4	14.42	9.18	56.31	32.47
2001	33.33	22.68	14.02	8.37	43.19	29.65
2002	23.3	24.73	15.01	10.28	40.92	27.4
2003	28.25	25.26	14.69	12.65	41.78	30.57

2004	28.7	25.37	15.36	12.05	50.54	33.07
2005	28.28	27.05	15.88	13.06	64.17	35.45
2006	28.7	28.64	16.23	14.87	49.51	33.22
2007	31.06	29.58	16.66	13.69	55.43	32.35
2008	29.88	29.11	16.44	14.28	52.47	32.78

Source: SESRIC, The database of Statistical economic and social research and training centre for Islamic countries, Ankara –Turkey. <http://www.sesric.org/index.php>

Table (5): Level of real GDP of GCC countries, 1998 – 2008, constant prices 2005. (Million

Year	UAE	Bahrain	KSA	Oman	Qatar	Kuwait
1998	118793	10948	248474	25556	26704	53209
1999	124002	11602	246614	25400	27848	52258
2000	139151	12416	258611	26577	30084	54706
2001	141065	12726	260027	28059	31257	54825
2002	144490	13152	260359	28638	33502	56480
2003	157214	13980	280301	28739	34748	66263
2004	172254	14956	306240	29719	41426	73048
2005	180610	15968	328461	30904	44530	80797
2006	198300	17001	346779	32614	56184	86870
2007	204700	18411	367558	34807	66290	92075
2008	211230	19559	398533	39389	77998	94358

USD).

Source: SESRIC, Database of Statistical, Economics and Social Research and Training for Islamic Countries. www.sesric.org/baseined-step3.php

Table (6): commodity imports in GCC countries, 1998-2008 (million USD)

Year	UAE	Bahrain	KSA	Oman	Qatar	Kuwait
1998	34093.96	4025.53	28743.12	5026.06	3321.84	8214.41
1999	32587.92	3477.66	30012.55	5825.72	3356.79	8617.03
2000	24972.18	4272.90	28032.00	4674.33	2499.56	7616.39
2001	26717.03	4832.98	30197.35	5130.79	3252.20	7156.13
2002	30076.02	4305.41	31181.55	5796.17	3724.29	7872.58
2003	37533.02	5012.36	32290.13	6005.20	4052.03	9000.01
2004	45824.37	5657.24	36916.00	6572.17	4897.34	10985.15
2005	63430.91	6484.49	47375.73	8615.60	6004.45	12630.57
2006	74494.21	7946.25	59462.67	8827.05	10060.71	15801.03
2007	86118.45	8943.62	69707.10	10897.53	12614.01	15951.70
2008	12110.00	11515.20	90156.80	12112.20	20934.53	23587.70

Source: Based on data of foreign trade of GCC countries, Arab monetary fund, AMF, Kuwait. League of Arab states, (2006) Joint Arab economic report, (AMF, Abu Dhabi), p 153.

Table (7): FDI inflows to the GCC countries 1998-2008 (million USD)

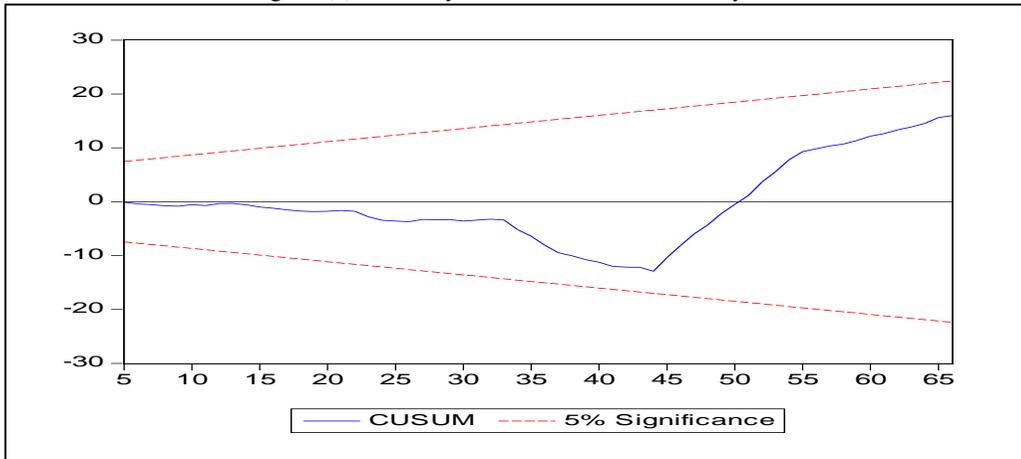
Year	UAE	Bahrain	KSA	Oman	Qatar	Kuwait
1998	257.66	179.52	94.00	101.44	347.30	59.06
1999	-985.34	453.72	123.00	39.01	113.25	72.28
2000	-506.33	363.56	183.00	83.20	251.60	16.30
2001	1183.84	80.40	504.00	5.20	295.52	-175.00
2002	1314.27	217.02	453.00	122.24	623.92	3.62
2003	4255.96	516.70	778.46	26.01	624.92	-68.00
2004	10004.08	865.31	1942.00	111.05	1198.97	23.75
2005	10899.93	1048.67	12097.00	1538.36	2500.00	234.00
2006	12805.99	2914.89	17140.00	1596.88	3500.00	122.00
2007	14186.52	1756.11	22821.07	3331.60	4700.00	116.00
2008	13700.00	1793.88	38151.47	2358.91	4107.00	-51.00

Source: UNCTAD, Database of FDI.

AIECGC, (2010), Statistics of Arab Investment and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation.

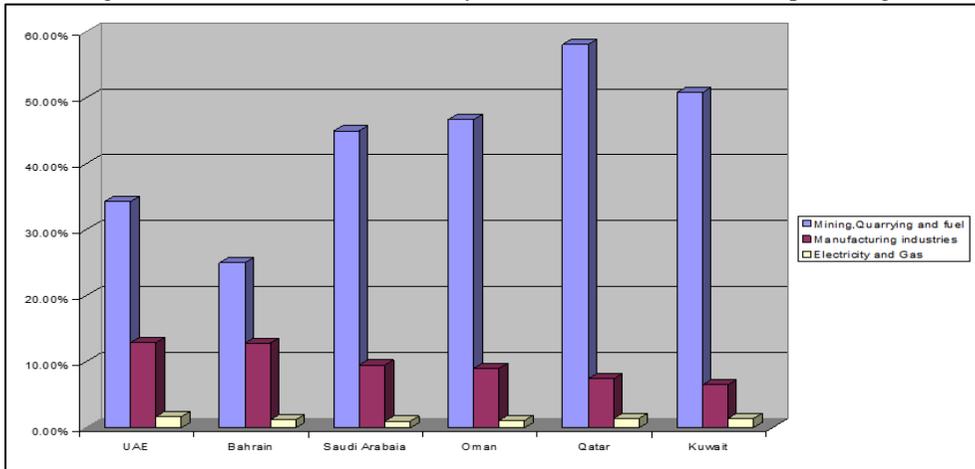
SESRIC, Database of Statistical, Economics and Social Research and Training for Islamic Countries.

Figure (1): Stability test for the model of study



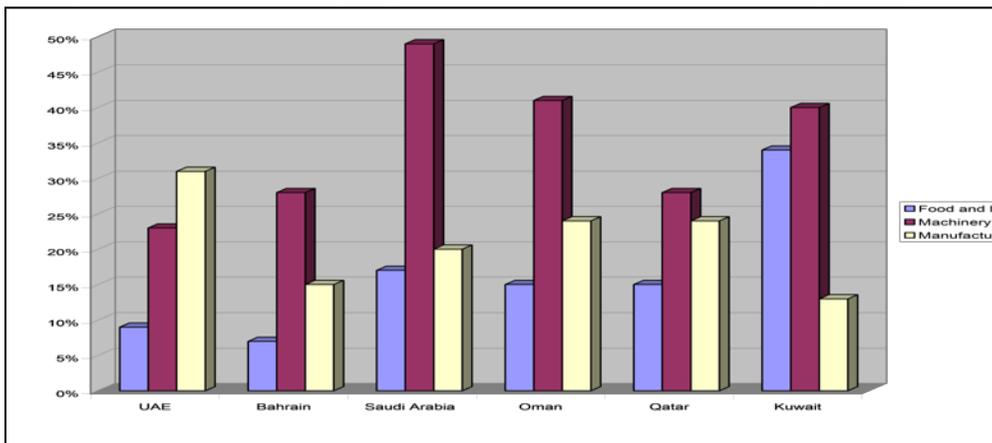
Source: By the author based on Eviews software.

Figure (2): Share of main commodity sectors to GDP, 1998-2008 (percentage)



Source: By the author based on data of Arab Monetary Fund, AMF, Kuwait;
www.amf.org.ae

Figure (3): Main commodity imports of the GCC countries, 1998-2008 (percentages)



Source: By the author based on data of foreign trade of GCC countries, Arab monetary fund,
AMF, Kuwait (www.amf.or.ae)

League of Arab states, (2006) Joint Arab economic report, (AMF, Abu Dhabi), p 153.

Theoretical Aspects Of The Nature And Influencing Factors Of Eco-Innovations

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Abstract

The world faces such serious environmental problems as climate change, the exhaustion of natural resources and the loss of biodiversity, which create self-destruction threats to our mankind. This situation has become so real and visible that it caused response in the form of eco-innovations. Eco-innovations are any kind of innovation that contribute to more efficient exploitation of resources or environmental protection. Eco-innovations involve the sustainable exploitation of natural resources, ensure increase in the quality of life, meet today's needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs and contribute to the preservation of biodiversity for an unlimited period. Eco-innovations involve not only environmental gains but also provide an opportunity for entrepreneurship. Eco-innovations reduce the expenses of enterprises, help the enterprises to use new opportunities for their growth and strengthen the image of the enterprises among the public.

The eco-innovation initiative was launched in 2008, and it was part of several European Union (EU) innovation programmes. For this reason, the research problem and the research aim were determined by the necessity to identify and examine the theoretical aspects of the nature and kinds of this relatively new initiative, which are further used as a basis for empirical research.

The research aim is to characterise and examine the theoretical aspects of the nature and influencing factors of eco-innovations.

The research employed general analysis methods, logical construction, and quantitative methods: monographic, content analysis for the specific literature and research papers, a specific case study and graphical methods for data analysis and depiction.

Keywords: Green growth, environmental innovations, eco-innovations

Introduction

Green growth and a green or ecological economy are among the keywords used for the global economy in recent years. These terms refer to an economy that, with the public and private sectors cooperating, contributes to increase in incomes and employment, decrease in carbon emissions and pollution and to the rational exploitation of resources and energy efficiency, while preserving biodiversity and available ecosystem services (Graudums, 2012). Eco-innovations in particular can contribute to a green economy and ensure sustainable development.

A chronological analysis of the emergence and application of the term eco-innovation in theoretical and empirical research studies on economic and environmental protection problems reveals that the mentioned term is relatively new. In bibliographical sources, authors use various terms: eco-innovation, green innovation, environmental innovation and ecological innovation. After analysing a number of bibliographical sources in their research, Angelo et al. (Angelo et al., 2012) have concluded that the term environmental innovation was used in most of the sources examined (65%), the term eco-innovation was used in 22% and the term green innovation was referred to in 13% of the sources.

C.Fussler and P.James (Fussler, James, 1996), in their book entitled *Driving Eco-innovation: a Breakthrough Discipline for Innovation and Sustainability* were among the very first authors who used the term eco-innovation. In his next book published in 1997, P.James defined eco-innovation as “new products and processes which provide customer and business value but significantly decrease environmental impacts” (James, 1997). In their works, many authors use a definition by K.Renning (Renning, 2000): eco-innovation is the development process of new ideas, behaviours, products and processes that contribute to reducing burdens on the environment or promote the achievement of environmental sustainable development objectives.

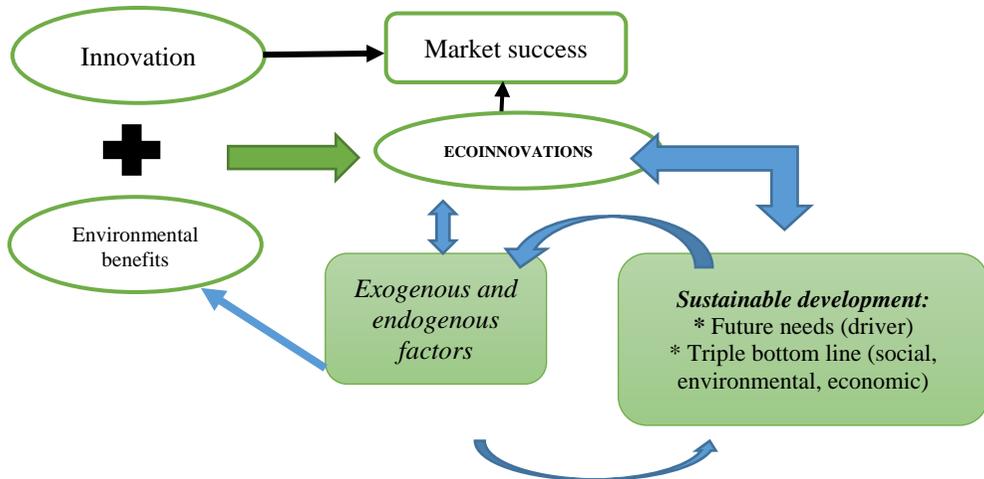
The authors of the *Systematic Eco-Innovation Report (2008)* define eco-innovation as follows: “Eco-innovation is “the creation of novel and competitively priced goods, processes, systems, services, and procedures designed to satisfy human needs and provide a better quality of life for everyone with a whole-life-cycle minimal use of natural resources (materials including energy and surface area) per unit output, and a minimal release of toxic substances”. It follows from the definition that eco-innovation is based on the efficient exploitation of resources and energy.

The term eco-innovation is defined also in the *Eco-innovation Action Plan of the European Union (EcoAP for a..., 2008)* – “any innovation that makes progress towards the goal of sustainable development by reducing

impacts on the environment, increasing resilience to environmental pressures or using natural resources more efficiently and responsibly.

However, J.Horbach et al. (Horbach et al., 2011) define eco-innovation as a product, process, marketing and organisational innovations, the performance of which considerably reduce negative environmental impacts. A positive impact on the environment might take the form of a clearly defined target as well as an innovation externality. It may emerge in the internal environment of enterprises or through consumers consuming goods or services.

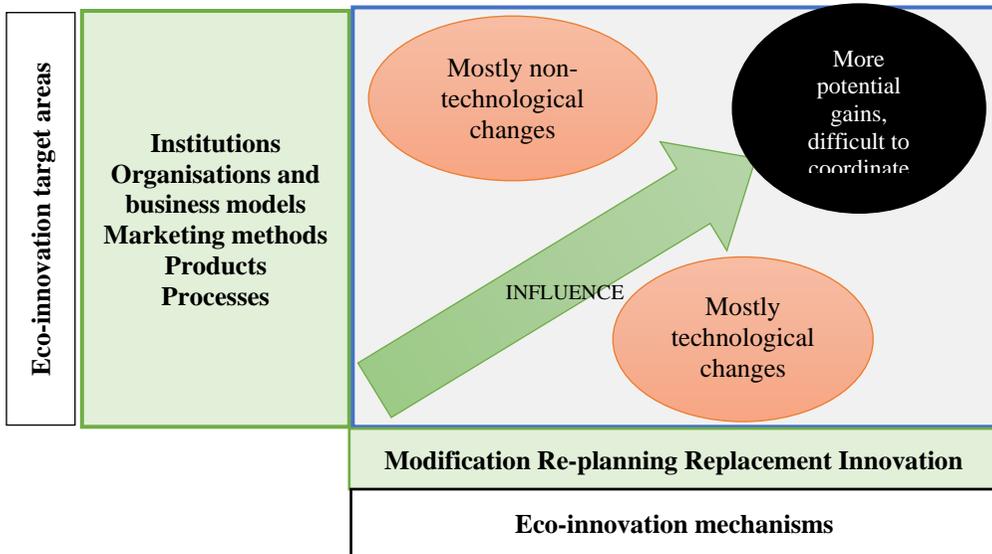
In their research, M.B.Bossle et al. (Bossle et al., 2015) consider eco-innovation as an output (not from a processual point of view, but as a goal), which can be achieved by companies, encouraged by the government, demanded by society, as a way of contributing to sustainable development (Figure 1).



Source: authors' construction based on Bossle M. et al. "The drivers for adoption of eco-innovation", 2015. g.

Fig. 1. Drivers of eco-innovations

The Eco-design Centre in Great Britain (2013), characterising the nature of eco-innovation, identified three eco-innovation aspects: eco-innovation-focused targets, mechanisms developed due to a change in a target area and influence as an impact of eco-innovation on the environment (Ecodesign Centre Briefing..., 2013). The interrelation of the mentioned aspects is shown in Figure 2.



Source: authors' construction based on Ecodesign Centre Briefing..., 2013

Fig. 2. **Interrelation of the aspects of eco-innovation**

However, regardless of differences in the formulations, all the definitions comprise an environmental component and reflect two key eco-innovation outcomes: fewer negative impacts on the environment and more efficient use of resources. Accordingly, one can conclude that eco-innovation relates to all the kinds of innovation: technological, non-technological as well as those related to goods, services and new practices in entrepreneurship, which create opportunities for business and benefit the environment, avoid or reduce environmental impacts or optimise the use of resources.

The first empirical research studies that aimed to identify factors hindering and driving eco-innovation were done in the 1990s. These first research studies were heterogeneous in methodology and outcomes, as one of the key problems was to find adequate, appropriate data and indicators on eco-innovation. Even though there were discussions among the researchers of that period on the strong effect of environmental regulation on innovation and the most effective policy instruments as stimuli, many authors stressed the positive correlation between the innovation and the environmental regulation in their works (Belin et al., 2011). Their research results supported the so-called Porter hypothesis; according to it, correctly developed environmental standards can trigger innovations and partly or even more that fully offset the costs incurred due to support for the innovations (Porter, van der Linde, 1995a). This indicates that eco-innovation measures are not the outcome of optimisation.

At the initial period of research on eco-innovation, researchers pointed out that one of the hindering factors was the fact that enterprises did not disclose and fully assess the potential of eco-innovation, as they lacked long-term creative experience in environmental matters (Belin et al., 2011). Ecologically and economically “fruitful” eco-innovations were not implemented owing to the lack of information as well as because of organisational and coordination problems (Porter, van der Linde, 1995b). Enterprises could not identify the potential of economies (e.g. savings on energy or materials) that was ensured by eco-innovations. For this reason, environmental regulation could encourage enterprises to introduce economically efficient ecological innovations – eco-innovations. However, despite the incentive role of regulation, eco-innovations may not be considered to be only a systematic response to and the outcome of the regulation. There are other market factors and technological opportunities for an enterprise that determine the enterprise’s technological response to eco-innovation (Kammerer, 2009).

In fact, an eco-innovation is an innovation that depends on a number of factors. Many factors influence the innovation process, not only exogenous but also endogenous: resources of all kinds (technological, human) that are available to an enterprise and, in particular, its experience, knowledge base and technological capabilities for the creation of eco-innovations (Belin et al., 2011). J.Belin classified the influencing factors into three categories: policy and regulatory determinants, traditional demand side determinants and traditional supply side determinants (Table 1).

Table 1 Determinants of eco-innovation

Policy and regulatory determinants	Implementation and institutionalisation of environmental policy instruments: economic and regulatory instruments. Regulatory design: stringency, flexibility, time frame. Anticipation of future environmental regulations.
Traditional demand side determinants	Technological capabilities: knowledge bases, R&D activities, human capital endowment. Cost savings, productivity improvements. Appropriability conditions, market structure. Organizational innovations: environmental management systems, extended producer responsibility. Industrial relationships, supply chain pressure, networking activities.
Traditional supply side determinants	Environmental consciousness and consumers' preferences for environmentally friendly products. Expected increase in the market share or penetration of new market segments.

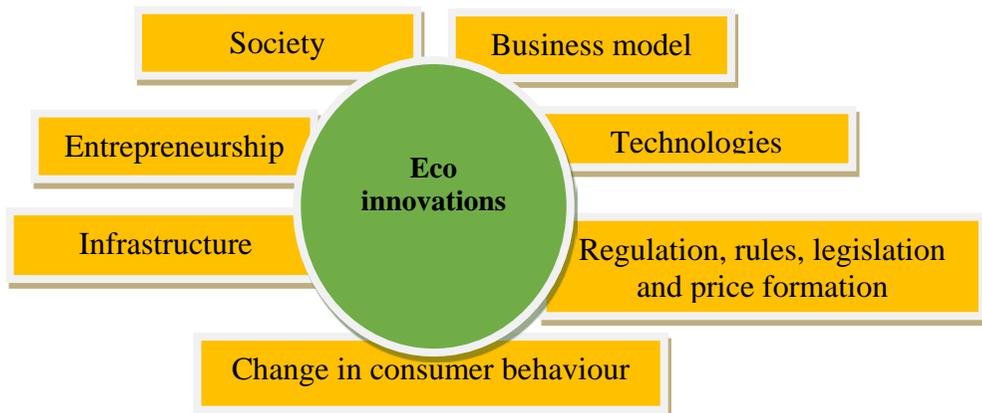
Source: authors’ construction based on Belin et al., 2016

As the problem of environmental pollution became urgent, which naturally pointed to the need and development of eco-innovations, many researchers did their research with the purpose of identifying the factors

influencing eco-innovation (Kammerer, 2009). A number of econometric research studies analysed eco-innovations as a whole, and only a few ones distinguished innovation chain stages (Horbach et al., 2011). A number of authors have pointed out that the development of eco-innovation is determined, more or less, by the legislation and legal regulation. A number of research investigations also stress the positive role of cost savings. It is an encouraging motive and a stimulus for the introduction of eco-innovations, particularly cleaner production technologies (Horbach, 2008, Frondel et al., 2007).

However, in their work, J.Horbach, C.Rammer and K.Rennings distinguish as many as four factors influencing eco-innovation: legal regulation, technology, an enterprise's strategy and the market. Just like many other researchers, they too consider the regulatory push/pull effect to be an important factor influencing eco-innovation. According to the mentioned authors, particularly the national legislation and legal regulation are the driver for enterprises to make innovation decisions.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) distinguishes seven factors influencing eco-innovation, beginning with a business model chosen by an enterprise through to change in consumer behaviour (The future of..., 2012, ASEM Eco-Innovation Index..., 2012). All the factors interact and develop eco-innovations (Figure 3).



Source: authors' construction based on research papers published by ESAO, 2015.

Fig. 3. **Influence of various factors on eco-innovations**

In its study entitled the Future of Eco-innovation: the Role of Business Models in Green Transformation, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (The future of eco-innovation..., 2012) has identified the key factors negatively influencing eco-innovation or barriers to it. They are divided into endogenous and exogenous factors. Internal barriers to eco-innovation are as follows:

- a traditional mindset among producers and the lack of knowledge on sustainability issues;
 - insufficient reference cases on new models and approaches;
 - lack of knowledge on new possibilities among the management;
 - lack of horizontality among different functions in an enterprise;
 - increased development and production cost;
 - lack of competencies in research and development.
- External barriers to eco-innovation are as follows:
- lack of market-pull forces and their influence, the lack of consumer subsidies or the lacking implementation of green public procurement, and a general lack of governmental action and commitment for reform towards green growth. The lack of such actions in the country creates real barriers to the development and introduction of eco-innovations;
 - lack of capital for initial investment. Often new projects are perceived to be too risky or lacking knowledge among stakeholders on the potential economic benefits of investment (*Green Servicizing: Building...*, 2009);
 - difficulty of new business models in fitting in the existing systems as well as their need for supporting infrastructures and technological changes (Martin, 2009; Meenakshisundaram, Shankar, 2010);
 - regulatory barriers that may prevent enterprises from taking certain new approaches to eco-innovation (Towards Green Growth, 2011; Fostering Innovation for...,2011);
 - lack of consumer readiness on which the adoption of eco-innovations heavily depends. For example, it is difficult to change the attitudes of consumers who are used to the luxury and convenience of big, high-powered vehicles in adopting electric cars or sharing schemes (Martin, 2009; Meenakshisundaram, Shankar, 2010).

Conclusion

Owing to increasing environmental problems as well as the constrained factors of production, the global economy does not have another option but to adapt to limitations regarding the natural environment and resources, the tackling of which requires eco-innovations. Therefore, the demand for ecological innovations, goods and services is expected to increase, thereby promoting the emergence of environment-friendly industries. The faster adoption and spread of eco-innovations in the market will enhance the environmental performance and resilience of the national economy; besides, it is financially beneficial and useful for entrepreneurship and the entire society. It can also create jobs, stimulate economic growth and competitiveness, as well as it is important for environmental protection.

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Fiction and Reality: The Impact of Layoff on Family Structure

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Abstract

Post-capitalist economy, which is characterized by conditions such as high competition, global circulation of capital and neo-liberal regime, forced organizations to introduce novel types of organizing strategies that aim to promote efficiency and effectiveness. Organizations tend to follow restructuring, downsizing or subcontracting strategies to become more “competitive” that causes high number of laid off and displaced employees. This fact of job loss is strikingly handled by two films. Inspired from these two films, the present study aims to argue the negative impacts of job loss on family. For this aim, in-depth interview was conducted with 8 laid off employees. Findings indicate that long-run unemployment is destructive on family structure. Separation and intent of separation of couples increase by the paternal job loss that also creates role inversion between the partner that results in self-esteem and mental health erosion of patriarch.

Keywords: Layoff, unemployment, family, organizations, cinema

Introduction

Layoff has been held as an instrument by organizations for enhancing the economic outcomes. Based upon these economic motives, it might seem a helpful act for organizational performance. Especially when general economy is in a recession period firms, necessarily, tend to reduce their work force for cost-saving. However, it has turned to be a trend in the post-capitalist economy in which new employment and organizing strategies have emerged.

For the sake of competitiveness, effectiveness and efficiency a “lean” structure is aimed by organizations with different packages such as restructuring, rightsizing, downsizing that brings a reduction in employed staff. The macroeconomic trends have been commonly associated with worker displacement. Those are technological change; foreign trade and the shift to production offshore to take advantage of low-wage foreign workers; immigration; firms’ greater use of outside suppliers, subcontractors, and

partners, and the paring down of the activities of the firm; the shift in consumption from manufactured goods to services; poor firm management; weakened labor unions; and regional and national economic downturn (Brand, 2015).

Based upon these trends, number of laid off employees reached a massive amount in 90s and it was announced by publishers in America and other parts of the world with striking headlines such as “The Downsizing of America” (Childs, 1997). United States has witnessed 3 million layoffs in 80s and 90s. In Germany, the country's biggest industrial company, Daimler-Benz, has shed 70,000 jobs. Even Japanese companies, known for offering lifetime employment, had plans for downsizing. NTT, the telecommunications giant, announced plans to shed 45,000 jobs in November 1995 (Dahl and Nesheim, 1998: 239).

Therefore, individual, organizational and societal impacts of job loss drew attention of various social disciplines and professions. Its consequences have been argued from different perspectives that link this phenomenon to declines in employee loyalty, motivation, and morale; labor and machine productivity; profits; product innovation and quality, individual and family well-being etc. (Quinlan, 2007; Kim, 2003; Van Buren, 2000; Budros, 1999; Childs, 1997; Spreitzer and Mishra, 2002; Cascio 1993).

Layoff has been narrated as a functional process by “managerialist” viewpoint, however, employees may intensely experience its negative impacts. It is an unwanted fact for employees that may lead to “dramatic” changes in their lives. When it happens, loss of job has an evil potential in overturning human life due to wide range of traumatic consequences from depression to violation. Even it is sometimes rationalized from the business side for “productivity” and “efficiency” and it may create new opportunities for both part, staff and business structure, layoff is still devastating for employees.

And this evil potential is reflected on motion picture screen by two films that projects the disintegration of families caused by job loss of patriarch resulting from the layoff process. The present paper, inspired by these two films, aims to argue impacts of layoff on family. In other words, by rereading the discourse of films, the study investigates, this fictional projection of job loss in the real family life of laid off employees.

Layoff and Job Loss

Job loss may stem from different processes such as work displacement and job separation. Doiron and Mendolia (2011) distinguish three different types of work displacement that result in termination of employment; dismissal, redundancy and job temporary ending. While dismissals are more likely to be related to individual traits, redundancies are

based on the employer's characteristics and environment. The reasons for displacement are usually structural, for example, due to new technology, industry changes, or government regulations (Fallick, 1996; Devine et al, 2003). Displaced workers are understood to be individuals with established work histories, involuntarily separated from their jobs (Kletzer, 1998).

On the other hand, job separation includes both voluntary (worker initiated job separation, or quitting) and involuntary job termination. Job loss is generally understood as indicating involuntary separation that occurs when workers are fired or laid off, where layoffs occur as a result of firms downsizing, restructuring, closing plants or relocating (Brand, 2015: 359). Restructuring does not necessarily require job termination, while downsizing is an organization's attempt to enhance its efficiency and/or effectiveness through permanent employment cuts (Budros, 1999: 71).

In this study job loss will be used as to refer to involuntarily separation of workers who are laid off due to structural and economic reasons or dismissal. Employee reduction as a result of economic reasons tended to occur during short-term economic slumps and thus tended to be temporary in nature and aim is to adjust employment levels downward until business conditions recovered. While structural-based layoff trend that has been trendy since 80s seems to be conscious use of permanent personnel reduction to improve efficiency (Budros, 1997). On the other hand, a "person-specific" dismissal is likely to be caused at least in part by the individual's characteristics and behaviour (Dorion and Mendolia, 2011). When employers make decisions regarding whom to displace, it will be relatively less productive workers (e.g. lower levels of motivation, commitment, and ability), workers with physical or mental health issues, and socially inept workers who both are more likely to lose jobs and have worse economic and social outcomes (Brand, 2015).

Researchers have considered the effects of downsizing on employees (Bennett, Martin, Bies and Brockner, 1995; Latack, Kinicki and Prussia, 1995; Van Buren, 2000). First of all, laid off workers are exposed to remarkable earnings losses, which are expected to be more persistent than unemployment effects (Fallick 1996; Farber, 2005; Jacobson, LaLonde, and Sullivan 1993; Kletzer 1998). Since their situation is worsen by other additional negative effects, laid off individuals are often known as the "victims" due to devastation of job loss that harms on psychological and physical well-being (Fallick, 1996; Devine et al., 2003). As it is noted by Brand (2015) the impact of job loss and unemployment is not limited to economic decline; it is also associated with considerable, long-term non-economic consequences for displaced workers, as well as for their families. Displaced workers face psychological and physical distress, personal reassessment in relation to individual values and societal pressures, and new

patterns of interaction with family and peers. Much of the work on the non-economic consequences of job loss is consistent with a large literature demonstrating a strong correlation between indicators of socioeconomic status and individual life chances and well-being.

These wide range of negative effects of layoff are not only noticed and referred by literature that fueled by the contributions of different disciplines but also find a resonance in popular culture, especially in cinema.

The fictional representation of layoff

Cinema can be contributive in analyzing and understanding the facts and phenomena as well as work life. It is clear that sometimes a film can frame the nature and dynamics of work life in a visible and striking way. As it is noted by Hassard and Holliday (1998) popular culture can exhibit more dramatic, more intense and more dynamic representation of works and organizations in comparison to text books and mainstream theories. Arts can teach much effectively than other materials (Nissley, 2010; Alvarez et al., 2004). While popular culture may be parallel to certain management and organization theories that play “servant of power” role in reinforcing the organizational functionalism, it may also reflect a critique on work and organization. Some intellectuals are skeptical about the popular culture however we should regard that innovative and insightful commentaries and critiques can be more visible within the popular culture (Rhodes and Westwood, 2008).

In this regard, two award-winning films, which can be categorized under the same genre, drew attention to the impacts of job loss stemming from the layoff. These films, in chronological order, “Time Out (L’emploi de Temps)” and “Tokyo Sonata”, gave an inspiration to examine the dependence of family on the employment of households.

The former was released in 2001 and the latter in 2008. “Time Out” is written and directed by French director Laurent Cantet who focuses his lens on the story of a laid off employee who decides to hide his job loss from his family and creates a double-faced life which dramatically influence his family in turn. As it is reviewed by a critic “*‘Time Out’ is a quietly introspective portrait of the self-esteem of employment and the shame of losing a job, but as he explores work and the overwhelming, defining power it has over our lives, the film reveals something more primal*”.⁵⁸

Similarly, in the film Tokyo Sonata, which is directed by Japanese director Kiyoshi Kurosawa, it is narrated that a man from middle class loses his job and then his family slowly disintegrates. “*Sasaki (main character of*

⁵⁸ <http://www.seattlepi.com/ae/movies/article/Time-Out-explores-man-s-identification-with-his-1086026.php> - Accessed on 28th March, 2017.

*the film) doesn't quite know what to do with either himself or his life after he becomes unemployed. He can't tell his wife and children; else, he would lose his honor and authority. He opts instead to pretend to go to work every day, while actually hanging out in libraries and parks, surrounded by indigents and dozens of other former (male) white-collar employees who apparently are just as concerned with keeping up appearances at home”.*⁵⁹

Both films have many views in common. In both films, the main characters hide their layoff from their families and they pretend to still have a job that leads them to exhibit strange behaviors. Main characters in both films invent a story which sometimes seems to turn a dream fed by lies and distorted reality. Vincent (Aurelien Recoing), in “Time out”, leaves home and pretends to go to the work but sleeps in car, drives on highways, spends his time reading the paper and sneaks into the office buildings as if an important figure of the company, calls his wife to inform her about the unplanned long meetings. Similarly, Sasaki (Teruyuki Kagawa), hides his layoff and leaves home every day in the morning pretending to go to the work however spend his time in the streets and public places. He uses a feature on his mobile phone that enables periodic ring tone playing so that he seems to have calls and make others believe that he is still employed. Finally, they lose control on their fake life they produce.

The conspicuous point of both films is the shame felt by patriarchs who cannot accept the fact of job loss. They fear the stigma of being unemployed for both their self-esteem and respect of families. It is seen that the role and the authority of patriarch is associated with the employment in which the image of unemployment is attached to a useless patriarch. That is because, main characters in both films, seem to lose meaning of their life and touch with reality.

The Impacts of Layoff on Family Structure

In 1996 Newsweek was published with the banner headline "Corporate Killers", heralded the downsizing companies and number of layoffs undertaken by them (Van Buren, 2000). The report was covered by such a startling metaphor to imply the negative potential of layoff in the lives of laid off workers. And also a number of research, as it is shortly noted above, refer to painful consequences of job loss in “victims” life including economic loss, physical and mental diseases, self-destructive behaviors, suicides and family disintegration (Brand, 2015; Strully, 2009; Gallo et al., 2004; McKee-Ryan et al., 2005; Eliason and Storrie, 2005; Ferrie et al.,

⁵⁹ <http://www.altfg.com/film/tokyo-sonata-kiyoshi-kurosawa/> - Accessed on 28th March, 2017.

1998; Turner, 1995). The last one also dramatically represented in cinema with similar focuses.

Inspired from the artistic, virtual and fictional representation, present study tracks this issue on family life at local context, in Ankara. In this regard, in-depth interview was conducted with eight participants who were, all male, previously working in different industries and laid off in last six months and they have been still unemployed at the day of interview. Three of them were security guard hired by a subcontractor. While another three were office workers in a subsidiary of white-goods producing organization. And the rest two from the tourism industry who were previously worked in a hotel. The participants were selected with the convenience sampling method and they were offered to participate the research with the references of personal contacts (intermediary between the researcher and subject) and meetings were arranged in public places. Subjects were let to decide where to meet to make them feel comfortable. Each interview lasted 45 minutes on average.

Findings

What the primarily questioned in the study is the relation between spouses after one of them being laid off. Six of the eight participants stated significant negative changes in relations with their partners while one noted slight tensions. Only one of them, on the other hand, was content since the “pain of job loss” strengthened cohesiveness and bond in the family.

Two of them, one engaged one married, were quite sad while telling they were separated. One of them, the married one earlier, was laid off at the age of 36 after nine year tenure in the subsidiary of white-goods as a sales representative. He strongly specified the links between his employment and family ties.

“We have been married for seven years just before I lost my job. Everything was perfect at the beginning. We had a baby following the second year of marriage. My earning was not bad. I used to get a moderate salary plus commission. My wife was working in a privately-owned hospital as a nurse. After the first three years of marriage, when our baby reached her first anniversary, our relation started to swing. Actually, it is not true to say ‘our’. It was not a mutual reaction. I don’t know, I guess, it was stemming from the changes in my feelings. Her physical appearance changed apparently after giving birth. She didn’t look attractive to me. Then I was laid off since my manager didn’t want me in his team. Until I was laid off, I used to want to get separated but she used to resist and worked hard to save our marriage. But after I was laid off, this time, she kicked me out. Now I can see my daughter once in a week. This is my tragic story.”

What he told were parallel to the findings presented by literature. Doiron and Mendolia (2011) suggest that person-specific dismissals are expected to have more severe and longer lasting impacts on divorce probabilities. The impact of dismissals is much higher and statistically significant impact on family dissolution. The longer people have been married, the smaller the probability of family dissolution. This result is reversed for the intermediate durations (10 to 20 years of marriage) where the probability of divorce is increasing. Childs (1997: 123) narrates the situation of a laid off individual in 90s' America following the corporate restructuring. *A 51 year-old loan officer who now works at a roadside tourist center for a fourth of what he once made- a man who lost his wife and the esteem of his children along with the loss of his job- the account puts a personal face on the startling figures of job cuts during the 90s.*

The other separated one in the research, 33 years old male, was previously hired by subcontractor as a security guard, left by his fiancée after five months being laid off. He was asked if his unemployment played a role in his separation. He believes so; *"I guess yes. I was depressive and stressful in this period but I didn't want to get separated. The decision was my old fiancée's. She showed the depression I was in as an excuse to leave. But I know it is not true. She was unhappy and indecisive what to do with an unemployed man. Her parents opposed to our relation at the very beginning since I was a contracted employee. When I was laid off, I am sure, they provoked her to get separated"*.

As referred earlier, the displaced and laid off employees have an increased risk of family tension, and of family disruption (Brand, 2015; Charles and Stephens 2004). Rest five participants

In the research noted that they started to have serious communication problems after job loss. What one of them told summarizes the average case experienced by each, *"We don't speak too much. Clearly, we don't speak unless there is a need to communicate. We tend to discuss and shout one another when we communicate more than required"*.

One of the participants emphasized that he left home for a temporary period due to the lack of communication and fights. Even they formally maintain their marriage, for a recovery, the male had to move to his parents' home for one month.

Role Inversion

Another finding of this research is to reveal the exchange between roles played by spouses. Paternal role is undertaken by the mother of family while husband starts to perform motherhood after he loses his job. An expert of Management Information System, 42 years old male, who was previously

working in subsidiary of white-goods manufacturer expressed that he was lost in a world he never knew.

“When I was working I was earning good enough and that is why my wife didn’t use to work. She used to take care of our 5 years old child. After being laid off I searched a new job for four months but I couldn’t find. I lost my hopes finally. Luckily we have our own flat and we don’t have to pay rental. But, despite this advantage, our economic loss forced my wife to work. She has a degree in German Literature. She started to deliver private lessons and do translation works. Now I am taking care of our baby while she works... I have been jobless for a long time. And this makes me quite depressive and smoke more and more. I have been smoking for years but I tend to smoke intensely in this period. Depression puts me in heavy smoker position and I don’t have money. It is very hard for me to want money from my wife. Thanks to her, so far, she has been patient with me. I am always at home and caring baby and I need to be financially supported by my wife. Too tough... I don’t know how long I can stand this”.

The Case of Children

The film Tokyo Sonata projects how a father loses his control on his family after he lost his job. Similarly, a number of research (Brand, 2015; Brand and Thomas, 2014; Stevens and Schaller, 2010; Kalil and Ziol-Guest, 2008) refer to the same phenomenon focusing on case of children which is effected by parental layoff that results in academic decline, expulsion from school and lower self-esteem.

These effects are observed on a family who provides education opportunity in private-schools for their child. However, after the paternal layoff, economic loss forces the family to quit the private school and they enroll the child in a public school. This change effects the academic success of 9 years old boy who cannot adopt himself to new school and social environment. The father sadly confesses how unhappiness of his son distresses him. *“My son does not respect me now as he does once. He blames me when he faces an undesirable or bad experience at school”.*

Conclusion

In 2017, unemployment level in Turkey reached the worst point of last seven years, with the rate of %13⁶⁰ that caused job displacement and layoffs. Some companies reduced the number of their employees. This phenomenon is also dramatically addressed by some business movies. In this

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<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/Start.do;jsessionid=WLdhZFGR0qGT6j4bZnBRQqcvGZTlzLK29nwmdSsPv2YPvgtZPFvQ!-165156326-> Accessed on 14th April, 2017.

context present paper aimed to investigate this effects of layoff on family life, practically.

Findings indicate that reality is hand-in-hand with the visual representation. And in some cases reality goes negatively beyond the fiction as it is stated by two subject of the sample who separated from their spouse. It is revealed that changing inhabitation and school of children, temporary separation of spouses and role inversion, and loss of harmony/peace between partners are other main consequences. The limitation of this paper is the sample size. The number of subjects is needed to be increased to reach more precise results.

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Bibliographic Review of the Factors that Influence the Child Development

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Abstract

An exhaustive research was made on the parental & environmental factors that affect breeding in the databases Redalyc, EBSCOhost, Dialnet & CONRICyt, using the keywords parenting styles, & child development in order to determine what parental, environmental, sociodemographic, temperamental & conditional factors of the child affect the internalized & externalized problems of the children. It was found that different parental factors, environmental, sociodemographic, temperamental & the condition of the child influence in different ways the low school performance, bullying, anxiety, depression, self-esteem & aggressiveness in the boys & girls. It is argued that the study of parenting styles should be approached from multidisciplinary approaches & should be studied among different cultures. Also discussed is the variable temperament of the child & the role of the father figure in parenting.

Keywords: Parenting styles, temperament, culture, paternal figure, multidisciplinary

Introduction

According to the United Nations Children's Fund (2016), 6 out of 10 minors between 2 & 14 years of age (almost 1 billion children) are subjected to physical abuse by their caregivers. Country of Ghana first, followed by Tunisia & Egypt. According to US statistics from the National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention & Health Promotion (2016) (National Center for the Prevention of Chronic Diseases & Health Promotion) it is held that 3% of the population of children Between 3 & 17 years of age presents anxiety, 2.1% presents depression & 3.5 presents behavioral & behavioral problems.

In Mexico, 2 out of 10 students have participated in fights with strikes, 1 in 10 has robbed or threatened another student; Only in Mexico City, 7 out of 10 students report being victims during recess & in the classroom. According to reports from the National Institute for Educational Evaluation, women are less involved; In the case of the blows, only 6.6% have hit & 23.0% have been beaten, while only 26.2% have insulted one of their comrades (Mata, 2016, page 3).

Also in Mexico, 60% of children between the ages of 1 & 14 are victims of various acts of violence that damage their integrity, said the National Human Rights Commission. In Mexico, the number of children reaches 32.5 million. These reveal that 35% of children between the ages of six & nine have been victims of violence by a member of their family & school level (Olivares, 2012). Olivares also refers that international organizations indicate that in Mexico 6 out of 10 girls & boys under the age of 14 suffer violence; & in almost half of the cases (47% the mother was responsible, & 29% reported, the father was).

There are several consequences for children referring to the parenting style of their parents; Rigid, punitive & strictly regulated parents or guardians will have sons & daughters with antisocial behavior, they will be unfriendly & withdrawn. If parents or guardians are inconsistent & undemåing will have children with immature behaviors, temperamental, dependent & low self-control behaviors. When parents or guardians behave in an emotionally detached way towards their sons & daughters & tend to consider that their function is only to provide sustenance & food; there will be minors with behaviors of indifference & with behaviors of rejection towards the others. On the other h&, if parents or guardians are firm, set boundaries, goals, resort to reasoning & promote independence, children will have adequate social skills & will be trusted & independent (Baumrind, 1971).

Achenbach (1978), on the other h&, proposes a classification of syndromes that infants can present in relation to behavioral problems; Emotional reaction, anxiety, depression, somatic complaints, social isolation, sleep problems, attention problems, disobedience, screaming tantrums, fights & aggressive behavior; Divided into internalized & externalized problems. Achenbach also points out that externalized problems are maintained & increased from 3 to 12 years of age & internalized problems occur in pre-adolescence. Achenbach also considers that externalized problems are responsible for several psychopathologies in later stages of the development of the individual, & that aggression & somatic problems show greater stability as time elapses & depending on gender.

However, in order to underst& the dynamics of parenting styles, it is not only necessary to analyze the relationship between parents & children, it

is necessary to investigate the variables that affect one way or another in child rearing (Magaz, Chorot, S&ín, Santed, & Valiente, 2011). In order to underst& explain the components of parenting, different approaches have been proposed such as the biopsychosocial approach (Torres, Ortega, Garrido, & Reyes, 2008) & the use of different models of parenting (Siffert & Schwarz 2011) . Regarding the dynamics of aging, it has been suggested to analyze different areas; The educational area, sociocognitive, self-control, stress management, social area (Azar & Cote, 2002); Self-concept, maternal depression, perceived support of the couple's participation in fostering & fostering the home (Vera, Velasco, Montiel & Camargo, 2000); Family factors & friendships that affect the internalized & externalized problems of minors; The temperament of minors (Betancourt & &rade, 2008); The family structure, the place of origin, the position of the minor relative to his brothers (Franco, Perez, & God, 2014); The psychological-expert aspect, attachment & empathy. (Astudillo, Gálvez, Retamales, Rojas & Sarria, 2010) & institutional resources (Morelato, Giménez, Vitaliti, Casari, & Soria, 2013).

I.

Method

An exhaustive search was made on parental & environmental factors affecting breeding in the Redalyc, EBSCOhost, Dialnet & CONRICyt databases, using the keywords parenting styles, parental styles, parental styles & child development.

Results

The following variables of incidence in the aging were found:

Schooling of the parents

It was found that parents with a low level of schooling tend to have an authoritarian upbringing style (Aunola, Nurmi, Onatsu, & Pulkkinen, 1999, Espinal, 2004, Jiménez & Guevara, 2008, Santelices et al., 2015). Vite, & Pérez, 2014 found that the cognitive schema of inflexible st&ards causes behavioral problems in the children of people with secondary schooling, & it has also been suggested to analyze the parents' schooling with adopted children to observe if there is a relationship among the variables previously moved. (Salas, García, Fuentes & Bernedo, 2015). It was also found that parents do not promote a relationship between parents & children. This result may be due to a low level of schooling (González, Vega & Cantorán, 2005).

Socioeconomic status

It was found that children with disruptive behaviors have low socioeconomic status, & parents or guardians with low socioeconomic status

tend to be punitive (Ison, 2004; Jiménez, Concha, Zúñiga, 2012; Leung & Shek, 2015; Lopez, 2007, Maninque, Chesquiére, & Van, 2014, Santelices et al., 2015, Vite & Pérez, 2014, Jiménez & Guevara, 2008). Possibly the relationship between low socioeconomic status & upbringing is that the maturity of the parents has been correlated with a high socioeconomic level, as well as an appropriate parenting style & the parent's involvement in the parenting style. & because the intellect has been associated with a high socioeconomic level & maternal intervention in parenting (Nakao et al., 2000).

Divorced parents

It was found that there is a significant relationship between the parents' level of conflict after divorce as regards the academic part of the children (Valdés, Carlos, & Ochoa, 2010; Valdés, Martínez, Urías, & Ibarra, 2011). The same way was found that there is a correlation between raising parents, mothers, gr&fathers & infants with the parents' marital status. (Li, Cui, & Cao, 2016). As for reconstituted families, parents perceive greater autonomy in decisions about child rearing (Ripoll, Martínez, & Giraldo, 2013).

Single parent family

It was found that single-parent family is different from nuclear in terms of parenting. The higher quality interactions were presented in the nuclear families in the cognitive aspects of the interaction (Olhaberry, & Satelices, 2013). However, children from single-parent families perceive a more negative view of family dynamics in relation to authority, communication, family valuation & academic performance (Sánchez, & Valdés, 2011).

Number of sons & daughters

The number of sons & daughters is a factor that can also affect what is breeding. Girls are better suited than boys for positive parenting & supervision when the family has 1 or 2 children (Pastor, 2004). Dominican women who have more than three children present greater punitive & control problems, use the guilty style, have higher education & are single-parent (Espinal, 2004).

Number of brothers & / or sisters

In a study with a sample of 905 14-year-old Chinese children, there was a positive correlation between parenting, mothers, gr&fathers & infants with whom the child had no siblings. Within the limitations, only the data of the children were taken, the sample of a place of China of high economic

status was regio, can not establish causality since the study was not longitudinal (Li et al., 2016).

Primary Caregiver

The main caregiver of the minor was analyzed & physical punishment was found to be associated with emotional & behavioral problems in the minors considering that the parents' commitment to play & sports had a minor association with emotional problems in the minors (Tong et al. Al. 2015).

Participants included 82 parents, 3413 mothers, 21 gr&parents & 572 gr&mothers who were the primary responsible for Thail&'s 6-month-old infants, to examine parenting styles in the first year of life. The descriptive study yielded the following results: the overprotective style was the most common, after the style characterized by reasoning, the controlling style & the negligent were the least used (Phphaibul, Wittayasooporn, & Choprapawon, 2012).

Consumption of drugs

In a study of 263 children between the ages of 10 & 12, we sought to determine the parent's association with substance use disorder & the type of discipline in the children & their neurological behavior of disinhibition, which Predicts the early use of substances from children. It was found that the mother's discipline predicts the father's discipline, the neurological behavior of disinhibition, predicts the mother's guilt positively & the father's beating negatively (Mezzich, Tarter, Kirisci, Day, & Gao, 2007) .

In one intervention, 300 participants from 18 entities of the Mexican Republic who attended primary care of addictions were studied, the participants went to a positive parenting program. Subjects had children between 2 years & 12 years of age. The objective was to analyze parenting styles related to aggressive or aggressive negativistic behavior in children through a descriptive correlational study. More children were found with challenging negative behavior than with aggressive behavior. It was found that giving clear instructions, setting rules, solving problems & interacting positively are reliable parenting styles to diminish the challenging negativistic style & aggressiveness (Morales, Félix, Rosas, López & Nieto, 2015).

Antisocial behavior of the parents

There is evidence that violence received by minors from their parents has a direct effect on the behavioral & psychological problems of minors, which in turn have an effect on school performance (Frías, & Gaxiola, 2008). Likewise, the father's psychopathology is positively associated with

antisocial behavior with the parenting style (Vera, Granero, & Ezpeleta, 2012). In addition, children who have antisocial parents have a high degree of predisposition to antisocial behaviors & more when accompanied by neglect, prolonged separation from their caregivers, & parents' non-affective (Torry & Billick, 2011) .

Personality of the parents

There is evidence that parental control & parenting attitudes are linked to the development of obsessive-compulsive disorder & depression with obsessive behaviors (Yoshida, Taga, Matsumoto, & Fukui, 2005). It has also been found that extroversion is negatively associated with overprotection & with the mother's participation in parenting. (Nakao et al., 2000).

Self-esteem of the parents

There is evidence that the self-esteem of the parents has been associated with the style of authoritative breeding (Aunola et al., 1999).

Parental stress

It is an influential factor in parenting, as it has found a positive correlation with the authoritarian parenting style (Carroll, & Hamilton, 2016). Parental anger & aggression are also a predictor of disciplinary practices (Solís, Medina, & Díaz, 2015). In a research, measurements were made to predict what the behavior of parents & children in a stressful event will be, since few investigations have been done to predict parent-child behavior; In which it was found that minors with parents who left high in avoidance had less stress compared to parents who had low avoidance; In addition parents who went high in avoidance were less sensitive when their children were not stressed, this pattern was vice versa when parents had less avoidance. Finally, the behavior of the parents & the non-stress of the minors are independent of the temperament of the minors & the personality of the parents. (Eldestein et al., 2004) in the same way, we have evidence that the stress of the mother is related to the weight of the minor, but the father's stress is not (Stenhammar et al., 2010).

Parental anxiety

Parents' anxiety-related rejection & parenting style was found to be associated with internalized & externalized child problems (Laskey & Cartwright, 2009; Roelofs, Masters, Ter, Bamelis, & Muris, 2006) . It has also been found that the use of physical strength is associated with lower parental warmth, a higher incidence of generalized anxiety, & a higher frequency of attending religious practices (Wade & Kendler, 2001). & that

the anxiety of the mother is associated with the anxiety of the minors (Beato, Pereira, Barros, & Muris, 2015, Esbjørn et al., 2013).

Parental depression

A correlation was found between the type of style to give advice to sons & daughters & depression (McDowell, 2003). As well as an association between the mother's depression & the emotional problems of the sons & daughters (Ebeyeynin, 2011). This can be corroborated by a study carried out in Kawasaki, Japan, with a sample of 91 mothers who belonged to the experimental group & 24 to the control group, to measure the effectiveness of a treatment called Positive parenting program. Significant effect was detected after the intervention; Mothers' depression decreased, difficulties perceived by mothers, confidence in parenting only increased significantly in the experimental group (Fujiwara, Kato, & S&ers, 2011).

Farming style

Parenting styles can be seen as a complex process, since they vary according to the number of children, between the father & the mother, vary according to the age of the children, the personality & level of schooling of the children. Parents (Roskam, & Meunier, 2009).

Family involvement in religious services significantly predicts the health & social skills of children & inversely predict internalized problems (Schottenbauer, Spernak, & Hellstorm, 2007).

It was found that parental acceptance is a positive predictor of creativity, that discipline is an inhibitor of the creative process & that pathological control was negatively related to creativity. (Krumm, Vargas, & Gullón, 2013).

González, Ampudia, & Guevara, (2014) carried out an investigation in children with different social conditions. Institutionalized orphans had little assertiveness in social skills, their response style was aggressive, showed little ability to relate to others, low self-esteem as well as anxiety levels & a high level of depression. In the abused children who lived temporarily in a shelter they differed from the previous group in they showed more aggressiveness than the previous group & a low self-esteem but within normal, in the other variables they were equal to the first group. In the group where the children lived with their families, they found that they had few social skills, had an aggressive pattern, a more assertive pattern of behavior compared to the other two groups in anxiety, self esteem, anxiety & depression Normal levels were found. It was concluded that the two groups of children living in shelters have problems of psychological adjustment in all variables.

We analyzed the dimensions of marital conflict, the safety emotions of children related to parental conflict, & the parenting style were analyzed as mediators of dysphoria & adjustment of infants. Parental dysphoria was found to be related to the adjustment of infants specifically in marital conflict & parenting. The safety of infants in the context of marital conflict mediates the relationship between parental dysphoria & the problems of minors. The correlations found in this study were very low (Du Rocher, & Cummings, 2007).

Social withdrawal (which refers to behaviors of inhibition, shame, loneliness, passivity & social disinterest) of children & the parenting styles of the parents in the social-emotional development of the children has been analyzed. It was found that children who presented social withdrawal were vulnerable to the negative effects of poor maternal affection in terms of outsourced behavior. Psychological control predicted high levels of internalized problems, while maternal control predicted high levels of prosocial behavior & low levels of externalized problems. The results were only analyzed in preschool children, there were few parents who participated, few social withdrawal factors were measured (Zarra et al., 2014).

Fostering styles also vary from culture to culture: A sample of 76 mothers from southwestern Ontario in Canada with children between 30 & 70 months of age was analyzed to analyze the contexts of parenting styles that may be moderating styles Parenting, beliefs & emotional responses. In situations where minors have negative behaviors, authoritarian mothers were less empathic & attributed child aggression & bad behavior to external sources than to parenting styles. Authoritarian mothers also tended to respond with more anger & shame at parenting styles. (Coplan, Hastings, Lagace & Moulton, 2002).

Other research speaks of the following: Negative parenting behaviors were compared between different regions & the mental health of children, since in France 1 in 10 residents have migrated from North & East Africa. , The sample was 1106 mothers & their children between 6 & 11 years of age. Care & punitive attitudes were found to be different among mothers, ranging from region to region & ethnic origin, punitive mothers came from the Caribbean & Africa, Maghreb mothers were similar to French mothers. Maghrebian minors with punitive parenting styles had more problems internalized, the previous association was lower in smaller descendants of Africa or the Caribbean. In the limitations it is assumed that the place of origin was taken by the mothers, the results were taken from autoreportes (Kovess, et al., 2016).

In an investigation the relation between the styles of aging & the social skills of the sons & daughters was studied; A sample of 202 infants

between 7 & 10 years old who attended public schools in Sao Paulo, Brazil were taken. It was found that positive parenting styles are preachers of altruism, while negative styles are predictors of assertiveness, communication, & social trust. The variables that probably explain the model are positive monitoring, a not so severe discipline, moral behavior & physical abuse. It was suggested that the observation be included to take the data, the study was not longitudinal, the results of the parents with the children were not compared (Bartholomeu, Montiel, Flamenghi, & Machado, 2016).

In China, 217 children between the ages of 6 & 12 from two cities were examined in a cross-sectional study to study perceived parenting styles, socialization emotions, & parental emotional irregularities (parents only). Parents' perceived parenting style, especially overprotection, was found to be related to non-support responses in the negative emotional responses shown by the children (Yan, Han, & Li, 2015).

In Hong Kong, 283 children were investigated to analyze their orientations towards the achievement & perception of parenting style. It was found that students in this study tended to be more performance oriented than learning, further studies would be needed to understand if there is a correlation between these two results. Regarding the parenting style, it was found that the mother is the most influential in the sons & daughters, perceive the authoritative style of parenting as the most common, then the permissive & finally the authoritarian. We found a small correlation between authoritarian style & performance orientation. It was suggested that future research should focus more on this relationship & that results can not be taken as generalities (Kwok, & Siu, 2006).

In another study cross-sectional research was conducted in different cultures to analyze the breeding styles of Baumrind. Data were collected from 1523 mothers & their children, indulgent style (high in emotional involvement & low in parental control) was found to predominate in German mothers (43%), negligent (low in emotional involvement & low in Parental control) in the Turks (30%), & the authoritarian (low in emotional involvement & high in parental control) predominated in the Vietnamese (54%) (Nauck, & Lotter, 2015).

In Mexico, 34 mothers & 6 parents from the urban area of San Luis Potosí participated in a study, with the objective of evaluating the parents' conceptions of parenting. The results indicate that the parental model is a bargaining pattern, a bond of close attachment & a pattern of promoter success, it was concluded that parenting conforms to their knowledge, beliefs & attitudes influenced by the close social context, culture Dominant & inherited family culture (Infante y Martínez, 2016).

However, similarities have also been found between cultures in terms of parenting styles: A longitudinal study was conducted in which 425 minors with a mean age of 7.7 years from Beijing, China, participated in a first study, after 3.8 years were performed New measurements in a sample of 382 minors with an average age of 11.6 years; With the aim of analyzing the relationship between the expressiveness of parents & the psychological adjustment of Chinese children; This is because the Oriental cultures in this context have been little studied. Similar results were obtained to those obtained in studies in Europe & America; The negative expressiveness of the parents is related to externalized problems of the minors. It was found that parent expressiveness & parenting style did not predict social competence. The limitations refer to the sample taken from Beijin, an industrialized city & with middle-class families, data can not be generalized since the data were taken from self-reports, potential relationships between expressiveness & parental styles in problems were not examined Outsourced (Chen, Zhou, Eisenberg, Valiente & Wang, 2011).

Researches have also been carried out, among which there have been interventions in the parenting styles variable: In Mexico the effectiveness of a behavioral training program was tested in parents with children between two & twelve years of age, children presented problematic behaviors . After the training the parents changed their behavior & as a consequence the children did. Correlation of behavior, praise, clear instructions, rule-making, problem solving, social interaction, & reduction in the use of punishment were the components that most influenced the change (Morales & Vazquez, 2014).

Regarding the health habits related to upbringing we have the following: In a sample of 1451 primary school students in the city of Toluca of the fourth, fifth & sixth grades along with their respective parents, we measured the actions they take In terms of health habits, it was found that although minors review health information; While they are advancing of grade school their actions are diminishing in the care of their physical & mental health. It was also found that girls have better health habits.

In parents it was found that parents do not care about the habits of their sons & daughters & do not take actions to prevent poor health, it was found that fathers & mothers have less concern about food consumption Junk, addictions & excessive use of electronic media (Armeaga, & Ruiz, 2014).

In a study carried out in a sample taken in Belgium, Germany, Greece, Hungary & Sweden to examine the association of parental rules & the communication styles with which their children are in front of a monitor. Participated 3038 parents & 3325 minors with an average age of 11.2 years. It was concluded that the style of communication of autonomy & support in

the use of television, video games, use of the DVD, computer, correlated negatively with the time that the children use these devices. Unlike the controller style that is the infants spend more time using these devices (Bjell& et al., 2015).

Finally, a systematic review was carried out in which 30 articles were found that fulfilled the criteria to investigate influences in the children to have physical activity or to spend time in front of a monitor. Five important aspects of parenting were covered: parental practices, parental modeling, minors' perception of physical & sedentary activity, parental efficacy & general parenting style. The results found suggest that motivation & support from parents increases physical activity & reduces time in front of a monitor, using appropriate parenting styles promotes physical activity. The results should not be interpreted as conclusive (Xu, Wen, & Rissel, 2015).

Consequences in children regarding the factors that affect the upbringing.

It was found that underachievement is one of the consequences in children under a dysfunctional parenting style (Cueli, González, Álvarez, García, & González, 2014; Gordillo et al., 201; Ramos & Santoyo, 2008); As well as bullying is a consequence that can be provoked by the parenting style (Georgious, Fousiani, & Michaelides, 2013), the anxiety of the minors (Beato et al., 2015, Betancourt & &rade, 2008, Couoh, Góngora, (Greening, Stoppelbein, & Luebbe, 2010; Richaud, 2006), low or high self-esteem of the child (Couoh et al., 1999) (Ramos, Pino, & Herruzo, 2009), as well as in the case of children & adolescents (Hernández & Fajardo, 2008, Ison 2004, Morales et al. Sánchez et al., 2009, Tur, Mestre, Samper & Malonda, 2012, Villalobos, Chaves, & Pérez, 2013, Wahl & Metzner, 2012, Franco et al., 2014).

Situations outside parents & minors

Minors with some developmental disorder or problem

In a study that analyzed the conversive disorder, it was found that children with the disorder reported worse perception in the parental practices of both parents; Higher levels of low self-esteem & depressive symptoms than the control group. (Imran, Hussain, & Amjad, 2015).

Research was carried out in Scotl& on minors with problems in their development; Fathers & mothers with sons & daughters between 9 & 11 years of age used more authoritative style than parents with children between 3 & 5 years of age. (Woolfson, & Grant, 2006).

Child adopted

In a study of adoptive families, the results indicate that the role of affective relationships & parental discipline are indicators of problems in adopted children, the type of parenting & the type of affection are predictors of future problems in the minor. Criticism & rejection increase the problems in the self-esteem of the child & in which care is a burden of caring for the child. Salas et al., 2015).

Quality of life

In a research on quality of life, a sample of 721 boys & girls in the fifth & sixth school years of 7 different primary schools in the state of Coahuila was found. Quality of life was found to have a positive effect on family life, Performance at home & school, & leisure activities (González & Sánchez, 2013).

Temperament of the child

The temperament needs to be more studied, it has been proposed to carry out more studies to know if it is a mediating variable between the familiar factors & the problems of the minors (Betancourt & &rade, 2008; Santelices et al., 2015). Although it has been previously concluded that parenting styles are involved in social adjustment differently depending on the child's temperament (Ato et al., 2007), results have been found that indicate that parenting style does not moderate the association between temperament Of the child, nor the anxiety (Lindhout et al., 2009) & that the behavior of the parents & the non-stress of the minors are independent of the temperament of the infants & of the personality of the parents (Eldestein et al., 2004) .

However, it has been found that the temperament of the child & the social context contribute to the frequency use of the discipline, but the characteristics of the parents are the ones that most influence the discipline (Wade, & Kendler, 2001).

Conclusion

It has been found that most research is based on the theory of parenting styles of Diana Baumrind. Given the characteristics of the phenomenon described above, it is important to use different theories & explanatory models for their analysis & comprehension, since the consequences on children are serious (Siffert & Schwarz, 2011). In addition, differences between cultures, parents, mothers & children have been found (Espinal, 2004; Pastor, 2014); In parental interaction; Specifically between the type of interaction & the baby's age (Guerrero, & Alva, 2015); In the family type, in the aspect that the higher quality interactions occur in the

nuclear families (Olhaberry, & Satelices, 2013) & the economic stress conditions, the emotional instability, the perception of the difficulty of the management (Aracena et al., 2000). Therefore, it is suggested that the study of parenting styles has to be carried out from the perspective of the child, A multidisciplinary approach & also analyzing in each culture that variables really affect the breeding, using representative samples under longitudinal & experimental designs to arrive at conclusions of cause & effect between the variables described above.

Most of the research done around the world in terms of parenting has been on mothers, sons & daughters. More recent research has included the paternal figure because the number of primary caregiver parents has grown in recent years &, in turn, because the father is more involved than in the past (Fitzgerald, Mann, Cabrera & Wong, 2003), so researchers are encouraged to conduct studies on parenting taking into account the paternal & maternal figures.

It has also been found that parenting styles intervene in social adjustment differently depending on the child's temperament (Ato, Galián & Huéscar, 2007). Nevertheless; There is also research where it has been confirmed that the temperament of the child is not a variable that influences the upbringing (Jungert et al., 2015), so that the incidence of the child's temperament is subject to debate within the theme of parenting .

It was generally found that parental, environmental, sociodemographic, temperamental & conditional factors of the child affect school performance, bullying, anxiety, depression, self-esteem, & aggression in children. Finally, it is added that to study the styles of aging it is necessary to use a biopsychosocial approach since there are many variables involved in the subject & that the factors that influence & the way in which they affect these factors varies from culture to culture.

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Cultural and Value Differences of Goddess in Ancient Greece and China

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Abstract

Ancient Chinese and Greek mythology are regarded as two wonders in the world history of literature. In Chinese ancient mythology and ancient Greek mythology, the image of the goddess with its romantic love story and rich image-building has become a hot research topic. Goddess originally means superior female immortals with unattainable qualities in ancient mythology. Unlike today, the implication of goddess is extended, referring to the women with good temperament and outstanding in real life, they are the object of men's admiration and women's imitation. Different people define their own favorite goddess based on their unique aesthetic standards, the term 'goddess' is widely used in the present day, and it has become a hot topic in pop culture. This paper analyzes and compares the images of goddess in ancient Chinese and Greek mythology literature from four aspects: quantities, image-building, historical responsibility and status, and attitudes towards love and sexual relations. And then compared the different images of 'goddess' between ancient and nowadays, to understand the goddess images of ancient mythology literature and the cultural connotations inherited by goddess images, relate it to the right, culture and state towards women nowadays, to study their impact on Chinese and Greek society. Through the analysis of goddess images of ancient Chinese and Greek literature, to evaluate their impact in shaping the Western culture, national identity, values and other aspects of value orientation.

Keywords: Chinese, Greek, goddess, myths, comparative mythology

Introduction

Since ancient times, because of the very different geography, national history and spiritual culture, China and Greece have formed their own distinctive ethnic characteristics (Liu, 2000; Wu & Zhang, 2006 and Yang, 2011). Myth is a way for early humans to understand and explain various natural phenomena and social problems accumulated in the national culture, is the most primitive of human valuable cultural heritage, cultural

development in generations is affected by the myth (Li, 2004; Shi & Yu, 2006 and Liu, 2000). Liu (2000) and Ma (2012) argued that each nation has its different national character and psychology, which led to different myths and legends of all ethnic groups, in turn, the myth as the early literature of human beings, also led the development of different cultures, and deeply affected the formation of the national character and the psychology. Therefore, through the research about the differences between Western and Chinese mythology, we can understand the differences between the two cultures from a deeper level. Especially the distinguishing features of the goddess image in literature are often regarded as the epitome of cultural characteristics of the Greek and Chinese.

Based on historians' research, Chinese civilization originated in the primitive matriarchal society (Hu, 2005 and Zheng, 2009). And Hu (2005) claims that goddess worship, female ancestor worship, and female genital worship are major features of primitive society. Hu (2005) and Wang (2007) further pointed out that China, since ancient times, its parental populations, cultural identity and cohesion of the gene, are all inseparable with the worship of the goddess of a matriarchal society. In ancient Chinese mythology literature, the goddess image contains population genetic affinity, group cohesion, noble sentiments, moral perfection, and reserved style type of national character (Hu, 2005 and Yang, 2011). In ancient Greek mythology literature, the image of the goddess contains Western peoples' feisty and combative qualities, unique personality and the pursuit of freedom, open and free national character and personality (Li, 2008 and Guo, 2005). Characteristics of Chinese culture owned by ancient Chinese goddess image is a singular flower of Chinese classical literature, and it plays an important role in inheriting the spirit of the tradition of Chinese culture (Yang, 2011).

Ancient Greek civilization is regarded as the source of Western civilization, and the ancient Greek myth as the representative of Greek civilization is undoubtedly the source of Western civilization (Zhao & Yuan & Li, 2010 and Zhang, 2004). In Greek mythology literature, there are far more quantities of the Goddess images than male God, and the images of the goddess are richer, more distinctive in personality (Wu & Zhang, 2006). Liu (2000) and Li (2004) argued that ancient Greek goddess often have super strength, but in character they are loving and hating, jealous, aggressive, and persistence for the pursuit of freedom, which is significantly different with the goddess in Chinese literature. Chinese goddess is advocating morality and pursuing individual perfect character.

Ancient Chinese mythology and ancient Greek mythology are the most concentrated demonstration and are the flashiest reflection of their own national spirit, are the oldest and most tenacious robust life root of their own national culture (Liu, 2000 and Li, 2004 and Yang & Yu, 2006). In a sense,

the ancient Chinese mythology and ancient Greek mythology are not only the source of different national literature, but also the source of Chinese and Western culture, is origin of Chinese and Western culture respectively, which contains philosophy, art, religion, customs and moral value system of the entire nation. Marx once praise ancient Greek mythology and art as the beautiful poems of human childhood, an impossibly high standards and templates with a permanent charm. The ancient Chinese civilization also gave birth to his beautiful brilliant myth. They shine with extraordinary splendor in history (Yang, 2006 and Wu & Zhang, 2006, Shi & Yu, 2006).

The Goddess of Ancient Greece and China

Myth is the product of original thinking and reflection of ancient human social life (Yang & Yu, 2006 and Li, 2001). Colorful mythology and history not only shares mutual background, but also provides an inexhaustible source for future generations of literature. Ancient Chinese mythology first appeared in a matriarchal society, in which ancestors were worshiped along with the nature, especially the motherhood and reproductive power, so the original God were almost women (Hu, 2005 and Zheng, 2009).

Hu (2005), Zheng (2009) and Wang (2007) claimed that most Chinese goddess image are weird, different from mortal being, full of mystery. On the one hand, they are almighty with noble morality, goodness and beauty, never against humanity, and mankind can sacrifice the interests of justice, the benefit of mankind. For example, the Creator Goddess of ancient China, called *Nü Wa*, her upper part of the body is human, the lower part of the body is snake. Her three major achievements are creating human, repairing the hole in the Sky and controlling the flood (Guo, 2006 and Wang, 2007). Sun goddess *Xi He* is the mother of ten suns; Moon goddess *Chang Xi*, is the mother of twelve moons in legend; and *Chang E*, she is famous for stealing elixir of immortal from her husband the Great Archer *Yi*, and flying to the moon, though some say *Chang Xi* and *Chang E* are the same goddess of Moon, *Chang Xi* was the original form of *Chang E* (Zheng, 2009; Wu & Zhang, 2006; Liu, 2004). On the other hand, Chinese goddess are otherworldly, not troubled by mortal passions, strictly adhere to the rules of immortal world, which separates the two different worlds, heaven and earth (Liu, 2000). Liu (2000) further argued that the emotional entanglements of mortal gods must have suffered severe punishment, such as the Weaver Girl falling in love with Cowherd Dong Yong, White Snake falling in love with her husband Xu Xian, San Shengmu, or the third Heavenly Mother, falling in love with the scholar Liu Yanchang (Ma, 2012 and Yang & Yu, 2006). Their forbidden love was punished: they were either banished to opposite sides of the Silver River, locked up under the magic Leifeng Tower, or under sacred mountain (Yang & Yu, 2006).

Yang (2011) and Yu & Lv (2011) pointed out that Greek mainland consists of mostly desolate barren mountains, its living environment forced them to go sailing and take risks. This free-spirited Greeks created a living, advocating wisdom, daring, courage to conquer character, its character, with a clear expansion, openness, had the idea that man can conquer nature, the ancient Greek mythology stressed people-oriented, female social prominent role, therefore, in ancient Greek mythology, there are a large quantity of goddess (Carroll, 2008; Guo, 2005 and Li,2008). Carroll (2008) described that after lifting their mystery Veil, removing their aura, the civilian population character comes to light, sashay and charming. Ancient Greeks put the characteristics of common women into the body of the goddess. The world of God and Goddess reflect the anthropomorphic characteristics, reveals rational, humane and aesthetic appeal of Greek, and their understanding and interpretation of their own life, at the same time, it reflects Greek national character and culture (Guo, 2006 and Wang, 2007).

Quantities of Goddess

In Ancient Greek mythology, there are a large quantity of goddess, e.g. Hera, the queen among immortals; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty; Athena, the goddess of wisdom; Artemis, the goddess of the moon and hunting; Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and so on. Each of these goddesses performs her own duty, constituting a rich, complete system in the world (Jacques, 2011; Pomeroy, 1975).

The number of goddess is much more than the number of male deities in ancient Greek mythology. According to Gustav's *Greek mythology*, the total number of goddess are accounted for 64%, these examples in ancient Greek mythology, highlighting the large number of the goddess (Birchall, 1974 and Chen, 2015). Compared with the number of goddess stories in ancient Greek mythology, myths and legends of ancient Chinese goddesses are far fewer, except for the few famous popular legend, such as *E Huang* and *Nü Ying*, *Jingwei*, *Chang E*, there are rarely associated with myths and legends of the goddess (Cheng & Liu, 2011). The existing Chinese ancient mythology is only a small part of the ancient mythology, and these fragmented parts might be originated from different locations of China (Chen & Liu, 2011).

The total number of Chinese mythology goddess is only a small part of Gods because of the low social status of women (Mcneal, 2012). Because ancient Chinese people seem to deliberately ignore the existence of women. Women were subservient to men, and they listened to the words of their husbands and sons. The reasons for this situation are mainly related to the agricultural community of ancient Chinese society. Women cannot have a significant contribution to agricultural production as men due to their

physical constraints. In the agricultural community, peasants are mostly not rich, to marry a wife is not an easy task, they regard their wife as property and keep their wife in the house, for fear of "missing" (Yu & Lv, 2003). In family life, women must succumb to the established range of roles in life and set itself on the men, women were confined to the home, subject to her husband and do heavy domestic work (Yu & Lv, 2003).

The ancient Greek with democracy, fairness, openness characteristics, women's rights have been better protected, they are rarely subject to the limitations of the scope of activities, they engaged in the work of women, including baskets, grinding millet, toast and other tedious housework. Meanwhile, they also worked together with men in fields, pottery work, etc. (Billington & Green, 2002; Carroll, 2008). They were greatly respected in the theater or watch the game when they can sit in the front row. It is the vital role of women in social production, which plays the decision. Greek women are responsible for the task of reproduction and ensure society continuity and development (Carroll, 2008). They are even respected by the people and memorial after death. Ancient Greek women played a more important role than ancient Asian women in society. This is one reason that the quantity of Greek goddess is much more than Chinese goddess (Ma, 2012).

Images of the Goddess

Greek and Chinese mythology is derived from their environment and spiritual culture. Differences in the image of the goddess between China and Greek mythology, are closely linked with the geography and historical development of the two countries (Yang & Yu, 2006).

On the external form of the goddess image shaping, Chinese mythology seems has its special characteristic. Except *Chang E* and a few other goddesses, the appearance of many goddesses in today may seem to have some grotesque features (Yu & Yu, 2006; Li, 2001).

Zhang, Yuan & Li, (2010) and Zhang, (2004) described most Chinese goddess image as weird, different with human being, and full of mystery, such as the Goddess *Nü Wa*, was described in *Shan Hai* as snake body and human face, and she can transform its' body seventy times daily. The *Queen Mother of the West* was described as a human with a leopard's tail and tiger's teeth. (Zhang, Yuan & Li, 2010). Generally, the shape of God is often portrayed as half man and half beast-like, a kind of human-animal hybrid. As for a goddess, it might be half woman and half beast, advocating feminism (Hu, 2005).

Chinese goddess always has a strange shape, which is very different from the Greek goddess. Motz (1997) and Zhao (2004) argued that in Greek mythology, goddesses always have a human shape, they have graceful,

handsome looks, and their appearances are beyond mortal. *Hera* is the queen with dignified and beautiful. *Athena* is the goddess with wisdom and elegant. *Aphrodite* is the goddess of love and beauty with tenderness and charming. According to their own appearance, the Greek people created the goddess as beautiful model for human themselves to pursuit (Zheng, 2009).

Secondly, in terms of shaping the personality of the goddess, Greek and Chinese mythology are full of diverse parties (Yu & Lv, 2003). In ancient Chinese mythology, the goddess has all the virtues especially focus on collective responsibility and social ethics, while ancient Greek mythology emphasized the human personality, value individual rights. In Greek and Roman mythology, many God's personality reflects the common people's emotions, both good and bad, their selfishness, vanity, jealousy, lust, cruelty, power struggles, vindictive, etc. (Hu, 2005). Thus, in Greek and Roman mythology, the image of God is closer to human, there is little mysticism, not a perfect example of high moral character, they are divine, but it is more humane, advocating strength, honor, and wisdom. So, ancient Greek mythology fully reflects people oriented values, pays much attention to individual personality (Hu, 2005).

Through the comparison of images of goddess, we can find the difference between Chinese and Greek myths. Although both have the aspect of "humanism", the former seems pay more attention to the virtue and social functions of the goddess, but the latter focus more on physical beauty and individual personality (Wu & Zhang, 2006).

Attitudes of Goddess towards Love and Sexual Relations

Love is the eternal theme of human society, in barbarism time, love and sex is for reproduction and fertility, is human's instinct physiological needs, to the civil society, in addition to the combination of gender requirements, there are more and more high-level needs, which are feeling of love and sense of belonging (Zhang, 2004 and Li, 2008). The foundation view produced between love and sex, including lust, a strong desire of sexual nature that is based on the physical attraction and combination, and spiritual love, a tense feeling of affection that is based on the spirit and soul binding (Bernhardt, 2008). Regarding love and sexual relations, there are significant differences between ancient Chinese and Greek mythology.

Ancient Greeks established a variety of modes of production and open economy, also had their own idea of open sexuality (Faraone, 2009). This philosophy is reflected in the pursuit of personal values and the widest range of hedonism. Many Greek mythology is national cultural details dissecting of that time (Faraone, 2009 and sellers, 2001). The pursuit of individual freedom, free love, and value sexual, heavy desire is an important feature of ancient Greek concept of love and sexual relations. And

relationship between goddesses and male gods reflected in ancient Greek mythology reveals the tradition consanguinity in marriage of ancient time (Billington, 2002). It is argued that ancient Greek relationship is derived from the Greek tradition and custom. Since ancient Greek women's social status are relatively high, the ancient Greek woman has a strong feminist consciousness in love, and the loving atmosphere are relaxed (Li, 2008). For example, in ancient Greek mythology, the sun god Apollo unrequited love goddess Daphne. Apollo tries hard to pursuit Daphne, but Daphne shows no love for Apollo. To get rid of Apollo, the goddess Daphne turned into laurel to keep virginity to reject Apollo's courtship. Among Greek goddess, there are many disputes over love affairs. Affairs outside marriage or relationships are common (Zhang, 2004), for example, the goddess Venus married and have children, but she has many lovers. For thousands of years, nobody blamed her passionate, people love her beauty that her affair was caused by her charm, dissolute romantic story of all Greek goddess showed us that the spiritual world is full of human emotion. Various goddesses were given flesh and blood, real and credible character, is rational, close to humanity (Yang, 2011).

In ancient Chinese culture, love is placed in a very low-level position (Hu, 2005 and Liu, 2000). Thus, in ancient Chinese mythology, almost no description about love (Hu, 2005). Only some love mythology in women, just having shown the spirit of Chinese traditional culture, such as chastity view and loyalty (Hu, 2005; Yang, 2011). Comes to love, sexual relationships of goddesses embodied in ancient Chinese mythology, which compared to Greece are very different. Chinese mythology is difficult to find traces of free love (Yang, 2011). In the aspect of sexual and morality, China formats introverted and closed culture tradition. This culture of sexual relations is largely suppressed, which is the root cause for description of the sexual relations in ancient Chinese mythology (Hu, 2005). In ancient Chinese mythology, the goddesses live a simple and plain life, also strictly follow rules and behave appropriately, they value abstinence instead of philandering (Hu, 2005).

Status and Social Responsibility of Goddess

On the aspect of historical status and responsibilities of goddess, most of the goddess of ancient Chinese mythology are lacking their own existence value, mostly dependent on their husbands to get their name known, such as *Xi*, *Chang Xi*, *E Huang*, *Nü Ying*, were all the emperor's wife (Hu, 2005, Yu & Lv, 2003). They are well-known because of their husbands, rather than their own abilities (Yu & Lv, 2003). This is due to the status of women in ancient Chinese society (Yu & Lv, 2003). At that time of the society, women were only men affiliated. They took orders from their

husbands. They did not have the opportunity to freely choose their own way of life and love. They hide within the walls, quietly and silently existent, then quietly and peacefully died. The society belonged to men, not women (Wang, 2007). Women even allow other women to share husband. The low number of goddess in Chinese mythology shows the humble status of women in the ancient society (Zheng, 2009).

Regardless of the status of the rights of the East or the West, it is an indisputable fact that women were more vulnerable than men (Pomerory, 1975). However, in ancient Greece, women's rights are much better protected than Chinese women, whether the law of monogamy, property or inheritance rights, social status, are all higher than Chinese women (Jacques, 2011). Of course, there are significant differences in the rights and the status of women in the ancient history between the East and West.

In ancient Greek mythology, most of the goddess are indulgent aristocratic women, they are demanding, selfish, extremely jealous, pursue right and self-satisfaction. These goddesses hate and revenge their enemies, indulge in illicit relationships, making fun of human, and participate in conflicts among human (Rurther, 2005). For example, in the famous "golden apple" incident, Aurora Intuit, Athena and Hera compete for the most beautiful goddess, triggering the Trojan War, which bring the world into a war (Ruther, 2005). Trojan War, Athena to prove that she is the most beautiful goddess, she uses her divine power and conspiracy to help the Trojans (Ruther).

However, in the ancient Chinese myths and legends, goddess always keep overlooking the world of all mortal beings in a caring, tolerant, compassionate feelings, they are concerned of the relief of common people, and seemed love full-heartedly the common people on Earth (Liu, 2000). And their personalities reflect the distinctive characteristics of Chinese culture: hardship endurance, self-sacrifice, relieving common people's hardship, and serving common people living on the earth as their only duty. For example, the ancient Chinese goddess image of *Nü Wa*, compared with the image of the ancient Greek goddess are completely different (Chen, 2015). On the historic mission, the ancient Greek goddess is not like the ancient Chinese goddess who take sacred social responsibility. Ancient Chinese goddess mostly working women, who are not sheltered aristocratic women (Chen, 2015 and Chen & Liu, 2001).

Because of ethical constraints, ancient Chinese women (goddess) did not have the freedom to choose her partner, but once they fall into true love, they would persist to pursuit the freedom for love and indomitable to anything, without regret even if lose their lives, they wouldn't compromise to reality (Li, 2008). Such as a Chinese goddess the weaving maid, without compromising the pursuit of love, falling in love with an ordinary cowherd,

challenging the secular vision, expressing her standpoint to against the feudal ethics, fighting for autonomy love and happiness (Li, 2008). The Chinese Valentine's Day is a celebration of the annual meeting of the cowherd and the weaving maid on the seventh day of the seventh month on the lunar calendar.

Interpretation of Goddess Revealing Cultural and Value Differences

By comparing the quantities and images of the Goddess, their attitudes to love and sexual relations, as well as the status and social responsibilities of goddess, we find that the ancient Greek mythology is a complete system, including God anthropomorphism, indulgent, hedonistic advocacy, and the concept of destiny (Guo, 2007). The concept of the West and its real-life (welfare, the cult of personality, freedom) at the same height, Westerners are unrestrained, and indulgent, this feature facilitates the rapid development of Western science, culture, art and democracy (Jacques, 2011).

The ancient Chinese mythology is relatively scattered, messy, advocating collectivism and the spirit of sacrifice, worship and moral strength (Mcneal, 2012). To a certain extent, the ancient Chinese mythology is the source of the core values of Confucianism. Images of goddesses in ancient Chinese mythology is a moral benchmark. The ancient mythologies are being constantly adapted to the later mythology. The goddesses' personal lives have rarely been described, and more description about important mission entrusted to God and the process of completing these missions appeared in the greatness of noble character (Hu, 2005). This reflects that Chinese people advocate morality to improve the personal conduct to maintain the collective interests since ancient time, and individual's interests are trumped (Hu, 2005). But to some extent, the Chinese conservative introverted personality traits constrained the human personality, but through the millennia has weathered immortal, unyielding to prop up the revitalization of the nation building given the endless spiritual wealth of China, turns out to be strengths and weaknesses (Guo, 2007).

Influence on National Values

Influenced by the goddesses of the ancient Greek and Chinese mythology, national values of China and the West are different (Wang, 2007 and Zheng, 2009). Western people advocated force, focused on individual interests, individuality, stressing freedom, and masculine character of Western people were emphasized as offensive possession, aggressive, which embodied in its' political, military, diplomatic and other aspects (Li, 2008; Guo, 2007 and sellar,2001); The Chinese people advocated moral training, emphasizing the collective interests were more important than individual's, promoting the spirit of sacrifice. Compared to the Western culture, Chinese

culture is more feminine, to create a harmonious relationship between the Chinese people, seeking ethical peaceful, law-abiding personality (Yang & Yu, 2006).

Influence on Cross-cultural Communication

We live in an era of globalization, exchanges and contacts between countries are more increasingly close (Mcneal, 2012). To reduce the differences that exist in the Western exchanges, learning the ancient myths, especially learning the image of the goddess, can play an important role in reducing the exist differences (Mcneal, 2012). In cross-cultural communication, since the myths can be regarded as the earliest human civilizations pillar, to enhance mutual understanding of different cultures, cross-cultural communication friction reduction, contrast cultural differences between Chinese and Western mythology is one of the most convenient and effective way for us to recognize the West. Cultural differences are often the most important factor to cause a failure in communication, while avoiding communication failure is the most effective way to get to know the language, customs, life and values, moreover, studying Western mythology provides a good channel for us to achieve this goal (Jacues, 2011 and Hu, 2005). Thus, to learn English language and culture and people, should be strengthened in improving ancient Chinese mythology and ancient Greece mythology awareness, understanding mythology goddess image, knowing the source of the myth of Western culture. Knowing ancient mythology has a significant impact in western literature, art, religion, architecture (Hu, 2005 and Mcneal, 2012).

