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Sociology Study

Volume 3, Number 10, October 2013 (Serial Number 29)

Contents

Depression Among Arab Students in Israel: The Contribution of Religiosity, Happiness, Social Support and Self-control

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Abstract

This study examines the correlation among a number of personal and environmental resources that can reduce depression. These are: religiosity, happiness, social support, and self-control. The participants in the study consisted of 219 Arab students from teacher training colleges in the Triangle region in central Israel. The findings indicate that all the resources that were examined contribute to reducing the level of depression; in other words, significant negative correlations were found between the level of religiosity, happiness, social support and self-control on the one hand, and the level of depression on the other hand. These findings are consistent with those of other studies conducted elsewhere in the world on different populations (Christian and Jewish, as well as Muslim). The present study and its findings are, however, the first to address the understanding of depression among the populace in question. The findings were discussed in accordance with a number of different theories.

Keywords

Arab adolescents, depression, religiosity, happiness, social support, self-control

Depression in the various forms that it can take is considered as one of the most prevalent mental disorders of the twenty-first century. It is a long-term disorder that may appear at any age and is characterized by a considerable deterioration in mood, energy, motivation and enjoyment of life, accompanied by different possible symptoms of varying intensity. Clinically, depression is a syndrome that, in addition to bad mood, also shows symptoms of anxiety, significant reduction in the enjoyment of fun activities, weight loss or increased appetite, motor restlessness, loss of energy, negative and occasional suicidal thoughts, and sleep disorders (American Psychiatric Association 1994). A great number of studies that examined depression and its various forms in different Western societies show that 15% of adults

(12% among men and 25% among women) suffered from depression at least once in their lives (Kaplan, Sadock, and Grebb 1994). Other studies (Steffens et al. 2000) found higher percentages (between nine and 20), claiming that many people simply did not access to treatment. The present study focuses on depression among Arab students in Israel. According to a survey by the World Health Organization, about 40% of Israeli youth reported being very happy, but the percentages rise with increased age. In this respect no

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difference was found between Jews and Arabs. However, only 2% of Jewish students reported that they were not at all happy, in contrast to 7% of Arab students (6% among boys and 8% among girls). About one-fourth of youths in Israel (Jews and Arabs) reported that the security situation has an adverse effect on their concentration (Kaplan et al. 2010). Some 21% of Israeli youth reported that they experience mental symptoms (such as anger, nervousness, and bad mood) almost every day; the percentage among Arab students was much higher than among Jewish students (about 35% versus about 17%, respectively) (Kaplan et al. 2010). About 10% of students report feeling lonely, Jewish students get less than Arab students (about 9% versus 17%, respectively).

So far very little is known about depression in Arab Israeli society, with the exception of some international surveys in which Israel participated and which indirectly also addressed the Arab sector. Thus, for example, the last international survey conducted by World Mental Health (WHM) in the years of 2003-2004, in which Israel participated, found that one of six adults (17.6%) suffered from depression or anxiety at least once in their lives. And 9.8% suffered from clinical depression and 2.7% from General Anxiety Disorder (GAD). In this respect Israel does not differ from other developed nations such as Italy, Spain, and Japan. Among Israeli Arabs the depression rate stands at 22%, in contrast to 7% among the Jewish population. The study conducted by Kaplan et al. (2010) focused on the comparative frequency of depression disorder among Arabs and Jews in Israel, and concluded that the rate among Arabs was two-and-a-half higher than among Jews (24.6% vs. 10.6%, $p < .01$). In addition, it is important to stress in this connection the meaning of being an Arab who undergoes the process of adolescence in Israel. Arab adolescents live in a developing society that is undergoing modernization at an accelerated pace, associated also with processes of Israelization on the

one hand (Al-Haj 1996), and with opposing processes of Islamization and Palestinization on the other hand (Samoha 2004). Each one of these processes embodies a different system of values and norms. Such contradictions and contrasts make it difficult for adolescents to shape their identity and to decide between the adoption of modernity under the influence of Jewish society and the adherence to the values and norms of Arab-Islamic tradition. It is therefore of interest to examine whether and to what extent Western models relating to physical violence can be applied and generalized to the context of Arab adolescents. The present study will focus on the possible contribution of religiosity, self-control, and social support to moderating depression among Arab adolescents.

RELIGIOSITY

In recent years there is a resurgence of the effect of religiosity and spirituality on human behavior. Psychologists are beginning to recognize the role that faith and spirituality can play in ameliorating mental welfare. Traditionally psychology has taken a negative view of spirituality. From Freud to Ellis, psychologists and psychiatrists have viewed religion as "irrational" and as "a mechanism for people who cannot cope with life" (Clay 1996: 1).

However, in recent years more and more studies have noted the importance of faith in providing meaning to life and improving mental welfare. Spirituality and religion can improve mental welfare (Witter et al. 1985), self-esteem (Falbo and Shepperd 1986), physical health (Gottlieb and Green 1984), and satisfaction in marriage (Glenn and Weaver 1978).

The correlation between religiosity and mental health and psychopathology has been studied extensively (Al-Issa 2000; Koenig 1998, Maltby, Lewis, and Day 1999). The relationship is apparently quite complex, in view of the different explanations proposed for it, such as "religiosity can repress

symptoms and encourage more socially more acceptable and conventional forms of thought and behavior. This can provide sources for a broader development of perspectives and bring about a fuller realization of the individual's abilitie" (Wulff 1997: 244).

According to this explanation, a fundamentally religious orientation has been proven to be positively correlated with satisfaction with life, psychological adaptation, self-control, better performance, self-esteem and goals in life; at the same time, a negative correlation was found with anxiety, fear of death, neuroticism, depression, impulsiveness, etc. (Wulff 1997: 248).

Studies on religiosity and depression support the conclusion that certain aspects involving religiosity correlate with less depression. People who are frequently active in the religious community and attach great importance to their faith may be less at risk of falling into depression. Even when such people do experience depression, the study indicates that they can recuperate from it faster than people who are not religious. Religious involvement thus plays an important role in helping people cope with the effects of the pressures of life (Koenig, McCullough, and Larson 2001).

Many studies show a negative correlation between religiosity, depression (Davis, Kerr, and Robinson-Kurpius 2003) and anxiety (Harris, Schoneman, and Carrera 2002), and positive correlations with satisfaction with life (Diener and Clifton 2002; Kim 2001; Fife 2005), emotional adaptation, self-esteem, control and coping (Levin and Chatters 1998). On the other hand, some studies have shown a positive correlation between lack of spirituality and some negative mental states, including depression (Wright, Frost, and Wisecarver 1993), drug abuse (Maton and Zimmerman 1992), suicide and anxiety (Baker and Gorsuch 1982; Gartner, Larson, and Allen 1991; Sturgeon and Hamley 1979).

Ellison (1991) tried to explain how spirituality and religiosity can promote happiness and mental welfare in terms of enhanced integration and social support as a result of observance of religious ritual (for example, attending church services). The development of a profound belief in God may also promote happiness by reducing stress and improving coping strategies. Religiosity and spirituality may also provide meaning, cohesion, and a sense of purpose in life.

It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of these studies were carried out in the West, on Christian and Jewish subjects. Studies on Muslims and Arabs are a few and far-between; no studies at all have examined this correlation among Palestinian Arabs living in Israel. The present study thus presents pioneering research on the Muslim and Christian Arab population in the State of Israel.

Studies in various parts of the world on Muslim populations have all pointed to a significant positive correlation between religiosity and high mental welfare (Abdel-Khalek 2002; Suhail and Chaudhry 2004). Religiosity has been correlated with fewer psychosomatic symptoms and greater motivation, less anxiety (Abdel-Khalek 2002), physical health and optimism (Abdel-Khalek and Naceur 2007).

Many studies have found a negative correlation between religiosity and depression and anxiety (Amrai et al. 2011; Francis, Louden, and Rutledge 2004; Kaldestad 1996; Khodayarifard et al. 2002; Koeing et al. 2001; Thoresen and Harris 2002; Zimmeran, McDermut, and Mattia 2000).

A study that examined the contribution of spirituality on depression symptoms and behaviors that posed a hazard to health among adolescents, found that mental welfare and religious welfare constituted 29% of the variables that predicted depression syndromes, and 17% of variables in hazardous behavior. Most adolescents reported some connection between religiosity and mental welfare, while higher levels of spiritual welfare, especially existential welfare, correlated with fewer depression syndromes and less hazardous behavior.

The connection between religiosity and depression can be explained in terms of various different behavioral and cognitive approaches. According to one approach, the individual's behavior results from interpretations which he/she gives to experienced events; every event thus receives an interpretation that evokes different feelings, and these lead to behavior (Beck 1995). From this explanation it can be concluded that religious people preserve beliefs and schemata that provide them with important meanings in life, which make it easier for them to give interpretations that promote satisfaction and happiness. The schemata with which they are provided help them obtain self-control and improve their mental welfare. In a preliminary qualitative study on religious adolescents the following schemata were found: "In the end God will help me", "I refrain from behavior that would anger God", and "To forgive others and deal calmly with events will make God happier". Some schemata are based on Quranic verses or quote from the words of the Prophet: "Seek seventy excuses for your brother before you judge him", "The strong is not the powerful but he who restrains himself when angry", and "God's decrees must by accepted".

Eventually such schemata become an integral part of a believing person's cognitive-behavioral repertory and may affect and direct his/her behavior in various situations (Agbaria and Watad 2011).

One question in this connection is what is the contribution of environmental resources to the reduction of depression levels.

HAPPINESS

Happiness, which philosophers have called the supreme good, is a concept that is not at all easy to define. In recent decades, it has been the focus of a number of studies and has been reclassified under more specific headings, such as subjective welfare, positive affect, and satisfaction with life (Diener 2009).

Despite the similarity between "happiness" and "subjective mental welfare", most authors have avoided the former term because of its multiple connotations (Diener 2009). The term that is in common use today, "subjective mental welfare", refers to individuals' subjective assessment of the quality of their lives (Diener 1984, 2009) and consists of two components: satisfaction with life (the cognitive component) and relation between positive and negative feelings (the emotional component) (Diener 2009). The concept is of particular importance in situations of great stress and hardship, which may adversely affect people's mental welfare (Hobfoll 1989; Natving, Albrektsen, and Qvarnstrom 2001; Torsheim and Wold 2001).

The term "subjective mental welfare" refers to individuals' subjective assessment of their quality of life, happiness and satisfaction, as well as the quality of their inner experiences, in relation to different domains of life (Diener 1984). Its components, which include happiness, satisfaction, contentment and quality of life (Diener 1984), relate to cognitive and affective responses of the individual to experiences (Diener 1984; Veenhoven 1991). People with high mental welfare feel more in control of their lives, cope effectively with tension-inducing situations and set aims in life for themselves (Keyes and Ryff 2000; Veenhoven 1991).

A number of studies have shown positive correlations between mental welfare and a sense of being in control of one's life (Veenhoven 1991; McConnel et al. 2005), an ability to cope with stress and conflict (Argyle 1987), and a tendency to experience fewer negative feelings (Fordyce 1988). In addition, a positive correlation has been found between social belonging and mental and physical welfare (Bolger, Zuckerman, and Kessler 2000; Spiegel et al. 1989).

According to the professional literature, chronic exposure to stressful experiences affects the way in which people assess their satisfaction in life and, as a

result, also their mental welfare (Ash and Huebner 2001; Headey and Wearing 1989). In addition, a correlation exists between the feelings of tension and anxiety engendered by stressful experiences (whether political, economic, social or domestic) and low mental welfare (Campbell 1981). Some studies have shown a negative correlation between satisfaction with life and the development of post-traumatic symptoms in various populations, such as military veterans (Kashdan et al. 2006), people with a chronic fatigue syndrome (CFS) background (Eglinton and Cheung 2011), and people with a background of drug abuse (Ouimette, Goodwin, and Brown 2006).

In the present study, the subject of subjective mental welfare among adolescents was approached from a perspective of assessing happiness in life. Gilbert (2005) made a distinction between emotional, moral and judgmental happiness. Emotional happiness, in contrast to the other two types, is related to feelings rather than actions. Feelings derive from pleasurable experiences, unlike moral and judgmental happiness, which are related to thinking, to the fact that when a person knows that he/she performs a morally acceptable positive behavior, this results in a feeling of happiness. Happiness is usually associated with the idea of control; human existence is closely connected with control, the loss of which makes people feel unhappy, hopeless, and oppressed (Gilbert 2005).

SOCIAL SUPPORT

Social support is considered as a significant variable in improving positive affect and happiness (Fredrickson 2009). In the literature, it has been described as an environmental coping resource (Cohen and Wills 1985). An individual's system of social support consists of all the people with whom that individual has personal, social and/or family relations (B. R. Sarason, I. G. Sarason, and Pierce 1990) and consists of four main types of support: informative, instrumental, emotional, and companionship (Cohen

and Wills 1985). These types of support help the individual cope with sources of stress (House 1981). Informative support stresses assistance in providing information, counseling and guidance (Pearlin 1985) and helps to define, understand and cope with problematic events (Cohen and McKay 1984; Cohen and Wills 1985).

Instrumental support consists of providing material assistance and services that directly help to solve instrumental problems and so reduce the level of pressure (Cohen and Wills 1985; Cohen, Hettler, and Park 1997). Emotional support relates to interrelationships that highlight an individual's assessment, acceptance and value (Cohen and Wills 1985; Cohen et al. 1997). This kind of support is very important for pressure evaluation, in which the individual assesses whether a situation's demands exceed his/her own personal resources (Cohen et al. 1997). It is well-known that children with high self-esteem are able to deal better with stressful situations (Sandler et al. 1989).

Companionship support is associated with an enhanced sense of belonging. This kind of support can reduce feelings of pressure by way of answering the need for contact with others by drawing attention away from worries connected to the situation or by improving one's mood (Cohen and Wills 1985).

In the literature, two main ways are presented in which social support affects mental welfare. One of these, the main effect, has a direct positive influence on an individual's mental welfare irrespective of situations of stress. The basic claim is that such support can develop and enhance feelings of ability, self-esteem or self-capability. Such feelings make it possible for the individual to cope successfully with life's challenges. The other way is the buffer effect, according to which social support has an indirect effect on an individual's mental welfare, by reducing negative implications of the response to feelings of pressure (Antoucci and Akiyama 1994; Cohen and Wills 1985; Wilcox 1981). In this way, support

constitutes a coping strategy (Antonucci and Akiyama 1994).

Social support can reduce stress by affecting an event's primary or secondary assessment (Cohen and Edwards 1989). When an individual perceives a support network as available, this may depress assessments of potential threat deriving from the event, encourage the individual to believe in his/her ability to cope with the event, and/or encourage the use of adaptive coping strategies such as problem-solving and positive reevaluation (Cohen and Edwards 1989; Cohen and McKay 1984).

Many studies have dealt with the importance of social support for children and adolescents in situations of stress in general, and particularly in war situations (Blair et al. 2004; Gyurak and Ayduk 2008; Ronen and Seeman 2007; Weisbrod 2007).

For children in a crisis situation the family is the main support system. In times of crisis, the family provides its members with feedback on feelings, ideas and behaviors and so fixes the child's understanding of the nature and meaning of the stressful environment (Zeidner, Klingman, and Itskovitz 1993).

In times of trouble some 80% of Jewish students and 64% of Arab students turn to parents or other relatives. About one-fourth of Jews and half of Arabs seek out a teacher or another member of the school staff. About 16% of Jews and 38% of Arabs turn to the school counselor, and about 75% of all youth turn to friends (Kaplan et al. 2010).