Conclusion:

From the above analysis, we can see that there are many ancient Greek goddess and complete ancient Greek goddess system. The number of the goddess is almost more than half of the number of all Greek gods, whereas Chinese mythology goddess are much less, neither goddesses themselves nor their mythology forms a complete system. The goddesses in Chinese mythology have grotesque appearance, often partly human hybrids. They have moral excellence and righteousness. In ancient Greek mythology, although goddesses possess outstanding appearance and graceful posture, yet their personalities reflect the person's emotions, both good and bad, goddesses are the same as human, they are sometimes selfishness, vanity, jealousy, lust, cruelty, power struggles, vindictive. Most of the Greek goddess are debauched aristocratic women, do not assume social responsibilities, but mostly Chinese goddess take their social responsibility to bringing benefits to working mankind. Regarding their attitudes to love and sexual relations, the Greek goddesses are sexual confusion, and with

many lovers, while few Chinese goddesses have love experiences. Ancient Chinese mythology and ancient Greek mythology have far-reaching impact on their own generations, such as the influence on generations' ethnic character, value orientation. In the increasingly close international environment, understand the cultural differences between Chinese and Western mythology is the most convenient and effective way for us to recognize the West and reduce cross-cultural communication.

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Yo Cayetana: The Woman in Her Own Words

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Abstract

Much has been said and written about Cayetana de Alba, “Grandee of Spain” and a woman who took an important part in some of the historical moments of her lifetime. The images the media conveyed of her – that of a frivolous woman - is, yet, contradicted by her autobiography. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to investigate Cayetana’s discursive gendered positions from an interdisciplinary standpoint: based on a lexicometric approach of the data collected, the semio-linguistic interpretation highlights the possibilities and modalities of her Self represented in images and emotions involved in the real world and in a historical conjuncture in which the present and the past are articulated. Her words enable us to understand the strategies she uses to construct her identity and her own meanings in the representation of her lived experience in the interstices of the Self and of social relations (Probyn, 1993).

Keywords: Autobiography, discourse analysis, representation, *Yo Cayetana*: the Woman in her own Words

Before the labyrinth and proliferation of theories and definitions about autobiography and tangled in articulations of teleology and epistemologies, as well as in the tension between poetics and historiography, this research maps several questions.

In the belief that speakers or writers don’t subject each word to use to constant scrutiny – something that would be impossible in terms of interpersonal communication -, it is the discursive spontaneity that best defines them. Hence, the preference for some words and the non-selection of others results in a linguistic profile that may highlight some personality traits. Reading *Yo Cayetana*⁶¹, and above all ‘destroying’ her text, *i.e.*,

⁶¹ Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, Maria del Rosario Cayetana. (2011). *Yo, Cayetana*. Barcelona: Espasa Libros, S.L.U. The quotations and the references to the text indicated in parentheses are from this edition.

reducing it to a list of words to understand it better – a paradox -, one meets the true Cayetana. Indeed, the words she chose, which we analyse from the frequency lists generated by a hypertext programme (Hyperbase), allow us to discover the image she constructs of herself (Amossy, 1999, 2010).

The collection of the quantitative data thus obtained was the first step leading to the qualitative analysis of *Yo Cayetana*. In fact, not being our purpose to develop a lexical statistics study, some principles underlying quantitative calculus - here limited to indicators of frequency of occurrences - can support the semiolinguistic analysis (Charaudeau, 1992) of this autobiography, in which there are 62.132 occurrences of words. The general dictionary obtained from the abovementioned programme, constituted by the list of words of the text, was then lemmatized (Labbé, 1990), this giving origin to lists of lexical and functional words used by Cayetana.

From the data collected, and for the purpose of this article we considered the lexical words and Pronouns. We focused on family, domesticity and social circles, as well as on emotions, as they are telling examples of her eighty-five-year-long life.

Working within an interdisciplinary framework, where the study of autobiography and identity is underpinned by a lexicometric analysis, our essay starts by invoking Cayetana's words in the very last pages of her autobiography.

Dejo estos recuerdos en un momento feliz de mi vida: preparando mi boda con

Alfonso Díez Carabantes, que será mi tercer marido, el duque de Alba consorte de la XVIII duquesa de Alba, una mujer que peleó, vivió intensamente y espera que se la recuerde por sus obras, por el esfuerzo de mantener y aumentar el patrimonio de una casa, la de Alba, que forma parte de la historia de este país, aunque sea con un trocito pequeño. (p. 278).

To be reminded by her works and by her effort to magnify the House of Alba (freq. 117) are the two main objectives of the text, because Cayetana is only Cayetana.

Soy Cayetana, Cayetana de Alba. Tengo otra media docena de nombres y uns cuantos títulos. (...) De todos los nombres que mis padres eligieron para mí – ocho o nueve – el de Cayetana es el que más me gusta y el que siempre he usado. (p.9).

This assertive claiming of who Cayetana is can be observed along the text, namely when analysing the verbs *ser* and *tener*. The higher frequency of what she says she is (freq. 80), compared against what she says she is not (freq. 8) indicates a more positive image of herself, which is corroborated by the higher frequency of the present simple tense *yo soy* (freq. 54). For reasons of economy, we chose a small sample of positive and negative

statements illustrated in Fig.1.

SER Y NO SER	Pag.
lo que sí sé es que soy atractiva, interesante, diferente y original	55
Siempre he sido una adelantada al tiempo que me ha tocado vivir	55
yo he sido, soy y seré mui romántica	56
pero yo soy así, siempre que he podido he antepuesto el corazón a la razón, aunque lo primero fuera el deber	58-59
Lo que sí soy es monárquica al cien por cien - y católica, apostólica y romana	93
Yo no soy política, a mí me gustan las personas.	93
Y hay otro asunto que me preocupa, porque soy terriblemente española	94
No soy muy dada a las emotividades, pero a veces aún me pregunto qué hubiera sido de mí sin mi abuela	110
Soy una mujer libre	113
...yo soy una fortaleza a la que nadie puede asaltar sin que a mí me dé la gana	141
Lo que soy es orgullosa, como la mayoría de los españoles.	150
Yo era - y soy - una mujer cumplidora de mis deberes para la Casa	181
Soy algo supersticiosa por ese toque bohemio que tengo	182
No soy persona que se resigne fácilmente ante el fracaso	254
Soy mujer voluntariosa y peleona (...) aunque a mí nadie me derrota	274

Figure 1: What Cayetana says she is and she is not

We follow the same methodology referring to *tener* (Fig.2). While the negative forms are reduced to freq. 8, the positive ones have freq. 88.

TENER Y NO TENER	Pag.
he tenido una vida muy interesante que he vivido con pasión.	49
no tengo conciencia clara de haber sido una niña	18
desde pequeña he tenido una enorme seguridad en mí misma	55
tengo mucha dignidad (...) he tenido y tengo mucho genio	58
Tengo buena memoria	65
De los matrimonios de mis hijos, no he tenido suerte	92
Tengo alma de decoradora	133
Con la perspectiva del tiempo creo que tuve mérito en saber utilizar mi posición y convertirme así en una figura de relevancia internacional	150
Tenía suerte - en general, he tenido mucha suerte en mi vida	150
Se puede ser amiga de los hombres - de hecho, tengo y he tenido muchos y muy buenos amigos	155
Tengo una enorme fe en el Cristo de los Gitanos, en el Cristo del gran poder y en la Macarena	181
no tengo ninguna contradicción entre la religión y lo mágico	182
Ese toque bohemio que tengo	182
Tengo muchos amigos, tanto en la derecha como en la izquierda	212
Hoy tengo el corazón repleto y ocupado por un hombre estupendo, Alfonso Diez	269

Figure 2: What Cayetana says she has and she has not

Indeed, the image Cayetana wishes to build of herself is the one of a simple woman, who does not care about titles. The Duchess of Alba is Cayetana and *vice-versa*. Woman and title coalesce in one same person and identity.

[...] los Alba – primero mi padre y después yo – somos poco o nada partidarios de enumerar estas cuestiones de los dichos títulos. Es más, a lo largo, de mi vida he confesado en muchas ocasiones que lo de la nobleza y los títulos me tiene sin cuidado. (p. 15).

The Alba family has always found it more comfortable to socialize with the people of the streets, the ordinary and more “natural” (p.50) people, than with the well-to-do classes. Her father had always taught her to look from a distance questions of class and aristocracy and they have been friends of artists in general, painters, musicians, and writers (p.50). This might explain Cayetana’s popularity among the Spanish population, who considered her one of their own, but whose public image among the press she wishes to deconstruct (p. 146).

This deconstruction is revealed by the references made of her circle of domesticity, which includes, among others, servants, assistants, animals and the shepherd (Fig.3). Among these, we selected the 20 more frequent.

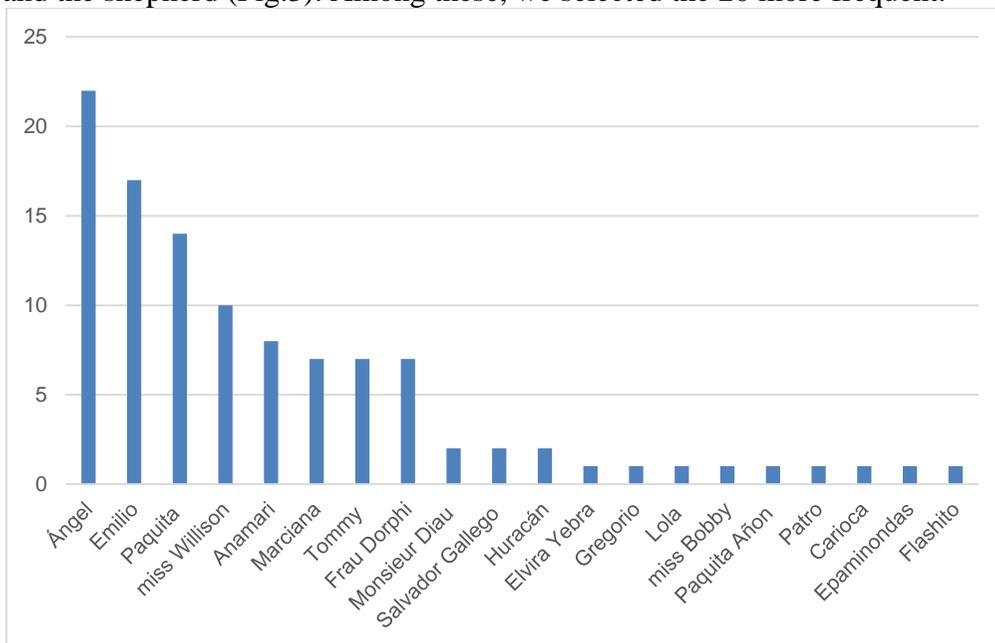


Figure 3: Domestic circle

Adopting a critical agenda which reads autobiography not as life itself, but rather as a text of life, or as a landscape of the Self, where the author selects how and what should be represented in the text, leaving to the reader the task of knowing and of discovering the identity of who knows oneself and of who is materialized through discourse.

In *Yo Cayetana*, the high frequency of first person personal pronouns subject and object, and of possessive determiners and pronouns (freq. 2956)

clearly illustrates this aspect (Fig.4). This high frequency increases to freq.7486 when the first persons of verbal forms are considered. Within these verbal morphemes of first persons, the use of past forms is much more common than present ones, which is not surprising in an autobiography.

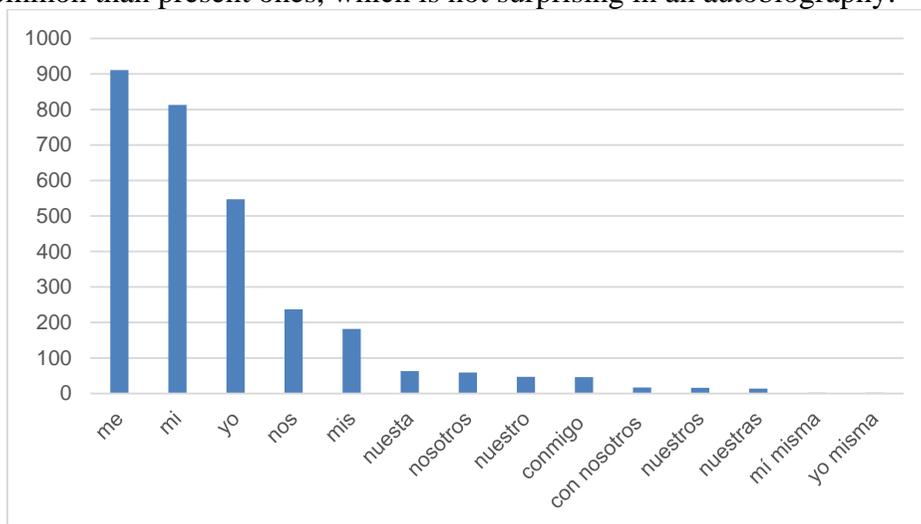


Figure 4: Personal pronouns, and possessive pronouns and determiners

One must consider that the Self is mediated by the lived experiences and memories, and, thus, that it may be spoken in different ways. Despite all the efforts of truthfulness and verisimilitude, the obstacles for a faultless reconstruction of the past highlight and turn inevitable the creation of a new past, recognizable and similar to it, but also different from what it hides in a new recreated coherence. Indeed, Cayetana converted the past and transformed it into a story, a story that does not exist outside the autobiographical text, because it was experienced only by herself, only she dominated her memories and converted them into discourse. Oftentimes, she states that she remembers what others have told her; other times, she remembers people and events, and other times she assertively admits that she does not remember, because she wants to forget, showing herself as a subject controlling the story of her life, as exemplified in Fig. 5.

RECORDAR Y NO RECORDAR	Pag.
[...] el rey Alfonso XIII, al que tuve muchísimo cariño y del que conservo tan buenos recuerdos	9-10
No recuerdo en qué momento asumí que era la XVIII duquesa de Alba [...] se nace con ello, no se registra, no figura entre mis recuerdos	12-13
Aunque los recuerdos de mi infancia tienen un matiz doloroso, no tengo conciencia clara de haber sido una niña alicaída, arrastrada por esa tristeza. No recuerdo nada del entierro de mi madre, ni lágrimas en casa ...	18
Alguien me contó luego - no sé en qué momento de mi vida - que mi padre, ese día de mi primera comunión, me cogió de la mano y me llevó al panteón de Loeches, donde están enterrados mi madre y nuestros antepasados. Yo no lo recuerdo. Jesús Aguirre, mi segundo marido, tenía la teoría de que había vivencias de mi infancia que se me habían borrado porque me habían hecho daño	30
Los dos cursos de París, entre las monjas y el hotel Prince de Galles, san de los peores recuerdos de mi vida.	29
Recuerdo perfectamente el día en que llamaron a papá al Claridge con una terrible noticia. Tengo grabada en la mente su cara de desaliento, de desazón, algo raro en él, que no acostumbraba a dejar que las emociones afloraran a su rostro. «Tanuquinet -me dijo-, nos hemos quedado sin casa. Han bombardeado Liria y todo está destruido por las llamas».	36
Me sentía tan protegida en Sevilla que las tragedias de la Guerra Civil ni siquiera las recuerdo como malas vivencias.	40
Tengo grabada en la memoria la belleza de Dueñas. Me había esforzado para que lo adornaran con las flores que más me gustaban	87
De lo que sí me acuerdo, como si fuera ayer, es de la multitud de personas que esperaban para dar la bienvenida a la reina	170
Me acuerdo de mi, siempre sola aunque estuviera rodeada de gente	174
No hay más que ver la serie de televisión que se hizo en 2010 o leer la novela sobre Jesús de ese señor del que no recuerdo el nombre. ¡ Tanta gente ha ganado tanto dinero a mi costa!	240
Por esos y otros muchos recuerdos me molestó tanto ese horrible libro sobre su vida, sea o no una novela. Jesús y yo nunca tuvimos ninguna discusión.	258
Como ahora soy tan feliz, me cuesta mucho pararme a recordar los últimos años, sobre todo la oposición de mis hijos a mi noviazgo y a mi matrimonio con Alfonso	266
Si tengo que recordar en estas memorias a todas las amigas que me han acompañado a lo largo de mi vida, creo que hasta puedo llegar tarde a la cita del 5 de octubre en la capilla de Dueñas con Alfonso	276

Figure 5: To Remember and not to remember

One of the reasons why Cayetana confesses that she does not remember some events has to do with less happy memories. Again, as the author of her own life, she chooses to forget, attributing to memory the power of agency (Foucault (1988). In *Yo Cayetana*, reviving memory is a task she set herself right at its beginning (p.10), acknowledging that only then was she aware of all the stories archived in her memory (p.32).

The recapitulation of a life only reveals an image of that same life, an image that is distant and incomplete, distorted by the fact that the Self that remembers is not the same as the person who lived in the past. Memory

produces a narrative subjectivity, working on consciousness, dissolving it and fragmenting it, blurring the frontiers between past and present, where memories are reminiscences and remembrances.

Oftentimes, Cayetana claims that she remembers what her father had told her. The remembered past loses its flesh and bone (Gusdorf, 1980). The process of self-understanding is reminiscent (Freeman 1993); it regathers all the dimensions of the Self that had been disarticulated, scattered or lost until the moment of writing. This reminiscence is an active critical process that combines emotions and moments of self-reflection that give access to the omitted experiences, allowing memory to see events of the past in a new way.

To communicate the lived experiences allowed Cayetana to elucidate the past and to perceive her structure as a Self throughout time, a structure that is implicit in the conditions of possibility (Sinfield, 1992) that she created for herself as subject and for the readers, claiming for herself the right to give her version of a life that had been converted by the tabloids and the celebrities press into “carne para picar y yo no estaba dispuesta a soportar más aquel acoso” (p. 240).

Bearing in mind that enunciation (Benveniste, 1966) is a dialogic act determined by who speaks to whom, by an enunciative subject and an addressee, a result of a reciprocal relation between a speaker and a reader, the autobiographical text expresses a relation of the Self with the Other. The Other that in *Yo Cayetana* is the common reader and the press which has pictured her as a frivolous and exuberant woman she deconstructs in her text (p.9).

Choosing the moments and the facts, Cayetana was not only representing her own experience, but also bringing to the space of communication what she wished to be known, thus creating a landscape of the Self, from where the past was revealed. Cayetana enlightens her life by seizing upon her own story, telling it in a direct and to some, perhaps, in a shocking way. Choices determine the kind of story we want to tell, and Cayetana determines her own character, her Self, through what she chooses to tell about her lived experiences in circles of proximity: family, domestic and social relations, as well as emotions. The automatic collection of high frequencies of the one hundred first words allow us to conclude that her family is the axis of her life: *padre* (freq.292), *casa* (freq. 144), *Luís* (freq. 144), *vida* (freq. 135), *Jesús* (freq. 129), [*hijo*] *Cayetano* (freq. 78), *hijos* (freq. 76), *matrimonio* (freq, 70) and [*hijo*] *Carlos* (freq.68).

The frequency with which she refers to her family circle is illustrated in Fig. 6. Among all the occurrences, only the 20 more frequent are considered.

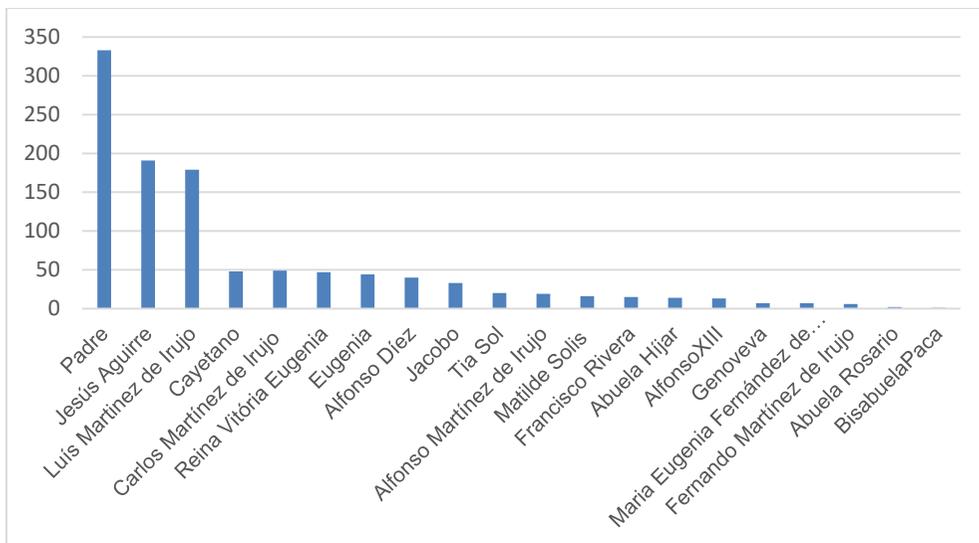


Figure 6: Family Circle

The most frequently cited figures in this circle are men, her father being the first, long lasting and always present pillar of her life (p.117), to whom she dedicates her autobiography. Despite being a busy man, once minister of Alfonso XIII, to be Prime Minister had the Republican regime not been imposed, profoundly British, severe as he seemed to the others' eyes, Cayetana knew that her father dedicated all his free time to her and to her education (p.22).

When she loses the three men of her life, her father, and her two husbands, Luis and Jesús, she feels alone, showing that her circle of intimacy is not so tight as one might expect. Indeed, and she states:

Entré en una época en mi vida negra, muy negra, y los acontecimientos familiares me dieron más disgustos que alegrías. Se no llega a ser por mis nietos, no sé qué habría sido de mí. Y también me ayudaron mucho mis amigas. Yo soy muy amiga de la amistad entre mujeres (p.260)

Amongst the feminine universe of her family, it is clear the role played by queen Victoria Eugenia (Ena), whom she deeply admired, as well as her daughter Eugenia, the child she had expected for so long, and to whom she dedicated much more time than she did to her five sons (p.173).

Regarding the social circle (Fig. 7) where she moved – aristocrats, politicians, bullfighters, artists, and jet-set personalities – Franco is the most frequent occurrence, undoubtedly due to the political circumstances that Spain underwent, and that she closely experienced, followed by Spanish and European royals.

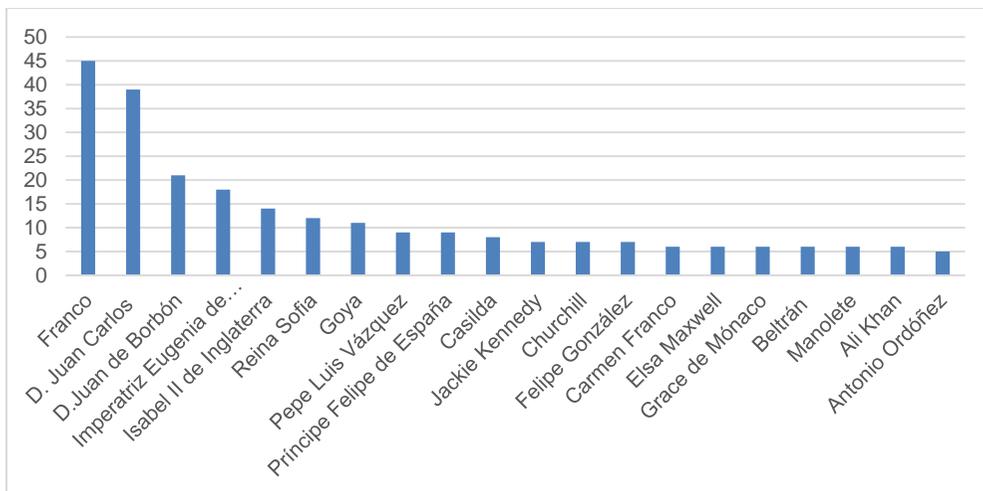


Figure 7: Social Circle

Despite being a Grandee and the relationship held with aristocracy, Cayetana does not cause the impression that her life differed from the life of common people, constructing herself not as a heroine, but simply as a special woman who expressed the experience of being a woman. Accused by some of being successful with men only because she was the duchess of Alba (p. 55), Cayetana emphasises above all her womanly condition, declaring that she had always liked to flirt, as a form of amusement, acknowledging that she, as a woman, had been a heartbreaker (p. 60)

Ya he dicho antes que yo nunca daba el primer paso, aunque es verdad que las mujeres tenemos otras armas: sabemos cómo mirar, cómo movernos, cómo sonreír. Los ingleses lo llaman *to flirt*, la traducción más aproximada en español sería “coquetear. (p. 57).

Benefactress of abandoned children, namely the ones under the protection of the Salesians, lover of sports, of animals, of bullfights, and of the Arts, her great passion was the flamenco and being a *Sevillana*, and all it meant, namely, wearing the *mantilla*. *Yo Cayetana* does not provide the reader with a singular image of the Self, but with a multiple one, constructed by means of different discourses, practices and positions, oftentimes intersective.

As a life testimony, *Yo Cayetana* turns visible the experiences and the order of affects (Fig. 8), becoming an ego document about the Self and the times, positioning versions of the Self in a time and in a place (Probyn 1993).

EMOCIONES	Pag.
Con estas experiencias, cada vez tengo más miedo a los aviones, o mejor dicho: más respeto.	104
Cuando tuve a mi hijo entre mis brazos, sentí una emoción enorme, diferente a todo lo que había sentido en mi vida. Fue un momento de absoluta plenitud	109
Llegamos a Lausana y nos hospedamos en la residencia de la reina durante los pocos días en los que papá agonizó en el hospital. Tras su muerte, el 24 de septiembre, prepararon todo para trasladar el cuerpo a España. Yo estaba anonadada. Todavía hoy me conmuevo al recordar aquellos horribles días. Mi consuelo fue el cariño de la reina, pendiente de todos los detalles, incluido mi estado de ánimo, y sus esfuerzos para reconfortarme.	116
El viaje de regreso a España, en avión desde Ginebra, con el féretro de papá fue horroroso. Había una gran tormenta, como si los aviones hubieran adivinado el miedo que me daban y me la volvieran a jugar.	117
El Flamenco, mi gran pasión (...) El flamenco fue más que una terapia. Si con el aria de una ópera me eleva del suelo, cuando bailo flamenco floto.	118
Me pesaba no tener éxito en la tarea de traer una hija al mundo. El 11 de julio de 1959 nació mi cuarto hijo. Fue una alegría tremenda	132-133
El 26 de noviembre de 1968 logré uno de los sueños de mi vida: tener una niña. Como ya no podía ponerle Cayetana, opté por otro nombre también de la familia: Eugenia, por la emperatriz y por la reina Victoria Eugenia. Era una hija queridísima y deseadísimas.	172
El oficio de madre es estupendo cuando son pequeños, como me sucede con algunos de mis nietos ahora. Los maleduco mucho, porque para enseñarles ya están sus padres.	183
Manolete no me daba miedo, me encantaba, tenía una personalidad cuan o entraba en la plaza... Manolete tenía aura, era único.	273
Que conste que a todos mis hijos los quiero muchísimo y, si ha habido algún momento malo, que me perdonen. Nunca ha sido mi deseo hacerles daño y siempre tuve una ilusión enorme cuando nacieron.	277

Figure 8: The expression of emotion.

Yo Cayetana offers the testimony of her emotions, which “are integral to the processes of meaning production” (Harding and Pribram, 2009), the dispute of a Self in dialogue with herself, the human conflicts and experiences of a woman she intentionally inscribes in her psychosocial representation (Charaudeau, 2000). It is also a political act, in the sense that, by choosing to write her autobiography, the Duchess of Alba, Cayetana, claimed the right of speaking and of self-representation instead of giving someone the privilege to speak for herself and to represent her.

As Dodd (2005) explains “social conditioning, heredity and temperament all determine what is recalled”. In Cayetana’s case, social condition, lineage and temperament are three key factors that become indelible marks of her discourse. Following what has traditionally been the paradigm of feminine autobiography, she is not concerned with writing her life from a chronological and progressive point of view, but rather with affirming her identity.

Yo Caetana is the narrative of a feminine, fluctuating self (Probyn, 1993) represented in several levels of meaning, in her own words, in a discursive arrangement that agglutinates in tension the different meanings of the Self, and which raises a fundamental epistemological question: to know how experience and the knowledge of the Self are organized in a narrative which constitutes a metaphor of life, a landscape of the Self. Identity constructed in representation by the feminine autobiographical discourse in the narrativization of the Self does not point to the stable nucleus of the Self who, living the vicissitudes of the story, does not know changes. It points, as Hall argues (1996), to a non-unified identity, constructed by means of discourses, practices and multiple positions, and defines the functions the subject occupies in the diversity of the discourse.

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Strong Slavic and Iberian Identity Syndrome in the Perspectives of Glocalization

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Abstract

My assumption is that, although those identities which are weak, anti-essential, mobile and easily “open” to new phenomena are particularly popular in postmodern epoch, in Iberian and Slavic cultures strong identities, which are essential, stable and coherent, play an important role in social life. It is caused mainly by such factors as adherence of the cultures to the difficult past (inheritance, tradition and memory), producing of rich repertory of their own language systems and symbolic signs of another type and devotion to values, which maintain the sense of separateness or even uniqueness. I analyze the most important tensions which exist nowadays between those strong and weak cultural identities as a result of integrative and globalization processes, which are reinforced by the expansion of the media. The focus of my reasoning is, as the most current interpreting perspective, the phenomenon of glocalization, which is understood as globalization (globalizm, globality) strongly connected with localization (localism, locality). I consider how in social practice tensions between cultural identities are used “to open” locally to globalization and simultaneously participate in global processes which “open” to locality? The main concern then, is to produce new rules of intercultural communication.

Keywords: Identity, glocalization, communication directed

Introduction

Identity has fascinated all great humanists and probably each of them has created its definition, explaining at the same time that each person wants to know answers to such questions as: ‘who am I?’, ‘whom do I have to I be?’, ‘whom can I be?’ – however, there is and will never be any satisfactory answer. On the one hand a person wants to know what kind of freedom he or she has and what borders are not to be crossed in order to feel just enough safe and secure, and have a sense of being rooted someplace. On the other hand the person feels and knows that complete self-identification is impossible, because that which one thinks ‘belongs ethnically’ to oneself is

not permanent and fully authentic but ambiguous and conditioned by many outside circumstances. These days almost all thinkers agree with Martin Heidegger that identity – like each ‘I’ – is constantly “on the move,” never self-contained, neither impenetrable nor resistant to the influence of the surrounding world. On the contrary, as Barbara Skarga, among others, argues “it is stuck in an ancient culture, language, traditions, in a determined time and place, here, and nowhere else. Quite trivial facts these may seem, but the same facts make it impossible to define the criteria of differentiation between what is mine or what seems to be mine, and what is, as Ricoeur quotes Levinas, the Same.” (Skarga, 1997: 272).

That indeterminacy of identity is much more emphasized these days than in the past. While characterizing Jewish identity, which is universally recognized as one of the most consistent, strongly articulated, even self-contained, Michael Krausz thinks that who somebody is always constitutes an open question with transferring answers which are conditioned by social practices and histories through which meaning is given to man’s life and to lives of others. (Krausz, 1993: 265). Certainly the most disputable thing is the dynamics of transfer concerning these answers. Some scholars think that one can always grasp these dynamics and keep a tight rein on them; others believe that they are becoming bigger and simply threaten identity’s existence, both the emotional one (experienced), and functional one (which is the result of a play of various social interests).

I.

Common changes, which take place within this scope, illustrate three models of identity which according to Douglas Kellner, has existed in the history of mankind. The first one was characteristic among the so-called pre-modern communities and consisted in accurate description of an individual’s place in the life of his or her community through assigned roles and imposed axiological systems. The second model has been typical of modern communities and is still practised (modern age interpenetrates with the so-called postmodernity). It allows for a slight violation of the stability of roles and axiology, which in fact enables both individuals and communities to be more mobile in their social life, and to become aware of their own many-sidedness, potential possibilities and some indeterminacy. The third model comprises an unusually mobile and fragile postmodern identity, deprived of its permanent center. Its emergence is ascribed to an unrestricted transcending of choices earlier made. Nevertheless, postmodern identity is the multiplication of individuals and communities’ identities that accept and confirm at the same time the fragility and increasing changeability of almost all circumstances and conditions (Kellner, 1995: 247). Some scholars perceive the evolutionary process of identity as an unidirectional

phenomenon, unable to cease, and hence they announce the twilight of identity. Twenty years ago Jean-François Lyotard claimed that “we live in a time-space where no identity exists but only transformations” (Lyotard, 1988: 31). However, the majority take less radical stands on this case, proving that these days identity does not have to be constructed level after level, floor after floor, along an increasing line of knowledge and skills, for modern man more often makes use of his or her right (which he or she had never before) to choose an identity. Modern man renounces an outmoded identity, puts on the actually recommended one, or simply invents a new, often untrue version of identity (as is seen in electronic communication). In other words, postmodernity creates many opportunities to go in for peculiar, not very rigorous “identity training,” due to the fact that nowadays a person more easily renounces “the comfort of certainty” (Bauman, 1996: 32).

Undoubtedly, making reference to Heidegger, modern people’s identities quickly “travel many roads,” but we also observe the renaissance of state identities (new countries are still being built), national (nations till now enslaved articulate their existence), religious (new religions are emerging, sects and fundamentalist movements are springing up), political (ideological organizations come into existence and nationalisms develop), professional and other ones. In many regions of the world an answer to axiological opaqueness, an increase in ambiguity, cultural and anthropological uncertainty, information smog and universal pluralisation, is the belief in a nation’s uniqueness, mythologization of superiority of one’s culture or race, celebration of one’s identity in some respect, self-enclosing in certain determined contents and forms, hence, an articulation of what sociologists call a ‘razor’ type of identity which alludes to historical experiences, solid axiological systems and the hierarchy of social roles (Miczka, 2006: 181-182). No wonder such things take place; after all “there is no identity without otherness” (Smolar, 2002: 14), ever, not even in postmodernity.

Otherness can be articulated in a way which is less radical, but clear, decisive and considers different identities’ arguments and needs. It is what I would like to focus my attention on while making references to some transformations of modern Iberian and Slavic identities. In my opinion, Slavic and Iberian characteristics, despite some essential differences, are comparable phenomena in many respects. In the era of globalization they are affected by similar vicissitudes due to historical similarities; moreover, they have to react to the same cultural, communication, economic, ideological, ecological phenomena etc., yet, as far as possible, they want to retain their own specificity, identity and sense of authenticity.

On the grounds of cultural studies and sociology the division of identity of all sorts into strong and weak varieties, is very functional, since it

illustrates changes in a quite accurate way, referred to as tensions, as described by Kellner, between modern and postmodern identities. Modern identities were strong in the main, hence they have been based on many solid grounds. They were integrated internally and able to articulate clearly in all conditions and all types of disputes. Slavic and Iberian identities should undoubtedly be considered as such together with particular nations' identities creating them. They both are essentialist, integrated by geographical environments, languages communities, similar historical events, and identical religions and systems of values. Nonetheless, in modern times, much has been written and said only about weak identities and seldom did these have any chance for crystallization in social practice. It was not until the 1960's, that tensions between strong and weak identities became real. Thus, nowadays an awareness of possible choice between them is becoming natural, which, as I've mentioned earlier, certainly does not mean any universal and total freedom within this scope.

Borders for strong identities are derived from objective facts such as climatic and geopolitical conditions, historical memory, especially living tradition or religious ideas. They form the basis for the construction of identity's matrix which is guarded by authorities – the educated, churches, politicians, artists. Matrices create the patterns of Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, Czech characteristics etc., conveyed in communities, nations and cultures 'all the way through,' in accordance with an educational intention and the law. However, antiessentialist approach to identity is based on more and more popular, in the course of the last decades, belief that Spanish, Portugal, Polish or Czech characteristics are purely cultural constructs, even practical ones, hence individual ones, which consists in their self-defining and not requiring any basis on some general principle. An individual simply accepts and then chooses Iberian characteristics, Slavic characteristics or any other ethnic and cultural identity, reserving the right to change his or her mind as to this self-identification.

Strong identity is essentialist, which means that its center is composed of components differentiating it from other identities, integrating it internally and constantly strengthening its forces which work centripetally. What matters in the first place is languages and national literatures based on them, and axiologies, religions and philosophical conceptions. All Iberian and Slavic nations have worked out their separate languages and literatures and base their axiologies on christianity. Their ethnic philosophies stemmed from disputes between idealism and materialism, especially strongly emphasizing their own national uniqueness, even messianism, and their cultural and civilizational missions.

Strong identity is also always considered as a historical function, which means that the Iberian and Slavic past is carried on in the family,

language, state, art and science. What results from cultural research is that the more traumatic the experiences that occurred in the history of particular communities, the greater the cultural range their national literatures developed; the more often were communities forced to define their determined relations with their neighbours and other cultures and languages, the more carefully high societies worked out their philosophies of identity, that is the philosophy of portugality, spanishness or polishness. As an example can serve the fact that in the 16th century Luís de Camões defined in his epic poem *The Lusíads* (*Os Lusíadas*) the Portuguese nation as the one which “gave new worlds to the world” due to its sailors (Klave, 1985: 77). This feature of portugality became an important point of reference for all future generations. The religious reformation accomplished by Jan Hus at the beginning of the 15th century, became for a long time the basis for not only the Czech moral renaissance but also a way of opposing the German impact in Czech lands. At the beginning of the 17th century Miguel de Saavedra Cervantes, while parodying the Medieval chivalric novel *Don Quixote*, created at the same time proverbial characters of positive aspects of Spanish symbols. The Polish Romantic poets Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Zygmunt Krasiński were not called bards by accident. They became the spiritual leaders of their nation, thus designating, for the following years, the way of apprehending an artist’s objectives in a nation fighting for independence and their “Slavic soul.” Examples can be multiplied.

While redefining the Iberian and Slavic identities, history is always recalled. However, it needs emphasizing that it is a very nostalgic history one refers to, in order to cope with contemporary disasters, difficulties and cultural ambiguities referring to old disasters, difficulties and ambiguities. In this way, at the beginning of the 20th century, among others Teixeira de Pascoaes, alluding to the energy of his sailors’ race, recognizes saudaba (nostalgia replaced with the grandeur of a country) as an ‘emotion-idea’ due to which traditional portugality should compose an intellectual and emotional ground for the nation’s renaissance (de Pascoaes, 1913; 1915). In the middle of the previous century, while analysing spanishness from the perspective of donquixotism, Miguel de Unamuno wrote these characteristic words: ‘Me duele España’ (‘Spain hurts me,’ Castillo, 1989: 13). To this day Polish intellectuals and artists are convinced that the main ailment of Poles is ‘Romanticism sickness’). Jan Patočka, in his work entitled *Who are the Czechs?* – among other things, makes references to husitism. Historicism is hence a constant value of the Iberian and Slavic identities (Patočka, 1997: 42-56).

Finally, strong identities are exclusive in character. Seeing oneself from the standpoint of some Iberian or Slavic center sanctions excluding ‘strangers’ from it, today known as ‘others.’ Certainly the methods of

exclusion are always important. The Spanish, Portuguese and the majority of the Slavic nations, while trying to work out some methods of a dialogue favouring the recognition of cultural differences as enriching one's own identity, long ago rejected any solutions of this problem that would incorporate force (not always voluntarily). I think that contemporary humanist thinking developing in the Slavic and Iberian countries, has been moving for a long time in a direction that Józef Tischner describes in the following way: "So far we have accepted a principle that we retain our identity through emphasizing differences. But identity can also be retained through emphasizing similarities. Discovering that the other worships values I carry deeply in heart, I begin to be aware of them in a better way and I acquire some deeper sense of them." (Tischner, 1999: 78).

Such understanding of ethnic and cultural identity has a long tradition in Central and South-Western Europe. As early as 1880's Ernest Renan noted the fact that a nation is a community with a glorious past; however, above all it has to anticipate a common future and possess a programme of action also together with others (Renan, 1882). Half a century later José Ortega y Gasset argued that turning a nations' existence to the problem of defending its identity, means placing it in a second-hand bookshop (Ortega, 2005: 88). In the light of the hitherto reflections it can be stated that strong Iberian and Slavic identities defend themselves from (more popular at the beginning of the 20th century, universalized, especially through omnipresent electronic media) weak identities (antiessentialist ones, rejecting history and in accordance with the idea of total universalism enabling all people to come into its range). By contrast, considering the stands of Renan, Ortega and Tischner, it might be thought that their identities are open to others in as much as to maintain effectively their own essentials, histories and possibilities of exclusion.

These days it is hard to settle this issue explicitly, because of acute tensions between strong and weak identities. Such tensions did not take place in the past. Globalization processes, for which one of the most important mainsprings is audiovisual mass culture, are a source for them. Globalization is seen as an accumulation of loops of positive feedback in an unusually intricate networks which encompass individuals, companies and states. It is crystallized in the form of various dualities, paradoxes and contradictions, to which attention is paid by the most eminent representatives of this unusually intricate phenomenon. As dominant features they point to conflict theory (A. Giddens), uncertainty (R. Robertson), simultaneous integrity and fragmentariness, homogenization and heterogenization, universality and particularism (S. Huntington), structural hybridization, understood as an expansion of heterogenous and above-national cultures (J. N. Peterse), a restratification of the world, that is, a new world-wide stratification and

hierarchization of various forms and fields of social life (Z. Bauman), and dissemination (D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, J. Perraton). Some scholars also see globalization as forms of transculture (W. Welsch) and metaculture (G. Urban).

A common factor in scholars' thinking regards an ambivalence set as a major and indispensable feature of this phenomenon. From each research perspective it is seen that globalization automatically sets going localization, location, and a need for rootedness. In other words, for example, international and cultural integration creates regionalisms and localisms, fashion - celebration of difference, vibrant identity – strong, essential identity, excessive dissemination – strong yearning for accumulation, dynamism, determined search for rationality and the like, etc. The same phenomena can be both local and global in character; in this way, localism becomes unindistinguishable from globalism.

Just that multi-dimensional aspect of globalization, deciding upon openness, nonlinearity and permanent transformation of the phenomena, which most often is perceived as inextricable combination of two dynamic and only seemingly independent phenomena, Roland Robertson called glocalization (globalization + localization) (1995). And it is glocalization in which the basic source for modern Iberian and Slavic identities (hence fundamental to international communication) can be seen – as I am persuaded like many sociologists, anthropologists and cultural studies scholars. Zygmunt Bauman, who also uses this concept, thinks that glocalization is only a cultural phenomenon from the field of globalization and in the first place means the marginalization of local communities, the disappearance of public spheres which used to be centers for the creation of meaning, and describes a sense of hopelessness and impossibility of going beyond localness (Bauman, 2000: 71). However, scholars dealing with globalization more often argue that it is one-sided and limited perspective, which does not consider its very essence, just because globalization loses its profound sense without localization (localness, localism).

Globalization, deprived of its 'opposite,' would very soon become a new totalitarianism. Though there are enough proponents of such views, these days John Naisbitt's stand best corresponds to social practice. He thinks that even if people think globally, they should make basic changes at local stages, and in spite of the fact that acute tensions, which exist between globalism and localism, evoke a sense of hopelessness and openness, then, according to his views, openness enriches each person, and thanks to a sense of uncertainty more can be achieved than it is done as part of stability. As early as in 1982, in the first edition of his *Megatrends*, pondering the future of the world, he wrote with full conviction about the duality of this phenomenon: "Our economy's globalization will be accompanied by the renaissance of

language and cultural identities.” (Naisbitt, 1997: 9). B. R. Scott presents the essence of globalization in a different way, considering globalization – twenty years later – as a play in which all ‘players’ win: the win-lose perspective is replaced with the win-win position (Scott, 2001: 77).

From the reflections aired so far it appears that regardless of a pessimistic or optimistic attitude towards a changing order of the world, glocalization is most often understood as a juxtaposition of freedom and enslavement, as an opposition of safety and risk and of anonymity and openness. In other words, glocalization steers everything it encompasses, including Iberian and Slavic identities, which are at the center of my attention, in two directions. Thus, it seems that there is no other possibility of intercultural communication development, than simultaneous openness to both globalization and glocalization, that is, a transformation of identity through tensions created by manifold feedback.

In this light the theses formulated by Arjun Appadurai concerning the globalization of cultures sound very credible. Appadurai suggests that these days the prevailing global civilizational tendencies, such as electronic media expansion and mass migrations, not only are the characteristic of the new technologizing of the world, but they also constitute phenomena which exert a major influence on people’s imagination, which forms the basis for the construction of cultural identities (Appadurai, 2005: *passim*). According to his views, globalization is not - which it was thought to be during the 1990’s – ‘a story of cultural homogenization,’ but concerns in the main what happens in local communities, which are simply ‘infected’ by the media with things happening someplace. One general consequence for the comprehension of changes taking place in intercultural communication is to consider culture not as a coherent construct, as was done quite recently, but rather as a great set of differences. To utter these differences becomes a way of differentiation of one community from another, which in fact contributes to the creation of separate cultural identities (Canclini, 1990: *passim*).

Nowadays, a major cultural change is taking place. The change lies in the creation of global culture, often rendered as ‘global revolution’ or ‘global circulation.’ However, Kazimierz Krzysztofek convincingly argues that ‘a hierarchical relation, central cultures-marginal cultures, has been replaced with the relation global culture-local culture,’ which are understood both as national cultures and regional ones, that is identity cultures (Krzysztofek, 2002: 122). Therefore, glocalization consequently changes traditional orders of the world and what comes to the fore is intercultural communication which in the first place articulates cultural identities and cultural differences. In the center of the reflection on the essence and characteristics of contemporary intercultural communication appears a phenomenon which can be described in the following way: on the one hand, global tendencies cause

the danger of assimilation, uniformism, standardization to hispanicness and slaviness, which may influence the disappearance of diversity within social life. It can take place through absorption of communities and ethnic or regional groups, and thereby the loss of their subjectivity and cultural identity as part of that community. I consider a danger of standardization, absorption and a loss of diversity as an absolutization of globalization, for on the other hand, within Iberian and Slavic cultures a renaissance of regionality and subjectivity is taking place. More often particular ethnographic, language, ethnic communities become aware of their territorial, historical, social and cultural identities as part of great international and state communities. They are making efforts to decide for themselves in an authentic way, to have guarantees and respect for subjectivity, and a development of their cultural heritage (Miczka, 2015: 50-76).

Conclusion

To sum up, at the beginning of the 21st century intercultural communication is crystallizing in a simultaneous realization of the two conceptions of communicating: 'communication directed to the world' and 'communication directed to the immediate neighbourhood.' The components of the first conception are the following: an idea of cultural pluralism; the ability of the Iberian Peninsula and Central-Eastern Europe's inhabitants to perceive changes on a large scale; a shaping of thinking in the perspective of 'global systems'; an analysis of problems seen as positive aspects of 'controversy'; and development of identification with other cultures. By contrast, the components of the other conception are: popularization of the idea of little homelands among Iberian and Slavic citizens (these ideas are lacking in extremism and fundamental attitudes), opportunities to see changes at the micro level, shaping of thinking in the perspective of 'local system,' an analysis of problems in terms of 'similarity' and 'acceptance,' and learning awareness and acquiring knowledge of one's own strong identity.

A unique aspect of this kind of communication is shown in tensions which exist between the two conceptions, for they can be relieved predominantly by means of dialogue. It is the dialogue, which is the essence, axis, sense and aim of intercultural communication in a world torn between globalization and localization. The dialogue should point out and describe tensions between Iberian and Slavic strong and weak identities, and new, weak cultural identities, but it also should explain their origins, and also accept or reject them.

Thus, what will decide upon the effectiveness of intercultural communication is what we still do not know how to carry out, namely, dialogue. In dialogue the role of current, strongly ideologized and controlled

models of communication will be minimized and new principles of the mutuality rule will be worked out.

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Latino Immigrant Narratives from Maryland

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Abstract

Despite the intensive work conducted by scholars to capture and preserve the memories of Latino immigrants in the Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Chicago metro areas, relatively little is known about the history and experiences of this immigrant group living in the Washington metro area, home to twelve of the top sixty Latino communities in the nation.⁶² Currently, there are 906,000 Latinos living in the region.⁶³ This paper showcases some of the perspectives of Latino immigrants through oral history interviews conducted by students in two undergraduate history courses offer at Montgomery College (MC)⁶⁴ : “History of Latinos in the US” and “Latin American History.”

Students in these classes are required to identify immigrant community members and to request their cooperation for being interviewed. The process of collecting, creating, and preserving the life stories of these immigrants stimulates a keen interest in how both place of origin and historical experience inform the lives of immigrants. It gives the students too the opportunity to understand the impact of the past on immigrant experience and to gain an understanding of immigrants’ aspirations, hopes, and fears as well as their positive contributions to American society and culture.

During the course of a semester, students conduct, transcribe, and construct oral histories and compose brief, one-page reflections on their interviews. Specifically, students document how their assumptions about the historical immigrant experience have changed as a result of their participation in this oral history project. The transcripts generated by these students represent

⁶² The Washington Metropolitan Area, also known as the National Capital Region, includes the District of Columbia (Washington, DC), parts of Northern Virginia, Maryland, and a small portion of West Virginia. Out of 6,098,283 residents living in this region, 22.9% are foreign-born (1,397, 326), <https://censusreporter.org/profiles/31000US47900-washington-arlington-alexandria-dc-va-md-wv-metro-area/> (accessed 04/12/2017).

⁶³ In this paper the term “Latinos” or “Hispanics” – unlike the “standard” scholarly definitions – is laxly used to refer to people whose origins are traced to Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Central or South America, and the Caribbean, regardless of time of arrival or length of residence in North America.

⁶⁴ MC is a public community college located in the city of Rockville, Maryland

original and relevant primary sources contributing an understanding of how the past is prologue for American immigrants going forward and foster an appreciation of the immigrant presence among us.

Keywords: Latino immigrants, USA

Introduction

Although the Washington Metro Region is home to Latino immigrants from the farthest corners of the hemisphere, Salvadorians, 302,000-strong, comprise the largest Latino group (33.3%), by far surpassing Mexicans, the next largest group, at 133,000 (14.6%).⁶⁵ In light of this, it is not a random accident that the majority of our interviewees were Salvadorian immigrants, reflecting the ethnicity and national origin of the students who conducted the interviews.

As I went over the sixty oral histories collected by my students, I noted many heart-rending stories detailing the compelling reasons why these mostly unauthorized immigrants from El Salvador chose to abandon their homelands. Their vivid portrayals of their perilous journeys through Guatemala and Mexico, and across the scorching Arizona desert and their subsequent adaptation formed a recurrent theme, reflecting, like tightly interwoven threads into what would become the fabric of their immigrant lives, their realization that, against all odds, they have achieved their most cherished aspirations, their *Sueños Latinos* (Latino Dreams) of living in this country.

The optimistic assertions of the interviewees seem to brazenly challenge the cold statistical data gathered by the U.S. Census Bureau, documenting that Latinos trail the non-Hispanic White population in many important indicators of economic wellbeing, including employment, income, and wealth accumulation, statistics that posit that Latin immigrants are disproportionately concentrated in low-paying economic sectors such as agriculture, leisure, and hospitality. They further contend that lower-paying occupations translate into comparatively lower income for Latino workers when compared to Whites, specifying that “median weekly earnings of Hispanic workers employed full-time are 27 percent less than the median weekly earnings of non-Hispanic White workers—\$602 per week versus \$829 per week.”⁶⁶

⁶⁵ “Hispanic Population and Origin in Select U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2014,” Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends, accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/interactives/hispanic-population-in-select-u-s-metropolitan-areas/>

⁶⁶ “The Economic State of the Latino Community in America,” U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, October 2015, accessed March 15, 2017

We note, however, that the median household annual income of \$65,736 in 2014 tells another story of how Latinos in the Washington Metro Region are among the top earners among the 56.6 million members of this immigrant group in the U.S.⁶⁷ The self-awareness of this relative affluence, when compared to their fellow Latinos elsewhere, couldn't but color the perceptions of our respondents.

By taking a glimpse into some representative interviews, we will be in a better position to discern if our informants' perceptions of their achievements, most of whom had toiled in a series of low-paying and menial jobs in their countries of origin, if their experiences are rosy depictions of grim existential realities or true reflections of fulfilled aspirations. Are the "Latino Dreams" of our interviewees perhaps less aspirational and lower in expectations than the American Dream envisioned by historian James Truslow Adams at the height of the Great Depression and, therefore, that these newcomers are perhaps content with ordinary successes?

Paradoxically, their perceptions that their dreams and longings have come to fruition takes place against a background of a country beset by growing income inequality since the 1980s, the consequence of frantic globalization, rapid technologic change, deindustrialization, and the increasing degradation of the skill level of the American worker.⁶⁸

Salvadorian Dreams

Julian: A Busboy with a University-bound child. Mr. Julian Rodriguez, an undocumented Salvadorian with a high school education, left his country in 1979 at the age of twenty-one in search of adventure, just a year before the outbreak of civil war in El Salvador.⁶⁹ He could feel the growing tension in the air in his *departamento* (state) Morazán, and confides that if he had not left to go to the U.S. he "...would have had to join the guerillas because I sided more with them and I understood their values more than the government's." Actually, it was in and around the village of El Mozote, in Morazán, that on December 11, 1981, more than 800 civilians

https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/_cache/files/96c9cbb5-d206-4dd5-acc9-955748e97fd1/jec-hispanic-report-final.pdf

⁶⁷ Joel Kotkin and Wendell Cox, "The U.S. Cities Where Hispanics Are Doing the Best Economically." *Forbes*, January 30, 2015, accessed March 16, 2017 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2015/01/30/the-u-s-cities-where-hispanics-are-doing-the-best-economically/#2e90824e2e1a>

⁶⁸ David, Leonhard. "The American Dream, Quantified at Last." *The New York Times*, December 8, 2016, accessed January 27, 2017 https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/08/opinion/the-american-dream-quantified-at-last.html?_r=0 *SundayReview*

⁶⁹ Gilberto Gomez (busboy), interviewed by Jonathan Gomez, Silver Spring, Maryland, February, 2017.

were killed by the Salvadoran Army. This was the bloodiest mass killing of the Salvadoran Civil War.

He left his girlfriend and future wife behind and took with him an extensive set of unusable farming skills (planting, harvesting, milking, etc.) and his shattered dreams of attending an agricultural college in Brazil. He, with a group friends, reached Texas after travelling across Guatemala and Mexico. In those days, unauthorized crossers had fewer challenges “jumping” over a barrier that was more porous. Soon, Julian boarded an airplane in Houston bound for Washington, DC and began a new chapter in his life.

Upon arrival, he was absolutely bewildered by the racial and ethnic heterogeneity of the region:

My first impression when I got here was that I had never seen so much diversity in one place. Especially when I was in DC. I had never seen so many African-American people and White people before I came. The only African-American I had seen was a young boy playing for the El Salvadoran national team...[There was] ... a lot of diversity everywhere and even in the jobs I had, I met other immigrants from Russia or Spain and they told me their stories of how they (were) trying to make it in the United States.

Indeed, Mr. Rodriguez’s journey from Central America to the metropolitan capitol of the U.S. represented not only a journey to ecologically and culturally unknown areas, but also a sharp technological leap from a predominantly agrarian region to an area dotted by mammoth federal facilities, biotechnology corridors, and the like. This primarily service-oriented metropolis represented for this germinal generation of Central Americans not only higher wages in a more stable country and the concomitant benefits of life in a big city - schools, hospitals, recreation centers - but also the challenge of working and living with a population whose ethnic and racial heterogeneity reflected the “globalization” characteristic of Washington, DC. The rise of the U.S. as a superpower in the wake of the outcome of World War II transformed this relatively bucolic city of the pre-war years into a primary destination for diplomats, companies profiting from federal contracts, corporate lobbyists, and swelling armies of bureaucrats, professionals, technocrats, etc.

For the next 37 years, Mr. Rodriguez, according to his own words, would hold jobs that “...were very common for anybody who came to the U.S., such as being part of cleaning crews at hotels, demolition laborers at construction sites, a busboy for twenty-plus years until the restaurant that employed him went out of business, all the while helping his wife cleaning

homes. Parenthetically, Mr. Rodriguez has been successful in getting his son to college "... on pennies, nickels, dimes and quarters."

Mr. Rodriguez incursions - and permanency - into the traditional occupational beachheads in the U.S. where low-skilled immigrants, frequently lacking legal residency, tended to concentrate, wasn't unexpected. Actually, decades before Central Americans had become the essential "foot-soldiers" of the growing armies employed in construction, the recreation and hospitality industries, the transportation and material moving occupations, landscaping and agriculture in the Washington Metro Region, Mexican immigrants had been occupying these niches in other metro regions. As laborers, Latinos, with the skill sets possessed by immigrants like Mr. Rodriguez, fell into a generic category of workers who were overtly conspicuous at construction sites, hotels, restaurants, shopping malls, hospitals, and front yards of residential neighborhoods - faceless wielders of brushes, ladders, leaf blowers, shovels, lawn mowers operators, and pushers of wheelbarrows, skills where more brawn than brain were - and still are - the indispensable prerequisites. Indeed, that these occupations have been so associated with Latinos for decades has, in the popular American imagination, merged these jobs with the identities of members of this group. Thus, the term Salvadorian in the American imaginary simultaneously serves to describe an individual of Latino ancestry usually performing unskilled tasks in the construction or service sectors of the economy anywhere in the U.S.

Noe: Living la Vida Loca in the Shadow of the Capitol. Noe Rivera is a 52-year-old Salvadorian who emigrated to the U.S. in 1997 when he was thirty-two years old.⁷⁰ Noe survived the Salvadoran Civil War and continued to live in El Salvador after the 1991 Peace Accords. However, the lingering effects of the conflict, compounded by the loss of a coveted job as a sales representative for a cigarette manufacturer, necessitated relocation to a lower-wage country, Honduras, where stiffer competition in the labor markets, due to the arrival of newcomers displaced by earthquakes, led him to make a life-changing decision. He seized the opportunity and accepted the invitation to come to the U.S. offered by his brother-in-law. He applied and was granted a tourist visa, thus avoiding a long-trip to the U.S. and having to cross the Mexican border, a trajectory that was fraught with potential perils.

Although Noe had pursued college studies in his homeland, he had to abandon his them to support his wife when she became pregnant with their first child. Laconically, he acknowledged his inability to transfer any useful marketable skills in the U.S., other than basic labor. According to him, his

⁷⁰ Noe Rivera (laborer), interviewed by Christopher Rivera, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2017.

greatest challenge was to learn English and his business dream and goal was to own a construction company.

When asked if his expectations were met in America, he proudly replies that his accomplishments surpassed his dreams.

They were exceeded and far better than I imagined. I thought I was just going to be a laborer and make fast money to live a better life than in El Salvador. Never did I imagine I would own a successful business in the U.S. I live a pretty good life in my eyes, definitely better than anything I would have lived if I had stayed in El Salvador.

Reflecting on the tangible results of his travails in this country, he measures his success inter-generationally by partly taking credit for his children's accomplishments and his parents' improved standing:

I do feel I have made the right decision coming to the U.S. because not only did I better my life, I made it possible for my family, especially my kids, to have a better opportunity at a better quality of life. As a parent, you want the best for your kids and, well, I think I did right by them. Personal accomplishments too are having a substantial home, owning more than three cars, having a dog, being able to make enough to give to my parents for them to have a better quality of life. I also feel accomplished by my children: One has a bachelor's degree from the University of Maryland, a well-respected school, and has a good-paying job and he plans on going after his masters. My other son is in college, in the process of earning his first degree. My youngest son is in high school and has not hit under a 3.8 GPA. They not may be my personal accomplishments but I do take credit in putting my kids into these situations of being successful. I feel more than accomplished because I have made a big turnaround from how I used to live. Basically "*living the la vida loca,*" as some will say.

José Luis: A Janitor with a Graduate-School Bound Daughter. José Luis Rios, a seventy-six-year-old Salvadorian, moved to the U.S. in 1980, at the dawn of a conflict that would eventually claimed 75,000 lives, afraid that he would be subjected to reprisals for refusing to join the guerrilla forces. Jose Luis, then thirty-nine years old, left behind what seemed a contented life:

I was a country guy my whole life, which consisted mostly of farming, buying, and selling farm animals and growing crops to feed my family and make some money out of it too. That's

how my father raised me and how I was visualizing my whole life; little did I know back then.⁷¹

Although, in the early 1980s, the existing ethnic networks available to Salvadorians in the Washington Metro Region were rather thin, he relied on three older sisters who were already residing in the region. He left behind his five months pregnant life partner, a sister, an older brother, and his father. A few weeks after his departure, they fled for their lives to the capital, abandoning home, farm land, animals, and everything else...

My whole life changed. I left everything I was and everything I had. Just imagine, after being a country man used to working the land and dealing with farm animals, to suddenly being forced to move to a big city like Washington DC. It was a significant change. At first, it was very intimidating, you know, moving to a strange country with a language you don't even understand, a place where you know some people but it's not like your hometown where you know everyone and everyone knows you since birth. After several years, of course, you get used to everything, you push yourself to survive, and you keep moving forward.

Handicapped by lack of English skills, Mr. Rios had to "... settle with whatever job..." he could get in restaurants as a dishwasher and busboy. For "quite a while" he held three jobs. He is now retiring from a job he held as a janitor at a day care center for 11 years.

In spite of the fact that Mr. Rios, from an occupational perspective, moved endlessly "in a circular fashion" - forty years of grueling toil, holding a low entry-level job in the service sector - he still deems himself successful for being able to flee the carnage of his country's civil war, being alive and living with his family.

So far, after so many years, I would say yes, that I made the right decision, mostly because I am able to tell my story and I am alive. Most of my family is here now. We all have a decent life, we work, we don't depend on anybody, and we are free. What else can we ask for?

He bolstered his argument by adding that he is now able to communicate in English and has obtained U.S. citizenship. Furthermore, his daughter, Martha, is excelling in college and plans to enroll in a graduate program.

Mr. Rios' journey from being a small farmer in serious financial distress, handicapped by a low level of formal education and illegal status at

⁷¹ Jose Luis Rios (janitor), interviewed by Martha Santos, Gaithersburg, Maryland, Maryland, February, 2017.

the time of his arrival to someone holding a full-time job, mastering the English language, and having a daughter bound for graduate school is truly a remarkable story.

Luis: “Doing even better than some people born in this country.”

Mr. Luis Bonilla, a 50-year-old Salvadorian from the municipality of San Vicente, left his country fleeing the Salvadoran Civil War in search of educational opportunities.⁷² A recipient of a scholarship offered by the Embassy of the United States in El Salvador in 1985, this allowed him to enroll at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge and at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches, Louisiana, to study English, and to become familiar with American culture and to obtain an Associate Degree in Agricultural Science.

By May of 1990, his scholarship over, he returned to El Salvador, which was still engulfed in civil war. His stay was short, only three months, during which time he was unable to secure a job and faced recurrent Army draft notices. He, again, seized opportunity, this time to attend a workshop in Miami offered by the Pan-American Network and then overstayed his visa.

From Miami he moved to Washington, DC, where, with the assistance of his sister’s best friend’s husband, got a job at an electronics retail store. Eventually, he was able to gain permanent legal status in the United States.

For the next 11 years, he worked there as a salesman, accumulating enough experience and savings to open a store in the same line of business in 2000, Choice Electronics, Inc. This store sold DJ equipment, home electronics, car stereos, and other electronics. The Great Recession of 2008 took a toll on his business which he closed in 2010. He reinvented himself and ventured into a service-oriented field in which middle-class immigrants are well-represented: accounting services, offering tax preparation, notary public services, and translation, with an on-site, in-house attorney who provided full services but mainly focused on immigration. His ad sums up the nature of what he now does for a living:

For tax preparation in Silver Spring MD, you can count on Luis A. Bonilla. (He)...assists taxpayers and small businesses with taxes in Silver Spring MD and the surrounding communities. Whether you are an individual or a local business in or around Silver Spring MD, Luis A. Bonilla has years of valuable experience as an IRS-registered tax preparer.

⁷² Luis Bonilla (businessman), interviewed by William Bonilla, Silver Spring, Maryland, February, 2017.

Mr. Bonilla's perception of success transcends the "family-centric" parameters of achievement (self and children). When asked if he had achieved the hopes and dreams he envisioned, he firmly replied

I would think so, yeah. And I think I have even accomplished more than what I expected because I helped my family, my parents, my brothers and sisters, I think I have pretty much done what I wanted.

He continues, expressing gratitude for where he's gotten in life, the family he has, and the business he owns. An interesting remark he makes, and one that truly shows what is possible if you set your mind to it, is his conviction that he's done better than, even, "some people that are born in this country, so that's something that makes me very proud."

Roger, the Campesino/Farmer in Search of Greener Pastures.

Roger Flores, a forty-five-year-old Salvadorian from the city of San Miguel, recalls how his parents, who owned farm animals, still could make end meet.⁷³ Thus, for him school wasn't a priority, but getting a job was, so that his family members "...could have a plate of food to eat every day." He left El Salvador at seventeen in 1989 with truncated high school studies, prompted by his parents who had lost a son, a member of the Salvadoran Army, in the War. He attributes his inability to continue studying to his meager family income and his imperative flight from peril. With the help of a family friend and a group of coyotes* and armed with a gallon of water, the clothes on his back and the shoes on his feet, he entered the U.S. illegally across Mexico, and from Texas traveled to Maryland to join his brothers already residing in that state.

Roger, like José Luis, is grateful for what members of the middle classes in his country of origin and the around the world, take for granted, the seemingly "small, mundane" things of life, like owning a home and a car, which were out of reach in El Salvador for most people. Actually, according to the Work Bank, only 49 out of 1,000 people owned passenger cars in 2009.

He believes that "...his hopes and dreams have come true for his family." A further testament to his accomplishments he sums up saying that he is now a naturalized citizen of the United States, has gotten his parents permanent residency, speaks English very well, has a wife that works, holds a job with health care benefits, and his children have access to educational opportunities – all not possible in El Salvador.

⁷³ Roger Flores (construction worker), interviewed by Alejandra Flores, Silver Spring, Maryland, February, 2017.

For a former undocumented alien to obtain U.S. citizenship from the economic powerhouse of the world is not a small feat for an immigrant who, unlike highly skilled foreign workers in designated “specialty occupations,” never dreamed of entering the U.S. under the H1-B visa program. He considers his U.S. citizenship a precious “commodity” that has served him well as an instrument to reunify his family by bringing his parents to the U.S. Furthermore, having two incomes at home and access to health benefits, “...when you had *none* at home, isn’t that the true measure of success?”

Santiago, the Painter Who Reached for the Stars. Mr. Santiago Amaya was born in San Miguel, El Salvador, a very small town without many resources or any vehicular transportation.⁷⁴ Like most of his compatriots who left El Salvador throughout the 1980s, the main driver propelling him from of his country was the war and his quest for stability and prosperity. Both the army and guerrilla forces were very active in the area, forcing the villagers to house and feed them, even while suspecting that some of them were collaborating with the enemy, which could mean swift execution. Other than that, the loud sounds of gunfire and bomb explosions dropped by army airplanes became the most persuasive arguments for Mr. Amaya to become part of the North-bound immigrant stream. Thus, in 1985, him, a country boy who could hardly read and write (the nearest school was an hour away on foot), left behind his parents, his wife Francesca, and his two children and undertook his journey *Al Norte*/to The North. Downplaying the potentially deadly predicament he and his fellow undocumented travelers faced on their way to the U.S. He stated that:

It was a strenuous excursion because we had to walk long distances and travel in overcrowded trailers (trucks). On our way north, the air conditioning in the trailer I was in broke and two people died; it scared all of us and we began to worry if we would even make it to America alive.

The truck in which he was travelling was stopped by the Border Patrol in the San Diego area, and upon his release he travelled to Maryland to join other family members.

He reminisces on how little money he was paid in El Salvador back then, 5 *colones* or the equivalent to 50 cents a day: “Just imagine having to feed and clothe your family with just 50 cents a day.” Eventually, he got a job that paid \$6.00 an hour and that made him feel immensely wealthy until he started paying his bills and sending remittances to his love ones.

⁷⁴ Santiago Amaya (painter and landscaper laborer), interviewed by Santiago Amaya, Jr., Gaithersburg, Maryland, April, 2017.

Keenly aware that his lack of command of the English language, compounded by his low level of formal education and transferable skills, he “self-selected” himself for occupations in economic sectors where absolute physical exertion (he often worked 80 hours a week) was required, and in which oral communications abilities were not. When asked to tell the kinds of jobs he has had in the U.S., he replied:

The occupations I’ve held in this country are: dishwasher, busboy, and currently I’m a painter and do some landscaping work occasionally. I spoke no English at all when I first arrived here, so jobs like a dishwasher and busboy came to me easily because it didn’t require me to speak to anyone or have much education.

Mr. Amaya, succinctly ponders his utter astonishment at what he has accomplished in the U.S. based on his scanty human capital.

It just amazes me that two immigrants with no education, who can’t read or write, could have children fluent in both English and Spanish that are currently in college. This was the life I dreamed of for my family and I’m so glad that we decided to emigrate to America.

Conclusion

Fredrick Douglas, a slave born in 1818 and who eventually became the most influential African-American leader of his generation, encapsulated in a few words the challenges faced by four million emancipated slaves, who, burdened by the dead weight of hundreds of years of oppression, were seemingly progressing rather slowly:

It is not fair play to start the Negro out in life, from nothing and with nothing, while others start with the advantage of a thousand years behind them. *He should be measured, not by the heights others have obtained, but from the depths from which he has come.*

By the same token, what should be the correct analytical frame by which to measure Latino immigrant success in the U.S.? Should it solely be measured by the acquisition of university degrees, real estate assets, or investments accumulated and flaunted during a life of toil by members of the pioneer immigrant generation? Or should we, for the sake of objectivity and fairness, take into consideration the aggregation of pre-migration assets that immigrants possessed prior to their journeys to the United States and that they bring to bear in their quest for success? Should we, like in an unbiased judge in a grueling Olympic marathon, where athletes with similar physical assets, although starting in unison, yet get to the finish line at different times – conclude that the well-documented income differentials among immigrants

in the U.S. are largely explained by non-socioeconomic variables such as a national or ethnic ethos characterized by limitless ambition, unflinching quest, and fortitude? Or, perhaps, should we, contrary to popular assumption, conclude that, in the relentless quest for success, individuals and immigrant groups attain positions contingent upon strikingly different departure times and pre-migration endowments? And continuing with this figurative comparison between immigrant success and a marathon competition, immigrants well-bestowed with a wealth of human and social capital assets - *including* lawful legal status - even before they board the plane that will take them to their final destination, will invariably get a fresh start, propelling them farther ahead of “the pack,” including the “runners” who joined the competition long before they did.

Furthermore, what should the proper benchmark be for the analysis of immigrant attainment? Should it be solely the specific accomplishments of individual immigrants? Or should we rely on an intergenerational, transnational approach to unravel the accelerated pace of success - or its apparent slowness - not only of first generation immigrants, but also their American-born or American-raised offspring?

Sociologists Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou (*Asian American Achievement Paradox*), challenging the well-ingrained narrative of Asian American “exceptionalism” and the seemingly ordinary success of Mexican immigrants and their American children, after comparing the mobility experiences of Asians and Mexicans in the Los Angeles Metro Area through the prism of *intergenerational mobility*, make a startling revelation:

...when we consider starting points and define success as the progress from one generation to the next, the children of Mexican immigrants are the most successful...When we...reframe our measure of success as intergenerational progress *rather than outcomes*, our data show that Mexicans are the most successful second-generation.⁷⁵

We could extrapolate and state that not only Salvadorians but their American born or raised children are equally the most successful generation. This is true by virtue of the fact that in terms of immigration status, education, employment, and income, Mexicans and Salvadorians share many commonalities: high unauthorized emigration rates, low levels of formal education, limited English proficiency, and high workforce participation in predominantly low-skilled occupations with the lowest-paid earnings.

⁷⁵ Jennifer Lee, and Min Zhou. *The Asian American Achievement Paradox* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015), 94-95, Kindle.

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Upbringing Problems in Society

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Abstract

Any member of a society, who is looking into future, wants to be happy and safe. The new generation is the one that will be able to make the world lighter and more ethical. The time of childhood includes in itself the need to shape an autonomous moral, so the personality would be able to take responsibility for their further life and behaviour. When living in a society, a child is exposed to the developments in the society. It is also influenced by the social environment, which itself is exposed to profound changes. Upbringing is a purposeful process of internal and external conditions of life activity affected the process by which children develop and implement personally important attitudes towards themselves, other people, nature, culture, work, society and the state, acquiring the necessary competence for independent work. The theoretical and practical knowledge heritage is rich, but the rapid political and economic changes in Latvia significantly in recent years has been influenced by social and pedagogical processes, at the same time undermining the qualitative aspects of upbringing and every individual of the society - children and adults - development and training opportunities, individual aspects of the process of self-education, creating social interaction process complicated problem being solved, internal contradictions, conflicts and clashes, conflicts, reducing the growth of personality and motivation to improve.

The above factors encourage research to address upbringing issues in a diverse social context within the laws of actualizing personal development, education and self-education process analysis, emphasizing the complexity of this process, inconsistency of the conflicting nature of the development of educational and correctional alternatives and strategies for pedagogy to address changing in the society.

Keywords: Upbringing, children, family, social problems, society

Introduction

The 21st century has come into the public and social life with cardinal changes. The existing values in the society are being assessed, encouraging people to find out what is valuable and significant and what is insignificant and irrelevant. Also the significance and value of the family is being reassessed. Families, children and youth suffer most of all from any changes in society. The rapid increase of high social risk families, children who do not attend school and the amount of intoxicant drug users are like the negative outcome of the changes in the country. One can notice the improvement of the social-economic situation in the society, but the number of inhabitants, who need support in order to deal with the problems, does not decrease. Unfortunately, we have to admit that the work with high risk families is quite often unproductive because the government does not have a common family protection programme, a sustained social protection for the families with children.

More and more often it is possible for a family to end up into a risk situation when losing a job or income and not being able to repay the thoughtlessly taken bank loans, thus losing also the house and not being able to buy some food, nor to provide oneself and children with the health care and education, thus not being able to integrate and function into the society without being able to put into effect own basic needs.

Methodology of Research

The aim of the research: to assess the factors affecting the upbringing process in the society.

Based on the upbringing process improvement and its importance for children is carried out interviews with experts in the field of children's rights in order to find childcare outside family model optimization. During the research, are identified problems that hinder the changes in childcare outside the family. In the interview includes a variety of target groups: teachers, social workers, children's rights of inspection staff, representatives of foster families, physicians.

Problem of Research

An important task has been set: help the children who are growing up in social risk families. The best way to help the children is to help their parents. The help is needed to the whole family in social risk families because the whole family is affected by multi-problems, e.g. unemployment, alcoholism, violence towards the partner and children, insufficient upbringing and its negative consequences. The above mentioned does not mean that only the high social risk families have got social problems. Any family with children frequently encounters various tasks set in life and new

roles, and not always the family is able to cope with them on its own, they need support.

The topicality of the topic is emphasised by the fact that in the big amount of the social risk families there are children who are under-age. These families are not able to cope with the children's upbringing and care either due to objective or subjective reasons. Respondents note that often felt sadness and lack of interest anything do, felt nervousness and difficulty sleeping, tension. Comparing different gender audiences the results obtained, it should be noted that girls more often than boys have found that faced with mood swings and unsteadiness, which took the form of emotion is discharged or even aggression. Respondents acknowledged that they often can easily irritate or excite the mood changes often manifested disputes. The boys confessed that they have often been irritable and often arguing with someone.

The collection of statistics "Children in Latvia" (2016) provides information on children births and deaths, age composition, health status, education, social protection, use of information technologies, violence against children, and statistics on number of children in conflict with law. A large proportion of young people in certain situations are willing to violate societal norms or to support it, which shows youth initiative, individualism and independent thinking, but on the other hand, it also increases the addictive substances first tried likelihood because societal norms are not sufficiently strong barrier that could of discouraging. This publication contains data of children and they social deviance (see Table 1, Table 2).

Table 1 Mental and behavioral disorders of children and adolescents resulting from use of psychoactive substances

Disorders	Total number of new cases	By age group		Number of children and adolescents received medical treatment during the year	By age group	
		0-14	15-17		0-14	15-17
Alcohol psychoses	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alcohol addiction (excluding alcohol psychoses)	4	-	4	12	-	12
Psychoactive substance dependence (excluding alcohol)	6		6	33	5	28
Acute alcoholic intoxication or negative consequential results	87	24	63	155	44	111
Intoxication with psychoactive substances and negative consequential results	50	17	33	162	54	108

Young people indicate that alcoholic beverages most commonly used at home: either to another (often or sometimes alcohol is used in 29% of young people), or in their homes (often or sometimes alcohol is used in 19% of respondents). Least likely alcohol is used in formal and non-formal education institutions and at events organized by them.

Table 2 Number of children and adolescents who have received medical treatment during the year by primary used substance

Medical treatment	Total	By age group	
		0-14	15-17
Opioids	1	-	1
Cocaine (total)	-	-	-
Stimulants (total)	12	1	11
Sedatives and hypnotics	1	-	1
Hallucinogens	1	1	-
Inhalants	17	15	2
Cannabis	139	28	111
Other substances	3	2	1

When evaluating the hazards, the majority of young people surveyed generally agree that the use Cannabis is dangerous even once (69%). However, it draws attention to it, that slightly more than a quarter of young people (27%) do not agree that the use of marijuana even once would dangerous - such thinking 9-10th grade students in comparison with 2012, research has increased by 12 percentage points (2012 - 15%). Getting acquainted with youth satisfaction with themselves and their lives, exposure to stressful situations, violence and social deviation, as well as notions of moral and behavioral norms, all these factors mutual combinations can act as motivators of trying to us addictive substances.

Adolescents grow older, gradually reduce the impact of family and young people the most important referent groups getting their peers. Peer values, behaviors and lifestyle is very important, because young people felt the need to be accepted among their peers (not to be ridiculed or excluded). They are influenced by their friends and peer behavior, including the tendency to deviant behavior or the use of addictive substances.

Table 3 Severe material deprivation rate for children and adolescents (aged 0–17) by educational attainment level of their parents (per cent)

	2013	2014	2015
All children and adolescents	25.4	19.9	17.0
Of which those parents highest attained educational level is...			
basic education or lower	52.2	49.9	44.1
secondary education	27.8	23.1	22.9
higher education	12.3	7.9	5.0

The problems in families are confirmed, that for many parents' level of education is very low (see Table 3). The child's development and upbringing is not guaranteed sufficiently. The main motivator for parents to educate them-self is their own children - the desire to understand each other and cooperate with them, as well as the need to establish a positive relationship with the children's education. Parents is a special audience, the most successful is to learn from each other experience.

A question is raised: why are some families able to survive in even economically hard conditions with the means which they have without giving in, staying together, supporting each other, without suffering from alcoholism, but some families are not able? These two types of families have something distinctive. The answer is given to the question: the main distinction can be found on the development level of the social functioning abilities:

- in the families where the adults have acquired the social basic skills, social functioning abilities more successfully and have got the self-assessment, they, first of all, have more knowledge how to survive in a crucial situation, how to solve the inter-personal conflicts and save their family, they also have established a positive motivation of achievements during the course of life;
- the other family group lacks this knowledge, skills and knacks, which is the reason why they become the social risk families.

Most often the offered social help is ineffective because it tries to solve only the material problems at that very moment, not the original cause. Thus one can make a conclusion: the families which have not developed the social functioning abilities and skills well enough, lack motivation to develop them purposefully. Through information supply, support and education it is possible to help, so the families could take care of themselves on their own.

The aim of the research: to assess the factors affecting the upbringing process in the society.

Results of Research

Human race has overcome different obstacles and experienced lots of milestones in its course of development. They have been passed on from one generation to another, and every family has considered it as its duty to maintain and pass on the family traditions to others. Just the family has been the treasurer of the values in all times. That is why it is a very logical need to turn first of all to the family as the microenvironment in which a human being is born, grows up, develops and gains experience.

While becoming a social being, since their birth the individual starts to:

- be aware of their status and learn the social roles which comply with it,
- be aware of their place in the social system and learn the socially significant types of action which comply with the place,
- acquire the conventional symbolism in the society,
- internalize the society's values,
- shape their own knowledge of the collated cognitions in the society .

The various forces, factors and conditions that take part in the individual's socializing process, such as individuals, groups, the acquired society's culture, as well as the individuals themselves, can be called as their socialisers. The main socialisers in childhood are: family, school, friends, society, etc. The individuals' socializing guarantees the succession of the society's life. Each new generation acquires the previous society's culture, finds the already established system of social relationships, norms and values. Every human being in their life time repeats the life model which they have acquired while growing up in the family. Therefore the family's microenvironment and its order are especially significant.

One should regard family as both the entirety of family members and a special social formation. It is important to look at a family as a set of relationships which exist among the family members. Family is a system which is connected with the external environment- socium, with its peculiarities in the context of particular time. Family is a small socially psychological group whose members are connected with kinship or marriage bonds, common household and moral responsibility. In the particular people's lives family has several alternatives. For some family is a strong base, the source of happiness, joy and common efforts, but for some family is like a battlefield where all family members fight for their personal interests, injuring each other with a thoughtless word or behaviour. Just family is the microenvironment for the child's development. The personality formation, maturation, self-assurance type first of all happen in family, and only after that school and society start to act simultaneously. The individual acquires humanity and finds their place in society through socializing. Family is a very significant factor for the child; it gives the child the sense of stability already since the birth. Family gives the child the most important thing- the parents' love which, unfortunately, cannot be replaced with anything else.

Self-awareness formation is the central part of socializing. Self-awareness or own awareness has not been given biologically to the individual; it is formed socially- in communication and correlation with others. The individual's identity and the fact to which human category the individual is aware of belonging to, depends on the individual's social status and social roles. The individual's self-awareness is based on their practical

correlation with other people. The individual acquires the society's demands through correlation with other people, and their behaviour is formed in compliance with them.

A person's life is a continuous adaptation to conditions, acquisition of new roles and involvement into new relationships. Socializing lasts the whole life, even though it does not always happen in a harmonious and continuous way when all the time one and the same system of values and norms is being developed, and the individual picks up only new social roles. Lots of social roles ask for the resocializing – acquisition of essentially different, sometimes even completely opposite sets of norms and values to the former ones. Resocializing is when a person, who has reached a certain age, refuses from the previous behavioural and action models and internalises sometimes even opposite sets of norms and values. So resocialization means a simplified personality's repeated socializing. The task of resocialization is a positive way of social skills renewal which lasts for the rest of life. It is especially important to start resocializing as soon as possible.

Children's welfare is a common responsibility of the government and each society member. In Latvia there are lots of children who are forced to grow up in children's homes. However, the one, who has grown up in this establishment, is not able to form their life fully and integrate into society. Childhood is the beginning of the human being's life. We associate happy childhood with loving parents, family care, sense of security and home, but lots of children in Latvia are denied and deprived of it. It is only the family which can create the conditions in which the child can develop and socialize fully.

The situation when in Latvian so many children live in children's homes is not legitimate, for the children, who are left without the biological parents' care, have to get into a family-oriented environment as soon as possible, and not to spend a long time in the institutions. Children's possibility to grow up in a family-oriented environment is stated both in Latvia legal regulations and international children's rights regulations. In order to implement the children's rights to grow up in a family-oriented environment in Latvia, it is necessary to start deinstitutionalization of children's foster family care institutions. Deinstitutionalization will affect most directly the children's institutional foster family care model in Latvia, but it will also assess and change the family-oriented care forms. In spite of the long existence and separate progressive features of the previous care model in the work of the institutions, the children's foster biological family care system has to be changed in order to decrease the psychoemotional traumatism in children and youth and possible consequences in a long-term created by the institutions.

Immediate elimination of children's care homes is not possible, whereas the vision – Latvia free from orphanages- has to exist. A favourable movement of issues cannot happen on its own. It is necessary to demonstrate a wide, comprehensive cross-sectoral vision and understanding of governmental social-political affairs essence about the children's rights scope in general. The government has to define very clearly the social policy priorities regarding children and family, so that the set of preventive activities would eliminate and decrease the number of children whose parents have been terminated the care or custody rights. Children have to grow up in a family-orientated environment, and this norm, understood by majority of people, has to be embodied into the governmental action model, for the existing laws have already determined it.

In order to eliminate disfunctioning of social systems or its separate segments, it is necessary to eliminate the contradictions and insufficiencies introducing new elements into the system. An organized and practically implemented deinstitutionalization - definite steps to reach the progress, would guarantee the social dynamics in children foster family care in Latvia. However, the most essential thing in the process of changes behind the procedures and activities is not to forget about the child.

Children, who have been harmed due to the carelessness of public institutions or non-qualified actions, have to be legally protected. Municipalities and governmental institutions, after having realized the problems in a family, should do everything possible in order to help the family to deal with them, proving consultations, informing them, helping them to arrange things and also proving them material help. Child protection's institutions have to do everything to help the children leaving them in their own families, because own family is the best for a child, even if not everything is order in the family.

Deinstitutionalization will influence the model of children's institutional foster family care in Latvia most directly, but it will also assess and change the family-orientated care forms. Children have needs and rights to an appropriate alternative care in a family-orientated environment. If children have grown up or have lived for a certain time in foster family care institutions, their biggest problem is the adaptation to the conditions after leaving the institution (typical characteristics of all children's age groups). In a family-orientated environment children get prepared for independent life better. Therefore the institutions of alternative care forms should be consistently promoted, when a child is given an opportunity to grow up in a family with foster parents or guardian, or SOS children's villages, but also the family-orientated care forms have to change in a qualitative and quantitative way in the deinstitutionalization process.

Not always in the family there rules the ideal of the society, but traditional ideas. Progressive upbringing in a family is possible only then if the parents themselves are suitable for the society and if they understand that the children have to be brought up for the society.

It is urgent to improve the foster family care system in order to promote the children's placement (especially up to the three-year-old ones) in a family-orientated care as soon as possible. There are vacancies in the foster families, but the children are placed in the institutions. The movement of foster families is developed in Latvia, guardians and foster families can guarantee a family-oriented care. However, there are also risks in these types of care which have to be taken into account when choosing a family-orientated environment as an alternative to the institutions.

Discussion

A human being is born like a biological creature. A human being becomes a social individual, personality and individuality through the acquisition of social experience, communicating with other people, getting involved in social relationships, functioning in social processes. The process of human being's social nature, social behavioural programme and personality development is called socialization.

A. Radugin and K. Radugin (1994) recon that socialization is a process in which the individual acquires behavioural models, social norms and values which are necessary for their successful functioning in the existing society. Socialization includes all cultural, educational and upbringing processes, and with their help the human being acquires social nature and a possibility to participate in the society's life.

On the website of the State Inspectorate for Protection of Children's Rights one can find the most topical information about the children's care institutions and crisis centres outside families, the number of children living there, their age. However, behind every passionless number there is hidden a child's or family's hard life situation or even a tragedy. According to the data of the State Children's Rights Protection Inspectorate data in total in 2011 2,300 children were separated form their parents, in 2010 – 1953, in 2009-1657, but in 2008 – 1914 children. Right now more than 8 thousand children are separated from their parents. At the beginning of 2013 in Latvia 1790 children were situated in the institutions, but in 2015 - 1750 children in institutional care, in foster care families – 1260, in guardians' families around 5000 children.

Children, who are placed into institutions, live another way of development than the children who grow up in favourable families. They experience lots of traumatic situations- separation from the biological family, stress, violence etc. The children's problems, who live in the institutions, are

fears, restlessness, lack of children-parents' bond, sense of guilt, shame, impulsive action, psycho-somatic expression, aggression, love and hostility together, generosity and harm. When understanding the human being's behavioural model: impulse (irritation caused by the environment) → behaviour (reaction to the irritation caused by the environment) → consequences (what happens after that), the children's expressions in the institutions also become understandable. The environmental tension promotes the development of those parts in the brain which react to the threat irritation and induces aggression (children become aggressive).

There are problems in the children care homes to guarantee the children the environment favourable for their development; it does not give the child the sense of family. Especially it is typical of the children care homes with a high number of children in them, who have got different level of development, different life experience, which triggers the formation of antisocial environment in the very institution.

Conclusion

The insufficient income causes psychological and social tensions in families, which triggers new problems such as alcoholism, drug addiction, suicides, leaving children unattended, amoral lifestyle, violence towards the partner and children. And then one has to look for help outside the family. These families pretty often lack their own inner resources and therefore they are not able to decrease or solve the problems themselves. Unfortunately, not all families look for help in order to solve the tough problems.

Declarative principles in the children's rights area are not sufficient or permissible. One has to understand the real obstacles and problems of deinstitutionalization: insufficiencies of social policy, lack of action policy, funding model of children foster families' care, ruling stereotypes in society.

Family is the base and main condition for an optimal existence of the country and society which materializes practically when generations change physically and in a socio-cultural way, when children are born, grow up and develop till they reach the high level distinguished by human beings. Family is the human beings' adaptation to life conditions, the eternally changing form of practical improvements. As every human being is also a representative of a family, then in the particular family model the biological, psychological and economic side of the human being's life is formed and shaped.

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The Impact of Nine-Year Schooling on Higher Learning in Mauritius

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Abstract

Nine-Year Schooling is the new educational concept developed in Mauritius by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources with the perspective of favouring holistic learning aimed at the future of the Mauritian workforce. With its main intention of being a strategy that aligns Mauritius with international learning standards, this concept should be an effective one although its outcomes have not yet been developed. It is expected that higher learning might be affected by the inputs of the Nine-Year Schooling namely in terms of competences and skills that are likely to be developed by learners in the new system. This research work analyses how Nine-Year Schooling will impact higher education in terms of pre-requisites developed by existing learners, the new paradigm of secondary school education and the new challenges of tertiary education. It also analyses the challenges that the Nine-Year Schooling might pose to higher education. Assuming that outcomes are not yet available, the research seeks expert advice from various stakeholders and a panel of expert opinion to see how the Nine-Year Schooling posits itself in the future and how universities will have to embrace such a new concept.

Keywords: Nine-Year Schooling, impact, higher education, prospects

Introduction

The Republic of Mauritius, situated in the South-West of the Indian Ocean, is actually undergoing a major change regarding its educational system, particularly at the primary and the secondary levels. Primary education starts from six years and extends up to eleven years while secondary education is undertaken for the next seven years. As at last year, primary education was achieved through the completion of the Certificate of Primary Education examination (CPE), a competitive examination which allowed the best students gain the most highly-rated secondary educational institutions of the country like the Royal College Port Louis (RCPL), the

Royal College Curepipe (RCC), the Queen Elizabeth College (QEC) and a shortlist of secondary schools listed as national colleges.

The CPE Examinations were developed in 1980 in Mauritius. Earlier, primary level examinations were set by Moray House, London with a final examination leading to the Junior Scholarship. The CPE Examinations have been very competitive since students needed to do a lot of rote learning prior to achieving success. The CPE is a high-stake and mandatory examination that certifies completion of primary education (Unesco, 2015). To gain chances for a national college, students took private tuition to improve their chances for success in the examinations. Owing to its high competitive nature, the CPE was subject to criticism from various stakeholders namely the public, scholars, journalists, educationists, etc. who criticised the inhumane nature of such examinations. The intense competition to secure a place in the star schools—referred to as the rat race—begins right from lower primary years, thus exerting immense psychological pressure on both students and their parents and perverting the very function of the school within the society (ADEA, 2011).

There were lots of debate on the primary education issue when the newly-elected government in 2014 came forward with a strategy to repeal the CPE that stayed to test for almost 35 years and have it replaced by Nine-Year Schooling.

The Nine-Year Schooling Concept

The Nine-Year Schooling concept is an innovative learning strategy for Mauritius where it englobes both primary and secondary education up to fifteen years of age. The reform project is in line with the UN Sustainable Development Goal 4 on Education which is to ‘ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all’ (Draft Policy, 2015). The innovation here is that it blends both primary and secondary education. The pressure of a final primary level examination is relieved because students will have to sit for a new primary level examination which is not competitive for college seats. Article 65 from the Government programme stated that Government will introduce a nine-year basic continuous schooling and the Certificate of Primary Education will be replaced by an end-of-primary cycle assessment (Government Programme, 2015). The new examination known as the Primary School Achievement Certificate (PSAC) is a pathway for secondary level education which extends from Grade 7 to Grade 9 where students will sit for a national examination. From that stage, they will have access to academies specialised per subject area and that will allow them complete their two secondary level examinations offered by the University of Cambridge, namely the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate.

There have been a lot of debate on the validity of the Nine-Year Schooling but, from a global point of view, all stakeholders concerned believe that this new learning strategy augurs a new stepping stone to learning with holistic education now available to students (Dookun, 2015). In contrast to previous learning methodologies, the Nine-Year Schooling will enable children to better develop their learning through creativity, research, reflection and compel them to benefit from learning in a more vocational than academic manner. The Nine-Year Continuous Basic Education Reform programme sits within the Education and Human Resource Strategy Plan 2008 – 2020, which translates Government's commitment to bring about fundamental reforms in education (Commonwealth.org, 2017).

From this standpoint, it is quite clear that Nine-Year Schooling represents an advantage for Mauritius which might henceforth align its education to international standards. With children gaining broad-based education up to Grade 9 and entering academies for course specialization as from grades 11 to 13, there is the possibility of furthering cut-throat competition at a higher stage bearing in mind that as the child matures, he is more apt to consider competing and achieving success compared to the innocence and naivety of a ten or eleven-year old child.

Problem Statement

Since the Nine-Year Schooling has been vaunted as a modern strategy promoting holistic learning and developing in a more pronounced way the aptitudes of children, the main question arising could be whether this impacts education of the child up to higher grades and at the tertiary education level. So far, the plan has been scaled up to fifteen years of age and nothing has been evaluated beyond that. In a sense, the benefits of the Nine-Year Schooling might be estimated to lower secondary level only—less than 16 years. Nothing has been so far evaluated on the longer-term learning experience of the child. For instance, Mangar (2015) states that the reform suggests a modular system but what appears is a subject approach. Currently primary education is moving towards a transdisciplinary approach but in Mauritius there will be a strict division into 'Core' and 'Non-Core' subjects—a compartmentalised approach instead of facilitating valuable connections between subjects (Mangar, 2015).

In this respect, it might look appropriate to say that the Nine-Year Schooling promotes learning up to 16 years—the age when an individual cannot be declared illiterate after studying for 10 years continuously. Henceforth, there is no clear thought on how this promotes students' learning in the final years of secondary schooling which are sanctioned by Cambridge examinations.

For the research purpose, the evaluation goes still further by asking about the impact of the new educational strategy on higher education. Could it be generally believed that the Nine-Year Schooling would bring about better educated students that will enter universities in the future. Given that the Nine-Year Schooling is applicable as from 2017, the real outcomes for universities could be envisaged as from 2024/2025 while the initial evaluation is applicable as from 2021. To this end, the time scale is quite long and it might be really complex to assess how this will impact the future.

Tertiary Education in the limelight

Tertiary education is another key focus of the Mauritian government. Understanding the need to develop a high-income country by 2030 with infrastructure comparable to Western standards, Government of Mauritius has emphasised the importance of higher learning. The earlier government proposed the concept ‘One graduate per family’ with the intention of increasing graduate intake in Mauritius with a view to developing high calibre employees for the future. Former Minister, Jeetah supported that ‘if each family can have at least one graduate within their midst, we are convinced that this can be a powerful tool in their hands to combat poverty and to aspire for greater upward social mobility than would otherwise be the case. (Gouges, 2011)’ Tertiary education is now quite well served in the national through four public universities and a hundred private educational institutions that offer varied programmes ranging from Certificate courses to undergraduate programmes. Some even offer Master level and Doctoral courses in collaboration with foreign universities.

From a researcher’s point of view, a few research questions might arise. This stems from the idea that the Nine-Year Schooling appears like a panacea to the present educational system at the primary education level characterised by a failure rate of some 25%. Evidently, by reducing the burden of competition as from 12 years of age, it is likely that a greater percentage of students is likelier to enter post-secondary education with the potential of being already subject specialised as from 15 years of age.

Research Questions

From the above arguments, research questions arise. They are as follows:

- Does the Nine-Year Schooling concept have a direct impact on higher education?
- Is there a possibility of having the critical mass of students for higher learning?
- Does the Nine-Year Schooling adequately prepare students enter universities or higher education learning?

-What are the strategies that higher education institutions should develop to accommodate the Nine-Year Schooling strategy?

The Research Premise

The open nature of the study reveals that it might be appropriate to use both secondary and primary source of information to analyse the data. For instance, a questionnaire method used might not be sufficient because of the longer term impact of Nine-Year Schooling on higher education. Secondly, outcomes obtained in a shorter timeframe, say 3 to 5 years, might not accurately illustrate the impact of such a strategy because everything that will emanate in the next five years could not alluded to the Nine-Year Schooling. It is worth noting here that higher education is an important variable because one needs to assess the longer term benefit of the concept as it would be of no means important if the impact were limited only to primary or secondary level students.

Research Methodology

For the purposes of the research, the methodology is developed in the following way. Firstly, opinions of stakeholders are synthesised to see the pros and cons of Nine-Year Schooling. The names of the people concerned are not explicitly exposed due to confidentiality reasons but the occupations and organisations where they work will be depicted.

The main research was based on a panel of expert opinions provided by respondents who are closer to the frame of tertiary education namely university lecturers, students, university dean and any stakeholder having an interest on tertiary education.

The research technique would be essentially qualitative given that data assessments might give an evaluative statement not value judgment that one wants to have from a long-term oriented framework analysing the impact of Nine-Year Schooling on higher education. The main research questions will be asked to solicit arguments to support the hypothesis that Nine-Year Schooling might positively impact higher education in the future but also identify potential challenges therein.

Research Findings

Secondary Data: General Insights into Nine-Year Schooling

The first part of the research question seeks the input of different stakeholders on Nine-Year Schooling. Information was sourced from publications like newspapers and the Internet to provide an initial outlook of how the Mauritian public generally views the concept. A selective technique is used to quote only words that have particular meaning and value regarding

the concept. As a research practice, secondary data was first assessed and synthesised prior to discussing the research with greater depth.

The following are comments made by major stakeholders or opinion leaders on Nine-Year Schooling. They are reproduced through translation from L'express newspaper (2015).

Leela Devi Dookhun, actual Minister of Education and Human Resources (2014-todate)

'It will be a new learning way with freshly trained educators. Structurally, the nine years of continuous basic education means pupils will stay for six years in primary schools before they move on to regional secondary schools where they will complete the remaining three years of Nine-Year Schooling cycle. Subsequently, they will continue their schooling for the remaining years either in the same regional school or an academy. The aim of the reform is to provide fair learning opportunities to all children with none being left behind.'(Defimedia, 2016)

Steeve Obeegadoo, Former Minister of Education (2001-2005):

'If the Nine-Year Schooling plan is promoted, it will mean a big step taken. Any reform eliminating the CPE should be claimed as positive. This reform looks to be a critical one as numerous arguments arise. Planning should have been initiated much earlier and if Mauritius does not promote this strategy, this will be a return to the past without any meaningful progress.'

Kadress Pillay, Former Minister of Education (1995-1999):

'A positive point here is that cut-throat education disappears. I earlier claimed the need to have mentors and coaches to support adolescents in their growth phase. There appears to be good political will here.'

Ally Yearoo, Education Officers Union:

'We are in favour of the reform as the level of failure is quite high at CPE level. However, there will be pressure on students to score better grades like moving from Grade 6 to 7. There will be again competition at Grade 10 where children enter puberty. A similar formula has not been successful in the past.'

Vinod Seegum, President of the Government Teachers' Union:

'Children facing learning difficulties will be supervised by specialised teachers. This should have been undergone earlier and we are satisfied with the Minister's decision.'

Bureau de l'Education Catholique (BEC) :

'The BEC appreciates a broader curriculum with core and non-core subjects, the introduction of continuous assessments and flexibility linked with the different learning stages of the children, especially those needed more time to benefit from desirable learning competences.'

Primary data: Arguments and Findings

Once the arguments of Nine-Year Schooling were identified, the next step was to find out responses from the research sample and assess their understanding of the impact of the new strategy on higher education. This comprised primary input to the research.

Argument One: The direct impact of Nine-Year Schooling concept on higher education.

The first question referred to the direct impact of Nine-Year Schooling on higher education. The argument was to find out whether the new concept had some viability provided that it was long-term geared.

Respondents:

L.K, Educator, Secondary

‘Apparently, Nine-Year Schooling seems to be focused on primary and secondary education. Its far-reaching impact cannot be effectively assessed because the concept is just new. Since its being in infancy up to now, little has been said onto how it will impact the future.’

S.R, Université des Mascareignes Student :

‘I think that Nine-Year Schooling is likely to bring a larger number of students to universities because the pass rate is likely to be higher under the new system. Also, this is in line with the Government policy of ‘one graduate per family’.

B.N, Université des Mascareignes Dean of Faculty:

‘The intention of Nine-Year Schooling rests upon improving primary and secondary education focused on holistic learning. It is clear that this is likely to positively impact tertiary students with more students willing to follow higher education. Evidently, courses must be geared so that they are in line with Nine-Year Schooling philosophy.’

S.P, Open University of Mauritius:

‘It is difficult to have an initial appreciation of the impact of Nine-Year Schooling at the tertiary level. However, impacts at the secondary level are likely to bring meaningful information as to how higher education will have to react to it.’

Argument Two: Having the critical mass of students for higher learning

This question analysed the need for having a critical mass of students for higher learning based from the fact that the educational reform would bring higher pass rates to allow students enter tertiary education.

Respondents:

L.K, Educator, Secondary

‘Nine-Year Schooling will definitely bring a larger number of students to tertiary education but I argue that there will be both diversity and quality if students enter academies that will allow them become specialists in subject areas.’

S.R, Université des Mascareignes Student :

‘Seen from the perspective that more students will pass both in terms of quality and quantity, there will be a greater number of students joining higher education. This might be a ‘must’ for them in the future.’

B.N, Université des Mascareignes Dean of Faculty:

‘The issue of critical mass has always been a major concern for Mauritius since its stepping to industrialisation. Hopefully, the numbers will rise and so be, the critical mass. There should be good correlation between what has been created under the Nine-Year Schooling and how competences fit into higher education needs.’

S.P, Open University of Mauritius:

‘If the Open University already attracts large number of flexible and distance-learning students, it would be commendable to find out a sufficient number of students joining tertiary education.’

Argument Three: The adequacy of Nine-Year Schooling adequately in preparing students enter universities or higher education learning.

The third argument converged the idea of how adequate Nine-Year Schooling needed to be to prepare students enter higher educational learning. A few secondary school teachers were contacted for this question. Respondents:

L.K, Educator, State Secondary

‘Nine-Year Schooling will prepare students embrace various specialisations according to their needs. However, they will still be confronted to Cambridge examinations that are highly academic.’

T.V.M, Educator, Private Secondary:

‘The idea looks glamorous but there is no immediate forecast regarding the stance of private secondary schools as per how adequate Nine-Year Schooling would be in preparing students for universities. Could be a more realistic argument were the adequacy for immediate employment after college.’

R.B, Rector, State Secondary:

‘One might not always know the stuff that Nine-Year Schooling might have but it is an obligation for a student to be adequately prepared

prior to joining a university or higher educational institution. Possibly, citizenship education must not be overlooked.’

B.N, Université des Mascareignes Dean of Faculty:

‘The adequacy remains a tough question. Universities are so far limited to attracting candidates on entry requirements—some being flexible and other being quite strict. The main argument here might be the scope of subjects studied prior to joining a course. Definitely, courses should be innovative in the future.’

Argument Four: The strategies that higher education institutions should develop to accommodate the Nine-Year Schooling strategy.

The last research argument aimed to find out whether higher educational institutions were bound to develop strategies to accommodate Nine-Year Schooling. This was quite a tough question where insights were obtained from educators and students alike.

M.L, Senior Lecturer, Public University:

‘Universities are on the move and rely on changes taking place from both internal and external environments. Definitely, insights from Nine-Year Schooling might enforce universities to develop learning methodologies that involve creativity, innovation and broad-based learning.’

B.N, Université des Mascareignes Dean of Faculty:

‘Universities have both a traditional role to play on being purveyors of tertiary education and an innovator of learning strategies. Personally, they might also be embarked on this concept but Nine-Year Schooling will compel universities to develop a more student-based learning approach focused on sharing ideas and having more practical impact on society.’

S.R, Université des Mascareignes Student:

‘I would like to really see how universities will develop curricula in line with Nine-Year Schooling. The barrier is that after students have accomplished this, they will move directly to Cambridge examinations. It is at this stage that the exams need to be reviewed so that they become more practical for students who will find out a better pathway to entering the university.’

T.V.M, Educator, Private Secondary:

‘Learning strategies must be innovative like using technologies to enhance learning, ‘thinking out of the box’ learning activity, ideas sharing, case studies, industrial placements, etc. Yet, I think that university learning should be reinvented but this is the way that some universities are practicing while caring for what educational reforms are already addressing.’

Discussion

Four general issues have arisen from the findings of the panel of expert opinion on the impact that the Nine-Year Schooling is likely to have

on higher learning in Mauritius. Firstly, the direct impact of Nine-Year Schooling on tertiary education might not effectively assessed now although it could be broadly said that it could be relevant in the future. So far, Nine-Year Schooling has been focused on primary and secondary level education and not on tertiary level. The long-term benefit, the holistic perception and the need to have more graduates partly responds to this argument. Rughooputh (2011) supports the idea that the new system proposed, based on a more widened access, provides new opportunities for major resource optimisation, enhancing the quality of education, specialisation teachers/schools, justified construction of schools, and reintroduction of a new type of competition commensurate with the requirements of global competition.

Next comes the issue of having a critical mass of students for higher learning although the figure is just rising steadily now. Respondents stated that there might be greater diversity and quality of students' intake at university level, the need to have sufficient students to match the market needs and the opportunities that universities could create from flexible modes of study to draw larger number of students. However, according to NEFA Review Report (2015), hurdles do exist. Overcoming social inequalities and improving the Gini coefficient that has regressed from 0.371 in 2001/02 to 0.413 in 2012 undoubtedly has several implications, not least for the education and training sector. Indeed, one key challenge to developing a sustainable and vibrant economy that relies on increased labour productivity is sustaining the momentum for a continuous upgrading of knowledge and high level skills in a lifelong learning education has been the cardinal driver of change and the vector for innovation and participation in the 'global knowledge economy' (NEFA, 2015).

Thirdly, the adequacy of Nine-Year Schooling was considered with regards to preparing students entering universities. So far, the final secondary examinations like the Cambridge School Certificate and Higher School Certificate stand as the key inputs to tertiary education. In this context, university entry requirements will influence the intake of the students and the need for citizenship education will be essential as well though this is overlooked at college level. The latter point is supported by the government's aim is to offer a comprehensive basic education cycle that provides students with the foundational skills for success in all further learning leading to an empowered 2030 citizenry. The objectives inculcate in young people a sense of moral responsibility, patriotism and set of values (Newsfeed, 2016).

Finally, in line with the long-term adjustments needed by tertiary institutions to accommodate the Nine-Year Schooling generation, no big development has yet been initiated. Presently, universities are influenced by

the diktats of employers and the external educational environment. The need to develop curricula has been emphasised here including the importance of developing new curricula and learning methodologies. Universities might have to adjust to changing needs of students but such 'fine tuning' is imaginable since universities have learnt to 'think out of the box'. Osman and Burman (2016) state that higher education sector faces a number of growingly complex challenges as a result of its expansion over the years. This includes the necessity for the sector to: develop high value added knowledge to enhance its competitive advantage; build its capacity to operate in an internationalised higher education environment; as well as widening access, ensuring equity and improving quality both of service and delivery (Osman and Burman, 2016)

Research Limitations/Delimitations

This research work is based on qualitative data assessment and has no quantitative analysis since the researcher is of the opinion that statistics might only give an interpretation of what respondents actually think of. Such a technique might not provide an in-depth evaluation of a future situation. There are limitations however like the scale and scope of the research which is undertaken in a short time frame with a panel of expert opinion. The assumptions cannot be generalised at the present time though they have some insightful information to provide. On the whole, the findings are reflections on a chosen topic but do not necessarily fully expose the issue of Nine-Year Schooling on the future of education in Mauritius.

Conclusion

It can be synthesised from this research that there is a serious argument regarding the impact of a new educational strategy like the Nine-Year Schooling on higher learning in Mauritius especially at the tertiary level. So far, the concept has been vulgarised in the country as being some sort of panacea to the problem posed since long by the constraining CPE primary level examinations. To overcome competition at the tender age of 11, the educational reform aims at providing a holistic approach to primary education while it also blends part of secondary education. There is a gap however at the tertiary level because, so far, such a type of education has been inspired from demands of industry, education specialists and the international environment. This research posits that tertiary education will be dependent on the input of the Nine-Year Schooling since this concept is in line with international standards and it is expected to leverage primary level education in Mauritius. Incidentally, it is believed that there should be impact on tertiary education. In Singapore, for example there has been a commitment to trimming syllabi at the primary and secondary levels, without

compromising students' preparation for higher education (Knight and Rapley, 2007). Additionally, Cheselek and Magavalia (2012) state that a suitable educational vision places great emphasis on the link between education and the labour market; the need to create entrepreneurial skills and competences. This has been so far discussed in terms of findings from a panel of expert opinion that states, inter alia, the need to improve tertiary education by having more qualified candidates, the possibility of gaining a critical mass of students needed at the tertiary level, the adequacy that is required from the new educational strategy in terms of competences expected, and finally, the need for tertiary institutions to adapt themselves suitably in line with what the Nine-Year Schooling might propose in terms of capacity for the tertiary education sector.

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Mental Health and Paranoid Thoughts in College Students from Juarez.

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Abstract

Paranoid thoughts are a psychological consequence of the social violence lived by the people in Juarez, which in 2010 was the most violent city in the world. Most people in Juarez report some degree of paranoid thoughts and these thoughts have been related to mental health. This study analyzes the relationship between paranoid thoughts and mental health. The sample consisted of 315 college students with a mean age of 23.05 (SD = 0.59) years, 70.5% females and 29.5% males. Most of the sample was single (86.0%) and married (9.2%). The Paranoid Thoughts Scale and the Symptom Checklist-90-Revised were used to measure paranoid thoughts and mental health (e.g. depression, or anxiety), respectively. All of the mental health factors had statistically significant correlations with paranoid thoughts with correlations ranging from .38 to .57. The people that reported higher levels of paranoid thoughts also reported higher levels of psychological problems or distress. Paranoid thoughts can be considered a predictor of low mental health in people from Juarez.

Keywords: Depression, anxiety, mental health, violence

Introduction

Juarez City is located in the north of Mexico, across the border from El Paso, Texas, USA. For many years Juarez has been an important city for drug cartels to cross many types of drugs into the US. The Juarez Cartel used to control the city, but in 2008, the Sinaloa Cartel came into the city, declared a war against the Juarez Cartel, and the City of Juarez became a witness and a victim as a consequence of this war. President Felipe Calderon

intervened with sending armed forces to the city, bringing more violent confrontations between cartels and armed forces. At the end, the Sinaloa cartel took control over the city and the Juarez Cartel was relegated to a secondary role. The year 2009 had a big increment in violence, where one of every three dead people in all of Mexico was murdered in Juarez (Ibarz, 2009). The following year, 2010, Juarez was above the national mean in homicides by 757% (Milenio, 2010). In 2008 the homicide rate was 101 homicides per 100,000, and it increased to 191 per 100,000 people in 2010, when Juarez became the most violent city in the world with higher rates than San Pedro Sula, El Salvador, Caracas, Guatemala, Cali and even Baghdad (Milenio, 2010).

Juarez became more violent than Medellin, Colombia, in 1991, when it reached its most violent year, 139 homicides per 100,000 people, when the Cartel of Pablo Escobar was fighting against the Cali Cartel (Milenio, 2010).

According to the Mexican government, the number of homicides in Juarez in the most violent years were the following: 1,587 murders in 2008 (Rodríguez, 2011), 2,643 murders in 2009 (Rodríguez, 2011), 3,103 murders in 2010 (Rodríguez, 2011), and 1,956 murders in 2011 (Observatory of Citizen Security and Coexistence, 2011) for a total of 9,289 murders in Juarez. From 2008 to 2010, there was an increase in violence, but in 2011 violence started to decrease. People in Juarez knew that the people being murdered were the ones involved with drug related activities, so even though there were a lot of homicides, people knew that if they were not involved they were safe. The problem came when other criminal groups started to target all of the people in Juarez, specifically those with higher socioeconomic status or business owners, who were being kidnapped or extorted. The rates for kidnaps reached 100 cases per one million people in 2009, a rate six times higher than Venezuela in 2008, the country with the most kidnaps for that year (Society and Technology, 2010). Another important consequence for the city was the children that were left orphaned, around 10,000, and with 40,000 family members that were affected directly (Blancas, 2010).

The violent acts in Juarez had a negative impact in people, but the worst characteristic of them was that these acts were random and unpredictable. Before 2008, there was violence in the city, but it only occurred at certain times and in certain places that people avoided to be safe, since the violence was predictable. But in 2008, this violence increased and became unpredictable, since murders happened in schools, on the streets with a lot of traffic, in churches, in the supermarkets, during the morning, afternoon or night. There was no place or time that felt safe since anything could occur at any time everywhere. As mentioned earlier, people in Juarez knew that the murders were targeted at people involved in drug related

activities, but other criminal groups took advantage of the violent situation and started to target all people with extortions, kidnaps, carjackings and housejackings. People felt in danger, insecure, and not even the police or armed forces gave people peace since many people felt that people from these police groups were also involved with criminals. All of this violence in the city brought psychological consequences in its people like symptoms of depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among others (Quiñones, Esparza, & Carrillo, 2013).

As part of the psychological consequences of the violence in the community, Esparza, Gutiérrez, Montañez, and Carrillo (2016), reported an observed phenomenon which they called “Paranoid Thoughts”, that most people reported even those that were not direct victims of violence. They validated the Paranoid Thoughts Scale that included items like “When a stranger comes up to me on the street or a public place, the first thing I think is that he/she will hurt me” and “When I see people with recent-model cars, I feel that a violent act can occur”. People from non-clinical populations that experience traumatic events can develop paranoid thoughts (Gracie et al., 2007), and the experience in Juarez suggests that these events can affect people vicariously. Studies have primed people with no history of mental illness to have paranoid thoughts in virtual reality environments using news of street violence (Isnanda, Brinkman, Veling, van der Gaag, & Neerinx, 2013). This suggests that paranoid thoughts can be present in people with no history of mental illness in Juarez by being exposed to violence in the media and from word of mouth from other people. Paranoid thoughts are a symptom of PTSD, and according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (5th ed.; American Psychiatric Association, 2013) PTSD is characterized by being indirectly exposed by knowing that a close friend or relative was exposed to trauma (Criterion A), and by having negative alterations in cognitions like “I can’t trust anyone” (Criterion D). As a result of the paranoid thoughts reported by the people of Juarez, Lozano and colleagues (2011) developed the Paranoid Thoughts Scale which was later validated by Esparza and colleagues (2016). This scale is used to measure the degree of paranoid thoughts in people from Juarez.

Methods:

Participants

The sample consisted of 315 undergraduate students of the Autonomous University of Juarez City with a mean age of 23.05 ($SD = 0.59$) years, 70.5% female, and with 52.7% having a job. The reported marital status was: 86% single, 9.2% married, and 3.8% living together. The range of grades (10-point system) was from 6.5 to 9.9 with a mean of 8.9. Students who took classes in the morning were 24.4%, students who took classes in

the afternoon were 43.8%, and students who took classes in both morning and afternoon were 20.0%.

Instruments

Paranoid Thoughts Scale (PTS; Lozano et al., 2011). This scale is composed of eight paranoid thoughts that are related to social violence with response options that include never, sometimes, often, and always. The scale was written in Spanish, it only has one factor, and the reported internal reliability is $\alpha = 0.85$ (Esparza et al., 2016; Esparza & Quiñones, 2012).

Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (SCL-90-R). This is a self-report scale that assesses psychological problems and psychological distress (Derogatis & Savitz, 1999). This instrument has nine factors that include somatization, obsessive compulsive, depression, anxiety, phobic anxiety, hostility, interpersonal sensitivity, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism. Participants are asked to rate the severity of 90 symptoms over the last week on a five-point response scale ranging from “not at all” to “extremely”.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the Autonomous University of Juarez City, they were asked to participate, and then they were given a consent form that explained their participation in the study, their rights, and they had an opportunity to ask questions about their participation. Students were given the scales previously described and at the end they got a more thorough explanation of the study. The data was captured in IBM SPSS Statistic computer program. To analyze the relationship between the factors of the SCL-90-R and the PTS, we used Person Correlation Coefficients.

Results:

Person correlation coefficients were computed to assess the relationship between each of the nine dimensions of the SCL-90-R and the Paranoid Thoughts Scale. Table 1 shows the correlation coefficients between each of the psychological subscales and paranoid thoughts.

Table 1 *Pearson Correlation Coefficients between the SCL-90-R and the PTS.*

	Paranoid Thoughts
Somatization	.44***
Obsessive-Compulsive	.54***
Interpersonal Sensitivity	.46***
Depression	.40***
Anxiety	.46***
Hostility	.38***
Phobic Anxiety	.48***
Paranoid Ideation	.44***
Psychoticism	.47***
Total SCL 90	.57***

*** $p < .001$.

Discussion and Conclusion

All correlations were statistically significant and the range was from $r = .38$ to $r = .57$, moderate to strong correlations (Cohen, 1992). The factors of the SCL-90-R correlated with paranoid thoughts. These paranoid thoughts were a consequence that was observed in people in Juarez after the violence started to increase. Even though most people had not experienced violent acts directly, they started to report these thoughts that were accompanied by feelings of anxiety. It has been found that people with no history of mental illness, that read news related to violence in the community, started to report thoughts of paranoia (Isnanda et al., 2013). This is similar to what happened in Juarez, when people listened experiences from others, read it in newspapers, or saw it in the television news, they started to feel unsafe, insecure, and started to report these thoughts related to paranoia

These traumatic events that the people of Juarez witnessed triggered paranoid thoughts in them. This study reports the correlation between psychological problems and distress measured by the SCL-90-R and paranoid thoughts. People with higher levels of paranoid thoughts also reported higher levels in somatization, obsessive compulsive, depression, anxiety, phobic anxiety, hostility, interpersonal sensitivity, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism. Even though this is not an experimental study and we cannot infer causality, we can see a strong relationship between both constructs, indicating that people who report higher levels of paranoid thoughts will also report higher levels of mental distress.

This finding suggests that mental health professionals who work with people that live in communities with social violence, like Juarez, should implement a component in their interventions to deal and work with paranoid thoughts that are present. These paranoid thoughts, if not attended, can nurture feelings of being unsafe or insecure even if people are safe and secure, but because they are constantly exposed to news about violence in their communities, these thoughts will not disappear and will keep affecting people psychologically.

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The Cultural and Creative Sector in 5 Arab Mediterranean Countries: Skill-Mismatch and Active Labour Market Policies

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Abstract

The cultural and creative sector is a major determinant of the economic development. But Arab countries are still incapable of exploiting all its potentialities, while other developing countries are doing much better. Even though this sector is more and more alluring to Arab youth, especially after the Arab spring, yet a lot of artistic and creative activities are not considered as “real” jobs. Our study provides a conceptual framework for understanding the creative economy in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon. In order to address the main challenges to employability, we analyze the market structure in each country, with a view on the production, consumption and trade of creative goods and services. Finally, we suggest recommendations for active labour market policies aiming at enhancing employability in the cultural and creative sectors of the aforementioned countries.

Keywords: Creative industries – Cultural economy – Active labour market policies – Skill-mismatch

Introduction

The cultural and creative sector is a major determinant of the economic development in the information era. The international trade of cultural and creative industries (CCI) is one of the most dynamic in the global economy, and it has more than doubled between 2000 and 2011, while its average annual growth was 8.7% between 2002 and 2011. The value of this trade amounted to 424.4 billion USD in 2005 (3.4% of total trade), jumping to 624 billion USD in 2011 [United Nations, 2013]. This rapid growth in the CCS could be a powerful leverage for economic growth and job creation in the Arab countries. Yet, in a population among the youngest

in the world, experiencing high unemployment rate, not all artistic activities are considered as serious vocations⁷⁶. Our study provides a conceptual framework for understanding the creative economy in five Arab Mediterranean Countries (AMC): Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon. Our aim is to identify major skill-shortages and other obstacles to employability, suggesting recommendations for policy-making.

The cultural and creative sector includes a wide range of activities, products and industries that are difficult to embrace in a strict definition, with classifications varying from one national context to another. Indeed, different terms could be found in literature, such as creative industry, cultural industry, cultural economy or even cultural-cognitive economy. In our study, we follow the broader term of “cultural and creative sector” (CCS), by which we mean the larger sphere that includes all cultural products and creative industries, following the UNESCO’s definition [United Nations, 2013]. The common feature of all these activities is that they require significant potential for creation and innovation, including artistic products, advertising, computer games, digital products, design and architecture.

The CCS in the five countries of our study is dominated by a large number of small businesses and non-profit associations, considered as the major actors of the art scene, while big institutional players such as museums and galleries have limited influence. Thus, young creators usually begin their careers through entrepreneurship and self-employment, starting very small enterprises or non-profit organizations, or even as independent artists or freelancers (under various statutes of “freelancing”: formal, semi-formal, informal, casual, seasonal, etc.). In such a market structure, the skill-supply is maladjusted, especially in Higher Education Institutions (HEI) where the theoretical teaching leaves a small place to technical education, with the absence of managerial skills. Therefore, addressing this skill-mismatch is crucial for the economic development in the AMC, where unemployment is usually more common among graduates of HEI: a higher level of education tends to be associated with higher levels of unemployment [Martin and Bardak, 2012].

Since skill-shortage is one of the greatest defiance of the CCS in the AMC, Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) are mostly required to avoid skill-shortages and enhance employment in a sector dominated by the

⁷⁶ According to our survey, poets and writers are highly respected in the AMC, looked at as serious artists following a noble vocation while musicians and plastic artists only receive recognition if they are renowned, but still considered with some appreciation as their arts are perceived as hard to learn, requiring lot of talents and natural gifts. Technical jobs (e.g. sounds and light) are less perceived as creative jobs, while careers in acting (especially for women) or dancing (especially for men) are still subject to lot of social and moral prejudice and controversy.

informal economy of culture. Informal jobs refer to workers who have no official contract or who do not benefit from social security coverage, and it concerns most professionals in the CCS. A major risk in the creative economy of the AMC is related to confusion between informal jobs and entrepreneurship. What are the challenges to employability in artistic and creative professions and what are the prospects of entrepreneurship and self-employment?

Our Survey was first conducted in 2015, as part of the European project, MEDCULTURE, funded by the European Commission. The project was dedicated to study skill-shortage, future occupations and future career opportunities, combining several complementary methodologies: analysis of key documents, investigation methods used in development projects, and interviews with key-informants and stakeholders from various backgrounds (including policy makers, cultural managers, artists, etc.). Therefore, we identified 5 major obstacles to employability in the CCS in the AMC: 1) the mismatch between the supply of skills and the market needs; 2) the weak synergy with the international scene; 3) the precarious state of local artists and cultural professionals due to the predominance of the informal economy of culture and the absence of large institutional players; 4) the lack of public funding and private investments, instability of funds and fluctuations of donors agenda; 5) the high “barriers to entry” for new firms and young professionals willing to be admitted to the market.

In order to understand how to address the main challenges to employability, we first need in-depth analysis of the structure of the CCS, with a view on the production, consumption and trade of goods and services (section 1). Secondly, we need to discuss specific challenges for each of our 5 countries (sections 2-6). Finally, a comparative analysis is conducted (section 7) before suggesting a set of recommendations for ALMP.

The morphology of the CCS in the AMC

The growth in export of the CCS in the AMC is close to the world's average, rising at an annual rate of 7.03% [UNCTAD, 2010]. However, the contribution of the sector to GDP remains low, compared to the rest of the developing countries. For the entire MENA region for example, the income from CCS amounted to 58 billion USD in 2013, only representing 3% of total revenue. This sector only occupies 1.1% of the GDP of the entire region [CISAC, 2015]. Moreover, this sector has been experiencing stagnation since 2008. Indeed, 14 of the 25 creative and cultural industries identified for North Africa by the United Nations are declining in exports, with an average decrease of 23.61% in audiovisual products, a decrease of 51.74% in new media products, and a decrease of 26.34% in visual arts products.

In 2012, Art Crafts became the largest exporting sector (49.88% of regional exports), especially with the export of carpets (33.60% of total export, with a 571 million USD value). The design represented 47.29% of exports in 2012, with a value of 541 million USD [UNCTAD, 2013]. Together, these two groups (Art Crafts and Design) amount to 97% of total exports of cultural and creative products. The remaining exported products do not exceed 3%, and therefore are primarily intended for the local market.

One of the major flaws of the employment and labour market in the AMC is the informal economy, when the informal jobs amount to 547,500 jobs in the CCS [CISAC, 2015]. This situation is common to most economic sectors. However, cultural professions are more subject to informality since occupations are mainly based on talent and individual creativity, offering more flexible careers, with greater potential for entrepreneurship and self-employment. Therefore, these jobs are more and more attractive for a young generation targeting a higher source of income outside of the traditional employment path. Nevertheless, when compared to other economic activities, the risk of unemployment is higher in the CCS, since creators are not ensured of the artistic recognition of their creations, and the artistic success of a project is not always positively correlated with higher profitability. Finally, the informal economy of culture is condemning young creators to spend a part of their career in a precarious situation, as they are often forced to accept an auxiliary job in order to ensure a more stable source of income, or at least to declare only parts of their cultural occupation on irregular, intermittent or seasonal basis.

The local market is very dynamic, yet there is weak synergy with international scene (e.g. Africa contributes to less than 1% of world exports of CCI). While other developing countries are doing much better, AMC are still incapable of exploiting all the CCS potentialities. The cultural goods and services are mainly produced through the informal sector, almost-exclusively designed for the local scene with very little exports (especially towards non-Arab countries).

Employability in the cultural and creative sector in Morocco

The CCS in Morocco is traditionally linked to heritage and handcrafts, with 15 clusters specialized in crafts like carpets or jewelry and only one dedicated to heritage. The construction sector is booming, driving a rise in the architectural and design sub-sectors. The publishing industry used to be a major component of the CCS, but it seems to experience stagnation, due to the digital turn. In 2009, this sub-sector used to occupy 1.8% of the labour force and generated revenues amounting to 370 million USD [United Nations, 2013]. There are currently 20 editors and 4 to 5 distribution companies to 100 libraries scattered throughout Morocco [UNIDO, 2015]. In

the last two decades, the CCS in Morocco was diversifying its assets by developing a hub for the cinema industry, producing today more than 15 movies per year [UNIDO, 2015]. The boom in the film industry is due to the strong support of the Moroccan Cinematographic Centre as well as the Higher Institute of Cinema Crafts and Audiovisual Arts, both benefiting from the Moroccan diaspora and the diplomatic network of the country.

There are currently some ALMPs in Morocco supporting employability in the CCS by promoting self-employment or facilitating the transition to the labour market. Since 2003, Moroccan artists have been given access to social benefits, entitling them to a national artist card. In 2007 the *Mutuelle Nationale des Artistes* was founded under the patronage of the Ministry of Culture. It aims mainly at defending labour rights of artists and at improving their social situation. While the Ministry of Culture manages 7 exhibition halls, the priority is currently given to the creation of the National Museum of Archaeology and Earth Sciences as well as the National Higher Institute of Music and Dance. In 2011, the Ministry of culture implemented a new "proximity policy" in the cultural field, a program that is tailored to local/community level, while encouraging diplomacy, good governance, better regulation within the cultural Affairs, and decentralization (e.g. 16 directorates in Morocco are working for the establishment of festivals in each region) [Kessab, Bensliman, 2013].

But the major challenge remains the defections in the regulatory framework. Firstly, the sector suffers from the lack of protection of intellectual property right [Helly, 2014]. Secondly, the Moroccan Labour law of 2003 remains the general framework for artist's employment. More specific laws targeting artists are needed. Finally, the cultural budget remains insufficient to boost the employment in the cultural sector. The budget of the Ministry of Culture represented approximately 0.20 % of total expenditure in the last decade, way below the 1% prescribed by UNESCO. Nevertheless, the structure of the cultural budget has undergone significant changes, with a decrease in the share of operating expenses and an increase in investments and capital expenditures, in line with the governmental reforms which recommend reducing the fiscal deficit while supporting public investments. Thus, in 2005, capital expenditures of the Ministry of Culture did not exceed 25% of the total, while they increased to 45% in 2015 [Kessab, Bensliman, 2013].

Employability in the cultural and creative sector in Tunisia

The CCS in Tunisia is largely composed of traditional handcraft and art craft: 117000 craftsmen are registered at the National Handicrafts Office, 12000 workshops at the Industry and Innovation Promotion Agency and 10000 handcrafted furniture firms at the Technical Center of Wood Industry

and Furniture [UNIDO, 2015]. Audiovisual arts and the media sector are also expanding. After Art crafts, they are the second employer in the CCS in Tunisia, and the most appealing to youth [UNESCO, 2013]. They are followed by the design industry involving 300 to 400 professionals [UNIDO, 2015]. As for the film industry, it is still very dependent on international funding due to the decrease in the number of movie theaters (from 120 in 1956 to 10 in 2013). For this reason, actors, artists and filmmakers are forced to work for TV [Helly, 2014]. Furthermore, major funds dedicated to the CCS in Tunisia are captured by festivals, with 400 festivals a year [UNESCO, 2007]. The dominance of the festivals economy may be at the expense of other artistic initiatives and may increasingly be crowding-out independent artists, or absorbing large parts of the public funding.

The Tunisian state has long supported arts and cultural move, through legislation, policymaking and policy implementation. For example, Tunisia was the first Arab country to sign a bilateral agreement on cultural cooperation (with Algeria in 1963) [Al Mawred Al Thaqafy, 2010]. This particular interest in culture has escalated after the Arab Spring with cultural affairs receiving larger cuts within the national budget. Indeed, cultural expenditures increased from 84.4 million USD in 2010 to 107.2 million USD in 2011, an increase of 27% [Kessab, Bensliman, 2013]. The budget of the ministry of culture constituted 0.64% of the total budget in 2013. Therefore, the Tunisian government is tending to reach the target of dedicating 1% of its national budget to culture, as advised by UNESCO.

ALMPs implemented by the National Agency for Employment and Autonomous Work are targeting youth and aiming to develop complementary programs such as training courses. They also try to provide some of the lacking skills to youth, encouraging entrepreneurship and playing the role of an intermediary between the universities and the labour market⁷⁷. However, between 2004 and 2013, the high demand for cultural and creative goods in Tunisia outpaced the local production, thus imports of creative goods are by far higher than exports. This situation can be explained by two correlated phenomena: the insufficient job creation on the Tunisian labour market⁷⁸, and the polarization effect in the employment market, resulting in a widening gap between higher and lower income jobs. Therefore, after the 2010 revolution, the link between education and

⁷⁷ One of the key missions of ALMPs is to promote training and internships in order to facilitate the transition to professional life, for example by giving the trainee an allowance of 73.5 dollars per month to be added to what they are already receiving from their internship.

⁷⁸The last employment survey conducted in 2012 showed that the additional applications for new jobs increased by 80.4% on average, while the job creation was 60.7% on average between 2007 and 2012. In addition, the number of informal workers or self-employees was not counted in official statistics.

employment has almost disappeared. Despite the increase in the cultural budget, the market is still suffering from insufficient job creation [Kessab, Bensliman, 2013]. Moreover, Tunisian artists mostly live in poverty. Artists declaring their activity to the state receive social benefits, such as health care, cash benefits, retirement pension, and disability benefits (the law 2002-104 from the 30th of December 2002). Yet the union fees are set to 11% of the income and the social security is partly funded by small yet variable fees on ticket prices (Presidential Decree 2003-457 of 24th of February 2003). Independent artists have an automatic 15% withholding on their revenues or contract to finance coverage. Thus, a lot of artists prefer to work in the informal economy given the high level of taxation.

Employability in the cultural and creative sector in Egypt

Like other Arab countries, some segments of the CCS are experiencing significant growth in Egypt, especially architecture, design and digital creation, even though today they seem to be saturated. Egypt counts more than 100,000 architects with 6000 new entrants each year. The growth in the advertising industry and the new media is certainly helping in absorbing part of freshly graduate designers and web-developers, but these professions are precisely those who suffer the most from informal, occasional or irregular jobs. Crafts and traditional arts (Nubian decorative arts, pottery, ceramics, etc.) are less attractive for new entrants and the number of professionals is declining. Young artists are mainly attracted to music, theater, cinema, and design at the expense of the so-called “traditional programs” (art craft, pottery, leather carpets, etc.) [UNIDO, 2015]. However, even in the growing segments of the market, experts complain from the lack of technical skills (especially: sound, lighting, installation, set design), and from the lack of professionalization among young graduates. Workers occupy several jobs at once, which lead to the lack of specialization and to the non-sustainability of skills acquired through training and/or professional experience. At this level, a major failure is the lack of training in cultural management and the problem of uncertainty in assembling and managing cultural projects: many cultural events may be canceled at the last minute, with no specific regulatory framework and incomplete contract.

One of the most important traits of the Egyptian market is that skill-supply in the cultural sphere is not only limited to universities, since technical centers and vocational education and training (VET) provide the largest number of professionals working in the CCS. However, it is widely acknowledged that Egyptian universities offer a better education, when compared with VET, even though they do not necessarily increase the probability of finding a job, since the unemployment rate of graduates’ remains higher than that of VET. Therefore, VET is not followed as part of a

long-term strategy; it is rather the second best choice, since it is less risky, and of shorter duration than the initial education [ETF, 2014b].

The Ministry of Culture and the Supreme Council for Culture are in charge of the cultural policy in Egypt. But it is difficult to analyze their cultural expenditures as they are incorporated into a larger item called "Recreation, Culture, and Religion". Shifts in public spending can therefore hardly be retraced in a linear fashion. However, financial resources are certainly insufficient. In 2011, the cultural budget amounted to \$ 188.5 million USD, or 7.2% of the budget of "Recreation, Culture, and Religion" (which itself constitutes 3% of the total budget). This budget shows that the office of the Palace of Culture received the lion share of the national budget allocated to culture (23.7%) followed by the Central Administration for Cultural Development (with 13.9%) and by the National Cultural Center (Opera) and the Academy of Arts (9.4% and 8.6% respectively). It is noteworthy that the National Film Center receives a marginal part of the budget (1.1%) [Kessab, Bensliman, 2013]. Between 2006 and 2015, the volume of the budget for "Recreation, Culture, and Religion" increased in the same proportion as the total budget, so we estimated that the share of cultural spending in the total budget has remained practically unchanged, around 0.25% of the total budget on average. Similarly, the functional classification of the 2013-2014 shows that cultural spending continued to evolve in the same proportion as the total budget.

One can legitimately question the effectiveness of these expenditures, since much of this budget is spent on running costs, specifically wages and salaries (around 60% of the total budget allocated to the "Recreation, Culture, and Religious Affairs", between 2009 and 2014). This budget also covers the purchase of goods and services, while only 6% of the budget is dedicated to grants, scholarships and aid funds. Finally, capital expenditures are dedicated to renovation of buildings (Opera, Palace of Culture, etc.) and the management of public institutions and public spaces, so they do not directly benefit creators and artists.

Employability in the cultural and creative sector in Palestine

Palestine has a large number of universities for a small country (49 higher education institutions (HEI), including community colleges) [EACEA, 2012]. The skill supply in the CCS is mainly provided by HEI while their programs suffer from outdated contents and inadequate skills. Paradoxically, VET is often considered as offering better programs but they are avoided by the majority of Palestinian students (unlike Egypt, where the VET trains the largest number of workers while considered of lesser quality).

In the last 20 years, the Palestinian economy has experienced an expansion of its tertiary sector and a shift to an economy of services. Unlike

Egypt, a small share of the labour force works in agriculture (10%) while the majority of workers are employed in the tertiary sector, especially in commercial services, restaurants and hotel industry, education and health, while the youth is more and more attracted to the CCS, mainly by cook or chef training, advertisements, design and digital training (web development and multimedia, copyrighter). These segments are experiencing significant growth due to the sufficient supply of "average skills" or "intermediate skills", through community colleges (two-year training programs). Because the Palestinian labour market is more flexible than that of Egypt, young graduates are more adaptable to market changes: they give priority to short programs at the expense of "highly qualifying" but over-saturated programs (as architecture and engineering) where graduates are often required to perform executive or administrative tasks not much related to their initial education. Therefore, the newly uprise in decorative arts, jewelry (particularly silver), ceramics, glass design, is outpacing traditional handcrafts (as embroidery, soap, olive wood products, etc.), due to the adequate training offered by some VET and NGOs (such as Dar al-Nadwa and Dar al-Kalima), through foreign funds and cooperation from international well-known artists and trainers. Compared to university courses, these short programs offer better distribution networks, and engage significant exchange of expertise with international artists who often come to Palestine to work on a voluntary basis. Finally, some of these training programs or workshops lead to cultural events (exhibitions or festivals) that help the diffusion of young local creators and artists, while having an important community impact (empowerment for women, refugees, etc.).

It is possible to identify some clusters in the fields of cultural and creative industries that could experience a significant growth in the future, despite the lack of public support: embroidery and leather goods in Hebron, furniture in Nablus and Salfit, marble and textiles in Bethlehem [UNIDO, 2015]. Nevertheless, it is necessary to distinguish between two different employment areas, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, as well as two segments of the labour market: the public and the private. Regarding employment in the private sector in Gaza, the average salary is 200 USD/month for a technician working in sound or light (in the private or local radio or even television), while wages are considerably higher in the West Bank (around 300 USD for an equally qualified technician). Having said that, the competition is stronger in the West Bank with a more flexible market. For example, in Gaza, it is more difficult for newly graduates to enter the labour market in its formal segment, as new opportunities are limited and the market is well controlled by established professionals who rarely give any chance to outsiders (there are high barriers to entry that are based on clientelism and patronage, personal relationship, etc.). Most graduates will

therefore turn to informal jobs and rely on volunteering, mutual aid and solidarity to ensure the production of cultural events. In the West Bank, the market also suffers from an overflow of the informal political economy of culture.

Yet, the major failure in the CCS is the lack of direct support from the Palestinian authorities. Thus, there is no real political support for creators and the cultural policy is merely symbolic. Still, the state remains the first employer in the country, and the Ministry of Culture is the largest employer in the CCS. But financial resources are limited and recruitment is often linked to rent-seeking and fictitious jobs. Cultural funding therefore is mainly dependent on international aid, which leads to a lack of coordination in the cultural action, thus jeopardizing the sustainability of the cultural activity with each shift in the donor's agenda [Dragicevic, 2015]. For example, the Gaza war in 2014 resulted in a drastic decline of international cultural funding, since humanitarian action is often competing with Culture. Finally, the major actors in the Palestinian cultural scene remain the NGO's, community engagement programs and initiatives that use culture as a tool to defend the Palestinian identity, as well as the cultural and historic Heritage of Palestine.

Employability in the cultural and creative sector in Lebanon

The Lebanese CCS is mainly composed of small and medium enterprises (SME). The creative industries identified by UNIDO in 2015 throughout Lebanon are related to arts, crafts⁷⁹ and recently to design and architecture. However, *haute couture* sector and audiovisual are the only activities experiencing an important expansion. Moreover, imports remain far above exports in the whole sector. Between 2003 and 2012, the growth rate of exports was 8.20%. However, from 2008 to 2012, there was a decline in this rate to -3.91%, while architecture, design and fashion design are the only products that are still experiencing some increase in their export rates [UNCTAD, 2013].

There is currently no clear development strategy for the CCS in Lebanon. The latest data on the budget of the Ministry of Culture goes back to 2012. This budget has been growing steadily since 2006 but its share in GDP remains almost constant, at around 0.5% of the GDP. Other ministries are also interested in the CCS. The Ministry of Social Affairs is particularly involved in the craft sector and its promotion. The Ministry of Tourism participates in the organization of festivals. Some municipalities also contribute to the promotion of artistic events [Al Mawred Al Thaqafy, 2010].

⁷⁹ Contemporary art, copper production, cutlery, furnishings, haute couture, textile production, jewelry, leather, publishing, traditional clothing, worm blowing, weaving in several forms, silk, straw, pottery, tapestry [UNIDO, 2015].

Overall, Lebanon hosts annually at least 54 regular festivals according to our calculation. This boom of the festival economy exasperates numerous independent artists who remain excluded from official channels of festivals, and who perceive them as a symptom of the domination of pop culture and mainstream art. Indeed, the use of festivals as a tool exclusively intended to the growth of tourism does not really serve the interests of the creative and cultural professionals.

As for the cultural and creative education, the major trait of Lebanon is that the skill-supply is mainly left to private universities. The dynamic CCS in Lebanon depends largely on sustainable private initiatives, benefiting from the freedom of expression which distinguishes it from other AMC. Subsequently, in the absence of a clear and comprehensive public vision, the civil society and the private sector provide the creative and artistic infrastructure, while being more effective than politician-sponsored interventions (such as the numerous time-limited cultural festivals that are only submitted to the interest of the food-industry). However, private initiatives are poorly coordinated and cannot be sustainable in the long term, in the quasi-absence of public funds.

Conclusion: Comparative analysis of the 5 countries

Across the 5 countries of our study, we found that there is few ALMP specifically designed for CCS or targeting cultural professions. The current cultural action is suffering from the insufficient level of public funds (around 0,25% of total budget in all AMC, except Tunisia, only country that seems close to the recommended 1%), while the cultural budgets are evolving in the same proportion as the total budget, showing no cultural development strategy.

Country	Morocco	Tunisia	Egypt	Palestine	Lebanon
CCI experiencing growth	- Heritage - Traditional Handcraft - Film industry - Architecture	-Art craft - Traditional Handcraft - Audio-visual - Media sector - Design industry	- Architecture - Design - Digital creation	- Audio-visual - Arts - Digital creation - TV and Radio - Sound and light technicians	- Haute couture - Audio-visual - Design -Architecture
CCI experiencing decline	- Publishing industry	- Film industry	-Crafts -Traditional arts	- Embroidery - Leather goods - Furniture, Marble and	- Arts - Crafts

				textiles	
Universities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National Institute of Fine Arts - the Institute of Fine Arts - The Higher Institute of Dramatic Art and cultural animation - National Institute of Archaeological Sciences and Heritage - Mohammed V Foundation for Solidarity - Higher Institute of Cinema crafts and audio-visual arts - CASAMODA Academy Fashion Design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schools of Fine arts exist in major public universities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Academy of Arts -Faculty of Arts at Cairo University -Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Alexandria -American University in Cairo -Faculty of Arts at the University Ain-el-Shams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Al-Quds University in Jerusalem - An-Najah National University - Bethlehem University - Bir Zeit University - Al-Aqsa University - Islamic University -University of Dar El Kalima 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Private universities such as American university of Beirut, Université Saint Joseph, Esmod, Alba, Lebanese American University
Budget dedicated to culture (2013)	0.23 %	0.64%	0.25%	0.003%	< 1%
Main agents of the cultural and creative scene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministry of culture - Moroccan diaspora - Diplomatic network of the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministry of Culture - Ministry of Tourism - Local communities -Tunisian diaspora 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministry of recreation, Culture, and Religion - Ministry of education - Union of artists - State artists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministry of culture -International NGO's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministry of social affairs - Ministry of tourism - Private sector - International NGO's
Exports CCI (2004 -2013, average, million USD)	27.90	59.84	185.04 (Period : 2008-2013)	3.95 (Period : 2007-2013)	149.70
Import CCI (2004 -2013, average, million USD)	320.99	187.88	173.66 (Period : 2008-2013)	17.28 (Period : 2007-2013)	146.25

Table 1: Comparative analysis between the CCS in the AMC

More importantly, the structure of the cultural budget shows the predominance of current spending, wages, maintenance and renovation of

buildings but insufficient grants and public investment. The local artists can still count on international funds, but this over-dependence is threatening the sustainability of the cultural action: changes in the donor's agenda may jeopardize the work of NGOs and independent artists, while humanitarian action is often competing with the cultural action. Since governments do not consider cultural policy as a central priority, the CCS in the AMC is experiencing perpetual fluctuations in the cultural budget and suffering from the non-sustainability of cultural funds.

The skill-supply by universities and training centers in the AMC is largely dominated by the State, making it difficult to reform programs and curricula (except for Lebanon). Moreover, ALMP suffer from the absence of forecast for the labour market and the lack of tools to identify needs and anticipate future skills. Similarly, HEI suffer from the quasi-absence of qualification framework and the lack of well-defined curricula. On another hand, young artists occupy various auxiliary jobs in parallel, which raises the issue of the sustainability of acquired skills.

Another major institutional failure is related to the weak artistic distribution. The infrastructure responsible of the diffusion of culture (museums, galleries, concert halls, libraries, etc.) is insufficient. In countries where cultural professions are mostly regulated by unions (Egypt, Tunisia), artists with the lowest income are incapable of ensuring their regular fees payment and turn to informal jobs. The current art scene is restructured around small associations that bring together creative youth. Lots of these associations are individual initiatives, gathering 2 or 3 persons, relying on volunteering and solidarity. The associative status often excludes these creators from public funds and official networks, threatening the continuity and sustainability of their activities. Moreover, it is difficult for newly graduates to enter the labour market in its formal segment, as it is well controlled by established professionals with high barriers to entry.

In our survey, we identified 5 major obstacles to employability: 1) the skill-mismatch; 2) the weak synergy with the international scene; 3) the precarious state of local artists and the predominance of the informal economy of culture with the absence of large institutional players; 4) the lack of public funding and private investments, with the instability of the funds; 5) the high "barriers to entry" for new firms and young professionals. Therefore, a set of 5 recommendations could be suggested in order to meet the challenges of employability in the coming years.

Firstly, the budget of ministries of culture should be increased and restructured, in order to meet the recommended 1% of the national budget, as advised by UNESCO. More transparency is needed, in order to assess the efficiency of public expenditures and to adjust the cultural policy. The structure of the cultural budget should also be adjusted, by increasing public

investments, public grants and the capital expenditures, and decreasing the functional expenditures (as in the Moroccan case).

Secondly, better synergy between the local and the international scene is needed. ALMP should be supporting the international cultural action within the existing programs and dedicating more funds for cultural action abroad (e.g. Ministry of tourism). Public entities need a better coordination with international donors in order to ensure a more coherent cultural action and a more sustainable cultural development.

Thirdly, ALMP should improve the attractiveness and the quality of VET. VET strategies are approved, there is a need to accelerate the implementation of reforms and promote them by involving the private sector and increasing their attractiveness among young people. Policymakers need to develop more participative methods, while designing and implementing VET strategies: higher investment is needed; better governance, especially better coordination between ministries. Specific policies should target the CCS and its specific needs, and not merely focus on commercial and industrial trainings and programs.

Fourthly, better Higher Education Institutions are needed in order to reduce the skill mismatch. Universities and vocational centers should adopt the “competency approach” and implement well-defined curriculum (Bologna Process). Certified programs should define the professional knowledge expected from freshly graduated students in coherence with the market needs. Better cooperation with private companies and other certified programs is needed, in a context of a lack of national qualification framework for most cultural occupations.

Finally, better inclusive policies are needed for better jobs in the creative sector. Since labour markets are suffering from high segmentation and inequalities, the cultural development depends on other reforms, such as social policies aiming to protect diversity and equality, especially fighting gender inequalities (the image of the female artist is still suffering from social and moral prejudices), regional disparities and poverty features (the majority of artists are suffering from precarious conditions) and to promote the protection of intellectual property.

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The Meritocracy as the Basic Paradigm of Public Space: According to an Ottoman ‘Intellectual’ Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)

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Abstract

The social functions consisting of principles such as “being able to embody, express and represent a message, a view, an attitude, a philosophy or an opinion” are basic criterion of being intellectual. From this point of view, it is possible to say that every country, every age, every class, every ideology has suitable intellectuals for its structure. For this reason, the intellectual can not be assessed as a creation of modernity, that is, monopoly of a certain time and society.

In parallel to the social functions of the intellectuals, Mustafa Ali who came to prominence as a creation of socio-political and economic conditions of the Ottoman State in the 16th century. Despite the monarchic and autocratic character of the Ottoman State, Mustafa Ali who revealed a paradigm about state and society life, not only at a theoretical level but also in a practical context, above all, exhibited an intellectual attitude with a critical, sharp, brave language and style. One of the most important determinations of Mustafa Ali about the Ottoman state and society life is erosion of meritocratic management mentality which ideally based superiority of the individual and talents of persons. Mustafa Ali, who regarded the erosion of the meritocracy as one of the most basic management problems, built his paradigm about state and society on this basis with examples of stories from near and distant pasts as well as religious references such as verse and hadith.

In spite of the quantity of studies based on different aspects of Mustafa Ali, the absence of a study in a special sense on the basis of his emphasis of intellectuality and his demand of meritocracy which has vital values in the state and society at every stage of the historical process made it essential to carry out such a study.

Keywords: Ottoman State, Mustafa Ali, Intellectual, Meritocracy

Introduction

According to Antonio Gramsci (1971: 09), when the intellectual is evaluated in the context of thought criteria that makes people different from each other such as understanding, reasoning, creativity; naturally all people actually become intellectual people. Because, at every stage of the historical process, the formation and movement of social systems sometimes individual, sometimes collective, but ultimately has been the product of a certain mental activity. However, the basic measure of an intellectual's definition is the operational dimension of his/her on social structure, system, mechanisms and process in society. On this basis, who the intellectual is directly related to the quality of his/her social functions. These social functions consist of principles such as "being able to embody, express and represent a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or an opinion". At the same time, the intellectual is the person who produces original and antidotal ideas which will awaken the masses bringing up concerns to the agenda in the name of the public to whom he is concerned (Said, 1996: 11). One of the most important task of the intellectuals who undertake that being representative of 'public conscience' is effort to break down the 'stereotypes' and 'reductive' categories that are limiting to human thought and communication (Said,1996: XI). Within this framework, it is possible to have counted factors such as creating a unique way of life and style, staying in opposition in most places where conformism is widespread, not performing in relation to the quality or not behaving according to a reflex of a community among the characteristics of the intellectuals.

While dominate understanding of intellectuals are the creation of modernity, in other words, creation of the educational possibilities provided by modernity, historical facts prove that is a misleading understanding. Even if referred to a change in the functionality of intellectual with modernity, it does not prove that it first appeared in this period. This understanding can only be evaluated as a reflection of a 'modern world centered' perspective. Because, in every phase of historical processes, almost in every society there are people who produce discourses that protect the bases of life, bringing these discourses to time and space and because of these social functions, they can be described as intellectual. At all times, human typologies fulfilling this social function have existed (Mahçupyan, 2006: 11). In short, it is not possible to evaluate intellectuals over a certain period and society monopoly because of every country, every age, every class, every ideology has intellectuals suitable for its structure.

When we look at the 16th century Ottoman Empire in the light of the social functions of the intellectual, we see Mustafa Ali⁸⁰ as the socio-political and economic creation of his period. The most important reason in order to count Mustafa Ali as an intellectual is his efforts to express an opinion to, as well as, for a public to power.⁸¹ Despite the monarchic and autocratic character of the Ottoman State, Mustafa Ali revealed a paradigm about state and society life, not only at a theoretical level but also in a practical context. This paradigm said, which is the most important determination of Mustafa Ali about Ottoman state and society life, is that the erosion of meritocratic management mentality which ideally based superiority of the individual and talents of persons. Mustafa Ali, who regarded the erosion of the meritocracy as one of the most basic management problems, built his paradigm about state and society on this basis with examples of stories from near and distant pasts as well as religious references such as verse and hadith. In this context, the paradigm revealed by Mustafa Ali naturally can be understood and interpreted analytically by analyzing the socio-political and economic conditions of the period in which he was originally created .

Socio-Political and Economic Background of Mustafa Ali's Consciousness

Even if human nature is not a social entity, the factors such as the necessity of living in a society in accordance with natural conditions, naturally cause that being the activity of language and thought as a product of social inclusion. The fact that, as a law of nature, humans do not have the chance to live as isolated from society and it ensures that humans can reach a real and meaningful essence with life only within a society. From this point of view according to Carr (1990: 33), "that elusive entity 'human nature' has varied so much from country to country and from century to century that is

⁸⁰ Mustafa Ali, who was born on April 24/25, 1541, in Western Anatolia on the peninsula of Gallipoli and died in 1600, is not only an important statesman who fulfilled duties such provincial treasurer, divan clericalism and sanjak beyliği, but also because of his nearly sixty works in Turkish, Arabic and Persian from the history to literature, ethics, politics and daily life is an intellectual with a respectable place in the world of thought of the Ottoman Empire. for Mustafa Ali see. Fleischer, C. (1986). *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir. (1972). *Osmanlı Müellifleri. III*. İsmail Özen (ed.), İstanbul: Meral Yayınevi; Babinger, F. (1992). *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*. (C.Üçok, Trans.). Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı; İsen, M. (1998). *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; Kütükoğlu, B. (1989). Âli Mustafa Efendi. *DİA*, 2, 414-416.

⁸¹ This paper was prepared basing on Mustafa Ali's work published in a model edition with annotated English translation titled "Mustafa 'Âlî's Counsel for Sultans of 1581" by Andreas Tietze in 2 volumes. The first volume of this work was published in 1979 and the second volume in 1983.

difficult not to regard it as a historical phenomenon shaped by prevailing social conditions and conventions.” In the same way, Foucault also points to the idea that the role of society is the determinant of human nature on the basis of Marx’s praxis concept and chooses that the society has the function of ‘a form maker’ as his starting point (Hutton, 1998:127). In this context, it is possible to say that, in a way, all works are a product of unconscious factors of writer as well as the socio-political and economic conditions of the period in which the writer lived. Each writer is the product at the same time the spokesman of his age.

Mustafa Ali lived in a period in which ‘change’ and ‘transformation’ occurred in the structure of the Ottoman State, which is based on a rooted tradition, and in the basic dynamics of the society. In the mid-15th century, the conquest of Istanbul which was the Byzantine capital, as a conclusion of political and military policies followed by Mehmed II, made the Ottoman State a power of emperorship. With the becoming of more systematic and functional institutions performed at the the first period of the empire became a dominant ‘classical’ state and society, transforming depending on circumstances. Thus, while the conquering politics gained a new impetus, the Ottoman Empire became decisive and directed by settling in the center of European politic, especially since the beginning of the 16th century until 1596. However, when it reached the second half of the 16th century, the Habsburgs in front of Vienna in the west, the Iranian Plateau in the east and the Safavids formed the ultimate limits of Ottoman expansion. At the same time, the desert in Africa, the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the Russians in the North had meant the end of the conquest of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, in the last quarter of the century, the long, weary but ultimately unprofitable wars first against Iranians and then the Habsburgs in the west, between 1578 and 1606, shook the state and society order with the influence of great social fluctuations occurred inside at the same period and resulted in a large loss of human and financial resources. Besides, in addition to the economic factors such as the loss of transit trade opportunities with the discovery of the American continent and the inflation caused by the American silver in the Ottoman borders, the intensification of population in parallel to the whole Mediterranean geography and unemployment caused a tremor in the state and society order (İnalçık ve Quataert, 1997: 17, 22-25, 41-45; Lewis, 2002: 24; Öz, 2010: 38-48). Thus, principles such as “*the circle of justice (dâire-i âdliye)*”⁸² and “*four pillars or estates (erkân-i*

⁸² It represents the formulated form of justice that settled in the center of the state theory in the Middle East. According to this understanding on the axis of “army-treasury-reaya-justice” which is the basis of the philosophy of justice of the Ottoman Empire, there is an interactive link among these elements. Thus, the future of state can be settled only on the basis of a justice that would establish the balance among the classes mentioned. see

erba'a)”⁸³ based on “ *order of the world (nizâm-ı âlem)*”, which denote that the state and society order of Ottoman was eroded massively due to the practices such as the illegal behaviors of the administrators representing the administrative and executive powers of the sultan, irregular transitions among social classes mentioned, bribe in appointment of ranks etc.

While the changes that started to emerge from the second half of the century were being first noticed and ideas put forward about their reasons by the Ottoman statesmen themselves, Mustafa Ali had been the first person to reveal pragmatic solutions and criticisms of the Ottoman administration practice. Mustafa Ali, who lived in these historical conditions and formations, regarded the corruption faced by the state and society as a “revolution” that can be qualified as a pioneer evaluation for the statesmen after him who interpreted this situation in the form “*revolution to the worldly order and indignation to the (subjects nizâm-ı âleme ihtilâl ve reâyâ ve berâyâyâ infîâl)*” (Öz, 2010: 16). While Mustafa Ali’s views about the Ottoman ‘classical’ order as a result, practices contrary to the “*kânûn-ı kadîm (old laws)*” are not so different from his successors, the factors which made him different were his analysis of a meritocratic system in addition to the sharp style and criticism approach.

Mustafa Ali’s Intellectual Mission

Mustafa Ali was the first person to produce the first pragmatic analysis and critique Ottoman administrative practice with the awareness of intellectual responsibility, observing changes in the basic dynamics of the Ottoman administration and society structure. The new historical conditions urged Mustafa Ali to meditate in the society he had served as a man of learning, a bureaucrat and a soldier for all of his adult life. Eventually, he was able to distinguish that the society in the grip of a moral apocalypse, a cultural and a political crisis and a decline from an ideal order had existed in fact a few decades (Fleischer, 1996: 6-8). In such a climate, Mustafa Ali

Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi, (2012). *Ahlâk-ı Alâ’i*. Mustafa Koç (ed.). İstanbul: Klasik Yayınevi; Yücel, Y. (1988). *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar: Kitâb-i Müstetâb/ Kitabu Mesalihi’l Muslimin ve Menâfi’i’l-Mü’minîn/ Hırzû’l-Mülûk*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi; Inalcik, H. (1993). “State and Ideology under Sultan Suleyman P, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire-Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington.

⁸³ It states that four basic classes supposed to be constitute the basis of philosophy of Ancient Greek, Medieval Islam and Christianity and the social equilibrium among these classes. These social classes consist of such as ‘soldiers, reaya, Ottoman scholars (‘ulemâ) and merchants-artisans-craftsmen’ classes. see İnalcık, 2000: 65-69; Öz, 1999: 31.

first of all acted with the intellectual mission of Gramsci “functional” and Saidci “telling the rule truth”.

Mustafa Ali, whose movement point, legitimacy ground and terminology is Islamic, in this context, based his sayings and rhetoric on verses and hadiths. Thus, the view of classical Islamic writers that with the motive of human nature emphasise existence of a ruler who has absolute authority in every society was stated by Mustafa as well and for Mustafa Ali, the most important reason of the deterioration in the state and society was that can not be fulfilled sovereign duty. Mustafa Ali did not stop from criticizing the sultan stating his views. According to Mustafa Ali (1979: 20), one of the most common rules in society since ancient times has been “the mistake of consenting to cruelty and tolerance.” Therefore, the sultan⁸⁴ himself should not be a source of persecution while he must secure justice as the performer of justice, which is the basic condition for establishing social order. In the Ottoman state understanding, the sultans who are at the top of the social hierarchy should not transfer his obligations to the viziers by preferring isolation to mixing with the people rather than dealing with the problems of the people different from the previous periods (Mustafa Ali, 1979: 21). In such a case, according to Mustafa Ali (1979: 23), helping the sultans through counsel and advices, and naming him in their prayers with sincerity, in fact necessary for all creators that possess speech, but the responsibility of the scholars is to overcome all. At first the scholars need to be their sultan’s seeing eyes and holding his grasping hands. They should put aside fear and awe, should embolden themselves to offer the sultan truth on the affairs openly. However, despite the fact that there were many well-known persons of learning in the Ottoman State, they preferred to remain silent in the face of the disintegration of the state and institutions (1979: 24).⁸⁵ According to Mustafa Ali (1979: 23), there is a clear command to say, “*say truth albeit bitter!*”. For this reason, uttering these thoughts bravely is accordance with the both discretion of Allah and the path followed by men of learning such as Master Firdevsî of Tûs, Master Sa’dî of Shiraz, Master Hâfiz of Shiraz, Master Nûreddîn Shiraz. Mustafa Ali states that “*all people bound to help their sultans by counsel and advice in addition to when they see them in growing trouble because of disasters and catastrophes they*

⁸⁴ In the sources on Ottoman society and state organization, one of the most commonly handled idea is that “the sultan is shadow of God on earth (Zillu’llâh-ı fi’l arz)” and for this reason, he is at the center of the philosophy of rule by justice. see Tursun Bey. (2014). *Târîh-i Ebu’l Feth*. institution (ed.), İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat Yayınları; İdrîs-i Bidlîsî. (2016). *Selim Şah-nâme*. Hicabi Kırılancı (ed.), Ankara: Hece Yayınları; Uğur, A. (2001). *Osmanlı Şiyâset-Nâmeleri*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.

⁸⁵ In fact, it is not possible to consider this situation as a preference made by men of learning as a result of their own will. This situation can be seen as a reflection of the political conjuncture of the period.

should rush to their aid with word and deed, with (possessions) and (good) intentions.” referring to the hadith, “*The truth is high and cannot be surpassed.*” (1979: 24). In parallel to this understanding, first of all, he considers that expressing his thoughts as a responsibility.

The Meritocracy as the Basic Paradigm of Public Space: According To Mustafa Ali

In the new historical conditions in which Mustafa Ali lived, basic education institutions had begun to become ineffective due to the fact that short-term political calculations and this situation resulted in an increase in ordinary literacy as well as an unbalanced increase in civil servants. Also, as a result of the institutionalization of the bureaucracy, the degrading of literature-based amateurs had led to a great disappointment for those who had been well educated and committed to himself to meritocratic promises of the Ottoman Empire like Mustafa Ali. Thus, Mustafa Ali, who believed his talents to be unrequited, as a duty had developed a unique style on expressing the structure of the state and institutions, through his own disappointment, without hesitation in bringing personal interpretation and experience to his works. In this context, Mustafa Ali, first of all, dwelt on the meritocratic order in his works (Fleischer, 1996: 9).

Mustafa Ali as the basis of meritocratic order based his concept of justice on the “*Justice means puttings things in the places where they belong.*”⁸⁶ principle that handled by classical Islamic writers as well as later authors of Ottoman political treatise and advice for kings (nasihat-nâme) . Mustafa Ali revealed his paradigm by emphasizing that the principle said should be reference and must be applied to all practical administration of state and society by the administrators in commanding positions. According to Mustafa Ali (1979: 17), as can be understood from the ruling “*All grades of rank are just for these.*”⁸⁷ that being at a position of rank is a form of testing; because, “*Injustice is burried in the soul: weakness hide it, strength brings it out.*” Therefore, men of wisdom, the owners of intelligence and sagacity, are cognizant and aware of incontestable truth that the well-meaning great philosophers and eminent thinkers of penetrating mind have regarded justice and equity as coins of standart purity on the scales of popularity and prestige, and reliability and integrity as gold currency of high validity and value on the goldsmith’s balance of the era (1979: 17). Again, according to Mustafa Ali (1979: 18), Allah had ordered that the sultans and the statesmen should investigate all details of justice by rule “some are over

⁸⁶ It states the inference of 58th verse of An-Nisâa sura of Koran that means “God bids you to deliver all that you have been entrusted with unto those who are entitled thereto, and whenever you judge between people, to judge with justice. Verily, most excellent is what God exhorts you to do: verily, God is all-hearing, all-seeing!” .

⁸⁷ Koran, Al-Anâm: 165.

others”⁸⁸ while appointing. However, Mustafa Ali has stated that a large part of those who have the power to rule have appointed their supporters to the positions they desire without any merit violating the principle of justice during their period. While the viziers in pleasure and luxury, enjoying themselves no end in their places and gardens, the members of the imperial council occupied with the acquisition of money and property. Some members of the imperial council have obeyed to the viziers orders unconditionally. Even those closest to the sultan and occupied high offices have remained indifferent to bribes that given to come high positions. Mustafa Ali, who expressed that all these were hidden from the sultan, at the same time has stated that even the most honest appearances have done the opposite and left the sultan alone (1979: 19).

Mustafa Ali also have made practical analysis of the determinations made in the administration of the state as well as society structure. According to Mustafa Ali (1979: 18), the sultan of the period Murat III, must command the army in difficult times and take care of affairs of people by justice. Even if It is not possible to regard the sultan as responsible directly for behaviours of the viziers, in accordance with the verse “Nor does any laden bear another's load.”⁸⁹, since the sultan who takes over the whole burden of the people must act fairly in the matter of delegation. To ignore the work conducted by the deputies appointed prevent that respond correctly on the day of the judgement. To appoint ignorants when there are wise men available, to choose those who excel in flattery and eulogy rather than those who are truthful and just, is not only equal to condoning the oppression of the people but also a shining example of the maxim: “*He who delegates an act to a person betrays God and His Prophet and His community, the true believers.*” As a result, “*Consenting to the darkness of the persecution causes the sun of justice to sink.*” As a result, to consent the darkness of the cruelty causes that sink the sun of justice.

Mustafa Ali, in order to legitimate his paradigm with historical persons and events, had taken advantage of stories such as:

The story is told that Sanjar Khan,⁹⁰ a might kind of inherited greatness, when he was a powerless captive of Sultan Ghazan and downcast by the loss of his kingdom, was asked by some understanding person about the cause of his downfall. This was his apt reply: “I gave the high post to low people and expected people of high status to accept low positions. Then the low people were unable to cope with high offices, and the high grade men found it dishonorable to accept posts that were below their

⁸⁸ Koran, An-Nûr: 40.

⁸⁹ Koran, Al-Anâam: 40.

⁹⁰ Sanjar Khan, the last ruler of the Greater Seljuk Empire, 1086-1157).

rank. There can be no doubt that the absurdity of these two orders caused the collapse of my kingdom and empire and led to disaster, self accusation, and remorse.” (1979: 22).

As it is seen in this story, the basic deduction of all of the mentioned stories is that does not attach importance to the merit causes the destruction in the life of the state and the society. From this point of view, the task of the authorities and those in high positions is to take lessons from these historical facts and arrange the state and society order accordingly.

Conclusion

It is not possible to evaluate the emotions and thoughts in other saying basic characteristic of human being regardless of the society in which they live. Because, the human characteristic is the result of imagination and interpretations composed of historical conscious as well as unconscious elements. Therefore, in the general sense, all intellectuals are the creation and the spokesman of their age. From this point of view, Mustafa Ali can not be evaluated in a vacuum. He is also the spokesman of his own historical conditions. The criticism that Mustafa Ali has developed this type of writing under the influence of his inability to come to the desired position is groundless. Because, the influence of the erosion of the values related to the merit in the state bureaucracy and society not only emphasized by Mustafa Ali's followers authors of political treatise and advice for kings but also can be verified by the archive documents of the period. This kind point of view is only due to the inability of a person to be in the effort of seeing the world with the limits of his own horizon.

Because the only way to understand a work in real sense is to share the same feeling by establishing empathy with the person who made the work. It is relatively easy to establish this empathy with Mustafa Ali. Because the values put forth by Mustafa Ali are valid for every society in every era, and these values carry himself ahead of the time. Despite the period that repressive and monistic, Mustafa Ali's writing was determined by the political urge and a criticism of system in a brave manner and this factor makes him very valuable.

The determinations about violating meritocracy that emphasized by Mustafa Ali as a fundamental paradigm of the public space have the characteristic of lesson both the period we live in and foreseeing the future. In the socio-political circumstances in which we live, the fact that one of the most important complaints of the people is that not being arranged the state bureaucracy and institutions on the basis of merit. Instead of this, To the elements such as spouse, friend, affinity or belief and ideological uniformity have taken as criteria and this situation has caused the corruption in society.

All these realities exhibit the biophotonism of Mustafa Ali's paradigm. However, as the German philosopher Frederick Hegel says, "the experience teaches us that states and societies have never learned anything from history". Because, the points identified by Mustafa Ali also can be seen in different shape and forms but in terms of their effects and results likewise in our day as well.

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Mental Health and Psychosocial Support Services (MHPSS) for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon: Towards a Public Health Approach Beyond Diagnostic Categories

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Abstract

Following the massive influx to Lebanon of Syrians fleeing armed conflict, the UNHCR and various NGOs, in collaboration with the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH), are providing Mental Health and Psychosocial Support Services (MHPSS) for Syrian refugees. However little is known about the functioning of these services and their implications in terms of defining the experience of suffering of refugees. **Methods:** we conducted a study of MHPSS services based on a review of documents published by UNHCR, MoPH, and relevant NGOs, as well as the analysis of the discourse of health care professionals/policymakers. 60 semi-structured interviews were conducted with informants from various organizations. The questions focused on their experience with the services, the main challenges encountered and their perceptions of the Syrian refugees and their problems. The list of organizations was taken from a service mapping by the MoPH. **Findings:** MHPSS interventions in Lebanon endorse the Inter Agency Standing Committee Guidelines that prioritize community-based interventions. Yet, in practice they promote individual-focused, clinical and short-term interventions rather than long term ones. Health care professionals perceive Syrian refugees as lacking awareness on mental health disorders and needing education in this regard; but most of them lack knowledge about the Syrians' patterns of social strengths and weaknesses and their perceived needs in terms of mental health. **Conclusion:** Based on our findings, we reflect on the relevance of "evidence-based" interventions in this particular setting and suggest recommendations for sustainable and culturally sensitive mental health interventions.

Keywords: Syrian refugees, mental health, psychosocial support

Introduction

Since the beginning of the Syrian war, Lebanon has hosted more than one million Syrian displaced who have fled violence and armed conflict, according to the last official estimations of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2017). In this context, the UNHCR, and various NGOs, in collaboration with the Lebanese Ministry of Public Health (MoPH), are providing Mental Health and Psychosocial Support Services (MHPSS) for Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Since humanitarian actors deal with refugees' suffering as a medical and psychological problem (Summerfield, 1999), few studies are dedicated to understand its social dimension. Hence little is known about how Syrian refugees perceive mental health services or more generally about the implications of these services in terms of defining and shaping their experience of suffering. A recent literature review led by the UNHCR aimed at informing on cultural specificities and idioms of distress of the Syrian community. However, the report ends by recommendations to improve screening of mental health disorders through the mental health Gap⁹¹(MhGap), thus emphasizing the medical and diagnostic approach within MHPSS interventions (Hassan et al, 2015). Other studies on mental health among Syrian refugees are mostly epidemiologic studies and explore rates of psychiatric diagnosis, especially post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression (Kazour, 2017; Karam, 2016; Naja, 2016). The various authors report a high prevalence of psychiatric disorders. These results should however be interpreted with caution as the diagnostic tools used in those studies are not validated in the Syrian context. Moreover, by emphasizing symptoms rather than the individual and collective experience of suffering, the struggle of refugees is reduced to a list of symptoms out of their context. Besides, in a recent special issue of the British Journal of Psychiatry, various authors insist on the importance of training fieldworkers on the psychiatric diagnosis by the MhGap, because of the increase of psychiatric disorders following war and displacement, with the underlying assumption that all refugees fall under the same psychological category. (Karam, 2016 ; AbouSaleh, 2016)

This tendency to medicalize the effects of war on communities by promoting an individual clinical approach rather than a public health community one has raised various critics among scholars. It was often

⁹¹ The Mental Health Gap is a tool elaborated by the World Health Organization (WHO), designed for primary health care professionals, to screen, diagnose and treat mental health conditions, according to “*evidence-based*” interventions (WHO, 2016), and promoted in low and middle-income countries. Critics of the MhGap have noted that it implies a universalizing process in the treatment of mental health conditions, without always taking into account the context in which those interventions are applied and implemented (Bemme, 2012)

criticized as being disempowering for refugees, giving them the sick role, while pathologizing ordinary human suffering and eradicating the socio-historical context in which this suffering takes place. (Mallki, 1996; Summerfield, 1999 ; Fassin et Retchaman, 2011). In an attempt to address these contradictory data and theories, the Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC)⁹² developed Guidelines for MHPSS services in war and crisis settings. Experts agreed that exposure to distress is a risk factor for social and mental health problems, but there was no agreement on the public health value of diagnosing and treating PTSD (IASC, 2007). They recommended that 1st line psychosocial interventions should be community-targeted: covering basic needs, providing safety, organizing social networks – religious, political, cultural – that re-establish systems of meaning and cohesion. These community-based interventions were viewed as a priority over specialized individual-focused interventions (psychotherapy and/or psychiatry consultations). The Guidelines coined the term “*mental health problems*” instead of “*disorders*” (IASC 2007), mitigating the assumption according to which refugees are considered as being systematically at risk of developing psychiatric disorders. In Lebanon, official published documents by UNHCR (2013) and MoPH (2015) on MHPSS services endorse the IASC guidelines but there is no data available on the services’ functioning. In order to fill this gap, we have conducted an in-depth study of MHPSS services based on a review of key documents and the analysis of the discourse of health care professionals and policymakers.

Methodology

Data collection was gathered over the course of eight months (March-October 2016). All official publications on MHPSS services by UNHCR, MOPH, and relevant NGOs on the field were reviewed. We contacted NGOs providing specialized MHPSS services for Syrian refugees (psychiatry and psychotherapy consultations). The list of NGOs was taken from a service mapping published by the Ministry of Public Health (MoPh, 2015). All NGOs contacted (ten in total) accepted that we interview staff and/or mental health program coordinators. We did 60 semi-structured interviews with informants from different organizations, governmental and non governmental, local and international: program coordinators, at the regional and national level, service providers (psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers), representatives from UNHCR, Ministry of Social Affairs and

⁹² The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) is the primary mechanism for inter-agency coordination of humanitarian assistance. It is a unique forum involving the key UN and non-UN humanitarian partners. The IASC was established in June 1992 in response to United Nations General Assembly Resolution 46/182 on the strengthening of humanitarian assistance.

Ministry of Public Health. The semi-structured interviews focused on their experience with the services, the main challenges encountered and their perceptions of the Syrian refugees and their problems. An approval was obtained from the ethics committee of Saint-Joseph University. A verbal consent was obtained from all participants; data was anonymous and confidential. The following findings are the result of the analysis of the informants' interviews as well as the analysis of key documents published on the subject (UNHCR, 2013; MoPH, 2015).