Not only family support, but also support by friends and teachers has an ameliorating effect on the psychological difficulties caused by war (Klingman 2001; Zeidner, Klingman, and Itskovitz 1993; Swenson and Klingman 1993; Zeidner et al. 1993). Greenbaum, Erlich, and Toubiana (1993), who examined the sources of support among children in the Gulf War, found that parents and friends were sought as sources of support relatively more frequently than school and hot lines.

During childhood family support is very important, but in the course of adolescence friends and other people outside the family become a more significant source of support (Cotterell 1994). Most adolescents turn to their friends rather than their parents for purposes of joint leisure activities, friendship and understanding (Blyth, Hill, and Thiel 1982), as well as for feedback, practical information and emotional support (Jaffe 1998). The peer group serves as a powerful source of social compensation, including prestige, acceptance, status and popularity, all of which promote an adolescent's self-esteem (Bishop and Inderbitzen 1995). Relations with the peer group are characterized by greater intimacy and support than in early childhood (Jaffe 1998); they play a crucial role in promoting normal mental development (Steinberg 2002) and also constitute a defense mechanism in times of stress (Montemayor and Van Komen 1980).

Most findings in studies that examined the correlation between social support and mental health have consistently supported the conclusion that social support contributes positively to improvement in mental health and reduction of depression levels (Berkman et al. 2000; Cattell 2001; Irwin et al. 2008; LaGory, Ritchey, and Mullis 1990; Lin, Dean, and Ensel 1986; Lin, Ye, and Ensel 1999; Marroquín 2011; Thoits 1984, 1995). Conversely, low levels of social support are considered as a risk factor for depression. Social support includes sympathy, encouragement and support by colleagues, teachers, friends and family members (Kim 2001; Olsson 1998; Talaei et al. 2008). High levels of family support have been found to correlate with low levels of depression and reduced levels of suicidal thoughts (Galambos, Barker, and Krahn 2006; Harris and Molock 2000; Paykel 1994; Stice, Ragan, and Randall 2004; Travis et al. 2004). Social support and self-esteem have been shown to correlated negatively with depression among Iranian students (Talaei, Fayyazi, and Ardani 2009).

Studies have shown that personal resources are important for an individual's ability to cope with

stressful situation (for example, Blair et al. 2004; Gyurak and Ayduk 2008; Ronen and Seeman 2007; Weisbrod 2007). In the present study, the focus is on self-control as a variable representing an adolescent's personal resource for reducing stress.

SELF-CONTROL

The concept of self-control refers to behaviors that individuals carry out of their own free choice, at the expense of a more attractive behavior, and in favor of one that is considered more desirable (Thoresen and Mahoney 1974). This definition contains two elements; one of these is free choice, that is, a behavior which a person chooses because he/she realizes that this behavior is important. Such a choice is not the result of pressure from one's environment or out of necessity. The second element is choosing between mutually contradictory behaviors, among which the individual has to choose either one that is more important (or efficient) for them or the one that is more desirable at that moment (Ronen 1997).

Rosenbaum (1993, 1998) described self-control as a system of goal-centered cognitive skills that made it possible for people to attain their goals, overcome difficulties connected with thoughts, feelings and behaviors, postpone gratification, and cope with pressures. According to Ronen and Rosenbaum (2001), self-control skills would only be put into action when an individual was faced with obstacles that were difficult to overcome and that stood in the way of obtaining one's goals. In other words, it is the obstacles on the way to one's goals that determine whether the individual applies self-control skills. This means, for example, that an adolescent who does not perceive his own aggressive behavior as a problem, or perhaps even something for which he obtains reinforcements, will not apply self-control skills.

In the present study, the term self-control refers to the activation of a set of skills in order to reach a desirable goal. This set includes cognition and self-instructions for coping with various emotional and physiological responses, the use of problem-solving strategies, the ability to postpone gratification, and a belief in one's ability to control oneself in internal events (Rosenbaum 1980).

In a number of studies on children and adolescents, it was found that subjects who possessed such self-control skills as gratification postponement, problem-solving and cognitive structuring evinced less aggressive behavior (Ayduk et al. 2000; Blair et al. 2004; Gyurak and Ayduk 2008; Weisbrod 2007). It was also found that high levels of self-control are associated with greater success in forming social ties, more adaptive emotional responses to stressful situation, and fewer reports of psychopathology (Trangney, Baumeister, and Boone 2004).

Agbaria, Ronen, and Hamama (2012) examined the correlation between self-control and the frequency of psychopathological symptoms in the wake of exposure to war events among adolescents. The findings pointed to a moderating influence by self-control skills, which tended to reduce depression, anxiety and other psychopathological symptoms.

In a study that observed the relationship between self-control and anxiety and loneliness among siblings of children with cancer, a significant correlation was found between self-control as coping skills and anxiety and loneliness as emotional stress responses. In other words, siblings who reported higher levels of self-control had lower levels of anxiety and loneliness (Hamama, Ronen, and Feigin 2009).

Another study that examined the moderating effect of self-control skills among women with a history of physical, sexual or emotional abuse who suffered from post-traumatic symptoms, found that women who possessed a high degree of self-control reported weaker post-traumatic symptoms than women with low self-control (Walter, Gunstad, and Hobfoll 2010).

The findings of the above-mentioned studies lead to the supposition that the personality trait of self-control enables one to reach a balance between

oneself, one's environment and one's goals. People who succeed in reaching such a balance can adapt themselves to the requirements of the environment (Rothbaum, Weisz, and Snyder 1982) and cope efficiently with difficult situations of stress such as post-traumatic stress disorder.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses of this stugy are as follows:

(1) There is a negative correlation between self-control and depression;

(2) There is a negative correlation between social support and depression;

(3) There is a negative correlation between religiosity and depression;

(4) There is a negative correlation between happiness and depression.

METHOD

Subjects

The study population consisted of 219 Arab students at Arab teachers' colleges. They were chosen in a convenience sampling of students at colleges that are representative of students of teaching in the Northern and Southern Triangle regions. The students in these colleges are Muslims from an average socio-economic background.

And 17.8% are boys and 82.2% are girls; first year students constitute 60.6%, second year students 28.8% and third year students 9.1% (Age: Mean = 20, SD = 4.06). The distribution is quite even (with a range of between 11% and 19%) among the various disciplines: religion and Islam, English, Arabic and Hebrew, science and mathematics, special education, and tender age education.

Research Tools

Personal details questionnaire. This questionnaire elicits personal information about the subject and his family: gender, year of birth, academic year and field of specialization.

"Position on religion" questionnaire. This questionnaire, which was developed by Kendler et al. (2003), was translated into Arabic and adapted to an Arab-speaking Muslim population. Five items were deleted from the original questionnaire and 12 were added. The questionnaire's validity was tested by five referees and it was subsequently corrected until it attained its final form. The Cronbach alpha (α) values for the various dimensions were high, ranging between .86 and .93.

The questionnaire elicits positions on various aspects of religion. It consists of 63 items that express five dimensions: religiosity in general, social religiosity, forgiveness, God as judge, and lack of a desire for revenge.

The subject is asked to assess each item on a scale of five points (1 = "never", 2 = "rarely", 3 = "occasionally", 4 = "often", 5 = "always"). Of the five dimensions, the present study made use of only one, the first, with 31 items that reflect components of spirituality and understanding their place in the universe, in addition to the connection to God as expressed in everyday activity and in times of crisis.

Adolescence self-control scale. This questionnaire was originally developed by Rosenbaum (1980) for the purpose of assessing individual differences in self-control skills. It examines self-reports on the use of cognitions (such as instructions to oneself) and the application of problem-solving strategies in order to cope with emotional and physiological responses. The questionnaire was adapted for children and adolescents by Rosenbaum and Ronen (1991) and consists of 32 items that express various parameters of self-control skills: postponement of gratification, overcoming pain, planning ability, use of self-instructions and so on. The subject is asked to assess each item on a 6-point Likert scale (from 1 = "very untypical of me" to 6 = "very typical of me"). The questionnaire was checked according to a scale

from -3 to 3 points, according to the extent to which the subject assesses the item as being typical of him. The questionnaire contains nine inverse items.

In reliability tests of the questionnaire among adults and adolescents (Rosenbaum 1998) relatively high Cronbach alpha values were found (.87), while among children the values were lower (.69).

Social support questionnaire. Social support was measured by using Interpersonal Support Evaluation List (ISEL) developed by Cohen et al. (1985), concerning the perceived availability of potential social resorces. The original scale consists 40 items , with 4 subscales (appraisal, belonging, tangible support, and self-esteem support). The reliability of the ISEL is $\alpha = .90$. In this study, the short version of this scale (12 items) was administered, including the first 3 subscales mentioned above, with 4 items in each, for example: "I feel that there is no one I can share my most private worries and fears with". The items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from definitely false (1) to definitely true (4). Higher score reflects greater perceived support.

Subjective happiness scale. On the 4-item subjective happiness scale, participants circled the number that best characterized them on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (characterizing low levels of happiness) to 7 (characterizing high level of happiness); for example: "In general I consider myself not a very happy person (1) to a very happy person (7)" or "Compared to most of my peers I consider myself less happy (1) to very happy (7)". The Cronbach alpha of different samples ranged from .79 to .94 (Lyubomirsky and Lepper 1999).

Beck depression inventory (BDI). This consists of 21 items, each with four response options, and has a reading level of approximately fifth grade. The scale is intended to rate severity of depression in individuals aged 13 years and older. Internal consistency of the scale is high (.86 to .88 among psychiatric patients and .81 with non-psychiatric subjects). There is ample evidence of construct and concurrent validity; BDI

and clinical ratings of depression among psychiatric samples were highly correlated in meta-analyses. The BDI scores also were moderately to highly correlated with scores on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Depression, Zung Self-rating Depression, Hopelessness, and Hamilton scales (19). Depression was defined as a score on the BDI of -10.

The Research Procedure

The questionnaires were approved by the Head Scientist of the Ministry of Education. After approval was given, the questionnaires were distributed in the colleges. After the colleges gave their approval, a letter was sent to the students in which the purpose of the study was explained. They were asked whether or not they agreed to take part in filling in the questionnaires. In the final stage, the first researcher came to the colleges for a day. He entered the classrooms and explained the purpose of the questionnaires to the students. He stressed that the questionnaires would remain anonymous and that the findings would be used only for the study. The level of cooperation was very high; all the students who were present at the lectures agreed to fill in the questionnaires. They were distributed in Arabic, a language into which they had already been translated before for use in previous studies.

THE FINDINGS

Statistical analyses were conducted in order to check correlations among the study's variables and to test the research hypotheses.

Table 1 describes means, standard deviation, range and reliability of research tools.

Table 2 describes the connections between the variables, based on Pearson correlations.

As the table shows, significant negative correlations were found between depression and the other variables (self-control, religiosity, happiness and social support): for example, a significant negative

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviation, Range and Reliability of Research Measurements (*n* = 219)

Variable	Mean	SD	Median	Range	Reliability
Self-control	4.15	.52	4.16	3.32	.79
Happiness	4.39	.97	4.50	5.25	.66
Social support	3.07	.71	3.25	3	.78
Depression	.59	.52	.45	2.19	.91
Religiosity	3.92	1	4.62	4.50	.92

Table 2. Pearson Correlations Between the Study Variables

	Age 1	Sex 2	Self-control 3	Religiosity 4	Depression 5	Happiness 6	Social support 7
1	-						
2	-.325**	-					
3	.016	.054	-				
4	.008	.174*	.225**	-			
5	-.029	-.119	-.318**	-.721**	-		
6	-.003	.095	.285**	.32**	-.403**	-	
7	.043	.135*	.212**	.596**	-.560**	.043	-

*Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.*

Table 3. Regression Analysis of the Student Depression

	Beta	Adjusted *R*-square
Step 1		.01
Sex	.15*	
Age	.009	
Step 2		.58
Self-control	-.11*	
Happiness	-.16**	
Social support	-.14*	
Religiosity	-.57**	

*Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.*

correlation between self-control and depression ($r = -.318$, $p < .01$) as well as between happiness and depression ($r = -.403$, $p < .01$). Significant positive correlations were found between the variables self-control and happiness ($r = .285$, $p < .01$), between happiness and religiosity ($r = .32$, $p < .01$), between social support and self-control ($r = .212$, $p < .01$) as well as religiosity ($r = .596$, $p < .01$).

In order to test the research hypotheses Pearson coefficients were computed and hierarchical regression analyses were carried out.

The first hypothesis focused on the connection between self-control and depression. Here, too,

hierarchical regression analyses were carried out. In the hierarchical regression that tested depression as a dependent variable demographic variables (age and gender) were entered in the first step. In the second step the variable of self-control was entered. In this analysis it was found that gender and self-control contribute to explaining the variance in depression; the contribution of gender was significant (see Table 3) (Beta = .15, $p < .05$): among girls depression was found to be greater than among boys. Self-control, too, was found to contribute significantly to explaining the variance in depression (Beta = -.11, $p < .05$), thus confirming the first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis focused on the connection between religiosity and depression. Table 2 shows a significant negative correlation between the two.

A hierarchical regression analysis on depression as a dependent variable (see Table 3) found a significant negative correlation between religiosity and depression (Beta = -.57, $p < .001$), thus confirming the second hypothesis.

The third hypothesis concerned the connection between social support and depression. Table 2 (correlations) shows that there is a significant negative correlation between social support and depression. Regression analysis shows that social support contributes significantly to explaining the variance in depression (Beta = -.14, $p < .05$), giving confirmation to the third hypothesis.

The fourth research hypothesis concerned the connection between level of happiness and depression. Table 2 shows a significant inverse relationship between the two, in other words, the higher the level of an adolescent's happiness, the lower the depression. This correlation was also found in the regression analysis for depression, according to which happiness contributes significantly to explaining the variance in depression (Beta = -.16, $p < .01$), thus confirming this research hypothesis.

DISCUSSION

The study was conducted among Arab students of teaching in Israel; it addressed, for the first time, the issue of depression among Arab students with reference to the variables of happiness, social support, religiosity, and self-control.

All the research hypotheses may be said to have been confirmed. The findings in the present study are consistent with and reinforce those of previous studies conducted on other populations, in Israel and elsewhere (for example, Agbaria et al. 2012; Amrai et al. 2011; Hamama, Ronen, and Feigin 2009; Francis et al. 2004; Irwin et al. 2008; Marroquín 2011;

Khodayarifard et al. 2002; Koeing et al. 2001; Shehni Yeylagh, Movahhed, and Shokrkon 2002; Thoresen and Harris 2002; Zimmeran et al. 2000).

Self-control

The study's results point to a significant negative correlation between self-control skills and depression. As already noted, it was found that adolescents who possessed self-control skills had lower levels of depression. This finding is consistent with other studies which showed a correlation between depression and low self-control (Agbaria et al. 2012; Hamama et al. 2009).

A possible explanation of this finding may lie in the manner in which self-control skills are applied. In other words, an adolescent's ability to identify automatic thoughts, to use diversion and alternative thinking and to find alternative solutions in the form of self-control skills, will lead him/her to choose a more adaptive behavior that may attract reinforcements of various kinds and so lead to an improvement in mood.

The study's findings showed that the more self-control an adolescent has, the lower the level of depression he reports. The correlation found here is supported by previous studies (Hamama, Ronen, and Feigin 2000; Hamama et al. 2009). A possible explanation for this correlation is based on the model of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), according to which a situation of stress is accompanied by three processes:

(1) Preliminary evaluation, the process of perception of the threat itself, is shaped by the set of characteristics of the individual (beliefs, commitments) and of the environment (nature of the threat/damage, familiar or new event, likelihood of the threat materializing, time of the event, and ambiguity or clarity of the expected results (Folkman 1984, 1997);

(2) Secondary evaluation, which is a process of raising to consciousness the possible response to the threatening event, includes the evaluation of physical, social, psychological and material resources in

keeping with the demands of the situation. Secondary evaluation is influenced by three factors: how powerful the threat is (as assessed in the preliminary evaluation), the characteristics of the stressful event, and the characteristics of the individual's personality (Folkman 1984, 1997). At this stage, the individual asks himself what he can do to deal with the situation, what coping strategies are available to him, and what the chances are for achievements using any of these;

(3) Coping is a process of carrying out the response and includes cognitive and behavioral attempts to control reduce or tolerate the internal and/or external demands that are estimated to exact a price or impoverish the individual's resources. Coping is influenced by the characteristic of the stressing event and the internal and environmental resources available to the individual. Coping is what the individual thinks or does in a given context and not what he says he would do in such a context, or what usually happens in general contexts.