Findings

1) Organization of the MHPSS services: gaps between recommendations and practice

In response to the massive influx of Syrian refugees to Lebanon, the Lebanese Ministry of Public Health (MoPH), in partnership with the WHO and the United Nations Children's fund (UNICEF), established a Mental Health and Psychosocial Support task force (MHPSS-TF). Its aim is to *"coordinate the work of more than 62 mental health and psychosocial support staff actors working within the Syrian crisis response in Lebanon through a common annual action plan for all."* (Karam, 2016). Two recurrent aspects of the MHPSS-TF can be drawn from the discourse of key informants (professionals/policymakers): the emphasis on evidence-based interventions and the gap between IASC recommendations and MHPSS-TF goals and practices. The latter seem to be very oriented towards the medical aspect of suffering. As described by an MHPSS-TF representative:

"The MHPSS-TF aims at implementing cost-effective and evidence-based strategic mental health interventions, like integration of mental health care into primary health care using the WHO MhGap action program in primary care centers, training of trainers on Inter-Personal Therapy⁹³, with the aim of scaling it up to all professionals working in the humanitarian response, agreeing on a set of mental health and psychosocial indicators for all actors to report.

Q: Why did you choose IPT?

A: Actually, it could have been IPT or Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy, because these interventions have proven to be effective in the refugee settings, but we chose IPT because we found it more convenient for refugees, it focuses more on daily life. Our aim is to promote

⁹³ Interpersonal psychotherapy (IPT) is a brief, attachment-focused psychotherapy that centers on resolving interpersonal problems and symptomatic recovery. It is an empirically supported treatment that follows a highly structured and time-limited approach and is intended to be completed within 12–16 weeks. However, in the particular context of Syrian refugees, stressors are ongoing and chronic and short-term technical solutions might not apply to this context.

evidence-based interventions and randomized controlled trials have proven the efficiency of these interventions.

Q: How is IPT evidence-based in the Syrian context?

A: Not specifically in the Syrian context but there was a study of IPT in Uganda with refugees and it was validated and proven effective (Bolton, 2003).”⁹⁴

The promotion of evidence-based interventions is emphasized as the main aspect of the MHPSS-TF. There seems to be an assumption that an intervention studied in Uganda can be transposed to the Syrian refugees context and be effective, as if all refugees had the same psychological condition. What is the meaning of evidence based medicine in this setting? By assuming that a certain model of therapy can generate a universally valid knowledge base, and retaining Western psychiatric categories as the basic framework for understanding human suffering, this type of interventions is questionable as it fails the “*fundamental test of scientific validity*” (Summerfield, 2008). As stated by Summerfield, validity is “*a concept meant to assess the nature of reality for the people being studied*”. This very nature of reality of the people with whom we are intervening is bound up with local forms of knowledge systems that were not explored prior to implementing the evidence-based interventions. This might ultimately depoliticize the Syrian refugee subject, rendering him similar to all refugees, and eliminating social and political history as majors determinants of health and mental health. Moreover, IPT is designed to be a short-term intervention while the Syrian refugees crisis has become a chronic one, calling for long-term sustainable interventions.

Moreover, all program directors that we interviewed, as well as the head of the MHPSS TF, and the UNHCR representative, confirmed they followed the IASC model of interventions (2007), which is the one “*internationally recommended in the context of humanitarian crisis*”⁹⁵. Yet, inconsistencies were noted between IASC recommendations on one hand, and the action plan of the MHPSS-TF on the other hand. According to the IASC pyramid, MHPSS services must be directed in priority to community and family interventions (level 1 and 2), before referral to individual psychosocial support (Level 3) or specialized consultations of psychiatry and psychotherapy (level 4). The different levels of the pyramid are as follow:

Level 1: Community-focused: basic needs, safety and security

Level 2: Community-focused: Strengthening community and family support

Level 3: Individual-focused: Non-specialized psychosocial support

⁹⁴ Interview with an MHPSS-TF representative, April 2016.

⁹⁵ Interview with an MHPSS-TF representative, April 2016.

Level 4: Individual-focused: Specialized or clinical services

However, the discourse of professionals and policy makers, as well as all the recommendations published by UNHCR and MoPH, emphasize the individual-focused levels, even more so the specialized level 4 (psychiatry/psychotherapy consultations) than the level 3, that includes non-specialized psychosocial support. The term “*psychosocial support*” remains vague and poorly defined by the various actors. It may include diverse and non-specific activities: child friendly spaces, awareness sessions, occupational activities. The level 3 includes more than 50 % of the total activities of MHPSS according to the MoPH mapping of services (MOPH 2015), while level 4 constitutes 10.3% and level 2, 34.2 %. There is no mention or information about Level 1, even though IASC guidelines recommend that levels 1 and 2 must be a priority. An evaluation of the MHPSS services in Lebanon by UNHCR in 2013 revealed that most of the needs noted were at level 1 and 2: Syrian Refugees are struggling to ensure adequate shelter, health services, food and education for their children (UNHCR, 2013). Most of them do not feel safe circulating, are isolated within the community and perceive the host community as rejecting. They also reported prostitution and domestic violence. Still, recommendations only targeted specialized interventions at level 4 (implicating a psychiatric diagnosis), which constitute less than 11% of the MHPSS services, and ignored the social needs found by the evaluation. The same omission was found in a document published by the MOPH (2015). Examples of these recommendations include training fieldworkers on the MhGap, homogenizing psychotherapeutic interventions of all NGOs by promoting IPT, and establishing a unified list for psychotropic medications.

Therefore the discourse of the MHPSS task force seems to be focused on the medical individual aspect even though it claims to be a community-based approach. There is no exploration available of the community’s needs or on what knowledge systems the Syrian community resorts to in times of adversity, in order to build long-term sustainable community interventions. Instead, refugees are viewed as persons with “*lack of mental health literacy that need to be educated about the reality of psychiatric disorders*”.⁹⁶

2) Recruiting beneficiaries: Educating on mental health just enough to meet the target

The recruitment of beneficiaries by MHPSS services is done through various ways: they can be referred by the UNHCR at the level of registration: “*When a refugee comes to register, and we see that he/she is in distress, or that he/she is taking psychotropic medications, we will refer*

⁹⁶ Interview with an international NGO mental health coordinator, March 2016.

him/her to a UNHCR funded NGO providing MHPSS services”⁹⁷. A sign of distress is therefore considered immediately as pertaining to MHPSS services. Sometimes the refugees hear about the services from other refugees. However the most frequent way of recruiting beneficiaries is through social workers or case managers of NGOs, while doing “*outreach visits or awareness sessions*”⁹⁸ at the Primary Health Care Centers of the Ministry of Social Affairs or the MoPH. At International Medical Corps (IMC), which is the main partner of the MoPH, all case managers are trained on the MhGap, to be able to “*detect symptoms that would necessitate an intervention*”⁹⁹. After screening for symptoms, social workers refer Syrians to the psychologist or the psychiatrist for a diagnosis, which is the distinctive function of the specialist; the diagnosis is usually based on international diagnostic classification criteria. Detecting symptoms is one of their most important tasks; with time, social workers may get to know, maybe even more than the psychiatrist/psychotherapist, the refugee’s life in its complexity, as they will often do home visit and support families on a daily basis. However symptoms remain the priority for categorization:

“ We will explain to the person what is depression, what is PTSD, what is psychosis, how to detect and recognize them; most of the times they have the symptoms of depression but they don’t know it is a depression. So we tell them that it is a disease like any others, that they should not be ashamed of it, that it can be treated and we explain to them what we can do.”¹⁰⁰

This social worker, as well as many other professionals, emphasized the lack of education of Syrian refugees on mental health disorders, and their need to be “*educated*” about it. The MhGap and awareness sessions will become tools to inform and educate: the production of psychiatric knowledge is done through a medical legitimization “*it is a disease like any other*” and a universalizing process “*it is one of the most frequent illnesses in the world*”¹⁰¹. As another social worker of IMC describes:

“ In a way, we have to convince the refugees that they need the service. You should tell them that it will be helpful for them if they took some medications, that they should try, but sometimes you have to try hard before they accept, because they don’t consider that this is a priority, they want a job, clothes, material aids, but we tell them we cannot help them materially but psychologically.”¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Interview with a UNHCR staff, March 2017

⁹⁸ Interview with a social worker in an international NGO, August 2016

⁹⁹ Interview with an international NGO mental health coordinator, March 2016.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with a social worker in an international NGO, August 2016

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Interview with a social worker in an international NGO, July 2016

Even though the basic needs of beneficiaries are clearly recognized by social workers, the lack of education about mental health disorders is considered a priority over the expressed needs. Health care providers focus instead on letting the person “*know*” or “*recognize*” that he/she has a “*mental health disorder*” instead of addressing the social adversity that is causing the psychological distress. Policymakers and professionals also frequently evoke the concept of stigma surrounding mental health among refugees, as a result of their lack of knowledge in this area:

They (the refugees) often think the cause of a mystic delusion for example is a bad spirit or a possession. They don’t know about psychosis. They will hide the person who has psychosis, they fear of being embarrassed, there is a lot of stigma around mental health that we should fight, explain that this is a disease, that there is nothing to be ashamed of, that the solution is not to go to a religious healer but to take a medication”¹⁰³

The healer is immediately perceived as intervening against science and rational thinking. There is no attempt by professionals to understand what it means for the community to seek a healer, or how to collaborate with traditional healers and integrate them in the care plan as meaningful figures for some Syrians. Moreover, by creating a specific need among refugees, awareness sessions seek to catch patients and convince them of the services, yet only to a certain extent: indeed, there is a specific number of patients to reach each month, a target that is established by donors. All professionals mentioned the limits of funding and the constraint of the target: they have a pre-established number of consultations they should attain at the end of each month:

“Sometimes there is not enough patients but sometimes there is much more than the target number fixed but we cannot take everyone, because we work in an emergency context, these numbers are predetermined by donors and do not always reflect the needs. Sometimes we are obliged to refer to other NGOs. The target is fixed for psychologists and psychiatrists because the social workers can see as much as possible. Sometimes there is even a fluctuation in funding, and we are suddenly out of some medications for example”¹⁰⁴

Politics of donors and funding of services are pre-established before the services are implemented, and without prior exploration of the people’s needs or expectations: a certain number of patients is fixed every month for the psychiatrist and the psychotherapist, with a limited duration for treatment and follow-up (three to six months) as the services follow the logic of the “*emergency context*”:

¹⁰³ Interview with a psychiatrist working in an international NGO, May 2016

¹⁰⁴ Interview with a mental health program coordinator of an international NGO, March 2016.

*“We work in an emergency context, so we cannot take everyone and we have a fixed duration for the follow-up, that is 3 to 6 months. We are currently promoting brief therapies like IPT or trauma focused therapy, as we want short-term outcomes, just to deal with the emergency before referring to a Primary Health Center”*¹⁰⁵

The concept of “*emergency context*” determines the type and nature of interventions: short-term interventions or therapies are favored over long-term ones. However, the Syrian refugee crisis has become protracted and has been evolving for more than six years now; considering it an emergency crisis rather than a chronic situation might overlook the actual needs of the Syrian community. Furthermore, awareness sessions create a need among Syrian refugees through recruiting beneficiaries and convincing them of the services. Yet, when services abruptly stop as the time allowed for “*emergency context*” has elapsed, refugees might experience a contradictory discourse by humanitarian actors that leaves them in a state of dependency and request. Besides, even though the “*emergency context*” notion is endorsed by main actors on the field (MoPH, MHPSS-TF, UNHCR), level 1 interventions of the pyramid (basic and security needs) - that should be prioritized in emergency contexts - are the least documented. Another problem frequently mentioned by professionals is the non sustainability of funding in terms of psychotropic medications: there can be an unpredictable and unexplained sudden shift in funding, leading to a shortage of medications, which may provoke serious relapses in patients that were previously stable (especially those suffering from psychosis). Therefore, priorities seem to be fixed by donors more so than by the persons concerned; they are considered as “*non informed or non educated about mental health*”¹⁰⁶. Other implications of unsustainable funding in this “*emergency context*” include the limitations faced by psychiatrists when they want to request biological or radiological exams, if an organic disease is suspected. Most psychiatrists expressed that they feel restrained in their clinical activity. The number of consultations for psychiatrists and psychotherapists can vary from one month to another, depending on the target fixed by donors, creating instability of income for these specialists, which they cite as an inconvenience. For example, at International Medical Corps, psychiatrists are paid per consultation. By limiting the number of consultations, the psychiatrist’s income is decreased, an inconvenience that is often brought up by our informants. On one hand, the humanitarian system is based on the “*economy of charity*”¹⁰⁷ with fluctuations in funding following the logic of

¹⁰⁵ Interview with a mental health program coordinator in an international NGO, March 2016

¹⁰⁶ Interview with a psychiatrist working in a local NGO, July 2016

¹⁰⁷ Moghnie Lamia, Marraconi Filippo, 2016, unpublished paper

emergency context, while on the other hand it is a perceived source of employment for freshly graduated specialists seeking fixed incomes.

Conclusion

Our study shows that MHPSS services for Syrian refugees in Lebanon are mostly based on an individual clinical approach and promote brief short-term interventions, while considering the six-years ongoing Syrian crisis as a “*complex emergency*”, and facing arbitrary shifts in aids. There does not seem to be a previous understanding of the community’s perceived needs in terms of psychological wellbeing, mental illness, resources for surviving, patterns of social strengths and weaknesses. Without denying the importance of individual based interventions when indicated, experience from the field shows that most Syrian refugees do not suffer from underlying psychiatric disorders. Instead, their distress is related to their living conditions of poverty, isolation, and insecurity (UNHCR, 2013). Most of the interventions, however, address this distress as an individual disorder.

By focusing on individual diagnosis, resources are shifted away from the long-term rebuilding after war, the reinforcement of local capacities, and the restoration of basic rights and human security. Moreover, by dealing with the suffering of refugees as pertaining to the humanitarian and medical fields, MHPSS services may pathologize ordinary human suffering in reaction to horrifying events, and hinder important aspects like social history and political justice. This reveals the tendency of international donors to depoliticize collective and social suffering, as well as the Syrian refugee subject, rendering him an abstract entity that fits a bureaucratic category (being a refugee), and eliminating social history as a major determinant of mental health. Individual and political dimensions are thus confounded, and the political perspective erased.

Without denying the importance of individual-based interventions when indicated, we can stress the importance of separating the clinical response to mental illness from the public health response to distress caused by mass violations of human rights. These two aspects can only be conciliated within an approach integrating categories that make sense for individuals as members of a community, rather than isolated individuals. This requires changing entrenched perspectives of international agencies and donors with a parallel change in mental health services from short-term individual approaches to the development of sustainable long-term community mental health services, in combination with advocacy for political justice.

Moreover, addressing the “*lack of mental health knowledge among Syrian refugees*”¹⁰⁸ should be replaced by efforts to address the lack of knowledge of policymakers and professionals about the Syrian refugee context, systems of knowledge, idioms of distress and community resources, through more qualitative studies. Ultimately this will help design community-based interventions tailored to the Syrian refugee context. It will also unravel the sociopolitical determinants of health and mental health among Syrian refugees in Lebanon, through the theoretical framework of biogitimacy, described by Didier Fassin (2009) as “*linking the matter of living (medical) and the meaning of politics (citizenship, in terms of social as well as civil rights)*”.

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Social Norms and Conditional Corruption: The Case of Lebanon

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Abstract

This paper explains the emergence of a conditional norm of corruption on an mesosocial level between culture and structure. It considers corruption as a result of interactions between individuals through social norms. In a game theory perspective, we show that the tolerance of corruption is dependent on the social norms generated by mutual betting on other people's behavior in society. Players tend to align their own strategy with the strategy of others. Therefore, a social norm of corruption is determined by the proportion of players who adopt a corruption strategy. The choice between corruption and honesty depends on a specific social norm. Analysis of corruption in Lebanon shows that corruption as a phenomenon is contagious and frequent to the point of tolerating it as a social norm.

Keywords: Corruption, social norms, tolerance of corruption, governance

Introduction

Corruption is an illegal and unethical behavior by a public official in order benefit from it, usually related to a bribe. It is also linked to the illegal use of public power and to illegal activities, regardless of the difficulty of separating between what is legitimate and what is not. Debates on corruption are extremely complex because the concept of corruption is ambiguous to define. All definitions are stained with subjectivity because some activities may be considered as improper or corrupted in some countries but not in others. Some activities are carried out behind stages and outside the formal and legal channels, which makes their measurement and the means of containing them even more difficult.

However, some activities, such as exchanging gifts, lead to some form of corruption without breaching regulations. For this reason, the analysis of corruption should take into account the social, cultural, political, moral, and psychological features of a country in a global framework in order to really understand the phenomenon. The tremendous scale of corruption and the widespread of shady transactions in Lebanon prompt us to

look closer at the emergence of social norms of corruption in the country. The originality of Lebanon's case resides in the fact that it contains all forms of corruption; it can vary from Petty Corruption that occurs at a small scale to Grand Corruption that occurs at the larger scale of government in a way that affects the political, legal and economic systems. For instance, public vote buying is not sanctioned in Lebanon, and may be a major asset in any election.

Some approaches link corruption to a cultural phenomenon tied to unethical or defective behavior. Other approaches try to explain corruption by the bad structure of economy and by government failure [Cartier-Bresson 2000]. This paper explains that corruption should be explained in reference to social norms. It cannot only be explained by bad governance which is related to fragile public structures or merely by the lack of culture and ethics. Only an intermediate explanation focusing on the issue of the perception of corruption based on social norm is plausible.

The case of corruption in Lebanon is interesting to analyze since this phenomenon is rampant in the country and is not only explained by a lack of culture or bad structure. The acceptance of corrupt transactions is reflected in the Lebanese people perceptions: a phenomenon so ordinary that it no longer needs to be eradicated. What makes that 23.3%¹⁰⁹ of the Lebanese people tolerate bribe against 1% in Switzerland? Do Lebanese have an interest in not being honest? Has corruption become a social rule?

To provide an answer to these questions, this paper uses a utilitarian approach in which individuals make a cost-benefit analysis before deciding whether it is rational to be honest or corrupt. We present a dynamic model to explain the emergence of a social norm of corruption as a result of rational strategies by players, in a game theory model where the two players are betting on the behavior of the other. The model proves that it is irrational not to be corrupted in a society characterized by endemic corruption. As an application, we explore the case of Lebanon, presenting the corruption as an accepted behavior which outbalances the failure of public institutions.

The remainder of the article proceeds as follows: section 1 presents a brief analysis of the emergence of conditional norms related to corruption. The second section of the paper displays a game theory model that shows the emergence of conditional norms through rational strategies. The last section discusses the emergence of a social norm of corruption in Lebanon where it is tolerable by all citizens.

¹⁰⁹ Referring to the world values survey; Question: how far the bribe is an accepted or justified. The answers are presented in 10 levels ranging from "always justifiable" to "not justifiable".

The emergence of social norms of corruption

Economists have long disregarded social norms as a key explanation of rational behavior so it is really crucial to integrate the analysis of social norms while studying corruption since it is an individualistic decision. The core issue regarding the norm of corruption is that it exceeds the agreement between the players dealing with corruption to involve all citizens because corruption has a social repercussion on the whole society as a unit. Following the approach of the impartial spectator that Adam Smith used in his moral philosophy¹¹⁰, individuals give their approval or disapproval on any social issue based on a social assessment. According to Smith, one may approve or disapprove his own personal conduct based on other's perception. Social expectation of other people's behavior leads to the emergence of a social norm of corruption.

The norm of tolerance does not only require an acceptance on the individual level. The problem is stated in a broader perspective which involves virtually all participants in social activity: "Is it acceptable to be corrupted?" and "Do other people around me accept a corrupted behavior?". The prospect of the emergence of a norm of tolerance does not depend solely on individual choices (accept or not accept) but involves an anticipation on the choices of others (whether is it was acceptable to others or not). It is not merely a positive or descriptive issue referring to an individual acceptance or not, it is also a prescriptive one. The emergence of conditional norms of corruption is therefore related to the normative agreement within a group: I do accept to pay a bribe if I am expected to pay one; "I" do agree approve that "you" receive an officious payment if it is socially unacceptable for "us" to refuse what so called a "gift".

As stated by James Coleman [1990], the study of social norms is essential for any theory that relies on individual choice. According to Coleman, social norm is defined as a rule of conduct shared by individuals and backed by a sanction. The approach followed by this article falls within this framework where corruption depends on the observation of other's behavior. Elster [1989] considered the social norms as the "cement of the society". For this reason, it seems important to include the analysis of social norms when analyzing corruption.

It is noteworthy that corruption in Lebanon doesn't generate any feeling of guilt among individuals, which encourages citizens to twist the law. Violation of the norm doesn't generate a sense of shame and this feeling drives people to accept corrupt behavior. Generalization of corruption in Lebanon is not only explained by the bad structure of the government and its

¹¹⁰ Smith points out that in every social and moral interaction two individuals make their judgments from the point of view of a third impartial spectator.

bad governance¹¹¹ and its incompetency to provide the basic services in the country. The main limit of this approach is that it puts aside all moral and individual freedom when taking decisions and doesn't explain why corruption exists in developed countries. This structural approach doesn't explain the high level of corruption in some countries such as Italy¹¹², nor why the north of Italy is less corrupted than the south of the country [Putnam, 1993].

On the other hand, corruption is not only a cultural problem related to a lack of ethics and education or non-civic behavior by citizens. This cultural approach has its limits too because it argues that some cultures are superior to others, and may lead to essentialist, social Darwinist, or even racial theories.

The approach suggested in this paper emphasizes on the fact that corruption is analyzed on a level between culture and structure. The thesis defended in the following paper draws a line between two perspectives both considered

- insufficient:
 - the first perspective is structuralist¹¹³ [Mauro, 1996]. According to this perspective, corruption is related to the failure of economic and institutional structures. In this sense, corrupt behavior is only a reflection of poor economic performance, low GDP and administrative burdens in business [Klitgaard 1991].
 - The second perspective is the culturalist approach¹¹⁴. It attributes corruption to subjective causes related to the culture and values of a society [Elster, 1989]. Accordingly, corrupt behavior is the result of failing to comply with ethical standards and civics.

Contrary to these two assertions, we suggest a three-scale rationale analyzing corruption between culture and structure, starting from a macro-societal scale referring to the structuralist approach and going towards a culturalist micro-societal approach.

- More precisely, our approach refers to three scales:
- Macro-societal scale linked to the failing structure of the State.

¹¹¹ According to the indicator of the World Bank, Government Effectiveness, the score of Lebanon is 38 over 100; The index values range between 0 and 100, the maximum value 100 means the most efficient service. Government Effectiveness measures the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation.

¹¹² According to Transparency International, the CPI (Corruption Perception Index) for Lebanon was 28 over 100 for 2016. (A low level of the CPI index refers to a high level of perception of corruption). The CPI of Italy is 44 while the CPI of New Zealand is 90.

¹¹³ According to the structuralist perspective in sociology, human's behavior is analyzed in term of his relation to a system or a structure.

¹¹⁴ The culturalism focuses on the importance of culture in human behavior.

- Micro-societal scale interprets the behavior of corruption as an individual choice.

-Meso societal scale; The approach suggested in this paper focuses on the mutual betting of the behavior of other members of society. Under this intermediate approach, corruption is contagious and the probability of not following the rules depends on anticipating the behavior of the other within a framework of mutual expectations.

Corruption should be explained by the interaction between citizens that leads to the establishment of a social norm of corruption. The commitment of individuals in corrupt activities depends on the disutility of guilt, feelings perceived by the behavior of other individuals in society. In this perspective, the payment of the bribe and the propensity to bribe depends on the frequency of corruption. It stresses on the importance of cooperation and coordination between individuals because the social sanctions will force the agents to abide by the norm. In Lebanon, where corruption is systemic, the norm that emerges led to its acceptance because it's an infectious phenomenon. The choice of individuals between an honest behavior and a corrupted one can vary depending on the frequency and intensity of social punishment.

The emergence of conditional corruption and interactions: the contribution of game theory

We suggest a model that attempts to explain the reasons why some societies tolerate corruption, while others do not. In some societies, individuals have an advantage in being corrupted. The general equilibrium of the suggested model depends on the interaction between individuals.

Suppose a model¹¹⁵ in which two individuals Peter and July live in the same country and have the choice between compliance to rules established by the state without twisting the law ("Do not use corruption") or the non-compliance to existing rules and the use of corruption (the strategy "user of the corruption"). If people apply the laws, the state requires individuals to pay a tax (I). (I) represents the tax paid to the state to enforce property rights and thus constitutes its main revenues to carry out policies against corruption. If individuals are corrupt, they will pay a bribe (b) that represents the individual cost of corruption. In addition, the use of corruption entails for corrupt players an amount (R) related to the rent-seeking. On the other hand, when people do not respect the rules, they support in addition to the individual cost of corruption, a social costs (C). C is paid by the whole society. For a given population, θ measures the proportion of individuals

¹¹⁵ The model suggested in this paper is based on a model in game theory developed by professor Lemennicier on "The nature of the state and the state of nature

who use corruption and $(1 - \theta)$ the proportion of individuals who do not make use of corruption.

If both players are engaged in corruption, the gain will be:

$$G = \frac{1}{2}(R - b) - C$$

Let p be the probability of winning, and here taking the value $1/2$ since the probability is uncertain. We assume that $G = 1 / 2 (R - b) - C$ is negative.

		Peter	
		Use corruption	Do not use corruption
July	Use corruption	$\frac{1}{2}(R - b) - C$	$(R - b)$
	Do not use corruption	$(-I)$	$(G - I)$

Table 1 - Matrix of gains

If both players do not make use of corruption, the gain is positive and equal to $(G - I)$. If July uses corruption and Peter does not use it, July will have a positive gain equal to $(R - b)$. If July does not use corruption, while Peter does, July pays $(-I)$ and loses everything.

Gain from "Use Corruption"

$$E(G) = \theta [1/2 (R - b) - C] + (1 - \theta) [R - b]$$

- Si $\theta = 0$ $E(G) = (R - b)$
- Si $\theta = 1$ $E(G) = \frac{1}{2}(R - b) - C$

Gain from "Do not use corruption"

$$E(G) = \theta (-I) + (1 - \theta) (G - I)$$

- Si $\theta = 0$ $E(G) = (G - I)$
- Si $\theta = 1$ $E(G) = (-I)$

There is no dominant strategy in this game, there are several mixed strategies. This game will be studied in two cases:

Assumptions of the first case	Assumptions of the second case
$R - b > G - I$	$R - b < G - I$
$(-I) > \frac{1}{2}(R - b) - C$	$(-I) < \frac{1}{2}(R - b) - C$

Table 2 - Assumptions of the game

First case

Under the assumptions of the first case, the gain from using corruption is higher than the gain of not using corruption when θ tends to zero. From a certain threshold θ^* , the gain from not using corruption is higher. For a given population, θ^* is the threshold at which it is irrelevant for July to use corruption.

If we represent in a graph the coordination between Peter and July, we find that the strategy "use of the corruption" is dominant as the point B gives an additional gain compared to Point C.

But if Peter adopts the same strategy of spoliation, July has an interest in adopting the "Do not use corruption" ($D > A$). As the interaction is symmetric, once the threshold exceeded θ^* everyone's interest is to respect the rule. Conversely, if the threshold is not met, all have an interest to use corruption.

$\theta = 0$ Gain from using corruption $>$ Gain not using corruption
 $\theta = 1$ Gain from using corruption $<$ Gain not using corruption

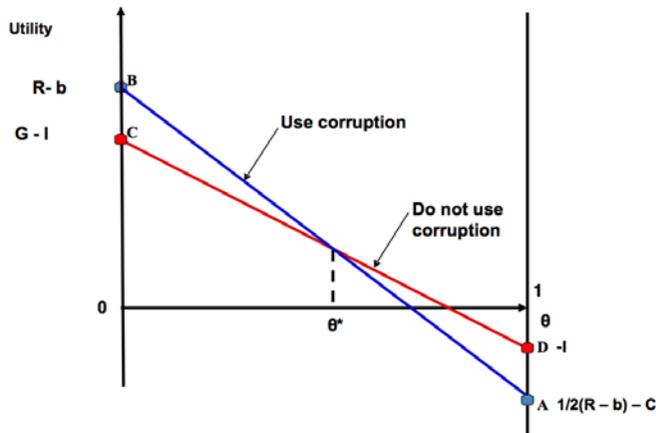


Figure 1 - The game based on the assumptions of the first case

Second case

Under the assumptions of the second case, the gain from using corruption is lower than the gain does not use corruption when θ tends to zero. Once the threshold is exceeded, everyone's interest is to use corruption. Conversely, if the threshold is not met, all have an interest in complying with the rules. If the ratio " θ " increases beyond θ^* , the cost of corruption is higher than that of compliance. When the share of corrupt individuals in the population increases, "Use of corruption" becomes the dominant strategy.

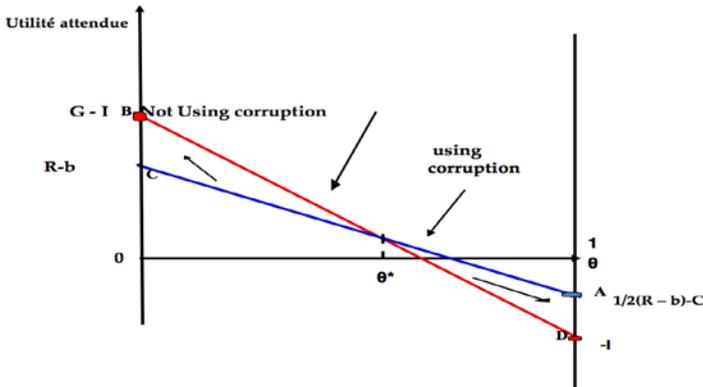


Figure 2 - The game based on the assumptions of the second case

$\theta = 0$ Gain from using corruption < Gain from not using corruption
 $\theta = 1$ Gain from using corruption > Gain from not using corruption

The choice between the path of corruption or honesty depends on several criteria, foremost among which we find the extent of corruption and the proportion of corrupt individuals in the society.

Conclusion of the second case

If $\theta > \theta^*$ agents expect a high level of corruption, so they will have incentive to engage in corrupt activities and θ tend to 1 since the strategy to use corruption entailed more social gains.

This second case will interest us since we'll apply it later to the Lebanese case where corruption is rampant. In a society where corruption provides more gain to its members, it would be rational to be corrupted and accept corrupt behavior of others. Thus a norm for tolerance of corruption emerges indicating that it is irrational not to be corrupt in a society where everybody is corrupt.

Estimation of the threshold θ^*

$E(G \text{ use corruption}) = E(G \text{ does not use corruption})$
 $= \text{Net Increase from the use of corruption} / (\text{Cost from the use of corruption})$

θ^* is positive with $(R-b) - (G-I) > 0$ and $C > G - \frac{1}{2}(R-b)$.
 If $C < G - \frac{1}{2}(R-b)$, tolerance of corruption does not depend on the proportion of corrupt people.

Discussions on the emergence of a social norm in Lebanon

The game presented in our model explains the emergence of a spontaneous order in which agents learn by trial and error or by imitating the behavior of others. Therefore, we assume that the equilibrium depends on the anticipation of the proportion of those who are corrupt, hence on the extent of corruption. The choice between the path of corruption and honesty is explained by the emergence of a conditional norm.

This norm explains why some countries not only tolerate corruption, but also consider it to be rational while others severely sanction any defective attitude. In developed countries, people are expecting honest behavior from others citizens, they are inclined to respect the regulations to avoid social and legal sanctions anticipating that a faulty behavior will be severely punished. Any deviation from this equilibrium of honesty will be severely sanctioned by society and by the State alike. Citizens are inclined to be honest because the cost of violating social norms is higher than its benefits (Becker, 1968). In this case, the norm that emerges is a norm of honesty and the society will impose social sanctions on corrupted citizens. More importantly, in this equilibrium, I tend to be honest because I expect YOU to be honest and because I expect YOU to expect ME to be honest since WE expect that a dishonest behavior would be sanctioned.

Conversely, if corruption is endemic, the strategy that brings the greatest gain to citizens is that of no “honesty”. In countries where corruption is high, public policies are inefficient leading to the acceptance of corruption. This explains why Lebanese citizens expecting a dishonest behavior from politicians are inclined to avoid paying taxes without feeling any guilt. And they may even justify publicly their corrupted behavior by claiming that public funds will be stolen both ways by other corrupted officials, without worrying about any social sanction. According to Governance indicators¹¹⁶ published by the World Bank, the governance in Lebanon is bad and this is explained by the low scores regarding political instability (17.39 /100) and the lack of accountability (39.42/100), (table 2).

Governance indicators	2015
Voice and accountability	39.42
Political stability	17.39
Government effectiveness	48.29
Regulatory quality	50
Rule of law	43.54
Control of corruption	38.54

Table 2: Governance indicators; Percentile rank; World Bank; 2015

¹¹⁶ According to the governance indicators, the index values range between 0 and 100, the maximum value 100 means the better quality of governance.

Social norms are highly relevant to understanding corruption in Lebanon. When individual agents in their daily interactions produce norms of tolerance toward corruption, they rely primarily on observing and anticipating the behavior of "others" defining a network of mutual expectations. In other words, in regions characterized by high levels of uncivilized behavior, people tolerate bad behavior from their neighbors because the latter also tolerate and accept their malpractices. In this sense, once the percentage of corrupt people exceeds a critical threshold, it becomes difficult to avoid the use of corruption in an environment where the bribe is perceived as not only "normal", but more legitimate, rational and justified.

Year	CPI ¹¹⁷ Transparency
2006	3.6
2007	3.0
2008	3.0
2009	2.5
2010	2.5
2011	2.5
2012	3.0
2013	2.8
2014	2.7
2015	2.8
2016	2.8

Table 1: Corruption Perception Indicator; Lebanon

With regard to Lebanon, corruption is rampant in the country according to Transparency International (table 1). The score of CPI that measures the perception of corruption is decreasing moving from 3.6 in 2006 to 2.8 in 2016. A contagion effect of corruption has been observed and citizens tolerate corruption it since it is socially accepted. For this reason, in a context of absence of transparency and efficiency, avoiding paying taxes is not socially punished by the society. Predicting a deficient behavior from other citizens, and predicting that the government will dilapidate fiscal revenues makes it rational not to pay taxes. As discussed previously, it is irrational not to be corrupted in a society where corruption is widely spread where perception of corruption θ exceeds the threshold (case 2 of the model when $\theta > \theta^*$). This social norm can be illustrated in the Lebanese society by the normalization of the bribe, the purchase of votes or the stealing of electricity from the main grid. Hence, individual action clearly depends on conditional social norms, taking the form of betting on the behavior of the

¹¹⁷ Corruption Perception Index, Transparency International.

other. In light of this, it has become rational for individuals to modify their strategies.

In a context of generalized corruption, reciprocity means that people will feel less guilty indulging corrupt activities. In a fractured society like that of Lebanon, citizens are of different religious background have no mutual trust toward each other due to years of struggling in civil war. As a result, the likelihood of anticipating defective behavior is higher in a fragmented and segregated society, which increases the propensity to be corrupt. The Lebanese pessimistic bets on the failing behavior of their fellow citizens confirm the theoretical model borrowed from game theory.

Conclusion

Corruption is not always a cultural problem tied to unethical or defective behavior. Nor is it explained by structural factors related to bad governance. It is a result of interactions between individuals through the social norms based on a mutual betting of the behavior of other members of society. The game model explored how a conditional norm of corruption could emerge in an intermediate level between cultural and structure.

It's important to note that corruption in Lebanon is prevalent and so frequent that condoning it has become a social norm. Referring to our model in game theory, since the perception of corruption is high ($\theta > \theta^*$), agents observe the reaction of others into a network of mutual expectations. Applying the conclusions of the game theory to the case of Lebanon, corruption is seen as a survival strategy. It is justified by a weak State, given the poor quality of public institutions and the competition between political parties within an ethnic, religious and political framework. But corruption practices are mainly developed because the socio-cultural environment is tolerant, even encouraging. This leads to the emergence of a "culture of gifts", the offer of bribe being considered as courtesy. For this reason, corruption cannot be analyzed disregarding moral, social and cultural criteria. The distinction between a lawful and illicit transaction depends to a large extent on societies and cultures, which means that it can vary across time and space.

To this end, it is necessary to define a specific moral criterion to each society and link studies of corruption to the role of the State. All policies suggest that tackling corruption should take into account the perception of corruption and the social norms that have emerged. However, if corruption became the social norm as for the case of Lebanon, any government intervention would be ineffective since corruption became the rule. All policies seem to be inefficient since corruption is considered as a defensive strategy for rational agents to protect themselves from the corruption of politicians.

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Unrest in the Arab World: Does Social Capital Explain Arab Springs?

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Abstract

Using World Values Survey data (2010-2-13) on a selected number of Arab countries, this article explains that Social Capital is an important determinant of social and political stability. In the aftermath of what is commonly called Arab Spring, 3 groups of 13 countries with different levels of stability are compared using Putnam's 4 dimensions of social capital: Interpersonal Trust, Institutional Trust, Civic Engagement and Trustworthiness. On average, respondents of these countries mainly trust their family members, lack confidence in their governments, are not active members in social organizations, and rarely find illicit acts as justifiable. These four dimensions are then used in a probit regression to explain the occurrence of robberies. Our model shows that both civic norms and levels of trust have a negative and significant impact on property crimes, and that social capital could be considered as a predictor of social order. "Trustworthiness" had the highest explanatory power, especially civic norms that proscribe stealing properties.

Keywords: Social capital - Civic engagement - Trust - Political stability – Arab Spring

Introduction

The current context of Arab revolutions is a propitious moment to reexamine the legitimacy crisis threatening contemporary democracies, in a context of significant rise in social and political violence, with higher levels of crime, terrorism, and state repression.

Following Becker, most economists consider decisions of crime as the result of a rational individual calculus [Becker, 1968]. But social disorganization, social mistrust, ineffective social norms or social sanctions, as well as varying levels of social and political control are major

determinants of physical violence and property crime. For example, crimes and robberies may be the result of imitation of peers' behavior and they may be influenced by the level of social normal constraining individual choice, as in Glaeser et al. (1996), Patacchini and Zenou (2005), Haynie (2001) and Calvó-Armengol et al. (2005). High levels of violence may lead to the revocation of the social contract, with a risk of total annihilation of social ties as it may happen in civil wars or famines [Sen, 2003; 2006]. Hobbes was the first to state the problem of order as a social contract by which all individuals agree to abandon simultaneously the use of violence in their interpersonal affairs, delegating this power to a central authority. But a stable political order is not always achieved and, in a context of widespread distrust and opportunism, it is difficult to understand how a normative agreement on the collective action could be reached.

Our article addresses the problem of social disorder and political violence, following the concept of social capital, arguing that mutual trust and social norms could be an appropriate solution to the Hobbesian problem [Coleman, 1990]. Social capital is mainly defined by its components, all having in common the aptitude of reducing the level of social and political violence. James Coleman insisted on three components: mutual obligations and expectations, information channels and, above all, social norms especially norms of reciprocity [Coleman, 1988].

Our aim in this article is to study the relation between social capital and social violence in Arab countries. We show that some components of social capital could explain the stability of the social order, as well as the establishment of State authority and shifts in the political system. Thus, we follow Robert Putnam (1993) who referred to 4 dimensions of social capital: Interpersonal Trust, Institutional Trust, Civic Engagement and Trustworthiness. We use the World Values Survey Wave 5 which provide data on thousands of respondents from 13 Arab countries, between 2010 and 2013. This period of time coincides with major unrest in most Arab countries, commonly labelled as "Arab Springs". The empirical study shows that components of social capital explain political stability, social order, and especially the right to private property as it may be measured by the level of crime and robberies. "Trustworthiness" is the component that has the highest explanatory power, especially civic norms that proscribe stealing properties.

Literature review

Through the concept of social capital, Coleman showed that contemporary societies are suffering from the erosion of their primordial social structure, with a dramatic decrease in the primordial social ties (related to families, neighborhoods, churches, etc.). Coleman showed that this primordial social capital used to protect in the past individuals and groups,

preserving their rights and interests within collective structures. Due to the lack of substitutes in modern structures, individuals are more isolated, left alone to face emerging Corporate Actors, supra-individual actors (such as firms, big corporations, NGO's, State organizations, etc.) threatening the autonomy and liberty of isolated individuals. How can we ensure that individuals, while increasingly subordinated to corporate actors, continue to collectively control the latter?

Social capital could be considered as a solution the problem of collective action. The problem of Hobbes could be reconstructed in terms of social cooperation that aims at protecting individual from illegitimate violence. In the absence of a social contract, Hobbes believes that every individual grants himself the right to avenge the harm done to him. The generalization of such violence leads to a "war of all against all", giving birth to a strong demand for a "social order". Yet this demand may not be met with an adequate supply. The social contract has all the characteristics of a "public good" under which all actors simultaneously abandon the "natural right" to harm others [Coleman, 1990]. Hobbes stipulated that the transition from the "state of nature" to a "state of social contract" is reached through individual rational decisions. Furthermore, Oliver Williamson analyze institutional arrangements that prevent people from opportunistic behavior, when violence is too expensive for a rational individual agent. According to Granovetter, Williamson's institutions are not intended to create social trust, since they are functional substitutes to trust. Therefore, the problem of Hobbes is still unsolved: how to explain that some societies established a solid (and lasting) political and social stability while others are permanently experiencing political violence with high level of social disorganization?

In his reconstruction of the Hobbesian social order, Coleman showed that the problem lies in a collective failure, a defection that any public good may encounter: it is impossible to reach a contract between egoistic unsocial agents, even though it is in the interest of all participants, due to the free-riding behavior. As shown by game theory, the "defection strategy" in the prisoner's dilemma leads to the failure of the collective action. This extended defection leads to the perpetuation of violence, and the social order is not reached due to the general mistrust and mutual aversion [Coleman, 1990].

In a context of widespread distrust, the defection strategy and the violent behavior are rational choices for the uncivic agent. All collective initiatives face this same defection problem, and the Hobbesian problem should be overcome by every social group defending collective interests, from unions to charitable organizations, from neighborhood association to political parties [Olson, 1966]. As suggested by Coleman, social capital seems to be the appropriate solution that allows groups and communities to move from a situation of "double failure" to a situation of double success,

benefiting all parties. Mutual trust and norms of reciprocity lead us to optimistic, yet winning, mutual expectations. All other components of social capital (such as sanctions, threats, promises, rumors, etc.) allow individuals to establish better social cooperation, with a more stable social order.

Social capital “refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, which can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” [Putnam et al., 1993, p. 167]. Social capital is thus defined by its components as well as by their functions. Networks of social trust establish mutual obligations and optimistic expectations that guide the social action toward a better coordination. Trust may explain, for example, how credits are allocated in a context of high uncertainty. By honoring his obligations, each actor expects that others will also respect their obligations. Cooperation is possible if the trustee and the trustor continuously prove that they are both trustworthy. [Coleman, 1988, p. S103].

Among all components of social capital, social norms are the major resources for collective actions [Putnam et al., 1993]. Stable norms of reciprocity and cooperation are needed for a better economic development and a democratic governance [Putnam 1995, a, b]. Norms explain differences in performance between groups, showing how some communities can mobilize their social resources more easily to achieve common goals [Coleman, 1990]. Therefore, social capital stresses on the idea of “power available to people”, describing how individuals and groups are still capable of framing their lives, echoing with the concept of “capabilities” as developed by Sen (2006), showing how we actively shape our living conditions, by making choices that transform our social structures as much as we are influenced by them.

Methodology

This article uses data from the World Values Survey (WVS) 2010-2013 wave covering some Arab countries which are included in the survey. The data selected has been divided into 3 categories of 13 countries. Countries which have known recent turmoil (after 2011) such as Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen are referred to as Group1. We compare these Arab Spring countries to two different groups: Group 2 refers to countries having unstable security levels such as Bahrain, Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine, and Group 3 to countries with relatively stable and secure situations such as Algeria, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and Qatar. While it is very important to include the case of an emblematic country where the revolution is still going on, unfortunately WVS data on Syria is missing.

The empirical study is divided into 2 parts. The first part uses WVS data to compare between different dimensions of social capital among the selected Arab countries. The second part uses data to explain the relationship

between social capital and social order. The components of social capital will be used to explain crime against property right, which we measure through percentage of respondents having been victim of a robbery within each country (V171).

We considered that the occurrence of robberies is a proxy for social order, since safety and the level of social organization in a country, town, or neighborhood may be measured by percentage of people not being victim of robberies as in [Rose & Clear, 1998; Buonanno & al. 2006]. Other studies measure the effectiveness of social capital in promoting social order by assessing how some components of the social capital can help preventing crime [Saegart, Winkel, Swartz, 2002]. Although the relation between robberies and social order may be robbery-specific, we considered here that occurrence of robberies is an indicator of safety and trust within the neighborhood, assuming that the total absence of robberies is the sign of a high level of organization. Our model shows that both civic norms and levels of trust have a negative and significant impact on property crimes. This shows that social capital could be considered as a predictor of social order. Putnam used robberies as a proxy to study the relation between social capital and social organization, in different contexts, from Italy to San Jose, Costa Rica [Putnam, 1993]. He concluded that the high level of trust and civic norms could facilitate a horizontal social organization, instead of imposing the social order through police-state control or repression.

Following Paxton (1999) and Knack and Keefer (1997), the measurement of social capital covers four dimensions: Interpersonal Trust, Institutional trust, Civic Participation and Trustworthiness. Interpersonal trust refers to Trust that lies within networks of mutual obligations and expectations. It measures strong ties among primordial social capital and weak ties across kinship groups, by two variables: trust in people from one's family (V102) and trust in people met for the first time (V105).

Institutional trust refers to the confidence in institutions and institutional performance as well as confidence in public information. It measures Trust in local government (V115), media and press, as well as trust in political parties, church and national government.

Participation to the civil society and its organizations measures the strength of norms of civic engagement assess: volunteering, membership in voluntary associations, sport and art clubs, humanitarian associations, or professional organization and political parties.

Finally, trustworthiness assesses confidence and norms of reciprocity indicating how people are expected to behave towards each other and how every person expects others to behave, thus shaping the overall rules and sanctions that are effectively observed by all members of the social activity. This shows to what extent people in a society are willing to cooperate with

one another by measuring how much it is normal to steal property (V200), avoid paying fees, or cheating in paying taxes.

Descriptive statistics

Trustworthiness: civic norms and norms of reciprocity

Since social norms are considered as the major components of social capital, we start our description of social structures in Arab countries by measuring to which extent people judge some public behavior as normal, and to which extent they justify uncivic behaviors. Variables V198 to V202 attempt to measure civic norms prevailing in each country. Respondents were asked to rank from 1: “Never Justifiable” to 10: “Always justifiable” acts like stealing property, accepting a bribe, suicide... The variables that have been chosen represent a series of behavior which deal with public order. All these variables may in some cases refer to each other, showing how people expect each other to behave in prisoner's dilemma contexts, thus contributing or not to the establishment of the social order.

Mean results are summarized in table 1. Arab Spring countries achieve the lowest mean scores (low justification levels on all behaviors) and the lowest scores per country group. This shows a low level of tolerance for illegal or illicit behavior. Socio economic variables such as sex, education level, age and social class add no remarkable differences to these results on average (see Appendix 1). If we take in consideration the variable “How justifiable it is to steal property” (V200), we find that Tunisia ranks first and more generally, Arab Spring countries have less tolerance than most of other countries, while Algeria and Lebanon have the highest level of tolerance. When calculating the mean of the 5 variables, we find that group 1 countries have a relatively high level of civic norms, comparable to that of stable countries such as Qatar and Jordan, while Algeria and Lebanon have the lowest levels of civic norms.

	Justifiable: Claiming government benefits to which you are not entitled	Justifiable: Avoiding a fare on public transport	Justifiable: Stealing property	Justifiable: Cheating on taxes if you have a chance	Justifiable: Someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties	Mean
Egypt	2.79	2.21	1.94	1.93	1.88	2.15
Libya	2.36	2.36	1.62	1.64	1.53	1.90
Tunisia	2.09	2.71	1.21	2.31	1.40	1.95
Yemen	2.47	1.90	1.49	2.21	1.55	1.92

MEAN	2.42	2.29	1.57	2.02	1.59	1.98
Bahrain	2.11	2.09	2.11		2.11	2.11
Iraq	2.80	2.42	1.62	2.88	1.73	2.29
Lebanon	3.92	2.86	2.63	3.18	2.76	3.07
Palestine	3.53	2.50	1.68	2.94	1.74	2.48
MEAN	2.96	2.43	1.92	2.76	1.99	2.41
Algeria	4.43	4.40	2.20	3.88	2.23	3.43
Jordan	2.25	1.59	1.36	1.65	1.45	1.66
Kuwait	3.88	2.61	2.04	2.89	2.42	2.77
Morocco	1.99	1.68	1.40	1.51	1.47	1.61
Qatar	3.27	1.87	1.46		1.38	1.99
MEAN	3.16	2.43	1.69	2.48	1.79	2.31

Table 1- Mean scores for Trustworthiness

Interpersonal Trust

In most studies, the level of interpersonal trust is calculated through the percentage of respondents in each country replying that people can be trusted, whether we are talking about family, neighbors, foreigners, etc. We chose to analyze the level of personal trust through two variables. Percentages of people who trust and people who don't trust have been computed for each country in the sample regarding the following 2 questions:

V102- "How much do you trust your family?"

V105- "How much do you trust people you meet for the first time?"

Table 2 shows that there are no major differences between Groups 1 and 3 with a slight difference for Group 2 (with statistically significant chi-square testing). Most people in the selected Arab countries trust their family and don't trust people they meet for the first time. Once again, we find that Arab Spring countries have the highest level of trust toward family, a level that is comparable to that of stable Arab monarchies, with Egypt ranking first while Lebanon has the lowest level of trust toward family, followed by Bahrain. On another hand, when comparing levels of trust toward people met the first time, we find that Bahrain has the highest level of trust, and countries such as Morocco, Palestine and Algeria have the lowest levels.

V102 - How much you trust: Your family				V105- How much you trust: People you meet for the first time		
	Trust	Don't Trust	N	Trust	Don't Trust	N
Egypt	99.90%	0.20%	1,523	31.06%	68.94%	1,523
Libya	99.20%	0.90%	2,128	21.12%	78.88%	2,079
Tunisia	98.60%	1.50%	1,200	17.16%	82.84%	1,189
Yemen	98.60%	1.40%	997	24.72%	75.28%	983
MEAN	99.08%	1.00%		23.51%	76.49%	
Bahrain	89.20%	10.70%	1,199	52.93%	47.07%	1,196
Iraq	99.80%	0.30%	1,199	16.53%	83.47%	1,186
Lebanon	82.50%	17.50%	1,177	29.21%	70.79%	1,171
Palestine	98.10%	1.90%	997	14.91%	85.09%	979
MEAN	92.40%	7.60%		28.39%	71.61%	
Algeria	97.20%	2.80%	1,191	15.66%	84.34%	1,156
Jordan	98.70%	1.30%	1,200	22.16%	77.84%	1,196
Kuwait	98.20%	1.80%	1,280	31.93%	68.07%	1,256
Morocco	98.50%	1.50%	1,196	14.13%	85.87%	1,182
Qatar	98.40%	1.60%	1,058	33.05%	66.95%	1,059
MEAN	98.20%	1.80%		23.38%	76.62%	

Table 2: Interpersonal Trust in selected Arab countries

Institutional Trust

Variables V108 to V124 measure the level of confidence in some institutions: the armed forces, television, the press, etc. Variable V115 (CONF_GOV) measures specifically the level of confidence in the government “How much confidence you have in the government in your nation’s capital?”. Answers range from 1: A great deal to 4: Not at all. Mean answers of the selected Arab countries are summarized in Table 3, showing that confidence level increases with stability. Mean levels show that people across countries have more confidence in institutions other than their government (CONF_INST) except in group 3.

	Confidence: The government (in your nation's capital)	Confidence in other institutions
Egypt	2.69	2.73
Libya	2.97	2.64
Tunisia	3.22	2.91
Yemen	2.92	2.96
MEAN	2.95	2.81
Bahrain	2.09	2.10
Iraq	2.73	2.65
Lebanon	3.05	2.72
Palestine	2.74	2.70
MEAN	2.65	2.54
Algeria	2.70	2.69
Jordan	2.34	2.56
Kuwait	2.12	2.31
Morocco	2.50	2.39
Qatar	1.66	1.78
MEAN	2.26	2.35

Table 3: Mean Confidence in Institutions in Arab countries

Confidence levels are the lowest in Arab Spring countries and the highest in relatively stable countries. In Table 4 below, when comparing these variables to the World Bank Index of political stability in the same countries over the period 2010-2014, we find that higher levels of confidence are associated with more political stability, except for Tunisia, the only Arab Spring country that has reached a stable political system, yet still scoring a very low level of confidence in Institutions.

Rank by political stability	COUNTRY	POL_STAB	CONF_GOV	CONF_INST
1	Qatar	1.13	1.66	1.54
2	Kuwait	0.24	2.12	2.24
3	Morocco	-0.43	2.5	2.37
4	Jordan	-0.5	2.34	2.23
5	Tunisia	-0.59	3.22	2.72
6	Bahrain	-0.98	2.09	2.1
7	Algeria	-1.26	2.7	2.56

8	Libya	-1.4	2.97	2.62
9	Egypt	-1.41	2.69	2.6
10	Lebanon	-1.65	3.05	2.71
11	Palestine	-1.91	2.74	2.61
12	Iraq	-2.11	2.73	2.55
13	Yemen	-2.44	2.92	3

Table 4: Political Stability and Confidence levels

Civic engagement: membership and participation in civil society

Variables V25 to V35 measure the respondents' civic engagement through their participation to several social organizations. The answers range from "not a member", to "inactive member" and "active member". The table 5 below shows the percentage of "non-members" among respondents.

	Church or	Sport or	Art, mu	Labour Unio	Political	Environmental	Professional	Humanitarian or	Consumer	Self-help grou	Other	Mean
Egypt	98.88	99.80	99.80	99.80	98.67	99.80	99.61	99.21	99.87	99.80	99.80	99.55
Libya	90.0	81.	88.	88.06	92.	90.54	88.64	80.63	90.7	87.5	92.52	88.
Tunisia	98.4	94.	96.	98.09	98.	99.25	98.17	98.92	99.5	99.5	99.92	98.
Yemen	91.8	94.	96.	95.90	80.	96.50	92.80	91.20	95.7	93.3	100.0	93.
MEAN	94.7	92.	95.	95.46	92.	96.52	94.80	92.49	96.4	95.0	98.06	94.
Bahrain	76.3	72.	70.	79.58		79.00	56.50	79.08	81.3	81.8	60.00	73.
Iraq	90.0	93.	96.	97.58	96.	98.42	96.08	91.17	98.8	95.6	99.83	95.
Lebanon	77.7	74.	76.	82.75	77.	83.58	82.75	79.25	87.1	83.0	86.67	81.
Palestine	82.3	82.	87.	87.35	81.	91.54	89.21	87.12	93.3	91.9	95.36	88.
MEAN	81.6	80.	82.	86.82	85.	88.14	81.14	84.16	90.1	88.1	85.46	84.
Algeria	91.6	88.	93.	96.08	96.	97.67	97.17	94.33	98.0	97.3	97.50	95.
Jordan	89.2	91.	94.	94.75	95.	94.67	92.67	90.67	95.5	94.0	99.42	93.
Kuwait	72.8	74.	85.			88.75	76.63	72.12	84.5	85.4	93.01	81.
Morocco	96.5	91.	95.	97.36	96.	98.47	96.22	97.54	98.9	97.7	95.11	96.
Qatar	81.1	78.	86.			86.89		78.21	88.0	81.9	90.94	84.
MEAN	86.3	84.	90.	96.07	96.	93.29	90.67	86.57	93.0	91.3	95.20	91.

Table 5: Non-Membership percentages in organizations

Non-memberships averages are the lowest for group 2, chronically unstable countries. Highest scores concern Arab Spring countries, which seem to have the lowest level of this aspect of social capital compared to

other Arab countries, while the highest participation to the civil society is found in Bahrain, followed by Lebanon, Kuwait and Qatar.

Conclusion to the descriptive analysis

Stable countries from group 3 such as Qatar and Kuwait have the highest level of political stability (ranked 1 and 2 respectively), and the lowest level of robberies (ranked 1 and 3 respectively - table 6 below), as well as high level of trust toward people met for the first time (rank 2 and 3 respectively). On the other hand, countries from group 2 such as Bahrain and Lebanon suffer from political instability (ranked 6 and 10 respectively), and relatively high level of robberies (ranked 7 and 11 respectively), with the lowest level of trust toward family (rank 12 and 13 respectively) and high level of trust toward people met for the first time (rank 1 and 5 respectively).

Rank by Robberies level	COUNTRY	ROBBERIES
1	Qatar	6.90%
2	Libya	10.70%
3	Kuwait	22.80%
4	Iraq	23.50%
5	Yemen	23.90%
6	Tunisia	26.50%
7	Bahrain	28.40%
8	Morocco	30.70%
9	Palestine	30.70%
10	Jordan	31.90%
11	Lebanon	43.00%
12	Algeria	43.30%
13	Egypt	49.40%

Table 6: percentage of respondents having been victim of a robbery within each country - V171

Finally, Arab spring countries from group 1 are in an intermediate position. The social capital of these countries is mainly composed of the other two dimensions, interpersonal trust and social norms, with low level of institutional trust, especially low confidence in the government, and low participation to the civil society. Indeed, these countries have the lowest levels of political stability (except for Tunisia, only country to reach a stable political system after the revolution), and the lowest levels of confidence in their respective government (Tunisia ranking first, as the having the lowest level of confidence in the government and all other institutions). These countries also have the lowest participation to the civil society (Egypt has the lowest levels of participation to voluntary associations, followed by Tunisia). But they have the highest level of trust in family members (Egypt ranking 1, Libya 3, Tunisia 5, and Yemen 6). Moreover, these are the less tolerant Arab

countries toward deviant behavior, Tunisia being the least tolerant toward stealing property.

Regression analysis

This section attempts to explain to which extent the four dimensions of social capital influence social order. We use a probit regression and we report marginal effects of four independent variables on a binary dependent variable summarized in table 7:

Variable	Related question in WVS		Observations	Percent	Recorded
ROBBERIES(dependent)	V171- How frequently do the following things occur in your neighborhood: Robberies	Very	4520	28%	1
		Not	11589	72%	0
		N	16109	98.1	
TRUST_FAMILY	V102-How much you trust your family	Trust	15830	96.4	1
		Do not trust	515	3.1	0
		N	16345	1424	
CONF_GVT	V115- How much confidence do you have in the government (in your nation's capital)	A great deal/Quite a lot	6917	32%	1.0
		Not very much/not at all	8490	52%	0.0
		N	15407	93.8	
MEMBERSHIP_MEAN	V25 to V35: Active/Inactive Member in Church, Sport, Art, Labor Union, Political Party, Environmental, Professional, Humanitarian, Consumer, Self-Help or Other Organization	0	11003	67.0	Mean value
		0.09 to 2	5419	33.0	
		N	16442		
JUSTIFIED_STEALING	Justifiable: Stealing property	Never justifiable	11734	71.5	1.0
		2	1711	10.4	0
		3 to 9	906	5.5	
		Always justifiable	127	.8	
		N	16110	98.1	

Table 7: Main features of regression variables

Each of the independent variable measure one dimension of social capital. These variables are used in a probit regression in order to explain the impact of a change of the probability of robberies to occur in the respondent's closest space of residency. If the relationship is negative between the independent and dependent variable, it would mean that having more social capital would lower the probability of robberies occurring. Regression results are summarized in table 8 below. The model is significant as a whole, with a very low Pseudo R2, which is normal since no socio-economic variables are included in the model. Estimators are all negative and statistically significant. The probability of occurrence of robberies decreases with each change in the independent variables (moving from 0 to 1 for binary variables): Trusting family decreases the probability by 8.7%, Having confidence in the government by 6.9%, being a member of social organizations by 3% and not justifying stealing by 10%.

Nbr of obs		14840	LR chi2(4)		224.25	Log likeliho od =		- 8681.4 39
Prob > chi2		0.000	Pseud o R2		0.0128			
ROBBERIES	dF/dx	Std. Err.	z	P>z	x-bar	[95%	C.I.]	
TRUST_FAMILY	-0.087449	0.023121 7	-3.97	0.000	0.9689 35	- 0.1327 7	- 0.0421 3	
CONFIDENCE_GVT	- 0.0690712	0.00736	-9.29	0.000	0.4488 54	- 0.0835	- 0.0546 5	
MEMBERSHIP	- 0.0306241	0.010687 4	-2.87	0.004	0.1588 29	- 0.0515 7	- 0.0096 8	
JUSTIFIED_STEALING	- 0.1038407	0.010743	-10.07	0.000	0.8358 49	- 0.1249	- 0.0827 9	
obs. P	.2795822	pred. P	.277135 (at x-bar)					

Table 8: Regression results ROBBERIES / Pool of countries

Conclusion

Measuring unrest by the occurrence of robberies, we showed that social capital explain unrest in Arab countries. More importantly, we found

that norms of reciprocity are the main determinant of social order. People's perceptions of others' behavior can create instability. Norms of trustworthiness, and especially norms of reciprocity such as norms that proscribe stealing private property, have more significant impacts on stability than the volume of social capital. Civic norms and levels of trust have a negative and significant impact on property crimes, and can enhance social and political stability. Limitations of this article are the scarcity of literature on social capital in Arab countries, the absence of important data concerning Syria and other Arab countries, the on-going unstable situation in most Arab countries, and the reliability of data. Further research must include socio-economic variables to consolidate the impact of norms on social order. Predicting the occurrence of future uprisings depends on the strength of social ties.

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Appendix 1:

Socio-economic variables differences in TRUSTWORTHINESS scores

	MAL E	FEMAL E	NONUNI V	UNI V	LOWE R	UPPE R	AGE<3 0	AGE>3 0
Egypt	2.23	2.11	2.18	1.98	2.14	2.2	2.26	2.11
Libya	1.76	2.05	1.88	1.91	1.91	1.88	1.91	1.90
Tunisia	2.03	1.85	1.99	1.67	1.97	1.75	2.07	1.86
Yemen	1.41	2.46	1.99	1.55	1.9	2.09	2.04	1.86
MEAN	1.86	2.12	2.01	1.78	1.98	1.98	2.07	1.93
Bahrain	2.23	1.95	2.13	2.02	2.06	2.26	2.06	2.13
Iraq	2.27	2.32	2.3	2.26	2.18	2.62	2.35	2.26
Lebano n	3.07	3.08	3.13	2.96	3.13	2.94	3.15	3.02
Palestin e	2.57	2.38	2.44	2.54	2.48	2.43	2.54	2.44
MEAN	2.54	2.43	2.5	2.45	2.46	2.56	2.53	2.46
Algeria	3.61	3.24	3.36	3.7	3.37	3.64	3.77	3.23
Jordan	1.78	1.54	1.68	1.6	1.57	2.15	1.77	1.61
Kuwait	2.71	2.84	2.85	2.65	2.67	2.84	3.11	2.57
Morocc o	1.66	1.56	1.61	1.66	1.65	1.73	1.67	1.56
Qatar	2.08	1.92	2.03	1.95	1.96	2.01	2.05	1.96
MEAN	2.37	2.22	2.3	2.31	2.25	2.47	2.48	2.19
N	8208	8169	12085	4257	11302	4483	5550	10830

Table 9: Socio-economic explanation for Trustworthiness

****People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the: 1 Upper class; 2 Upper middle class; 3 Lower middle class; 4 Working class; 5 Lower class.**

UPPER: 1 and 2 recoded into 1

LOWER: 3 to 5 recoded into 0

***What is the highest educational level that you have attained? [NOTE: if respondent indicates to be a student, code highest level s/he expects to complete]: 1 No formal education; 2 Incomplete primary school; 3 Complete primary school; 4 Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type; 5 Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type; 6 Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type; 7 Complete secondary: university-preparatory type; 8 Some university-level education, without degree; 9 University-level education, with degree**

UNIV: 8 and 9 recoded into 1

NON UNIV: 1 to 7 recoded into 0

Indonesian Journalist; After Political Reformation

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Abstract

For the first time ever, 385 professional journalists in Indonesia have been surveyed, by means of face-to-face interviews, for their basic characteristics and their views on professional values. The findings suggest that the ‘typical’ Indonesian journalist is young, male, well educated and earns an above-average salary. In terms of education and training, journalists of the archipelago are becoming increasingly professional. They see themselves as neutral and objective disseminators of news, though not as political actors and agents of development. Indonesian journalists disapprove of unscrupulous practices of reporting, yet many of them justify and practice corruption during their everyday work. Although the study’s primary focus is on Indonesia, the analysis goes well beyond national boundaries. By subjecting the data to factor analysis, five dimensions of media roles could be extracted, namely public-oriented news journalism, popular service journalism, critical watchdog journalism, objective precision journalism and opinion-oriented news journalism.

Keywords: Reformation, New-Order Regime, Critical-watchdog Journalism, Objective-Precision Journalism

Introduction

It has been over than fifteen years, since Indonesia experienced rapid changes after three decades under Suharto’s repressive New Order regime. Journalist nowadays feel challenged by the blessing of press freedom. The controversial re-election of Suharto in March 1998 marked the beginning of a ‘fascinating chapter’ in Indonesia’s media history: Journalists continuously reported on demonstrating students and claims for economic and political reforms (Hidayat, 2002: 174). In fact, the national media coverage of the first free election in the post-Suharto era (1999) shared many similarities with the coverage of general elections in the United States (Manzella, 2000: 310). Under the rule of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), who disposed the Ministry of Information shortly after his accession to power in 1999 (Gazali, 2002: 134), Indonesia experienced a ‘golden age of press freedom’ (Dharma

et al., 2003: 5). This withdraw of political restrictions on the media system has triggered an exploding demand for young and qualified journalists as the number of media outlets sharply increased.

In the most recent survey of *Freedom House* Indonesia's media system is rated "partly free" (Karlekar, 2003: 92), but many scholars believe that press freedom in Indonesia has led to malpractices and excesses when it comes to news reporting (Dharma et al., 2003; Loeqman, 2003). Moreover, the press has been repeatedly blamed by politicians for being 'tendentious' and 'manipulative' (e.g. Kompas, 18-01-2002 and 05-02-2002). Therefore, many among the political elite have started to think about reconsidering the liberal press law (Andrie, 2002: 6; Dharma et al., 2003: 30; Eisy, 2002: 30). In the meantime, several local and provincial governments have set up agencies for the supervision and control of the media (The Jakarta Post, December 30, 2002). In November 2002, the parliament eventually passed a highly restrictive broadcasting law which is believed to 'give birth to a new authoritarianism' (Sudiby, 2003).

There is also a growing concern about a significant decline of professionalism in journalism (Arismunandar, 2002: 4; Eisy, 2002: 29). Largely criticized is a loss of accuracy, objectivity, neutrality, completeness and depth in national and local news coverage (Abar, 1998; Ma'ruf, 1999). Most of these developments were traced back to the carelessness of young journalists and the inefficiency of journalism education (Manzella, 2000: 306; Hanitzsch, 2001), as well as to the weak self-control of the press (Dharma et al., 2003: 26). Also, as long as bribery continues to be widespread among journalists (Budiyanto and Mabroer, 2000; Eriyanto, 2002), efforts to improve professional awareness in their daily work will remain ineffective.

In Europe and North America, a long tradition of surveying journalists has generated an impressive amount of data. In Indonesia, unlike Bangladesh (Ramaprasad and Rahman, 2004), China (Chen, Zhu and Wu, 1998; Pan and Chan, 2003), Hong Kong (Chan, Lee and Lee, 1992), Taiwan (Lo, 1998), South Korea (Kang, 1993) or Nepal (Ramaprasad and Kelly, 2003), the state of research is quite different. Journalists as professionals have never been investigated systematically for their basic characteristics, work patterns and their views on professional values. This research deficit, I believe, is mainly due to an underdeveloped, non-competitive scientific infrastructure which lacks funding as well as significant encouragement for scholars to conduct research.

Consequently, reflections on journalists, their work and their professional views are mostly limited to essays published in daily newspapers or in journals without significant circulation. Empirical research on journalism has also emigrated to non-academic institutions. As an

example, the Alliance of Independent Journalists (*Aliansi Jurnalis Independen*) has conducted a survey of 276 journalists in East Java (Budiyanto and Mabroer, 2000). Another study was carried out more recently by a researcher from the Institute for the Study of the Free Flow of Information (*Institut Studi Arus Informasi*), who surveyed 240 journalists working for news media in the capital Jakarta (Eriyanto 2002). In the middle of the 1990s, Romano (2003) conducted interviews with 65 journalists, but her sample was limited mainly to journalists working in the capital Jakarta.

Previous studies and external data sources

Basic characteristics: The membership records of the Indonesian Journalists' Association PWI (*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia*) as well as a study conducted in East Java (Budiyanto and Mabroer, 2000: 6) both suggest that the share of Indonesian women journalists is only slightly above ten percent. Compared with other countries around the globe, Indonesia scores very low (see Weaver, 1998a: 457).¹ As many international studies indicate that women journalists constitute an exceptionally low portion of senior positions within the editorial hierarchy (Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig, 2003: 6), I expected the same to be the case in Indonesia. In terms of salaries, several studies --- such as the one by Budiyanto and Mabroer (2000: 8--50) --- draw a deplorable picture of the living standard and income situation of Indonesian journalists. According to their survey, only 13.8 percent of the journalists interviewed receive a monthly salary of more than one million Rupiah (\$ 120 US). Low salaries force 46.4 percent of the journalists to have additional jobs. Speaking about education, there is a wide variance among the data. According to the membership records of the Indonesian Journalists' Association PWI, 35.9 percent of their members hold a college or university degree. Contrary to this, the East Java study found 75.3 percent to have an academic degree. Nothing is known about the patterns of professional education.

Conceptions of media role: Many surveys of journalists paid special attention to how journalists perceive their role in society. At an early stage in research history, Cohen (1963: 20) suggested an analytical distinction between a 'neutral role' and a 'participant role'. A decade later, Janowitz (1975: 618--9) proposed a classification comprising 'gatekeeper' and 'advocate' roles. Weaver and Wilhoit (1991: 115) more recently distinguish an 'interpreter', and 'disseminator' from an 'adversary' role. Although these media role conceptions are shared by many journalists around the globe (see Weaver, 1998b: 465-8), some scholars suggest that journalism in Asian societies carries some fundamental values which make 'Asian journalism' different from a Western understanding of journalism (see Masterton, 1996; Massey and Chang 2002; Wong 2004). One of these values, being supportive

of national development, is embodied in the Development Journalism philosophy.² In the meanwhile, journalists in Indonesia have repeatedly been blamed for being 'biased', 'partisan' and 'provocative' (Dharma et al., 2003: 51; Loeqman, 2003: XIII). According to Anwar (2001: 42--43), the national press served not as a 'watchdog' but as a 'lap dog'. He described the press as 'heartless', 'entertainment-oriented' as well as lacking of any ideology, vision and mission. This picture, however, is quite different from the self-perception of Indonesian journalists who see themselves as 'watchdog' (50.8%), 'agent of empowerment' (21.5%) and agent of 'nation building' (18.5%), but not as 'entertainer' (1.5%) (Romano 2003: 57).

Ethics of reporting: The justification of controversial reporting practices has become another important aspect of journalism research since it is related to ethical constraints and normative beliefs within a given society. If there are 'pan-Asian' values in journalism, they must appear in reporting practices. Also, a recent study of Berkowitz, Limor and Singer (2004: 176) provides support for the assumption that the social or national context of news-making may be most important in shaping ethical decisions in journalism. In Indonesia, no empirical data are available on the justification of controversial reporting practices.

Corruption: According to the 'TI Corruption Perceptions Index' of 2003, Indonesia is ranked 11th in the world. Given its pervasive and systemic nature (Teggemann, 2003: 143), corruption has penetrated virtually every single aspect of everyday life and needs, therefore, to be seen as a significant aspect of culture throughout the crisis-ridden archipelago. The practice of corruption in journalism has been the subject of a wide public debate since the late 1990s (Christianty, 2001; Prinantyo, 2001; Eriyanto, 2002; Haryatmoko, 2002). Due to its close ties to culture, corruption in Indonesia is often identified as 'culture of envelopes' (Eriyanto, 2002: 38; Prinantyo, 2001: 22; Romano, 2003: 150). The term was chosen because usually bribe money changes hands wrapped in envelopes. The East Java study found 70.3 percent of the journalists to accept 'envelopes' during their everyday work (Budiyanto and Mabroer, 2000: 53).

Objectives of the study

The primary objective of this study was to draw --- for the first time ever --- a comprehensive picture of Indonesian journalists, who they are and what they think about professional values in journalism. The conceptualization of the study was highly influenced by the work of Weaver and Wilhoit (1991; 1996) and Weischenberg, Löffelholz and Scholl (1998). In my research, I paid specific attention to the following questions which were generated from the review of related literature and relevant data:

RQ1: What are the basic characteristics of journalists in Indonesia, with respect to the situation of women journalists in particular?

RQ2: Are Indonesian journalists merely uneducated amateurs or well-educated professionals?

RQ3: How do Indonesian journalists perceive their role in society? Is the Development Journalism philosophy vital in Indonesia?

RQ4: Which dimensions of the media role conception can be extracted from the data?

RQ5: What factors have the highest impact on the journalists' role conceptions?

RQ6: To what extent do journalists justify controversial methods of reporting?

RQ7: To what extent do Indonesian journalists justify and practise bribery during their work?

RQ8: What are the reasons and motives behind corruption in journalism?

Methodology

The findings of the present study are based on standardized face-to-face interviews with a total of 385 journalists in Indonesia, conducted between August 2001 and February 2002. Due to a lack of basic data regarding the number of journalists and the quantitative structure of the Indonesian media system, a multi-step research design was chosen. The first step was to define the population and estimate the number of journalists.

Most empirical studies on journalists look at their object of research from an individualistic perspective. Weaver and Wilhoit (1991: 219), for example, defined journalists 'as those who have editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information'. This approach could be summarized by the formula: 'Journalism is what journalists do, and journalist is who works in journalism.' Instead of using this strategy, I employed a system-theoretical approach to the study as suggested by Scholl (1996). As part of my conceptualization, I first identified journalism and journalists with respect to their essential functional contribution to modern society. Journalism as a social system was distinguished from other areas of public communication such as public relations (affiliated with the communicative needs of a certain organization), arts (fictional in character) as well as non-professional and non-periodic media. Second, journalism was differentiated into organizations providing contents for print, broadcasting and online media. Third, professional roles related to the 'core' of journalism, which consists of investigating, selecting,

writing and editing news accounts, were identified. The concept of ‘news accounts’ was used in a broader sense including hybrid formats such as infotainment or edutainment, lifestyle magazines and special interest publications. Those media outlets and formats should be considered as another mode of journalism (‘popular journalism’) rather than as something apart from journalism.³ As a consequence, I did not limit the sample to news journalists only.

The size of the population was estimated by a two-step procedure. First, the investigation of the absolute number of media organizations relevant to journalism produced a total of 1,323 items. The data were gathered from various sources such as the Indonesian Association of Newspaper Publishers (*Serikat Penerbit Pers*) and the Indonesian Union of Private Radio Broadcasters (*Persatuan Radio Siaran Swasta Nasional Indonesia*). Then, I obtained data from 75 media organizations regarding the number and structure of their editorial staff. From this, the overall number of Indonesian journalists was projected to more than 23,000 individuals, 81 percent of which work for magazines as well as daily, weekly and Sunday newspapers. Thus, the average penetration of the entire population is about eleven journalists per 100,000 inhabitants. This is not much if compared to other countries such as Taiwan (25 journalists per 100,000 inhabitants), South Korea (87), Germany (66) or the United States (47) (see Weaver, 1998b: 457-8).

Being an archipelago consisting of almost 14,000 islands, Indonesia posed some challenges to the researcher due to its vast geographical distances. As Hardjana (2000) and Siregar (2002: 3) have pointed out, 75 percent of all Indonesian media organizations operate from the main island Java and half from the capital Jakarta. Due to financial reasons, I decided not to draw a representative sample but to focus on three highly populated provinces (out of 26 at that time). According to the various degrees of industrialization, the affiliation to centre/periphery and different composition of ethnic groups, half of the sample was drawn from Jakarta (West Java; centre, high level of industrialization, predominantly Javanese and Sundanese), one quarter from Yogyakarta (Central Java; periphery, low level of industrialization, predominantly Javanese) and another quarter from North Sumatra (periphery, medium level of industrialization, predominantly Sumatra, Javanese and Malay).⁴ By a random sampling procedure, a list of media organizations was generated, and from there a gross number of 480 journalists were randomly selected to be interviewed in person. Finally, 385 valid interviews were successfully completed, representing a response rate of 80 percent.

Findings and discussion

Basic Characteristics

The ‘typical’ journalist in Indonesia is 35 years old, male, married, has one or two children and has worked in the field of journalism for nine years (see Table 1). Most journalists are members of journalists’ associations, which is partly due to the fact that during the New Order regime all journalists were required to be a member of the Indonesian Journalists’ Association PWI (*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia*) by a ministerial decree from 1969. After the downfall of Suharto in 1998, the number of journalists’ associations in Indonesia has sharply increased, in 2003 the national Press Council (*Dewan Pers*) counted 43 different professional associations, 26 of which agreed on a common standard code of ethical conduct (*Kode Etik Wartawan Indonesia*). Although the PWI ‘has repeatedly failed to support journalists’ actions against ministerial intervention, particularly arbitrary withdrawals of publication permits’ (Sen & Hill, 2000: 55), the association is still the largest of its kind in Indonesia. Younger journalists, however, seem to be less keen to join a professional association.

Four out of five journalists hold a college or university degree, 1.6 percent of them a Master degree, only 14.4 percent have not completed any professional education. Since journalists are quite well educated in proportion to the overall population, it seems legitimate to label them as an ‘educated elite’. Younger journalists tend to be even more educated than their older colleagues, indicating a steady professionalization in the field ($X^2=25.4$; d.f.=6; $p<.001$). In terms of professional education, it turned out that only one out of nine journalists has majored in journalism. Another 22 percent have completed their studies in communication or a related field, and 18.8 percent have completed a professional training in journalism. The fact that 47.9 percent of all journalists did not finish any professional education related to the field of journalism is partly due to the low efficiency of the national journalism education in coping with the fast-moving needs of the profession. Many editors in chief have also expressed their reluctance to recruit university graduates from journalism and communications, having seen that they were not well prepared for the challenges of the profession.

TABLE 1: Basic characteristics (N=385)

	Women	Men	Total
Average age (Median; years)	29.9	37.0	35.0
Married	69.0%	51.2%	65.1%
Average number of children	1.01	1.45	1.35
Holding college degree	81.6%	79.9%	80.2%
Majoring in Journalism	17.4%	9.1%	10.8%
Member of journalists’ association	48.5%	60.5%	58.1%
Having additional jobs	25.9%	25.1%	25.2%
Has worked in journalism (years)	6.7	9.4	9.0
	22.1%	77.9%	100.0%

This study has found women journalists to be a small minority in editorial offices in Indonesia, although the percentage is not as small as other data sources suggest (e.g. PWI; Budiyo and Mabroer, 2000: 6). This low percentage is probably caused by professional self-selection as a result from women being more attracted to work in public relations than in journalism (Romano, 2003: 109). Furthermore, women journalists tend to be younger and have less professional experience than do their male colleagues as they enter the profession on an earlier stage in their lives. They are more likely to be married, but they are also less likely to have (many) children. Obviously, combining career and family appears to be difficult for women journalists, given the fact that family is defined as their first duty (Romano, 2003: 113) and news work basically requires total dedication and commitment to 'immediate' demands, as pointed out by Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig (2003: 21):

This deters many women, most of whom are interested in granting their professional life an important but not exclusive status in the complicated mosaic of home-family-work. These women, acutely aware at an early age of what each profession demands, tend therefore to avoid the field of news journalism on the assumption/certainty that such work will almost surely upset the desired balance between the various important elements in their lives.

In terms of professional education, women journalists turned out to be better prepared than men journalists. In contrast, they are less likely to be members of journalists' associations than men. The highest percentage of women (25.4%) was found among those with low editorial responsibilities such as reporters, junior editors, assistants, news writers and correspondents. Among journalists who have high editorial responsibility (editors in chief, program directors, senior managers, etc.) the share of women was significantly lower (10.4%; $X^2=9.22$; d.f.=2; $p<.01$). Since journalism still remains a 'man's job' in Indonesia, it comes with no surprise when women are less likely to be found in higher positions in the editorial hierarchy. Moreover, the career opportunities for women do not seem to be very promising, given the fact that most Indonesians still look upon women journalists as 'strange individuals who jump out of what they are supposed to be' (Budiyo and Mabroer, 2000: 6).

Conceptions of media role

Although role conception is pluralistic by nature, Indonesian journalists see themselves mainly as neutral and objective disseminators of information. As Table 2 reveals, 'getting information to the public neutrally and precisely', 'depicting reality as it is', 'staying away from stories with

unverified content’ and ‘getting information to the public quickly’ turned out to be the most important communication goals. These are the ‘classical’ values of a Western understanding of journalism which requires neutrality, impartiality and objectivity.

No evidence was found, however, to verify the assertion made by Patterson (1998: 17) that ‘journalists are increasingly influential political actors’. Indonesian journalists clearly do not carry any prior intention to disseminate their opinion (partisanship), to set the political agenda or to serve as an adversary of the government and business, even though they rate values such as ‘criticism’ and ‘control’ high. During the New Order regime, which ruled the country for three decades, the power elites obviously succeeded in their efforts to systematically depoliticize journalism. This has led to a kind of ‘A said X and B said Y’ journalism that passively relied on official sources and statements. Most critical journalists were found in national quality newspapers being circulated throughout the country.

On the other hand, to support national development, which represents the main characteristic of Development Journalism, does not seem to be a primary goal for Indonesian journalists. Only less than 25 percent of the journalists interviewed found ‘supporting national development’ to be an ‘extremely important’ communication goal. These results concur with the findings from Romano’s (2003) Indonesia survey and also with other studies conducted in North Africa, India, Nigeria, Tanzania and Bangladesh (Chaudhary, 2000; Murthy, 2000; Ramaprasad, 2003; Ramaprasad and Rahman 2004). Despite its normative importance and presence in journalism education, Development Journalism doesn’t seem to be a primary communication goal to journalists neither in Indonesia nor in other developing nations in Asia.

TABLE 2: Role perception

Communication goals	N	\bar{x} *	Saying ‘extremely important’
Get information to the public neutrally and precisely	363	3.52	53.5%
Depict reality as it is	365	3.29	40.0%
Support disadvantaged people	359	3.28	40.0%
Criticize bad states of affairs	358	3.24	37.5%
Control politics, business, and society	360	3.11	26.8%
Stay away from stories with unverified content	355	3.09	38.5%
Get information to the public quickly	353	3.09	35.7%
Convey positive ideals	361	2.98	24.6%
Provide analyses and interpretations of complex problems	367	2.96	20.6%
Investigate claims and statements of the government	353	2.95	29.4%
Help people in their everyday life	357	2.94	24.3%
Concentrate on news which is of interest for the widest audience	354	2.89	27.3%
Support national development	352	2.88	22.1%
Give ordinary people the chance to express their views	357	2.75	23.5%
Refer to intellectual and cultural interests of the public	356	2.74	17.2%
Present new trends and convey new ideas	350	2.74	16.4%

Provide entertainment and relaxation	355	2.61	13.7%
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed	353	2.38	12.7%
Influence the political agenda	347	2.25	12.5%
Serve as adversary of the government by being sceptical	347	2.12	9.0%
Provide opinion to the public	356	2.10	11.2%
Serve as adversary of business by being sceptical	351	2.08	6.6%

Scale range: 4='extremely important' to 1='not important'

TABLE 3: Dimensions of media role conception (factor loadings)

Communication goals	Public-oriented news journalists m	Popular service journalists m	Critical watchdog journalists m	Objective precision journalists m	Opinion-oriented news journalists m
Refer to intellectual and cultural interests of the public	.75				
Concentrate on news which is of interest for the widest audience	.68			.46	
Stay away from stories with unverified content	.62				
Give ordinary people the chance to express their views	.61				
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed	.58		.47		
Investigate claims and statements of the government	.56				
Support national development	.51				
Get information to the public quickly	.46	.43		.41	
Provide entertainment and relaxation		.81			
Present new trends and convey new ideas		.71			
Help people in their everyday life		.63			
Control politics, business, and society			.79		
Criticize bad states of affairs			.58		
Convey positive ideals		.51	.57		
Influence the political agenda			.55		
Depict reality as it is				.79	
Get information to the public neutrally and precisely				.74	
Provide opinion to the public					.81
Provide analyses and interpretations of complex problems					.67
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	6.46	1.55	1.27	1.13	1.09
<i>Variance explained</i>	34.0%	8.1%	6.7%	5.9%	5.7%

PCA Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization; KMO=.89; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity p<.001

Drawing from the assumption that the journalists' conception of media role is multidimensional, I subjected the data to Principal Component Analysis. Three items were excluded from the model: The items 'serve as adversary of the government' and 'serve as adversary of business' were suspended since they set up an independent dimension of very low relevance. Perhaps, an adversarial understanding of journalism (as the 'fourth estate') provokes strong disapproval among journalists, especially in an Asian

setting. Serving as an adversary seems more proper in Western ‘adversarial democracies’ which are characterized by a permanent competition between the ruling party and its opposition. In Indonesia, as in many other Asian nations, democracy is strongly oriented toward ‘consensus’ (Hsiung, 1985). Additionally, the item ‘support disadvantaged people’ was excluded because of its low statistical communality.

As Table 3 shows, the factor analysis extracted five dimensions from the data. *Public-oriented news journalism* as the main factor, explaining 34 percent of the overall variance, does strongly refer to the interests and the needs of the public (‘refer to intellectual and cultural interests of the public’, ‘concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest audience’). This kind of journalism is also political (‘discuss national policy while it is still being developed’, ‘investigate claims and statements of the government’) and incorporates constituents of the Development Journalism philosophy (‘support national development’, ‘give ordinary people the chance to express their views’).

The second factor, *popular service journalism*, is strongly oriented toward entertainment (‘providing entertainment and relaxation’) and everyday life practices (‘presenting new trends and convey new ideas’, ‘helping people in their everyday life’). This concept of journalism does mainly focus on the problems of everyday life and has emerged along with the popular media (Hartley, 1996). Eide and Knight (1999: 526) see the rise of service journalism as a reaction to ‘growing scepticism, hostility and resistance towards dependency on established forms of professional expertise, and the demand for greater individual autonomy’.

Critical watchdog journalism is the third factor. This dimension of the journalists’ perception of media role inherently refers to criticism (‘criticize bad states of affairs’) and control (‘control politics, business, and society’). It seeks to influence the political agenda without drawing from personal opinion. The influence on the political discourse rather emerges from reporting bad states of affairs and criticism of others from an impartial stance, according to the philosophy ‘Let’s speak the facts for themselves’. The critical watchdog journalism, however, does not only criticize and control, but it also conveys positive ideals as alternative options to what is criticized.

The *objective precision journalism*, on the other hand, heavily draws from the traditional Western values in journalism such as neutrality and accuracy (‘getting information to the public neutrally and precisely’) as well as from an epistemologically naïve realism (‘depicting reality as it is’). It places emphasis on the classical notion of objectivity in the sense of news being a ‘mirror of reality’, overlooking the selective character of news which is only a representation of the world (Schudson, 2003: 33). The objective

precision journalism also places particular emphasis on the exactness of news coverage and thus shares this ideal with the practice of *precision journalism* (Meyer, 1991), though it needs further investigation to determine whether this kind of journalism applies scientific methods, objectivity and ideals to reporting. In contrast to this, the *opinion-oriented news journalism* as the fifth factor does not aim to be objective; rather, its primary intention is to provide opinion, analyses and interpretations of complex problems to the public. Despite mainly drawing from personal opinion, this kind of journalism does not necessarily carry a political message. Providing opinion is not primarily intended to influence the public discourse or to change the political agenda.