According to the model of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), self-control was thus the resource of coping. Therefore, adolescents with high self-control skills showed fewer symptoms than those characterized by low self-control skills. The adolescent's ability to identify automatic thoughts, to use diversion and alternative thinking, and to find alternative solutions that are self-control skills, will lead him to choose a controlled, planned, adaptive and less symptomatic behavior.

Religiosity

The results of this study indicate that there is a significant negative correlation between religiosity (or religious inclination) and depression and anxiety. The results of this study concur with the findings of many other investigators (for example, Amrai et al. 2011; Kaldestad 1996; Khodayarifard et al. 2002; Koeing et al. 2001; Shehni, Movahhed, and Shokrkon 2002; Thoresen and Harris 2002; Zimmeran et al. 2000).

On the other hand, these results do not agree with

the finding of D. B. O_Conner, Cobb and R. C. O_Connor (2003) and their coworkers (Shreve-Neiger and Edelstein 2004).

The connection between religiosity and depression can be explained in terms of various different behavioral and cognitive approaches. According to one approach, the individual's behavior results from interpretations which he/she gives to experienced events; every event thus receives an interpretation that evokes different feelings, and these lead to behavior (Beck 1995). From this explanation it can be concluded that religious people preserve beliefs and schemata that provide them with important meanings in life, which make it easier for them to give interpretations that promote satisfaction and happiness. The schemata with which they are provided help them obtain self-control and improve their mental welfare. In a preliminary qualitative study on religious adolescents the following schemata were found (Agbaria and Watad 2011): "In the end God will help me", "I refrain from behavior that would anger God", and "Acceptance and patience in the face of crises will result in greater divine compensations for me", as well as schemata that are based on Quranic verses or quote from the words of the Prophet, such as: "Seek seventy excuses for your brother before you judge him", "The strong is not the powerful but he who restrains himself when angry", and "God's decrees must be accepted".

Eventually such schemata become an integral part of a believing person's cognitive-behavioral repertory and may affect and direct his/her behavior in various situations. Furthermore, the physical acts of religious observance such as prayer, pilgrimage, religious rites, almsgiving and participation in group activities, as well as the social support generated by these activities, can improve one's mood, enhance one's feeling of belonging, and give meaning to one's life.

Social Support

The study's findings point to a negative correlation between social support and depression. This is

consistent with the results of previous studies, most of which report that social support contribute positively to mental health and reduction of levels of depression (Irwin et al. 2008; Marroquín 2011) and suicidal tendencies (Galambos et al. 2006; Harris and Molock 2000; Paykel 1994; Stice, Ragan, and Randall 2004; Talaei, Fayyazi, and Ardani 2009; Travis et al. 2004).

Social support is associated with an increased sense of belonging; it can alleviate an individual's feeling of stress by answering the need for ties with others, diverting attention away from worries about the situation and improving one's mood (Cohen and Wills 1985).

In the literature two main ways are presented in which social support affects mental welfare. One of these, the main effect, has a direct positive influence on an individual's mental welfare irrespective of situations of stress. The basic claim is that such support can develop and enhance feelings of ability, self-esteem or self-capability. Such feelings make it possible for the individual to cope successfully with life's challenges. The other way is the buffer effect, according to which social support has an indirect effect on an individual's mental welfare, by reducing negative implications of the response to feelings of pressure (Antoucci and Akiyama 1994; Cohen and Wills 1985; Wilcox 1981). In this way, support constitutes a coping strategy (Antonucci and Akiyama 1994).

Social support can reduce stress by affecting an event's primary or secondary assessment (Cohen and Edwards 1989). When an individual perceives a support network as available, this may depress assessments of potential threat deriving from the event, encourage the individual to believe in his/her ability to cope with the event, and/or encourage the use of adaptive coping strategies such as problem-solving and positive reevaluation (Cohen and Edwards 1989; Cohen and McKay 1984). Thus, according to the model proposed by Lazarus and Fokman (1984), social support was perceived as an environmental resource that can help one cope with pressures and severe events.

Happiness

The study's findings point to a negative correlation between happiness and depression, further adding to the information accumulated in previous research to the effect that an inverse correlation exists between mental welfare and depression among adolescents (Farrell and Bruce 1997). A possible explanation for this may lie in the importance which the level of happiness has been found to have in accelerating flexible thinking that leads to efficiency in problem-solving, self-control, thinking ahead, and caution in situations of danger (Aspinwall 1998; Isen and Reeve 2005). In other words, positive feelings contribute to behavior that is less impulsive and more controlled and planned. Furthermore, previous studies (Arsenio, Cooperman, and Lover 2000) have shown that positive feelings reduce frustration and anxiety. In other words, happy adolescents can deal better with frustration and are capable of developing social and interpersonal skills that provide protection in the face of provocative and frustrating events.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, the study's findings indicate that a number of resources contribute to a reduction of depression among Arab students. The study sheds light on the importance of personal resources such as self-control, religiosity and level of happiness, as well as of environmental resources such as social support, in reducing depression levels. The findings in this study add to previously accumulated theoretical knowledge on depression among adolescents and college students. It also has a potential practical application, in helping develop programs for training and implementation of skills that stress the importance of enhanced self-control and happiness, and for developing means for obtaining social support. It also

shows the importance of imparting religious values in order to improve social behavior and reduce the tendency to fall into depression.

A number of factors place limits on the generalizing the conclusions from this study. One of these is the sample. The present study is based on a "convenience sample" which is not probabilistic, consisting of Muslim students only from the Triangle region of Israel, in which about 20% of the country's Arab population lives. Since the sample contained only Muslims, there was no representation of Christian, Druze and Bedouin Arabs (Central Bureau of Statistics 2009). Therefore, it is recommended that the study be repeated with a representative sample.

In addition, the present study was based on self-reporting questionnaires, which reflect the perspectives of the students; however, other elements, such as the peer group or the parents, may give different information. In this study all the research variables concern adolescents' inner personality components. Now it is not possible to assess thoughts and feelings by means of adolescents' external environment, but it must be remembered, too, that self-reporting is also of limited value and can only provide evidence for tendencies. Therefore, it is recommended that in future additional research tools are used, such as questionnaires for teachers and for the peer group. Yet another limitation of self-reporting questionnaires concerns social volition.

Follow-up research could put some of the findings of the present study in sharper focus and also shed light on issues that are relevant to the topic, such as the effects of one's personal status (bachelor, married, widowed, etc.), economic situation and place of residence.

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Multi-Ethnic Residential Segregation in Urumqi, China, 1982-2010

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Abstract

The ethnic landscape of Urumqi has undergone significant changes since the 1980s, which has fostered greater ethnic diversity. However, little is known about the changing patterns of spatial segregation among ethnic groups. By using the Urumqi census data from 1982 to 2010, this study examines the level of residential segregation of Uighur from Han and the level of residential segregation of Kazak, Hui, Mongolia and other ethnic minority groups from the majority Han and Uygur population by the indices of dissimilarity and exposure. Then it assesses a regression between residential segregation and the percentage of the ethnic groups. Finally, it finds out whether there exists a regression between residential segregation and the percentage of the ethnic groups. The result reveals that Kazak population is the most segregated group from Han and Uygur, although the level of segregation has declined from 1982 to 2010. Uighur people experienced lower level of segregation from Han between 1982 and 2000, but has gradually increased, particularly from 2000 to 2010; this unexpected change of the segregation for Uighur group might be associated with 7.5 Events. The findings of the study show that the growth of the Han population is negatively associated with segregation of the ethnic groups in a district, and that the association between the percentage of population and segregation was uniform for Uighur, Hui and Kazak: the higher percentage of an ethnic group in a district, the lower level of segregation.

Keywords

Ethnic clusters, residential segregation, Urumqi, China

Ethnic residential segregation is a key aspect to understand intergroup relation and processes of individual and ethnic group social mobility (Charles 2003). The field of ethnic residential segregation has been enriched by studies of countries with varying immigration histories, such as Britain (Peach 1999; Simpson 2004), Canada (Fong and Wilkes 1999, 2003), Netherlands (Logan 2006), New Zealand (Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest 2008), the U.S. (Iceland 2004), and Ghana (Agyei-Mensah and Owusu 2012). More debates on racial or ethnic residential segregation have been focused on the developed world, and little is known about similar patterns and processes in developing world. It is the

fact that many of the cities in China are now ranked among the rapidly growing. Indeed, the dynamics of ethnic residential segregation have scarcely been studied on multi-ethnic cities in China. Not similar to other immigrant countries, in China, empirical researches have showed solicitude for the largest

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developed cities, in which ethnic composition of population is relatively single, such as Shanghai (Li, Wu, and Lu 2004; Li and Wu 2006; Wu and Li 2006), Beijing (Gu and Liu 2001; Gu and Shen 2003), Guangzhou (Zhou, Liu, and Zhu 2006), Nanjing (Tang 2006), and Xi'an (Wang 2000). Scarcely any papers focus on study on the multi-ethnic cities, such as Urumqi, Xining, and Lanzhou.

Urumqi was chosen as the study area because of its multi-ethnic nature, the important strategic political significance and the profound socio-economic changes that have occurred in the area after the Reform and Opening-up. Since each of ethnic minority groups has different cultural backgrounds, their pathways to residential integration are diverse. Thus this study provides an insight into how the patterns of segregation for the main ethnic minority groups from Han and Uighur, specifically Uighur, Hui, Kazak and Mongolian people. With the increasing ethnic diversity, Urumqi provides a rich context to study ethnic residential segregation. It seeks to answer the question as to whether the Han and Uighur groups are residentially clustered, isolated or dispersed within multi-ethnic and highly dense neighborhoods. The following questions will be discussed:

(1) Where do the dominant five ethnic groups reside in Urumqi?

(2) How is the level of residential segregation for the main ethnic minority groups from Han and Uighur?

(3) What are the major factors causing the ethnic segregation in Urumqi?

To find out the answers to these questions, the paper first reviews the literature on patterns of ethnic concentration. Next, it describes the study area and research methodology. Then empirical evidence of ethnic changing and clustering is presented. The paper then proceeds to measure the level of segregation from Han and Uighur and to compare their differences from the ethnic minority groups. And, it finds out whether there exists a regression between residential segregation and the percentage of the ethnic groups. Finally, it ends with a conclusion.

DATA AND METHODS

Data and Geographic Areas

Urumqi is the capital city of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the center of politics, economy and culture, and it is a gathering place of multi-culture and multi-ethnics. It has 49 ethnic groups, of which are 13 native peoples: Han, Uighur, Hui, Kazak, Man, Xibe, Mongolian, Kirgiz, etc. According to the statistics of the sixth census in 2010, the total population of Xinjiang is 3.11 million, Han accounting for 74.91% and the other ethnic minority groups accounting for 25.09% of the total population. Uygur, Hui, and Kazakh are the main ethnic minorities in Urumqi, of which the total proportion of the population are as follows: 12.46%, 9.00%, 2.19%, respectively. This paper uses the 1982, 1990, 2000 and 2010 Urumqi census of population and dwellings data. These data were obtained from statistics of Urumqi's online table. The patterns of residential segregation for 15 ethnic groups from Han and Uighur are examined across districts including Urban communities and rural communities ($n = 96$), the cluster of five ethnic groups examined in most of districts covering only urban communities ($n = 65$), as shown in Figure 1. This paper uses area units to examine the entropy score of ethnic groups across neighborhoods within Urumqi metropolitan area.

Segregation Indices

The segregation indices are as follows:

(1) The dissimilarity index

This study examines residential segregation by using the indices of dissimilarity and exposure. The dissimilarity index measures the segregation of one group from another across a territorial authority (Massey and Denton 1988; Massey, White, and Phua 1996). The index of dissimilarity is calculated as
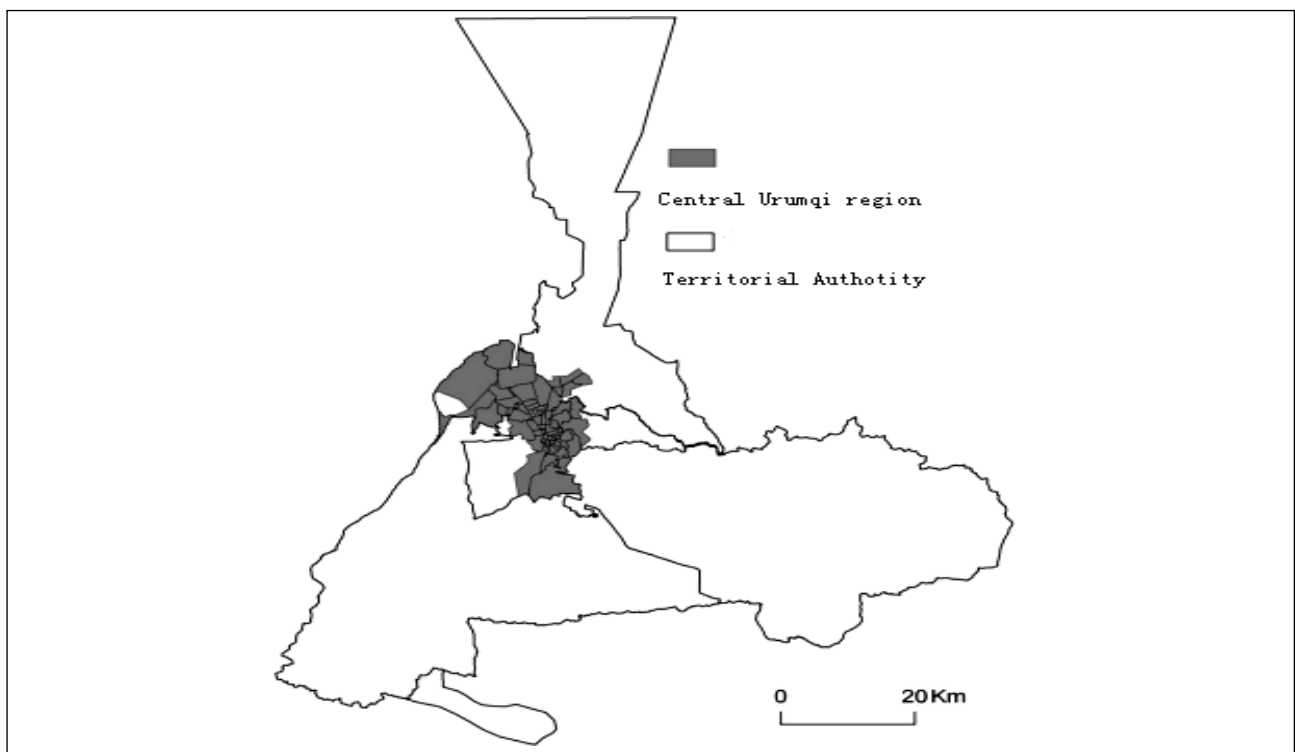
Figure 1. The Area of This Study.

follows:

$$D = \frac{1}{2}\left(\sum_{j=1}^{j} \left| \frac{x_j}{X} - \frac{y_j}{Y} \right| \right) \times 100\% \qquad (1)$$

Where x_j is the number of a ethnic minority group in an area unit j; y_j is the number of Han in an area unit j; X is the total number of a ethnic minority group in a territorial authority; Y is the total number of Han in a territorial authority; and j is the number of area units in a territorial authority.

The value of the index of dissimilarity ranges from 0 to 100, and is interpreted as the percentage of a group that would have to move from a neighborhood (area unit) to another in order to produce an even distribution of two groups within a territorial authority. When the value of the dissimilarity index for a territorial authority equals zero, all area units in a territorial authority would have the same composition of the two groups. For example, in a territorial

authority where 10% are Hui group and 90% are Han group, the Hui-Han index of dissimilarity would be 0 if all area units within the territorial authority also contain 10% Hui and 90% Han. If, however, the two groups are unevenly distributed across the area units and the dissimilarity index equals 40, then 40% of either group would have to transfer from one area unit to another in order to produce an even distribution across all area units;

(2) The exposure index

While the dissimilarity index is a measure of evenness, the exposure index measures the minority group's potential contact with the majority group (Lieberson 1981; Massey and Denton 1988). Unlike the dissimilarity index, the exposure index takes into account the relative size of the minority and majority groups. For instance, although a minority group might not be evenly distributed across a territorial authority, the minority group might also experience a high

degree of exposure to majority group due to its relatively small population size. The exposure index is calculated as follows:

$$P^*_{yx} = \left(\sum_{j=1}^{j} \left[\frac{x_j}{X} \times \frac{y_j}{t_j} \right] \right) \times 100\% \qquad (2)$$

Where x_j, X, and y_j are the same as those for the dissimilarity index, and t_j is the total population of area unit j. The index ranges from 0 (complete isolation) to 100 (complete exposure) and can be interpreted as the probability that randomly drawn member of ethnic minority group x share a neighborhood (area unit) with a member of the Han group;

(3) The information theory index

Residential segregation has been the subject of extensive research for many years, and a number of different measure of segregation have been developed over time. Reardon and Firebaugh (2002) noted that all major reviews of segregation indexes limited their discussion to dichotomous measures of segregation (e.g., O. D. Duncan and B. Duncan 1955; James and Taeuber 1985; Massey and Denton 1988; White 1986; Zoloth 1976; Massey et al. 1996). The earlier of the multi-group indexes is the information theory index (*H*) (sometimes referred to as the entropy index), which was defined by Theil (Theil 1972; Thiel and Finezza 1971).

The information theory index is a measure of "evenness"—the extent to which groups are evenly distributed among organizational units (Massey and Denton 1988). More specifically, Theil (1972) described information theory index as a measure of the average difference between unit group proportions and that of the system as a whole. *H* can also be interpreted as the difference between the diversity (entropy) of the system and the weighted average diversity of individual units, expressed as a fraction of the total diversity of the system (Reardon and Firebaugh 2002).

Below entropy score were described, which is

measure of diversity, and the information theory index, which measures the distribution of groups across neighborhoods. A measure of the first is used in the calculation of latter, the entropy score is defined by the following formulas, from Massey and Denton (1988). First, a metropolitan area's entropy score is calculated as:

$$E = \sum_{r=1}^{r} \pi_r \ln[1 / \pi_r]$$

$$\pi_r = \frac{X}{Y} \qquad (3)$$

Where X and Y are the same as those for the dissimilarity index, π_r refers to a particular racial/ethnic group's proportion of metropolitan area population. All logarithmic calculations use the natural log.

Unlike the information theory index defined below, this partial formula describes the diversity in a metropolitan area. The higher the number is, the more diverse an area is. The maximum level of entropy is given by the natural log of the number of groups used in the calculations. With six ethnic groups, the maximum entropy is ln6 or 1.792. The maximum score occurs when all groups have equal representation in the geographic area, each would comprise about 17% of the area's population. This is not a segregation measure because it does not measure the distribution of these groups across a metropolitan area. A metropolitan area, for example, can be very diverse if all minority groups are present, but also very highly segregated if all groups live exclusively in their own neighborhoods.

A unit within the metropolitan area, such as a census tract, would analogously have its entropy score, or diversity, defined as:

$$E_j = \sum_{r=1}^{r} (\pi_{rj}) \ln[1 / \pi_{rj}] \qquad (4)$$

Where π_{rj} refers to a particular racial/ethnic group's proportion of the population in tract j.

Table 1. Ethnic Group Composition in Urumqi, 1982-2010

Groups	2010/Total pop	2010/%	2000/%	1990/%	1982/%	△1982-2010
Han	2,331,654	74.91	75.30	73.40	75.69	-.78
Uighur	387,878	12.46	12.79	12.47	10.93	1.53
Hui	280,186	9.00	8.03	9.51	9.66	-.66
Kazak	68,076	2.19	2.34	2.99	2.91	-.72
Mongolian	10,454	.34	.35	.33	.14	.19
Manchu	8,541	.27	.37	.48	.22	.05
Xibe	4,820	.15	.18	.19	.12	.04
Russian	3,010	.10	.13	.16	.06	.04
Tujia	2,869	.09	.08	.05	n/a	n/a
Dongxiang	2,333	.07	n/a	.04	.03	.01
Kirgiz	2,207	.07	.07	.07	.04	.03
Tibetan	1,621	.05	n/a	.02	.01	.04
Uzbek	1,581	.05	.07	.10	.08	-.03
Zhuang	1,220	.04	n/a	.05	.04	.01
Miao	1,219	.04	n/a	.02	n/a	n/a
Other ethnic groups	4,890	.16	.30	.33	.06	.10
Total	3,112,559	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	.00

Note: n/a—Not Applicable.

URUMQI'S COMPOSITION OF POPULATION AND SPATIAL CLUSTERS

Table 1 shows the ethnic minority group composition of Urumqi's population more than one thousand in 2010 and changes from 1982 to 2010. There are four groups: Han, Hui, Kazak, and Uzbek; their proportion of the population decreased, other ethnic groups showed a rising trend. Han population maintained around 75%, the overall decline of .78%, the sharpest decline among all ethnic groups, appeared down-up-down fluctuation trend. The Uighur is the second largest ethnic group; in over 10 years, the population showed a rising trend, the overall rise at 1.53%, and it is the fastest growing ethnic group. Hui population ranking after Han and Uygur, with the overall decline of .66%, fell down up unstable situation. The other two ethnic groups of more than 10 thousands, Kazakh and Mongolia, fell .72% and rose .29%, respectively. Other ethnic groups have shown an upward trend, however, Uzbek

declined .03%.

Figure 2 presents result of "hot" and "cold" cluster of five ethnic groups in Urumqi metropolitan area using local indicators of spatial autocorrelation (LISA). LISA statistics examine relationships between specific districts and theirs neighbors. If a district contains a high proportion of a particular ethnic group and so does its neighbors, it is shown around the imaginary line with dark black or gray. If both a district and its neighbors contain low, it is shown around the solid line by dark black or gray. Paler shades represent districts that are different from their neighbors, with black districts exhibiting higher cluster than their neighbors and light black districts experiencing less cluster than neighbors. Only districts with statistically significant relationships ($p < .1$) are colored. Non-significant districts are shown in white.

The first map shows a hot or high degree of concentration for Han in five districts with statistically significant relationships (one district of $p < .05$ and four districts of $p < .1$), and five districts are more
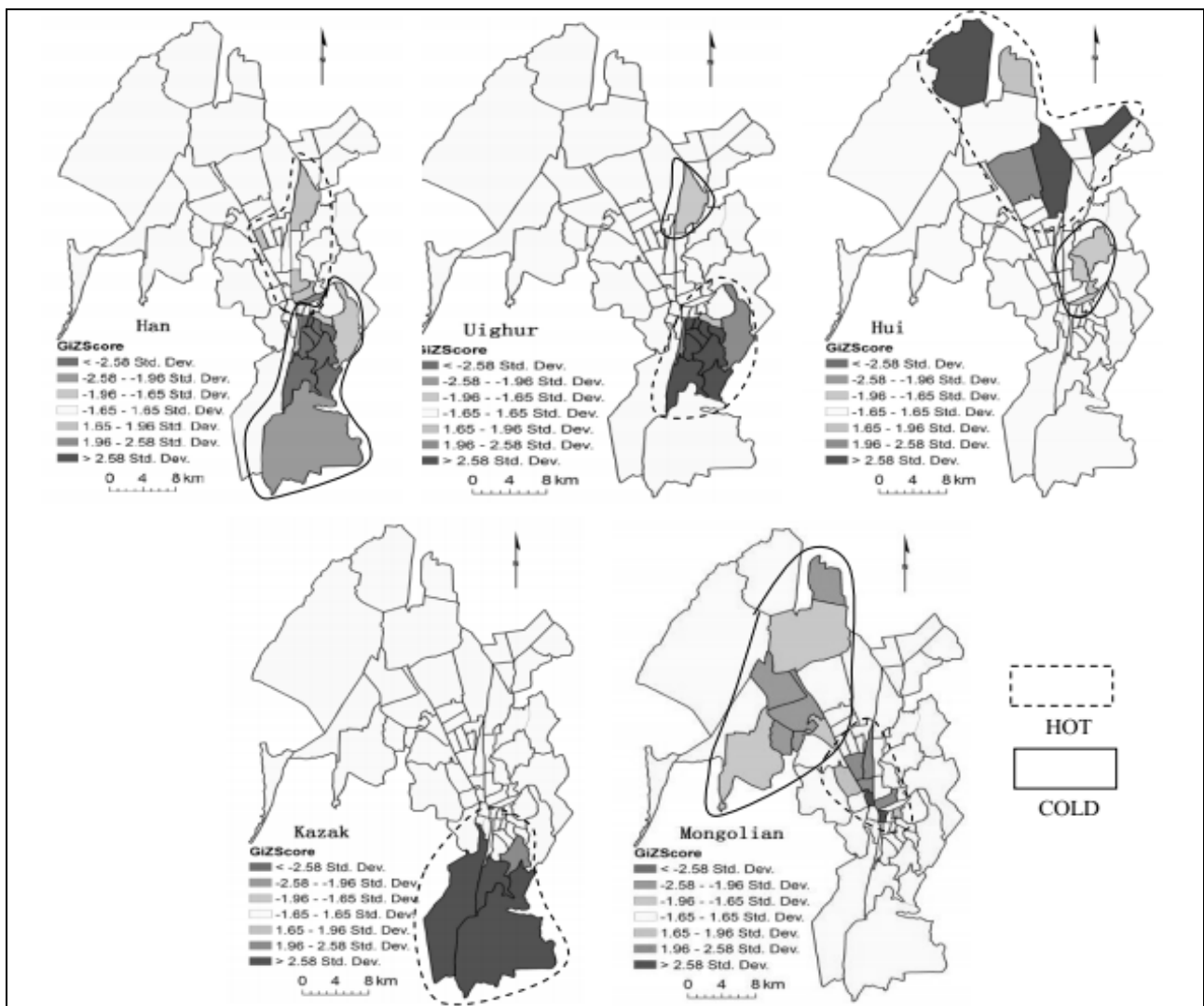
Figure 2. Clusters of the Ethnic Groups: Percentage of Blocks Within Urumqi Metropolitan Area.

dispersed distribution; it shows a cold or low degree of concentration for Han in most of southeast districts with significantly more than 90%. The second map shows Uighur high degree of concentration in 12 districts of southeast block with significant levels of more than 90% (nine districts of $p < .01$, two districts of $p < .05$, one district of $p < .1$), 12 districts presents contiguous appearance, and the low degree of concentration shows one district with statistically significant relationships ($p < .1$). As the low and high agglomeration of Hui is not significant comparison to

Uighur, the third map shows fragmented gathering appearance in individual districts. The following map shows that Kazak highly concentrated mainly distributed south of the four districts, the high agglomeration is apparent. The last map shows that Mongolian highly gathering areas are illustrated in the center area of the city, low-gathering area in the northern part of the city.

Based on the above five maps, it is not difficult to find out that gathering of five ethnic groups shows the characteristics of Han population mixed gathering and

non-Han ethnic minority groups separately gathering. From south to north, it showed Kazakh gathering area, the Uighur gathering area, Han and Mongolian gathering area, and Hui gathering area.

RESULTS FOR ANALYSIS

Measure Segregation for D-Han and P-Han

The levels of ethnic minority group—Han segregation over 30 years are presented in Table 2 and Table 3. Table 2 and Table 3 show the dissimilarity (D-Han) and exposure (P-Han) indices for 15 ethnic minority groups from 1982 to 2010, respectively.

In four ethnic minority groups of more than 10 thousands population, Kazak is the most segregated group from Han with a dissimilarity score above 57 and an exposure score below 50 between 1982 and 2010. But, the Kazak dissimilarity score declined slightly from 76.09 to 57.96 and the exposure score increased from 35.14 to 49.55 between 1982 and 2010. The Uighur dissimilarity score increased from 35.68 to 44.45 between 1982 and 2010, but declined 32.95 in 1990 and remained at roughly 44.45 in 2010; the exposure score declined from 69.65 to 60.56 between 1982 and 2010. The Mongolian population is the least segregated from Han, and the dissimilarity score declined from 33.50 in 1982 to 22.28 in 2010, the exposure score increased from 75.3 to 76.18 between 1982 and 2010, but declined 72.98 in 1990 and then remained increase for following decade. The Hui dissimilarity score declined from 53.85 to 39.72 between 1982 and 2000, and then remained 40 for following 10 years, the exposure score increased from 54.41 in 1982 to 65.09 in 2000, and then declined slightly from 65.09 in 2000 to 63.48 in 2010. The fewer the population is in 1982, the higher the dissimilarity score is for other ethnic minority groups between one thousand and 10 thousand population, except for Dongxiang and Zhuang ethnic minority groups.

Measure Segregation for D-Uighur and P-Uighur

In order to illustrate the levels of segregation for other minority groups, in addition to Han, from Uighur in from 1982 to 2010, Table 4 and Table 5 show the dissimilarity (D-Uighur) and exposure (P-Uighur) indices for 15 ethnic minority groups from 1982 to 2010, respectively.

The average of dissimilarity score and exposure score of Kazak were respectively 66 and 23, which are generally considered to be high level of segregation (Charles 2003; Massey and Denton 1988). Kazak is the most segregated group from Uighur with a dissimilarity score above 53 and an exposure score below 25 between 1982 and 2010. It will be noted that the level of segregation have declined for Kazak over 30 years, while the level of segregation are relatively high for all groups. However, the degree of segregation is higher compared to the level of segregation from Han with a exposure score. A dissimilarity score for Hui from Uighur is between 43 and 49 and an exposure score for Hui from Uighur is between 33 and 39 over 30 years, it shows that fluctuation of the level of segregation is small. Further a dissimilarity score and an exposure score for Hui from Uighur are found; it shows the level of segregation is lower than Han. Mongolian is the least segregated from Uighur, and the dissimilarity score declined from 36.61 in 1982 to 33.11 in 2000, and then increased to 41.50 in 2010, the exposure score declined from 58.46 to 49.93 between 1982 and 2010, but increased from 55.12 in 1990 to 56.12 in 2000. Two indexes show that the level of segregation for Mongolian from Uighur is higher than Han. The highest dissimilarity score is Dongxiang and Tibetan among other ethnic groups, the lowest exposure score is Dongxiang; it reveals that Dongxiang experienced the higher level segregation than other ethnic minority groups, the level of segregation from Uighur is roughly equivalent to other ethnic groups.