The multiple regression analysis revealed that public-oriented news journalism is most likely to be found among journalists who work for private television stations (see Table 4). This mainstream understanding of journalism fits most the characteristics of commercial televisions news which strongly relies on its ability to attract largest possible audience shares. Interestingly, Indonesia's private television stations are not, like in many Western countries (Hartley, 1996), the precursors of a popular (service) journalism. Public-oriented news journalism is also valued among those who invest a higher amount of time in editing wire news and press releases, as well as in the administration and coordination of editorial work. I can thus assume that this journalism concept is a trait of decision makers in editorial offices. Additionally, public-oriented news journalism is considered vital by journalists who have graduated from journalism and who are privately connected with decision makers from non-governmental organizations. On the other hand, it is less likely to be found among those who work for local and regional daily newspapers and who are less satisfied with their job situation.

TABLE 4: Predictors of media role conception (standardized regression coefficients)

	Public-oriented news journalism	Popular service journalism	Critical watchdog journalism	Objective precision journalism	Opinion-oriented news journalism
Local/regional daily	-.24***				.13**
State-owned television			-.14**		
State-owned radio				-.14**	.12*
Private television	.10*				.15**
Weekly hours of work					-.10*
Average time spent for news selection		.12*			
Average time spent for editing wire news and press releases	.13**				
Average time spent for administration and coordination	.12**				
Average time spent for producing		.13**			
Editing received		.24***		-.10*	

Job satisfaction	-.14**				
Professional course in journalism					-.15**
Graduated from journalism	.11*				
Member of journalist association			.15**		
Province of Yogyakarta			-.11*		-.16**
Level of formal education				.14**	
Affiliated to Islam	-.11*				
Private relationships with decision makers in politics	.14**		.22***		
Private relationships with decision makers in NGO's	.19***		.17**		
<i>Variance explained (adj. R²)</i>	17.4%	11.0%	14.6%	4.5%	13.8%
F	12.6	10.5	14.2	7.1	8.7
p	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
Stepwise regression, p _{in} <.05, p _{out} <.1; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001					

Popular service journalism is most likely to emerge among journalists who invest much time in news selection and (the technical side of) news production. Since this kind of journalism deals with entertainment issues and problems of everyday life, it probably has mainly to do with compiling information gathered from other sources such as the internet and other media. It seems that service journalism is a forerunner of fundamental changes in the social functions of the news. In a world where virtually any kind of information is accessible via internet journalism moves away from merely disseminating information to selecting what is relevant. News people thus become 'search engines' (Hartley, 2000: 43) that help their audiences to navigate through the problems of everyday life.

Critical watchdog journalism is less vital among journalists who work for state-owned television stations, which indicates that, even several years after the downfall of the Suharto regime, journalists working for the state-owned television network TVRI are still uneasy about critical reporting. Also, journalists who work in the province of Yogyakarta, which is far less urban than the capital Jakarta, are less attracted by the philosophy of a critical watchdog journalism. This, I assume, is partly due to the strong influence of the Javanese culture, which is predominant in Yogyakarta. The principles of harmony and respect for authority, which have relatively high regard in the Javanese culture (Magnis-Suseno, 1984: 38; Nasution, 1996: 52), are obstacles to public criticism and thus to the conduct of critical watchdog journalism. Interestingly, this kind of journalism is highly associated with having private ties with decision makers in politics and non-governmental organizations. Obviously, the closeness to those potentially influential persons does not prevent Indonesian journalists from being a critical watchdog.

Objective precision journalism is most likely to be found among educated journalists, while it is less probable to be adopted by those working

for state-owned radio stations and whose news accounts get only little editing from others. However, my data on the objective precision journalism has to be carefully interpreted, given the variance explained by the regression model is very low (4.5%). Opinion-oriented news journalism, on the other hand, is most likely practised among journalists from local and regional dailies, state-owned radio stations and private television stations. Media organizations operating in these areas seem to devote more space for journalists to express their personal views. Also, opinion-oriented news journalism is less likely to appear among journalists who have attended a professional training in journalism. This dimension of the conception of media role is less vital among those who live in Yogyakarta, which again points to the basic principles of Javanese culture. In order to avoid unpleasant consequences from firsthand criticism, these journalists express personal opinion ‘through the mouth of others’.

Ethics of reporting

In terms of the justification of controversial methods of reporting, Table 5 shows a double-sided structure. It seems that unconventional methods of reporting based on ‘harmless deceptions’ --- such as ‘pretending another opinion or attitude’, ‘claiming to be somebody else’, ‘using hidden microphones and cameras’ and ‘getting employed in a firm or organization to gain inside information’ --- have a much bigger chance to be justified by Indonesian journalists. These methods could be seen as part of the *investigative journalism* philosophy, which also includes ‘using confidential government documents without authorization’. However, to make use of confidential documents was disapproved by more than two thirds of the journalists, but was approved by 71 percent of those working for national quality newspapers. Altogether, the practice of *investigative journalism* is most valued in those papers which could be considered high-impact newspapers as they have a good reputation and national circulation.

TABLE 5: Controversial reporting practices

Reporting practices	N	Saying ‘may be justified’
Pretend another opinion or attitude	300	80.1%
Claim to be somebody else	332	70.2%
Use hidden microphones and cameras	299	68.3%
Paying people for confidential information	340	67.3%
Get employed in a firm or organization to gain inside information	269	62.1%
Use confidential government documents without authorization	324	31.7%
Use personal documents without permission	311	29.2%
Badge unwilling informants to get a story	319	17.6%
Agree to protect confidentiality and not doing so	322	8.1%

Interestingly too, there is a large gap between journalists in Jakarta and their colleagues in the more remote provinces North Sumatra and Yogyakarta. While 47.2 percent of the journalists in Jakarta justified the use of confidential documents, the percentage was much lower in North Sumatra (28.4 percent) and Yogyakarta (29.9 percent). As explanation for this result may serve the fact that journalists working in the country's capital have more opportunities to come into contact with confidential government documents.

At the same time, unscrupulous reporting practices which are potentially harmful and come along with ethical violations --- such as 'agreeing to protect confidentiality but not doing so' and 'badgering unwilling informants to get a story'--- are justified only under certain circumstances by a small number of journalists. The 'use of personal documents without permission' was also disapproved by most of the journalists. Additionally, journalists having less formal education tend to be more aggressive in terms of investigation. Therefore, I suggest to reconsider commonplace assertions made by Indonesian politicians who blame journalists for their unethical and unscrupulous practices of investigation. At least, the problem of reporting methods needs to be seen more sophisticated with regard to the nuances in different branches of journalism.

The percentage of journalists who justified the practice of 'chequebook journalism' --- that is, 'paying people for confidential information' --- is an interesting feature of Indonesian journalism, too. More than two thirds of the journalists interviewed see no ethical problems with this method of obtaining confidential information. Even though Indonesia has no strong tradition of investigative reporting, the percentage is even higher than in Great Britain (65%; Henningham and Delano, 1998: 156). Given corruption is in Indonesia a matter of course even in everyday life and journalists thus got used to bribery in reporter-source interactions, it comes as no surprise when journalists do not shrink from paying money for secret information.

Corruption

When Indonesian journalists were asked about their attitudes toward corruption in daily reporting and whether or not they practice it, they surprisingly spoke very openly about it. More than one third (37.4 percent) of them said that they would justify corrupt practices in journalism, but it depends on the particular context, that is, the specific situation and person offering the bribe.⁵ Another 2.9 percent admitted that they would justify corruption in journalism regardless of any specific context. Nevertheless, 59.7 percent of the journalists did not justify bribery.

Turning from attitude to practice, we could see that more than 46.2 percent of the journalists interviewed do actually accept bribe money, at least

occasionally, while working on a story. Obviously, some of them are on the horns of a moral dilemma since they practice corruption even though they do not justify it. On the other hand, 44.1 percent of the journalists said that they would always refuse offered ‘envelopes’, another 9.7 percent said that they would accept the envelopes first and forward them to the editorial management which, later on, passes the envelopes back to the ‘source’. The last way of handling is intended to ‘save face’ (Romano, 2003: 156f.) and thus to make sure that the person who offers money to the journalist will not be offended by a direct refusal, which is culturally considered impolite (Eriyanto, 2002: 40). Hence, although in Indonesia the number of journalists who justify and practice bribery is indeed alarming, I have to notice that a majority of their colleagues clearly disapprove of corruption. Thus, the findings of the East Java study (Budiyanto and Mabroer, 2000) could not be supported by our research.

However, it is evident from the data that journalists employed by public or state-owned media companies are more likely to be tempted by the benefits of receiving ‘envelopes’ during their work. Table 6 reveals that journalists employed by TVRI (*Televisi Republik Indonesia*), RRI (*Radio Republik Indonesia*) and ‘Antara’ (official news agency) are significantly more likely to advocate the acceptance of ‘envelopes’ during their work. Since corruption is an everyday phenomenon in the Indonesian bureaucracy, it is not surprising if journalists working for state-run media, who have been integrated in the government structure for years, share a positive attitude towards bribery.

TABLE 6: Justifying corruption and media ownership

Media ownership	Saying ‘justified’	Saying ‘justified, but depends on context’	Saying ‘not justified’	Total
Public/state-run	8.8%	57.5%	33.6%	100.0%
Private	4.5%	30.5%	65.1%	100.0%

N = 382; $X^2 = 31.9$; d.f.=2; $p < .001$

Furthermore, my findings indicate that cultural factors such as ethnicity and territory have a significant impact on the justification and practice of corruption: The highest degree of resistance to corruption could be found among journalists in the capital Jakarta, while their colleagues in North Sumatra have the greatest tendency to justify corruption ($X^2=13.1$; d.f.=4; $p < .05$). Further inquiry did prove that this difference is mainly triggered by the factor ethnicity. Journalists who belong to the ethnic group of the Sumatra, predominant in North Sumatra, turned out to be most attracted to corruption if compared to the Sundanese, Javanese and Malay

($X^2=13.9$; d.f.=6; $p<.05$). The Sundanese and Javanese are the major constituencies of the Jakarta's and Yogyakarta's population.

When it comes to motives and causes, corruption in journalism is often seen as related to insufficient pay (Habito-Cadiz, 1996: 104; Peters, 2003: 52). According to Dharma et al. (2003: 25), low salaries force Indonesian journalists to accept 'envelopes' in order to be able to 'maintain a humane standard of living'. Previous inquiries, however, produced some evidence which gives support to the view that bribery in journalism is much more related to culture than to low pay (Eriyanto, 2002: 42). My study points to a similar explanation: The data produced no significant correlation between the income level of the respondents and the extent to which they justify/practise corruption. In fact, only 19.7 percent of all journalists who accept 'envelopes' during their everyday work could confirm that they do so because of insufficient pay.

Obviously, my findings make a good case for the assumption that the causes and motives for corruption in journalism are to a large extent related to everyday culture (Budiyanto and Mabroer 2000; Eriyanto 2002). Bribery seems to be an instrument of maintaining 'good connections' between the journalist and the 'donor'. Many journalists, however, legitimize their acceptance of 'envelopes' with the argument that they don't want to offend the person offering the bribe through a direct refusal of the 'envelope'. This 'formula of politeness' refers to a motivational structure which prioritizes the cultural adequacy and the suitability of social action with regard to its probable costs, that is, the refusal of a bribe could result in a loss of trust. This indicates that corruption will persist as long as there are persons who expect to be bribed (journalists) and others who expect the journalists to accept the bribe.

Conclusion

Surprisingly, Indonesian journalists look quite similar to their colleagues around the globe: They are mostly young and well educated men, earning above average salaries. Although younger journalists tend to be more reluctant to membership in journalists' associations, journalists in Indonesia seem to become increasingly professional in terms of education. But whether or not this professionalism becomes manifest in their daily work needs to be further investigated by means of content analysis. Indonesian journalists also share many basic professional views with their counterparts in other countries as they primarily see themselves as neutral disseminator of news.

A cross-national comparison of my results with data compiled by Weaver (1998b) nevertheless revealed some fine-grained differences in terms of the journalist' professional views. But whether these differences can be seen as evidence for the existence of 'pan-Asian' values is hard to say,

given the heterogeneities among Asian (China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Taiwan) as well as Western (Australia, France, Great Britain, United States) journalists are more than obvious. As Ali (1996: 147) has pointed out, the continent's 'diversity of religions, ideologies, traditions, political systems, and levels of development make it almost impossible to define a set of values applicable to all of Asia'. If anything, Indonesia's journalists are, to some extent, similar to their colleagues from Taiwan as they place less emphasis on the role of the 'watchdog' and 'adversary'. Chinese and Hong Kong journalists, however, are much more likely to emphasize the 'watchdog role', which makes them similar to their colleagues in Australia, Great Britain and the United States. In terms of reporting methods, Asian journalists seem to be more likely to disapprove of using official documents which are confidential (Weaver, 1998b: 471).

This kind of comparison, however, faces some serious methodological problems as the data did not originate from tailor-made cross-national studies but from single-nation researches using different conceptualizations and methods.⁽⁶⁾ Whether or not journalists throughout Asia share some cultural values different from those of Western journalists needs to be investigated by systematic and tailor-made comparative research including many Asian as well as non-Asian countries. Zhu et al. (1997: 94) concluded from their three-country comparison of journalists from China, Taiwan and the United States that cultural variables tend to have a lower impact on the journalists' professional views than do the differences between political systems. Also, Berkowitz, Limor and Singer (2004: 176), who tested the influence of several factors on the journalists' ethical decisions in Israel and the United States, found the journalists' backgrounds only marginally important to professional views. In my study individual characteristics such as gender, age, ethnicity and religious affiliation had no or only little influence on the journalists' role perception and judgements of reporting methods. Only the factor ethnicity appeared to be of some importance here, in particular when it comes to critical reporting. The cultural backgrounds of the journalists' socialization seems to play, at least to some extent and under certain circumstances, a role in defining their professional role in society. Hence, given these fine-grained but nevertheless important differences among journalists who belong to distinct ethnic groups in Indonesia, how could we assume the existence of a common set of values and beliefs carried by *all* Asian journalists?

Although a significant number of journalists in Indonesia justified and practised bribery during their everyday work, it is worth noting that corruption in journalism is not limited to Indonesia, but is actually a common practice in many developing countries and even in industrialized nations (Peters, 2003: 52). With regard to causes and motives for corruption, it has

become obvious that insufficient pay is not a main reason to become compromised by bribe money. As a matter of fact, most journalists who accept 'envelopes' during their work do so because they believe that accepting bribes would not have consequences in terms of human behaviour. This belief may work as an excuse, but it is a dangerous illusion. The public discourse and journalism education in particular needs to raise more consciousness among news people. Journalists need to understand that accepting 'envelopes' does also trigger subtle effects, which often result in a reluctance of the journalists to take action toward the giver. Furthermore, many journalists get involved in practices of corruption because the editorial management does not prohibit them from doing so. This means that more restrictive editorial regulations and more editorial control could help to prevent journalists from selling out their autonomy by accepting 'envelopes'.

Most strikingly, my findings support the assumption that the causes and motives for corruption in journalism are to a large extent related to everyday culture. There are journalists who expect to be offered 'envelopes' and others who expect the journalists to accept the bribe. The way these mutual expectations interact generates a vicious cycle of expectation and anticipation, both of which form the setting of subsequent interactions: If the 'donor' does not offer a bribe, he may worry that the journalist will express his disappointment by negative news coverage; and if the journalist does not accept the bribe, he may hurt the giver's feelings and mutual trust may be put at risk.

Notes

1. Any comparison with data compiled in 'The Global Journalist', edited by Weaver (1998b), is limited in scope due to different time frames and conceptualization of research.
2. For detailed discussion of this journalism concept, see, for instance, McKay (1993) or Wong (2004).
3. The concept of 'popular journalism' is widely discussed within the scientific community. See, for example, Fiske (1992) and Hartley (1996).
4. Data obtained from the Indonesian Central Office for Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik*), 2002.
5. Although corruption takes the form of bribery, extortion or nepotism (Alatas, 1968: 11), a narrower notion of corruption, tied to the everyday life experience of Indonesian journalists, was used in my research. I defined corruption in journalism as accepting material returns from actual or potential sources of news reporting.
6. Weaver (1998a: 455) once wrote: 'Comparing journalists across national boundaries and cultures is a game of guesswork at best.' I am well aware that any comparison of these studies remains problematic due to different

conceptualizations, methods and operational definitions, but many of these surveys have borrowed questions from the original questionnaire of Weaver and Wilhoit (1991). Whereas the data compiled in Weaver (1998b) have been obtained between 1986 and 1996, only the study of Weaver et al. (2003) is recent. For a critical discussion of international comparisons in mass communication research, see Chang et al. (2001).

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The Impact of Fed Policy Announcements on Emerging Stock Markets: Evidence from Borsa Istanbul

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Abstract

This paper aims to understand the impact of US nonfarm payroll announcements on emerging stock markets through concentrating on the Turkish Stock Exchange: BIST 100. We not only investigate the impact of each of the three components of the nonfarm payroll data for the whole period under consideration, but also look for possible differences among four sub-periods. A comparative analysis leads us to conclude that it is not the nonfarm payroll which significantly affect BIST 100, but the fact that it is regarded as an important indicator to foresee Fed's policy actions that can alter the capital flows.

Keywords: Fed Policy Announcements, US Nonfarm Payrolls, Emerging Stock Markets

Introduction

Stock returns are believed to fluctuate with the business cycle and the data releases of macroeconomic variables, which not only signal the future state of the economy but also exert important impacts on firms expected cash flows and risk adjusted discount rates. Since macroeconomic variables potentially alter the future consumption and investment opportunities, it is a well-argued fact that macroeconomic news releases and monetary policy announcements affect stock prices. Therefore, the response of stock prices to macroeconomic variables is a vastly researched topic in the literature. Most widely investigated macroeconomic variables include interest rates (Flannery and James 1984, Hodrick 1992), aggregate output and industrial production (Bradley and Jansen 2004), unemployment (Jagannathan et al. 1998, Boyd et al. 2005) and inflation (Fama and Schwert 1977, Fama 1981). Besides, numerous empirical studies focus on multiple macroeconomic variables (Cheng 1995, Pesaran and Timmermann 1995, Chen 2009) and across countries (Asprem 1989, Abugri 2008).

Although the ultimate objectives of monetary policy are expressed in terms of macroeconomic variables such as output, employment, and inflation, the influence of monetary policy instruments on these variables is at best indirect while the most direct and immediate effects of monetary policy actions, such as changes in the federal funds rate, are on the financial markets (Bernanke and Kuttner 2005). On the other hand, movements in the stock market can also significantly affect the macroeconomy and are therefore likely to be an important factor in the determination of monetary policy (Rigobon and Sack 2003). For instance, after markets for securitized credit products collapsed dramatically in the second half of 2007, growth in a number of industrialized economies slowed markedly, suggesting that disorders in financial markets can have important macroeconomic consequences (Gilchrist et al. 2009). Moreover, with the globalization of financial markets which had intense implications for world saving and investment flows, these relationships are evolved into a more complex structure.

Although financial globalization is actually not a new phenomenon, since 1980s, leaded by the rapid developments in the communication sector accompanied with the deregulation and the increased institutionalization of financial markets, it has been observed that financial markets are in an extreme integration process which, in a sense, renders the emergence of a global financial space. This recent wave of financial globalization that has occurred since the mid-1980s has been marked by a flood in capital flows among industrial countries and, more remarkably, between industrial and developing countries (Prasad et al. 2003). Although the usual response to this vast increase in international capital flows to emerging markets is an optimistic one since this development allows the poorer economies to accelerate their growth by borrowing more from abroad, it is also possible that this widespread acceleration of capital account liberalization in the last decades has introduced a very high degree of volatility into the international capital movements which might have rendered capital flows to be an important new negative shock to the world economy, especially to developing ones due to their shallow financial markets (Woo 2000). As the integration of financial markets naturally foster the interdependencies among them, the globalization of financial markets, as also argued by Knight (1998), not only creates the prospect of a more efficient worldwide allocation of savings and investment compared to those times when domestic investment in most countries was constrained by domestic saving but also carries large risks, since instability in one country can now transmit contagion to others. Besides, in today's highly globalized world, a macroeconomic announcement which is "bullish" for one market could be "bearish" for another and vice versa. Since financial capital flows reached

enormous numbers and their impact on global economy is beyond the volume of international trade and international corporations (Popovici 2009), it is no surprise that the monetary policy applications of major economies, especially the United States which is documented as the most influential market in the world (Eun and Shim 1989), can potentially export important implications on global scale, especially for emerging economies, which explains the intense interest of the investors worldwide on the policy announcements of Fed. However, this interdependence among financial markets is quite understudied in the literature where the existing research mainly focuses on the effects of US news for the developed markets with a dearth for emerging ones. For instance, Becker et al. (1995) examine the source of equity market linkages between the US and the UK through concentrating on intraday price movements of stock index futures contracts and conclude that their findings support the hypothesis that the documented international equity market linkages are attributable to the reactions of foreign traders to public information originating from the US. Also Connolly and Wang (1998) study the cross-market equity return and volatility linkages for US, UK and Japan and find that news announcements appear to explain, at least partially, the volatility spillovers among these three markets. In another study, Andersen et al. (2007) examine the response of US, German and UK stock, bond and foreign exchange markets to real-time US macroeconomic news and report that news produces conditional mean jumps indicating that high-frequency stock, bond and exchange rate dynamics are linked to fundamentals. One of the most comprehensive studies on this research topic is provided by Nikkinen et al. (2006) who survey how global stock markets are integrated with respect to the US macroeconomic news announcements through investigating the effect of ten important scheduled US macroeconomic news announcements on 35 local stock markets that are divided into six regions and report that the G7 countries, the European countries other than G7 countries, developed Asian countries and emerging Asian countries are closely integrated with respect to the US macroeconomic news, while Latin America and Transition economies are not influenced by them. Among the few studies that search for the impact of US macroeconomic news on emerging markets is carried out by Andritzky et al. (2007) who focus on bond markets of 12 emerging countries and find that announcements matter less for countries with more clear policies and higher credit ratings. Cakan et al. (2015) also analyze the impacts of US macroeconomic surprises on the volatility of twelve emerging stock markets and find that volatility shocks are persistent and asymmetric indicating that US employment situation and economic growth have an impact on many emerging stock markets where positive US macroeconomic news make many emerging stock markets less volatile. Eichengreen and Gupta (2015)

investigate the impact of Fed's tapering talk on a very large set emerging markets together with Turkey, through focusing on the changes in exchange rates, foreign reserves and equity prices and find that countries with larger and more liquid markets and larger inflows of capital in prior years experienced more pressure on them. For Turkey along with six other markets, their findings indicate a decline of more than 10% in the stock market.

Following the arguments above, this paper is aimed to investigate the impact of US nonfarm payroll announcements on emerging stock markets through concentrating on Turkish Stock Exchange: Borsa Istanbul (BIST 100). Considering the arguments of Becker et al. (1995) who reconcile the US market's influential power to two causes where the first one is attributable to the dominance of the US in the world marketplace and the second arises from a systematic tendency of foreign traders to overreact to the movements of the US market, Turkey represents an ideal setting to search for the effects of Fed's policy announcements as she not only carries almost negligible trade volume with US but also the weight of foreign traders is around 65% with respect to the total trading volume in Turkish stock market. Thus any reported significant effect should be due to the interdependencies among financial markets. The reason why we concentrate on the impact of US nonfarm payroll announcements is explained in the next section. Then the data, methodology and results are provided. Finally, the last section concludes.

US Nonfarm Payrolls

It is widely argued that one of the most important economic indicators for the US economy is the employment situation which is released generally on the first Friday of each month at 8:30 am EST. US Nonfarm Payroll data is a researched, recorded and reported statistics for the previous month by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics which is comprised of the total number of paid US workers of any business¹¹⁸, the unemployment rate and the estimates on the average hourly earnings of all nonfarm employees. Before its announcement, around 100 economists are asked to declare their conjecture regarding the total number of paid workers, unemployment rate and average hourly wage increases via a questionnaire. Then the mean of these expectations is proclaimed.

One of the reasons that it is usually accepted as the "big one" rests in its timeliness. The markets react very quickly and generally in a very volatile fashion around the time that the nonfarm payroll data is released

¹¹⁸ Excluding the general government employees, the private household employees, the employees of nonprofit organizations that provide assistance to individuals and the farm employees.

(Beber and Brandt, 2009). Besides it reveals a highly rich information content which can help in forecasting future economic activity. However, our interest in nonfarm payroll data does not arise from its importance for US labor market and thus being a vital indicator for the health of US economy, but instead, due to the facts that US is the most influential market in the world, and Fed links its monetary policy applications to this data via the forward guidance made by its officials.

On May 2013, officials of the Federal Reserve System first began to mention the possibility of tapering its bond purchases (gradually reducing them from the existing \$85 billion monthly rate to something lower, presumably as a prelude to phasing them out entirely) as the US economy had become strong enough for Fed to feel confident in reducing the level of security purchases. A milestone to which many observers point is May 22, 2013 on which date Chairman Bernanke raised the possibility of tapering in his testimony to the congress which had a sharp negative impact on economic and financial conditions in emerging markets (Eichengreen and Gupta 2015). Increases in employment mean that work force is growing and newly employed people now have more money to spend on goods and services, which will further fuel the growth. Hence, nonfarm payroll data, especially the total number of paid workers inevitably became important for financial markets throughout the world. During the quantitative easing period, there has been a huge flow of money from developed markets to emerging ones. However, as Fed began to witness some improvements in the US economy and started to mention about tapering, it intimidated the emerging economies since this will cause a decrease in dollar supply in global financial markets. Besides, further improvements in the US economy would also trigger an increase in the Federal Funds Rate as well. Thus, it is quite sensible to expect a negative correlation between the total number of paid workers and the stock index of an emerging market.

On December 18, 2013, eventually Fed declared that it will reduce its purchases of treasury and mortgage-backed securities by \$10 billion a month beginning in January 2014. In a news conference, Chairman Ben Bernanke stated that he expects the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) to take “further measured steps at future meetings” to reduce the bond purchasing program which had begun in September 2012. Bernanke, speaking at what is likely to be his last news conference before handing over the post to current Vice Chair Janet Yellen, said the FOMC had “seen meaningful, cumulative progress in the labor market”. On December 20, 2013, the US Senate voted 59-34 for cloture on Yellen’s nomination. On January 6, 2014, she was

confirmed as the chair of the Federal Reserve. Yellen is considered by many on Wall Street to be a “dove¹¹⁹”.

The Jackson Hole speech of Yellen on August 22, 2014 is of particular interest. In her speech, she stated that inflation has fallen short of their 2 percent objective while the labor market was still very far from any reasonable definition of maximum employment. Moreover, for the recent years, wage inflation had averaged about 2 percent, and there had been little evidence of any broad based acceleration in either wages or compensation. In fact, wages had been about flat, growing less than labor productivity in real terms. This pattern of subdued real wage gains suggested that nominal compensation could rise more quickly without exerting any significant upward pressure on inflation. Besides, since wage movements had historically been sensitive to tightness in the labor market, the recent behavior of both real and nominal wages showed weaker labor market conditions than would be indicated by the current unemployment rate. In summary, although she did not find the increase in average hourly wages sufficient by that time, she tied the timing of raising the Fed fund rates to the improvement in this component of nonfarm payrolls. After this speech, in addition to total number of paid workers, the markets began to take into account the average hourly wage increases as well.

In line with the above-summarized historical Fed policy announcements, it is clear that there exist two dates, which can be regarded as milestones, specifically Bernanke’s famous tapering talk and Yellen’s Jackson Hole speech, which reshaped the investor’s attention worldwide. Therefore, this paper is aimed to investigate the effects of these two declarations on stock returns of emerging markets by focusing on BIST 100.

Data, Methodology and Findings

For the dependent variable, we consider the response of BIST 100 in percentage terms, following the release of the announcement of US nonfarm payroll data for the period 12/2011:12/2015. We consider the deviations from the expected values for total number of paid workers, unemployment rate and average hourly wage increases which comprise the nonfarm payroll as independent variables. Since, rather than the announced number, the deviation from the mean of these expectations of economists are explanatory for stock market movements we employ the deviation between the expected and the announced values, together with their difference which are presented in figures below (Figure 1,2 and 3)

¹¹⁹ More concerned with unemployment than with inflation

Figure 1: The Expected and the Announced Total Number of Paid Workers and Their Differences between December 2011 and December 2015

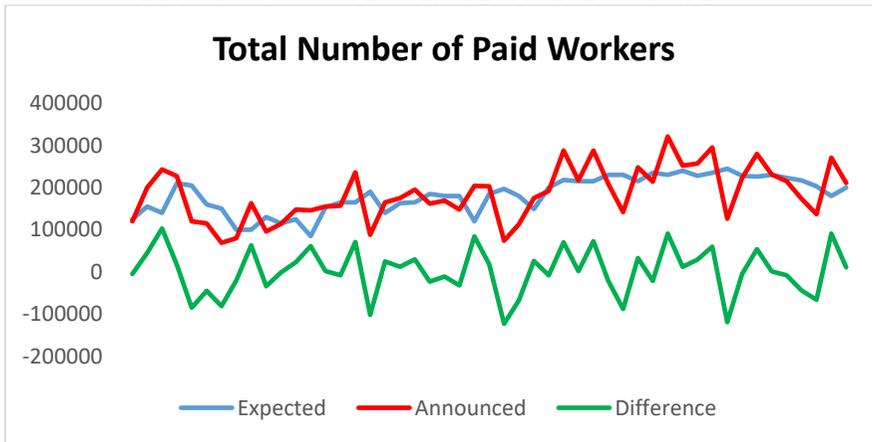


Figure 2: The Expected and the Announced Average Hourly Wage Increases and Their Differences between December 2011 and December 2015

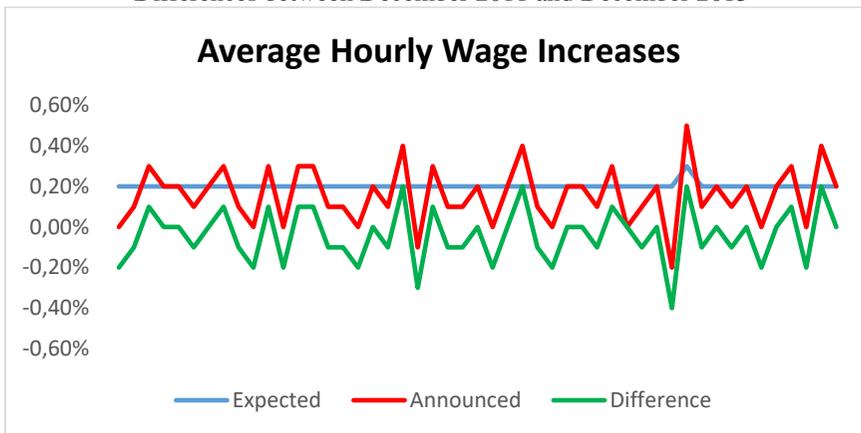
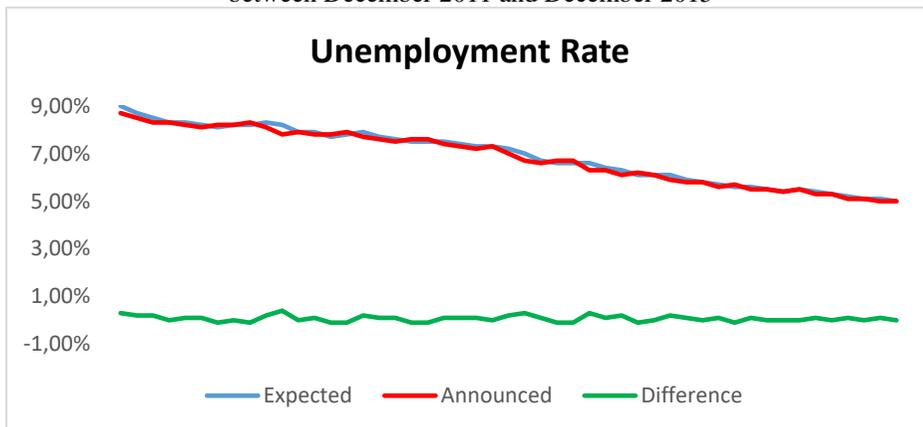


Figure 3: The Expected and the Announced Unemployment Rate and Their Differences between December 2011 and December 2015



As argued by Wasserfallen (1989) such news adds volatility to stock prices which usually happens in a short and speculative manner. Among others, Almeida et. al. (1998), Balduzzi et. al (2001) Hautschand Hess (2002) also argue that nonfarm payroll data announcements have its strongest impact within the first two to four minutes. We, therefore concentrated BIST 100 index on minute basis immediately after the announcement of nonfarm payroll data and analyzed the movements of BIST 100 in either direction till there is a retracement or it goes sideways. We find out that most of the movement is realized within the first five minutes following the announcement (more than 85% of the total data). The weights of the observations within the first 10 minutes are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Minute Findings

Movement of stock prices without retracement	0 to 1 min	1 to 2 mins	2 to 3 mins.	3 to 5 mins.	5 to 10 mins.
Number of obs.	9	10	9	13	7

In our analysis we applied the following linear regression equation:

$$S_t = \alpha + \beta_1 TN_t + \beta_2 Unemp_t + \beta_3 Wage_t + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

where S_t denotes the movement of BIST 100 in percentage terms within 10 minutes following the announcement. TN_t , $Unemp_t$ and $Wage_t$ refers to the difference between the expected and announced total number of paid workers, unemployment rate, and average hourly wage increases respectively. ε_t is an independent and identically distributed noise term. The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2 and regression results are summarized in Table 3.

Table 2 Descriptive statistics

Variable	Number of observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
NFP	48	0.03172	0.33203	-0.62440	0.73570
Unemployment	48	0.00069	0.00126	-0.00100	0.00400
Wage	48	-0.00042	0.00135	-0.00400	0.00200

Table 3 Regression results

	Whole Sample (12/2011-12/2015)	Before Bernanke (12/2011-05/2013)	After Bernanke (05/2013-12/2015)	Before Yellen (12/2011-08/2014)	After Yellen (08/2014-12/2015)
Constant	-0.00082 (0.00098)	-0.00126 (0.00077)	-0.00018 (0.00112)	-0.00007 (0.00129)	-0.00076 (0.00101)
Total Number	-0.00882**	-0.00106	-0.01940***	-0.00575*	-

of Paid Workers	(0.00263)	(0.00166)	(0.00351)	(0.00318)	0.02029*** (0.00360)
Unemployment Rate	0.26700 (0.70680)	-0.16102 0.44174	0.30196 (0.97491)	0.34253 (0.79224)	-1.22880 (1.47154)
Average Hourly Wage Increases	-0.96672 (0.66494)	-0.19026 (0.57322)	-1.13942 (0.74117)	-0.85304 (0.93060)	- 1.32508*** (0.64768)
Number of observations	48	18	30	33	15
R squared	0.28	0.04	0.59	0.16	0.80

Notes: Sample 1 is the observations between 2011 December-2013 May, Sample 2 is the observations between 2013 May-2015 December, Sample 3 is the observations between 2014 August-2015 December and Sample 4 is the entire sample from 2011 December to 2015 December. *, ** and *** indicate significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively. Standard errors are given in parentheses.

As can be observed from the regression results depicted in Table 3, among the components of nonfarm payroll data, only the deviation in the total number of paid workers is found to have a statistically significant effect on BIST 100 for the whole period under consideration with 5% significance. This finding is somewhat interesting because nonfarm payroll data is claimed to be one of the most important data on global scale and therefore each of its components could be expected to have similar effects. So, in an attempt to investigate the potential sources for this dissimilarity and to examine the effects of Bernanke's and Yellen's speeches, we divided our research period into four sub-periods, specifically the periods before and after Bernanke's famous tapering talk, and the periods before and after Yellen's Jackson Hole Speech and the period in between these talks, after which we repeated our analysis separately for each of the sub-periods under consideration and find that the obtained results for the sub-periods provide conflicting findings. First of all, the deviation in the total number of paid workers is found to have no significant effect on BIST 100 for the sub-period of "before Bernanke's tapering talk". However, when the sub-period of "after Bernanke's tapering talk" is considered, it is found to have a statistically significant adverse impact on BIST 100 with a 1% significance level. Likewise, when the effect of Yellen's Jackson Hole speech is examined, the findings indicate no statistically significant effect of average hourly wage increases until Yellen makes her Jackson Hole speech, while for the post Yellen speech period findings report a statistically significant adverse impact on BIST 100 with 10% confidence level. On the other hand, our findings lack to provide any statistically significant effect of unemployment rate which is widely accepted

as a very important indicator for US economy, for any of the sub-periods under consideration. However, although, in contrast to its importance, we could not detect any statistically significant effect of this component on BIST 100. These controversial results indicate that it is not the nonfarm payroll data itself which significantly affects BIST 100, but the fact that it is regarded as an important indicator to foresee Fed's policy actions by the investors.

A comparison of the obtained results for the whole period and the sub-periods reflects that the nonfarm payroll has become an influential indicator for BIST 100 after it is signalized by Fed. Although the results report a statistically significant inverse effect of the deviation in the total number of paid workers on BIST 100 for the whole period under consideration with 5% significance, this finding arises from the strong impact of this component during post Bernanke's talk period. Since the majority of the observations within our entire data belong to this sub-period for which our results indicate a statistically significant adverse impact of the deviation in the total number of paid workers on BIST 100 with 1% confidence level with no significant affect reported for the period before Bernanke's talk, our findings obtained for the whole period for this component can be argued to be attributable to the dominance of this sub-period in terms of both the number of observations and its strong significance level (in fact its p value is almost 0). The same discussion holds for the average hourly wage increases but this time although our results indicate a statistically significant adverse impact of this component on BIST 100 for post Yellen's speech period with 10% significance level, as the majority of the observations belong to the period of before Yellen's speech for which our results indicate no significant effect, the findings for the whole research period lack to report any statistically significant effect of average hourly wage increases. Although the US nonfarm payroll data deemed to be one of the most important announcements as a whole, interestingly markets pay very little attention to the unemployment component probably since it is not emphasized by Fed officials.

Conclusion

It is a well-known fact that macroeconomic news releases and monetary policy announcements affect stock prices. However, as the integration of the financial markets naturally foster the interdependencies among them, the monetary policy applications of major economies, especially the United States, can potentially export important implications for the rest of the world, especially for emerging economies, which explains the intense interest of the investors worldwide on the policy announcements of Fed. However, this interdependence among financial markets is highly

understudied in the literature where the existing research mainly focuses on the effects of US news for the developed markets with a dearth for emerging ones. In an attempt to fulfill this gap and to search for the possible effects of Fed policy announcements, we intended to investigate the impact of US nonfarm payroll on an emerging market stock index, BIST 100. For this purpose, we not only investigate the impact of each of the three components of the nonfarm payroll data, specifically the deviation in the total number of paid workers, the average hourly wage increases, and the unemployment rate, on BIST 100 for the whole period under consideration, but also search for possible differences among four sub-periods that are based on policy announcements of Fed.

The research findings indicate no statistically significant effect of deviation in the total number of paid workers' component on BIST 100 until Bernanke's tapering talk while afterwards it is found to have a statistically significant adverse effect on BIST 100 with 1% significance level. Similarly, our findings do not report a statistically significant impact of average hourly wage increases on BIST 100 until Yellen's speech whereas it is found to have a statistically significant impact with 10% confidence level. Besides, our findings lack to provide any statistically significant effect of unemployment rate for any of the periods under consideration. A comparative analysis of the research results leads us to conclude that it is not the nonfarm payroll and its components themselves which significantly affect BIST 100, but the fact that it is regarded as an important indicator to foresee Fed's policy actions that can alter the foreign currency and capital flows. Whenever an indicator is signaled with a forward guidance from Fed, it statistically starts to affect BIST 100 significantly.

Another finding of this paper rests on the short term impact of these announcements in the sense that most of its effect is observed within the first 5 minutes after the release of the nonfarm payroll data which can help short term traders in shaping their trading strategies.

Although we test the impact of nonfarm payroll and its components on an emerging market stock index BIST 100, as a final note it would be worthy to remind that Turkey is not a major trading partner of US. Actually, the trade volume between these two countries is almost negligible. Thus, our results may significantly deviate for stock markets of emerging economies that have considerable trade relations with the US since they will be exposed to another effect via export-import channel as well which may also lead to some long term effects. Hence, we strongly encourage future research to focus on such issues.

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Comparing Macroeconomic Performance of the Union for the Mediterranean Countries Using Grey Relational Analysis and Multi-Dimensional Scaling

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to evaluate the economic performance of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) countries during 2006-2016 periods. The Union for the Mediterranean comprises the 28 EU Member States, the European Commission and 15 Mediterranean countries namely Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Mauritania, Montenegro, The Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden, Tunisia, United Kingdom, Algeria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Monaco, Morocco, Palestine, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain and Turkey. Syria has suspended its membership to the UfM on December 1, 2011. Libya has an observer status in the UfM. Grey Relational Analysis is used for the outranking of countries using macroeconomic indicators including total investment, gross national savings, inflation, average consumer prices, volume of imports of goods and services, volume of exports of goods and services, unemployment rate, general government revenue, general government total expenditure, general government gross debt, current account balance, gross product domestic (constant). Also annual macroeconomic indicators are converted to single data set by using arithmetic mean and weighted arithmetic mean (to be focused on recent years). This combined data was also used for another economic performance evaluation and Multidimensional Scaling Analysis has been used for weighted arithmetic mean to show countries' positions relative to each other in a two-dimensional plane. The results of the empirical analyses show that Ireland ranked as first according to the weighted arithmetic mean among 36 UfM countries. Egypt and Tunisia have been found as the countries with the worst economic performance.

Keywords: Economic Performance Evaluation, Macro-Economic Indicators, the Union for the Mediterranean, Grey Relational Analysis, Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Introduction

The main aim of economic policies is to increase the welfare of the people of the country and enable them to live their lives with confidence. For this reason, the most important criterion for competing at the global level is the level of success in the economic indicators. Therefore, assessing the economic performance of countries is a very important need. In assessing the economic performance of countries, it is possible to benefit from many criteria (Eleren & Karagul, 2008). When assessing the economic performances of countries, it is almost indispensable to make a decision by looking at macroeconomic variables (Melkers & Malone, 2002). Indicators such as Gross National and Domestic Product (GNP & GDP), Growth Rate, Inflation Rate and Price Indicators, Unemployment Rate, Interest Rate, Balance of Payments, Exchange Rate, Public Deficit, Stock-Rate Ratios are among the main macroeconomic indicators (Parasiz, 2011). The success of the economic policies of the countries is measured by the positive developments in these indicators.

Performance analysis can be done in various dimensions. Methods such as rate analysis, regression analysis, examining changes in macroeconomic indicators of a country over time, comparing countries or regions with each other at various times, and to measuring efficiency in production processes where certain outputs are obtained with certain inputs are among the most commonly used methods in performance analysis (Demir & Bakirci, 2014).

As mentioned above, countries today are compared with various methods according to their economic performance, and the results obtained as a result of comparison can be regarded as economic performances of countries over certain periods. Multi-Criteria Decision Making (MCDM) methods are used in research as appropriate methods for sorting and selecting alternatives, selecting and classifying the results and alternatives used in the comparison of such organizations (Urfalioğlu & Genc, 2013).

The aim of this study is to perform performance rankings 36 member states of the Mediterranean Union with the help of Gray Relational Analysis, which is one of the MCDM techniques, in the frame of selected 11 macroeconomic indicators between 2006-2016 years. In addition, with the help of Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) analysis, we will try to reveal countries' positions relative to each other in a two-dimensional plane

The Union for the Mediterranean or the Mediterranean Union is an organization established on 13 July 2008. The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), which began in 1995 and is the continuation of the Euro Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED), also known as the Barcelona Process, is an intergovernmental regional organization aimed at strengthening co-operation in the Mediterranean. UfM is a collaborative platform that covers a wide range of fields ranging from political dialogue and economics to social and cultural spheres. UfM should encourage the establishment of a zone of peace, stability, security and common economic prosperity in the region on the basis of the principles of respect for democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms and the promotion of intercultural dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean region by confirming its *acquis* with the objectives of EUROMED. The Union for the Mediterranean comprises the 28 EU Member States, the European Commission and 15 Mediterranean countries namely Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Mauritania, Montenegro, The Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden, Tunisia, United Kingdom, Algeria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Monaco, Morocco, Palestine, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain and Turkey. Syria has suspended its membership to the UfM on December 1, 2011. Libya has an observer status in the UfM (UfM, 2017).

I.

Literature Review

In recent years, it is possible to see some studies using multi-criteria decision making techniques such as TOPSIS, Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP), Data Envelope Analysis (DEA), Grey Relational Analysis (GRA) and PROMETHEE, ELECTRE, MOORA etc. in assessing the macroeconomic performance of countries in the literature. Charnes, Cooper and Li (1989) studied the use of DEA (data envelopment analysis) as a tool for possible use in evaluating and planning the economic performance of China's cities (28 in all) which play a critical role in the government's program of economic development. They illustrated that DEA can be used to identify sources, and estimate amounts of inefficiencies in each city's performance (Charnes et al., 1989). In the study conducted by Urfalioglu and Genc in order to determine the economic situation of Turkey in the European Union process and the applicability of the Multi Criteria Decision Making technics with economic data, the positions of the countries have been determined in the application of ELECTRE, TOPSIS and PROMETHEE in the EU countries and the results were compared for each of the three techniques (Urfalioglu & Genc, 2013). Eleren ve Karagul have

evaluated the performance analysis of Turkish economy between 1986-2006 years with TOPSIS method and found that the best year was 1986, followed by 1990, 1987 and 1993 respectively according to TOPSIS score for each year, the worst years have been in 1999, 2001, 2006 and 2000 (Eleren & Karagul,2008). Cherchye (2001) compared three DEA-based performance indicators of the OECD to illustrate how DEA models allow to estimate policy priorities. Huang and Jane (2009) combined the moving average autoregressive exogenous (ARX) prediction model with grey systems theory and rough set (RS) theory to create an automatic stock market forecasting and portfolio selection mechanism (Cherchye, 2001). Kung and Wen (2007) used six financial indicators to classify twenty items of financial ratios as research variables through the globalization Grey Relational Analysis (GRA), to find the significant financial ratio variables and other financial indicators affecting the financial performance of venture capital enterprises from 2001 to 2003 in Taiwan (Kung & Wen, 2007). They found that GRA is suitable for testing the relationship between attributes and financial performance of venture capital enterprises, and is the important method for investors to find out the more objective and successful investment target. Yildirim, Hepsen and Onder have investigated Latin American and Caribbean Economies with Grey Relational Analysis in order to rank countries according to the selected macroeconomics indicators including total investment, gross national savings, inflation, average consumer prices etc. They have found that Mexico and Dominican Republic ranked as first and second position, Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela were at the bottom and these countries encountered difficulties maintaining sustained growth (Yıldırım et al, 2015).

Macroeconomic Indicators

The aim of this study is to evaluate the economic performance of 36 the Union for the Mediterranean countries (Albania, Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Morocco, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom) during 2006-2016 periods. Libya, Lebanon, Mauritania, Montenegro, Malta, Monaco and Palestine were excluded from the study due to lack of data. Syria has suspended its membership to the UfM on December 1, 2011. So the study conducted with 36 Union for the Mediterranean countries.

Grey Relational Analysis is used for the outranking of those countries using macroeconomic indicators including gross domestic products, total investment, gross national savings, inflation, volume of imports of goods and

services, volume of exports of goods and services, unemployment rate, general government revenue, general government total expenditure, general government gross debt and current account balance. The data related to indicators was gathered from the International Monetary Fund world economic outlook data base (IMF-2016).

Table 1. Macroeconomics Indicators, Codes and Units.

VARIABLE	CODE	UNIT
X1: Gross domestic product	NGDP_RPCH	Percent change
X2: Total investment	NID_NGDP	Percent of GDP
X3: Gross national savings	NGSD_NGDP	Percent of GDP
X4: Inflation	PCPIPCH	Percent change
X5: Volume .of imports of goods and services	TM_RPCH	Percent change
X6: Volume .of exports of goods and services	TX_RPCH	Percent change
X7: Unemployment rate	LUR	Percent of total labor force
X8: General government revenue	GGR_NGDP	Percent of GDP
X9: General government expenditures	GGX_NGDP	Percent of GDP
X10: General government gross debt	GGXWDG_NGDP	Percent of GDP
X11: Current account balance	BCA_NGDPD	Percent of GDP

Gross Domestic Product is one of the most important macroeconomic indicators showing the total value of the final goods and services produced within the country in one year. It presents a sum of a country's production which consists of all purchases of goods and services produced by a country and services used by individuals, firms, foreigners and the governing bodies. GDP consists of consumer spending, investment expenditure, government spending and net exports hence it portrays an all-inclusive picture of an economy because of which it provides an insight to investors which highlights the trend of the economy by comparing GDP levels as an index. GDP is not only used as an indicator for most governments and economic decision-makers for planning and policy formulation; but also it helps the investors to manage their portfolios by providing them with guidance about the state of the economy. On the other hand, it is good measure for an economy and with improvement in research and quality of data, statisticians and governments are trying to find out measures to strengthen GDP and make it a comprehensive indicator of national income (Yıldırım et al, 2015).

Savings are the portion of revenue that is not spared, and investment is the means of spending on production capacities that will generate future income. If savings in one country are more than investments or equal to investments, there is no need to borrow in that country. If the savings are low

when investing, then importing savings from the outside is required. In a short term, the saving gap of a country can be closed in two ways. Either by attracting foreign capital or through external borrowing. Another criterion that reflects the stability of the economies is inflation, which is a constant increase in the general level of prices. It is not possible for any economy with inflation to sustain a healthy cycle. Therefore, while the performance criteria of the economies are established, it is useful to consider the continuity of the inflation rate as well as the high rate.

The volume of foreign trade is an important indicator that gives an idea about the general economics of a country. Trade in goods and services is defined as change in ownership of material resources and services between one economy and another. The indicator comprises sales of goods and services as well as barter transactions or goods exchanged as part of gifts or grants between residents and non-residents. The rate of unemployment is the ratio of the active population to those who do not find jobs when they are in the labor market. The high unemployment rate means the failure of economic policies. The high level of unemployment in a country leads to different negative effects, both economic and social. For this reason, the unemployment rate must use as indicator in evaluating the economic performance of countries (Eleren & Karagul, 2008).

Governments collect revenues mainly for two purposes: to finance the goods and services they deliver to citizens and businesses and to fulfil their redistributive role. Comparing levels of government revenues across countries, as a share of GDP or per capita, provides an indication of the importance of the public sector in the economy in terms of available financial resources. Similarly, general government expenditures, as a share of GDP or per person, provides an indication of the size of the government across countries. General government expenditures generally consists of central, state and local governments, and social security funds. The large variation in this indicator highlights the variety of countries' approaches to delivering public goods and services and providing social protection, not necessarily differences in resources spent. So both indicators are used usually in the economic performance analysis of the countries (OECD, 2015).

General government debt-to-GDP ratio is the amount of a country's total gross government debt as a percentage of its GDP. It is an indicator of an economy's health and a key factor for the sustainability of government finance. So this indicator also often used in the economic performance analysis. "Debt" is commonly defined as a specific subset of liabilities identified according to the types of financial instruments included or excluded. Debt is thus obtained as the sum of the following liability categories (as applicable): currency and deposits; securities other than shares,

except financial derivatives; loans; insurance technical reserves; and other accounts payable. Changes in government debt over time reflect the impact of government deficits. Finally, Current account balance have been used in the study in order to see the difference between a nation's savings and its investment. The current account is an important indicator about an economy's health. It is defined as the sum of the balance of trade (goods and services exports less imports), net income from abroad and net current transfers (OECD, 2015).

Grey Relational Analysis

In decision making problem, in order to make comparisons and rankings among the alternatives GRA method can be used. This analysis consists of six steps. These steps are (Wu, 2002; Yıldırım, 2014; Yıldırım, Hepşen, Önder, 2015):

Step 1. *Data set preparation and decision matrix creation*

Step 2. *Creation of reference series and comparison matrix*

Step 3. *Normalization operation and creation of the normalization matrix*

Step 4. *Formation of the absolute value table*

Step 5. *Creation of gray relational coefficient matrix*

Step 6. *Calculation of gray relational ratios*

Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) is a multivariate statistical technique which can display the dissimilarity relationship of data as a distance in lower dimensional. Multidimensional scaling (MDS) is one of the interdependence techniques that are used when one or more group variables are not dependent on one another and can not be explained by another, when they are concerned with the mutual relationship between all variables. MDS contains complex mathematical, geometric and statistical operations from which models that visually represent the structure of the data can be obtained (Kurt, 1992).

MDS has become more and more popular as a technique for both multivariate and exploratory data analysis (Wickelmaier, 2003). Although the roots of the MDS analysis are based on studies in the field of psychophysics and psychometrics, it is not limited only to these areas today and it has applications in a wide range of fields such as sociology, economics, biology, business, education, chemistry, archeology, etc. (Yenidogan, 2008).

Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) Analysis is an alternative method to factor analysis. MDS is an analysis that helps observers to explain similarities or differences between observed units, objects, and reveals

meaningful structures underlying dimensions. While the variables and correlations between them are used in the factor analysis, the similarities or differences between the units are used in MDS in order to graphically explain the objects in fewer dimensions (Ozdamar, 2004, Isler, 2014).

The MDS method is a analysis technic involving many methods. There are several steps in conducting MDS research. These steps can be summarized in 6 steps (Kalaycı, 2014);

1. First, the appropriate one of the standardization methods according to the data type is selected and the data is converted. It is necessary to apply for data obtained from different scales.

2. Calculation of the appropriate distance matrix depending on the data type

3. It is decided how many dimensional space an object or unit with p variable p-dimensional data matrix can show. In practice, dimensions such as 2, 3, 4 are usually chosen and MDS solutions are obtained for each of these dimensions. For each k-dimension determined, the stress measure of the solutions obtained (conformity to the original distance matrix) is calculated. It is decided at what size the appropriate solution will take place and what solution will be applied.

4. The configuration distances (d_{ij}) according to data distances are calculated according to the type of regression. According to the regression method data type, one that is suitable for the regression methods (linear, polynomial or monotonic) is selected. Estimated configuration distances are determined by means of the specified regression equation. These estimated distances are called disparities. The matrix obtained from these distances is called the difference matrix.

5. A stress statistic, which is an appropriate statistic, is calculated to determine the appropriateness between the configuration distances and the estimated distances. Stress statistics are calculated in different ways; such as Kruskal Stress Statistics, Young Stress Statistic. Kruskal stress is calculated by taking the square root of the ratio of the differences between the statistical configuration measurements and the estimated configuration measurements to the estimated configuration distances and expresses the fit between the data distances and the configuration distances. The stress value is used in determining whether the number of dimensions used in the graphical arrangement obtained as the result of analysis is appropriate.

6. Coordinates of units or objects are obtained according to K dimension. These coordinates are displayed in a k-dimensional space (map) and the position of each unit or object relative to other units or units is displayed. These images are interpreted and relations between the units are tried to be determined. When these interpretations are made, there is an ideal point in graphical representation in k-dimensional space. Usually the ideal

point is near the origin. In this context, while graphical representation interpretation is made, comments are made according to the distance or closeness of the objects to the ideal point.

The desired stress statistic in the MDS solution is close to zero. Dimensional analyzes with near-stress values are considered appropriate. According to this;

- Stress ≥ 0.20 poor compliance
- $0.10 \leq \text{stress} < 0.20$ moderate compliance
- $0.05 \leq \text{stress} < 0.10$ good fit
- Stress < 0.05 perfect fit
- $0 < \text{stress} < 0.025$ full compliance

Finally, the coordinates of the units or objects at the appropriate dimension level are obtained. These coordinates are shown in space so that each unit or object relations are interpreted.

Results

In this study, Grey Relation Analysis has been used for ranking the economic performance of the countries and Multidimensional Scalling has been use in order to show countries' positions relative to each other in a two-dimensional plane. First, the weight of each variable was determined for use in gray relational analysis. The criteria priority weights have taken from Onder et al. (2014)'s paper. In that paper, researchers used Analytical Network Process (ANP) to determine the weights of macroeconomic indicators. According to expert's judgments based ANP analysis, "Gross domestic product, constant prices" (0.2567) was the most important macroeconomic indicator influencing countries' economies followed by "Current account balance" (0.1936) and "Inflation, average consumer prices" (0.1490). The least important priorities are "Gross national savings" (0.0145) and "General government revenue" (0.0185). Resulting weights obtained with expert judgments based ANP are shown on Figure 1.

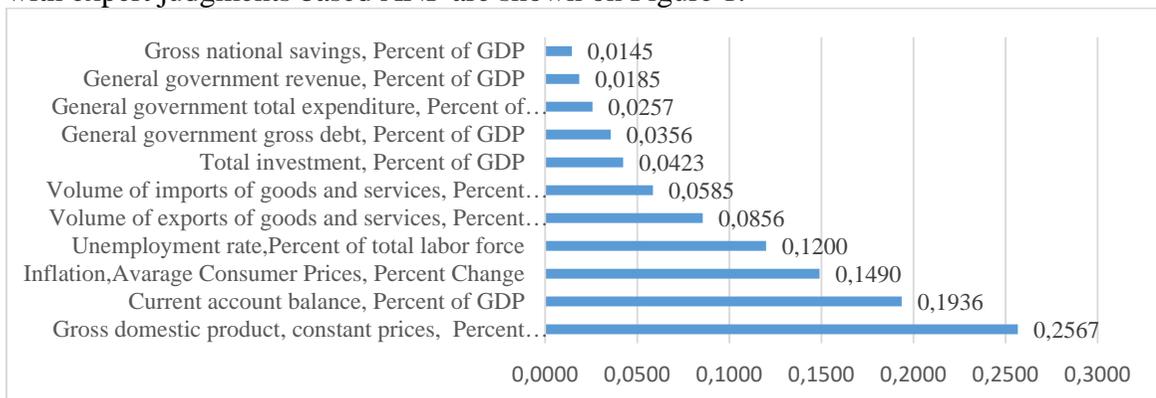


Figure 1. Weights obtained with expert judgments based ANP (Onder et. al., 2015)

Ranking on economic performance of The Mediterranean Countries

The proposed model of this paper uses a combined method. Calculated Analytical Network Process (ANP) based weights, implant to Grey Relational Analysis for ranking and show countries' positions relative to each other in a two-dimensional plane with MDS analysis of 36 Mediterranean Countries according to the 11 selected macroeconomic indicators between 2006 and 2016 years. Also annual period macroeconomic indicators are converted to single data set by using arithmetic mean and weighted arithmetic mean (to be focused on recent years). This combined data was also used for another economic performance evaluation. By using GRA method, the ranking of countries are calculated and shown on Table 2. According to the GRA results, some countries have undergone serious changes in the performance rankings over the past 11 years. For example, while Algeria ranks first in 36 countries in 2006, it fell to 19th place in 2016. Ireland and Germany have risen in performance rankings over the past 11 years. Germany, which ranks 16th in 2006, ranks third in 2016, and Ireland, which ranks 11th in 2006, ranks second in 2014, 2015 and 2016 years.

Table 2.The ranking of countries by using GRA

		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	A. Mean	Weighted
VAR1	Albania	18	24	3	15	22	29	17	32	33	34	31	16	28
VAR2	Algeria	1	5	2	5	2	1	9	11	20	29	19	10	17
VAR3	Austria	12	13	7	7	9	11	11	14	15	15	21	13	11
VAR4	Belgium	24	23	24	16	13	20	15	22	22	22	29	21	20
VAR5	Bosnia And Her.	35	31	31	22	35	35	36	19	32	32	25	28	30
VAR6	Bulgaria	34	20	20	23	19	17	20	12	11	11	9	20	14
VAR7	Croatia	31	28	30	32	27	27	31	35	26	16	16	34	26
VAR8	Cyprus	19	17	16	13	29	24	34	36	34	26	15	31	27
VAR9	Czech Rep.	9	14	14	20	16	12	21	20	13	9	10	12	9
VAR10	Denmark	6	12	8	8	8	9	10	7	3	4	13	11	7
VAR11	Egypt	29	33	6	17	25	33	33	26	36	36	34	19	35
VAR12	Estonia	3	10	34	24	11	3	2	15	8	7	17	25	16
VAR13	Finland	8	8	15	25	12	18	25	27	23	18	26	23	22
VAR14	France	23	25	21	19	20	15	18	23	25	24	27	24	21
VAR15	Germany	16	19	13	9	5	5	4	8	4	2	3	7	4
VAR16	Greece	32	34	33	36	36	36	35	31	31	27	35	36	34
VAR17	Hungary	27	36	32	33	31	21	29	13	9	10	12	26	18
VAR18	Ireland	11	21	29	14	14	23	27	16	1	1	1	3	1
VAR19	Israel	17	6	19	6	7	8	8	2	7	5	11	4	6

VAR20	Italy	26	27	26	27	24	22	26	28	24	25	28	29	25
VAR21	Jordan	30	32	23	2	30	30	28	30	27	28	30	15	31
VAR22	Latvia	2	4	36	18	18	16	7	10	18	20	22	32	24
VAR23	Lithuania	15	3	27	34	21	14	6	9	12	17	20	18	19
VAR24	Luxembourg	4	2	10	1	1	7	12	1	5	6	4	1	3
VAR25	Morocco	20	15	5	4	6	6	1	4	16	21	23	2	8
VAR26	Netherlands	7	7	4	3	4	2	3	5	2	3	6	5	2
VAR27	Poland	14	18	17	11	23	19	23	17	17	13	5	8	10
VAR28	Portugal	33	30	25	26	33	31	30	29	28	31	32	33	33
VAR29	Romania	22	26	1	29	32	26	14	3	14	14	2	14	13
VAR30	Slovakia	13	1	9	31	15	28	13	21	19	23	14	9	15
VAR31	Slovenia	10	9	12	21	17	13	24	24	6	12	7	17	12
VAR32	Spain	28	29	28	30	34	32	32	34	30	30	18	35	29
VAR33	Sweden	5	11	11	10	3	4	5	6	10	8	8	6	5
VAR34	Tunisia	25	16	18	12	26	34	19	33	35	35	36	30	36
VAR35	Turkey	36	35	35	35	10	10	16	18	29	33	33	22	32
VAR36	United Kingdom	21	22	22	28	28	25	22	25	21	19	24	27	23

MDS Results of the Mediterranean Countries

As mentioned above, MDS analysis of 36 Mediterranean Countries according to the 11 selected macroeconomic indicators for the weighted arithmetic mean has been used in order to show countries' positions relative to each other in a two-dimensional plane. The results of the analysis are as follows:

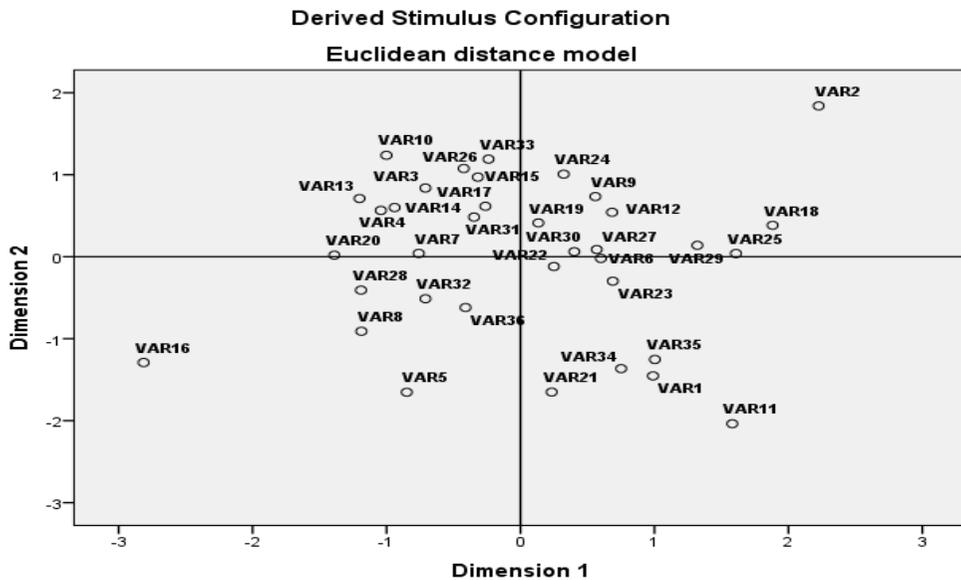


Figure 2. Euclidean Distance Model (for weighted arithmetic mean)

In Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) analysis; for $k = 2$ (Kruskal) the iteration has been continued until the stress statistic is less than 0.001. The iteration stopped when the fourth iteration reached 0.00028 results. The result of the stress statistic is very close to 0. This is a desirable result for MDS analysis. Stress value was calculated according to Kruskal's formula and found to be 0.90678. In this context, stress value data for $k = 2$ dimension is explained by 0.90. So, it can be said that the obtained results reflect sufficiently the data set that is available. Multidimensional scaling analysis was performed in two dimensions.

According to the Euclidean distance model shown in Figure 2, it is seen that the countries which are perceived as similar are gathered together. In the Euclidean distance model, Greece and Algeria appear to be located in a different place from the general average. These results are consistent with the performance rankings revealed by Gray Relational Analysis., it is seen that the countries which are close to each other in performance ranking according to the results of the gray relational analysis, are located close to each other in the Euclidean distance model as well.

Conclusion

The Mediterranean Union countries were found to have a rather wavy tendency in terms of macroeconomic performance in the study, despite the fact that they were generally positive in comparison with the past. In 2006 there is no country that has grown below 5% of GNP, except for a few countries. Even in 2006, Baltic countries such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania showed a growth performance of around 10%. Growth in western European countries such as Germany, Spain, Austria has also been around 3-5%. The same is true for the year 2007. However, as of 2008, there has been significant changes in the economic performance of the countries. In 2008, growth in Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Sweden and the UK was negative. Unemployment in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Spain and Latvia grew by 24%, 17.8% and 17.5% respectively in 2009.

When we look at the changes in the performance rankings of countries in terms of macroeconomic performance indicators from 2006 to 2016, quite remarkable results were obtained. In the 36 Mediterranean Union countries, there were no significant changes in the performance ranking of the Czech Republic, Italy, Jordan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia and Sweden. On the other hand, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and Spain have experienced increase in performance rankings in 2016 according to the 2006 ranking score, but Albania, Algeria, Cyprus, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Latvia,

Lithuania, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Kingdom have experienced a decline in performance rankings in 2016 according to the 2006 ranking score. The impact of the 2008 crisis is undoubtedly quite excessive in this downfall in that countries.

According to our Grey Relational Analysis method (weighted arithmetic mean), Ireland, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany and Sweden were at the peak during 2006-2016 period. Tunisia, Egypt, Greece, Portugal and Turkey were at the bottom during in the same period. The economic slowdown and the resulting decrease in tax revenues all over the world since 2008 have led to Greece's continuing ongoing fiscal imbalances, which have been the cause of Greece's failure to bring it to the brink of collapse, although it affects many countries outside Greece. The same is true for the Portuguese economy as well. In Egypt, the persistent devaluation of the currency, the high inflation rate, the disturbances of income distribution and other economic problems have played a significant role in the macroeconomic performance of the Egypt economy in recent years. This situation is also seen in the analysis results. This is closely related to the fall in tourism, one of the main sources of Egypt economy income. Undoubtedly, the developments in the political structure of the country in recent years are extremely influential.

One of the underlying causes of Turkey's position is deep problems especially in the past years. For example, in 2001, due to the crisis in the country, the economy was seriously damaged and it took a long time to recover. Although there are positive developments in economic indicators since 2006, Turkey is only in 32th place in terms of 11-year performance. This situation is closely related to the 2001 crisis and the 2008 crisis. The results of the analysis also show this situation. After the crisis years, there has been a serious decline in the performance ranking of Turkey. At the same time, political developments in the region undoubtedly affect economic performance. Similar comments can be made for Tunisia.

The findings of this paper would help governments for taking necessary precautions and foreign investors for creating more effective investment strategies.

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The Assessment of Website Design Quality in Thermal Tourism Industry: The Comparative Study for Turkish and German Thermal Hotels

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Abstract

In the Internet Age, website design, content and efficiency are very important for customers and companies as well. Website design researches increasingly focused on design quality and contents in last years. In terms of the thermal hotel marketing perspectives, high website design quality and contents offer a number of advantages such as the opportunity to convince potential customers to select hotels and observe all thermal hotels services without staying there. However, thermal hotels are also work like health institutions. Their websites ought to allow their customers to access more health related information and serve as a platform for gaining access to healthcare information. Thus, they should be designed health oriented, instead of just marketing and public relations purposes. The main objectives of this study is to call website designers' attention to thermal hotel website contents, and to compare the thermal hotels' websites between Baden-Baden, Germany and Afyonkarahisar, Turkey destinations with Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) method. At the end of the study, the characteristics of the thermal hotels website design quality are discussed via AHP, and some recommendations are given to designers, hotel managers and public institutions responsible for health institutions related to thermal hotel website design requirements and standards.

Keywords: Thermal Tourism, Internet Marketing, Website Design

Introduction

Differences in tourists' wants and needs, changes in lifestyles have forced businesses operating in the tourism industry to create and focus on different market segments. One of the created market segments is thermal hotel classification in accommodation industry. Nowadays, thermal tourism is an important and growing part of the tourism industry. Because of the intangibility nature of the thermal hotel service, hotel managers strive to persuade the consumer about the quality of service they offer. Website quality is one of the important tools of creating a sense of quality for businesses operating service industry, and giving useful and beneficial information effectively. Designing, implementing and managing a website is a process. Success in website design quality depends on how well the designers adopt and implement a user-driven design process. Thus, thermal hotel websites plays very important role to give detailed information about their thermal water, explain their differences and provide access to customers all over the world.

In Turkey, thermal waters obtained from over 1500 sources are superior in Europe with their flow and temperature as well as their various physical and chemical properties (yigm.kulturturizm.gov.tr). In thermal tourism literature, there is the need for more examinations on thermal hotels' website in terms of content quality, design standards and health oriented information quality. The main objective of this study are to draw website designers' attention to contents of the thermal hotel website, and compare thermal hotels website located in different countries. Thus, in this study, the importance of hotel website quality in thermal tourism industry is explained and Turkish and German are examined and compared with the features by conducting a content analysis with Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP).

Conceptual Framework

Tourists have increasingly used to the Internet as the source for destination information, trip planning and accommodation booking (Choi et al., 2007), 80% of the tourists explored for hotel information using websites, with more than 40% tourists made their bookings through hotels' host or third-party websites (Toh et al., 2011), more than 50% of the reservations of major brand hotels were made via the Internet in 2010 (Pan et al., 2013), many tourists booked their travel activities from the Internet (Yang et al., 2014), and website information can be used a competitive tool for hotel managers (Islam and Čavlek, 2016). Website design quality of travel websites impacts the tourist behaviors and their purchase intent (Dedeke, 2016). Thus, the website design should be taken into consideration for successful internet marketing. A good website design can keep their customers. If customers feel that they have to make too many clicks to find

something what they're looking for or they cannot get enough information, they are likely to leave, and it is very easy to loose potential customers because changing website is at the click of a button (Barutçu, 2006). Consequently, a successful website feels customers attracted, reliable and trustworthy, contain sufficient and relevant contents, provides customer satisfaction and attracts more interest and communication, increases sales, and finally strengthens the brand image (Liua and Kirk, 2000: 24; Cox and Dale, 2002; Lončarić et al, 2010; Lončarić et al, 2013; Islam and Čavlek, 2016). However, poor thermal hotel website design can result in a loss of potential customers. Therefore, hotels' website design quality is one of the best tool to attract new customers, convince them to book and stay their hotels and give detailed information about thermal health and waters.

Thermal Hotels Website and Design Quality

Designing effective website is very similar to designing a physical landscape. Website should not only create a sense of the landscape, but also provide interactive, enter into the landscape and live the place (Rosen and Purinton, 2004). Moreover, the website should be designed for the target customers, considered by users' perspectives, adapted to their cultures, and localized websites in terms of currency, color sensitivities, product or service names and geographical examples and so on (Abelse, et al., 1998; Gommans et al., 2001; Cyr et al., 2008). It is clear that a website design that creates quality sense for users, easy to use, sufficient information capacity and adapted to the cultural characteristics of users will create a competitive advantage.

In the user-based website design process, the users play very important role. The website is designed for the user and required to provide access throughout the process, and design decisions are reflected by users rather than the designers' point of view. Thus, user experience has begun to be considered throughout the design process (Abelse, et al., 1998: 40). Website design should be simple and easy to use. The simplicity of design makes the site more attractive. Some web design specialists have estimated it to be 10 seconds to attract people to a website. For this reason, slow loading websites are a major displeasure for users. Another important issue is that the website should be distinctive. A website with a different identity will appeal to tired surfers, differentiate the company and make the site more memorable (Rosen and Purinton, 2004: 793). Thermal hotel website as the company should reveal the image that the hotel is trying to create (Cox and Dale, 2002).

There are many studies on website design in Turkey. Karamustafa and Öz (2010) evaluated the 643 websites of companies in Turkey with content analysis and concluded that they had fairly low performance average,

especially hotels' websites had a limited online trading abilities and designed like an online brochure. Avci Kurt and Girtlioğlu (2011) have reviewed the 98 thermal hotels website in Turkey, and they stated that thermal hotels' websites quality were low, and could not use the internet as a productive marketing tool. Toprak et al., (2014: 352) reviewed the websites of the thermal hotels in the southeastern part of the country, and found that there were not available in other languages option in 50% of hotel website, some problems in their reservation information including policies, payment and online communication with customer representatives, and insufficient website management in terms of information capacity and attention to update. Ateş and Boz (2015) found that hotels used their websites for promotional and advertising purposes, paid enough attention to facility and room photos in website design, however, did not pay attention to website efficiency.

The comparative study for Turkish and German Thermal Hotels Website Design

Despite the fact that Turkey has very rich geothermal potential and therapeutic nature and high thermal waters, there is no competitive environment with European countries due to the inadequacy of the facilities in quantity and quality and the lack of thermal destinations with thermal facilities in international standards. Germany has high thermal tourism market share in the world, and thermal tourism has become an important industry in Germany, which has 263 official certified thermal centers, the total bed capacity of the facilities is 750.000 (yigm.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR). At this point, German and Turkish thermal hotels are in competition with each other, and benchmarking based on theoretically sound design criteria can serve academic researchers, especially those who study the causes and consequences of website design, because website design benchmarking is a timely, useful and relevant research for both practical and academic purposes (Kim et al., 2003: 16). Therefore, thermal hotels in Baden-Baden / Germany and Afyonkarahisar / Turkey destinations are compared in terms of website design quality.

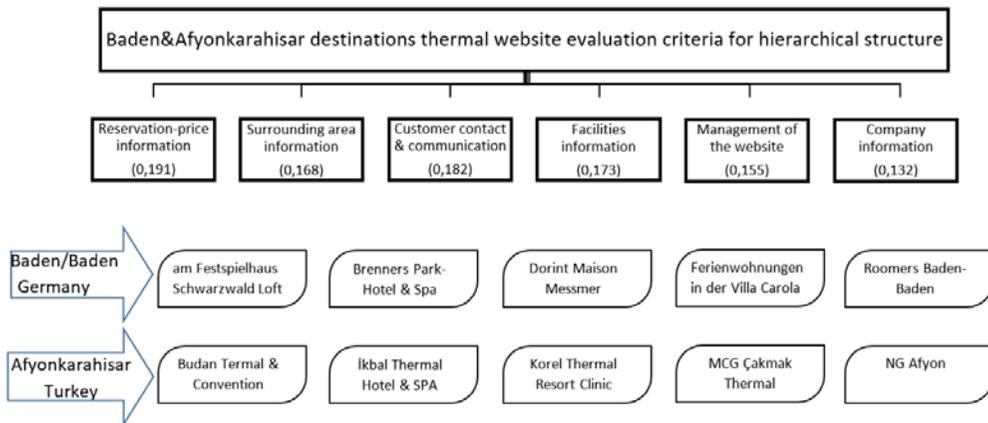
Methodology

Five-star hotels in Baden-Baden, Germany and Afyonkarahisar, Turkey were determined as the population frame to evaluate the contents of their websites. The weights of the 6 factors (reservation-price information, surrounding area information, customer contact and communication, facilities information, management of the website and company information with 58 variables) in the AHP were found by normalizing the importance mean values obtained by Salem and Cavlek (2016). 10 hotel websites were

selected researchers with Judgmental Sampling to examine their contents, and the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) method developed by Saaty (1977) was used to determine the weights of alternatives according to the objective criteria of the study.

According to the AHP, the hierarchical structure in which the factors (alternatives) and alternatives take place is first created and then the weights of these factors are determined. At the next stage, a matrix is created in which the weights of the alternatives are weighted according to each weighted factor. In the final stage, the vectors of the alternatives (web pages) are determined by multiplying the vector of the weights of the obtained matrix and the factors. Salem and Cavlek (2016) studies were used in determining the factors and weighting these factors. Figure 1 depicts a hierarchical structure in which alternatives of the two places are identified. The weights of the factors in the hierarchical structure were found by normalizing the importance mean values obtained by Salem and Cavlek (2016).

Figure 1. Hierarchical structure and factor weights



The web pages of five-star hotels in the Baden-Baden and Afyonkarahisar regions have been evaluated by the researchers using the binary comparison matrices, which are presented in a hierarchical structure and distinguished for each of the six main factors given subheadings. The consistency of the binary comparison matrix ($CR < 0.10$) was checked.

Findings

Calculation of Weights of 5 Star Hotel Web Pages in Two Separate Destinations

In this phase, the website of the thermal hotels sampled from Baden-Baden, Germany as am Festspielhaus Schwarzwald Loft, the Brenners Park-Hotel & Spa, the Dorint Maison Messmer, the Ferienwohnungen in der Villa

Carola and the Roomers Baden-Baden hotels were first evaluated with the binary comparison matrices according to 6 factors presented in the hierarchical structure. Table 1 shows the weights and final weights of these hotels according to the website factors, without specifying the hotel name. According to this analysis, the website of Hotel B is superior to all other factors except for two factors as reservation-price information and company information, and is ranked first with 38.2%. Hotel B's website design quality is higher than others, and Hotel E has lowest design quality.

Table 1. Baden-Baden destination websites according to the factors and their final weights

FACTORS	W	HOTELS				
		A	B	C	D	E
Reservation-price information	0,191	0,212	0,187	0,083	0,452	0,066
Surrounding area information	0,168	0,280	0,402	0,090	0,157	0,071
Customer contact and communication	0,182	0,178	0,540	0,109	0,117	0,056
Facilities information	0,173	0,189	0,455	0,044	0,242	0,071
Management of the website	0,155	0,209	0,525	0,042	0,150	0,074
Company information	0,132	0,478	0,159	0,071	0,182	0,110
GENERAL		0,248	0,382	0,074	0,223	0,073

Similarly, the website of the thermal hotels sampled from Afyonkarahisar, Turkey as Budan Thermal & Convention, Ikbal Thermal Hotel & SPA, Korel Thermal Resort Clinic, MCG Cakmak Thermal and NG Afyonkarahisar hotels are evaluated with the binary comparison matrices according to 6 factors presented in the hierarchical structure. Table 2 shows the weight and final weight of these hotels according to the website factors, without specifying the hotel name.

Table 2. Afyonkarahisar destination websites according to the factors and their final weights

FACTORS	W	HOTELS				
		A	B	C	D	E
Reservation-price information	0,191	0,140	0,429	0,286	0,039	0,106
Surrounding area information	0,168	0,177	0,039	0,439	0,088	0,257
Customer contact and communication	0,182	0,436	0,271	0,133	0,043	0,117
Facilities information	0,173	0,159	0,310	0,333	0,057	0,141
Management of the website	0,155	0,135	0,339	0,419	0,067	0,040
Company information	0,132	0,237	0,110	0,226	0,031	0,396
GENERAL		0,215	0,258	0,305	0,054	0,167

In the Afyonkarahisar destination, the website of Hotel C is superior to all factors except customer contact and communication and company information factors and is in the first place with 30.5%. Thus, Hotel C's website design quality is higher than others, and Hotel D has lowest design quality.

Research Results and Conclusion:

When web designs of thermal hotels in Baden-Baden and Afyonkarahisar are examined, it is seen that the factors of final weight order are the same for both regions. According to this, reservation and price information have the highest weight while general information about the business has low weight. These results are similar to Karamustafa and Öz (2010). It is normal for the price and reservation information to have the highest weight on the websites of both regions, when it is thought that the consumer is using the Internet for the most price comparison.

While hotels in the Baden-Baden region do not give enough information about thermal pools, features and benefits, it is seen that the thermal hotels in Afyonkarahisar give these more details. Many of the hotels in the Baden-Baden region use a lot of photos, however these pictures make the contents of the thermal hotel website weak. Although Baden-Baden thermal hotels have a high visual attractiveness, it is difficult to access the information on the websites, and find some information about thermal waters. Though the information capacity of the website of Hotel B has the highest weight in the Baden-Baden region, its visual appeal is weak compared to others. It is seen that the information quality of thermal hotels' website of Afyonkarahisar region are quite adequate, and they are more useful than those in the Baden-Baden region. Customer reviews and customer surveys are available on the website of each hotel in both regions. In consequence, Baden-Baden, Germany hotels do not have enough information about thermal pools, features and benefits, however, Afyonkarahisar, Turkey hotels give these information in detail. Moreover, Baden-Baden, Germany hotels pictures are very attractive, the magnificent scenes attract people. However, it is difficult to get the actual information from the images.

The results of study will lead to many practical implications for health institutions, hotel managers, marketers and website designers. First, thermal hotel websites are an effective information and communication network between hotels and their customers, and with creating an interactive thermal hotel website, marketing managers of hotels can increase volumes of sales, improve the brand images and raise the overall outcome of their marketing activities. However, thermal hotels are used for health purposes. Therefore, thermal hotel website should not be used only as part of marketing strategies, but healthy purposes. Second, to use the website information as a competitive advantage tool, hotel managers should harmonize the web information with customers' preferences, and thermal health. Moreover, the fact that the websites of the thermal hotels located in the same region are so different. This findings is the greatest indication that the website design changes according to the designers, and there is no

standard for thermal hotels in this respect. Third, thermal hotel accommodation is a health-related area, and information-oriented standards for thermal hotel website design are required. In further research, the website design requirements and standards should be categorized, analyzed and discussed for thermal hotels.

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Personnel Evaluation Process for Employees of State Administrative Institutions

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Abstract

Nowadays, the greatest proportion of any economy is comprised of services rather than goods, therefore enterprises are interested in optimising the use of resources, while customers increasingly focus on the quality of customer service. In a special way, it may be also attributed to state administrative institutions, the customer service of which is directly associated with the state's prestige and the meaningful achievement of the state's strategic goals.

However, a personnel evaluation process and the organisation of it for employees of state administrative institutions is subordinated to the state's strategic goals and regulated by a relatively broad range of legal documents. Such considerations indicate that the research problem is urgent at national and municipal levels.

The research aim is to examine a personnel evaluation process for employees of state administrative institutions in order to identify possibilities to enhance the evaluation process.

The specific research tasks are as follows: 1) to summarise the theoretical aspects of a personnel evaluation process; 2) to examine the personnel evaluation process for employees of state administrative institutions in Latvia.

The research employed the following methods: monographic, descriptive, analysis and synthesis, as well as abstract analysis and logical construction.

Keywords: Personnel evaluation, state administrative institutions

Introduction

An assertion dominates in such disciplines as economics, management and administration that the key resource in providing services for any enterprise (organisation) is their employees because whether an enterprise is able to compete with other ones depends on its employees.

However, there are institutions where the evaluation of their employees does not directly relate to the factors influencing competitiveness and business. At state administrative institutions, the evaluation of their personnel is based on the right choice of administrative methods and the transparency of the evaluation process.

A number of research studies and theoretical findings (Beaumont, 2000; Anderson, 2008; Showkat, 2013; Martin, 2010) point out that personnel evaluation may be based not only on personnel performance but also goal achievement measurements. Furthermore, the objectives involve the individual, collective and administrative dimensions. Therefore, one can state that such an evaluation is always associated with increased urgency, as today employees are one of the most important elements in the successful operation of organisations. Besides, it is important not only to find employees who meet the requirements but who also contribute to the organisation's achievement of its operational targets. To achieve it, it is necessary to persistently study and enhance the personnel management process, including the personnel evaluation process, which would allow the enterprise both to enhance its internal microclimate and to reduce costs relating to finding new employees and their training.

The scientific literature has extensively discussed personnel evaluation as one of the most important stages in personnel management, yet a little focus has been placed on the urgency of and challenges in evaluating personnel based only on objectives and competences. Such an approach is important for state administrative institutions, as they perform quite a few quantitatively measurable tasks. Furthermore, the focus in the performance of state administrative institutions is placed on the general goals and strategic role of the state, which involves evaluating an employee from an aspect completely different from that in conventional entrepreneurship.

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Personnel evaluation process as one of the components of personnel management

The very first personnel management and evaluation models that

could be appropriate for evaluating employees of state administrative institutions and measuring their suitability were developed in the USA, which may be partly explained by an overlap between human resource management values and the values that are referred to as an “American dream” – human development, enhanced opportunities and strict management. However, European scientists rely on a different approach, the key features of which involve smaller personnel management departments, a lower percentage of wages spent on training, a performance-based remuneration system and more information on the strategy and performance that is available to employees (Anderson, 2008).

B.Beaumont believes that the process of individual evaluation of employees is considered to be one of the key pillars in strategic human resource management for two reasons – first, it is asserted that the criteria on which personnel evaluation is based have to be reflected in the competitiveness strategy of any organisation. Mostly direct supervisors are involved in the evaluation of employees as evaluators who are concurrently evaluated by their managers (Beaumont, 2000). In their research studies, both I.Forand (2007) and I.Voronchuk (2009) stress that managers have to evaluate their employees for various reasons. The reasons might be a potential transfer, promotion, enrolment in training courses or a pay rise. Managers may perform an evaluation based on a well thought-out system instead of their subjective opinions. A job performance evaluation consists of systematic information about the employee’s performance and his/her potential for development and learning. There are two types of evaluation:

- performance evaluation – an evaluation of the previous performance (usually one year);
- potential evaluation – an evaluation of the employee’s potential for performing future tasks (usually five years).