Table 2. The Ethnic Minority Groups From Han With a Dissimilarity Score in Urumqi, 1982-2010

Group	1982	1990	2000	2010	△1990-1982	△1990-2000	△2010-2000
Uighur	35.68	32.95	35.36	44.45	-2.73	2.41	9.09
Hui	53.85	48.60	39.72	40.91	-5.25	-8.88	1.18
Kazak	76.09	69.82	62.90	57.96	-6.27	-6.92	-4.94
Mongolian	33.50	31.92	26.64	22.28	-1.58	-5.28	-4.36
Manchu	23.73	18.89	22.17	18.85	-4.84	3.28	-3.32
Xibe	35.15	31.49	31.54	26.96	-3.66	.05	-4.58
Russian	39.38	26.14	27.71	25.73	-13.24	1.57	-1.98
Tujia	n/a	26.77	31.60	22.35	n/a	4.83	-9.25
Dongxiang	76.24	68.80	n/a	44.48	-7.44	n/a	n/a
Kirgiz	49.76	48.94	47.80	47.06	-.82	-1.14	-.74
Tibetan	56.85	39.77	n/a	32.18	-17.08	n/a	n/a
Uzbek	57.39	48.68	48.16	51.21	-8.71	-.52	3.05
Zhuang	24.98	24.20	n/a	17.93	-.78	n/a	n/a
Miao	n/a	28.48	n/a	29.45	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other ethnic groups	24.78	37.84	17.51	20.79	13.06	-20.33	3.28
Average	45.18	38.89	35.55	33.49	-4.56	-2.81	-.85

Table 3. The Ethnic Minority Groups From Han With a Exposure Score in Urumqi, 1982-2010

Group	1982	1990	2000	2010	△1990-1982	△1990-2000	△2010-2000
Uighur	69.65	68.3	68.12	60.56	-1.35	-.18	-7.56
Hui	54.41	56.03	65.09	63.48	1.62	9.06	-1.61
Kazak	35.14	37.89	44.29	49.55	2.75	6.4	5.26
Mongolian	75.3	72.98	74.79	76.18	-2.32	1.81	1.39
Manchu	80.68	78.69	78.97	80.28	-1.99	.28	1.31
Xibe	78.35	75.1	75.15	77.97	-3.25	.05	2.82
Russian	73.57	75.19	76.38	77.2	1.62	1.19	.82
Tujia	n/a	79.62	79.1	77.27	n/a	-.52	-1.82
Dongxiang	54.16	55.75	n/a	66.71	1.59	n/a	n/a
Kirgiz	71.9	70.34	72.49	66.84	-1.56	2.15	-5.65
Tibetan	77.9	73.45	n/a	50.64	-4.45	n/a	n/a
Uzbek	62.28	60.66	63.67	66.13	-1.62	3.01	2.46
Zhuang	79.85	78.76	n/a	79.77	-1.09	n/a	n/a
Miao	n/a	77.51	n/a	75.11	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other ethnic groups	79.88	66.57	74.24	74.72	-13.31	7.67	.47
Average	68.7	68.46	70.21	69.49	-1.8	2.81	-.19

Table 4. The Ethnic Minority Groups From Uighur With a Dissimilarity Score in Urumqi, 1982-2010

Group	1982	1990	2000	2010	△1982-1990	△1990-2000	△2000-2010
Hui	48.87	47.07	43.06	47.52	-1.80	-4.01	4.46
Kazak	78.35	70.49	62.46	53.40	-7.86	-8.03	-9.06
Mongolian	36.61	34.56	33.11	41.50	-2.05	-1.45	8.39
Manchu	35.82	34.26	36.96	47.59	-1.56	2.70	10.63
Xibe	36.99	31.48	33.26	44.36	-5.52	1.78	11.11
Russian	34.71	30.76	35.21	43.22	-3.95	4.45	8.00
Tujia	n/a	41.15	49.22	49.02	n/a	8.07	-.21

Dongxiang	73.01	65.78	n/a	49.45	-7.23	n/a	n/a
Kirgiz	50.95	43.93	37.71	34.11	-7.02	-6.23	-3.60
Tibetan	67.38	50.47	n/a	52.73	-16.91		n/a
Uzbek	43.67	37.17	35.86	28.50	-6.50	-1.31	-7.37
Zhuang	39.48	41.07	n/a	47.59	1.58	n/a	n/a
Miao	n/a	40.42	n/a	46.06	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other ethnic groups	36.36	34.56	31.02	36.81	-1.79	-3.54	5.79
Average	48.52	43.08	39.79	44.42	-5.05	-.76	2.81

Table 5. The Ethnic Minority Groups From Uighur With an Exposure Score in Urumqi, 1982-2010

Group	1982	1990	2000	2010	△1982-1990	△1990-2000	△2000-2010
Hui	33.00	34.07	38.96	34.00	1.07	4.89	-4.96
Kazak	17.74	19.60	25.28	31.26	1.86	5.68	5.98
Mongolian	58.46	55.12	56.12	49.93	-3.34	1.00	-6.19
Manchu	57.20	55.01	55.95	48.82	-2.19	.94	-7.13
Xibe	60.27	58.25	58.33	51.74	-2.02	.08	-6.59
Russian	59.57	57.11	58.04	51.56	-2.46	.93	-6.48
Tujia	n/a	54.55	48.83	44.03	n/a	-5.72	-4.80
Dongxiang	26.19	28.13	n/a	41.50	1.94	n/a	n/a
Kirgiz	48.70	56.00	64.20	58.25	7.30	8.20	-5.95
Tibetan	51.44	54.03	n/a	59.39	2.59	n/a	n/a
Uzbek	53.82	53.70	57.75	34.62	-.12	4.05	-23.13
Zhuang	56.46	55.32	n/a	46.55	-1.14	n/a	n/a
Miao	n/a	54.55	n/a	42.76	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other ethnic groups	57.29	55.10	51.28	49.51	-2.19	-3.82	-1.77
Average	48.35	49.32	51.47	45.99	.98	2.15	-5.48

Compared to the Dissimilarity Index and the Exposure Index

In order to illustrate the different level of segregation from other ethnic minority groups between Han and Uigur, two additional calculations were conducted specific to the average of a dissimilarity and an exposure score from Han and Uighur from 1982 to 2010, respectively. Figure 3 shows that, overall, the average of a dissimilarity score from Han is lower than from Uighur (low 5.67 points of the average score), the average of an exposure score from Han is higher than Uighur (high 20.43 points of the average score). Decomposing the segregation index into the component ethnic groups shows that a greater difference of the dissimilarity score contrasting Han with Uighur are Zhuang (by 20.34 points) and Tujia (by 19.56 points), followed by Man group (by 17.75 points), respectively. That is, when looking at the segregation from Han and Uighur of each ethnic group of the population, the segregation was the highest for Kazak and Dongxiang, however, the level of segregation for these two groups was the closest.

Regression Analysis

To inquire whether there is a regression between residential segregation and the percentage of the ethnic groups, this paper looks in more detail at those general trends, using scatter diagrams for some of main relationships indentified in the regression equations. Figure 4 displays four relationships relating to segregation of the ethnic groups by units; in each of these, Han population, Uighur population, Hui population and Kazak population are separately identified from the ethnic diversity entropy score.
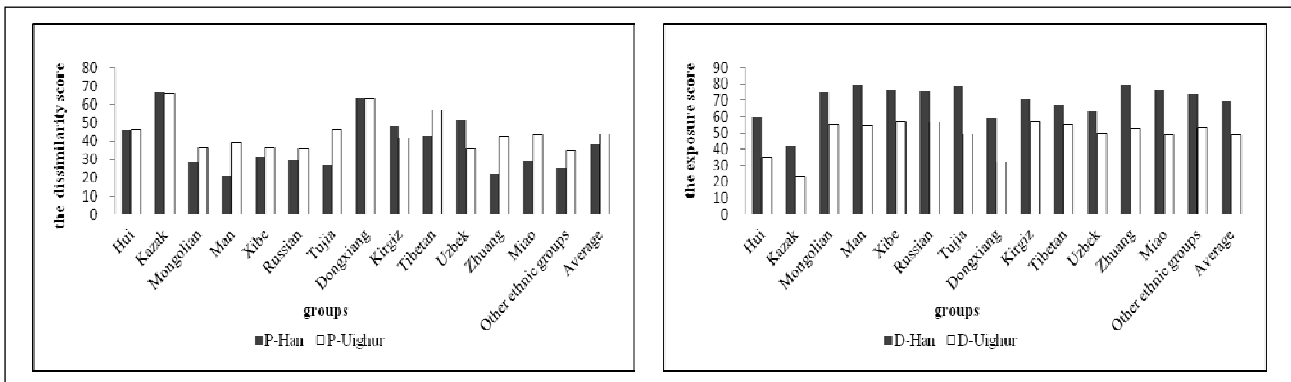
Figure 3. Compared to the Average (1982-2010) of a Dissimilarity Score and an Exposure Score From Han and Uighur.
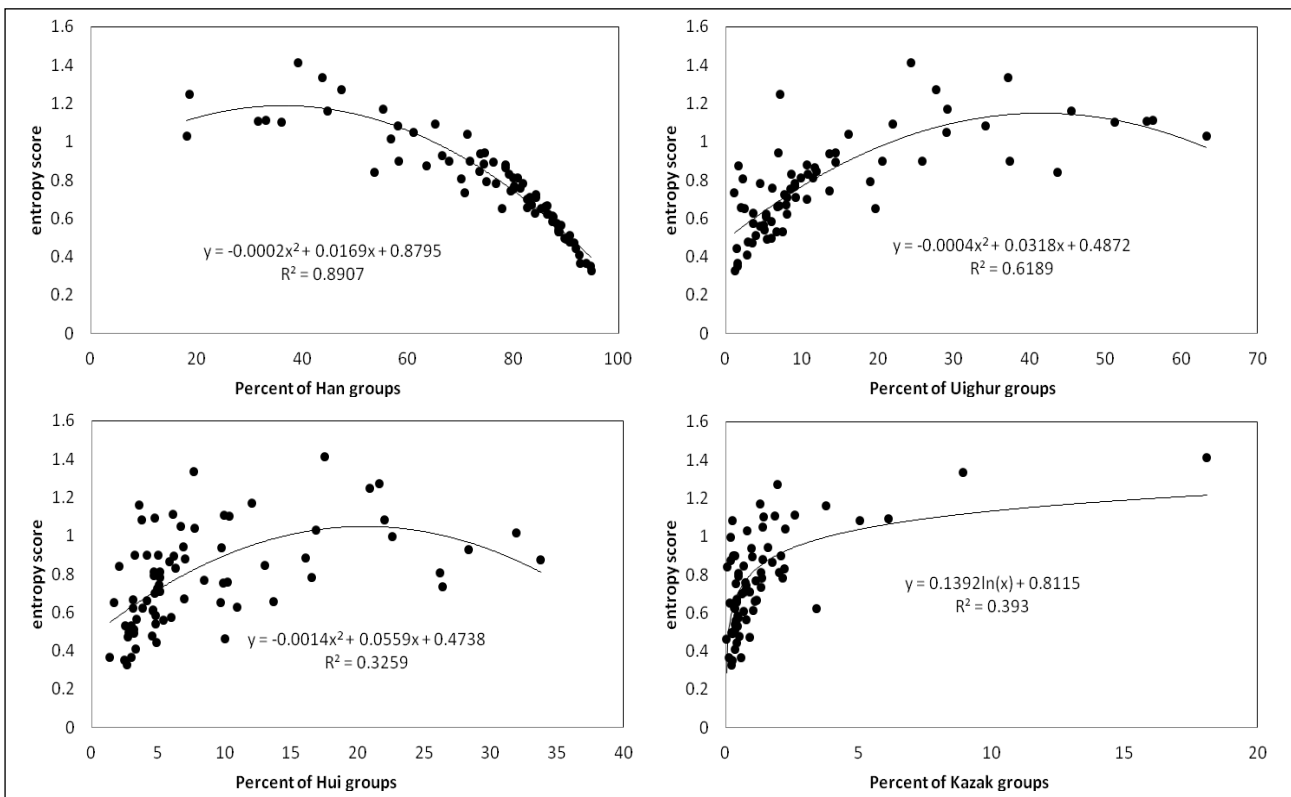
Figure 4. The Percentage of the Ethnic Groups Regressed Against the Ethnic Diversity Entropy Measure for the Metropolitan Area Population in 2010.

The first map in Figure 4 shows the strongest relationship between the percentage of Han population and the ethnic entropy score, however, it lies exactly on the quadratic relationship. It presents that the higher percent of Han in a unit is, the higher the

degree of segregation of the ethnic groups is (where the lower entropy score indicates the more segregation). Further, to analyze the characteristics of the curve, it indicates that the percentage of Han for 42.25 is the max value of the entropy score. It also

demonstrates that the degree of segregation will drop or rise due to more than or less than 42.25% for population of Han.

The second map shows the percentage of Uighur population regresses against the ethnic entropy score. Uighur population presents weaker correlation than Han, however, it also lies exactly on the quadratic relationship. It is found that Han for 40% is the maximum value of the entropy score, which also demonstrates that these with high percentage not more than 40% of Uighur population in a unit also have high entropy score measures.

The third map shows that it is almost the lowest relationship between the percentage of Hui population and the ethnic entropy score, the regression curve is close to a quadratic relationship. The curve trend is not clear and the regression result indicates that it is characteristics of scattered dwelling for Hui population.

The forth map shows most of units with relatively low percentage of Kazak (less than 5%) in ethnically-mixed residential area. It shows a low correlation between the proportion of the Kazak population and the ethnic entropy score. The curve trend shows logarithmic relationship. It shows that the higher percent of Kazak population, the lower the level of segregation.

CONCLUSIONS

This study first examines the spatial cluster patterns at the micro-scale between districts within central region of Urumqi using local indicators of spatial autocorrelation. The results confirm that five ethnic groups show significant spatial agglomeration. From south to north in Urumqi, the maps showed five gathering areas: a Kazakh gathering area, a Uighur gathering area, a Han and Mongolian mixing area, and Hui gathering area, among which Kazak and Uighur population show higher degree of concentration than Han, Hui, and Mongolian.

It then mainly examines the patterns of residential segregation, as measured by the indices of dissimilarity and exposure for the ethnic minority groups from the Han and Uighur ethnic groups between 1982 and 2010. The results show that Kazak people continue to experience the highest levels of segregation from Han and Uighur among the 15 ethnic groups. However, the level of segregation gradually decreased over 30 times. On the other hand, Mongolian people experienced the lowest level of segregation from Han and Uighur among the three ethnic groups (Kazak, Hui, and Mongolian) over time, but the level of segregation from Han decreased from 1982 to 2010. At the same time, the level of segregation from Uighur increased, particularly between 2000 and 2010. Uighur people experienced lower level of segregation from Han between 1982 and 2000, but has gradually increased, and particularly from 2000 to 2010, the indices dissimilarity and exposure rised from 35 to 44 (by 9 point, or 25%) and drop from 68 to 61 (by 7 point, by 10%). Although it is difficult to measure that unexpected change of the segregation for Uighur group is associated with 7.5 events (The outbreak in July 5, 2009, in Uighur), this paper might confirm that there is a certain relationship between the two. Hui people experienced the higher levels of segregation from Uighur than Han over time. However, the level of segregation from Han and Uighur synchronously decreased from 1982 to 2000, and then has increased between 2000 and 2010.

Finally, it explains the relationship between the level of segregation and the percentage of the four main ethnic groups using scatter diagram. The regression results show that the association between the percentage of Han population and the ethnic entropy score is the strongest among the four ethnic groups, and then the regressions of Uighur, Kazak and Hui weaken in turn. There are two findings that are worth mentioning with regard to demographic factors relating to the four ethnic groups. First, the growth of the Han population is found being negatively

associated with segregation of the ethnic groups in a district and this suggests that some of the districts with more than 40% Han population continues to receive other ethnic population and the segregation of the district may decline in the future. It is found that the association between the percentage of population and segregation is uniform for all three ethnic groups: the higher the percentage of an ethnic group in a district is, the lower the level of segregation is.