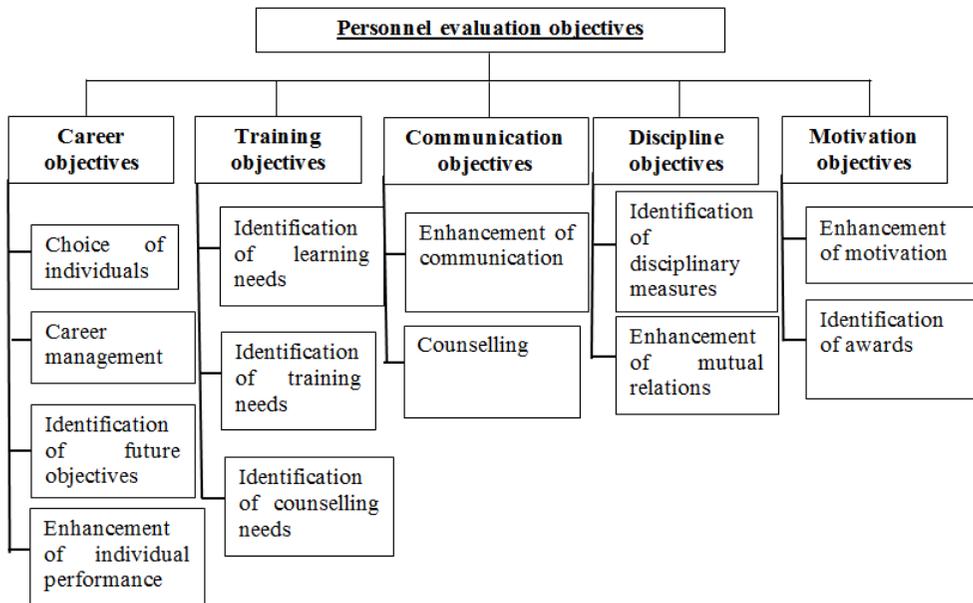
According to research studies by S.Showkat, a personnel evaluation system is an important instrument in personnel management that facilitates overall organisational effectiveness, defining performance tasks and objectives, providing quality formal and informal feedback, a mechanism for participant evaluation as well as complaint processing, determining clear performance standards and making fair decisions on remuneration and personnel development in relation to the status of employees with regard to their promotion, transfers, career planning, training and development needs, pay rises, downsizing or the termination of employment relationships (S.Showkat, 2013). Such an approach is usually attributed to state administrative jobs and state administrative institutions. It is also pointed out that despite the fact that administrative and development decisions are made based on personnel evaluation results, these results might become a useful instrument for enhancing relations with the employees, planning their

performance and identifying their talents as well as increasing the effectiveness of the organisation (S.Showkat, 2013).

However, J.Edwards et al. (2003) emphasise that a great role is played by whether evaluation **criteria** are consistent with evaluation **objectives**.

According to J.Martin, personnel evaluation reflects the evaluation process, the purpose of which is to identify the **overall potential and abilities of an individual or a team** based on their previous and current work behaviours and performance. Measurements may be done based on various criteria, but usually the expected and the achieved results relative to the objective set are compared.

After summarising the findings of the mentioned scientists and the information available, the authors systemised the information (Figure 1), dividing the key objective of personnel evaluation into several sub-objectives, which, in their turn, were subdivided into task groups.



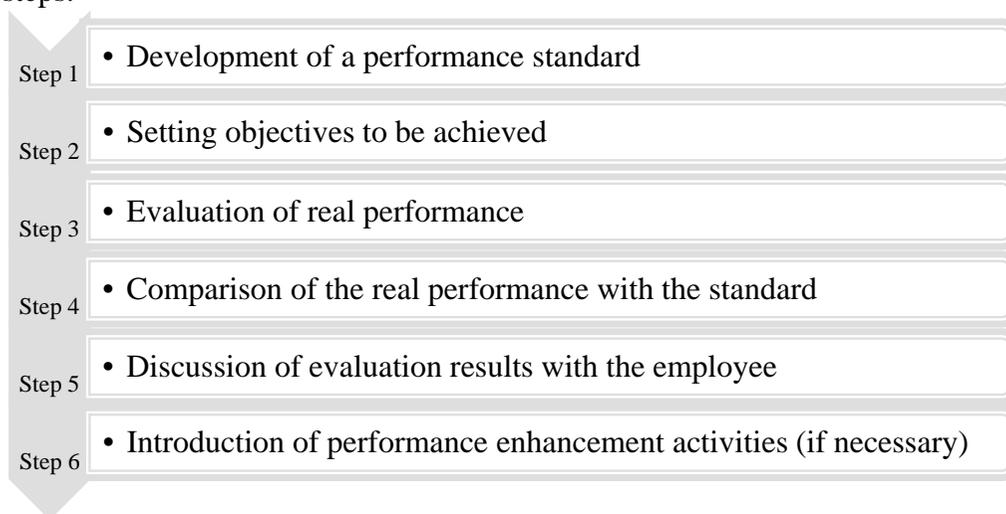
Source: authors' construction based on Beaumont P.B, 2010

Fig. 1. **Division of personnel evaluation objectives**

Organisations, including state administrative institutions, usually distinguish two kinds of personnel evaluation functions and quite often discuss what is really worth evaluating and which kind may be employed in what situations. They usually discuss **competence** evaluation and **job performance** evaluation. If one believes that competence is *a set of factors characteristic of a personality that are needed for good and successful task performance*, it would be quite simple to evaluate personnel based only on

this competence criterion. However, competence is divided into hard and soft competence. It is particularly difficult to evaluate soft competence, which is mainly composed of emotional intelligence, i.e. the individual's ability to cope with his/her basic stresses (fear, uncertainty, anger, the sense of guilt) by being aware of and controlling them as well as the skill to communicate and influence those around, by means of both selection procedures and interviews for internal evaluation. All the traits, interests and attitudes that arise from the personality belong to soft competence. In contrast, hard competence consists of knowledge and skills being acquired by an individual during the career. It is easy to prove and confirm these components of competence by means of diplomas, certificates and licenses. Language skills, computer skills and other abilities that may be acquired and evaluated also belong to this kind of competence.

However, W.Werther divides the personnel evaluation cycle into six steps.



Source: authors' construction based on Werther B.W., Keith D., 1996.

Fig. 2. **Personnel evaluation process**

The above-mentioned steps seek to include objectives, performance as well as individualised evaluation, which is discussed with the employee.

Personnel Evaluation Process for Employees of State Administrative Institutions

The National Development Plan of Latvia for 2014-2020 and the Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia for 2030 define key guidelines for employees and employers in relation to work. Decent work provides a sufficient remuneration that is adequate to skills and productivity, job security and social protection for the family, better opportunities for personal

growth and social integration and freedom to express one's interests, unite and participate in making decisions. Decent work enables individuals to earn enough money for themselves and their families and to enhance their qualifications in order to persistently ensure wellbeing and ability to adapt to changes in the labour market. In order that individuals can have an opportunity to get and do decent work and provide for themselves and their relatives and to contribute to the development of the country, they need various competences (knowledge, skills and attitudes), e.g. language skills, skills in information and communication technologies, communication and cooperation skills, work skills, entrepreneurial ability, civic self-confidence, abilities to critically think, plan their finances, evaluate risks and find solutions to the risks. Competences have to be built up throughout the lifetime, as it is impossible to predict future needs (National Development Plan..., 2012).

Therefore, one can conclude that an evaluation of employees is not only necessity for employers but also a need for the employees themselves to acquire an evaluation of their skills and competences and, if necessary, to enhance them to the level that allows the employees to adapt to trends in the labour market.

The evaluation of employees of state administrative institutions is regulated by Cabinet Regulation No. 494 (in force since 10 July 2012), which defines the following performance evaluation objectives:

1. to define performance-related individual objectives and tasks for an employee that are consistent with the objectives and tasks of the institution and the relevant department;
2. to evaluate the employee's job performance according to evaluation criteria;
3. to determine the employee's training and development needs;
4. to identify opportunities for the employee's professional growth;
5. to identify necessary changes to be made in the description of the job position;
6. to propose options for discussion between the employee and his/her direct supervisor about his/her job performance and to ensure regular feedback.

The job performance evaluation process consists of the following stages:

- development of a job execution schedule;
- setting objectives to be achieved and tasks to be performed;
- agreement on requirements for job responsibilities;
- definition of preferred actions according to competence;
- definition of requirements for the professional qualification;

- updating data on job performance through examining whether job execution meets the requirements, objectives and tasks set for the job position and determining the status of the job execution not less than once a year;
- evaluation of the job performance through analysing the job execution and assessing it in accordance with criteria set in Paragraph 29 of the Cabinet Regulation;
- discussion of the job performance evaluation between the supervisor and the employee for the purpose of analysing the evaluation results and agreeing on the content of a report on the job performance evaluation.

The frequency of evaluation of employee job performance, in accordance with the Cabinet Regulation, is as follows: once a year for employees and once in two years for heads of institutions; a repeated evaluation is done before the end of the probationary period in case of long absence (e.g. child care leave, training, incapacity for work). In other situations, an evaluation is done to determine a job category (e.g. if no probationary period is set). The job performance of an employee is evaluated by his/her supervisor.

Job performance evaluation process for employees

Before starting an annual job performance evaluation, the head of a department has to draw up a discussion schedule for the job performance evaluation at the department, giving a time limit – so that the employee can prepare for discussions – and a time limit for the discussions with the employee who has to prepare a form in advance, which is filled in by the head. The filled-in form is used in the discussions. During the discussions, the achievement of objectives and the execution of tasks set in the previous period, the fulfilment of job responsibilities and the actions of the employee are analysed based on the competence criteria and the professional qualification by mutually expressing judgements that justify the evaluation. In addition, the effectiveness of training and development activities in the previous period is analysed and the employee's training and development needs for the next period are identified, and the potential professional growth and necessary changes in the description of the job position and, if possible, objectives and tasks for the next probationary period are determined as well. The job performance evaluation may also involve other individuals who can give their opinion about the employee's job performance, performing an extended (180 or 360 degree) competence evaluation, which is taken into account when making the final competence evaluation. The head of an institution or his/her authorised person determines job positions that require an extended evaluation. An extended evaluation may be done by the employee's subordinates, colleagues, other heads, cooperation partners,

clients as well as representatives of nongovernmental organisations. When performing an extended evaluation, a mandatory prerequisite is the employee's self-assessment and the direct supervisor's evaluation.

Job performance evaluation process for the head of an institution

The performance of the head of an institution is evaluated by an evaluation commission (hereinafter the commission) not less than once in two years (at the end of the probationary period and in case of a repeated evaluation). The commission is established by the relevant member of the Cabinet of Ministers. The commission consists of not less than five members from a list of persons that has been approved by the Cabinet of Ministers in accordance with Clause 1 of Paragraph 1 of Section 9 of the State Civil Service Law (in force since 1 January 2001). The performance of the head of the Corruption Prevention and Combating Bureau is evaluated by a commission consisting of five members.

An evaluation of the head of an institution may require an extended (360 degree) evaluation as well. A form for an extended evaluation represents an annex to the regular form. A relevant member of the Cabinet of Ministers approves a list of persons participating in an extended evaluation. An extended evaluation may be done by subordinates of the head of an institution, other higher-level heads, cooperation partners, clients as well as representatives of nongovernmental organisations. When performing an extended evaluation, a mandatory prerequisite is a self-assessment by the head of an institution and the commission's evaluation. An extended evaluation is carried out before the regular job performance evaluation, and its results are taken into consideration by the commission's members when doing the final competence evaluation.

Annual (previous period) job performance evaluation

The job performance of an employee in the previous period is evaluated by analysing and examining:

- **performance criteria** – the achievement of individual objectives and the execution of individual tasks that arise from the objectives and tasks of the institution and the relevant department and involve a certain part of what the institution as a whole has to achieve;
- **achievement of objectives and the execution of tasks;**
- fulfilment of job responsibilities according to the requirements – whether the fulfilment of regular job responsibilities meets the requirements and standards set in the description of the job position;
- **contribution criteria** that ensure the effective fulfilment of job responsibilities and the achievement of objectives and the execution of tasks;
- **competence build-up level;**

- **suitability of the professional qualification.**

In evaluating the performance criteria of an employee, the following facts are analysed|:

- **the employee's actions** according to competences necessary for the job and based on action indicators;
- **the employee's professional qualification**, given the employee's education, professional experience, professional and general knowledge and skills that have to meet the requirements set in the description of the job position. If professional qualification criteria have not changed, an evaluation of the employee's professional qualification may be omitted and the last evaluation of the employee's professional qualification may be used.

However, competence evaluations have to consider the following prerequisites, which are broken down by group of job positions at state administrative institutions:

1. **policy makers** are evaluated based on at least three of the following competences: analytical thinking, work in a team, the initiative, communication, conceptual thinking, orientation towards development, planning and management, creative thinking and innovation, flexible thinking and independence;
2. **policy introducers** are evaluated based on at least three of the following competences: analytical thinking, work in a team, the initiative, communication, orientation towards development, orientation towards clients, orientation towards achievements, planning and management, flexible thinking and independence;
3. **performers of support functions** are evaluated based on at least three of the following competences: work in a team, the initiative, communication, orientation towards clients, planning and management, care about order, accuracy and quality, responsiveness;
4. **performers of physical and qualified jobs** are evaluated based on at least two of the following competences: work in a team, the initiative, communication, orientation towards clients, planning and management, care about order, accuracy and quality;
5. **lower-level managers** are evaluated based on at least three of the following competences: employee motivation and development, the initiative, conceptual thinking, team management, orientation towards development, planning and management, achievements, ability to make decisions and take responsibility;
6. **medium-level managers** are evaluated based on at least four of the following competences: establishment and maintenance of relations, employee motivation and development, team management, conceptual thinking, orientation towards development, orientation towards achievements, change management, planning and management, ability to

make decisions and take responsibility;

7. **higher-level managers** are evaluated based on at least five of the following competences: establishment and maintenance of relations, employee motivation and development, team management, awareness of values of the organisation, orientation towards development, orientation towards achievements, change management, ability to make decisions and take responsibility, a strategic vision.

The employee and the head may agree on some extra competences to be evaluated. The head of a special civil service institution may define other competences to be evaluated. According to the nomenclature of jobs at national and local government institutions, competences are the same for equally classified jobs within one department, except for the competences than may differ for specialists of diverse levels or deputies of heads.

Conclusion

1. Personnel evaluation at state administrative institutions is based on an approach that considers the overall potential and abilities of an individual or a team, taking into account their previous and current work behaviours and performance.

2. The primary objective of evaluating personnel at state administrative institutions is to enhance the personnel's performance, yet other objectives are simultaneously achieved as well: the enhancement of communication between heads and employees, the avoidance of mistakes and barriers as well as the explanation of individual objectives.

3. Employees of state administrative institutions are evaluated employing regressive evaluation methods that contain a future component.

4. Since an evaluation of an employee is performed by another individual, the evaluation might contain errors owing to the human qualities of both the evaluator and the one evaluated.

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The Development of Russian Sociology in the Period Between the Second Half of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century

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Abstract

The dramatic history of Russia at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century still fascinates historians and sociologists. The problem how one of the biggest, very fast developing capitalistic countries turned to revolution, bloody terror and civil war cannot be solved with the help of just one discipline - history or sociology. It requires complex and interdisciplinary approach for answering the questions about October Revolution 1917, the event which prejudiced the history not just of Russia and Russian nation but the whole World. Changes in the economic system, the social, moral and spiritual spheres and the growth of cultural needs, created new conditions for the development of sociology as a science. The paper elaborates to the development of Russian sociology and the way how the events of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were reflected in the work of Russian sociologists and philosophers.

Keywords: Russian Empire; History of Sociology; Russian Sociology

Russian Empire in the middle of the 19th century. Czar's Alexander II liberal reforms

The development of sociology as a new science started in early 1860. Generally speaking this period was one of the most significant for the pre-revolutionary Russia and brought various changes to all the aspects of society. This period is characterized by the implementation of important socio-economic and political reforms, especially during the reign of Czar Alexander II. These reforms are considered as the most liberal in the pre-revolutionary history of the Russian Empire. In this study I will mention some of the most significant reforms which will help to understand the situation in the society.

The first reform was the Emancipation ("peasant") reform of 1861, which became a "step from feudalism to capitalism" for the Russian Empire.

Peasants got freed from their feudal obligations and were assigned a piece of land for them to live and work. They were obliged to make redemption payments to their *obshchina* (the village community). Landlords received compensation from the state in the form of Treasury bonds. Many serfs however believed that the land was not distributed justly and the terms of Emancipation had been disregarded by landlords. This situation led to massive protests and riots. The fundamental problem was that there was not enough good quality land available for distribution. Even the nobility failed to benefit from Emancipation, despite the care that the government had taken to protect their economic interests. Nevertheless, Emancipation was certainly an important event for the Russian serf, because as a free peasant he was able to marry without the consent of a third party; he could also hold property in his own name, he was free to take action at law, and he could engage in a trade or business. [Watts, 1998] The Emancipation reform was fundamental; it created a big amount of the new free Russian citizens and necessitated the new range of other changes in society.

The juridical system was corrupt, inefficient. It also was based on a class privilege. Alexander II understood the need of modernization and in 1864 he established the new legal system. It was based partly on English and partly on French juridical models and separated the judiciary from administration, provided to the citizens open trial and equal treatment before the law, created a legal profession [Ziegler, 1991. p 54]. The new system nevertheless suffered from numerous imperfections. There was a lack of proficient lawyers, and interference from the bureaucracy often prevented the law from being applied universally [Watts, 1998]. The most significant failure of a new system was the fact, that peasants, who formed 80% of the population (and as it was mentioned above became free citizens some years before), were excluded from this juridical reform. The existence of special “peasant” court seriously contradicted the essential principle of equality before the law [Ziegler, 1991. p 54].

In 1864, Tsar Alexander II issued the Statutes on Provincial and District Zemstvo Institutions. This act established a new local government institution – the *zemstvo* – in 34 of the 50 provinces of European Russia. The role of Zemstvo was quite wide mainly in 2 domains: health care and education. In the provision of health care the role of Zemstvo was to pass sanitation laws and inspect health conditions in factories and urban areas. Zemstvo spending over the period included both preventative measures, such as vaccinations and monitoring of diseases, and curative efforts in the form of hospitals, traveling doctor networks, and rural fields, or trained medics. Most services were provided for free to the locals– a remarkable innovation at the time. In education, Zemstvos were mainly involved in efforts to expand rural primary education. Mainly they did not run schools directly, but

provided funds to support school construction, to pay for books and supplies, and (especially) to provide teacher salaries. The development of zemstvo-financed primary schooling significantly improved access to schools for the rural population. Between 1877 and 1898, the total population served by a zemstvo school (excluding other types of schools) dropped by approximately 15% [Nafziger, 2008, p 21-26].

The last important reform which partly corresponds with Zemstvo establishment is the wide education reform. From the beginning of the 19th century, when the Ministry of education was created (1802), it started to prepare the reforms which aimed to create the new generation of the comprehensively educated people who will be able to bring technical progress, to support the development of culture, economics and bring changes to the society. The Scientific Committee of the Ministry of Education started the preparations of restructuring the system of public education from early 60s. The outstanding educators and public figures influenced this work. In 1862, the Ministry of Education was headed by liberal professor Alexander Vasilievich Golovnin, who was leading the department until 1866 and was the one who implemented important reforms. In 1864 a new regulation (“*Ustav*”) for high schools was approved. The most significant change of these regulations was the rejection of all class and estate discriminations. A determinative condition for entering the school became the property status, the ability to pay for studies. The administration of the schools was held by district and provincial school councils, which included representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Holy Synod, the local administration and *zemstvo*. Important school reforms of the 60s should also include the establishment of women's secondary schools (from 1870 – women's gymnasiums) and the abolition of corporal punishment. The most significant changes were made at the higher education level (particularly at the universities). The new university regulations were only one step in the educational reforms in Russia and were intended to stop the decline of Russian universities, to create conditions for their development and rise to a new level [Донин, 2003]. The *Ustav* of 1863 is considered as one of the most liberal in the history of Russian Universities. It was a compromise between liberal trends and the existing bureaucracy in the society. According to Regulations from 1863, the University council had the main managerial and controlling function at the university. The council included all professors at university. In general, the educational structure in Russian Universities was similar to the one of the majority of the European Universities with the classical fundamental education. However, the majority of the courses were mostly focused on developing theoretical knowledge rather than practical skills [*The official text of the University Regulations of 1863*]. The new university regulations were one of the many parts of a larger educational

reform that started by the government of Alexander II. The education reform was a necessary link in the chain of reforms that were designed to bring the social and economic changes into the Russian Empire. The consequences of these reforms were fifteen successful years of Russian education and science.

Among the reforms of Alexander II were also ones which brought Russia the significant industrial development and economic growth, military reforms and other. Generally speaking, the reforms that happened in the middle of the 19th century were radical in comparison to the previous years. They brought a lot of desperately needed changes into society. These changes fostered the expression of political and social thoughts and ideas.

The development of Russian sociology. Russian sociologists and their ideas in the second half on the 19th century in Russian Empire

As it is mentioned in the first part, the second half of the 19th century in Russian Empire was the time of the rapid industrialization and formation of the new capitalistic institutions. These changes created some new problems in the society and escalated the existing social conflicts. Traditional philosophical concepts couldn't solve these problems. The Russian social science of the second half of the 19th century is characterized with the strong connection between sociological analysis and philosophical reflection [Баранова, 2010]. However the first sociological ideas appeared around the beginning of the second half of the 19th century and were connected with the names of Peter Lavrov (1823-1901), Vladimir Solovyov (1853-1900), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) and others.

Same as in Europe, the first sociological ideas in Russia were originated from the positivist doctrine and Kant's philosophical ideas. However, it wouldn't be right to define Russian sociology as a copy of European sociology. Russian sociologists had their own view on the structure and changes in the society and tried to create a new interdisciplinary science which was a combination of history, philosophy, ethnography, juridical science etc.

The first period of the development (1860s-1890s)

The first period of Russian sociology as well as in the West was closely linked with the domination of the positivist ideas. Russian philosophers and sociologists were seeing positivism as an attempt to create a new science about the society actively using the methods of natural science for the analysis of the social processes [Зборовский Г.Е., 2014 p. 168]. On the other hand, during this period among Russian intellectuals some revolutionary ideas started to appear.

One of the first sociologists and populist thinkers of this period was Peter Lavrov (1823-1901). Lavrov was also well-known and one of the most

attractive figures of the 19th century revolutionary movements in Russian Empire. Lavrov viewed history as a process, which develops according to humanity's needs and has directionality and final point. Under the influence of Marx's theory Lavrov paid main attention to the economic factors of the social process [Баранова, 2010]. According to Chapter Two "The History Process" of Lavrov's main work "Historical letters" (1868-1869) the meaningful essence of the historical process is progress, or even "the struggle for progress, real or ideal development of progressive aspirations". Lavrov defined problem of the progress as a crucial point and a final matter of historical and sociological science [Лавров, 2013].

Together with another Russian sociologist Nikolay Mikhailovsky (1842-1904) Lavrov formed the so called "subjective" sociology. Lavrov defined sociology as a science concerned with the solidarity of individuals and describing the concrete forms of cooperation. According to sociologist, "solidarity" is a crucial condition of the social life. He believed that sociology has theoretical as well as practical meaning. It is a tool for investigating social evolution as an objective process but also has a normative role in formulating social ideas and norms and showing how they can be implemented in the society [Walicki, 1979 p. 235].

Another Russian sociologist Lev Mechnikov (1838-1888) also believed that solidarity and need for cooperation is the crucial factors in every society. According to Mechnikov, the reached level of solidarity among people is the main indicator of the society's social progress. However, he believed that due to the fact that solidarity can be created voluntarily or forced. That is why Mechnikov intended that the level of individuals' freedom in this process is the main measure of the progressiveness of the civilization.

These ideas became the basis of the main work of Mechnikov's life - "Civilization and the great historical rivers" ("La civilisation et les Grands Fleuves historiques"). In this book he attempted to analyze the connection between the society's organization and its geographical position. Environment is not just nature but the part of nature which is involved in the process of human labor. Mechnikov believed that the main component of the geographical environment is the so-called hydrological factors (water resources impact to human life). Therefore, in history, there were three main civilizations (periods): river civilization, sea civilization and ocean civilization. According to Mechnikov, this factor together with the solidarity is a prime force of the historical process [Мечников, 2013].

Among many other sociologists and philosophers of that period I would like to highlight the names of two famous theorists, Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) and Petr Krapotkin (1842-1921). Both of them were representatives of anarchism – a very characteristic product of radical and

socialist thought in Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th century [Walicki, 1979 p 268].

Bakunin was a determined revolutionary and did not believe in an amicable adjustment of the existing conflicts within society. For Bakunin, as for every anarchist, the main problem was abolition of the state. He recognized that the ruling classes blindly and stubbornly opposed every possibility for larger social reforms, and accordingly saw the only salvation in an international social revolution. Bakunin believed that revolution would eliminate all institutions of political power and economic exploitation and introduce in their stead a Federation of free Associations of producers and consumers to provide for the requirements of their daily life [Walicki, 1979 p 268; Rucker]. Moreover, Bakunin specifically rejected individualism of any kind and assumed that anarchism was a social doctrine and must be based on the recognition of collective responsibilities (collectivism) [Woodcock, 2014 p.11].

The theory of collectivism was replaced during the 1870s by the anarchist communism that was associated particularly with the name of Petr Kropotkin. In his famous book “Fields, Factories and Workshop” (1899) Kropotkin presented the scheme of a semi utopian decentralized society based on an integration of agriculture and industry, of town life and country life, of education and training [Woodcock, 2014 p.12]. According to Kropotkin’s theory, man is not the creator of society, but society is the creator of man. He proclaimed that the fact remains that even under the worst despotism most of man's personal relations with other members of society are arranged by social habits, free agreement and mutual cooperation, without which social life would not be possible at all. If this was not the case, even the strongest machinery of the state would not be able to maintain the social order for any length of time [Kropotkin, 1913]. Like Bakunin, Kropotkin was also a revolutionary. But he saw in revolution only a special stage of the evolutionary process, which appears when new social aspirations are so restricted in their natural development by authority that they have to shatter the old shell by violence before they can function as new factors in human life [Rudolf Rucker].

The second period of the development (1890s-beginning of 20th century)

At the turn of 19th to 20th century, Russian Empire entered the new stage of the political, economic and social development. During this time crucial changes occurred in the process of forming capitalism institutions, the feudal monarchy crises became deeper and stronger, the development of Marxist ideas got wider, the bourgeois-liberal opposition became more active as well [Голенкова, 1998 p 83-84].

This period of development is characterized by the idea that sociology is equal to many other social sciences; it has its own subject, methodology of research and specific tasks. In this sense sociology became more positively accepted in the scientific, public circles and academic environment. At the same time the sociological approach and methodology started to be widely used in other social disciplines. Also, teaching sociology begins episodically at the high schools and other educational institutions. The number of the publications in sociology also continues to grow. Almost all the works of the famous western sociologists are translated to Russian language.

The structure of the sociological ideas at this time is rather complex. However, the characteristic idea of this period is critics of positivism methodology. Marxists sociology also gets its leading and crucial position during this time. The ideas on neo-positivism appeared in the end of this period together with a specific “religious” sociology.

The critics of positivism and commitment of the scientists to modify their views and make them more practical and logical lead them to neo-positivism (or logical positivism). In terms of content the new movement was characterized by transformation from the study of individuals into the study of social action, interaction, social connections and relationships, social behavior. Neo-positivists believed that the logical positivism created the scientific theory from the knowledge and rationalizes the various techniques that manage social actions and social behavior (economic, social, moral, political) [Зборовский, 2014 p 200]. The most significant representatives of neo-positivism in Russian sociology were: Evgenii de Roberti (1843-1915), Agnessa Zvonickaya (1897-1942) and world-famous Russian sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin (1889-1968).

Pitirim Alexandrovich Sorokin is one of the most notable Russian scientists, lived and worked in Russia until the year 1922. Sorokin was born in a Russian peasant village in 1889. From there he went to St. Petersburg for his secondary and higher education. In 1913, at the age of only 24, he became co-editor of the *New Ideas in Sociology*, a journal devoted to translations of foreign sociological writings but with original Russian articles as well. In 1916 he became the lecturer at the University of St. Petersburg, continuing until the Revolution in 1917. Sorokin wrote seven books in Russian before he came to this country, including a two-volume *System of Sociology* in 1919. After the October Revolution in 1917 a large part of his activities consisted of organizing resistance to the Bolshevik regime. Finally he was arrested, imprisoned, and sentenced to death; and only through the intervention of friends was he saved from execution and allowed eventually to exile himself from the Soviet Union on pain of execution. He fled to Czechoslovakia where he found friendly asylum under the protection of

Thomas Masaryk and Edouard Benes. Soon after going to Czechoslovakia, Sorokin was invited by Professors E. A. Ross and E. C. Hayes to deliver a series of lectures on the Russian Revolution at the Universities of Illinois and Wisconsin. He accepted this invitation and migrated to the United States. After lecturing for a time at Wisconsin and Illinois, Sorokin moved to the University of Minnesota in 1924. There he established himself rapidly as a leader in American sociology. Sorokin's life can be contingently divided in to two periods – Russian and American. In this paper I would like to concentrate more on his Russian period [Simpson, 1953 p. 120; Зборовский, 2014 p 207].

Sorokin's sociology is original, diverse and comprehensive. Analyzing the structure of sociology Sorokin distinguishes primarily theoretical and practical sociology. He considers the theoretical sociology as social analytics, social mechanics and social genetics. Social analytics studies the structure of social phenomena and its forms in their static condition and considered only in space, not in time, and only in terms of their construction and not functioning. Social mechanics studies social functions and effects, caused by human behavior. The main aim of social genetics is to determine historical trends based on constant development of social life. Practical sociology studies political activities of people. Consequently, this section should be applied sociology. It is related to sociology's role in the implementation of rational social reform, the fight against social conflicts. Practical sociology should - based on the laws formulated by theoretical sociology - give mankind the ability to manage social forces and dispose them according to the goals in society. As a neo-positivist, Sorokin established the principals of social science. Firstly, social science should be constructed and developed the same way as Natural Sciences. Secondly, sociology should study only those phenomena which are possible to observe, examine and measure. Thirdly, it should be based only on facts and in this sense, to abandon all philosophizing. Fourthly, there is a need of pluralism in sociology. The last principal states that sociology should abandon any normativism in social cognition [Jeffries, 2011 p. 108-109; Зборовский, 2014 p 205].

Social Mobility was a major Sorokin's contribution to sociology. According to the author there are two types of mobility: horizontal, or movement from place to place, and vertical, or movement up or down the social ladder. He finds that while there is some vertical mobility in all societies, societies vary widely in the emphasis they place on mobility as a value and in the ease and means of social ascent and descent. Contemporary western society, for example, stresses mobility more and provides more avenues for it than medieval society. Sorokin finds that high mobility has historically been associated with versatility, invention, and discovery; but

also with cynicism, social isolation of the individual, skepticism, moral disintegration, and suicide [Simpson, 1953 p.121].

The Sociology of Revolution (1925) is strongly influenced by Sorokin's revolutionary experiences. He explains revolution as a destruction of the dangerous balance between reason and disorganized antisocial instincts, with uncontrolled impulses coming to the fore. Since revolution results from the victory of man's upset biological drives over civilized reason, violent revolution is a disaster. Sorokin's analysis is essentially psychological rather than sociological or historical. This book bears the imprint of Freud, Pavlov, Pareto, and others who stress the non-rational aspects of behavior. Sorokin's main purpose is to chart the course of internal events in typical revolutions. Every revolution, he says, follows a cycle of warrant, reaction, repression, and new equilibrium [Сорокин, 2005. P. 37-70; 320-360]. The belief seems implicit that no revolution really alters the state of affairs materially; the French Revolution, for example, is treated not as a triumph of democracy or of the bourgeoisie but simply as a temporary outburst of animalism like every other revolution [Simpson, 1953 p.120-122].

The impact of Sorokin's Russian period is unmeasurable. It was the top point of the classical stage of Russian sociology. The ideas he formulated and developed in the works of the 1910s and the beginning of the 1920s had a significant impact not only to Russian but also worldwide sociology of the 20th century.

The next outstanding personality of that period, and probably one of the most famous Russian and Soviet philosophers, historians and political figures is Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, alias Lenin (1870-1924). Lenin served as head of government of the Russian Republic from 1917 to 1918, of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic from 1918 to 1924, and of the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1924. Under his administration, Russia and then the wider Soviet Union became a one-party communistic state governed by the Russian Communist Party. Ideologically Lenin was a Marxist and his political theories are known as Leninism. For the purposes of this paper I will stress the most important ideas in the field of social and political theory.

Following G. V. Plekhanov, Lenin propagated the combination of the philosophical and sociological ideas of Marx and Engels, that became the center of a doctrinal system called Marxism-Leninism. In many of his works Lenin especially stressed the importance of theory. Marxism, in particular, was for him a scientific system. He believed, that only through true theory can the working class and the Party be united and led to the right praxis [Boeselager, 1975 p. 28-29].

Analyzing the present society, Lenin defined a number of important structures in the development of the capitalistic system in the early 20th

century. In the pamphlet *“Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”* (1916) Lenin presented his analysis of an economic development predicted by Karl Marx: that capitalism would become a global financial system, where advanced industrial countries export financial capital to their colonial countries, to finance the exploitation of their natural resources and the labor of the locals. According to Lenin, Imperialism is a certain stage of capitalism development. On this stage the exploitation of the poor (undeveloped) countries lets the prosperous (developed) countries to sustain some homeland workers politically content with a slightly higher standard of living, and so ensure peaceful labor–capital relations in the capitalistic country. Imperialism is the monopoly phase of capitalism [Ленин В.И. Империализм как высшая стадия капитализма/ Полн. собр. соч.: Т.27. С.299-426.].

A special place in Lenin's sociological views has the socialist revolution theory, its development and implementation in practice. He stated that only poor and undeveloped countries would feature the first proletarian revolution of workers and peasants. Proletarian revolution could not occur in the developed capitalistic countries, while the imperialistic global-finance system remained intact. Lenin proposed that capitalism could eventually only be overthrown with revolution, not with gradual reforms, which would fail because the ruling capitalistic social classes who hold economic power determine the nature of political power in a bourgeois society. According to Lenin's theory in the early 20th century, Imperial Russia was the politically weakest country in the capitalistic global-finance system [Ленин В.И. Государство и революция/ Полн. собр. соч.: Т. 33, С.4-115.].

Moreover, Lenin reflected on the theory of the state: the proportions in the society, the class structure and function of different types of democracies and dictatorships; analysis of the characteristics of the Soviets as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat etc. The dictatorship of the proletariat — i.e. the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of crushing the oppressors. An immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich and suppression by force, i.e. exclusion from democracy, for the exploiters and oppressors of the people — this is the change which democracy undergoes during the ‘transition’ from capitalism to communism [Hill, 2007 p. 86].

The Russian sociological overview of the beginning of the 20th century would not be complete without mentioning the specific “orthodox sociology”. The term "Orthodox sociology" or “Christian sociology” applicable to the works of those Russian philosophers who proposed changing the social life based on the immutable values of the Christian orthodox religion. They supported the transition from positivism and

Marxism to idealism in the Russian theoretical sociology. A major focus of the Russian religious philosophers was the idea of culture as the creative experience of life, and creativity as the spiritual self-determination of personality as means of justifying life.

The main representative of orthodox sociology in Russian was Nikolai Berdyaev (1874-1948). The idea of Berdyaev's "orthodox sociology" is expressed in his work "The meaning of history" (1923), where he analyses the problem of the cultural and historical progress. Berdyaev believed that there is no straight line of progress in the history. There is just development of different cultures. However, not all the later cultures necessarily reach the same level of development, as previous cultures. The doctrine of progress suggests that the human history will reach the highest perfect state one at some moment. At this moment all the contradictions and all the problems of human history will be solved. Berdyaev criticized this idea and contended it had a contradiction with the orthodox morality. According to Berdyaev the world (not only Russia but the whole Europe) came into a catastrophic period of its development, and there comes some new historical epoch, which is marked by the crisis. It is not only a social and economic crisis, but also cultural and spiritual. This spiritual crisis is the consequence of people losing their creativity [Zhukova, 2016 p. 277-286].

Creativity is a central theme of Berdyaev's philosophy. Being an original thinker and an outstanding representative of Russian religious philosophy, Berdyaev presented the theme of creativity in the form of a modern spiritual manifesto. In his numerous works he outlined the forms of a new spirituality, distinguishing in it metaphysical and sociocultural perspectives. Berdyaev sees spirituality as the highest quality, value, and achievement of a person. Berdyaev believed that it was precisely the decrease of spiritual life to the goal of personal recovery that led to the denial of creativity, which was condemned and relegated "to the nonspiritual sphere." This makes creativity a product of secularization, profane spirituality is "merely tolerated," while recovery is possible only within sacred reality. Berdyaev emphatically proclaims: "The new spirituality is the rejection of the salvation of the elite" [Бердяев, 1994 p. 217-227]. The central idea of Berdyaev's philosophy is the idea of saving humanity through creativity, as this is the answer of the created to the Creator.

Conclusion

The period between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was crucial for the Russian society and also for the development of Russian sociology. All the events, social, economic and political changes and also the revolution, had a great impact to the work of Russian sociologists and philosophers. Many of them were inspired by the

Western (mostly European) sociology, but all of them reflected the events happened in Russia in their works in different ways.

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Language History Contents in the Curriculum Concept of Teaching Croatian Language

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Abstract

The paper analyses the scope of educational content pertaining to the history of language in the curriculum of the subject Croatian Language. The context of this examination is the curricular reform in the Republic of Croatia, which is conceived as a turning point of Croatian education away from the traditional didactic concept toward the curriculum concept. The issue of curriculum contents' scope as part of the curriculum teaching concept is concretised by comparing the representation of contents pertaining to the history of Croatian language in the proposal of the *National Curriculum Framework* with the current *Plan and Programme for Primary and Secondary Schools*. The comparison demonstrates that in the proposal of the National Curriculum Framework educational content in the area of the history of Croatian language has been considerably reduced in relation to the current plan and programme. The same document, *National Curriculum Framework*, cites identity building as one of the values of education, emphasizing the construction of a national identity and, in particular, the need to preserve and develop the Croatian language. The question arises of how to attain the stated value of education in the absence of transferring the contents of Croatian linguistic history to pupils. Undoubtedly, students need both – knowledge of language content and communicative competence in the mother tongue. It is therefore necessary to harmonise the relationship between educational content and the acquisition of communication skills in teaching practice and in school documents.

Keywords: history of Croatian language, Croatian educational reform, curriculum

Introduction

Croatian schooling has been faced with the task of questioning, reflecting on and defining guidelines and topics for national education by accepting the curriculum approach to education and training. Since education and upbringing represent areas of general social inclusion, as well as of

private and social interest, the Croatian educational and scientific community and the wider public have been involved with the issues of reform of Croatian education since the mid-90s to the present. There are two fundamental reasons for this, new socio-economic circumstances that require a new educational framework and accession to the European Union with its necessity to align the national educational framework with the European one.

The first reason is based on the fact that education is of ever increasing importance in individuals' lives and that the success of an individual in a modern society, which aspires to be knowledge society, is largely dependent on it. This term, which is widespread in educational, economic and political discourses, has changed semantically when compared with the understanding of its creator Daniel Bell (1999), who conceived of such a society as a civilization in transition from the industrial to the post-industrial era. Industrial economy is replaced by the economy of information, ideas, entrepreneurship and services, while the foundation of development is knowledge. Knowledge society is understood as a community in which knowledge has value in the production of profits. Types of knowledge that drive the expansion of the market, increase competitiveness and economic growth are stimulated. Knowledge is organized according to market criteria, even to the point that demands for productivity is imposed on schools. Emphasis is placed on the educational outcomes and achievements that are expressed quantifiably and objectively. Schools are compared against one another and evaluated according to those outcomes. Standardization of educational products is introduced by emphasizing key competences (2002) which a pupil needs to acquire. It should be noted that this trend in education development is met with numerous critiques, and the question remains whether education and upbringing should be viewed from a market perspective.

The second reason for the necessity to reform the Croatian education system relates to the moment of social, economic and political changes in which Croatian society has been entangled since the 1990s, primarily with respect to preparations for accession to the European Union and since 2013 as a full member of the European Union. It is necessary to bring the national school system closer to the European system of education. In these integration processes it necessarily comes to pass that a smaller society, such as Croatia, feels a kind of fear of possible loss of their own identity in the circumstances of inclusion in the multiethnic community of European peoples. Education and upbringing are thereby posed as the only way to transfer cultural identity. On the other hand, individuals must be educated so that they are prepared for equal life in the wider community, European and the world-community, as well as to know about others and those who are different in order that they may live out acceptance and tolerance as a

fundamental civilization value. An individual should acquire, in addition to knowledge, the necessary skills to become involved in the European labour market by means of their education. The core competences for lifelong learning and the ongoing process of obtaining knowledge need to be acquired. This complex role of education necessitates clear determination of educational content which are of national and identity significance. It is also necessary to wisely measure the ratio of knowledge and skills in education.

Short overview of the educational tradition in Croatia

The practice of organised education in Croatian territory can be traced back to the 9th century, i.e. to the beginning of the Benedictine activity among Croats. In addition to church schools, there were also civic schools, and general education first began to undergo systematisation in the 18th century, at the time of enlightened absolutism of the Habsburg authorities. In the 19th century, schooling would become compulsory for all children, with the Law on Public School and Schools of Education in 1874. State education of teachers, crucial to the development of schooling, was established only in the mid-19th century when a specific teacher-training school was opened in 1849 in Zagreb. Teachers who were educated there, as well as many teachers who were active before them, relied on the Christian European tradition of teaching in their work. This tradition is marked to a significant extent by a number of great European pedagogues, ranging from Jan Amos Komensky (1592-1670), the author of the *Great Didactic (Didactica magna, 1657)* to Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1823), Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1814), Georges Kerschensteiner (1854-1932) and Ignaz Johann von Felbiger (1724-1788), whose methodological manual for teachers *Methodenbuch für Lehrer der deutschen Schulen in den k. k. Erbländern* was published in 1774 and was used in the entire Habsburg Monarchy area. Croatian educational practice was also based on it until 1849 when pedagogical and didactic manuals were published in Croatian: *Znanost odhranjivanja za porabu učiteljskih sēmeništah; Posebna znanost podučavanja, ili naputak k uspēšnom predavanju pojedinih naukah (Didactica specialis)* and *Obćenita znanost podučavanja (Didactica generalis)*; according to Cuvaj, 1910). In continuity with this practice of schooling and teacher education, the Croatian education system changed and developed further, but it remained grounded in the traditional European manner of organizing and teaching based on teaching plan and programme as the foundational teaching document. The teaching plan is a "school document which prescribes educational areas, i.e. teaching subjects studied in a particular school, followed by the order of study of those areas or subjects by class or semester, and the weekly number of classes for a particular area or subject" (Težak 1996: 192). The teaching programme on the other hand is a "school document that prescribes the

scope, depth, order of educational contents in each subject" (Težak 1996: 192). Changes in teaching took place within traditionally conceived didactics and the German tradition of education.

Contemporary Croatian education – curricular reform

Croatian education has begun to shift from traditional didactics to the curriculum concept of education at the beginning of the 21st century. The concept of the curriculum (according to Matijević 2010, Jukić 2010, Bežen 2008) originates in American education science and is significantly different from the concept of plan and programme for teaching as found in European didactics. In addition to numerous other specifics (cf. Marsh, 2009), the curriculum is mainly understood as an educational concept that places the active pupil and the development of his/her competences in the centre of focus, unlike the concept of teaching plan and programme that focuses on educational content and their transfer to pupils. The curriculum concept is deeply focused on the outcome, the product of education – learning outcomes and pupils' competences of, while the teaching plan and programme approach is focused on content inputs. It is worth pointing out that contemporary understanding of the curriculum views it as far more than a list of educational outcomes. The curriculum is a complex concept that leads participants in the educational process to set goals (see Wiggins, McTighe 2006). Proceeding from the national curriculum level, the concept is concretised in teaching by subject curriculum. Thus, Jack C. Richards (2001) includes the following in the design of the subject curriculum for language learning: planning needs, goals and outcomes of teaching, as well as planning the course of classes, teaching methods, teaching materials and evaluation. In the context of increasingly powerful globalisation forces, the curriculum concept of education has begun to be more widely accepted in Europe since the 1980s. The term enters Croatian pedagogical terminology at the end of the 20th century, but the process of school reform in accordance with the curriculum concept started in the first years of the 21st century. The work on curricular reform in Croatia is ongoing.

The previous section presents a historical overview of the circumstances relevant for education in Croatia, which represents the basis for understanding the slowness and painstaking nature of the contemporary process of reforming Croatian education. The matter of fact is that the didactic and curriculum concept of education are two different, culturally conditioned conceptions (see Westbury 2000, Jukić 2010). The former is Germanic and the other is Anglo-Saxon. Croatian education has been tied to the didactic, German tradition of education since very early ages and prominently so since the late 18th century. Like with every well-trodden path,

it is not simple to redirect Croatian education from the traditional didactic path to a modern curriculum.

The following strategic documents represent the basis for Croatian educational reform is: Strategy of Development of the Republic of Croatia “Croatia in the 21st Century” (2001) and *Education Sector Development Plan 2005-2010* (2005). A new *Teaching Plan and Programme for Primary Education* was adopted in 2006 within the framework of the Croatian National Educational Standard (HNOS) project. The *National Framework Curriculum for Pre-School Education and General Compulsory and Secondary Education* was adopted in 2011. *The National Curriculum Framework: Proposal* was adopted in 2016, as well as the documents supplementing it – national curricula (e.g. the *National Curriculum for Primary Education: Proposal*), subject curricula (e.g. *National Curriculum for Croatian Language: Proposal*). The documents have been appraised as needing further development after public discussion was closed and work on education reform continued.

Croatian linguistic history contents between the traditional and curriculum concept

Croatian is the official language in the Republic of Croatia and the mother tongue for the largest number of pupils. As a teaching subject it is represented in all divisions of all types of elementary and secondary education. It is also a language in which other school subjects are taught, except in foreign language teaching.

By virtue of the legacy of traditional didactics, the Croatian language subject in primary school consists of the following areas: Language, Linguistic Expression, Literature, Media Culture, with Initial Reading and Writing in the first grade of primary school. The subject in secondary vocational schools and grammar schools has three areas: Croatian language, Croatian and world literature, Linguistic expression.

Croatian language in the proposal of the curriculum concept

The subject of Croatian language would be conceptualised in three domains with the proposed curricular reform: communication and language, literature and creativity, culture and media. It is evident from the change in the name of the language field that the proposal of the *National Curriculum for Croatian Language* (2016) emphasises communication and pupils' communication skills. Communication skills are developed in the areas of listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, while the domain of Communication and Language encompasses the development of "self-awareness as a person who builds, respects and expresses their (linguistic)

identity and respects the identity of others within the framework of linguistic and cultural-linguistic community" (ibid.: 5).

The aim of Croatian language teaching is to strengthen the competence in communicating in the mother tongue, which is the first in a series of eight key competences for lifelong learning (2006). In addition, teaching mother tongue also serves the acquisition of knowledge from the sociolinguistic area, knowledge of the historical-linguistic domain and knowledge of the value of identity. It also serves the achievement of the eight competence (2006), cultural awareness and expression. Cultural awareness includes knowledge and awareness of local, national and European cultural heritage and their position in the world. The document states that educating pupils to understand the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe and the world is of crucial importance for the purpose of protecting said diversity.

The fundamental document of the curriculum reform, *National Curriculum Framework: Proposal*, displays awareness of the aforementioned (2016: 12), stating: „The values which the *National Curriculum Framework* pays particular attention to are: knowledge, solidarity, identity, responsibility. Complementary to these four values, the following are additionally emphasized: integrity, respect, health and entrepreneurship.“ The value of identity is thereby elaborated upon (ibid.):

Nowadays, in the age of globalization in which there is a strong blending of different cultures at work, as well as of worldviews and religions, man should become a citizen of the world while preserving their national identity, culture, moral and spiritual heritage. In particular, it is important to maintain and develop Croatian language and take heed of its proper use. Education and upbringing need to awake, stimulate and develop a personal identity and connect it at the same time with respect for diversity.

The values of education which are framed in this way can be realised by making contents of the sociolinguistic area and the contents of Croatian cultural and linguistic heritage more familiar and accessible to pupils. Namely, the use of three scripts (historical use of Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin) and three dialects (Chakavian, Kajkavian, and Shtokavian dialect) are identity components of Croatian language (cf. Pranjković 2007). In addition, the Glagolitic script as a constituent of Croatian language identity enters into all of the other identity aspects with which the language is related, either as a means of expressing other identities or as an indispensable part of cultural identity which also includes linguistic identity. Furthermore, the heritage of scrip is also a part of supranational and European culture.

Given the fact that the framework curriculum document set out the cited mode of the value of education and the goals of education, we would

expect that contents which realise these are represented in the subject curriculum. However, insight into the contents of the proposal for the *National Curriculum for Croatian Language* (2016) does not confirm that expectation.

Representation of historical-linguistic contents in the proposal of the subject curriculum

Analysis of the *Proposal of the National Curriculum for Croatian Language* (2016) demonstrated minimal representation of content pertaining to the history of Croatian language and linguistic heritage.

There are designated contents from the history of Croatian language only in the 8th grade of primary school and at the following level of knowledge (ibid. 16): "The pupil explores information on texts and events, of their own choosing, which are relevant for the development of Croatian language." The elaboration of the outcome A.8.7. (ibid. 114), pertaining to the selection of texts that are important for the history of the Croatian language, does not recognise the criterion of choice. Any text from the Cyrillic corpus is excluded, although it is cited that as an outcome pupils will be able to independently explain the three-scripts and three languages in relation to Croatian language. Among important events for the history of Croatian language, only the Illyrian movement (19th century) is mentioned.

In secondary school education, the history of Croatian language is represented only in the 3rd grade of grammar school, with an emphasis on the dynamics of language change in inter-linguistic relations. Three-year secondary schools, which usually function as the end of formal education for their pupils, are completely devoid of contents representing the history of Croatian language and Croatian linguistic heritage.

Conclusion

The curricular reform presents Croatian society with another occasion for examination of educational values and contents, didactic procedures and the purpose and the goal of education. The proposal of the *National Curriculum Framework* (2016), the basic document of curricular reform, emphasises the value of building pupils' cultural and national identity, as well as the value of preserving cultural heritage. These values, goals and the development of cultural awareness open up the possibility for contents pertaining to the history of Croatian language and linguistic heritage in education at primary and secondary levels. However, the proposal of the *National Curriculum for Croatian Language* (2016) virtually neglects any representation of contents which would realise those values. Compared to current plans and programmes for primary and secondary education, contents from the history of Croatian language and linguistic heritage have been

significantly reduced in curriculum documents, even completely excluded from three-year vocational education. Therefore, it is an open question as to whether or not the minimal presence, even absence, of language-historical content can achieve the goals and values stipulated by the *National Curriculum Framework* (2016). The background of the problem is actually the skill of aligning the content that pupils should be presented with (in order to build stipulated values) and dedication to the acquisition of communication skills. Undoubtedly, pupils need both, communication skills and knowledge of language. The challenge for schools and the curriculum is how to harmonise content mastery and skills mastery, without ignoring either of these.

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Stereotypes and Manipulation in the Scientific and Medial Narrations About Poland's Electoral Space

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Abstract

Much attention on voting behaviour is paid of not only scholars but also the media so these considerations inevitably grow shallower and subordinated to ideologisation and tabloidisation. The referred to analyses are therefore based not so on sound knowledge but rather on superficial associations and stereotypes, if not ignorance. Several types of the ailments would be discussed, viz. (1) overestimating of the results of opinion polls, (2) manipulation of the media, (3) the trivialisation of reasons for casting invalid votes and voting abstention, (4) the arrogant political interpretations of the electoral results, (5) incompetent prattling about the electorate flow and (6) a superficial interpretation of the role of the old political divisions in shaping the electoral space. The empirical analysis for Poland indicated that the nineteenth-century political divisions account for as little as 4% of the voting behaviour. This result contrast much to the general belief in the structural role of these divisions. The belief, widely published in the media, is based on purely cartographic rather than statistical analyses. The cartographic analyses are misleading because: (1) they show areas with a relative rather than absolute dominance of political phenomena, usually the support for a party; (2) they show a general trend rather than any clear-cut gradients or boundaries. The interpretation of cartographic analyses is therefore mainly intuitive and based on associations rather than facts. The spatial variation of voting behaviour is, however, quantifiable, so it can be calculated rather than interpreted in purely graphic categories. The perception of social and political phenomena in society is shaped by media coverage. Manipulation and indoctrination in the media is a part of a more extensive phenomenon of public ignorance.

Keywords: Electoral space, stereotype, manipulation, trivialisation, public ignorance, Poland

Introduction

In the context of the analysis of electoral space, three categories are worth to distinguish, i.e. (1) political behaviour, (2) electoral behaviour and (3) voting behaviour. The first ones are human reactions to stimuli coming from political phenomena and processes (Zieliński 1999). The second ones are more or less expressive reactions to political stimuli resulting from elections as an institution (Kavetsky 2010); they include voting, making decisions and the engagement in elections (Wróbel 2000). The third ones include participation, the manifestation of preferences and obstruction by casting invalid votes (Kavetsky 2010).

Considerations of electoral and voting behaviour are noteworthy not only of professional analysts, but also of the media. As a result, these considerations inevitably grow shallower and subordinated to ideologisation and tabloidisation. These are therefore based not so on sound knowledge but rather on superficial associations and stereotypes, if not ignorance. A question, however, arises whether or not medial information and texts identified as scientific can be analysed as a common source of knowledge about the electoral space. Within the positivist and, especially, neopositivist paradigms the answer is negative because medial information is treated as discourses not subjected to verification-falsification – in contrast to ‘serious’ empirical social sciences. Within the humanistic paradigm, however, the boundary between scientific and journalist texts is fuzzy because science is a source of both knowledge and ideology. Valuable formally journalistic texts extend therefore the knowledge of the social world no less than formally scientific texts. As a source of popular knowledge about the social world, journalistic publications serve not only as an intermediary between scientific knowledge and non-professional audience, but they often replace the former. The analysis of medial information and language is thus an important sociological issue. In the present article, manipulation applies basically to medial information while stereotypes refer to the scientific narration about electoral space.

In this article, six pointed to main ailments are discussed, viz. (1) the overestimation of the results of opinion polls, (2) medial manipulations, (3) trivialisation of reasons for casting invalid votes and absenteeism, (4) arrogant political interpretations of the electoral results, (5) incompetent prattling about the flow of the electorate, and (6) superficial interpretations of the role of the old political divisions in the formation of Poland’s electoral space.

Opinion polls vs voting results

A significant part of the analyses of the electoral results in Poland applied to the parliamentary and presidential level, while analyses of

regional and local elections were much less interesting for scholars and, especially, the media (Rykiel 2011). Greater interest, especially of the media, only aroused the results of the regional and local governments' elections of November 2014. Four main causes of this fact can be identified, i.e. (1) overwhelmingly numerous invalid votes, (2) an extremely large – in relation to past experience – divergence between forecasts and results, (3) the indicated extraordinary inefficiency of the State Electoral Commission, and (4) extensive and sensational comments from the media and opposition politicians.

Formally, the function of electoral polls is to anticipate the results of elections. The accuracy of electoral forecasts is therefore a measure of the reliability and methodological correctness of individual opinion poll agencies. The actual results of elections are therefore the basis from which the deviations of the surveyed results are examined. At the November of 2011 local and regional elections, a reversal of this rule happened. An unreliable survey of an agency was taken as a departure point, the deviation from which was interpreted by the media and opposition politicians in terms of the inconsistency of the calculation of votes or even electoral frauds. The medial manipulation was a context of this sensation.

For the 'non-professionalised sociologists', electoral polls appeared more reliable than the results of the election. It is worth to remind here that the election results show what *all* voters *opted* for on the ballot papers and the percentage apply to valid votes. The polls show, on the contrary, what *some* voters *say* they opted for and the percentage apply to all respondents. Polls indicate therefore 0% of invalid votes or few if some respondents admit they had threw blank card to the ballot box. Interestingly, this simple fact was too difficult to understand by some politicians, especially the opposition.

Medial manipulations and sensationalism

In the discussed here context, medial manipulations include two main themes, i.e. (1) biased selections of participants in medial indoctrination or quarrels, referred to misleadingly as debates, and (2) the trivialisation of information about the results of local and regional elections. The latter theme is discussed herein. The trivialisation applies to the reduction of the information about the outcome of the elections to one of their levels, i.e. the regional assemblies. It is because this spatial scale allows to easily compare the political results of the elections. In this way, the results of the local elections are ignored in such comparisons, i.e. those of the (1) communal councils, (2) mayors, (3) county councils and (4) Warsaw's city districts.

The importance of elections in different spatial scales is, however, different for voters, and this is represented by the knowledge of the

respective candidates' names. In 2010, 61% of voters knew names of the candidates for mayors, 28% to the communal councils, 18% to the county councils and only 7% to the regional assemblies (Zbieranek, n.d.). This suggests that the knowledge of the candidates represents a distance decay function between the seat of the elected body and the voters' place of residence. The Warsaw's city districts seem one exception from this pattern because the districts are perceived as poorly acquainted and arbitrarily delimited bureaucratic units (Rykiel 2016).

During the local and regional elections, the media are merely excited by the results of the elections to the regional assemblies and mayors of cities while voters outside large cities are mainly interested in the election of their communal and, less often, county councils whereas those of the regional assemblies are much less interesting (Gendźwił 2015), the number of invalid votes on individual spatial levels being a good illustration of this rule. This may result from the fact that local voters do not identify themselves with the current voivodships that politicians had allocated to in 1999 without asking the concerned people about their opinion and even openly ignoring the opinion in cases. In this context, the concept of the sociological vacuum between the kinship bonds and the national sentiments (Nowak 1979) seems still valid in Poland. In the analysed context, the vacuum is manifested in the alienation of a considerable part of voters with the higher levels of local and, especially, regional governments (Gendźwił 2015).

Individual voting strategies for individual bodies can be observed. This results from the distance decay function but also from the degree of the partisanship vs personalisation of the candidates, attributed to the individual levels of elections. It can be hypothesised (Rykiel 2016) that (1) a concrete candidate is voted for to the communal council, (2) and the mayor of a small town, (3) a concrete candidate including his/her party affiliation for a mayor of a large city, (4) a local committee to the Warsaw's district council, (5) a local or supra-local committee, possibly including its party affiliation, to the county council, (6) a nationwide, usually party, committee to the regional assembly.

In media coverage, this complex pattern of electoral and voting behaviour is being reduced to voting to regional assemblies. Moreover, the quasi-entertainment television post-election programmes, preferring speed of disinformation at the expense of information reliability, presented a quarter-to-quarter change in Poland's map with voivodships highlighted in uniform colours of the party, which – according to the media – won the election to individual regional assemblies. This had little substantive significance in the proportional electoral system in Poland at the national and regional levels, in which no single party till 2015 won a mandate to govern individually.

The presented results were in fact merely ones to the regional assemblies, i.e. a slight part of local and regional elections, moreover the one that was the least interesting for the electorate although the most interesting for the media because, however, of the ease of the presentation rather than the substantial significance. From this information a main media coverage was made, which indicated that the electoral, if not political, space of Poland is divided between the winning and the losing parties. With the presentation of the colour maps, no complete results were waiting for but sensational message was broadcasted of who the winner in the given moment was (Noch 2014). After the votes were counted, it turned out who the real winner *de facto* was. Most importantly, however, in no single moment the presented map was one of the results of the local election (Kłosowski 2014).

This journalists' 'impatience', as it was euphemistically called (Lepczyński 2014) or, rather, their thoughtlessness, was cynically used by politicians. On this basis, the main opposition party considered the results of the election as 'untrue, unreliable, if not defrauded' (Kaczyński o wyborach, n.d.). The basis of such a conviction was repeatedly expressed, disturbing opposition, although curious, statement of incompatibility of the election results with the earlier polls. This conviction was not weakened after the complete results of the election to the regional assemblies had been published, indicating that the results did not differ significantly from the ones of the exit poll (Noch 2014). Sensational medial information was also aroused much excitement about the increase in electoral support for the Peasant Party (PSL) in the port city of Gdynia in relation to the previous election, even though the actual data showed that the information was 'absolute nonsense' (Noch 2014), resulted from an accidental comment on the Facebook, if not a typos, mindlessly or tendenciously picked up by the right-wing media (Kozak 2014).

The trivialisation of the causes of absenteeism and the casting of invalid votes

Electoral turnout is a measure of the political activity of citizens and exposing their attitudes towards the composition of elected bodies. The opposite of turnout is not only election absenteeism, but also obstruction (Rykiel 2016), which involves the casting of invalid votes. The latter has three aspects. Firstly, technical mistakes during the voting procedure can be identified that can be interpreted in terms of random error. Secondly, a misunderstanding of the technique of voting can be identified, which includes three main reasons, i.e. (1) the social or political impairment of voters, causing their inability to understand voting techniques (McAllister, Makai, 1993; Knack, Kropf, 2003); (2) the carelessness of the body governing of the

election, which does not take into account the impairment in the design of the ballot papers; (3) a conscious manipulation of this body. Thirdly, conscious casting of invalid votes can be identified, which can be interpreted as a symptom of obstruction (Rykiel 2015) or, at least, a lack of interest in elections to a specific body. The cause of such behaviour may be the aware contestation of the electoral law or the party system (Kavetsky 2010) rather than the political system. Those casting invalid votes can therefore be considered as members of two informal parties: the Party of the Irrational and the Contest Party. The former usually mark the name of more than one candidate on the paper during the ballot, while the latter used to cast a blank ballot paper. The latter voters are twice as many in the case of elections to regional assemblies than to county councils (Zbieranek, n.d.), which confirms the aforementioned distance decay function between the voter's residence and the seat of the elected body. The significance of the distance decay function is also confirmed by the total percentage of invalid votes in the elections of individual bodies between 2002 and 2010 (Table 1), however up to the regional level, while the distance decay function is not revealed in the national and European elections (Table 1). This rule can be interpreted in terms of the sociological vacuum by Stefan Nowak (1979) that extends between the local and national communities.

Table 1. Percentage of invalid votes in the elections of individual bodies, 2001-2010

Body	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	average
Mayor (1st round)		2,23				1,91			1,66	1,93
Mayor (2 nd round)		1,12				1,26			1,08	1,15
Communal council		4,18				3,77			3,66	3,87
County council		8,59				8,30			8,18	8,36
Regional assembly		14,43				12,70			12,06	13,06
Sejm	3,99				3,60		2,04			3,21
Senate	3,54				3,48		1,73			2,92
European Parliament				2,67				1,77		2,22
President (1st round)					0,66				0,70	1,22
President (2nd round)					1,01				1,16	1,09
EU accession referendum			0,72							0,72

Source: own compilation and calculation based on Zbieranek (n.d.)

In this context, electoral absenteeism can be considered as a symptom of voter turnout (negative frequency). The political results of elections differ therefore from the legal results. The latter, officially published, are referred to the number of validly casted votes while the political results should be

referred to the number of the eligible voters (Kavetsky 2010; Rykiel 2016). Taking into account the turnout in subsequent parliamentary elections in the post-transitional quarter of a century, it should be stated that the largest political party in Poland is the informal Non-Voters' Party. All proportions regarded, it also applies to the local and regional election of 2014, in which the Contest Party and the the Party of the Irrational took fifth place.

In the local and regional election of 2014, a considerably higher than before percentage of invalid votes (Gendźwił 2015) to regional assemblies can be noticed, and this seem to confirm the weakest regional consciousness in relation to the extent of other level of territorial consciousness. According to the 2006 and 2010 data, in the elections of the regional assemblies over 70% of the invalid votes was represented by empty ballot papers (Kłosowski 2014), i.e. indicating a lack of interest in the body or contesting it. In 2014, the number of invalid votes in the local and, especially, regional election exceeded 18% (Gendźwił 2015), and this raised far-reaching concern of the largest opposition party with the possibility of electoral fraud, although it should have rather aroused the anxiety of all the parties represented on the political scene due to such a large representation of the Contest Party.

The arrogance of the interpretation of the political results of elections

The choice made by voters is purely formal, if not ritual, its meaning should not be therefore overestimated (Zybertowicz 2002), especially as far as the distribution of seats in representative bodies is concerned. In fact, decisive for the collective decision who will rule is the electoral system rather than the preferences of voters (Rykiel 2004). Little information about the preferences of majority and minority can thus be obtained from ballot papers and polling ballots. One can only conclude, which party or candidate for the elected position the majority and minority considered as lesser evil (Harrop, Miller, 1987). The results of elections can therefore only give a general insight into the voters' preferences. This information is, however, arrogantly interpreted by politicians, and sometimes even by political scientists, which leads to misunderstandings, occasionally painful not only for politicians but also for voters.

Four examples of such arrogance can be provided in the Polish context (cf. Rykiel 2016). Firstly, the results of the 4th June of 1989 contract election can be referred to, which was interpreted as a general rejection of communism. The voters have, however, always a chance to answer only the question they are asked. In the election in question, voters were not asked whether they were for or against

communism, but whether or not they wished to have the Senate and 35% of seats in the Sejm occupied by the opposition, under the constitutionally guaranteed leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR).

Secondly, the results of the first free general election of 1991 can be referred to. Due to the unformed political scene and a lack of election threshold, the Sejm was politically fragmented. The third most popular party in terms of the election results got only 9% of validly casted votes, i.e. the support of less than 5% of eligible voters. Having, however, got 11% of the seats and joining the government coalition, the party imposed with enormous arrogance restrictive acts in symbolic and moral matters, referring to its alleged representation of 'the Catholic majority'.

Thirdly, the results of the 1993 general election can be referred to, in which the left-wing parties – both post-communist and post-Solidarity – won. This fact was interpreted as a deep attachment of voters to the leftist values (Rykiel 2004), even though the fatigue and even embarrassment of voters with the rule of the right-wing parties seems a sufficient basis for the interpretation of the election results.

Fourthly, the arrogant behaviour of the winning party after the general election of 2015 can be referred to. Having obtained the support of 18% of eligible voters but 40% of seats in the Sejm, this party, having no constitutional majority but referring to the undefined 'sovereign's will', began its rule with violent and manifested breaking not only the parliamentary customs and habits but also the constitution.

6. The alleged flow of the electorate

A permanent element of the post-election quasi-entertainment television programmes is the presentation of the alleged flow of the electorate in relation to the previous election. This flow is assessed on the basis of exit polls by asking selected respondents who they voted for in the previous election. The subject of the investigation is therefore the output rather than input population. Such investigations ignore therefore the most numerous on the Polish political scene the Non-Voters' Party of the previous period, even though some of its members could vote in the present election. Investigations of the flow of the electorate based on exit polls is therefore methodologically invalid.

Electoral preferences are based on general views on public affairs, they are not therefore formed by incidental circumstances. Even in periods of violent systemic changes, certain stability of political preferences persists. Contrary to medial information, the flow of electorate between parties is

sporadic. All parties lose some of their original supporters, usually, however, by demobilisation rather than transferring sympathy to other parties. New supporters are gaining from among those of uncategorised preferences (Duda 1997).

The role of the old political divisions in shaping Poland's electoral space

The influence of the historical past, including the old spatial-political divisions, on spatial variation of voting behaviour in Poland was repeatedly noticed and often analysed. In the analyses, attention was paid to the historical and cultural foundations of the spatial variation of political activity and electoral preferences (Raciborski 1997; Zarycki 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2007a, 2007b; Bartkowski 2003; Kowalski 2003, 2004; Skwierzyński 2008), and even to the civilisation differentiation of these foundations. In these analyses, a general category of 'space' was used, while narrower categories of electoral, and at least social, space was implied.

The aforementioned spatial variation was almost exclusively related to the non-existent for almost a hundred years political division of Poland among the three empires and the related phantom borders (Jańczak 2015), or at least in four civilisation zones, i.e. the areas of the three former empires and the 'regained' territories granted to Poland in 1945 (Hryniewicz, Jałowiecki, 1997). The individual zones were then analysed in terms of regional political structures with their specific regional modes of production (Kavetsky 2010), and even as historical cultural regions (ibidem), even though they consisted of rather than formed individual regions (Rykiel 2000).

In this context, three main approaches were applied in the study of spatial variation of voting behaviour (Rykiel 2016). The first was limited to a general description of the degree of the development of civil society in individual civilisation zones (Kowalski 2000). In this interpretative framework, it was assumed that the political attitudes formed in the nineteenth century, i.e. during the industrial and national revolutions and the development of capitalism in Central Europe, are still valid because they to the greatest extent form the spatial differentiation of social capital (Zarycki 2015) and thus also civic activity in Poland (Hryniewicz, Jałowiecki, 1997).

In the second approach, it was assumed that voting behaviour is only explained by the current social and economic situation, statistical analyses are therefore sufficient to reveal the relationship between electoral support and socio-economic characteristics of areas (Parysek et al, 1991).

In the third approach, represented in journalism, associations and stereotypes were accepted as explanatory categories, and the general spatial trend of support for dominant political parties was interpreted as a sharp and

unequivocal divide of political space (Janicki, Władyka, 2005). In this approach, evident errors of the delimitation of civilisation zones occurred (cf. Rykiel 2012). This approach has a negligible explanatory value, but the severe power of the intellectual destruction of the unprepared media consumers.

The quantification of the influence of the old territorial divisions on voting behaviour remains an important research issue. The analysis on a national scale indicated that the division in the four civilisation zones explained only 11.46% of variation of the voting behaviour in the 1993 general election (Kabath 2002). More recent results are presented beneath.

The Kendall correlations between the support for the presidential candidates in 2015 and the four civilisation zones were presented elsewhere¹²⁰ (Rykiel 2016). The related determination coefficients are presented in Table 2. It is worth noting that the territorial affiliation to only one civilisation zone explained more than 20% and merely in the case of two main candidates. On average, the territorial affiliation to the four civilisation zones only in the case of the two main candidates explained more than 10% of the voting behaviour while for all candidates this territorial pattern explained only slightly more than 4% of the variance.

Table 2. Kendall correlation determination coefficients (%) of the affiliation to the four civilisation zones for the electoral support of the presidential candidates, 2015

Candidates	Post-Austrian	Post-Russian	Post-Prussian	Regained 1945	<i>Average</i>
Grzegorz Braun	2.92	0.58	0.96	2.06	<i>1.63</i>
Andrzej Duda	9.32	12.24	5.10	21.16	<i>11.95</i>
Adam Jarubas	1.96	16.99	1.32	7.03	<i>6.83</i>
Bronisław Komorowski	6.67	17.32	7.60	20.90	<i>13.12</i>
Janusz Korwin-Mikke	0.49	1.32	0.08	0.98	<i>0.72</i>
Marian Kowalski	0.01	4.43	1.05	2.19	<i>1.92</i>
Paweł Kukiz	1.35	1.44	0.01	4.98	<i>1.94</i>
Magdalena Ogórek	9.61	0.05	2.92	1.83	<i>3.60</i>
Janusz Palikot	6.50	0.08	0.03	5.11	<i>2.93</i>
Paweł Tanajno	1.02	0.00	0.67	0.04	<i>0.43</i>
Jacek Wilk	1.31	0.27	0.74	0.13	<i>0.61</i>
<i>Average</i>	<i>3.74</i>	<i>4.98</i>	<i>1.86</i>	<i>6.04</i>	4.15

Source: own calculations based on data by Elżbieta Kabath

These results demitologise therefore the role of the historical heritage in contemporary voting behaviour since it was indicated that only a small and decreasing over time part of voting behaviour can be explained by this legacy. The significance of the nineteenth-century territorial divisions should

¹²⁰ The calculations were made by dr Elżbieta Kabath, whom the present author thanks for sharing the results.

not be overestimated (Kabath 2000; Kabath, Rykiel, 2003). It is worth mentioning, however, that the role of the historical heritage in voting behaviour is, in essence, an analysis of the role of particular territorial divisions. The significance of the division into four civilisation zones can thus be contrasted with the significance of other territorial divisions (Rykiel 2016).

For comparison, an analysis of the role of physical-geographic divisions in explaining voting behaviour is presented beneath. The Kendall correlations between the support for the presidential candidates in 2015 and the three physical-geographic megaregions (Kondracki 2002) were analysed. The related determination coefficients were presented in Table 3. On average, this spatial pattern explained only for the two most serious candidates more than 4% of the variation in voting behaviour, while for all candidates this pattern explained slightly over 2% of the variance.

Table 3. Kendall correlation determination coefficients (%) of the affiliation to the three physical-geographic megaregions for the electoral support of the presidential candidates, 2015

Candidates	Extra-Alpine Central Europe	East European Lowland	Carpathian Region	<i>Average</i>
Grzegorz Braun	3.61	0.32	3.41	2.45
Andrzej Duda	7.24	0.00	10.55	5.93
Adam Jarubas	0.36	0.51	1.72	0.87
Bronisław Komorowski	5.37	0.00	7.89	4.42
Janusz Korwin-Mikke	1.16	0.47	0.52	0.72
Marian Kowalski	1.02	2.00	0.00	1.01
Paweł Kukiz	1.60	0.16	1.45	1.07
Magdalena Ogórek	5.90	0.09	10.21	5.40
Janusz Palikot	3.44	0.04	5.87	3.12
Paweł Tanajno	1.34	0.13	1.17	0.88
Jacek Wilk	1.44	0.12	1.31	0.96
<i>Average</i>	2.95	0.35	4.01	2.44

Source: own calculations based on data by Elżbieta Kabath

It can be, of course, argued that the explanation of the spatial pattern of voting behaviour on the basis of physical-geographic regionalisation is substantively meaningless, the fact that the physical-geographic megaregions explain only 2% of these behaviours is therefore intuitively correct. In this context, it must be noted that the division of Poland into four civilisation zones explains only twice better these behaviours, although this spatial pattern is commonly referred to as a significant pattern of the spatial variations in voting behaviour in Poland. It must therefore be stated that cartographic analyses of voting behaviour in Poland are misleading for two main reasons. First, they show areas of relative superiority of certain political

phenomena, usually support of the candidate or the electoral committee, rather than the unequivocal dominance of these phenomena. Secondly, cartographic analyses show general spatial trends rather than any distinct gradients ('boundaries'). Interpretations of cartographic analyses are therefore more intuitive and based on associations rather than facts. To complement such analyses with statistical analyses is therefore highly desirable. As it was indicated above, the spatial variation of voting behaviour is quantifiable, it can be therefore counted instead of interpreted in purely graphical terms.

The general spatial pattern of voting behaviour is the result of the unification of political life on the national scale, with regional differences in politics generally losing their significance. This also applies to the division in four civilisation zones. Although the former political boundaries are still visible, the foundations of their existence have disappeared and the role of the contextual factors of voting behaviour grows (Rykiel 2016).

Conclusion

Numerous empirical analyses indicated the polarisation of Poland's political space between the right-wing areas in the south-eastern half of the country and the left-wing areas in the north-western half. This stability of the political scene can be attributed to patterns and institutions of long duration (Zarycki, Nowak, 2000). In spatial terms, two complementary patterns can be identified: (1) the zonal pattern of heterogeneous territorial units referring to civilisation zones, and (2) the non-zonal pattern of isolated large cities and urban agglomerations. Electoral universalism, however regionally embedded (Kavetsky 2010), is characteristic of urbanised areas.

The perception of social and political phenomena in society is shaped by the medial coverage. Manipulation and indoctrination in the media is a part of a larger whole (Rykiel 2012), i.e. a society of ignorance (Rykiel 2015). The category of stupidity seems an important explanatory variable in this context. Nowadays stupidity is identified with mediocrity. As the latter, stupidity is hidden under the pretence of social equality, constituting therefore a major obstacle to the pursuit of wisdom (Gadacz 2014: 103). Due to its commonality, it is characteristic of most members of society a category capable of real influence. It can therefore easily become the basis of large-scale social and cultural degeneration. The universality of stupidity carriers makes them a mindless power (ibidem). This allows to understand the mechanism for nonsense dissemination in society (When 2004).

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The Determinants of Participation in Vocational Training in Albania

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Abstract

The Albanian labour market has changed drastically during the last two decades as a result of technological developments, labour force mobility, structural unemployment etc. New skills are required by firms and many types of skills turned to be obsolete and no longer in demand. The article tries to analyze the situation in the Albanian labour market, in order to identify the actual trend and to explain theoretical reasons and determinants that cause it.

Using Labour Force Survey data it's aimed an empirical model to evaluate the determinants of employees' participation in vocational training in Albania. Based on the empirical literature such determinants can be person related, job related, and employer related.

The findings from this paper will be compared with findings from the literature in order to see differences and similarities.

Keywords: Labor market, gender discrimination, training incidence, Labor Force Survey

Introduction

As human capital theory (Becker, 1964) states, agents will invest in training if the discounted net present value of training benefits exceeds training costs. From the employer point of view, the decision will depend on expectations about the benefits that he will gain from post-training productivity and the costs for lost productivity during the training period and perhaps also costs for the training itself. For the individual, the decision to take part in training is made on expectations about the costs of training and about the benefits in terms of higher wages after training. So, training has the potential to increase the productivity of firms, increase the earnings for employees and enhance the skills and consequently the employability in the society. Therefore human capital contributes to economic growth

through raising the productivity of workers and facilitating the adoption and use of new technologies. Because we live in a globalized world and under technological pressure our skills became obsolete and we may need regular training to keep up with the changing requirements of new jobs. For this reason the training investments will be a vehicle for this skills upgrading.

In Albanian empirical studies there is no evidence on training incidence and on the determinants to participate in vocational training. Most of the studies have tended to focus on the role of educational attainment, which is more readily measured than training. This paper addresses this knowledge gap by providing an overview of the determinants of participation in vocational training in Albania. Nevertheless, vocational trainings in Albania have not yet achieved satisfactory level. Many firms are reluctant to train their workers especially the small and medium scale industries because of several reasons. The majority of them do not foresee training as important (Rahmah, 2000).

The aim of this paper is to determine which are the factors that determine the decision of an individual to receive a vocational qualification in Albanian labor market and to identify which individuals and groups are most likely (or least likely) to receive this type of training despite of its duration. In this paper we have used secondary data collected from the Albania Labor Force Surveys (LFS) of 2013. Unfortunately the latest data were not available online on the Albanian INSTAT page, so we based our study on latest data corresponding to year 2013. Logit-regression will be run in order to discover if the determinants and correlations found in literature are valid for Albania. Only participants who are employed and not retired will be considered for the analysis.

In the literature employees' participation in training has been described as varying by personal characteristics and job characteristics as well as the type of workplace in which an employee works. Empirical findings of other countries suggest that employed receive more training than the unemployed, who in turn receive more training than those not economically active (O'Connell, 1999). Also, employees who are regarded as being more likely to bring in larger returns to their employer from participating in training are more likely to receive training, such as younger employees, full-time employees and more highly educated employees. Workers in higher skill occupations are more likely to receive training and there is evidence that employees in larger firms or working in public sector are also more likely to receive training.

We hope that government authorities, organizations and trade unions to become aware more and more everyday that the human capital is a growth factor to succeed and so they need to encourage workers to upgrade their skills. In this context, the need to better understand the determinants of

participation in vocational training becomes very relevant. Our findings will help them to better understanding these variables that influence the probability to participate in vocational training in Albania.

Main Text

Base on theoretical and empirical studies the decision to undertake training will depend on number of personal and family characteristics (such as gender, age, marital status, qualification, occupation) and job and employer characteristics (as full-time or part-time status, sector, industry, and size of workplace). The following text details theoretical explanations, empirical studies and hypotheses related to each of our variables in the model.

Gender

Human capital theory (Becker, 1962) predicts that the incidence of training should be higher among men than women, and this has largely been confirmed in empirical studies (Greenhalgh and Stewart, 1987; Booth, 1991, 1993; Green, 1991, 1993, 1994; Arulampalam & Booth, 1997; Evertsson, 2004). Employers see higher risks in training female employees. Employers regard women employees as likely to leave work to have children. Women will have more family responsibilities after having children, which could possibly result in reduced hours of work or less interest in skill advancement or career progression at work (Oosterbeek, 1998). In general, there is little evidence to suggest any marked gender differences in access to training. For example, O'Connell (1999) shows that the incidence of training is similar for men and women across a range of OECD member countries.

However, Evertsson (2004) shows that in Sweden women are less likely than men to participate in formal on-the-job training. Improvements in the labour market status of women (Vanden Heuvel, 1997) possess 'advantages' in terms of particular characteristics associated with higher qualifications may increase the participation training of women. Base on the study of Simpson and Stroh (2002) the authors find an increased training participation by females as a consequence of technological changes such as the introduction of computers that have primarily affected female-intensive occupations in the 1990s. Using U.S. data, they report that around one-third of the gender difference in overall training incidence can be attributed to occupational differences, rising to 40 per cent for employer-supported training.

Hypothesis 1: Female gender is negatively related to participation in vocational training.

Age

Participation in training has also been found to decline over the life course (Ben-Porath, 1967). In the earlier stage of a career individuals tend to invest a greater amount of time into on-the-job training and that in the second half employees tend to consume their investment. Ben-Porath suggests that individuals reduce their investment in training as their age increases because the decreasing marginal utility of further investment in human capital will be combined with higher opportunity costs. The factors that increase training costs or reduce benefits would have a negative impact on training participation (Cloutier, Renaud and Morin, 2008) and would be different for employees with various ages.

One reason for this pattern may be that older workers have less time to reap the benefits from additional training so making the costs for training exceed the benefits. Secondly, older workers are less interested in participating in work-related training. Thirdly, people often maintain the stereotyped view that older workers are less productive than younger workers so age can be a barrier to train (Cully, 2000). The study of Arulampalam, Booth and Bryan (2003) reveals that negative correlation between age and training selection for men, but not for women.

Hypothesis 2: Age is negatively related to participation in vocational training.

Marital status

Based on the theory, the need to allocate the optimal share of time to both job and family might result in stress and a conflict of the different roles of an individual (Mark, 1977). Women who have family responsibility tend to participate in other activities such as training less than men, particularly those with children (Blundell, Dearden and Meghir 1996; Tharenou, 1997; Pischke, 2001). In support, Tharenou (1997) noted that a lower participation in training activities by women can be explained by the fact that “women with young children and spouses are thought less able to be more committed to paid labor than others because of family-caring responsibilities.” Even though women are increasingly educated and their labor force attachment has increased in the past decades, they have not abandoned their traditional role (Aryee, 1992).

Hypothesis 3: Married individuals are negatively related to participation in vocational training.

Education

A broad range of researches come to a similar conclusion that employee's education level increases the training probability substantially (Arulampalam and Booth, 1997). Training and qualifications have been

found to be complementary (Shields, 1998; OECD, 1999; Draca & Green, 2004). Employees with higher educational attainment are likely to be more experienced in undertaking formal learning, making further learning easier. Also, educated employees are more likely to have a body of knowledge that can be easily extended or supplemented through further training. For these reasons the educated workers are likely to have higher returns than for less educated workers (Booth, 1991; Long, Ryan, Burke & Hopkins, 2000). Therefore, establishments with a larger share of qualified employees tend to train more (Zwick, 2004a).

Hypothesis 4: Education level is positively linked with training participation.

Occupations

Studies that used employee surveys also found that training incidence and intensity vary by occupation. Occupations that require a higher skill level are more likely to participate in employer-funded training (Draca & Green, 2004). To maintain the occupation worker will participate in a higher level of training. Occupational groups identified as having the highest training participation rates include professionals, managers and technicians, while employees in relatively unskilled jobs such as laboring tend to receive the least training (Gobbi, 1998).

Hypothesis 5: High skilled occupations are positively linked with training participation.

Industry

Earlier researchers have examined the effect of industry on training. Lynch and Black (1996) find that the percentage of formal training outside working hours is positive and significant for the manufacturing sector. The computer training was positive and significant in the nonmanufacturing sector. Recently, in Van de Wiele (2010), industry dummies were created (25 for manufacturing, 18 for non-manufacturing). The results suggest that training participation in chemical manufacturing is significantly higher than others while the manufacturers of wood and wooden products train less than other firms. Among those non-manufacturing firms, those that are involved in sales or business activities (computer services, R&D, etc.) train more while the training participation rate is significantly lower for land transport.

Hypothesis 6: Industries that are more capital intensive are positively linked with training participation.

Part-full time

Part-time workers will receive less training than those working full-time (Arulampalam & Booth, 1998). This relationship was also observed by Draca and Green (2004) and Booth (1991). According to them, employers

will benefit less from training investment if they train part-time employees. Part-time employees are expected to spend fewer hours at work than fulltime employees over the same employment duration, yielding less benefit for the employer. It is suggested by Long et al. (2000) that employers will want to invest in employees who are more likely to stay with the firm. As employees on temporary contracts are less likely to have long-term ties to the firm, it could be expected they will receive less training.

Hypothesis 7: Full time status is positively linked with training participation.

Establishment Size

Larger firms tend to offer more training than the small one (Baron et al, 1987; Booth, 1991; Holtmann et al , 1991; Simpson et al, 1984; Jennings et al,1996; Shields, 1998; Lin, et al ,2004). This is true because they are more likely to have their own training department and the fixed costs of training can be spread over a larger number of employees (Lynch et al, 1998). However, Zwick (2006) did not lend any support to the above theoretical explanation made by Lynch and Black (1998). In Zwick's work, he found that establishments with more than 20 employees train less intensively than establishments with less than 20 employees.

Hypothesis 8: Size of establishment is positively linked with training participation.

Methodology

To verify our hypotheses we used the Labor Force Survey (LFS) data in the year 2013, collected by the Albanian Institute of Statistics (INSTAT). From 2007, respondents aged 15-64 in each year were asked if they had received vocational qualification.

Have you attended a vocational qualification (in spite of duration)?

1 yes, in a public center of vocational formation

2 yes, in a private center of vocational formation

3 no

Before we continue the analysis we define **vocational qualification** as training connected with your job, refer to work-related. This ia a qualification that people receive while in work, or in anticipation of working in the future, and the effects it has on people's careers. This is a qualification received after the end of education. It does not include any continuous full-time education that is usually regarded as formal school qualification. A vocational qualification gives the learner a proof that he or she is adequately trained for a particular workplace once the course is completed.

In this section, logistic regression model is used to estimate the direct relationship between personal characteristics, job and enterprise characteristic and the probability of receiving vocational training, adjusting

for other factors. The dependent variable in regression is whether or not the individual participated in vocational training in *spite of duration*. The range of explanatory variables included in the regressions was based on findings from the literature. They include factors that are believed to influence the probability of receiving training in economic theory. These explanatory variables are gender, marital status, age, education, job status (full- versus part-time), occupation, industry, firm size.

Measurements

Participation

The PARTICIP variable indicated whether a person receive a vocational qualification. This variable was coded 1 when the person attended a vocational training and 0 otherwise

Age. The AGE variable was measured in number of years.

Gender. Gender was measured using the FEMALE dichotomous variable; a female employee was given a value of 1 and a male employee a value of 0.

Marital status. The MSTAT was given a value of 1 when the employee declared a spouse and 0 in other cases. In the database, having a spouse was irrespective of the legal status of the relationship.

Education level. The academic background of participants was measured using a series of dichotomous variables. These variables provided information on the highest level of education attained by an employee.

The EDULEVEL2 variable, = 1 when the employee had a high school level or less,

EDULEVEL3 = 1 when the employee had a university degree or more.

The “low school level or less” category was the omitted category.

Occupations. The consulted data included five occupations levels of employment. We defined the following variables:

OCCUPATION1 = 1 when the employee work as managers, professionals, and technicians,

OCCUPATION2 = 1 when the employee work as clerical, service and sales workers,

OCCUPATION3 = 1 when the employee work as skilled agricultural and trades workers,

OCCUPATION4=1 when the employee work in plant and machine operators, and assemblers,

OCCUPATION5 = 1 when the employee work in armed forces,

The “elementary occupations” category was the omitted category.

Industry. The consulted data included five industry levels of employment. We defined the following variables:

INDUSTRY1=1 if the employee work in Manufacturing,

INDUSTRY2=1 if the employee work in Construction,
INDUSTRY3=1 if employee work in Mining and quarrying & Electricity, Gas and Water supply,
INDUSTRY4=1 if the employee work in Market Services,
INDUSTRY5=1 if the employee work in Non-market Services.
The “Agriculture” category was the omitted category.

Employment status. The FULLTIME variable was coded as 1 for a position, and 0 in other cases.

Establishment size. The MEDORGANIZATION variable was coded as 1, if the number of employees in the establishment is more than 11 but less than 50, and 0 in other cases.

The LARORGANIZATION variable was coded as 1, if the number of employees in the establishment is more than 50, and 0 in other cases.

The “small establishment” category was the omitted category.

Empirical Results:

We now look at some estimation results from the logit model of the determinants of receiving vocational training and consider personal characteristics, job characteristics, and organizational characteristics. Table 1 presents the result of vocational training incidence, measured as a binary variable and coded 1 if any vocational training was undertaken despite its duration. The non-standardized coefficient associated with each explanatory variable indicated its marginal effect on the probability of participating in vocational training. These results are not so favored compared to development countries. This is partly due to demographic factors but mainly due to low performance of the vocational centers decreasing attractiveness of this vocational stream among individual and their families. Several factors have influenced the lower incidence of training activity such as higher participation of young people in education, or young people and women being increasingly discouraged from searching for work, etc.

Table 1: Logistic Regression of Vocational Training
(Non-Standardized Coefficients)

	B	S.E.	df	Sig.
FEMALE	-.287	.002	1	.000
MSTAT	-.159	.003	1	.000
AGE	.026	.001	1	.000
AGESQR	.000	.000	1	.000
EDULEVEL2	.784	.002	1	.000
EDULEVEL3	.452	.003	1	.000
HPOSITION1	.042	.005	1	.000
HPOSITION2	.025	.005	1	.000

HPOSITION3	-.377	.005	1	.000
HPOSITION4	.238	.005	1	.000
HPOSITION5	.631	.010	1	.000
IDUSTRY2	-.428	.005	1	.000
IDUSTRY3	.857	.005	1	.000
IDUSTRY4	.350	.003	1	.000
IDUSTRY5	.998	.004	1	.000
FULLTIME	.093	.003	1	.000
MEDORGANIZATION	-.094	.003	1	.000
LARORGANIZATION	-.033	.003	1	.000
Constant	-4.093	.011	1	.000

Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2013

For the FEMALE variable, we have obtained a negative and significant coefficient ($p < 0.05$), indicating that being a woman decreased the probability of participating in the vocational training being offered. This result confirmed our first hypothesis.

For the AGE variable, we obtained a positive and significant coefficient ($p < 0.05$). In consequence, hypothesis 2 was not supported. We have take and the AGESQR (age squared) variable to see if the age function is U shaped. The older the worker gets, more likely is he/she to participate in workplace training. But this is true up to a level and after that the older the worker gets, the less likely he/she participates in workplace training. Because older workers have fewer years remaining in their working lives, their returns on training investments are expected to decrease with age from both the employer and worker perspectives

With respect to marital status, MSTAT variable, we have obtained a negative and significant coefficient ($p < 0.05$). Results in Table 1 showed that employees who are married or living with a partner are also less likely to participate in training. This confirmed our third hypothesis.

For the EDULEVEL2 variable, we had a coefficient of +0.784 ($p < 0.05$) indicating that an employee who successfully completed a high school level was more likely to participate in vocational training than an employee who had a low education level or less

The coefficient estimator for the EDULEVEL3 variable was also positive and significant +0.452 ($p < 0.05$). This indicating that an individual with a bachelor's degree or more, was more likely to participate in training than an individual who had only a low education level or less. Our results confirmed our fourth hypothesis of a positive relation between education level and participation in vocational training.

Hypothesis 5 stated that high skilled occupations were positively related to participation in vocational training. Results confirmed our hypothesis. All coefficients to all OCCUATION 1/2/4/5, were significant ($p < 0.05$) showed that the probability of participating in vocational training increased with the occupations which require high skills. But this was not satisfied for OCCUPATION 3 variable, where the coefficient is -0.377 but significant ($p < 0.05$).

Relative to the baseline case of elementary occupation, armed forces, managers, professionals and technical/trade workers have higher marginal participation rates in workplace training.

For the INDUSTRY variables we have obtained these results: if the employee works in manufacturing industry we obtained no significant coefficient. For the INDUSTRY2 we have a coefficient of - 0.428 ($p < 0.05$) indicating working in this industry will decrease the probability to participate in training relative to the baseline case of workers in agriculture sector. While for other industries, INDUSTRY 3/4/5 the variable coefficients obtained was significant and positive. So, our hypothesis was partly satisfied.

For the FULLTIME variable we obtained a positive coefficient and significant. Therefore, our hypothesis was satisfied. Working full time will increase the probability to participate in training.

Finally, the MEDORGANIZATION variable and LARORGANIZATION variable are our last evaluations. For these variables we found significant coefficient ($p < 0.05$) but negative. In consequence, hypothesis 8 was not supported. This means that workers who receive more training work in small establishment than in larger one.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to determine the factors that influence the probability to participate in vocational training in Albania. Based on the literature review we identified gender, marital status, age, education, job status (full- versus part-time), occupation, industry, firm size as explanatory variables. Our results suggest that men are more likely to participate in vocational training than women. This hypothesis has developed based on both empirical results (Feinberg, 1978; Green 1993) and the segmentation market theory (Boston, 1990) which proposes that women receive less training and development because they are employed in secondary sectors.

According to age variable we identify that as an employee is ageing, the probability of participating in vocational training increases. This finding is inconsistent with predictions from the human capital theory. From a practical perspective, this result signals to government authorities and to organizations to pay closer attention to youth in training and development activities. With regard to marital status, we found a significant relationship

between this determinant and participation. This result was consistent with theory and some empirical research (Blundell, Dearden and Meghir 1996; Tharenou, 1997; Pischke, 2001).

Based on Becker's human capital theory, suggest a positive relationship between educational level and participation in training activities. Our results provided support to that hypothesis. This suggests that the more an employee is educated, more vocational training he will received in the future because they have higher learning capabilities. Employees with low education in a firm requiring extensive human capital, thus this will increase the training investment for employer. So the employer will train more the educated workers. As predicted, empirical results showed that the probability of participation in training increased with occupations that require high skill level (Draca & Green, 2004). As it is the case for age, organizations need to be careful and offer development activities to all if they want to maintain their human capital.

Our results found that armed forces, managers, professionals and technical/trade workers have higher marginal participation rates in vocational training compared to workers in elementary occupations. Based on the theory the industries that are more capital intensive are positively linked with training participation. Our results confirmed this hypothesis. We can predict that service industries offer more vocational training than manufacturing one.

Finally, results revealed that full-time employees engaged more in vocational training than part-time employees, so our hypothesis satisfied. According establishment size variable, Zwick (2006) found that establishments with more than 20 employees train less intensively than establishments with less than 20 employees. This was contradictory with the theoretical prediction that larger firms tend to offer more training than the small one. Our results are in same line with Zwick's work, so our last hypothesis was not supported.

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Is There a Gap Among Gender in Vocational Training Incidence in Labour Market in Albania?

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Abstract

Human capital theory states that the incidence of training should be higher among men than women. Literature have confirmed it in different empirical studies. Recently, there is a small number of studies that have reported the reversed trend: women are now more likely to participate in training than their male counterparts.

Using Labour Force Survey data we present a descriptive analysis to evaluate if there are evidences of discrimination; if it's measurable and which are the determinants of vocational training of men and women employees in the Albanian labor market.

Determinants such as improvements in the labour market status of women (Vanden Heuvel, 1997) increased labour force participation rates among women (Green and Zanchi, 1997) are detected in the paper.

This paper should be seen as a actual scan of Albanian labour market in context of vocational training incidence and evidences of discrimination among gender.

Keywords: Labor market, gender discrimination, vocational training, Labor Force Survey

Introduction

Over the past decades Albania has made significant progress measured in terms of economic growth and development. Passing from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, it has involved structural change through the processes of privatization and enterprise restructuring which have destroyed jobs in old state and socially owned enterprises. This opening of economy was faced with new technologies requiring new skills. Government policies related to employment and to the education and training sector are enacted through the legislative framework, active labor market programs and projects, vocational training programs, as well as the on-going

process of harmonization with European Union policies in these areas. New working practices have brought in small and medium sized enterprises which require 'soft' adaptable skills. In particular technological change has been found to be biased against low-skilled workers (Machin and van Reenen, 1998; Krueger, 1993; Acemoglu, 1998; Author, Katz, and Krueger, 1998; Salvanes and Førre, 2003). So, employees take further education and training to enhance the skills and consequently increasing potential earnings and the productivity of firms. Policy-makers tend to accept that investment in education and training is a good thing, with most committed to investment in human capital, including Vocational Education and Training (VET), as a means of securing higher economic growth and national prosperity as well as achieving equity goals (see Wößmann, 2008).

Human capital theory (Becker, 1962) predicts that the incidence of training should be higher among men than women, and this has largely been confirmed in empirical studies (Greenhalgh and Stewart, 1987; Booth, 1991, 1993; Green, 1991, 1993, 1994; Arulampalam & Booth, 1997; Evertsson, 2004). To reduce the cost of training employers prefer to invest in men because women have a higher probability of experiencing career interruptions due to pregnancies (Oosterbeek, 1998). So, the probability of men staying within the firm is much higher than of women. Another reason for gender differences in training participation might be a result of employers' discrimination, since most training takes place during work time is financed by employers.

Recently, there is a small number of studies that have reported the reversed trend: women are now more likely to participate in training than their male counterparts. The increased payback period afforded by the tendency for later childbirth (Bassanini, 2007) may also have contributed to the rise in female participation in training. Another reason may be that interruptions to their work histories, for example due to childcare and other family responsibilities (Green, 1991; Green and Zanchi, 1997).

Improvements in the labour market status of women (Vanden Heuvel, 1997) possess 'advantages' in terms of particular characteristics associated with higher qualifications may increase the participation training of women. Base on the study of Simpson and Stroh (2002) the authors find an increased training participation by females as a consequence of technological changes such as the introduction of computers that have primarily affected female-intensive occupations in the 1990s. Using U.S. data, they report that around one-third of the gender difference in overall training incidence can be attributed to occupational differences, rising to 40 per cent for employer-supported training.

Employees' participation in training has been described in the literature as varying by personal characteristics and job characteristics as

well as the type of workplace in which an employee works. The aim of this paper is to explore variations in the receipt of vocational qualification of employees, to identify which individuals and groups are most likely (or least likely) to receive this type of training despite of its duration.

Findings of empirical literature for other countries suggest that employees who received vocational training are men, younger employees, full-time employees and more highly educated employees. There is evidence that workers in occupations requiring a higher skill level are more likely to receive training. Public ownership has been linked to higher rates of employer funded education and training, and there is evidence that employees in larger firms are also more likely to receive training.

There is evidence of significant segregation by gender in Albanian labor markets. According to data available from INSTAT 2014 the labor force participation rate for the population aged 15-64 years old is 61.5 %. For male population aged 15-64, the labor force participation rate is 20.9 percentage points higher than females. The agricultural and services sectors have the highest share of employed with respectively 42.7 % and 39.4 % of the total employment.

Analysis of employment by group professions reflects clearly the employment structure by sectors. Based on the INSTAT data of 2014, 53.5 % of employed are skilled agricultural and trades workers, and 16.3 % are clerical, service and sales workers. According to the 2014 survey estimates, it results that 41.6 % of employed are employees, 26 % are self-employed (with employees or without employees) and 32.4 % are contributing family workers. Analyzing the labor market in a gender perspective, females are 1.7 times more likely than males to be contributing family workers. Obtained LFS estimates show that 42 % of employed females and 25.1 % of employed males are contributing family workers. The unemployment rate for the age-group aged 15-64 years old is 17.9 %. Unemployment rate for males of this age group is 19.7 % and for females is 15.5 %. Male unemployment rate is 4.2 percentage points higher than females. This difference shows that males are more active in the labor market. Over the year 2014, 38.5 % of the population aged 15-64 years old is economically inactive. The structure of the population outside labor market is dominated by pupils/students (34.5 %). In this age-group, 14.2 % are not looking for a job because they believe that there are not available jobs. Among the economically inactive female population aged 15-64 years old, 12.3 % are discouraged workers, 27.9 % are pupils/students or in further training, 13.2 % are in retirement or early retirement, and 28.7 % of them are fulfilling domestic tasks.

In this paper we have used secondary data collected from the Albania Labor Force Surveys (LFS) of 2014. A cross-sectional analysis was done with a detailed picture of the relationship between vocational training and

personal as well as job and employer characteristics. Our findings suggest that vocational training was most commonly received by:

- employees, base on individual status;
- younger people;
- men;
- Married;
- those with higher qualifications;
- those live in Dibra region;
- those working in the public sector (especially in armed forces);
- those working in larger organizations;
- those working part-time;
- those working in non market oriented industry.

Contents

In this paper we have analyzed the factors that may be associated with participation in vocational qualification. Below we provide an accurate description of who receives vocational qualification and how this vocational qualification vary by personal as well as job and employer characteristics. As previous studies make clear, it is important to distinguish among different types of training. There is a great variety of activities that count as training but we define **vocational qualification** as training connected with your job, refer to work-related. This ia a qualification that people receive while in work, or in anticipation of working in the future, and the effects it has on people's careers. This is a qualification received after the end of education. It does not include any continuous full-time education that is usually regarded as formal school qualification. A vocational qualification gives the learner a proof that he or she is adequately trained for a particular workplace once the course is completed.

Using the data from the Labor Force Survey (LFS) in 2014, we present below a cross-sectional analysis of households between ages 15 up to 64 years old. From 2007, respondents aged 15-64 in each year were asked if they had received vocational qualification.

Have you attended a vocational qualification (in spite of duration)?

1 yes, in a public center of vocational formation

2 yes, in a private center of vocational formation

3 no

Table 1: WSTATUT vocational qualification

			WSTATUT			Total
			Employed	Unemployed	Inactive	
<i>Have you attended a vocational qualification (in spite of duration)?</i>	<i>Yes, in a public center of vocational formation</i>	% of Total	37.9%	6.6%	18.1%	62.6%
	<i>Yes, in a private center of vocational formation</i>	% of Total	25.0%	4.3%	8.1%	37.4%
Total			62.9%	10.9%	26.2%	100.0%

Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014

From the data of LFS 2014 we take in account only the respondents who undertake training and answered that have done a vocational qualification in spite of it is done in a public or private center. As Table 1 shows, 62.9 per cent of the sample reported that are employees. Others who receive vocational qualification but are unemployed count by 10.9 per cent and the rest 26.2 per cent declare that were inactive.

These results are not so favored compared to development countries. This is partly due to demographic factors but mainly due to low performance of the vocational centers decreasing attractiveness of this vocational stream among individual and their families. Several factors have influenced the lower incidence of training activity such as higher participation of young people in education, or young people and women being increasingly discouraged from searching for work, etc.

To see the effectiveness of this type of training, is to determine if this qualification has given an impact on labor status of individuals. Base on Table 2, we see that the majority (59 per cent) who received vocational training said that **did not get** employed after attending the vocational training course. Only 34.4 per cent of them reported that **have started** a job after 3 months, only 2.3 per cent and 4.3 per cent of them who have finished the programme after 6 months and after a year. One reason for this incidence may be that individual are interested in having a certificate rather than certain knowledge (especially for emigrants because the public institutions are more trustful to foreign entities). In many cases the individuals are motivated by secondary interests in getting enrolled and attending professional courses in vocational training such as the need to have a certificate in order to supplement the documents to open or run a small business, the need as an emigrant to present a document abroad during the job application processes, etc.

Table 2: Did you get employed after attending the vocational qualification?

			Did you get employed after attending the vocational qualification?				Total
			Yes, after 3 months	Yes, after 6 months	Yes, after 12 months	No	
Did you get employed after attending the vocational qualification?	Yes, in a public center of vocational formation	Count % of Total	16487.584 26.2%	701.078 1.1%	1045.116 1.7%	21130.519 33.6%	39364.297 62.6%
	Yes, in a private center of vocational formation	Count % of Total	5158.738 8.2%	764.008 1.2%	1633.815 2.6%	15987.746 25.4%	23544.308 37.4%
Total		Count % of Total	21646.322 34.4%	1465.086 2.3%	2678.932 4.3%	37118.265 59.0%	62908.604 100.0%

Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014

Probably, another reason is that in most of the cases the knowledge and the skills gained in the vocational training are very basic. Most of the time the shorter duration of courses could not provide sufficient level of knowledge and practical skills to interested persons to help them enter the labor market.

In Table 3 we show the length of vocational training. It is clear that the time period of courses varies greatly, ranging from less than a month to more than a year. Respondents who were employees tended to do shorter courses, lasting no longer than three months; while those not in employments seem to have the same attitude despite the length of training. It could be that the unemployed had to re-train where different skills and knowledge are required for gaining a new job. This could also apply to students who were inactive but pursue longer training courses for prospective jobs. Programmes lasting from 1 to 3 months are the programmes which have the higher incidence for all respondents compare to other type of vocational training. We have seen a small incidence for courses lasting less than a month.

Table 3: Length of vocational qualification

			Length of vocational qualification					Total
			Less than a month	one up to three months	three up to six months	six up to twelve months	one year or more	
WSTATUT	Employed	Count % of Total	2917.221 4.7%	12730.738 20.3%	9030.316 14.4%	9051.082 14.4%	5739.490 9.1%	39468.8 62.9%
	Unemployed	Count % of Total	193.902 .3%	2481.980 4.0%	1396.779 2.2%	1521.292 2.4%	1233.937 2.0%	6827.890 10.9%
	Inactive	Count % of Total	882.507 1.4%	4465.033 7.1%	3184.212 5.1%	3692.155 5.9%	4208.813 6.7%	16432.7 26.2%
Total		Count	3993.630	19677.751	13611.30	14264.52	11182.24	62729.4

% of Total	6.4%	31.4%	21.7%	22.7%	17.8%	100.0%
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Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014.

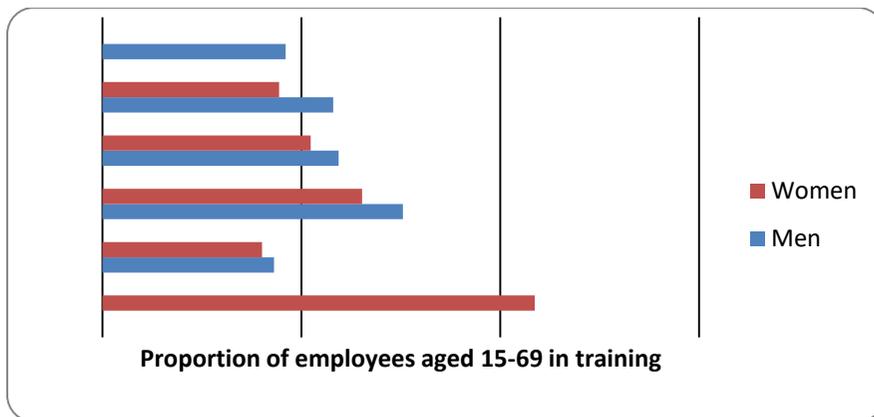
Results of personal characteristics analysis:

In this section we examine the relationship between employees who participate in training and a number of personal and family characteristics such as gender, age, marital status, qualification, occupation and region. Section 2.3 turns to job and employer characteristics, which range from full-/part-time status, length of employment, sector, and industry to size of workplace.

Gender and age

In Figure 1, this 'gender gap' in receiving vocational qualification appears to be larger among teenage boys and girls and the older groups. We see that the only teenage girls participate in training and this participation is the highest for all women ages. Contrary appear for older men when they are the only who participate in vocational training. From the graph we see that the highest participation for both groups is for 30-39 years old and after that we see a decline much more sharply with age for women than for men.

Figure1: Training by gender and age group



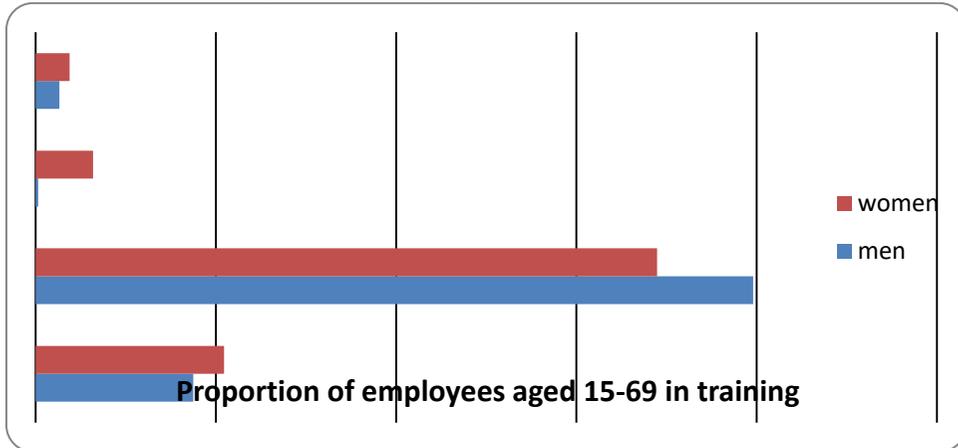
Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014
Male: $\chi^2 = 726.019$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.005$; female: $\chi^2 = 474.527$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.005$

Marital Status

Based on the literature women which have family responsibility tend to participate in other activities such as training less than men, particularly those with children (Blundell, Dearden and Meghir 1996; Tharenou, 1997; Pischke 2001). In support, Tharenou (1997) noted that a lower participation in training activities by women can be explained by the fact that "women with young children and spouses are thought less able to be more committed

to paid labor than others because of family-caring responsibilities.” We have compared the participation rates of sole parents and joint parents. As Figure 2 show there was difference in the participation rates of sole and partnered mothers or those of sole and partnered fathers. However, more likely to received training are the married couples. The incidence was nearly 70 per cent for women and 80 per cent for men. Despite the married status, we see that in other categories women have higher rates of participation than men.

Figure 2: Training by gender and marital status



Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014
Male: $\chi^2 = 1239.046$ d.f = 3, $p < 0.05$; female: $\chi^2 = 241.232$, d.f = 3, $p < 0.05$

Qualifications and occupation

In empirical research it was found a positive relationship between higher levels of prior educational attainment and training (Arulampalam and Booth, 1997). Highly qualified individual are mostly likely to have received vocational training. Our findings conforms it.

With the increased level of education we see that vocational training rate increased both for men and women (Table 4). The gender gap is much wider at the beginning of the educational hierarchy, which may be a result of women employed in agriculture sector where the quality of employment is very low.

Table 4: Proportion of employees in training by qualification and occupation

	Men	Women	Total
Highest qualification			
up to 8/9 years of education	4.5%	1.8%	3.5%
Upper secondary-vocational	5.8%	6.7%	6.1%
Upper secondary - general	6.0%	4.8%	5.6%
University or MA/PhD	6.4%	6.1%	6.2%
N (weighted)	246,974	184,064	431,038
Occupation			
Managers, professionals, and technicians	6.5%	7.3%	7.0%
Clerical, service and sales workers	5.7%	5.5%	5.6%
Skilled agricultural and trades workers	3.4%	3.0%	3.3%
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	9.6%	1.0%	5.7%
Elementary occupations	1.7%	.8%	1.2%
Armed forces	23.2%	22.6%	23.1%
N (weighted)	246,081	183,941	430,022

Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014

Qualification: Male: $\chi^2 = 267.116$, d.f = 3, $p < 0.005$; female: $\chi^2 = 1082.905$, d.f = 3, $p < 0.005$

Occupation: Male: $\chi^2 = 4254.055$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.005$; female: $\chi^2 = 5553.496$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.005$

Despite the “Plant and machine operators, and assemblers” occupations, the gender gap do not exist for other types of occupations. We see nearly the same participation rate of women and men in vocational training. The highest incidence of participation is in “Armed forces” occupation, about 23 per cent for both genders, contrary appear to be in “elementary occupation” when the rate count for nearly 1.2 per cent. We see that the incidence of training increased with job hierarchical position.

Regional variation

Analysis by government region showed that there was a variation in vocational training received. In the Figure 3, we can see that residents in Diber and Shkoder prefecture were most likely to have received training while the lowest proportion was found in VLora region. We see that the gender differences are evident in Diber, Shkoder, Durres and Tirana. In Diber and Durres are males who received more training than females, while in Shkoder and Tirana appear to be females receiving more training than their counterparts. In Vlora and Gjirokastra were trained only women, while in Fier were trained only men.

Figure 3: Training by region and gender



Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014
Male: $\chi^2 = 25273.670$, d.f = 11, $p < 0.05$; female: $\chi^2 = 9476.020$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.05$

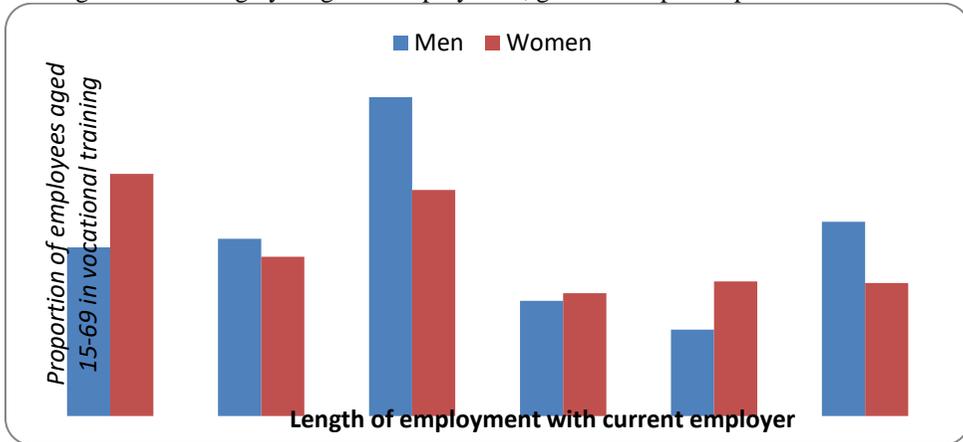
Results of job and employer characteristics analysis:

In this section, we examine the relationship between various job characteristics and training, ranging from the length of employment, full-time or part-time status. Then we move on to study employer characteristics such as sector, industry, and size of workplace.

Length of employment

Vocational training appears to increase with the length of employment with current employer only in public sector than in private one. We see that women receive more training than men if the tenure with the current employer is less than 5 years in both sectors. Contrary appear to be men in the long run tenure. Evidence in Figure 4 suggests that in the private sector the training incidence does not appear to be associated with the length of employment with their current employer. Here the change for women is less pronounced with length of employment.

Figure 4: Training by length of employment, gender and public/private sector status



Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014

Public sector: male: $\chi^2 = 515.750$, d.f = 2, $p < 0.05$; female: $\chi^2 = 84.950$, d.f = 2, $p < 0.05$

Private sector: male: $\chi^2 = 774.579$, d.f = 2, $p < 0.05$; female: 4.728, d.f = 2, $p < 0.05$

Full-/part-time status, sector and gender

The gender gap in training may be explained by the part-time or full-time contract employment. It is clear from Figure 5 that employees who made a short-term contract are more likely to receive training than those with full time contract. Also from the results we see that men working part time received more vocational qualification despite of private or public sector. The gender gap is greater in private sector than in public one. The participation for women gender is higher in public sector than in private sector.

Figure 5: Training by full/part time status, sector and gender



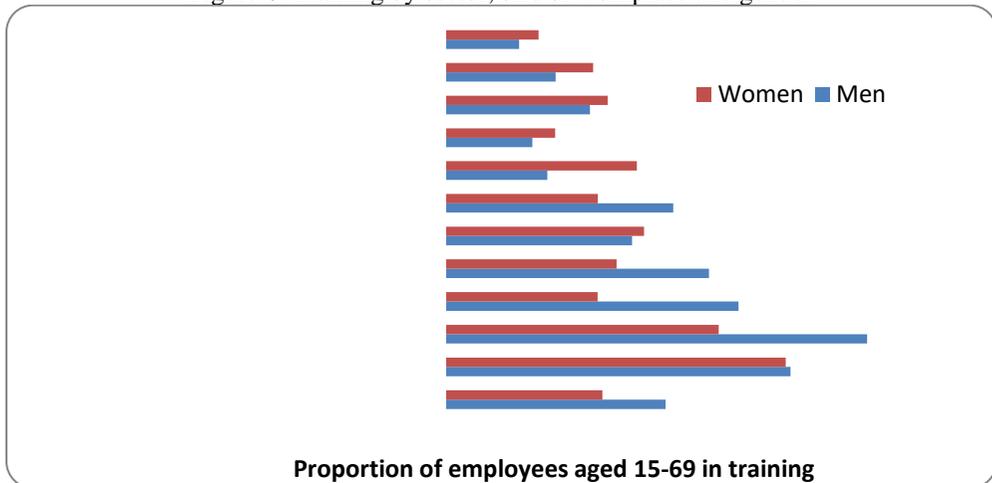
Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014

full-time : $\chi^2 = 8.856$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; part-time : $\chi^2 = 338.233$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$

Sector, size of workplace and gender

Figure 6 presents the results by size of the workplace and sector. The size of workplace is defined by the number of employees: between 1 and 10, 11 to 19 employees, 20 to 49 employees, 50 employees and more, I don't know, but less than 11, I don't know, but more than 10. Further evidence of a 'public sector effect' is visible from Figure 6. Employees in establishments with 20 or more employees were more likely to have received training than their counterparts in the private sector. This may be because larger organizations can afford to pay for more training. In contrast, in the private sector companies with less than 10 employees were able to offer training only 6 per cent. However, the overall availability of training (including self-funded and employer-paid) in the public sector very across workplaces of different sizes and we see that men are trained more than women. Contrary this appear to private sector when the overall availability of training do not very much and we see that here women are trained more than men.

Figure 6: Training by sector, size of workplace and gender



Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014

Male: (between 1 and 10) $\chi^2 = .773^1$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (11 to 19 employees) $\chi^2 = 824.365$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (20 to 49 employees) $\chi^2 = 839.722$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (50 employees and more) $\chi^2 = 241.696$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (I don't know but less than 11) $\chi^2 = 95.216$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (I don't know, but more than 10) $\chi^2 = 364.788$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$

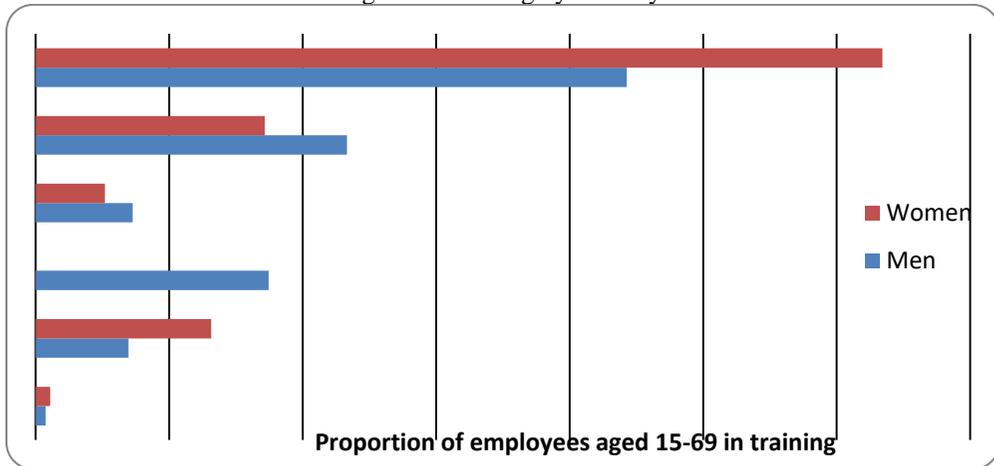
Female: (between 1 and 10) $\chi^2 = .402$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (11 to 19 employees) $\chi^2 = 175.990$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (20 to 49 employees) $\chi^2 = 268.474$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (50 employees and more) $\chi^2 = 1.548$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (I don't know but less than 11) $\chi^2 = 2.153$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$; (I don't know, but more than 10) $\chi^2 = 219.243$, d.f = 1, $p < 0.05$

Industry

We see that the participation in vocational training vary by industry and also by gender (Figure 7). Nearly 20 per cent of men and women received training in market oriented services and over 60 per cent receive

training in non market oriented services. Here the participation of women is the highest and we see a gender gap count 20 per cent more for women. We think that this reflect the higher incidence of women employee in this industry. In contrast, the lowest proportion can be found in the ‘primary’ industries such as agriculture and other industries. Similarly, training is also low in manufacturing and construction, and we see no participation of women in construction industry because this sector is dominated by male employees. So the low proportion of workers in training in these industries cannot be attributed to gender distribution.

Figure 7: Training by industry



Source: Authors' calculations based on Labor Force Survey 2014
Male: $\chi^2 = 1890.283$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.05$; female: $\chi^2 = 1555.904$, d.f = 5, $p < 0.05$

Conclusion

Over the past decades Albania has made significant progress measured in terms of economic growth and development. This opening of economy was faced with new technologies requiring new skills. All the policy-makers tend to accept that investment in education and training is a good thing, with most committed to investment in human capital, including Vocational Education and Training (VET), as a means of securing higher economic growth and national prosperity as well as achieving equity goals (see Wößmann, 2008).

There is evidence of significant segregation by gender in Albanian labor markets. According to official statistics (INSTAT) 2014, the labor force participation rate for the population aged 15-64 years old is 61.5 %. For male population aged 15-64, the labor force participation rate is 20.9 percentage points higher than females. The agricultural and services sectors have the highest share of employed with respectively 42.7 % and 39.4 % of the total employment.

In this paper we have analyzed the factors that may be associated with participation in vocational qualification. Using secondary data from the Albania Labor Force Surveys (LFS) of 2014 we have done a detailed picture of the relationship between vocational training and personal as well as job and employer characteristics. Our findings suggest that vocational training was most commonly received by:

- employees, base on individual status;
- younger people;
- men;
- married;
- those with higher qualifications;
- those live in Dibra region;
- those working in the public sector (especially in armed forces);
- those working in larger organizations;
- those working part-time;
- those working in non market oriented industry.

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Relationship Between the Organizational Change and Organizational Cynicism: A Research in Denizli Organized Industrial Zone

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to measure whether the workers have relevant feelings of distrust and skepticism of individuals for their organizations as a result cynicism in the environment of change and if it exists to measure of this relation's level and direction. The research was conducted on a total of 100 white-collar workers who are working in the enterprises operating in Denizli Organized Industrial Zone by survey method. The data obtained from the survey methodology was subjected to a variety of statistical analyses. Significant differences has emerged when examining the relationships of employees of organizations with cynicism based on the changes in the organizations, personality cynicism, cynicism focuses on trust in organizations and management trust, and cynicism in organizations.

Keywords: Cynicism, organizational cynicism, organizational change

Introduction

While organizations endeavor to cope with the changes that are taking place in economic, technological and social environments which are becoming more complex nowadays, employees have increasingly become a source of resistance in a negative manner rather than adapting to these conditions (Stanley et al., 2005: 430). Both sectoral developments and many incorrect and unsuccessful changes and transformations practices arising from the management of organizations have seriously led to feelings of insecurity, uneasiness, suspicion of organizational politics and practices, alienation and various negative thoughts, attitudes and behaviors of employees. All these negative attitudes and behaviors are called cynicism.

The ability of businesses to continue their operations with high performance is closely related to their compliance with change conditions. The attitudes of employees, who have cynical attitudes, such as feeling insecurity towards authority, disparaging communication and instruction within the organization, and making negative criticism of managers in the face of this change constitute a source of resistance that hinders the business to adapt to change. In such an environment, organizational cynicism appears due to many factors. When we look at the businesses that are undergoing a process of change, cynicism originating mainly from change, cynicism focusing on organization and manager in this change, personality cynicism that is present in individuals' personalities and that they transmit to the work environment, and cynicism which is based on skepticism stand out. This situation can adversely affect organization-developing activities.

Conceptual Framework

The Concept of Cynicism

While cynicism is defined as "not liking others and not trusting others" (Brandes et al., 2008: 235), Bateman et al. (1992: 768) defined cynicism as "negative and insecure attitudes towards authorities and institutions" (Arslan, 2012: 13). In the most general sense, anyone who believes that individuals care only for his or her interests and who accordingly regards everyone else as self-seeker is called "cynical" and the philosophy that tries to explain this is called "cynicism". In its modern interpretation, cynicism is used to define captious, choosy, or critical people (Erdost et al., 2007: 517). The basic belief about cynicism is that principles like honesty, truthfulness and sincerity are sacrificed for more individual interests (Bakker, 2007: 123). While cynicism phenomenon affects the social experience of the people in the general sense, at the same time it affects the relations between especially employers and workers in the business world and the organizations (Özler et al., 2010: 48-49).

Organizational Cynicism

Everyone involved within an organization must first trust in the organization, then in the others in the organization, and this trust must be mutual. In organizations where trust is a dominant feeling, cynical feelings cannot shelter; and where insecurity is dominant, the number of cynics increases. The cynical concept conceptualized by Goldner et al. (1977) is the belief that there is a lack of sincerity in the behaviors, all the decisions taken and the management understanding within the unity of the organization. Starting from this point, it would not be wrong to say that cynicism represents "bad impression".

It is seen that the concept of organizational cynicism is a phenomenon involving the attitudes of the individual and the three dimensions of organizational cynicism are stated as follows: In the cognitive dimension process, the person becomes aware of the changes, compares the organizational elements with their own values and develops negative reactions in the direction of their own values (Piderit 2000: 786; 2006: 144). The emotional (affective) dimension of organizational cynicism consists of emotions such as interest-excitement, surprise-surprising, distress-suffering, anger-aggression, disgust-alienation and humiliation-despise (Dean et al., 1998: 346). As a matter of fact, when individuals think of their organizations, they show sarcastic attitudes, feel angry, embarrassed, and even disgust. In the behavioral dimension, the individual's negative beliefs and attitudes are reflected in his behaviors, and individuals begin to exhibit derogatory behavior, pessimistic estimates (Card, 2015: 87) and cynical and cunning attitudes against the organization. The changing environment, on the other hand, includes negative behaviors that are observable both in response to intentions and in response to change stimuli (Piderit, 2000: 786).

Adverse events and inconsistent practices frequently experienced in contemporary organizations such as worthless and inconsistent words, ignoring and disrespecting human emotions and individual needs, lack of honesty in the decision-making process, and lack of management's support in real sense, lack of interaction between leadership and member, unsuccessful change attempts, lack of leadership qualities of managers, and restructuring, shrinking, dismissal lead to the formation of cynicism (Mirvis and Kanter, 1989: 385-386; Naus et al., 2007: 688-690; James, 2005: 18-20).

Cynical attitudes and behaviors have four components: action, target, content and time (Delken, 2004: 14), and these components manifest themselves in a different way as cynical behavior emerges. This leads to different cynicism approaches, which are the types of cynicism (Dean et al., 1998: 343-344). Personality cynicism is a kind of skepticism, believing that the environmental and social relations are composed of people who are extremely self-confident, unsatisfied, deceitful, malevolent, and only interested in their own interests. Institutional / social cynicism is defined as a disappointment that emerges as a result of the notion that the unreal expectations of persons are not met by society, institutions or other persons (Pitre, 2004: 11). Employee cynicism emerges when the real personality and values of the individuals conflicts with the values of the organizations and the role ambiguity emerge. Finally, today's businesses' struggle to keep pace with change which is inevitable can result in employees' showing resistance to change (Wanous et al., 2000: 133). Thus, organizational change cynicism occurs in which the manager is accused of and the efforts of development and change are seen inadequate / unnecessary. Since change-sensitive

individuals are influenced negatively by their past negative experiences; so they resist and respond negatively to change efforts, which results in these individuals' becoming cynical individuals (Reichers et al., 1997: 49, Johnson and O'Leary-Kelly, 2003: 637).

Organizational cynicism expresses a bad impression as a personality characteristic rather than a sharp and sudden personality change; and it is a form that occurs as a result of experiences. The destruction of this formation can be long and destructive for employees. Those who have cynical behaviors think that their organizations are far from justice, honesty and sincerity, and these opinions will eventually lead to the emergence of neural and emotional disorders and behaviors such as indifference to work, hopelessness, separation from work, insecurity, skepticism, disappointment, poor performance and lying (Akdağ, 2016: 796-797). In the organizational dimension, cynicism draws attention as a destructive element that negatively affects organizational satisfaction and loyalty, that brings about behaviors like alienation and insecurity and that also increases the speed of employee turnover (E. Pelit and N. Pelit, 5).

The research conducted after examining the causes and consequences of cynicism causing destructions in terms of both individuals and organizations focused on the management of cynicism (Treadway et al., 2004; Reichers et al., 1997; Wu et al., 2005; Özgener et al., 2008; Watt and Piotrowski, 2008). Determining the behaviors of employees that cause cynicism before they develop and trying to solve the discomforts before they cause bigger problems is of great importance in terms of reducing the cynical behavior as much as possible (Akdağ, 2016: 804). Moreover, in order to manage and prevent organizational cynicism in organizations where change is inevitable, it is necessary that the employees participate in the decision-making process, that entire causes and outcomes of the change be explained to the employees, that the employees be informed about the process, that the change expand into a process, that a trust environment be created via constructive and useful messages and that business environments in which employees can express themselves freely be created (Watt and Piotrowski, 2008: 28)

Organizational Change

The constant wave of change that is experienced today differentiated being active and efforts to develop new strategies from the transition processes between ages and reduced it to a very short time. Many of the changes taking place at the organizational level stem from efforts to adapt to their environment. Such changes also cause inevitable reactions to occur in the managers and employees (Turan, 2011: 52-53).

According to a definition, organizational change is defined as a " positive change in behaviors and action patterns of all organizational members (principally managers) that constitute the human orientation of the business " (Şimşek and Akın, 2003: 50). Kurt Lewin was one of the first to study the process of organizational change. Lewin examined the change in the business in three stages. These steps are behavioral analysis (defrosting, starting), transition phase (switching or actuation, continuation), re-freezing (desired state, freezing) phases (Kozak and Güçlü, 2003: 3). In the process of organizational change, differences take place in many fields that constitute the foundation of the organization, such as organizational goals, strategies, responsibilities, technological structures, organizational culture and organizational individuals; and it is often inevitable that change will affect these areas. Before the change takes place, it is important in this process to analyze and to interpret the advantages and disadvantages of the system and to prepare the system for the change. In their study, Lawrence and Yarrow (1995), emphasize particularly this issue, and they propose three key issues that managers should pay attention to in terms of change for a successful change of businesses. These are to build the system well, train the employees in the framework of this necessity, to bring them to the level of the qualities required by the job, and finally to motivate the employees effectively for a specific target (Sayli and Tüfekçi, 2008: 195-196).

The main characteristics of organizational change are: a) Organizational change has a complex feature because its subject is organizational structure, technology, and human. b) This change does not take place only once, but it is a phenomenon which organizations experience throughout their lifetime but which does not always show the same determination. (c) It can cause controversy in managerial activities due to its nature; and the reason for this is that the behavior of a manager who does not have the ability to change without altering the existing order of relations conflicts with his behavior in the organization to maintain a decisive position (Özkan,2002).

Today, rather than the necessity of change in organizations, it is discussed whether organizations change at a sufficient pace, how continuous change can be achieved, and how organizations can transform themselves into constantly learning organizations. In other words, the only thing that does not change in the organizations is the change itself (Koçel, 2011: 667-668). As Drucker put it, the important thing is "the placement of the ability to change within each organizational structure ...". The fact that what change can accomplish is so comprehensive causes positive results in the businesses, and at the same time, it creates resistance and bigotry against change. Resistance arises wherever there is change. If there is no resistance, there is no change. Managers who see at the beginning that certain persons or

groups might show resistance to change have to take the necessary precautions in time to remove this resistance (Turan, 2011: 51).

Cynicism as a Result of Organizational Change

In today's conditions where globalization is spreading rapidly, a pessimistic view of the struggles and efforts that organizations make as a result of change and behaviors of looking at change with suspicion can occur. As a result, cynicism levels in the individual inevitably increase. Organizational change usually begins in top management and changes are observed in some management specific behaviors. If it turns out that the promises and the statements made by the management are not true and in time are not realized, some employees may have negative attitudes towards the organization, the leader making the change and efforts made for the change. When the works made for change are unsuccessful, employees may feel cheated and frustrated (Abraham, 2000: 272).

There are several reasons why organizational change cynicism is important to organizations. If cynical individuals refuse to support the change in their organizations, organizational change cynicism can be a self-fulfilling prophecy. The fact that cynical individuals do not support change may lead to limited success or failure. Failure strengthens negative beliefs and prevents the desire to try organizational change again. Thus, it is less likely to achieve success in the attempts to change (Reichers et al., 1997: 48).

Change-focused cynicism is a negative attitude towards a particular organizational change. These negative attitudes include three dimensions. The first of these is the disbelief in the requests that the management determines or expresses for a certain organizational change (distrust in organization and manager); the second is the pessimism about change struggles (skepticism against change); and the third is the feeling of disappointment and tendency to behave in a humiliating and critical manner against a certain organizational change (employee and personality cynicism) (Turan, 2011: 104).

Research Methodology

Purpose, Hypotheses and Method of the Research

The study was conducted on white-collar employees working in the private sector in Denizli Organized Industrial Zone, in order to find out whether there is a relationship between the levels of organizational cynicism and levels of cynicism resulting from the distrust and skepticism that individuals have personally against their organizations. Levels of cynicism of change, trust-related cynicism, personality cynicism, employee cynicism based on skepticism, and their relations with each other have been examined.

The research hypotheses have been formed in the following way:

H1: There is a significant relationship between change-based cynicism and personality cynicism in organizations.

H2: There is a significant relationship between change-based cynicism and trust and trust in management- oriented cynicism in organizations.

H3: There is a significant relationship between change-based cynicism and skepticism as an indicator of cynicism in organizations.

H4: There is a significant relationship between change-based cynicism in organizations and general organizational cynicism levels of individuals.

H5: There is a significant relationship between personality cynicism and trust and trust in management- oriented cynicism in organizations.

H6: There is a significant relationship between personality cynicism and skepticism as an indicator of cynicism in organizations.

H7: There is a significant relationship between personality cynicism and general organizational cynicism levels of individuals in organizations.

H8: There is a significant relationship between trust and trust in management- oriented cynicism and skepticism as an indicator of cynicism in organizations.

H9: There is a significant relationship between skepticism as an indicator of cynicism and general organizational cynicism levels of individuals in organizations.

Descriptive research was carried out in order to test these hypotheses and questionnaire was used as the data collection method in the research. In the preparation of the questionnaire, organizational cynicism scale was used which was adapted by Kanter and Mirvis (1989) and used by Stanley et al. (Stanley et al., 2005) and Reichers et al (Reichers et al., 1997). The language equivalency was applied to the questions in the questionnaire by the researcher. The questionnaire consists of 33 questions in total. The first 9 questions in the questionnaire aim to measure the change cynicism /cynicism that emerges with the change; 7 questions, the cynicism that emerges as a result of distrust in the manager and organization; 5 questions, innate personality cynicism; 5 questions, cynicism that emerge with skepticism. The other questions in the questionnaire represent personal questions about measuring demographic characteristics.

The analysis was performed with SPSS 17, a statistical evaluation program. First, the reliability of the scale was measured by Cronbach's Alpha and found to be 0.685. If the obtained alpha coefficient is between 0.60 < α < 0.80, the scale is considered reliable in the literature. Correlation analysis was performed in testing the hypotheses.

Findings of the Research

42% of the participants are women, 58% are men; 76% are younger than 35 years old, 62% are married, 43% have an associate degree and 57%

have a bachelor's degree. The proportion of employees that has worked for 1-5 years is 37%; 6-10 years is 35%; and 11 years or more is 28%. When we look at the characteristics of the sample in general; it can be said that it is a sample with adequate working experience and a balanced sample in terms of gender and marital status. Employees' change-based cynicism, personality cynicism, trust and trust in management oriented cynicism and cynicism relations in organizations have been subject to correlation analysis.

Table 1: Correlations

		Change.	Personality	Manager.	Skeptic.	Organization. Cynicism
Change Based Cynicism	R	1	,541**	-,183	,258**	,543**
	P		,000	,069	,010	,000
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Personality Cynicism	R	,541**	1	-,221*	,065	,441**
	P	,000		,027	,521	,000
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Distrust in Manager and Organization	R	-,183	-,221*	1	,321**	-,166
	P	,069	,027		,001	,100
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Skepticism as an Indicator of Cynicism	R	,258**	,065	,321**	1	,117
	P	,010	,521	,001		,245
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Organizational Cynicism	R	,543**	,441**	-,166	,117	1
	P	,000	,000	,100	,245	
	N	100	100	100	100	100

** $p < 0,001$

According to the findings, it can be said that there is a high positive correlation of 54.1% between change-based cynicism and personality cynicism. According to this, as the change based cynicism increases, the personality cynicism also increases. That is, the H1 hypothesis, which expresses the relationship between the two variables, has been confirmed. There has been no significant relationship found between change-based cynicism and trust and management-oriented cynicism in organizations as seen in the table. Accordingly, the H2 hypothesis was rejected. There has been a high positive correlation of 25.8% found between the change-based cynicism and the skepticism as an indicator of cynicism. Accordingly, as change-based cynicism increases, the skeptical behaviors of individuals also increase. In other words, the H3 hypothesis, which expresses the relationship between the two variables, has been verified. There has been a high positive

correlation of 54.3% found between change-based cynicism and general organizational cynicism levels of individuals. Accordingly, as change-based cynicism increases, general organizational cynicism levels of individuals also increase. That is, the H4 hypothesis, which expresses the relationship between the two variables, has been verified.

There has been a negative correlation of 22.1% found between personality cynicism and trust and management oriented cynicism in organizations. Accordingly, as the level of personality cynicism of individuals increase, the levels of trust and management oriented cynicism in organizations decrease. The reason for this is that individuals look for a means which they can trust when they are internally cynical. Accordingly, the H5 hypothesis, which expresses the relationship between two variables, has been verified.

There has been no significant relationship found between personality cynicism and skepticism as an indicator of cynicism as can be seen in the table. Accordingly, the H6 hypothesis was rejected. There has been a high positive correlation of 44.1% found between individuals' personal cynicism and general organizational cynicism levels. Accordingly, the H7 hypothesis, which expresses the relationship between two variables, has been verified. There has been a high positive correlation of 32.1% found between trust and management-oriented cynicism and skepticism as an indicator of cynicism. Accordingly, as trust and management-oriented cynicism increase in organizations, the skeptic behaviors also increase. Accordingly, the H8 hypothesis has been verified. There has been no significant relationship found between skepticism as an indicator of cynicism and general organizational cynicism levels as can be seen in the table. Accordingly, the H9 hypothesis was rejected.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In this research, the changes and transformations experienced by organizations have been tried to be related to the dimensions of cynicism experienced in organizations. When the literature is examined, it is noteworthy that despite the fact that researches on cynicism and organizational cynicism have been carried out in our country, there are fewer researches conducted on the inevitable effects of change and management on the cynical attitudes of employees. It is particularly thought that the examination of the cynicism levels of individuals who are particularly resistant to change and approach to change with suspicion will contribute to the literature.

According to the findings obtained in the research, the fact that demographic characteristics of the white-collar employees working in the organizations are different does not have a significant effect on the levels of

cynicism of employees. The reason for this is that the employees working in these businesses which operate corporately are usually in the same age range (young personnel). According to the observations obtained from the questionnaires, the qualifications of the personnel were taken into consideration in the organizations rather than the characteristics of the individuals such as age, gender, marital status etc. However, it has been found that the employees were exposed to some organizational cynicism according to their seniority and departments. Another finding is that employees at the administrative level did not admit the presence of cynicism in their organizations and they thought that their employees are treated fairly while the employees had feelings of distrust and skepticism especially against management, therefore they showed cynical attitudes. The findings of the research are in parallel with the studies carried out in the literature. In Albrecht's (2002) study on change-based cynicism, it was found that honesty, ability and trust perceptions of employees at the top management level in the businesses affected cynicism. It can be said that employees who do not believe in their organizations' change management efforts (Abraham, 2000; Dean, 1998) and who perceive change as an uncertainty will resist to change (Reichers, 1997), and that this type of organizational environment, together with negative attitudes, will push individuals towards cynicism.

When we look at the organization employees' change-based cynicism, personality cynicism, trust and trust in management oriented cynicism in organizations and cynicism relations in organizations, there has been highly significant differences found. The reason for this is that the personnel especially hierarchically at the lower level think that managements are not honest about the changes and their causes; therefore, they show negative attitudes with a tendency towards skepticism.

According to these results, negative attitudes and detachment from the organization of especially the employees who affect the performance and productivity of the businesses at the top level will affect the organization in the negative direction. For these reasons, it is of utmost importance that the cynicism that emerges in the organizations be recognized and managed. Since the results of the research are specific to the said sample, it will be useful for the generalization of the results to conduct the further studies on the subject in a more comprehensive manner and to include different academic organizations / institutions / sectors into the research. At the same time, it is thought that supporting with qualitative researches the causes and consequences of the differences found as the result of the research will contribute a lot to the literature.

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From Mass to Personalized Mobile Marketing Strategies: The New Dimensions Through Expert Systems

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Abstract

Today, mass mobile marketing and advertising are beginning to lose their positions and personalized (individualized) mobile marketing has started to dominate as a new way of marketing strategy, because expert systems, as a subsection of artificial intelligence, are able to help sending personalized messages to thousands of customers taking into their differences in a very short time. Expert systems provide marketers to serve customers efficiently and individually, and integrate customer characteristics, locations, data and rules to send personalized messages like a marketer. With expert system-based personalized mobile marketing, mobile phone users will receive personal and location specific mobile marketing messages with great benefits. Providing personalized information to marketers with expert systems will send more appropriate messages, create better customer satisfaction and increase mobile marketing efficiency by targeting the right consumers. Therefore, personalized mobile marketing has the potential of becoming a major mechanism in the future of mobile marketing. The objectives of this study are to draw marketers and entrepreneurs' attention to expert system-based personalized mobile marketing and develop a draft expert system to send personalized mobile marketing messages to targeted customers. At the end of this study, some recommendations to expert system developers and a draft expert system-based personalized mobile marketing application are given.

Keywords: Mobile Marketing, Expert Systems, Innovation

Introduction

Advances in mobile communication technologies, mobile phones and mobile applications in recent years have made a revolution in many areas, have emotional impacts towards everything from lifestyle to business, and present some opportunities for retailers and customers. Besides these positive effects, there are also some negative consequences like disturbing consumers when marketers use mass mobile marketing and sending offers to all customers in hand. Nowadays, personalized marketing approaches like sending offers for specific customers by using personal information are becoming more important than mass marketing concept, and the efficiency of sending personalized mobile marketing messages is increasing.

As in many countries like Turkey, mobile marketing and advertising (SMS, MMS and In-Apps) is subject to regulation, which mobile phone users can control after mobile marketing messages can be sent. Effectiveness of mass mobile marketing is diminishing because mobile phone users able to block mobile marketing messages that are not relevant to them. Instead of sending marketing messages to every customer, who have mobile phones and devices, marketers can send personalized marketing messages to targeted customer. The reasons for the growth of personalization are to attract the attention of customers and increase marketing effectiveness. In order to send effective personalized mobile messages, expert systems can serve as a tool to choose the right customer at the right time, and allocate advertising resources more efficiently. In expert system application, customers' information may be extracted from their mobile phone signals, demographic characteristics and previous purchases etc. Expert systems use knowledge saved by a computer to make a decision that entail human expertise. In the personalized mobile marketing program, this system decide which mobile sales proposals will be sent to, when, where, and for which products and services using the saved knowledge.

This study consists of two main parts. In the conceptual framework, the concepts of mobile revolution, mobile marketing, mobile marketing problems, challenges, solutions and paradigm shift from mass to personalized mobile marketing are explained. In the research part, developing an expert system model for personalized mobile marketing and advertising are proposed.

Conceptual Framework

Mobile Revolution, Marketing and Advertising Concepts, Problems and Challenges

The mobile revolution has begun changing our daily lives and businesses for the last two decades. The impact of this revolution can be seen in the fact that people use mobile phones intensively to meet their daily

needs and that companies can reach their target markets with mobile marketing tools more effectively, because mobile communications and mobile phones offer new commercial channels and significantly influence the way in which companies direct their marketing and business activities (Barutçu, 2007). Mobile communication provides an innovative marketing and advertising channel including SMS, MMS, Bluetooth, Mobile Apps for transferring marketing messages and persuading customers via mobile networks, phones and other devices (Barutçu and Göl 2009; Sinkovics et al., 2012). Any company or retailers can send messages through SMS, MMS or Mobile Apps to their prospective customers, users with minimal effort, time, and cost in the hope that customers might respond to the intended meaning of the messages (Shareef et al., 2017).

There are some benefits of mobile marketing to marketers including interactivity, personalization, and reaching large target customers in right place and on time with lower marketing cost. Moreover, one of their dreams and demands are to communicate and reach prospective customers and to contact them everywhere and every time. Mobile marketing via mobile devices is a very important tool for all marketers because mobile marketing opportunities are not available in any devices, mobile phones make revolutionary contribution towards objectives and benefits of marketing, and finally mobile marketing has turned the marketers' dreams into reality (Jayawardhena et al., 2009; Barutçu, 2007; Facchetti et al., 2005; Anckar and D'Incau, 2002). However, the results of some studies indicated that costumers were annoyed if marketers prefer mass mobile marketing and sent mobile sales offers in an inappropriate way to many customers. For example, even though Tsang et al., (2004) claimed that mobile advertising would be the future trend, they signified that consumers' attitudes toward advertising in general and mobile advertising in specific were negative, and because they found that receiving mobile advertising without permission was irritating, given the personal, intimate nature of mobile phones. Chen and Hsieh (2012) indicated that mobile advertising can be bothering and annoying to mobile phone users, because mobile phones are personal appliances. Varnalı and Toker (2010) found that if mobile advertising was permission-based, highly targeted, highly relevant, striking, personalized, and has value-added content, consumers' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes were positive. Liao et al., (2005) pointed that providing personalized mobile marketing can increase customer satisfaction and business earnings, which are vital to the success of mobile marketing, and added that if the message content was designed in such a way that could be compatible with consumers' personal needs and requirements, consumers felt a perceived value and usefulness. Consequently, there is a fair possibility that customers will not like mass

mobile marketing campaign, if mobile marketers disregard personal needs and expectations.

From Mass to Personalized Mobile Marketing Paradigm

Marketing continues to evolve from mass to personalization. With personalized mobile marketing, not only personal marketing communication but also personalized product design, price and distribution strategies can be developed. Personalization is very important in various media environments and mobile marketing as well due to its effects of mobile users' purchasing behavior and effectiveness. Personalized mobile marketing can be defined as developing marketing mix, which are designed for a specific customer or a group by using personal information about the customers themselves via mobile phones and mobile communication systems. There are many advantages of the personalized mobile marketing and advertising relative to traditional mass marketing. Some researchers specified that the response rates of personalized advertising contained a favorable product recommendation that are largely higher than the response rates of non-personalized advertising. Thus, the consumers' demographics, preferences, context and advertising contents are important for personalized mobile advertisings, because they would influence the degree of customer approvals of mobile marketing messages and sales proposals (Howard and Roger, 2004; Xu et al., 2008).

The success of mobile marketing and commerce mostly adhere to whether personalization can be used to send personalized messages to customers, because providing personalized mobile messages and information to customers will boost the demand for mobile services and customer satisfaction from mobile marketing activities as well (Xu et al., 2008). The most common forms of mass mobile messages including SMS, MMS and In-App advertising are sent to all potential customers by the companies. Mass advertising messages sustain to create brand images in consumers' consciousness, however, personalized advertising messages integrate into people's life, support to consumers' lives and proactively add value to marketers' activities (Chen and Hsieh, 2012). Personal needs, time, location sensitive communication with potential customers has likely to have value for drawing customers' attention. Since customers often read messages selectively, the reputation of the message sender is extremely important in persuading consumers to view and read the message. Thus, marketers should differentiate among customers according to their characteristics and send personalized messages accordingly (Shareef et al., 2017).

In order to send personalized messages and enable personalization in mobile marketing, Xu et al., (2008) combined systems and behaviors to send personalized mobile messages and developed an application to send sales

promotion to mobile phones based on users' preferences, content and content information for restaurants (like food style, cuisine, restaurant ambience, restaurant service, price, discount, restaurant etc.) with the prior probabilities and Bayesian Network structure variables. According to their assessment of the system results, sending personalized messages improved and increased customers' positive attitudes and effectiveness of mobile advertising. In this point, expert system can be used to avoid possible negative effects of mass mobile marketing and send personalized messages more efficiently.

Expert Systems and Permission Marketing for Personalized Mobile Marketing

Developing effective mobile marketing strategies entails classifying and concentrating on the correctly targeted customers, because mobile marketing programs have fixed and variable costs. Thus, it is important to determine prospective customers' demographic characteristics holding more positive attitudes towards mobile marketing tools, and sent personalized messages so as to decrease marketing costs and increase efficiency, rather than implementing mass mobile marketing programs (Barutçu, 2007).

In order to send personalized messages and apply personalized mobile marketing, expert systems can provide that mobile marketing and advertising messages are accurately send and used. Expert systems can be defined as a subdivision of artificial intelligence containing that expertise, which is the vast body of task-specific knowledge, is transferred from a person to a computer. This knowledge is then stored and users call for the computer for particular assistance as required (Liao, 2005).

Expert systems are one of the main research domains of artificial intelligence. The most important feature that distinguishes artificial intelligence from expert systems is the computer program that reaches the solution by thinking like an artificial intelligence person and solve the problem while expert systems acts as an expert. There are some sub groups of expert systems like artificial neural networks, fuzzy expert systems and genetic algorithms. Although there are some advantages and disadvantages of expert systems, nowadays they are applied successfully in many areas. In sum up, expert systems have made personalized mobile marketing possible and more efficient, giving marketers a computer program to send personalized promotions and sales proposal messages.

The most important factor of an expert system is a structure that can collect personal data, process it and make a decision according to certain criteria. In order to get more personal data, trust plays an important role in permission-based mobile marketing and mobile marketers should focus on building a strong and confident image in order to acquire consumers' permission for mobile messages (Kautonen et al., 2007). According to

permission marketing concepts, consumers were encouraged to join in long-term, interactive marketing activities in which they are awarded a prize in some way for attracting their attention to progressively appropriate messages with respecting their privacy (Godin, 1999). Kavassalis et al., (2003) indicated that mobile phones are the personal devices and used in permission-based marketing, given their authorization to permit the marketers to get proper personal information as the appropriate context for mobile marketing, and Jayawardhena et al., (2009) defined the four antecedents (institutional trust, personal trust, experience and perceived control) in the likelihood of customers giving their permission to marketers to send mobile messages. Therefore, mobile marketers need their customers' permission to use their personal information in expert systems they develop.

Expert Systems Development Processes

Expert systems are computer systems designed to replicate functions performed by human experts. As seen in Figure 1, expert systems have essentially composed of two sub systems: the inference engine and the knowledge-base. Inference engine contains the reasoning capability, which interacts with the knowledge-base. The knowledge-base contains information about how to solve problems within the problem domain in question. Knowledge-base may contain thousands of rules describing the thought process that a particular human expert uses in solving the problem in question. The user provides information about a specific problem and the inference engine uses its knowledge and some external routines to come to a conclusion, give some advice or achieve a goal.

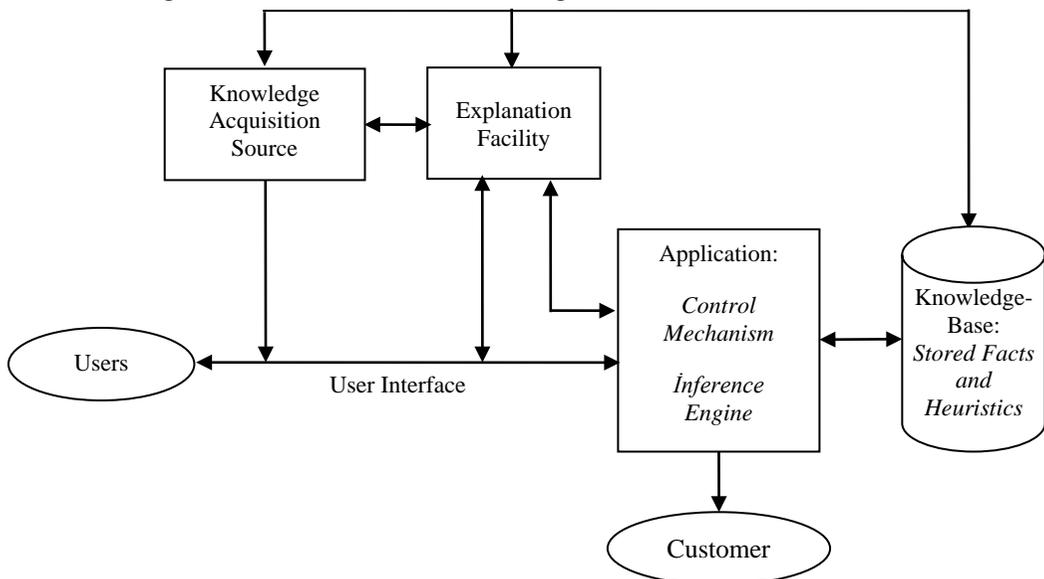


Figure 1. A general structure of the personalized mobile marketing proposal expert

Development of expert systems is based on situation requirement analyses, and the steps involved are (1) situation selection and definition, (2) situation knowledge analyses and representation, (3) situation knowledge transformation, (4) system design, (5) system development, (6) system testing and implementation, and (7) system maintenance. The steps are situationally based because the system under development must replicate the specific expertise under question. This requires not only accurate analyses of the situation requirements, but constant referral to them during the system development process.

Developing Expert System for Mobile Marketing Efficiency

As seen in the conceptual framework of this study, the main problems of mass mobile marketing strategy are sending mobile marketing messages to unrelated customers and deciding which customers are more appropriate to send messages take up too much of mobile marketers' time. The main solution of this problem is to set up an expert system to make decisions which messages to send to which customers and send personalized mobile marketing messages according to the information of thousands of customers in the company and GSM operators' database. Therefore, the main objective of this analysis is give some clues to develop a draft, not fully developed, expert systems to send personalized mobile marketing proposals and messages using special target consumers' information extracted from mobile signals, demographic characteristics etc.

The proposed expert systems will determine and decide which customers are more appropriate to send messages according to the criteria set. The criteria required for the expert systems are obtained through literature review (Phelps et al., 2000; Unni and Harmon, 2007; Chen and Hsieh, 2012). Effective personalized mobile marketing with expert systems requires the customer's personal data including mobile phone number, demographic characteristics, purchasing history and location information etc. Using location information cautiously and protecting the privacy of mobile phone users are very important for marketers, because mobile phone users are sensitive of gathering and using their personal information (Phelps et al., 2000; Unni and Harmon, 2007). Moreover, Fuzzy Delphi process used to define the crucial attributes in a personalized mobile message for different products, and six important design attributes for personalized marketing messages: price, promotion, brand, interest, preference, and type of mobile phone were recognized (Chen and Hsieh, 2012).

In order to send personalized messages with expert systems, demographic characteristics of the customers (age, gender, education levels, income status, marital status, etc.), location and purchasing history etc. are

required to reach a decision. The system users define many rules and criteria which customers are more appropriate to receive marketing messages and the characteristic of customers to send a mobile marketing messages. After these definitions, expert systems can decide to send targeted mobile messages only to the customers who are more appropriate in terms of their demographic characteristics and have revealed previous interest, needs and wants.

Conclusion

It is important that mobile marketers understand when their messages can work and shift more of their attention to personalized mobile marketing and advertising. Mobile marketing campaign should be more personalized, and personalization of mobile messages can increase their positive attitudes and enhance customer ability to remember the messages, brand names and companies, and raise possibility to accept personalized mobile marketing proposal.

Mobile marketing will be more successful when marketers take into consideration of personal needs, send more valued and appropriate messages and apply personalized mobile marketing strategies. Moreover, mobile marketing will be more effective when targeted customers are close to a purchase decision and have high involvement, and they will have a more positive impact on the personalized mobile marketing proposals about the products and services they are planning to buy and receive sales' offers that exactly meet their needs. In this stage, expert systems will help choosing the appropriate customers based on their personal information, demographic characteristics, locations and previous purchase history. Marketers may use expert systems to design personalized mobile marketing programs that build more positive attitudes with personalization and avoid possible negative effects of mass mobile marketing. Moreover, marketers should use permission based mobile marketing strategy, develop some promotional marketing policy in order to encourage to share their personal information, and design expert system to send personalized messages. Besides building own customer database, marketers can also take advantage of GSM operators' database to determine correct existing or potential customers to send mobile advertising, and deliver personalized marketing messages based on a customers' information and digital footprint generating through expert systems.

The major characteristics that distinguish the proposed expert system-based application from conventional systems are that the proposed expert system-based application contain knowledge-base about a specific consumer domain, which is in large measure distinct from the mechanism used to manipulate the knowledge to reach a decision on consumer groups. In further

studies, a fully-working rule-based expert system can be developed and tested. Consumers' reaction may also be measured through this system.

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Moral Values and Codes of Ethics of the World's Ten Biggest Food and Beverage Companies

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Abstract

The aims of this paper is to analyse the codes of ethics of the most important companies operating in the food sector, in order to appreciate the attribute, the contents and the language of the code and then try to understand the aptitude of the code for assuring that moral values move the companies' actions and strategies. The code of ethics is a basic tool of corporate governance, through which rules of corporate behaviour are defined and communicated internally and externally from the company. Many international researches about codes of ethics – summarised in the theoretical framework – are a starting point for this paper.

In particular, our paper is focused on the language used in the codes in order to outline the most important issue regulated in these tools: principle and value, normative issue, and so on. The research considers the codes of the ten big companies that dominate the food market (the "Big Ten"): Associated British Foods (ABF), Coca-Cola, Danone, General Mills, Kellogg's, Mars, Mondelez International (ex Kraft Foods), Nestlé, PepsiCo and Unilever.

The analysis examines the vocabulary of each code in order to identify the "bag of words" by extrapolating the special words and the ethical and moral values that characterize the codes. We want to identify the most important information with regard to the issues regulated in the code and we expect to evaluate to what extent the language used, which contains the ethical and moral values of the sector, can represent a status both at the individual company level both at the sector level.

Specifically, we arise the following research questions:

RQ1: Are there differences among the contents and the languages used in the codes of ethics of the "Big Ten" analysed?

RQ2: What are the most important matters regulated in the codes? and the most important values considered?

RQ3: Can be matters and values considered at company level or at the sector level? It is possible to define a model for contents and language of codes of ethics for the food sector?

Keywords: Corporate Social Responsibility; Code of Ethics; Code of Business Conduct; Moral-Ethics Values; Food Industry

Introduction

Today globalization and ethics are two big and interrelated issues (Singh *et al.*, 2005); the awareness of the population towards ethical problems has gradually increased along with the evolution of the “global economy”. This is reflected in a greater and greater attention payed to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR can be defined as «*the companies’ responsibility for the effects they have on Society*»; the companies have to «*integrate social, environmental, and ethical issues, go beyond compliance and invest “more” into human capital and the relations with stakeholders*» (EC, 2011).

The interest of literature about this topic goes back a hundred years ago (Clark, 1916) despite being constantly current. There are several and different opinions regarding this matter. Generally it’s possible to identify a discriminating factor in the company’s social nature (Klonoski, 1991) able to distinguish all the theories in two main groups (Gandolfi, 2012). The first one, according to the traditional literature, states that “the company has no obligations of social nature, being an autonomous entity managed by a group of subjects freely constituted” (Friedman, 1962; Levitt, 1970). From the opposite side there’s the other group, sustaining Corporate Social Responsibility. This literature encourages the development of business purposes requiring a consistent exchange with the external environment in addition to the profit maximization (Anshen, 1983; Freeman, 1984; Lodge, 1990; Jackall, 1988).

Starting from the observations of the last group, it’s possible to imagine a model of extended corporate governance (Sacconi, 2005) in which management has to observe fiduciary duties both to shareholders, as outlined by the agency theory (Jensen and Meckling, 1976) and to all the stakeholders that relate to the company, as outlined by the stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984; Carroll, 1991). At present, these principles can be synthetized in the concept of sustainable development, supported by various international organizations, (WCED, 1987; UN, 1992; EC, 2001a), which involves the need to include the concept of social responsibility in corporate governance (EC, 2001b).

However, there are some risks of manipulation of CSR that have led part of the literature to consider CSR as a form of simple corporate communication with a distorted use of ethics (Friedman, 1970; Weaver *et al.*, 1999; Owen *et al.*, 2000; Griffin and Weber, 2006). Furthermore other factors, like compliance and reputational aspects, play a key role (Rusconi,

1997; Sacconi, 2005; Unipolis, 2009). In this sense, it is clear the risk of ineffectiveness of social communication tools, which a large part of the literature has focused on (Adams et al., 2001; Akaah and Riordan, 1989; Boo and Koh, 2001; Farrell et al., 2002; Ferrel and Skinner, 1988; Kaptein and Schwartz, 2008; Schwartz, 2001; McKendall et al., 2002; Peterson, 2002; Valentine and Barnett, 2002).

Starting from these premises, this paper is focused on the analysis of the codes of ethics of the ten big companies that dominate the food market (the “Big Ten”): Associated British Foods (ABF), Coca-Cola, Danone, General Mills, Kellogg’s, Mars, Mondelēz International (ex Kraft Foods), Nestlé, PepsiCo and Unilever. The analysis aims to appreciate the quality, the matters and the language of the code, so as to try to understand the ability of the code for guaranteeing that moral values move the companies’ actions and strategies. In particular, the paper is focused on the language used in the codes; it examines the language of each code in order to identify the “bag of words” by extrapolating the special words and the ethical and moral values that characterize the codes.

These are our research questions:

RQ1: Are there differences among the contents and the languages used in the codes of ethics of the “Big Ten” analysed?

RQ2: What are the most important matters regulated in the codes? and the most important values considered?

RQ3: Can be matters and values considered at company level or at the sector level? It is possible to define a model for contents and language of codes of ethics for the food sector?

Theoretical framework

A code of ethics can be defined as «*a distinct and formal document containing a set of prescriptions developed by and for a company to guide present and future behavior on multiple issues for at least its managers and employees toward one another, the company, external stakeholders, and or society in general*» (Kaptein and Schwartz, 2008, p. 113); «*a written, distinct, formal document which consists of moral standards which help guide employee or corporate behaviour*» (Schwartz, 2002, p.28).

The ethical code is a basic tool of corporate governance through which rules of corporate behaviour, explicating corporate culture, are defined and communicated internally and externally; it provides precise organizational mechanisms for taking business ethics as a basic element of corporate development strategy (Balluchi and Furlotti, 2013; Benson, 1989; Frederick, 1991; Murphy, 1995; Rusconi, 1997; Sacconi, 2005; Schwartz, 2002 and 2004; Sethi, 2002; Stevens, 1994).

The number of companies with a code of ethics is increasing; a well implemented code is an important instrument for companies, because it can contribute to a company's strategic positioning, identity and reputation, culture and work climate, and to its financial performance (KPMG, 2014; the survey show that the majority (76%) of Fortune Global 200 companies have a code of ethic).

A widespread literature exists regarding corporate codes of ethics, focused on different issues (Garegnani et al., 2015; Lehnert et al., 2015; McKinney et al., 2010; Schwartz, 2016).

Some studies analyze *characters* and *differences* in codes, both across diverse countries (Farrell and Cobbin, 1996; Lefebvre and Singh, 1996; Wood, 2000) both in specific industries: Lubicic (1998) suggests that codes that are standardized across an industry are most effective (see also: Cowton and Thompson, 2000, for banking; Borkowski and Welsh, 2000; McKinney et al., 2010, for printing; Sirgy et al., 2006, for teaching). Other studies analyze code in various professional groups, such as accountants (Neill et al., 2005), sales professionals (Valentine and Barnett, 2002), human resource managers (Wiley, 2000) and software engineers (Gotterbarn, 1999).

Others studies are, instead, concentrate on the *contents* of the code and analyze the *main topics* planned in it; often the aim of these researches is to advance the knowledge of the instrument, to allow a judgments and a comparison among the codes by examining their structure and composition (Carasco and Singh 2003; Cressey and Moore 1983; Farrell and Cobbin 1996; Gaumnitz and Lere 2004; Kaptein 2004; Szilágyi and Szegedi 2016; Wood 2000). In particular these studies analyze the codes content (Carasco and Singh 2003; Hite et al. 1988; Kaptein 2004), aim to define characteristic for assuring the code quality (Garegnani et al., 2015), aim to highlight trends and best practices (Kaptein 2004) and attempt to develop a framework for classifying the structure (Gaumnitz and Lere, 2002).

Among these studies, Kaptein (2004) analyses the codes of the two hundred largest multinational firms in the world, investigating what they describe, the most cited issues and the words used for expressing companies responsibilities; Stevens (2008) examines the style and availability of codes of ethics; Kaptein (2011) studies the quality, clearly and easily to understand of the codes. A code should be comprehensible and characterized by an appealing, structured and logical approach to transmitting its contents; it should be easily available to external or internal users and, in general, to anyone interested in it (Garegnani et al., 2015).

Furthermore, with regard to contents, many researches are focused on the connection between the rules scheduled in the codes of ethics (and the connected compliance programs put in place to avoid misconduct) and the respect for the law (Cressey and Moore 1983; Gaumnitz and Lere 2002; Hite

et al. 1988; Kaptein 2004; Lefebvre and Singh 1992; Logsdon and Wood 2005; Robin et al. 1989; Schlegelmich and Houston 1998; Schwartz 2002; Weaver 1993; Wood 2000).

To close with research about contents, several studies are focused on specific issues, such as bribery (Gordon and Miyake, 2001; McKinney and Moore, 2008), or child labor (Kolk and van Tulder, 2002; Wolfe and Dickson, 2002), or responsibility prevention (Blodgett and Carlson, 1997).

Another part of literature is focused on the *reasons* that move company towards the implementation of a code of ethic. Etang (1992) suggests that companies should have a code for civil reasons; other researches recommend it because it is a way to demonstrate moral responsibility of companies to contribute to the resolution of social problems (Logsdon and Wood, 2005). Kaptein and Wempe (1998) focus on the need to disclose ethical behaviour to stakeholders, activists and the media.

A further area of study related to business codes of ethics stress the *advantages* for the company (Kaptein, Schwartz, 2008): Bowie (1990) argues that business codes enhance the company's reputation, Pitt and Groskaufmanis (1990) explain as a code can decrease the volume in legal penalties in case of misbehaviours; Clark (1980) illustrates as the code can encourage the authorities to reduce onerous regulations and controls. Some studies show the impact of a code of ethics in improving the work climate (Manley, 1991), in promoting a humane way of living and working (Williams and Murphy, 1990), in enhancing the business relationships (Adelstein and Clegg, 2016; Gaumnitz and Lere, 2002; Kaptein and Wempe, 1998) and in the definition and disclosing of the values to which everyone in the organization should follow (Molander 1987; Weaver, 1993). Several researches, lastly, are focused on the advantages of a more economic nature (Donker et al., 2008; Harada et al., 2014; Kaptein and Wempe, 2002).

Otherwise, an important part of the studies are focused on the *effectiveness* of codes of ethics in affecting attitudes of business and the ethical climate of business firms, even if several researches show as the results remain inconclusive (Helin and Sandstrom, 2007; Kaptein and Schwartz, 2008). Schwartz (2002) analyses different researches, finding both results that describe a significant, positive relationship (even if sometime it is a weak connection) between having a code of ethics and positive ethical attitudes or ethical behavior (Adams et al., 2001; Boo and Koh, 2001; Ferrel and Skinner, 1988; Hegarty and Sims, 1979; Kitson, 1996; Laczniaik and Inderrieden, 1987; McCabe et al., 1996; Murphy et al., 1992; Peterson, 2002; Pierce and Henry, 1996; Rich et al., 1990; Singhapakdi and Vitell, 1990; Weeks and Nantel, 1992), both studies that report an insignificant relationship between having an ethical code, and either positive ethical attitudes or positive ethical behavior (Akaah and Riordan, 1989; Allen and

Davis, 1993; Badaracco and Webb, 1995; Brief et al., 1996; Callan, 1992; Chonko and Hunt, 1985; Clark, 1998; Farrell et al., 2002; Ford et al., 1982; Hunt et al., 1984).

Kaptein and Schwartz (2008) find that 51% of the studies support the effectiveness of codes in positively shaping behaviour, 33% of the studies yield insignificant results, 14% of the studies shows mixed results, and one study finds that a code has a negative impact on behaviour (Kaptein and Schwartz, 2008, table 1, pp. 114). The authors suppose that the responsibility of these different results on code effectiveness can be found, for example, in the use of different methods to describe and examine effectiveness (for different measure and different opinion about this feature see Adams et al. 2001; Kaptein and Schwartz, 2008; Kaptein 2011; McKendall et al. 2002; Singh 2006).

Improving in the field of studies related to the content and the form of codes of ethics, our research aims to analyze the ethical codes of the “Big Ten” companies in the food sector identified by Oxfam International¹²¹ (Hoffman, 2013): Associated British Foods (ABF), Coca-Cola, Danone, General Mills, Kellogg’s, Mars, Mondelēz International (ex Kraft Foods), Nestlé, PepsiCo e Unilever¹²². These companies manage about 500 brands (Evenson et al., 2006) and produce most of the items we can find on supermarket, all over the world. Otherwise, they collectively generate revenues of more than \$1.1bn a day and employ millions of people directly and indirectly in the growing, processing, distributing and selling of their products. Today, these companies are part of an industry valued at \$7 trillion, larger than even the energy sector and representing roughly 10% of the global economy (Hoffman, 2013). «*Worldwide, people drink more than 4,000 cups of Nescafé every Second and consume Coca - Cola products 1.7 billion times a day. Three companies control 40 percent of the global cocoa market and Nestlé reported revenues in 2010 larger than the GDP of Guatemala or Yemen*» (Hoffman, 2013).

It is evident how strong is the social impact that the worldwide food industry has. This not only affects the nutritional choices and the health of consumers, but also the effects on the environment and the living conditions of workers in the sector, more than a billion people all over the world, around a third of the global workforce (ILO, 2012).

¹²¹ Oxfam is an international confederation of 20 organizations working together with partners and local communities in more than 90 countries.

¹²² Oxfam chose these 10 companies because they had the largest overall revenues globally. Oxfam also based its choice on the Forbes 2000 annual ranking, which measures companies’ size on the basis of composite sales, assets, profits and market value.

According to this approach, this work wants to analyze the ethical and moral values that guide the behavior and entrepreneurial decisions, and therefore the business, of the “Big Ten”.

Empirical research

Aims and methodology

The research aims to analyze the ethical and moral values that manage the business of the major companies operating in the global food industry; through the analysis of ethical codes adopted by the “Big Ten”, it wants to identify the most important issues regulated in the code and it expects to evaluate to what extent the language used can represent a status both at the individual company level both at the sector level.

In order to determine the individual peculiarities and characteristics of the codes of ethics implemented by “Big Ten”, the study uses a science called Text Mining based on automatic text analysis techniques¹²³. Specifically in this case, the central objective of Text Mining is referred to the extraction of keywords, the peculiar language that characterizes a text (Bolasco, 2013).

Data collection

The analysed corpus, constituted by the ethical codes implemented by the “Big Ten”, consists of a total of 53,067 occurrences, distributed differently among the various documents. In fact, the contents vary from 13,790 Kellogg’s occurrences to 848 of Unilever. Making use of a specific “tool” of AAT, 20 “keywords”, namely relevant words able to characterize a document, have been identified for each code. In detail, the peculiar language is identified and then extracted through specific indices that can give a greater, or lesser, weight to the lexical units contained in the text analysed.

Table 1 collects the results obtained. These, to facilitate a better understanding, were divided into five semantic categories (Table 2), depending on the meaning of the relevant words obtained through the process of AAT. In particular, each category contains terms the meaning of which is attributable to a macro area (semantic category).

¹²³ iRezer software (nelsenso.net)

Table 1 – Keywords

Associated British Foods		Coca-Cola		Danone		General Mills	
Words	1694	Words	8752	Words	3297	Words	7055
Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score
prevent	0.3127	company	0.3792	promote	0.4438	our	0.3792
reserve	0.2953	ethics	0.2072	group	0.2671	proper	0.2041
representative	0.2806	our	0.1520	employee	0.2105	information	0.1991
provide	0.2032	compliance	0.1250	Danone	0.2085	your	0.1765
compliance	0.1573	person	0.1038	compliance	0.2044	outside	0.1322
supplier	0.1463	proud	0.0831	internal	0.1495	confidence	0.1178
employment/employer	0.0936	other	0.0812	price	0.1495	management/manager	0.1106
company	0.0908	employees	0.0620	commitment	0.1330	company	0.1008
trade	0.0738	counsel	0.0593	control	0.1278	consumer	0.0778
adequate	0.0657	Cola	0.0574	act	0.1183	General Mills	0.0541
improvement	0.0650	report/reporting	0.0565	provide	0.1123	concern/concerned	0.0479
environment	0.0635	finance	0.0563	country	0.1005	act	0.0461
act	0.0469	act	0.0555	event	0.0914	privacy	0.0423
knowledge	0.0467	business	0.0506	company	0.0855	earn	0.0398
development	0.0420	everyone	0.0410	regulation	0.0812	law	0.0373
efficiency	0.0408	law	0.0393	undertake	0.0812	employee	0.0358
procedures	0.0396	supplier	0.0345	trade	0.0810	internal	0.0336
relationship	0.0315	assets	0.0335	product	0.0808	report/reporting	0.0329
right	0.0262	legal	0.0330	ensure	0.0765	appropriate	0.0318
customer	0.0253	work	0.0305	market	0.0737	ethics	0.0312

Kellogg's		Mars		Mondelez International		Nestlé	
Words	13790	Words	3142	Words	3127	Words	2178
Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score
our	0.4584	program	0.2905	interests	0.3917	employees	0.5340
promise	0.2036	supplier	0.2875	national	0.3765	ideas	0.0903
ideas	0.1796	work	0.2502	Mondelez	0.3734	HR	0.0687
ethics	0.1478	employ/employee	0.1428	work	0.0849	provide	0.0624
compete	0.1322	provide	0.1289	product	0.0847	interests	0.0498
business	0.1300	prison	0.1094	information	0.0836	internal	0.0498
consumers	0.1089	share	0.1055	commitment	0.0714	conflict	0.0467
act	0.1066	trade	0.1025	values	0.0653	confidential	0.0467
values	0.0941	overtime	0.1016	company	0.0610	compliance	0.0445
committee	0.0833	act	0.0678	trust	0.0569	protect	0.0445
company	0.0827	legal	0.0638	investors	0.0526	Nestlé	0.0366
provide	0.0735	appropriate	0.0610	business	0.0520	worldwide	0.0295
communities	0.0631	prevent	0.0592	decision	0.0498	holidays	0.0260
manager	0.0620	require	0.0569	outside	0.0497	always	0.0256
respect	0.0612	ensure	0.0565	marketplace	0.0481	manager	0.0214
partner	0.0603	contribute	0.0544	act	0.0437	information	0.0214
responsibly	0.0542	Mars	0.0543	man	0.0436	legal	0.0194
appropriately	0.0534	migrant	0.0510	earn	0.0411	company	0.0192
privacy	0.0534	company	0.0507	consumers	0.0402	pride	0.0510
compliance	0.0495	safety	0.0377	competitors	0.0336	other	0.0143

PepsiCo		Unilever	
Words	9184	Words	848
Keyword	Score	Keyword	Score
our	0.3903	respect	0.3385
act	0.2086	responsibility	0.3216
other	0.1736	community	0.1507
compass	0.1142	Unilever	0.1413
proud	0.1045	legal	0.1388
ethics	0.1044	society	0.1222
law	0.0964	principles	0.1133
respect	0.0867	management	0.1034
PepsiCo	0.0726	ensure	0.0960
your	0.0697	promote	0.0531
business	0.0692	child	0.0373
compliance	0.0602	governance	0.0344
work	0.0573	employees	0.0323
right	0.0554	communications	0.0285
management/manager	0.0540	business	0.0212
employees	0.0475	compliance	0.0162
responsibility	0.0465	product	0.0064
legal	0.0442	services	0.0064
performance	0.0422	accurately	0.0064
trade	0.0412	fairness	0.0058

The category “CSR and ethics” collects the keywords whose concepts refer to moral values, ethical principles, sustainability, development

and environment. In the category “Stakeholders”, terms related to all the stakeholders with which the company confronts and interacts are included: customers, suppliers, employees, society, and so on. “Company” includes the concepts connected to the business. The category “Law”, then, consists of words whose meaning refers to regulatory aspects covered by the legislation. Finally, terms with meanings not related to the previous categories are enclosed in “Other”.