Funding

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Becoming Adults During an Economic Crisis: What Happens to the Second Generations?

Roberta Ricucci[a]

Abstract

The paper presents findings of an empirical study carried out in an Italian area and focused on the effects of the economic crisis on immigrant families: the goal was to identify how the difficulties of these years (not only socio-economic but also in terms of negative attitudes toward immigrants) affect on the life-paths of second generations. What happens to their school career? Are they forced to leave school in order to improve the family's income? Are they sent back to the country of origin of their parents to reduce life-costs in the immigration country? Thanks to a collection of around 30 interviews with young people between 18-24 years old and 30 interviews with both parents and social workers, the strategies which families are choosing to face economic and labour difficulties and their effects on integration paths and inter-ethnic relations will be described.

Keywords

Economic crisis, the second generations, integration, migration

The migratory phenomenon has become an important part of the Italian context, contributing to business growth and economic development (Ambrosini 2005) as well as to demographic increase. More families are putting down roots in Italy: buying houses, investing in their children's education, and making plans for the future in this country. In this context of stable insertion, cities have begun to face up to several challenges presented by managing civil cohabitation in the neighbourhoods, socio-assistential structures and social welfare procedures. Among these challenges, the growing presence of immigrant children has been one of the most investigated (Caponio and Schmoll 2012; Ricucci 2010). They have been for the most part insufficiently studied as to their school integration and educational outcomes; nevertheless they are now a prominent group among the juvenile population in Italy (Istat 2012). They are bearers of potentials and challenges to local society.

They represent, at the very least, a challenge to society's values; on the other hand, their presence may encourage didactic innovations and stimulate intercultural planning skills. They own cultural and linguistic competences allowing them—at least theoretically—to move among different contexts and to adapt rapidly to new environments (Bean et al. 2010). But their migratory background may act as a boomerang: they might often be marginalized and left outside the mainstream (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008). In fact, they are often forced much earlier than a large part of young nationals to lead

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lives with adult responsibilities, which creates a huge gap between them and the local youth. In addition to this, they are facing problems at school and in insertion in the labour market. In this scenario, in which integration opportunities are mixed with ethnic difficulties, an external variable can change plans and life-paths. The economic crisis and its strong effect on immigrant families intervene in second generation's lives.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

The children of immigrants are now a prominent force in many European cities and in the Italian ones as well. According to the main policy interest in the integration issue, both at national and international levels, increasing attention is dedicated first to their education, identified as being a powerful tool in their integration process, and then to their labour market insertion. Several documents from European institutions stress the importance of promoting migrant pupils' school integration and of combatting the risk of their social and labour-market exclusion (European Commission 2007, 2010). So, in recent years, numerous initiatives and projects have been developed at local level to support children of immigrants in education, with measures ranging from language acquisition to vocational training in order to improve their skills (Faist 1993; Heckmann and Wolf 2006; Heath and Cheung 2008). What happens to these young people in the period of economic crisis? Youth, both nationals and non-nationals, are one of the most vulnerable groups during economic downturns (OECD 2010). Nevertheless, young people with an immigrant background risk much more than their national peers because they risk being underscrutized only because of their ethnic background, stressing weaknesses, sometimes analysing their life-paths using the lens with which the first generation is viewed, without taking into account specific traits of this juvenile group. Immigrant youth face challenges of a two-fold nature, or they are "doubly underprivileged" on the path to self-realization. Their often complex transition periods from adolescence to adult life are additionally affected by their migration background and integration problems (Doomernik 1998). Learning a new language, living up to the expectations of two cultures and juggling the contrasting worlds of their family and the host society are only some of the challenges they face in negotiating their transcultural lives (Hoerder, Hebert, and Schmitt 2005). And these challenges become more and more difficult in hard times when labour opportunities and social benefits are decreasing and negative approaches toward those who can be perceived as immigrants develop.

What is happening in Italy where second generations are on the move and attention to them has been increased at local level?

The research presented in this paper is aimed at understanding how the children of immigration and their families have experienced these years of crisis, which run the risk of slowing down the integration process in Italy.

An attempt has been made, in short, to describe through research the effects and backsliding caused by the economic crisis and to plot a typology of reaction strategy. The method used was collecting life-stories. Migration paths, tales of arrival, fitting in and (hopefully) settling, family formation or rebuilding, house-buying and eventually putting down roots are some of the background issues to the arrival of the crisis period. On the other hand, the characteristics of friendship networks (only fellow-countrymen, only Italians, mixed) and how free time is spent are useful indicators for understanding cultural habits and consumption as well as the kind of link which young people and adults are forming with the context in which they live. As reading the following sections will make clear, the key to interpreting the data collected is that of a process of mature integration, which is thrown into question by regulations linking residence

permits to working circumstances. Legal status is the element which distinguishes between those who have become citizens and those who still depend on residence permits. Apart from that factor, the picture which emerges in comparing various groups of foreigners is one of similarities rather than striking differences (Arango and Finotelli 2009; Pastore 2010). With regard to the number of interviews carried out, contact was established with about 80 subjects but strictly speaking 30 interviews and life stories were gathered[1].

The number was modified by two problems: one was linguistic difficulties which made some interviews little more than informal chats where the mediation of other adults was often necessary; and the other was lack of trust. The young people contacted were not always willing to talk about themselves. In some cases it was possible to proceed with group interviews, not an ideal situation for collecting personal experiences but useful for a dialectical comparison on some themes, such as their perception of an anti-immigrant, anti-foreigner, anti-islamic, and anti-Romanian climate. What are the experiences of young immigrants faced with an economic crisis? What happens to their school career? Are they forced to leave school in order to supplement the family's income? Are they sent back to the country of origin of their parents to reduce life-costs in the immigration country? Are they, along with their parents, planning to move away from Italy to other European countries? Or is the investment in promoting their socio-educational integration stronger than any difficulties encountered by their families? And what do they think about their future in a country where discrimination against immigrants is on the rise?

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

In Italy, attention paid to second generations is by now a core element in the migration debate. With the growth tendency in recent years of children of immigration, Italian cities have been solicited—not always successfully—to define new policies and services mainly focused on both minors' and families' needs: There has been an increase and expansion of activities devoted to young foreigners, moving from the socio-assistential sector to free-time activities, from school assistance to active citizenship experiences. In these initiatives, of course, schools have played a leading, dynamic role in partnership with a wide network of associations and NGOs (non-governmental organizations). These actors have been also involved in the activities promoted by Intercultural Centres (i.e., centres set up by municipalities devoted to expanding to all citizens information and activities dealing with diversity in the cities for promoting integration and social cohesion), which for some years now have been working on the second-generations issue. There is an increasing number of activities which stimulate inclusion processes and active citizenship. Turin is one of the Italian cities where this happens.

More than once Turin has been pointed out as a laboratory city with regard to integration policies and the inclusion of the second-generation and immigrant minors. As has been said above, the terms are used synonymously. This equivalence, as Molina reminds us, "is destined to vanish very soon, when second generations reach adulthood". Second generations arrive at an adult age more quickly than do their Italian peers. Young foreigners work and set up families earlier than do their Italian peers, who increasingly delay the passage from what is considered "young" to what is considered adult (Conti, 2012). In this sense they are a novelty within the Mediterranean pattern toward adulthood which characterizes Italy. But there is still no general awareness of this fact, not even in Turin, where attention to immigration has been on the political agenda since the beginning of the 1980s. An analysis of the age structure of the immigrant population

shows that it is composed essentially of young people, growing year by year. In 2001, purely second generations represented 13.1% of in-city births, a figure which by 2011 had risen to 28.3%.

The life stories gathered during the field work show, in the context of life-paths behind the crisis, many interesting problems which can be understood by using the citizenship variable.

The first, obviously and naturally, is the school with its dynamics and contradictions. The students' world (especially the girls') portrays a school world where—as testified by the teachers—cohabitation often becomes indifference or conflict; where distance is taken from the existence of scholastic paths, linguistic-cultural heritage and very heterogeneous experiential backgrounds. This is hardly ever caused by an ideological position or a political conviction; rather more often by ignorance and lack of reflection on and comparison of differences.

The second is work—work which is necessary to avoid becoming illegal in the only country which one knows[2]. But even in the labour market we meet an Italy which has difficulty in accepting differences and overcoming stereotypes. Thus if you are Black you can find work only in restaurant kitchens and in warehouses. Contact with customers is still taboo. While it is true that for some time now big businesses have implemented positive discrimination in their work policies, the reality of the youths' daily lives is one of doing the rounds of shops, looking up small ads in newspapers, and knocking on the doors of associations—all of which, in a period of generalized difficulty, has less and less success in melting employers' resistance. Rarely do they go to the Labour Exchange; not even the children of immigration believe in the efficacy of public services in harmonizing supply and demand. Academic qualifications—even Italian—do not help much. In this case, as the young people have come to realize, it is not citizenship which discriminates but age. As one interviewee recalls:

You are too young. You lack experience. They tell you they cannot hire you because you have never worked, but if I don't work how can I gain experience? They have asked me to deliver papers in the mornings and sell them on Sundays, but these are not real jobs. We are looking for proper work and being Moroccan or Albanian has nothing to do with it. Nobody wants young people, not even for unpaid work experience. (20-year-old Romanian girl)

Similarities with their Italian peers emerge: lack of experience and sometimes possession of generic or devalued qualifications. Girls are a separate problem: in their cases the gender stereotype returns:

I'm registered in the second year of Business Studies at university and I tried to find a part-time job to pay for my studies. The only offers I had were as a babysitter or housekeeper. Is it because I'm a Filipina? I speak Italian better than many Italians. I graduated with full marks from a prestigious high school. Why can I find nothing else? I'm not even good enough to work in a bar! It seems that we Filipinas are condemned to do the same jobs as our mothers even through they—for love of us, to enable us to study—downgraded themselves. My mother was a teacher in the Philippines, but here she was a care-giver and now a housekeeper. (21-year-old Filipina)

The last problem area the children of immigration come up against concerns paths toward and attempts at identity definition, which seem to possess common characteristics regardless of differences in place of origin, length of time spent in Italy, family circumstances or juridical status.

FINDINGS: POSSIBLE STRATEGIES IN A PERIOD OF CRISIS

Anybody who has arrived in Europe and has overcome integration problems, who has partially fulfilled his own migratory plan by means of work, home and family reunion, prefers to resist and tries to react. And the young children of immigration often play an active role in these histories and these projects. Many operators, interviewed about the impact of the economic crisis on young generations, could not but

think about their families, casting an eye on the first generation—as indeed did the young people sometimes, recounting how much the topic is discussed in both their immediate and extended families. The children are at the centre of reflections and motivation urging return. The return of infants and/or pre-adolescents, together with the mother or both parents, is beginning to show signs of reality. In some cases there is the fear of what will happen to the children, forced to integrate in a new environment, which, however, corresponds to the parents' culture but sometimes appears new and hostile to the children. The social operators encountered have thrown light on the complexity of such returns. Returning is simple neither for adults nor for minors; the former must face up to a country which has changed in their absence and which their memories have mythologized/idealized; the latter, rather the pre-adolescents, are considered as "Italians", mocked and jeered at by their peers, with whom they do not share language, slang or lifestyle. They find themselves, in their parents' homeland, living that "double absence" which Sayad (2002) spoke about: foreigners in Italy where they were born and/or spent most of their lives, but not accepted, not citizens; foreigners in Morocco, where they share nothing if not more-or-less far-off cultural roots.

Returning to the families' homeland works out differently for adolescent or grown-up children. It sometimes happens that the mother returns with the smallest children, leaving the older ones to look after the house and the father and to seek work, perhaps in the snares of the underground economy. In these cases it is the girls who are forced to pay the highest price, having to leave school to take care of the remaining family and—if they are lucky—to contribute to family finances.

> She is ***, 18 years old. We did everything possible to persuade her parents to let her continue studying after school but her mother's departure changed the whole situation. The mother and two young siblings went back to Morocco and

she is here to look after her father. She takes care of the house and when she can she does a few hours' housework with families which we put her in touch with. It's a pity she did not go on studying but we could not convince her father. (Educator in a recreational centre)

> My mother went back to Morocco with my sister for the whole summer while my father and I stayed here. This is the first year that has happened but my parents made that decision in order to save money. We have to pay the mortgage and reducing expenses helps. In this way we are not at home much so we don't consume. I work in a restaurant and my father is a builder. Now he is working in Verbania and comes home every fortnight. We talk on the phone a lot, my sister wants to come back to Turin, she doesn't like being there. I can understand her. Here we have a different mentality, we are used to being "torinesi", having friends of different nationalities. Especially my sister, who was born here and is now in the second class of junior high school. I am lucky to have a job, otherwise maybe they would have made me leave and not come back since I don't go to school. I would go to France rather than Morocco—at least there it's a bit like Italy. (20-year-old Moroccan boy)

From interviews and information collected from public operators and the private social sector, from relevant organizations as well as members of ethnic-cultural associations, it is possible to distinguish three groups among the young (see Table 1).

The Italianized are those who do not consider going back and have never thought about it. In this group there are to be found young people who have heard about the crisis but have not (yet) been directly affected by it. Some have one or other parent who has known some periods of work reduction but have not for that reason decided to turn their life project upside-down. In this they are backed by their parents.

> Some friends of mine have decided to go back to Morocco to save. I don't know what its like living in Morocco but I've heard my father saying it's not like once upon a time. Even there things have changed. My family has never talked about going back. On the contrary my mother eggs us on to stay and find our own way either here or somewhere else. By now we belong to this country, we've been here so long. (24-year-old Moroccan boy)

> My brothers are Italianized. They do everything the same as their Italian mates. I understand them. When we arrived it

Table 1. Typologies of Strategies of Young People Faced With the Idea of Leaving

	Emigration/return	Relations with homeland/parents' country of origin	Relations with Italy
Italianized	No	Tenuous	Strong
Unsure	Maybe	Stable	Weak
Experimenters	No	Absent	Functional

was rough—black children in Chieri [a small tows nearby Turin]. We had a lot of trouble from the native population of that town. I understand that to be accepted and liked we have to act like Italians. Go back? No, perhaps my mother will return one day, but my life and my brothers' lives are here. We are Italians, even though we haven't got citizenship. (21-year-old Sudanese girl)

They are young people living in families where there is still work, the mother or both parents are in gainful employment, the mortgage is being paid back and they have not fallen into the trap of easy loans, contracting debts beyond their means. Of course costs have been reduced but they are not living in a condition of either economic or juridical precariousness. These young people are aware of their possibilities and chances of success. They state that, unfortunately, you have to be "Italians to win". To win what? "The challenge of deliverance from immigrant jobs, economic success, shaking off the label of immigrant", as an Albanian boy explains. Yet this strategy, which a few years ago emerged often among both young people and their parents as the only possible point of view for breaking free from a condition of labour segregation and stereotyping, is no longer unanimously accepted (Romania 2004).

> I'm Italian but I want to respect my parents' religion and culture, showing people that I'm also Moroccan and not ashamed to be so. (20-year-old Moroccan girl)
>
> When I was younger I said I was Italian but now I say that I'm also Moroccan. I remember asking my mother whether it was true that I had an Italian passport because my friends didn't believe me. Now that I am grown up there are still people who don't believe that I am Italian, but what can I do? I have two identities which I can't erase and don't want to. (18-year-old Moroccan boy)

Sometimes being foreign creates problems which the interviewees do not hide, but they do not wish to wipe out this component of their identity. The tendency among both those born in Italy and those who have obtained citizenship is to reject disclaimers of all that belongs to their origins.

> Every time there is an article in the newspaper about one of my fellow-countrymen, the teacher asks my opinion. What can I say? I was born in Italy, I visit Morocco once a year and here in town I meet only my relatives. It seems to me that the others, the Italians, think we foreigners are all alike and for that reason should all know one another. Perhaps they don't know how many Moroccans there are in Italy. (18-year-old Moroccan girl)
>
> Some years ago it was different. There were fewer of us. There was more ignorance. For instance, at school they were always asking me "How do you say this or that in your language?" Or "How do you do this or that in your country?". I suffered because of it—being born in Italy there are many Albanian words I don't know and I've visited Albania only a few times—so I went home crying. Today I see that my sister has none of these problems. Everybody knows that she is Albanian but nobody asks her about the language or culture. As far as her friends are concerned, she is one among many. (21-year-old Albanian girl)

The Italianized group however also includes some interviewees who are not safe from the risk of losing their jobs or progressive impoverishment. Are they perhaps fatalists? More likely realists, young people who have known and lived through their parents' backbreaking work and, conditioned by a different process of integration into Italian society, have no wish to slide backwards. But if, in the previous cases, the pressure is to build paths of ascending mobility, to apply oneself to study in an attempt to break free from

the secondary integration accepted by their parents, in this case they are even prepared to accept a process of descending mobility. These life-stories can be interpreted in the light of Portes's "downward assimilation" (1996), where not only are steps forward in the social scale compared to one's parents not achieved, but they even turn backwards. In these cases we find a strong sense of identity with the community of origin (attending associations, preponderant use of the language accompanied by little effort to learn Italian, multiple references to the place of origin) which does not imply a strenuous defence of the values and cultural norms of reference so much as a refuge, a place where one feels at ease because one recognizes oneself, one moves naturally—but which at the same time impedes the improvement of conditions for social integration.

Then there are the Unsure, young people living in fragile family environments characterized by family income reduced by months of unemployment, increasing difficulty in paying utilities and rent and keeping the household going. This category includes youths who, although they have been in the country for some time, have not established solid contacts with Italy or its inhabitants. Estrangement from academic life, often with years repeated and frequent changes of schools, have not however prevented them from maintaining constant, firm links with the homeland from which, at a certain moment, their parents called them to join them in Italy. And returning takes the form of a dream to be fulfilled, especially in those cases where family reunion looks like failure.

Finally there are those who intended to leave Italy for good. This group—defined as Experimenters—is made up of young males and females who have clear ideas and a good juridical base. They have either citizenship or a permanent residence permit, employment, good or even excellent academic qualifications, and they are looking at countries like France, Belgium and Holland—countries where they believe their worth will be recognized and appreciated.

They know they are privileged because their legal status is good, so they have no fear of being kicked out. At the same time they are aware that there is no place for them in Italy, even as educated young people. They are, and always will be, children of immigrants. Indeed citizenship, work and excellent Italian may not be enough to enable them to feel at home.

In fact many people, as key informants stress, do not agree that Italy is also the home of foreigners, both first- and second-generation immigrants (German Marshall Fund 2010). The immigrant women are useful for looking after children and giving care to the elderly: but become an economic burden when they decide to have children. The men, labourers, are all right for construction and agriculture, as long as in times of crisis—if necessary—they move aside to make way for others of Italian descent. Others thought the same about Italian women in headscarves when, in Europe and America, they were the ones who cooked, washed and ironed for others. The men fared no better: in America and other places Piedmontese, Venetans and Ligurians were unpopular for a long time because they were viewed as dangerous competition in the labour market (Ciafaloni 2011). In any case, historical memory vacillates: it is the task of adult generations to transmit it to the young, at home and in school, in seats of cultural training as well as free-time sporting activities.

The voices of young children of immigration underline that today's Italians have heterogeneous physical features, various hues of skin-colour, practice (or declare) different religions, do not always originate within national borders. May be this causes fear. Or the possibility that someone who comes from afar may be better than us as regards ability, constancy or motivation? Foreigners are useful, both from the demographic and economic points of view (Dalla Zuanna, Farina, and Strozza 2009; Banca d'Italia 2010a, 2010b).

Facing up to these concepts is, however, very difficult for these young people living in a world rich

in stereotypes at the cutting edge of prejudice—and, to make matters worse, in a period of economic crisis. Interiorizing this complex situation, they themselves, with their migratory paths, become responsible at a young age for outbursts of racism. Yet behind this outer shell one finds some young people who, in a period which offers them few reassuring signals for employment or for the future, are simply afraid of not making it. Putting together old and new Italians to rouse themselves and plan their future hopefully is a difficult but necessary task which can be attempted only with everybody's contribution: families, schools, institutions, and civil society.

CONCLUSION: LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

Many young interviewees have—more or less consciously—interiorized how Italy is their lives' horizon. Even their families are aware that returning to their country of origin would not necessarily be beneficial or cost little in human terms. If an extra effort has to be made, this would seem to be thinkable only if the destination were another European country where better welfare and labour-market prospects could be translated into present and future opportunities. Once again the future is what's worrying the young and their families when making their choices. For many parents, one of the main ideas behind their migratory project was to go abroad in order to ensure better educational opportunities for their children. Even when they are facing difficulties, the children are the litmus paper to test families' conditions and behaviour.

The presence of the children of immigration—both adolescents and younger—at school shows up families' economic problems, as when they cannot afford school meals or the minibus fares for afternoon sports activities, or again when they ask the teacher for an extra-mural part-time job to help them keep studying and give the family a hand. At the same time,

though, parents try to work out with teachers, social workers and volunteers the possible consequences of moving their children during the course of the academic year to another school in another country, as well as support they might obtain in order not to have to give up education as a result of high costs. Then there are the initiatives of the private social sector, which offers scholarships to the most meritorious pupils belonging to families with financial hardship. Sometimes even foreign pupils have taken advantage of this opportunity. This is the story of school-attending foreigners, but there is also another story: other children of immigration who have dropped out or have finished school.

For the others, those who got a high-school diploma in Italy and decided not to continue studying, the prospect facing them is a discriminatory labour market.

Some of these young people experience, in their family lives, downward mobility and they bet on school success to improve their social conditions. Unfortunately, the Italian context is not prepared for this. The complementary presence of the migrant population in the labour market (united to the idea of the German figure of *Gastarbeiter*) is accepted. The possibility of people born or grown up in Italy, speaking Italian, sharing Italian culture and rooting for Italian soccer teams becoming competitors for the same qualified job position is still on the horizon. Some interviewees are involved in youth associations and participate in youth projects, where discussions on their future in Italy are frequent. The issue of their insertion in the labour market, both in normal times and in periods of crisis, as well as the probable difficulties encountered and possible discrimination are on the agenda: this issue is strictly connected to the complex one of citizenship status. Being born in Italy from foreign parents does not automatically mean being Italian citizens: following the *jus sanguinis*, these boys and girls are foreigners and they can apply for Italian citizenship when they reach 18

years old and are able to demonstrate having lived in Italy for 18 years continually.

These issues become dramatically more evident in a period of economic difficulty. Immigrant children want to escape from their condition of being "foreigners", condemned to remain indefinitely at the lowest level of society. At the same time, their Italian peers naturally try to preserve their "privileges", without realizing that Italian families too are suffering the consequences of the crisis. Foreigners and Italians share the same problems: they are young, they live in impoverished families and they have to improve their skills if they want to succeed in the post-crisis, knowledge-based society (Rosina and Ambrosi 2009). The foreigners seem to be more motivated to do just this.

Notes

1. The research was carried out in Turin, from September 2011 to October 2012. The group was composed of young people (18-24), mostly Romanians, Moroccans, Filipinos and Chinese, half males and half females. Their occupational status varied from students to manual workers to unemployed. Ten interviews with professionals (teachers, key informants among various ethnic communities, people working in juvenile centres and labour centres) were collected in order to define the socio-ethnic context both before and during the economic crisis in the city of Turin.

2. A realistic scenario in a market which to flexibility—lending badly with the stabilization demanded by immigration law—adds the effects of the crisis (for more information see Bonifazi and Rinesi 2010; Pepino 2009).

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Engagement and Commitment Among Teachers Working in Subsidized Secondary Education in Catalonia

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Abstract

This paper discusses the notion of commitment—a construct used in the psychology of work—and engagement, as hypothetically opposed to the concept of burnout used in the paradigm of positive psychology. The aim of this study is to analyze engagement in a group of 132 high school teachers from various schools in the private sector and identify its relationship with the commitment variable. The results of the work of this group in three dimensions are presented in this study: vigor, dedication, and absorption; the correlation data are also presented with organizational commitment in three dimensions: affective, normative and temporal (or continuity). With these results the aim is to find predictive evidence among teachers who score significantly in the three dimensions of engagement and the three dimensions of commitment.

Keywords

Engagement, commitment, education, teachers, organization

Teaching is a profession of risk across Europe and in the region of Catalonia given that one of its principal characteristics is the close contact between people. Teachers often receive requests to satisfy needs and expectations that they are unable to fulfill because of lack of resources, both material and human. These demands produce feelings of ambivalence and the sensation of a lack of effectiveness in their professional role.

This is a health problem for teachers that researchers have now proposed to study. There is evidence that fatigue in the professional practice of teaching has increased. According to a statewide study undertaken by the Spanish trade union Workers Commissions (CCOO), 25% of the more than 600,000 teachers in primary and secondary education in Spain have taken sick leave for work-related illnesses (Argós 2000). A more recent study presented at the

Third Confederal Conference of the Teachers Trade Union (STE) claimed that 61% of primary teachers and 39% of secondary school teachers had taken sick leave in the previous year, with an average of 29.4 days of leave. Of these leaves is estimated that 35.7% were due to respiratory type infections, 11% were due to a psychological disorder, and 4.4% for phonetis disorders (Europa Press 2003; Longàs Mayayo 2010).

Much research has focused on studying the phenomenon of emotional exhaustion among teachers looking at the statistics of recent years that indicate an

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increasing incidence of burnout in teaching. The data are not clear regarding the real causes for sick leave among teachers. Knowing what is actually producing the sick leaves is almost impossible as well as what the economic cost is for the schools. It has become a priority for organizations because the consequences of absenteeism could be reduced with an adequate investment in prevention.

The model of burnout proposed by Freudenberg (1974) looks at the syndrome as a subject's response to chronic job stress, and is used to study the energy depletion of teachers. Other models, such as Gil-Monte's (2005), understand burnout as a process and a state that is generated progressively by the negative interaction between personal characteristics and the characteristics of the work environment. While burnout refers to the negative aspects of stress and weariness, the engagement model is framed from a positive perspective. Maslach and Leiter (1997) defined engagement as an opposing concept to burnout and described the mental state of engagement as positive in relation to work life, characterizing this state with three variables: vigor, dedication, and absorption (Schaufeli et al. 2002).

The paradigm of positive psychology helps to reformulate the negative concept of burnout, which has connotations of illness, in order to offer a vision of optimal development. In this framework, the concept of engagement focuses on professional stress and weariness from a position of health promotion and the prevention of disorders (Salanova, Martinez, and Llorens 2005).

Engagement is connected to the field of labor relations and cultural organization and relates to the voluntary effort made by the workers of a business or members of an organization. It is considered that a worker is engaged when they are fully involved in their work and with enthusiasm. When there is the opportunity they act in a way that goes beyond the interests of their organization. For that reason, getting a worker engaged, a worker who is not only involved in their work but also integrated and involved in the organization, becomes an important factor to consider in any business strategy and human capital assessment.

The literature on engagement confirms that this construct is related to other constructs such as job involvement and organizational commitment (Hallberg and Schaufeli 2006), intra-role and extra-role behavior (Schaufeli, Taris, and Bakker 2006), personal initiative (Salanova and Schaufeli 2008), type A behavior pattern (Hallberg, Johansson, and Schaufeli 2007), and workaholism (Schaufeli, Taris, and Van Rhenen 2008). It is also considered that engagement facilitates the psychological well-being of people and is positively correlated with professional efficacy (Salanova, Bresó, and Schaufeli 2005).

The studies that treat engagement and commitment as synonyms are especially interested in (Menezes de Lucena et al. 2006). For this reason, the question is asked: how does engagement relate to organizational commitment, given that they are two different concepts? It is assumed that studies based on engagement and commitment provide different evidence, but it is believed that it is important to approach both constructs, starting with the analysis of their respective dimensions. In a previous study, the relationship between engagement and commitment in a group of 30 school leaders is examined (Arévalo and Bernal 2012). This relationship among secondary education teachers is now interested in looking at.

Organizational commitment has three dimensions: affective, normative, and continuity (Meyer and Allen 1991). The affective dimension refers to the emotional involvement with the values and goals of the company one belongs to and the sense of loyalty felt toward it. The normative dimension refers to the sense of duty and responsibility toward the company. The temporal dimension or continuity refers to the future intention of commitment, the intention to continue working at the company. Workers who have a strong

commitment in the affective dimension remain with the company because they want to and consequently develop strong ties of belonging. Regarding the normative dimension, people remain with the company because they feel they have to. In the case of the temporary or continuity dimension, people remain because they need to.

Engagement also has three dimensions: vigor, dedication, and absorption. Vigor refers to a state that is characterized by high levels of energy and mental strength when the person is working, even if there are problems along the way. Dedication refers to high involvement, an involvement that is experienced as a challenge for the person. Absorption occurs when there is intense concentration on what one is doing, with a loss of the sense of time (Schaufeli et al. 2002).

There is little research that links engagement with commitment. A study realized with volunteers shows that engagement helps to explain their organizational commitment, satisfaction and psychological well-being, thought it does not explain the intention of permanence or perceived physical health (Vecina and Chacón 2013). By contrast, the study shows that the organizational commitment is the only predictor of intent to stay at a company and that a sense of satisfaction felt by the volunteer is the only predictor of perceived physical health. No studies have looked at these variables in the teaching collective, and in particular, in secondary education.

It is interesting to compare the dimensions of engagement and commitment in the teacher workforce. The reasons are that it is one of the most representative occupations that is based on a helping relationship as well as being one of the most vocational professions that exists.

The organizational importance of the teaching profession is also highlighted: the roles and professional activity take place in the school—a key organization within all educational institutions that are housed within a wider socio-cultural framework. In the role of teacher, in the organizational and

educational context of schools, it is necessary to bring together the dimensions of engagement and commitment, beginning with the general hypothesis that they are interrelated.

The aim of this study is to evaluate engagement and organizational commitment in a population of secondary school teachers, verify the relationship between the dimensions of engagement and the levels of commitment (affective, normative, or continuity) and to what extent the organization influences this relationship.

Compulsory secondary education in Spain (ESO) is made up of four consecutive courses for students who usually begin at 12 years old and end at 16. and can be done in public schools in the state or private schools (surcharge); and they may be either secular (mostly the public sector) or religious (mostly private). Many private schools, whether religious or not, receive some public financing. In 2009-2010, according to a report made by Education Consortium of Barcelona, an agency of the Generalitat of Catalonia in the municipality of Barcelona, schools were distributed as follows: 66 public schools—30.41%; 142 subsidized schools—65.43%; 9 independent private schools—4.14%; and in total, 217 schools (ESO).

METHOD

This is a descriptive, correlational and comparative study. Based on the criteria of the treatment of variables, the methodology uses an *ex post facto* method.

Participants

The subsidized school sector in Catalonia is the focus of this study. Teachers from the Pia School institution (Escuela Pia) were invited to participate. The group is made up of 17 schools. The total population of teachers in this sector for the academic year of 2009-2010 is 557, 208 men (37.34%) and 349 women

(62.65%). All were invited to participate. And 132 teachers in secondary education, 88 women (66.6%) and 44 men (33.3%), agreed to participate on a voluntary and anonymous basis. The age range of the sample is between 24 and 64. The average age was 42.69 with a standard deviation of 8.201, and the average number years within the organization was 15.86 with a deviation of 8.469.