Table 2 – Semantic categories

	CSR and ethics		Stakeholders		Company		Law		Other		Total
	10	50%	5	25%	2	10%	2	10%	1	5%	
ABF	10	50%	5	25%	2	10%	2	10%	1	5%	20
Coca-Cola	2	10%	6	30%	7	35%	4	20%	1	5%	20
Danone	5	25%	3	15%	8	40%	3	15%	1	5%	20
General Mills	4	20%	6	30%	6	30%	2	10%	2	10%	20
Kellogg’s	9	45%	3	15%	5	25%	2	10%	1	5%	20
Mars	6	30%	6	30%	4	20%	3	15%	1	5%	20
Mondelēz International	3	15%	6	30%	9	45%	1	5%	1	5%	20
Nestlé	4	20%	8	40%	4	20%	2	10%	2	10%	20
PepsiCo	6	30%	3	15%	7	35%	4	20%	0	0%	20
Unilever	7	35%	5	25%	6	30%	2	10%	0	0%	20
Total	56	28%	51	25,5%	58	29%	25	12,5%	10	5%	200

Results

The tables capture some essential differences among the “Big Ten”: for some, the language is focused on ethics and CSR (ABF, Kellogg's and Unilever), for others on the relationship with stakeholders (Nestlé), as well as on the company’s activity and its own name (Coca-Cola, Danone, PepsiCo and Mondelēz International), while in some others there is a situation of balance (General Mills and Mars).

From a more general standpoint, the content, or rather the peculiar language of the analysed codes of ethics, does not show an “influence” on the regulatory environment as the scenario might have suggested. However, the reason for this behaviour could be explained by the fact that the analysed codes refer to the global market and thus disregard the specific laws implemented locally. As a matter of fact, as can be seen in Table 1, the category “Law” is populated by very general normative terms (act, compliance, law, legal, prison, regulation). Continuing with an overview, reputational reasons, which have the highest overall percentage, are the preponderant ones and are ascribable to the category “Company” (Table 2). The language of the codes is, in most cases, marked to give emphasis to the company as the main element in the text. In this regard, it can be observed how the possessive pronoun “our”, which indirectly refers to the

organization itself, has the most important place in three companies (General Mills, Kellogg's and PepsiCo) and is in third place in the fourth (Coke). In addition, eight of the ten companies include, within the 20 keywords found, their business name. In contrast, the remaining two firms (ABF and Kellogg's), whose names do not appear in the results obtained, present the highest values in the category "CSR and Ethics". Considering exclusively the principles and ethical-moral values adopted by the "Big Ten", it is interesting to notice how these can be related to the "Universal Moral Values" identified in the literature as the universal values contained in the codes of ethics of companies all around the world (Schwartz, 2005; Donker et al., 2008). In detail, the principles and values most frequently identified in the documents discussed are: respect; responsibility; fairness; trust; integrity; pride; proud.

The results show that the attention of the "Big Ten" is addressed to all stakeholders involved in the company's business, in full respect of the stakeholder theory (Goodpaster, 1991; Donaldson and Preston, 1995). This shows how big companies are aware that, nowadays, a company does not merely confront itself with the market. It rather needs to take into consideration a more aware, well-informed and sensitive public, that is less willing to accept development and profit-increase dynamics which are insensitive to the social aspects or, even worse, capable of destroying non-renewable factors such as climate, the environment and so on. «*Considering this scenario means, for the enterprise, to acknowledge the need to include, new players among its references, especially civil society and its organized expressions*» (Unipolis, 2009).

This study has a number of critical issues that must be considered. The use of software programs for the AAT involves several inherent limitations to the program itself. In fact, each application uses its own algorithm and is underpinned by specific dictionaries, different from those used by other instruments of the same kind. This implies that, although analysing the same corpus, the results obtained may differ. A second issue is identified in the division into semantic categories, which are affected by subjective choices and are therefore questionable. Finally, despite a governance founded on stakeholders implies the introduction of ethical values in the decision-making, this does not consequently assure an ethical conduct. There is, thus, the risk that the tool of the ethical code may be considered as a mere, though noble, testimony.

Conclusion

The aims of this paper is to analyze the matters and the language of the codes of ethics of the most important companies operating in the food sector, in order to appreciate the role of the code in the definition of

companies' behaviour and the aptitude of this instrument for assuring that moral value move the companies' action and strategies.

Ethical codes are meant to collect the values of an organization and spread them to all internal and external stakeholders. Through this feature, often overlooked, corporate values are made explicit, equipping their members with ethical justifications that can be used for the resolution, both at the individual level and at the corporate level, of business issues. The CSR will truly be implemented when a decision-maker will consider these ethical justifications alongside economic and legal justifications before taking a choice.

The decisions made by the boards of the "Big Ten", in the last 100 years, have had a huge impact on millions of people, in light of this, the "Big Ten" are called to believe that the relationship between ethics and profitability in businesses is not disinterested or random. They are called to be aware that the value created is not only economic, but also social towards all the stakeholders.

Further developments of the research might aim at considering the effective application of ethical and moral values, contained in the codes, in the conduct of company business. In order to assess the "practical relevance", or conversely the merely promotional role.

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The Relevance of Digital Infographics in Online Newspapers

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Abstract

In the more developed societies online newspapers have already reached a very high degree of notoriety. The newspaper, besides being a product of the journalistic domain, is also the product of the visual domain. Due to the incorporation of new technologies and of different visual trends, substantial changes in consolidated models of newspaper design have been seen that originated a growth in the importance of the image that the newspaper has in the web. It was from this context that emerged the research described in this article.

An analysis of the technique used in a specific aspect of the essential graphics in this model of communication: infographics, was carried out. To that purpose, a study of infographics in web journalism was performed, in order to determine its essential elements.

Keywords: Infographics, Online Newspapers, Communication, Design, Cyber Journalism

Introduction

The growing incorporation of digital infographics can be easily inserted as a part of the mechanism for changing the paradigm of communication as has been observed in recent years. The way in which the reader consumes information and the demands for a fast and efficient communication have led to the identification of the following factuality: *“Every day, every hour, maybe even every minute, we’re looking [at] and absorbing information via the web. We’re steeped in it. Maybe even lost in it. So perhaps what we need are well-designed, colourful and – hopefully useful charts to help us navigate”* (McCandless, 2009: 6).

The new challenges, which specifically emerge from the field of journalism, impose information communication models that are more appealing and effective. These demands were boosted by the appearance of online communication mirroring a reality, which is eager for new dynamics. The visualization of information profits from the potentialities of the use of

multimedia, interactivity, hypertext and infographics. All these elements are relevant when it comes to conveying news but in the scope of the present investigation we are interested in rendering infographics as a visual component of information autonomous.

Henceforward, in this investigation, in order to better understand the current context of infographics, there is a need to approach the concept of infographics, to address its relevance in cyber journalism and to foresee its potentialities.

An approach to the concept of infographics

According to Cairo (2008), infographics, in a definition that we see as all-inclusive and always up to date, is a diagrammatic representation of data; that is, any information presented in the form of a diagram is infographic. Similarly, Valero Sancho (2001) points out that press infographics is an informative contribution carried out by means of iconic and typographic elements that allows or facilitates the understanding of events, actions, news or some of their most significant aspects, and accompanies or substitutes for the information text.

Infographics represents a spatial unit that applies the combination of iconic and verbal codes to represent wide and precise information, for which the verbal discourse would be a more complex medium and would need more room (Colle, 2004). The use of graphic elements, from which genetically infographics emerges, provides a more immediate and at times interactive way of communicating. Generally speaking, infographics can be regarded as a visual element composed of charts, maps, diagrams and images that help the understanding of the content of a base text. This statement, however, does not correspond to an absolute truth since the infographic element may sometimes dispense with a text.

Regardless of the accepted concept, it seems to us that the most relevant issue in terms of the present investigation is to emphasize infographic elements as a graphical representation of information and not merely as a result of computer graphics, namely computer generated image. Moreover, despite the absence of a single meaning, we cannot lose track of the fact that infographics aim is always to facilitate the understanding of facts, processes and data (Holmes, 2002), (Valero Sancho, 2001), (Cairo, 2008). As Santaella (2008) adds, contemporary infographics must be seen in the light of the post-photographic paradigm.

Infographics and Cyber journalism

The relevance of infographics

One should always bear in mind the fact that we can find graphics that, due to the existing similarities, can be confused with infographics and

which also allow for communication in journalistic fields. There is some degree of confusion between infographics and concepts such as drawing, graphics, design, computer graphics, multimedia, graphic fantasy, illustration and pagination, among others. According to Valero Sancho (2001) we can reinforce the idea that, by definition, infographics is a product of a digital publication, which is displayed in a section presenting interactive graphics, infographics, multimedia or just graphics.

Starting from the idea that infographics is based on image and text but may also cover other elements that influence the process of visual information, it is important to analyse which characteristics of infographics associate it with journalism. Possessing a broad visual component focused on the image, infographics conveys information that has a multidirectional span.

In this sense, infographics seems to be "of a different category because it is more visual and less literary than the others (categories); notwithstanding, it also intends to totally or partially transmit a piece of information" (Valero Sancho, 2001: 26).

In the attempt to find the connectivity between journalism and infographics, Valero Sancho (2001: 21) indicates eight characteristics of journalistic infographics, adding that they are essential for the infographic element not to lose its connection with the journalistic domain:

- To have a complete and independent meaning;
- To provide a reasonable amount of present-day information;
- To contain enough information for a clear understanding of the facts that are being reported;
- To establish a certain hierarchy of content using, if need be, typology alternatives;
- To use iconic elements that do not distort reality;
- To perform functions of synthesis or complement of the information presented in text;
- To respect certain aesthetic principles;
- To be clear and precise.

From the aforementioned characteristics, we wish to emphasize the need for infographics to embody any given content in a rigorous and objective way, making use of the visual elements as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. The infographic element can in no way alter the facts or hyperbolize a piece of information.

It stands as obvious that infographics is a separate category, as it is more visual and less literary than other categories, although it also intends to narrate – entirely or partially – a piece of information.

As far as we are concerned, the added value which cyber journalism may draw from infographics can be related to the accomplishment of the informative function through a presentation of facts that enhance aesthetics

and interactivity. The infographics present in cyber journalism allow for the user to trace an autonomous path provided by multimedia, interactivity and hyper textuality. Interactivity, as a possibility which is given the reader to modify a limited path through the “forward” and “back” and “hyperlink” navigation buttons (Cairo, 2008), is one of the most distinctive features of cyber journalism.

Having stated the relevance of the infographics in the field of journalism it is worth noting its pertinence in the digital platforms and more specifically in cyber journalism.

Digital infographics

Digital infographics is a product that derives from the infographics of the printed press but it must show specific properties and new communicative formats that allow for the performance of actions of a different type. As Valero Sancho (2001) mentions, we must interpret digital infographics starting from scratch but always bearing in mind the printed press as a reference. However, it should be considered a separate product, which maintains all the essential characteristics of the printed press infographics although carried out with technological processes. This means that it is presented on distinct media but distributed differently and read / consulted in another way.

Digital infographics distinguishes itself from other communicative products with similar characteristics in various details, for example, those known as non-informative. We can thus, distinguish infographics from other resources that are not built with the intention of disclosing information and that relate mainly to didactics and, to a lesser extent, to publicity or other disciplines.

The potentialities of infographics for cyber journalism are endless when compared to its use in paper format, namely the versatility of application and the interactivity that they offer. Then again and at the same time, infographics of cyber journalism facilitates the understanding of reality by means of time and format economy, since it can function as a text complement or substitute.

In digital infographics we can consider two states: static, when there is no movement; or dynamic, as soon as there is some sort of animation. As for the degree of interaction, users can be considered passive or active. The user is considered to be passive, for example, when he only attends a given presentation without any intervention whatsoever, for example in the case of slides or continuous animation, or active when he needs to intervene manipulating the infographics in some way.

Nowadays, in addition to the static infographics present in both digital and analogical format, journalism also uses infographics composed of

dynamic contents that allow access to a large amount of information in a very short timeframe. Dynamic infographics also allow the user to visualize the contents in the order that interests him most.

In dynamic infographics, information is progressively presented, in a linear sequence, using animations and videos and, in a non-linear sequence, with interactive mechanisms that allow information to be selectively presented, based on the user's choices.

To the extent that static infographics was already used in the printed press, it is important to enhance the use of dynamic infographics with the evolution of technology or the adaptation to new journalistic platforms.

Technology and infographics

We must stress that the basic foundations of the creation of infographics continue to be equal to other visual products (the printed press), for example, the designs are similar but with more aesthetic display and more abundantly so, but nothing new has been created that did not exist previously in the history of visual products. Meaning that we are dealing with a product that if, on the one hand, is similar to existing others on the other hand it has its distinctive features.

However, technological developments and technical changes have altered the way of communicating and the possibilities of message variation. It can be thus said that from their origin, infographics were products of difficult execution with manual procedures and lithographic transformation during the prepress, which made the process of their insertion in the printed press difficult. It's obvious that the emergence of the computer has made it possible to streamline infographics with daily contents, which, in the long run, allowed for the aesthetic display and the incorporation of other new contents that would not have been previously worked infographically.

The interactive tools and techniques laid into digital infographics can be used to tell stories, and thus serve both linear and non-linear narrative forms, giving the user the choice to map out his/her own query path.

As stated by Valero Sancho (2001), the technology of the moment can restrain what one can or cannot do with respect to the way of performing a drawing. A piece of information can become more or less relevant simply due to the fact of having a single colour or not, using some graphics rather than others, using photography or not, or resorting to some special texts. Valero Sancho (2001: 557) states that the graphic design scholar Professor Ricard Giralt Miracle wrote in the prologue to Ivins Jr., (1975):

"Each medium conditions the information in a certain way. It is still a reduction filter that marks and outlines the released messages. (...) Printed press, before and after photography deceive the eye, despite knowing how to

flatter and caress its retina, they steal part of the reality that can only be achieved through direct contact between sender and receiver.”

We can conclude that despite facilitating certain tasks and speeding up the way we work, technology also greatly affects the way we communicate. In digital publications, infographics once more take a new and important leap forward, since it offers more possibilities of adaptation and narration of events, actions or things.

The most common way of implementing digital infographics has been created through different programming languages, namely JavaScript, JQuery, HTML 5 and CSS 3, as well as ActionScript, which continues to be used with some degree of consistency. The interactivity placed in infographics makes it become more effective than just the utilization of text. The added value of an infographic is always noteworthy in the sense that it is a visual creation tailor made to fit a given content. However, this does not imply that infographics can only be used in a single context. The infographics of cyber fields are minimum but versatile units to be used in multiple contexts without losing their original interpretation. Therefore, the applications of infographics vary from simple reference information until it becomes a single piece of information in itself.

Conclusion

Infographics offers the reader and the journalist countless possibilities that deserve to be explored. If, some years ago, journalistic infographics corresponded to the use of text, images and illustrations on paper, today its capacity has been extended by means of the digital format.

Infographics that use videos, audios, animations, maps and graphics allow us to flag the difference between the potentialities of the same resource in paper format and online. Above all, it is the interaction which defines the ineffaceable element of the current circumstance of cyber journalism supported by the infographic component.

It can be stated that infographics, more specifically, dynamic infographics, already has a considerable weight in cyber journalism. However, we are still working by means of transposing static infographics designed for printed press editions to the digital media. This static resource offers little potentialities in the network and does not exploit all the technological resources.

However, the fact that there already are a considerable number of infographics with various resources such as maps, graphics, texts, videos, audios, drawings, photography and, on the other hand, the existence of itineraries of free reading of the information, can be seen as an evolution in terms of infographics production in journalism.

The evolution is no longer accelerated, due mainly to technical limitations and to the time required to produce an infographic, which is always much more time-consuming than putting a text and an image online. A dynamic and interactive infographic summons the efforts of different professionals, which is unfettered by the immediacy of information so distinctive of cyber journalism.

Henceforth, a paradox seems to be built up: dynamic infographics have their scope of application quintessentially in cyber journalism as all the multimedia resources are enhanced; at the same time, dynamic infographics display difficulties in articulating with the fast pace of online news publishing.

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Exposición A La Violencia Y Su Relación Con La Salud Mental En Estudiantes De Educación Media Superior En Ciudad Juárez, México.

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Abstract

Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, received the classification of the most dangerous city in the world for their high rates of violence during the years 2007-2012; five years of intense stress, deterioration in confidence to the authorities and fears. Citizens during this period were acquaintances, friends, relatives, neighbors, someone violated, and in the worst cases victims of organized crime.

Many people in Ciudad Juarez were victims or witnesses of communal violence. With violence experienced in Ciudad Juarez from 2007, we want to analyze the relationship between exposure of violence with symptoms of depression, post-traumatic stress and thoughts paranoid in young people attending high school. The objective was to analyze the relationship between the level of exposure to violence with symptoms of depression, post-traumatic stress and thoughts paranoid in students of middle school in Juárez, Mexico City. Analyzed the relationships between exposure to violence with depression, post-traumatic stress and thoughts through Pearson correlations paranoid obtaining statistically significant correlations, so that greater exposure to violence were reported higher levels of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder and paranoid thoughts. It can be concluded, looking at the results, positive correlations indicate that greater exposure to

community violence, greater is the presence of depressive symptoms, post-traumatic stress disorder and paranoid thoughts.

Keywords: Depressive symptoms, symptoms of paranoia, communal violence

Resumen

Ciudad Juárez, México, recibió la clasificación de la ciudad más peligrosa del mundo por sus altos índices de violencia durante los años 2007 - 2012; cinco años de intenso estrés, deterioro en la confianza a las autoridades y miedos. Los juarenses durante este periodo fueron conocidos, amigos, familiares, vecinos, de alguien violentado, y en el peor de los casos víctimas de la delincuencia organizada.

Muchas personas en Ciudad Juárez fueron víctimas o testigos de violencia comunitaria. Con la violencia experimentada en Ciudad Juárez a partir del 2007, queremos analizar la relación entre la exposición de violencia con síntomas de depresión, estrés postraumático y pensamientos paranoides en los jóvenes que cursan la preparatoria. El objetivo fue analizar la relación entre el nivel de exposición a la violencia con síntomas de depresión, estrés postraumático y pensamientos paranoides en jóvenes estudiantes de educación media superior en Ciudad Juárez, México. Se analizaron las relaciones entre la exposición a la violencia con depresión, estrés postraumático y pensamientos paranoides a través de correlaciones de Pearson obteniendo correlaciones estadísticamente significativas, en tanto que a mayor exposición a la violencia se reportaron mayores niveles de depresión, pensamientos paranoides y estrés postraumático. Se puede concluir, al observar los resultados, correlaciones positivas indicando que a mayor exposición a la violencia comunitaria, mayor es la presencia de sintomatología depresiva, estrés postraumático y pensamientos paranoides.

Palabras Clave: Sintomatología depresiva, síntomas de paranoia, violencia comunitaria

Introducción

Debido a la vulnerabilidad a la que están expuestos los jóvenes nos interesa estudiar la resiliencia como una forma de afrontamiento que este grupo puede utilizar para protegerse de la violencia. Una base de datos, con las cifras anuales de “muertes por agresión” de jóvenes mexicanos de 15 a 24 años que la Organización Mundial de la Salud recopiló a lo largo de los años 1979 a 2010, arrojan un saldo total de 98 mil 882 fallecimientos lo que permite poner en perspectiva el impacto humano que seis sexenios de

gobierno tuvieron sobre muchos mexicanos a lo largo de esas tres décadas. (Álvarez, 2015).

En ciudad Juárez las cifras de asesinatos dolosos se distribuyeron de la siguiente manera en la época de mayor violencia en 2007 se registraron 192 fatalidades, subiendo a 1580 en 2008, 2386 al año siguiente, y el récord de 3798 en 2010, a partir del 2011 se registró una disminución de muertos por asesinato a 2323, bajando a 857 doce meses después y finalmente 424 en el 2014. (Ibáñez, 2015).

El término depresión hace referencia a una variedad de cambios tanto en el estado anímico y motivacional como en la conducta del individuo, pudiendo abarcar desde un sentimiento de melancolía hasta una visión negativa del mundo, el futuro y uno mismo. Es común que las personas se sientan tristes, irritables, nerviosas y enfadadas cuando les ocurre un evento adverso o perjudicial, sin embargo los síntomas que presentan suelen desaparecer con el paso de los días. En la depresión, hay una exageración persistente de los sentimientos habituales de tristeza. Esta exageración de la tristeza se ve acompañada por diversos factores físicos, psicológicos, cognitivos y motivacionales que caracterizan el cuadro depresivo (Sarason y Sarason, 2006). La sintomatología comprende la presencia de tristeza, pérdida de interés así como de la capacidad de disfrutar, constantes sentimientos de culpa, baja autoestima, trastornos del sueño, tanto como del apetito, fatiga y dificultad para concentrarse. El DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) señala las cualidades sintomatológicas entre los distintos trastornos depresivos, siendo éstas la presencia de tristeza, vacío, ánimo irritable, desesperanza, baja autoestima y persistencia de pensamientos relacionados con la muerte y el suicidio; acompañadas por cambios somáticos, como lo son notables disrupciones en hábitos al dormir o comer, falta de energía; y cognitivos, tales como la falta de concentración, que afectan significativamente la capacidad individual para funcionar.

El trastorno por estrés postraumático es un problema multicausal que puede ser secundario a la exposición a diversos tipos de eventos violentos, entre los que destaca la agresión física y la agresión psicológica, ambos considerados de alto impacto en la génesis de este trastorno, debido a que el individuo experimenta o es testigo de un suceso que le infunda un temor desmedido y éste persista durante un periodo aproximado de 3 meses (Alonso, Salvador, Suelves, Jiménez, y Martínez, 2004). Al respecto, Medina, Borges, Lara, Ramos, Zambrano y Fleiz (2005) reportan que el 68% de la población mexicana ha estado expuesta al menos a un suceso estresante en su vida, y señalan que el 2.3% de las mujeres y 0.49% de los hombres presentaron un trastorno por estrés postraumático. Este trastorno puede aparecer si el individuo experimenta o es expuesto a algún tipo de violencia, ya sea física o emocional. Anaya (2010) afirma que la exposición a actos de

violencia eleva los niveles de estrés ya que, independientemente del tipo de violencia, ésta puede ser psicológicamente traumática. Los homicidios son una de las amenazas que más daño ocasiona en cuestión de seguridad pública, estos crímenes violentos en ciudad Juárez fueron en incremento de manera gradual. A partir del 2009 la incidencia delictiva aumento considerablemente, siendo el arma de fuego, la forma más usual para cometer tal delito (Observatorio Ciudadano y Convivencia Ciudadanas, 2014). La violencia y la delincuencia en general, se han incrementado en la ciudad, lo que hace pertinente el estudio de dicho fenómeno, para que permita un mayor entendimiento de la problemática social y así, poder diseñar programas de prevención que permitan disminuir la ocurrencia de dichos delitos violentos. Según datos proporcionados por el Observatorio de Seguridad y Convivencia Ciudadanas, se reportaron 2,657 homicidios (hombres y mujeres) para el 2009 en Ciudad Juárez (2010). Y tan solo en lo que va del 2015, ya se registraron 1085 homicidios, de los cuales 823 se cometieron con arma de fuego (SEGOB, 2015).

Como una de las posibles repercusiones que han dejado los hechos violentos, los pensamientos paranoides se hicieron notar en el comportamiento de los ciudadanos de esta localidad y curiosamente de manera colectiva en todas las esferas y grupos sociales. Los signos y síntomas relacionados con los pensamientos paranoides según el DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) se describen a continuación:

- Desconfianza y suspicacia intensa frente a los demás, de tal manera que sus motivos se interpretan como malévolos; comienza en las primeras etapas de la edad adulta y está presente en diversos contextos.
- No se produce exclusivamente en el curso de la esquizofrenia, un trastorno bipolar o un trastorno depresivo con características psicóticas, u otro trastorno psicótico, y no se puede atribuir a los efectos fisiológicos de otra afección médica

Algunos modelos relacionados con los pensamientos paranoides son por ejemplo, el Modelo Cognitivo de Beck y Freeman, el cual explica que la personalidad y sus trastornos se conceptualizan como organizaciones de esquemas cognitivos ligados a determinados patrones de conducta. Los esquemas cognitivos son organizaciones individuales e idiosincrásicas de reglas sobre la vida, las relaciones con otros y el auto-concepto, que se han formado a lo largo del desarrollo. Los esquemas permanecen inactivos hasta que ciertos eventos los activan (situaciones estresantes, nuevas fases, cambios en el desarrollo y ciertas condiciones vitales) presentando al sujeto ciertos patrones de conducta (Millon, Grossman, Millon, Meagher y Ramnath, 2006).

En un estudio realizado por Jack y Egan (2015), con una muestra de 200 participantes se encontró que el pensamiento paranoide se asocia y

predice la sobreestimación de amenaza o riesgo de victimización criminal, ya que la paranoia, el riesgo ambiental percibido, el sesgo de salto a las conclusiones y el razonamiento heurístico, influyen en la equivocada interpretación de estímulos neutros y juicios sobre la vulnerabilidad a la amenaza y crimen.

Método

La selección de los participantes se llevó al cabo mediante un muestreo de 300 estudiantes de nivel medio superior, los criterios de inclusión fueron los siguientes, (1) vivir en Ciudad Juárez (actualmente) y (2) tener más de 15 y menos de 19 años.

Escala de Exposición a la Violencia: compuesta de 36 reactivos con formato tipo Likert de 5 opciones (nunca a muy frecuente). La escala se compone de cinco factores que se denominan victimización contextual no presencial, victimización contextual presencial, victimización contextual en la colonia, victimización contextual en los lugares de diversión, y victimización en la escuela. El rango de confiabilidad de los confiabilidades interna van de $\alpha = 0.80$ a 0.94 .

Escala de depresión Patient Health Questionnaire 9 (PHQ-9): Consta de nueve reactivos basados en los nueve criterios del DSM-IV para evaluar la depresión. Cuenta con un formato de respuesta Likert de 4 opciones. La consistencia interna del instrumento es de $\alpha = 0.86$.

Escala de Pensamientos Paranoides (Esparza y Quiñones, 2012): Esta escala está compuesta de nueve pensamientos paranoides relacionados con la violencia con una consistencia interna de $\alpha=0.81$.

Escala para el trastorno del estrés postraumático: el cual consta de 23 ítems que comprenden sintomatología propia de este trastorno, para responder mediante un auto reporte, con respuestas de tipo Likert, que van desde total desacuerdo a total de acuerdo (Pineda, Guerrero, Pinilla y Estupiñan, 2002).

Resultados

Se analizaron las correlaciones entre las variables de la escala de Exposición a la Violencia con el resto de los instrumentos, en un primer análisis se correlacionó con los factores de la escala de depresión, la escala de estrés postraumático y la escala de pensamientos paranoides. Existen correlaciones estadísticamente significativas con las escalas de depresión, estrés postraumático y pensamientos paranoides. Los resultados indican que los participantes que reportan mayor exposición a la violencia también reportan mayores puntajes en las escalas de depresión, estrés postraumático y pensamientos paranoides.

Tabla 1. *Correlación entre la exposición a la violencia y variables de salud mental*

	Depresión	Estrés Postraumático	Pensamientos Paranoides
EV Total	.14*	.20**	.18**
EV VCNP	0.11	.19**	.16**
EV VCP	0.02	.16**	.17**
EV VCC	.20**	.17**	.16**
EV VCD	.14*	.14*	.16**
EV VE	0.02	0.1	0.08

Nota: * = $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; EV VCNP = Escala de Exposición a la Violencia factor de victimización contextual no presencial; EV VCP = Escala de Exposición a la Violencia factor de victimización contextual presencial; EV VCC = Escala de Exposición a la Violencia factor de victimización contextual en la colonia; EV VCD = Escala de Exposición a la Violencia factor de victimización contextual en los lugares de diversión; EV VE = Escala de Exposición a la Violencia factor de victimización en la escuela.

Discusión y conclusión

Entre las afecciones psicológicas que pueden presentar los jóvenes en ambientes de violencia social confirmamos que los pensamientos paranoides, la depresión y el estrés postraumático son manifestaciones de éstas, ya que encontramos una relación estadísticamente significativa entre estos constructos, y la violencia que perciben los jóvenes, algunos reactivos en el caso de pensamientos paranoides la explican mejor: corresponden al número tres y cuatro donde los participantes reportan que al oír un ruido fuerte piensan que es un balazo y sienten que están siendo vigilados ellos o su familia.

También en el caso de la violencia percibida en la escuela no encontramos una correlación estadísticamente significativa, lo que nos hace pensar que la escuela la perciben como un lugar seguro donde se sienten a salvo. Tomando en cuenta la magnitud en la que se relacionan es pequeña, pueden existir otras variables resultantes de la exposición social a la violencia que influyen en otras afecciones mentales, por ejemplo, como lo menciona Zamora (2013), cuadros de ansiedad, depresión, angustia o aislamiento, que se manifiestan no sólo inmediatamente después de ser víctimas de la violencia, sino que también en otras etapas de la vida. Tomando en cuenta los resultados obtenidos en este estudio encontramos consistencia con la clasificación diagnóstica mundialmente aceptada de trastornos mentales (DSM), la cual explica que uno de los principales criterios que se tienen que cumplir para considerar la presencia de un trastorno de estrés postraumático, es la exposición a una experiencia violenta. Esta exposición implica ser testigo o enfrentar un evento violento

que incluye la muerte o amenaza de muerte, o alguna situación de peligro. Respecto a esta misma discusión, Anaya (2010) afirma que la exposición a actos de violencia eleva los niveles de estrés, y que independientemente del tipo de exposición a la violencia, ésta puede ser psicológicamente traumática, aunque los resultados obtenidos muestran una correlación significativa entre estas variables, no se debe caer en el error de generalizar los hallazgos encontrados en una muestra, al total de la población. Es importante mencionar que los factores de riesgo y de las características individuales del sujeto determinan la manera en que afronta y reacciona al acto violento, por lo que no todas las personas que experimenten un evento traumático, generarán este trastorno.

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“Lebewohl”: A Musical Motif for Peace

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Abstract

Music for human rights and social justice is very often a vehicle for words which then carry the lion's share of the interpersonal and musical communication. Music for solo piano which heightens our awareness of human rights and social justice issues exists without words, relying on extra-musical representations and symbols to create a bridge between the music and our perception of it. The first movement of Ludwig van Beethoven's *Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, Op. 81a, "Das Lebewohl"*, will be discussed for its symbolism of grief and farewell over the Archduke Rudolph's forced exit from Vienna as Napoleon's troops advanced, as will the first movement of *Sonata "27 April 1945"* of Karl Amadeus Hartmann, which uses Beethoven's motif from the first movement of *Op. 81a* as a primary reference in his musical outpouring of grief towards the imminent deaths of "preventative detainees" from Dachau at the hands of the Nazis at the end of the Second World War. Through music's connection to our nonverbal layers, these musical compositions can connect with our core selves, hold a mirror to our own belief systems and, if we are fortunate, bring us closer to peace.

Keywords: Piano human rights "Lebewohl" motif Ludwig van Beethoven Karl Amadeus Hartmann

Introduction

Music is peace, or rather: it can be. Music carries within its melodies, harmonies, and rhythms the ability to stimulate or sedate, to soothe or to burden, to fuel anger or to dampen anguish. Music helps us know it will be all right by surrounding us with familiar sounds and palliative emotions. It can shield us from life when we turn up the volume or put on headphones, cutting off an outside world on the verge of becoming overwhelming. And it can surprise us, when we let it. It can lead us to new modes of understanding, can open us to change, and can transform our

beliefs. Writing on music and conflict transformation on the website of The Voice Project, Vanessa Contopulos has stated:

In the same way as art or beauty, music carries within it the potential to interrupt patterns of familiarity. It can create moments of transcendence during which we are able to view what we felt was known territory from a new and enlightening perspective. (Contopulos 2012)

Music, at its best, moves and educates us. Rather than becoming either a panacea or a provocation to violence, music has the capacity to reach us on non- and sub-verbal levels within the brain, to open our belief systems to the possibility of something else – something more. This paper will not address the numerous examples of music's power to be a part of the pathway to healing for those who have been hurt; rather, it will address the specific non-verbal potential of certain compositions of solo piano music to awaken an understanding and heighten our awareness of human rights and social justice issues.

I.

Music for social justice is very often a vehicle for words which then carry the lion's share of the interpersonal and musical communication. Music for solo piano which heightens our awareness of human rights and social justice issues exists without words, relying on extra-musical representations and symbols to create a bridge between the music and our perception of it. The more we recognize the significance of these extra-musical symbols, the greater the potential for what Contopulos referred to as "moments of transcendence", in similar fashion to knowing the code behind the actual words in many African-American spirituals brings with it deeper understandings and meanings of the messages hidden within the text. The actual words and symbols, then, become part of the framework in which the meaning is imbedded and built.

The use of the piano conjures images of an elite class more interested in the sustenance of their hegemony than in social justice and human rights issues; however, the instrument was still in its formative stages when it became but one symbol of an emergent middle class during Europe's Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The people who purchased a piano during that time were acting much as parents do today: wanting a better and more educated and affluent life for their children than they had themselves. Along with piano lessons were lessons in singing, perhaps a string instrument, general music to read and understand music, and dance.

As today, people sought to better themselves and their families through their talents, their work, their children, and their friends. When something happened to them as a person, a family, a people, or a nation, they

grieved. Some of them communicated such grief through the composition of music dedicated to those who had been wronged. One example of such a composition is the *Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, Op. 81a, "Das Lebewohl"* by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827). A grumpy and cantankerous man by the time this sonata was written in 1809-1810, Beethoven nonetheless felt great suffering for his friend and patron the Archduke Rudolf of Vienna when the Archduke was forced to leave the city on May 21, 1809, as Napoleon's troops advanced upon it. A motif of three stately chords opens the movement. (Beethoven 1811) Heard twice within the *Adagio* introduction (mm. 1-16), it fails each time to cadence into E-flat, moving instead to c minor (m. 2) and to C-flat major (m. 8), never achieving a full cadence into E-flat major until the coda of the first movement. Over those three chords in their initial statement opening the piece Beethoven wrote "Le – be wohl", translating to "live well" but normally used as a salutation of farewell. At the time of the first movement's composition in 1809, Beethoven did not know how final that salutation would be.

[play video recording of excerpts from Beethoven Op. 81a; c. 90 seconds]

In terms of the musical symbolism and weight of the movement (not to mention the time to play), the majority of the substance and significance from the "Lebewohl" motif occurs within the introduction (mm. 1-16) and coda (c. m. 146 – 255). (Biss 2013) As often happens in Beethoven's music, however, the melodic portion of a motif may be removed, leaving a rhythmic motif which may be manipulated on its own apart from its conjunction with the melody. (One need only think of the short-short-short-long rhythm found throughout Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5 in c minor, Op. 67* to realize the significance rhythmic motives play in his music.) The body of *Op. 81a* proper (that is, the exposition, development, and recapitulation between the introduction and coda) includes but one overt usage of the "Lebewohl" motif in the closing theme (mm. 50-56; mm. 142-148). The motif is found in inversion in the secondary theme (mm. 35-38; mm. 127-130), and many iterations of the short-short-long rhythm as eighth-eighth-quarter note may be found throughout the movement, discreetly unifying those moments during which the explicit use of the motif is not present. Such usage of the motif both rhythmically and melodically will become evident as well in an examination of the *Sonata "27 April 1945"* of Karl Amadeus Hartmann (1905-1963).

136 years after Beethoven mourned the departure of the Archduke Rudolf of Vienna, over a span of more than a day Karl Amadeus Hartmann watched at least 20,000 prisoners from Dachau being whipped along a road away from the approaching Allied forces and towards their deaths. He went that day to the piano in in his father-in-law's villa (Lebrecht 2005) in

Kempenhausen (Walker 2013) to memorialize his impressions of that moment and those prisoners in a piano sonata, inscribing upon the first page of the manuscript: “On 27 and 28 April 1945, a stream of people trudged past us, “preventative detainees” from Dachau –
endless was the stream –

endless was the misery –

endless was the suffering –”. (Hartmann 1945/1983)

Much may be inferred from the score and its performance: some hear the hobbling feet of the prisoners in the rhythm of the opening lines (Lebrecht 2005), some the “melismas of Jewish ritual music” (Krause 1945/1983) – the latter perhaps most specifically in the final recitative of the first movement (mm.50-65). It is the conscious use of the “Lebewohl” motif from Beethoven’s *Piano Sonata, Op. 81a*, however, that demonstrates not only his knowledge of Beethoven’s music and grief, but also binds the unknowing of return from Beethoven towards the Archduke to Hartmann and his distress for these “preventative detainees” of Dachau at the end of the Second World War.

The “Lebewohl” motif of Beethoven’s *Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, Op. 81a* permeates the first movement of Hartmann’s *Sonata “27 April 1945”* in three distinct ways: rhythm only (as short-short-long), single notes or dyads placed within a larger grouping of notes, and prominently as an intentional reference to the Beethoven motif from *Op. 81a*. Opening with an oblique reference to the motif in rhythm only, its first overt appearance comes in mm. 7-8, overlapping left to right hand – a suggestion of memoriam that is counterbalanced just before the closing recitative in mm. 48-49 by the same statement in a different key.

[play recording of Hartmann mm. 1-9; c. 15 seconds]

Between these two statements are found numerous iterations of all three permutations of Beethoven’s “Lebewohl” motif, which will be highlighted on the score as the video recording plays. The closing recitative has three phrases, each one longer than the preceding one, each ending with the “Lebewohl” motif inverted and in augmentation. The final phrase has an extension of the motif to close. Is it hope or resignation? Listen and watch Karl Amadeus Hartmann’s *Sonata “27 April 1945”*.

[play video recording of Hartmann *Sonata “27 April 1945”*, mvt. 1; c. 5 minutes]

Conclusion

Music for solo piano which heightens our awareness of human rights and/or social justice issues can be cathartic for composer, performer, researcher, and audience alike. From at least 1809 on, this music has taken its place within the canon of piano literature, though only recently has it been

highlighted as music for peace. Along with pianists who are dedicating their lives to music for peace, such as Davide Martello (the “peace pianist” of Taksim Square during the Gezi Park protests of 2013 and Paris right after its attack in 2015) (Bylund 2013), the discovery and performance of music composed in reaction to horrors against humanity can be greater than reminding us of the events that prompted a specific piece of music’s composition – it can enhance our empathy for those around us and around the world with lives different than our own. May we continue to find avenues, both musical and otherwise, to come together with a shared vision of humanity at peace.

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Issue of the Impact of Traffic Signs on Observance of Safe Distance Between Vehicles in the Czech Republic

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Abstract

This technical article deals with the issue of influence of road sign on observance of the safe longitudinal distance between vehicles on 1st class road in Czech Republic. It contains an analysis of vehicle accidents on the roads in the Czech Republic, focusing on the accidents caused by non-observance of the safe distance. It also deals with the legislative requirements for the observance of the safe distance and at the conclusion, there is accomplished an analysis of influence of road sign on observance of the safe longitudinal distance between vehicles (classified by vehicle type) on the 1st class road in Czech Republic where is vertical and horizontal road sign to observe the safe distance between vehicles.

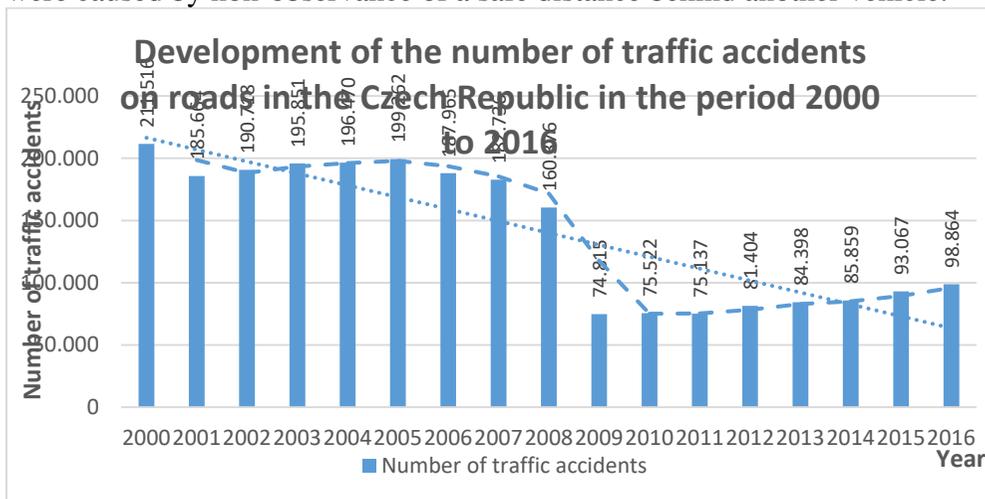
Keywords: Safe distance; vehicle; traffic accident

Introduction

The third most frequent cause of traffic accidents in the Czech Republic according to the statistics of the Czech Police is non-observance of a safe distance behind another vehicle. The distance of the second vehicle in a motorcade in these traffic accident cases was shorter than the distance in which the driver could respond adequately to avoid an accident upon the vehicle in front of him slowing down. Driving with an insufficient distance behind another vehicle is not only dangerous, but also aggressive. The problem is that the traffic regulations of the Czech Republic do not specify the safe distance to be kept behind another vehicle and drivers are usually fined for non-observance of a safe distance only at the moment when a traffic accident occurs. This professional article solves the issue of the impact of traffic signs on observance of a safe driving distance between vehicles.

The issue of road traffic accidents in the Czech Republic

In the period from 2000 to 2016, according to statistical data, a total of 2,379,624 traffic accidents occurred on roads in the Czech Republic which were investigated by the Police of the Czech Republic, which is an average of 139,978 traffic accidents per year. Since 2009, the number of traffic accidents recorded by the Czech Police has substantially declined, and this is clearly to a larger extent due to the amendment of Act No. 361/2000 Coll. under Act No. 274/2008 Coll., in force from 1 January 2009, where the damage incurred for reporting of traffic accidents to the Czech was increased to CZK 100,000 for any of the vehicles involved in the traffic accident, including transported items. A further influence was obviously, for instance, the implementation of the points evaluation system from 25 April 2006, including its subsequent amendments. In spite of the above-mentioned influences, the decline in the number of traffic accidents recorded by the Czech Police from 2009 was annually characterized by a slight increase up to 2016, when the Czech Police handled a total of 8,146 traffic accidents which were caused by non-observance of a safe distance behind another vehicle.



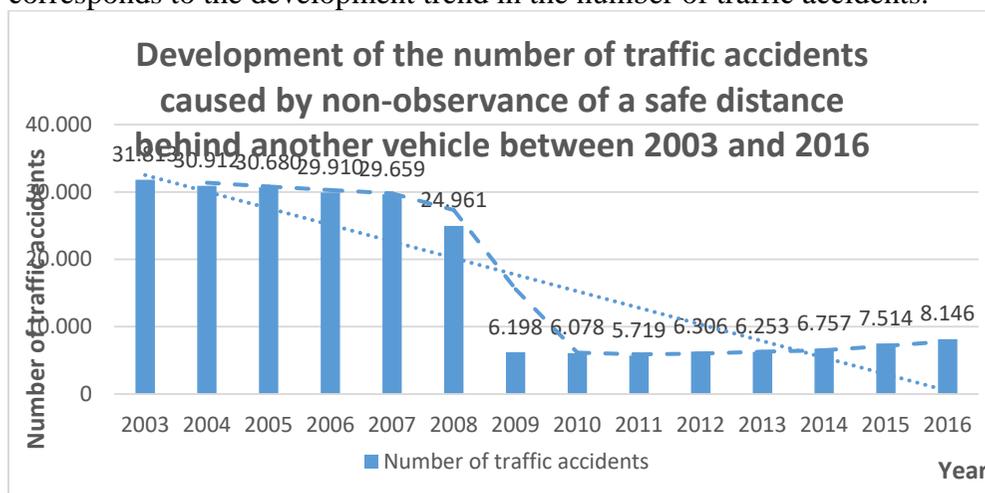
Graph 1 Development of the number of traffic accidents on roads in the Czech Republic

Causes of traffic accidents

According to the Police, among the 10 most frequent causes of traffic accidents on Czech roads caused by motor vehicle drivers in 2016 was failure to devote full attention to driving, incorrect turning or reversing, non-observance of safe distance behind another vehicle, other types of incorrect driving, driving at a speed inappropriate to the road conditions (ice, pot holes, mud, wet surface, and the like), failure to adapt the speed to the technical conditions of the roadway (bend, slope, gradient, road width and the like), losing control of the vehicle, failure to respect a “Give Way”

sign, turning without adequate side clearance and running into the path of oncoming traffic, while the most common cause of traffic accidents was that the driver did not pay full attention to driving, made incorrect turns or reversed, while the third most common cause was non-observance of a safe distance behind another vehicle, which applied to a total of 8,146 traffic accidents.

In the period between 2003 and 2016, according to the police, non-observance of a safe driving distance behind another vehicle resulted in a total of 230,906 traffic accidents in the territory of the Czech Republic (see next graph), which is an annual average of 16,493 traffic accidents. The development trend in the number of traffic accidents caused by non-observance of a safe driving distance behind another vehicle approximately corresponds to the development trend in the number of traffic accidents.



Graph 2 Development of the number of traffic accidents caused by non-observance of a safe distance

In 2016, the Czech Police recorded 67 % of traffic accidents which occurred within city limits, 29 % of traffic accidents which occurred outside city limits and 4 % of traffic accidents which occurred on the motorways of the Czech Republic.

According to the Czech Police, the road traffic accident death toll in 2016 was broken down as follows: 62 % died in traffic accidents outside city limits, 32 % died in traffic accidents within city limits and 7 % died in traffic accidents on the motorways in the territory of the Czech Republic.

Definition of safe distance behind another vehicle in the laws of the Czech Republic

In the laws of the Czech Republic, specifically Act No. 361/2000 Coll., on road traffic, as amended, under Section 19(1), among other things, the safe distance between vehicles is defined as follows:

“The driver of a vehicle that is travelling behind another vehicle must maintain an adequate safe distance to enable him to avoid a collision in the event of an abrupt speed reduction or sudden stop of the vehicle in front of him.”¹²⁴⁾

Generally, according to this Act, the driver is obliged to keep such a distance that allows him to stop safely in case of the occurrence of the above-mentioned traffic situation. This definition thus does not quantitatively determine the distance behind another vehicle, but the so-called “two seconds rule” exists, which recommends that drivers in good weather conditions should keep a distance of at least two seconds behind another vehicle, and keep a longer distance in deteriorated weather conditions.

Analysis of the impact of traffic signs on observance of the distance behind another vehicle in the Czech Republic

Measurements were taken outside city limits on Road E461 not far from the Municipality of Bořitov in the direction to Brno on 19 November 2015 from 14:20. The measurement was done on a section with vertical and horizontal traffic signs that warn drivers to keep a safe distance behind another vehicle. For the purposes of the analysis, the traffic situation was measured before the upright traffic sign that warned about observing a safe distance and at the same time after this traffic sign and at the end of the horizontal traffic sign on the roadway that warned about such observance.



Fig. 1, 2 Upright, respectively, horizontal traffic signs for observance of safe driving distance behind another vehicle in the measured section

¹²⁴⁾ Parliament of the Czech Republic. (n.d.). Act No. 361/2000 Coll. Retrieved March 12, 2017, from <https://portal.gov.cz/app/zakony/zakonPar.jsp?idBiblio=49756&nr=361~2F2000&rpp=15#local-content>.

The weather conditions were, among others, cloudy without precipitation, temperature of 15 °C and a slight breeze. During measurement, the vehicles were recorded from an adequate distance in the field at the beginning and end of the section in such a manner as not to influence the drivers' activities and thus avoid distortion of the measurement. For this reason, the recording equipment was located at an adequate distance so that the drivers would not see it. For the purposes of this measurement, video recordings were made using digital video cameras in a full HD resolution of 1920 x 1080 pixels at a frame rate of FPS 50.

Before making the video recording, the important distances for subsequent evaluation of the measurements were measured using a tape and marked with wooden pegs. These measured points were subsequently recorded by two cameras in a video recording for subsequent analysis.

During analysis of the individual frames, the following traffic situation data were recorded:

- categories of vehicles travelling in a motorcade,
- video recording imaging coefficient,
- time of vehicle front-end at beginning of section [*s*],
- time of vehicle rear-end at beginning of section [*s*],
- time of vehicle rear-end at end of section [*s*],
- length of measured section [*m*].

From these variables, the average vehicle speed and average distance between the vehicles in the measured section were calculated. Vehicles with a spacing of less than 100 metres were considered as vehicles travelling in a motorcade. The evaluation, apart from vehicles with a spacing of more than 100 *m* also excluded a tractor travelling at too low a speed with vehicles in a motorcade behind it, in order to avoid distortion of the sample data set.

Data analysis results obtained from the measurement and acquired knowledge

The traffic intensity in the measured section in the direction to Brno at the time of measurement was 530 vehicles per hour. From the primary set of 530 vehicles travelling through the given section, a sample of 312 measured vehicles travelling through the given section with a distance of 100 m behind another vehicle and also travelling at a speed above 50 *km/h*. The random variables included the already mentioned vehicle speed and distance behind another vehicle, whose values make up the data set.

Measurement of speed before and after the traffic sign warning the driver about observing a safe distance behind another vehicle

From the primary set, approx. 93 % of the drivers in the measured section before the upright "Keep a Safe Distance" traffic sign did not exceed

the maximum permitted speed. A total of 39 drivers out of 530, i.e., approx. 7 %, drove through the measured section at a higher speed than permitted. Absolutely, the highest measured speed recorded was 103 *km/h*.

For vehicles from the sample data set, the lowest measured speed was 61 *km/h*, and the highest 96 *km/h*. The average speed of the vehicles was 76 *km/h*, while 25 % of the vehicles travelled at a speed below 71 *km/h* and 25 % of the vehicles at a speed above 79 *km/h*. In the following graph, it can be seen that the majority of drivers drove at a speed between 72 and 75 *km/h*.

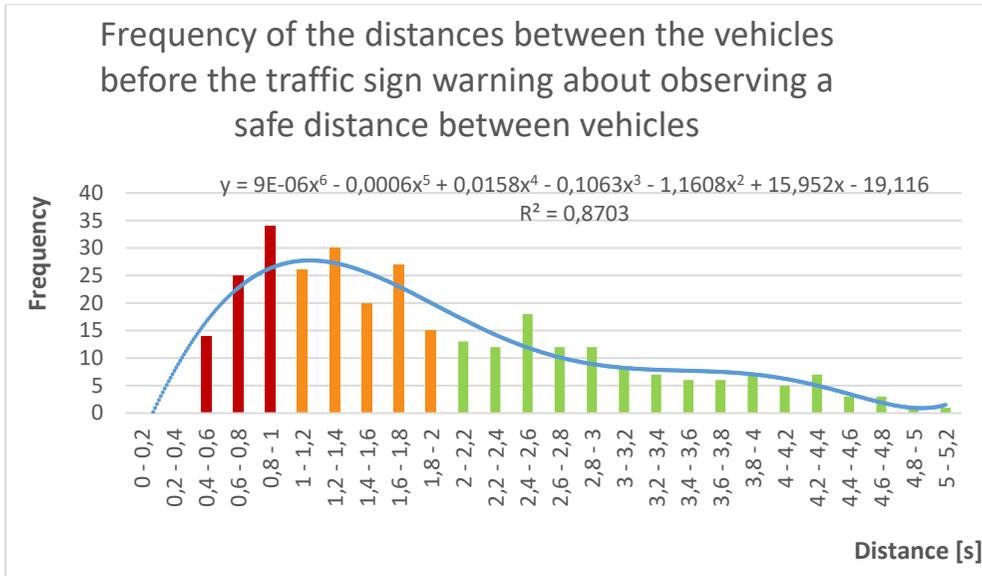
From the primary set, approx. 97 % of the drivers in the measured section after the upright “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign and also at the end of the V16 “Keep a Safe Distance” horizontal traffic sign did not exceed the maximum permitted speed. A total of 16 drivers out of 530, i.e., approx. 3 %, drove through the measured section at a higher speed than permitted. Absolutely, the highest measured speed recorded was 103 *km/h*.

For vehicles from the sample data set, the lowest measured speed was 58 *km/h*, and the highest 92 *km/h*. The average speed of the vehicles was 73 *km/h*, while 25 % of the vehicles travelled at a speed below 68 *km/h* and 25 % of the vehicles at a speed above 77 *km/h*. In the following graph, it can be seen that the majority of drivers drove at a speed between 70 and 73 *km/h*.

The difference between the speed of the vehicle before and after the safe distance traffic sign in the case of the sample set of 312 vehicles is on average approx. -3 *km/h*, i.e., The drivers on average reduced the vehicle speed after travelling past the upright traffic sign and over the horizontal traffic sign warning about observing a safe distance behind another vehicle.

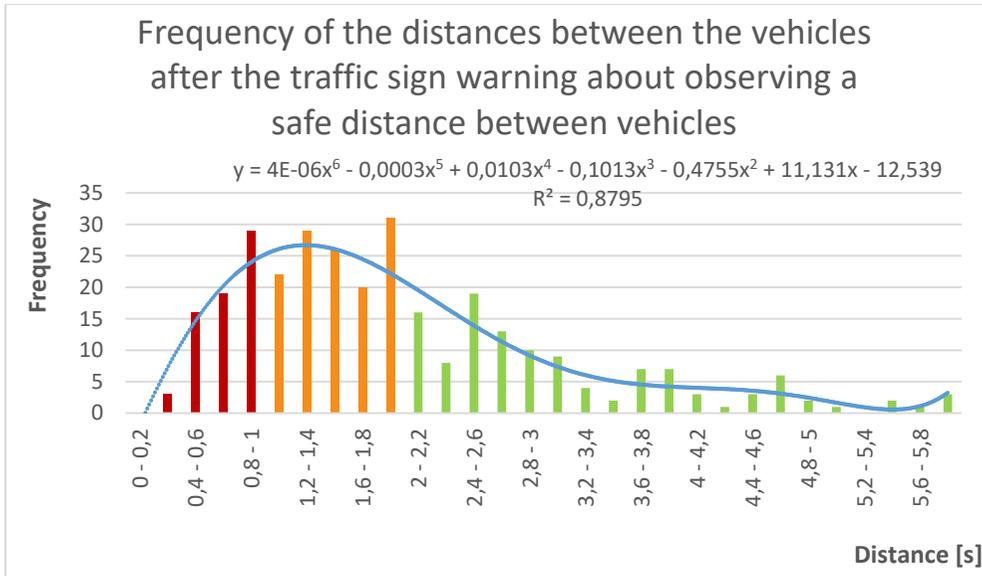
Measurement of distance between vehicles before and after the traffic sign warning the driver about observing a safe distance behind another vehicle

For vehicles in the sample set, the shortest distance before the upright “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign was approx. 0.4 *s*, the longest approx. 5 *s*. The average distance behind another vehicle was approx. 1.88 *s*, while 25 % of the vehicles travelled at a distance behind another vehicle of less than approx. 1 *s* and 25 % of the vehicles at a distance behind another vehicle of more than 2.5 *s*. In the following graph, it can be seen that the majority of drivers drove at a distance behind another vehicle of between 0.8 and 1 *s*. From the sample set, i.e., 312 vehicles, a total of 193 drivers, i.e., approx. 62 %, when driving behind another vehicle kept a distance of less than 2 *s*, a total of 78 drivers, i.e., approx. 25 % kept a distance of less than 1 *s* and a total of 9 drivers, i.e., approx. 3 % kept a distance of less than 0.5 *s*.



Graph 3 Frequency of the distances between the vehicles before the traffic sign warning about observing a safe distance

For vehicles in the sample set, the shortest distance after the upright “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign and also at the end of the V16 “Keep a Safe Distance” horizontal traffic sign was approx. 0.2 s, the longest approx. 5.9 s. The average distance behind another vehicle was approx. 1.92 s, while 25 % of the vehicles travelled at a distance behind another vehicle of less than 1.1 s and 25 % of the vehicles at a distance behind another vehicle of more than 2.5 s. In the following graph, it can be seen that the majority of drivers drove at a distance behind another vehicle of between 1.8 and 2 s. From the sample set, i.e., 312 vehicles, a total of 199 drivers, i.e., approx. 64 %, when driving behind another vehicle kept a distance of less than 2 s, a total of 70 drivers, i.e., approx. 22 % kept a distance of less than 1 s and a total of 11 drivers, i.e., approx. 4 % kept a distance of less than 0.5 s.



Graph 4 Frequency of the distances between the vehicles after the traffic sign warning about observing a safe distance

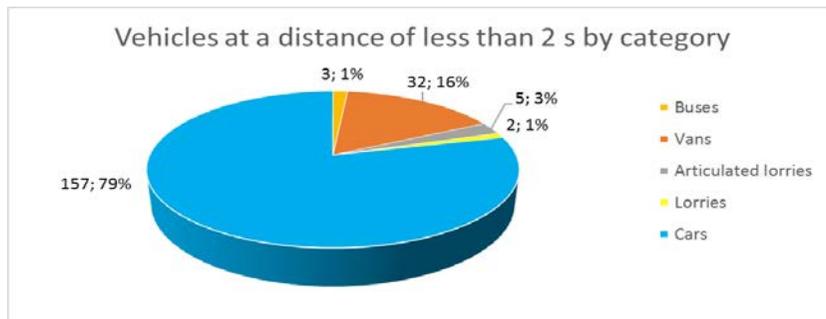
The difference between the distances behind other vehicles before and after the safe distance traffic sign in the case of the sample set of 312 vehicles is on average approx. +0.04 s, i.e., the drivers on average slightly increased their distance behind another vehicle after travelling past the upright traffic sign and over the horizontal traffic sign warning about observing a safe distance behind another vehicle.

The following table shows that the lowest measured speed behind another vehicle after the upright “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign and also at the end of the V16 “Keep a Safe Distance” horizontal traffic sign on average was observed by bus drivers, i.e., 1.3 s, followed by car drivers, i.e., 1.8 s, followed by van drivers, i.e., 1.9 s, and a distance greater than 3 s on average was maintained by drivers of articulated lorries and lorries. On average, a mildly positive effect on the observance of safe driving distance behind another vehicle in the measured section between the part after the “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign as compared with the traffic situation before the “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign, was registered for the articulated lorries category, approx. +0.2 s. On the contrary, the distance behind another vehicle was shortened in the case of the bus category, by approx. 0.5 s.

Vehicle type	Distance before traffic sign [s]	Distance after traffic sign [s]	Difference [s]	Number of vehicles
Cars	1.8	1.8	0	228
Vans	1.9	1.9	0	54
Articulated lorries	2.9	3.1	+ 0.2	16
Lorries	3.0	3.0	0	11
Buses	1.8	1.3	- 0.5	3
Total average / number	1.9	1.9	0	312

Table 1 Comparison of average distance between vehicles according to vehicle category before and after the traffic sign

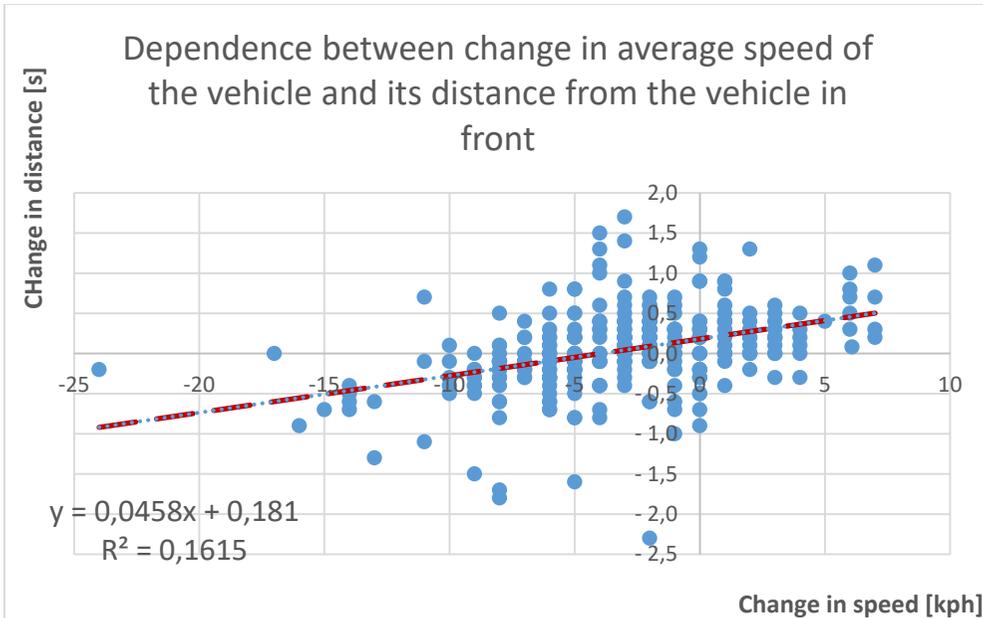
The following graph shows that the largest ratio of drivers who drove through the measured section during the measurement with a distance of less than 2 s after the Keep a Safe Distance traffic sign are drivers of cars and vans.



Graph 5 Vehicles at a distance of less than 2 s by category

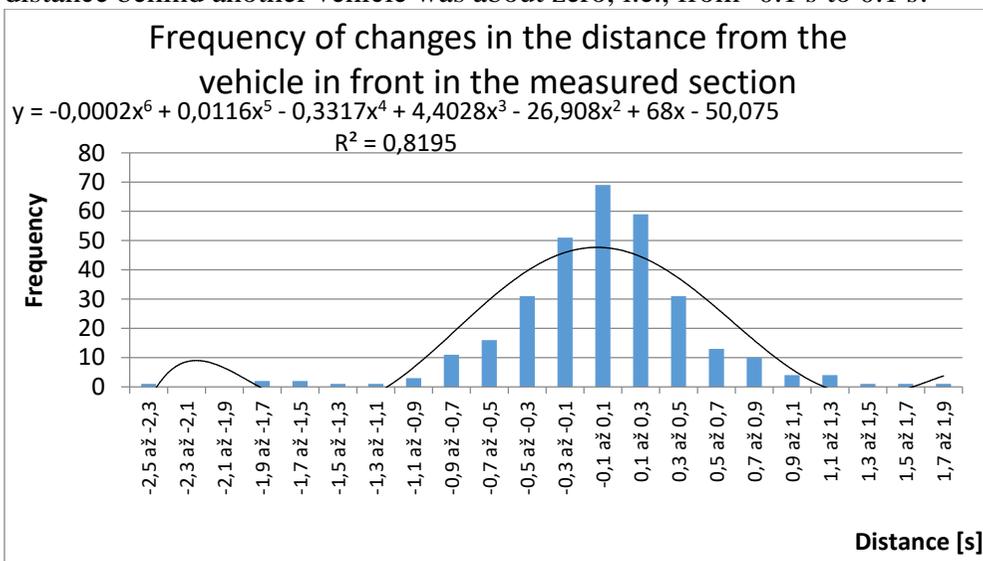
The coefficient of the correlation between the vehicle speed and its distance behind another vehicle for the sample set of 312 vehicles is close to zero in the case of both measured points, thus from the statistical viewpoint there is no direct or indirect linear dependence between speed and distance behind another vehicle before and after the “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign.

The coefficient of the correlation between change of speed and distance behind another vehicle after travelling through the measured section is equal to approx. 0.40, which indicates partial linear dependence between change in speed and change in distance behind another vehicle, or if the driver changed the speed of the vehicle after passing the “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign, then the distance behind another vehicle also changed to a certain degree.



Graph 6 Dependence between change in average speed of the vehicle and its distance from the vehicle in front

The following graph shows the frequency of individual changes in distance behind another vehicle in the measured section. The largest number of drivers, i.e., 69, did not change their distance behind another vehicle after driving through the measured section, or the difference in their distance behind another vehicle was about zero, i.e., from -0.1 s to 0.1 s.



Graph 7 *Frequency of changes in the distance from the vehicle in front in the measured section*

Conclusion

According to Czech Police statistics, the highest risk factor of the traffic system, which has a substantial impact on the frequency of traffic accidents, is the human factor, or road traffic participant, who drives a motor or other vehicle. Reducing the accident rate is being facilitated by the development of assistant systems in motor vehicles, development of the safety of the transport infrastructure, sanctions and many others although in spite of this, according to the Czech Police the number of traffic accidents has been rising since 2009. On the contrary, at least the number of deaths within 24 hours after a traffic accident in the territory of the Czech Republic is declining. According to road traffic accident statistics in the Czech Republic, it is becoming clear that “non-observance of safe distance” is one of the most frequent causes of traffic accidents. According to the Czech Police, it was the third most frequent cause of road traffic accidents in 2016.

From the given measurement, it follows that a significant proportion of drivers do not observe the “two seconds” safe distance rule, and in many cases not even such a distance behind another vehicle that could correspond to the usual response time of a driver, and they are not aware of the risks of such behaviour.

From the analysis of the measurements done in the given section, it also follows that the traffic signs that warn about observing a safe distance behind another vehicle on average have a negligible impact (+0.04 s) on observing a safe distance behind another vehicle. This behaviour on the part of drivers is probably influenced mainly by the fact that a safe distance is not specified in Act No. 361/2000 Coll., as amended, and at the same time, the relevant legal regulations do not define sanctions for non-observance of a safe distance behind another vehicle.

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Impact of Road Checks on Compliance with Safe Following Distances Between Vehicles on Motorways in Austria

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Abstract

This article deals with the issue of the impact of visible road checks, i.e. simulated radar speed measurement, on compliance with safe following distances on motorways in Austria. It contains a theoretical analysis of the characteristics of a safe following distance, explains the issue of safe following distances in relation to Austrian legislation and subsequently presents an experiment to ascertain the impact of road checks on compliance with safe following distances on a three-lane motorway in Austria and its results. Based on the results of the experiment, it was found that simulated radar road checks on motorways influence the behaviour of drivers, in particular by encouraging a slight speed decrease, but also a substantial increase in the distance between vehicles and therefore a substantial increase in traffic safety.

Keywords: Safe distance; driver's behaviour; roadside check

Introduction

One of the possible causes of traffic accidents is the failure to observe a safe following distance between vehicles, i.e. a traffic accident occurs when the driver of a vehicle following another vehicle is unable to slow down or stop in order to avoid a collision when the vehicle in front suddenly slows down or stops, because he or she fails to keep a sufficient distance. In many countries this safe distance is not specifically defined, but in good weather conditions drivers are recommended to observe a two-second rule in the case of passenger vehicles and a three-second rule in the case of heavy goods vehicles over 3.5 t. Relevant Austrian legislation, however, defines the safe following distance and drivers who fail to observe it may be fined by the Austrian police. The distance for which a fine may be imposed is defined as 0 - 0.2 s, or a less severely punishable range of 0.2 – 0.4 s. In neighbouring Germany, for example, this distance is defined in units of length, i.e. in

metres. The purpose of legal definition of “an unsafe following distance” is to increase the authority of the police and in particular to increase traffic safety.

The aim of this paper is to present the results of research whose goal was to hypothesise as to whether visible road checks on motorways in Austria have any impact on compliance with safe following distances.

Characteristics of Safe Following Distances between Vehicles

A safe following distance behind a vehicle marked "b" is influenced by a number of factors. In the event that two vehicles are following one another on a road and the vehicle in front suddenly slows down or stops, the safe following distance of the following vehicle is substantially affected by the speed of both vehicles, the deceleration of the individual vehicles and the reaction time of the driver of the following vehicle, which necessarily includes the time of visual perception, mental reaction, decision-making and muscular reaction of the driver and the technical response time of the braking system following the driver’s command and the response time of the braking system until full braking effect is achieved.

The formula for calculating a safe following distance between vehicles with different deceleration and speed is as follows:

$$b \geq v_2 \cdot t_{r2} + \frac{v_2^2}{2 \cdot a_2} - \frac{v_1^2}{2 \cdot a_1}$$

where the following units are used:

- b*..... safe distance between two vehicles [*m*],
- v*₁.....speed of the first vehicle [*m/s*],
- v*₂..... speed of the second vehicle [*m/s*],
- t*_{r2}..... reaction time of the second driver [*s*],
- a*₁..... deceleration of the first vehicle [*m/s*²],
- a*₂..... deceleration of the second vehicle [*m/s*²].

If both vehicles are travelling at the same speed and are able to achieve the same deceleration in the specific traffic conditions, it is possible to simplify the formula so that the minimum safe following distance is given by the reaction time of the driver of the second vehicle.

$$b \geq t_{r2}$$

Safe Following Distances in Austrian Legislation

Safe following distances are defined in Austrian legislation in Section 18 of the Straßenverkehrsordnung (StVO - Road Traffic Regulations) Act, and respective sanctions for failure to observe these distances in Sections 7, 26 (2a) and 30 of the Führerscheingesetz (FSG - Driving Licence) Act. The

above-mentioned legislation defines, among other things, the necessity to maintain an adequate safe distance at any speed and, at the same time, to ensure that the distance is sufficient for the driver of the following vehicle to stop his/her vehicle at any time, even in the case that the driver of the vehicle in front suddenly starts to brake.

Failure to observe the regulations regarding safe following distances is divided according to the severity of the breach as follows:

- If the distance between the two vehicles is shorter, in particular between 0.2 and 0.4 s, the driver placed on record and may have to pay a fine of up to €726.
- If the distance is shorter than 0.2 s, the driver has to pay a fine of between €36 and €2180 and shall have his/her driving licence revoked for at least 6 months.

Furthermore, the above-mentioned Straßenverkehrsordnung Act defines the obligation of drivers of long vehicles (i.e. lorries, articulated lorries and buses) to observe a minimum distance of 50 m on roads outside municipalities.

Measurement Method

Measuring was carried out on the A1 three-lane motorway in Austria near municipality of Viehdorf in the direction of St. Pölten, on 13 October 2016 from 4:00 pm. At the time the measurements were carried out, the weather conditions were favourable, visibility was good, the maximum temperature was around 10 °C and the wind was light, reaching about 2 m/s. The section selected for measurement contains two consecutive flyover junctions (approx. 480 m apart) made up of two bridges.



Figure 1 Layout of measurement locations

For the purposes of the experiment, the traffic situation on the first bridge was measured with the measuring device hidden so as not to influence drivers, while on the second bridge, a simulated radar device was placed in a location visible to drivers. The data acquired in this manner was analysed and evaluated.



Figure 2 Situation in the second location with a simulated road check – radar speed measurement

Findings

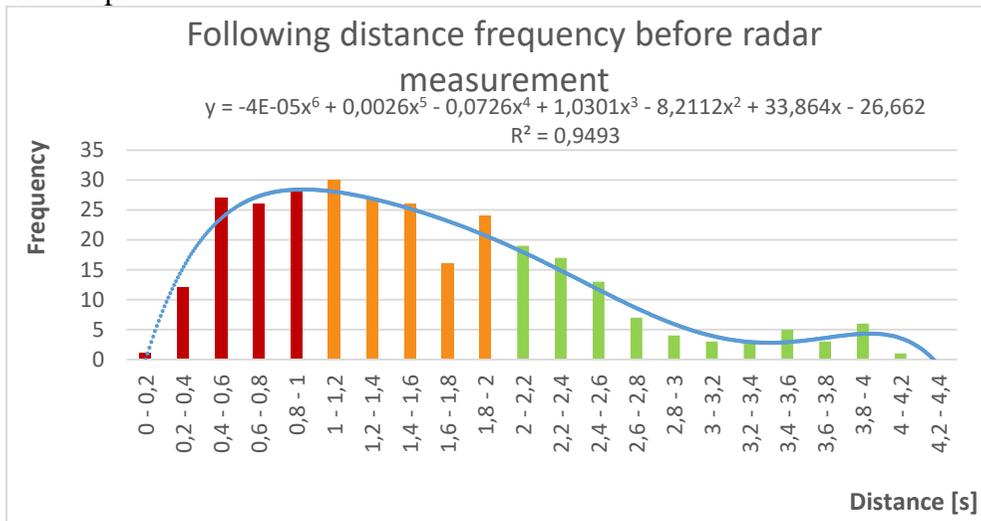
At the time of measurement, traffic intensity in the measured section in the direction of St. Pölten was 2544 *vehicles/h*. This data was used for the analysis of a basic set of 530 vehicles in the given section. Sample sets were selected from the basic set within the individual measurement sections containing at least two vehicles following each other in the same lane in the given section with a maximum distance of 100 *m*. In the case of the first section, the sample set contained 298 vehicles and in the second measurement section the sample set contained 241 vehicles. Variables included the average speed of vehicles in the given section and average distance between vehicles. These values constitute a data file.

It follows from the results of the analysis of the sample set of vehicles shown in the following table that the average speed of vehicles was 123 *km/h* and the average following distance was 1.5 *s*. On average, the shortest following distance was maintained by passenger vehicle drivers and van drivers in the left lane, specifically 1.1 *s*, followed by passenger vehicle drivers in the middle lane, specifically 1.4 *s*.

Lane	Vehicle category	Average speed [km/h]	Average distance [s]	Number of vehicles
Left	passenger cars	137	1.1	92
	vans	131	1.1	15
Middle	passenger cars	129	1.4	111
	vans	122	1.9	16
	lorries	87	1.6	5
Right	passenger cars	106	2.0	6
	vans	97	2.4	14
	lorries	86	2.4	39
Total	-	123	1.5	298

Table 1 Measured values in the sample set in the first section

The following graph shows a histogram of the distance between vehicles in the first measured section, from which it is apparent that in the sample set of vehicles, approx. 32 % of drivers maintained a distance lower than 1 s, i.e. not even within the distance corresponding to a standard driver's reaction time, approx. 41 % of drivers maintained a distance of 1 to 2 s, and approx. 27 % of drivers maintained a distance exceeding 2 s. Therefore, approx. 73 % of drivers failed to maintain the recommended two-second rule in the sample set from the first section. The abovementioned relevant Austrian legal regulations regarding a minimum following distance greater than 0.4 s was violated by 13 drivers in all, i.e. approx. 4 % of the drivers in the sample set.



Graph 1 Following distance frequency before radar measurement

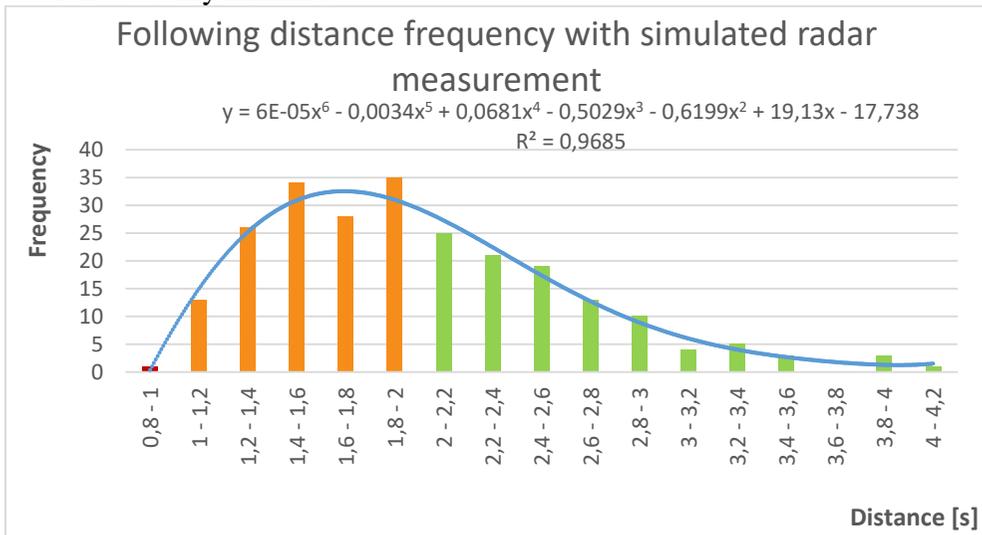
It follows from the results of the analysis of the sample set of vehicles shown in the following table, that the average speed of vehicles was 119 km/h, i.e. 4 km/h slower in comparison with the first section, while the average following distance was 2.0 s, i.e. 0.5 s longer. On average, the shortest following distance was maintained by lorry drivers in the left lane, specifically 1.4 s, followed by passenger car drivers and van vehicle drivers in the same lane, specifically 1.7 s.

Lane	Vehicle category	Average speed [km/h]	Average distance [s]	Number of vehicles
Left	passenger cars	130	1.7	79
	vans	128	1.7	11
	lorries	81	1.4	2
Middle	passenger cars	125	1.9	89
	vans	116	2.4	17

	lorries	88	2.1	8
Right	passenger cars	114	2.0	3
	vans	95	2.3	8
	lorries	84	2.9	24
Total	-	119	2.0	241

Table 2 Measured values in the sample set in the second section

The following graph shows a histogram of the distance between vehicles in the second measured section with simulated radar measurement, where it is apparent that in the sample set of vehicles, only one driver, i.e. approx. 0.4 % of all drivers, maintained a distance lower than 1 s, therefore failing to observe the distance corresponding to a standard driver's reaction time, approx. 56 % of drivers maintained a distance between 1 and 2 s and approx. 43 % of drivers maintained a distance exceeding 2 s. Therefore, approx. 56 % of drivers failed to maintain the recommended two-second rule in the sample set from the first section. The above-mentioned relevant Austrian legislation regarding a minimum following distance greater than 0.4 s was not violated by any of the drivers in the sample set. The graph shows the positive impact of the simulated visible radar speed check on following distances, even though it is apparent that the speed decrease in the given section was only minimal.



Graph 2 Following distance frequency with simulated radar measurement

In the second study, a sample set was selected from the basic set of vehicles containing vehicles with a following distance shorter than 100 m, where the pairs of vehicles were the same in both the first measured section and the second section with simulated radar speed measurement. This sample

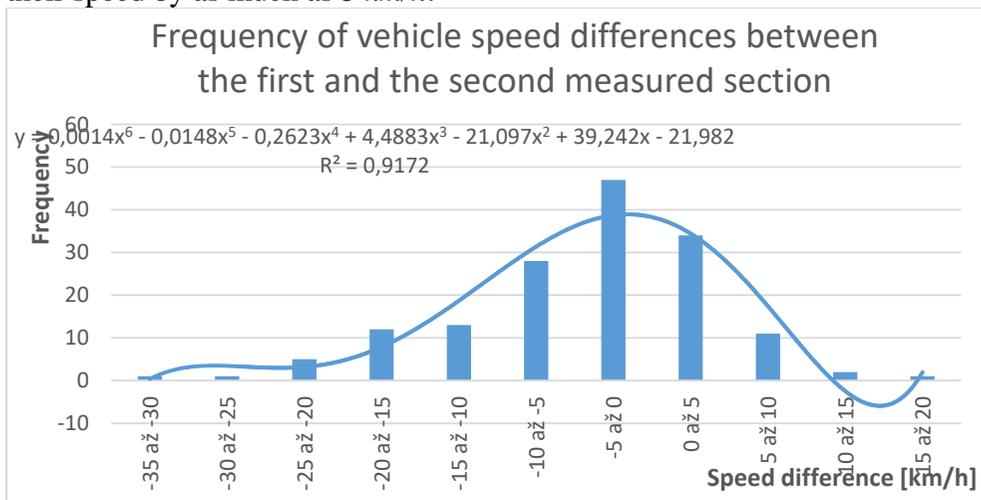
set comprised a total of 155 vehicles and, in keeping with the input conditions of the sample set, did not include possible traffic situations where, for example, a third vehicle driving in a faster lane moves in between two vehicles in a way which disproportionately shortens the distance between these two vehicles.

It is apparent from the table that the vehicles in the sample set in the second study slowed down between the first and second measured sections by 4 km/h on average and conversely increased their following distance by 0.9 s on average. The table shows that the drivers of passenger cars in the left lane decreased their speed the most, specifically by 7 km/h, while the following distance was most adjusted by van drivers in the left lane and lorry drivers in the right lane, specifically by 1.0 s.

Lane	Vehicle category	Average of speed difference [km/h]	Average of distance difference [s]	Number of vehicles
Left	passenger cars	-7	0.9	56
	vans	1	1.0	11
Middle	passenger cars	-5	0.8	56
	vans	-5	0.9	4
	lorries	0	0.7	1
Right	passenger cars	5	0.4	3
	vans	-4	0.6	3
	lorries	0	1.0	21
Total	-	-4	0.9	155

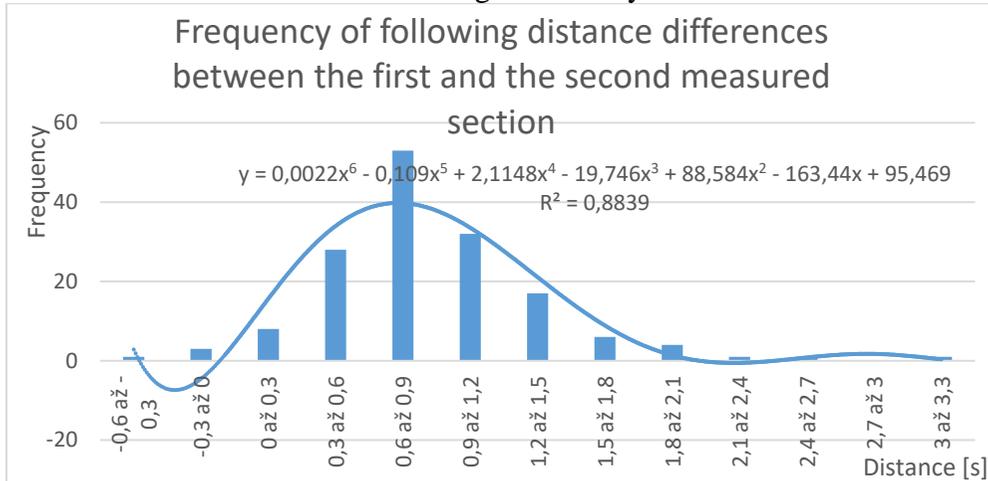
Table 3 Different values between the two measured sections for the second sample set

The following graph shows a histogram of the speed difference between vehicles in the first and the second measured sections, where it is apparent that in the sample set of vehicles, approx. 30 % of drivers decreased their speed by as much as 5 km/h.



Graph 3 Frequency of vehicle speed differences between the first and the second measured section

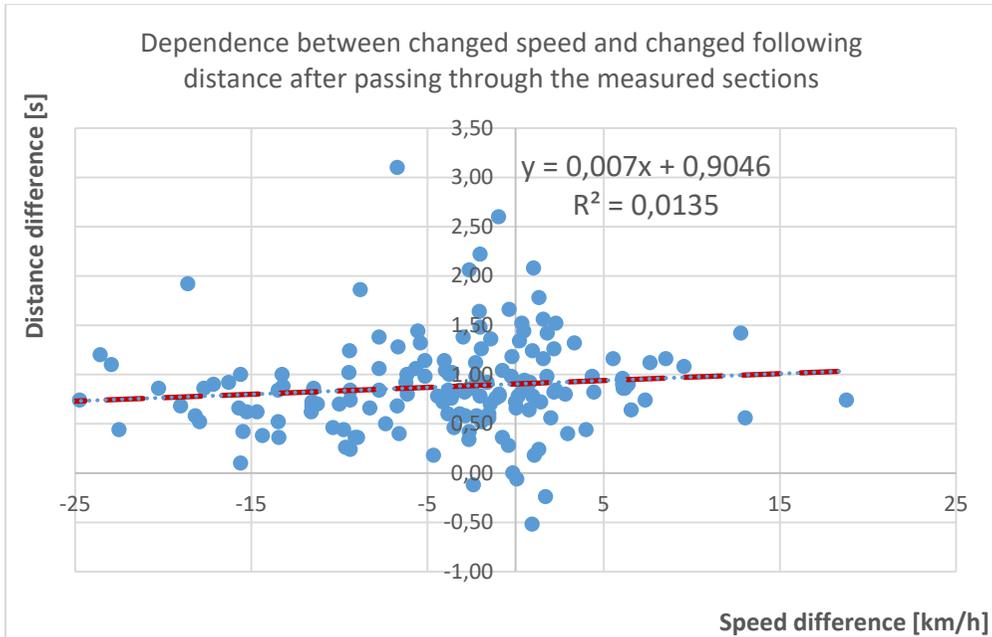
The following graph shows a histogram of the difference in the following distances of vehicles between the first and the second measured sections, whereas it is apparent that in the sample set of vehicles approx. 34 % of drivers increased their following distance by 0.6 to 0.9 s.



Graph 4 Frequency of following distance differences between the first and the second measured section

The correlation coefficient between the speed of a vehicle and its distance behind another vehicle for the sample set of 155 vehicles in the case of the first and the second measured sections is approx. 0.39 or 0.35, thus from a statistical viewpoint, there is a partial indirect linear dependence between the speed and the following distance in the first and the second measured sections.

The correlation coefficient between a change of speed and following distance after travelling through the measured section is equal to approx. 0.11, which indicates a slight direct linear dependence between the change in speed and change in following distance, i.e. if a driver changes speed after passing a “Keep a Safe Distance” traffic sign, then the distance to the next vehicle also changes to a certain degree.



Graph 5 Dependence between changed speed and changed following distance after passing through the measured sections

Conclusion

According to statistics, the highest risk factor in the traffic system with a substantial impact on traffic accident rates is the human factor or the participation of people in traffic. Although the average number of deaths due to traffic accidents in Austria has been decreasing in the past few years, it is necessary to further contribute to this trend with effective measures for enhancing road traffic safety.

Failure to comply with safe following distances is one of the causes of traffic accidents. The number of such traffic accidents may be reduced by developing driver-assistance systems, but also, among other things, by improving drivers' behaviour by way of education, better adjusted sanctions, an increased number of road checks, etc.

Based on the results of the first and second study in this report, it is apparent that road checks on motorways influence the behaviour of drivers, in particular by encouraging a slight speed decrease, but also a substantial increase in the distance between vehicles and therefore a substantial increase in traffic safety.

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