Procedure

Teachers were selected with the help of the school coordinators. The teachers were invited to participate using e-mail or mail. They were sent two questionnaires which were completed anonymously and classified by individual schools.

Instruments

Two questionnaires were administered: the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (Spanish version, UWES) (Salanova et al. 2000), and the Meyer and Allen's Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (Meyer and Allen 1997). The UWES is composed of 17 items that assess the three dimensions: vigor (VI, 6 items), dedication (DE, 5 items), and absorption (AB, 6 items). The possible answers are presented in a Likert scale, where "0" means "never or not at any time" and "6" means "always or every day".

The Organizational Commitment Questionnaire is made up of 18 items that assess the three dimensions of commitment: affective, continuity, and normative. The answers are also presented in a Likert scale where "1" means "strongly disagree" and "6" means "strongly agree".

RESULTS

Data analysis was performed using SPSS data processing software, version 17.0. From the 132 surveys, a matrix was constructed that summarizes the three variables of engagement and the three variables of organizational commitment for each participant.

In order to obtain the results of the six dimensions, the ranges defined in the engagement normative table—validated in the study by Salanova et al. (2000)—were taken into account. In the case of organizational commitment, the three dimensions were coded according to the ranges defined in the Meyer and Allen's instrument (1991).

The results obtained from the teachers for the engagement construct are presented in Table 1.

In the vigor dimension, the majority of participants are situated at average levels with 58.46% of the sample, 24.61% are at high levels, and 1.53% at very high levels. This is in contrast to 13.07% of teachers who scored at the low level and 2.3% who are situated in the very low.

In the dedication dimension, most of the teachers scored at a high level with 48.85% of the group and 15.26% at a very high level, while 33.58% are situated at average levels and 2.29% at low levels.

For the absorption dimension, the results show average levels in 43.65% of the teachers and low levels in 5.55%, contrasted with 38.09% of the teachers who scored at a high level and 12.69% at the very high.

The results showing the average and standard deviation of each construct are summarized in Table 2.

For the construct of commitment, frequency results obtained for the three dimensions are shown in Table 3.

The descriptive analysis of the affective commitment states that teachers in secondary education are linked with the organization favorably in 65.11% of the cases from a total of 129 teachers who answered the questionnaire. For continuity commitment there is a favorable connection for 50.39% of the sample and 6.29% show a very favorable connection. While 41.73% of the teachers connect in an unfavorable way and 1.57% are situated at very unfavorable. The results for normative commitment show an unfavorable relationship with

Table 1. Results of Engagement Frequencies in Its Three Dimensions: Vigor, Dedication, Absorption

Variables	E. Vigor		E. Dedication		E. Absorption	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Very low	3	2.3	-	-	-	-
Low	17	13.07	3	2.29	7	5.55
Medium	76	58.46	44	33.58	55	43.65
High	32	24.61	64	48.85	48	38.09
Very high	2	1.53	20	15.26	16	12.69
Total	130		131		126	

Table 2. Mean and Standard Deviation in the Engagement Construct

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Average	Standard deviation
Vigor	130	1.00	5.00	3.1000	.72444
Dedication	131	2.00	5.00	3.7710	.72922
Absorption	126	2.00	5.00	3.5794	.78336

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Affective Commitment, Continuity and Normative

	C. Affective		C. Continuity		C. Normative	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Very unfavorable	1	.77	2	1.57	12	9.44
Unfavorable	84	65.11	53	41.73	62	48.81
Favorable	43	33.33	64	50.39	49	38.58
Very favorable	1	.77	8	6.29	4	3.14
Total	129		127		127	

Table 4. Mean and Standard Deviation in the Commitment Construct

		C. Affective	C. Continuity	C. Normative
N	Valid	129	127	127
	Lost	6	8	8
Average		18.0310	19.2362	17.7402
Typical average error		.20764	.29525	.34207
Median		18	19	18
Mode		18.00	18.00	18.00
Standard deviation		2.35829	3.32727	3.85493
Variance		5.562	11.071	14.861
Range		16.00	15.00	21.00
Minimum		9.00	12.00	6.00
Maximum		25.00	27.00	27.00
Total		2,326.00	2,443.00	2,253.00

the organization in 48.81% of the cases, compared to 38.58% which scored as favorable relationship.

Statistical results for commitment can be seen in Table 4.

The correlation analysis between the three dimensions of engagement (vigor, dedication, and absorption) and organizational commitment with its three components (affective, normative, and temporal or continuity) presents significant correlations, as can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5. Pearson Correlation Between the Dimensions of Engagement and Organizational Commitment

		E. Vigor	E. Dedication	E. Absorption	C. Affective	C. Continuity	C. Normative
E. Vigor	Pearson correlation		.808**	.749**	-.074	.053	.221*
	Sig. (bilateral)		.000	.000	.409	.560	.013
E. Dedication	Pearson correlation			.734**	.057	-.006	.255**
	Sig. (bilateral)			.000	.526	.948	.004
E. Absorption	Pearson correlation				-.005	.071	.328**
	Sig. (bilateral)				.960	.434	.000
C. Affective	Pearson correlation				1	.020	.166
	Sig. (bilateral)					.823	.065
C. Continuity	Pearson correlation						.337**
	Sig. (bilateral)						.000

Notes: ** The correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (bilateral); * The correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (bilateral).

Table 6. Distribution of the Sample by Age

	Age ranges	*N*
C. Affective	Less than 40	40
	Between 40 and 45	46
	More than 45	43

Table 7. Normal Distribution

		Shapiro-Wilk		
	Age ranges	Statistical	Degrees of freedom	Sig.
C. Affective	Less than 40	.904	40	.002
	Between 40 and 45	.936	46	.014
	More than 45	.927	43	.009

Table 8. Results for Kruskal-Wallis Test

	Age ranges	*N*	Average range
C. Affective	Less than 40	40	56.79
	Between 40 and 45	46	56.63
	More than 45	43	81.59
	Total	129	

Test statistics[a,b]

	C. Affective
Chi-square	13.027
gl	2
Sig. asymptotic	.001

Notes: a. Kruskal-Wallis test; b. Grouping variable: Age ranges.

Table 9. Results for Age Ranges Using Mann-Whitney

| Total sample	Sample A				Sample B				Results: Mann-Whitney U			Significance
	N	Group	Average range	∑ range	*N*	Group	Average range	∑ range	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. asymptotic (bilateral)
86	40	Less than 40	43.88	1,755	46	Between 40 and 45	43.17	1,986	905	1,986	-.132	.895
83	40	Less than 40	33.41	1,336.5	43	More than 45	49.99	2,149.5	516.5	1,336.5	-3.179	.001
89	46	Between 40 and 45	36.96	1,700	43	More than 45	53.6	2,305	619	1,700	-3.076	.002
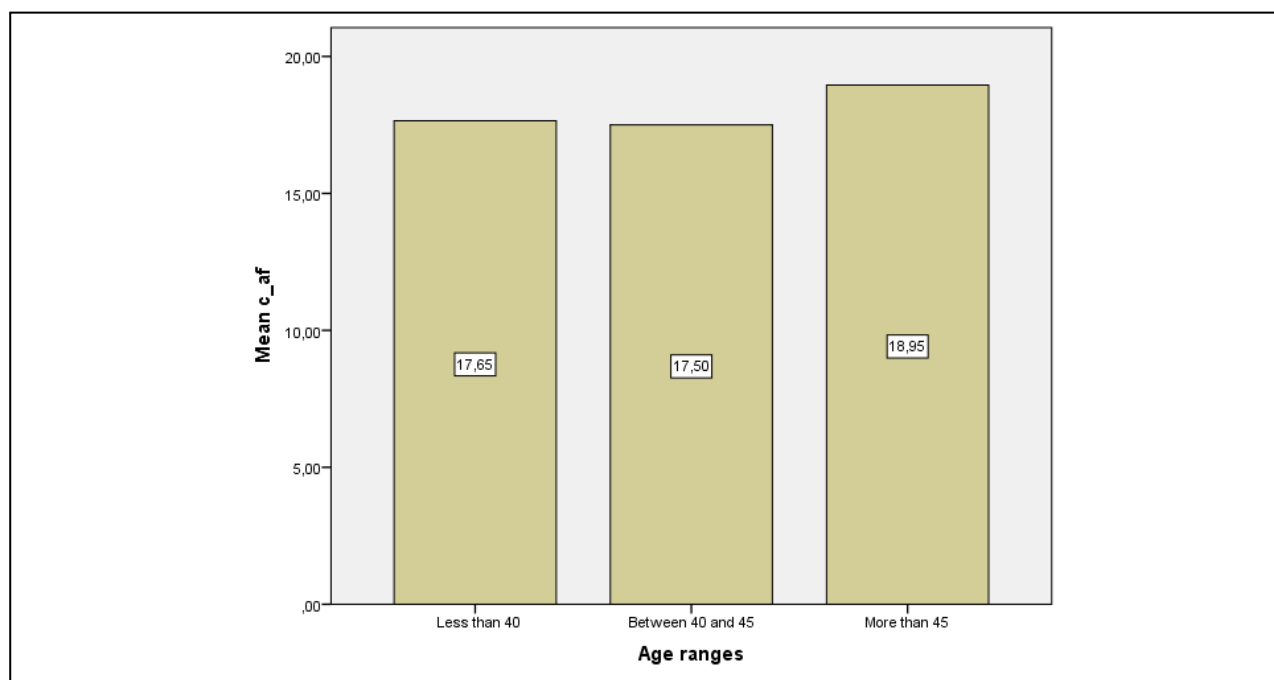
Figure 1. Diagram Frequencies Between Groups of Age Ranges.

Significant correlations, as shown in Table 5, are between the following dimensions: vigor with dedication, absorption with normative commitment, and normative commitment with commitment of continuity. No significant correlations were found with affective commitment.

In contrast, the results regarding the age factor show that there is a relationship with the type of affective commitment. To study this hypothesis distribution of the sample of teachers is done according to the age factor, separating the group into the following percentiles: 33%, 66%, and 99%. The age distribution is left as shown in Table 6.

As reflected in Table 6, the group of 132 teachers is very evenly divided into three groups. The first group represents teachers younger than 40 years old, the second represents those who are between 40 and 45 years old, and the third represents those who are older than 45. The applied normality tests are seen in Table 7.

As shown in the results, the sample is normally distributed.

The existence of significant differences between groups of age ranges was assessed using the Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric test (see Table 8).

Also, significant differences were found between the affective commitment dimension and age ranges by applying the Mann-Whitney test (see Table 9).

As can be seen, there are no significant differences between group 1 (teachers younger than 40) and group 2 (teachers between 40 and 45 years old). There are significant differences between group 1 and 3, and group 2 and 3 (see Figure 1).

DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that teachers have a positive predisposition for doing their job. This is confirmed by the vigor variable of engagement in which 76 teachers scored within the average level, 32 in the high level and 2 at very high. These teachers dedicate a great amount of energy and time to their

work, and their degree of abstraction is at a medium level. Furthermore, many other teachers from the group reached high levels so that it can be seen that the participants are engaged.

If the scores had been very high in engagement it would have been interpreted as a waste of energy in relation to the type of work the group is involved in. This would mean that they would have to invest more and more energy since the task of teaching absorbs people to the extent that it "enslaves" them, turning into a dangerous addiction. In this case vigor would not be seen as negative.

In reference to normative commitment, 62 cases reveal a tendency toward an unfavorable relationship and in 12 cases, very unfavorable. This contrasts with the 49 teachers who have a favorable relationship and the 4 that mark very favorable. This does not occur in the cases of affective commitment and commitment of continuity which may mean that teachers are not connected to the organization by a sense of duty, but quite possibly to prevent job loss. This possibility is supported by the results in commitment of continuity in which 64 teachers scored as favorable and 8 very favorable, indicating that they desire to continue working in the organization despite not feeling entirely integrated or connected. This finding is confirmed in the result of the affective commitment dimension in which 84 teachers are clearly situated at unfavorable.

In summary, the study illuminates the profile of a teacher who feels connected to the organization but is not satisfied with it. This suggests the need to analyze how the type of organization influences this situation—in the case of this study the organization belongs to the private or subsidized sector. It is concluded that the private sector has a greater hierarchical structure than that of the public sector and that this hierarchy hinders the person's affective commitment to the organization. In addition, in the schools of Catalonia, the differences in career variables are more evident in the private sector than in

the public sector. This factor should be a theme of interest for future research.

The most surprising result of the study is the implication that affective commitment is stronger with the increase of age in teachers. The reason could be the heightened perception of self-efficacy in their work due to more professional experience. This tendency is not seen in normative commitment or commitment to continuity. The principle of self-efficacy offers an explanation for the results seen in this study in the idea that human functioning is the product of a dynamic interaction between personal factors, behavior and environmental influences, and that self-efficacy is the regulator of well-being (Bandura 1997).

Future research should be directed to study the relationship between engagement and commitment in public sector organizations, comparing them with the private and subsidized sector. It is surmised that hierarchical relationships are not as intense in the public sector and that people may feel more integrated within a peer group. This allows teachers to have experiences that help them to feel more self-sufficient. It would be important to look at these differences in both educational sectors as well as taking into consideration other sociodemographic factors such as seniority or the influence a part-time or full-time work load has. Future studies should also focus on engagement and the relationships of trust that the organization must establish with their workers in order to achieve strong affective commitment and greater direct involvement of people with their work and with the organization.

The correlational results show evidence that engagement may be predictive of commitment. Thus engagement helps to explain the commitment of people to the organization, but does not explain how people feel about the organization; and this should be looked at taking into account variables like self-fulfillment, satisfaction with the climate of the organization, and the perception of interpersonal

relationships.

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Dusk of the "*Sole dell'Avvenire*" for Labour Party? Italian Ambassador Tommaso Gallarati Scotti Face to British Elections of October 1951

Gianluca Borzoni[a]

Abstract

General elections held in October 1951 can be considered as a milestone in British political history, and from an international point of view, the return to power of Conservatives after the defeats of 1945 and 1950 represents an event of considerable relevance. Based on Italian archival sources, this paper analyses Tommaso Gallarati Scotti's (Italian ambassador to the UK) view during the electoral campaign, as a part of a diplomatic action aimed at resuming the traditional Anglo-Italian friendship, brutally interrupted on June 10, 1940, at the time of fascist "stab in the back": a hard task to accomplish, even after the resumption of full diplomatic relations between Rome and London, in 1947.

Keywords

Italian foreign policy, ambassador Gallarati Scotti, 1951 British election, Labour political crisis

British elections of October 25, 1951 led to the return to power for Conservative Party, after six years spent on opposition benches. To Labour, the defeat was particularly heavy, not only because that election marked their best electoral result ever (either in absolute or percentage terms), but especially because the government action previously implemented had attained some of the party's traditional aims—which Conservatives would not reverse—such as the Welfare State or the nationalization of productive key-sectors (Van Creveld 1999). At an international level, all throughout the year Italian diplomacy, in search of a consolidation of its bi-lateral relations with London, had followed out the gradual decay of the parliamentary majority supporting Clement Attlee's Cabinet, while looking with mixed feelings at a possible Churchill's return to Downing Street. On the basis of documentary sources from the *Archivio*

Storico-Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri in Rome (Asdmae)—mainly the folders relating to Great Britain within the "Political Affairs" archive group—the present essay intends to outline the information, analysis and counselling action carried out by Grosvenor Square Italian Embassy during Labour crisis. What was the state of relations between Britain and Italy at that time, and what were Italian ambassador Tommaso Gallarati Scotti's purposes in deploying this action?

Noble of an ancient lineage, anti-fascist escaped to Switzerland and then diplomat by political

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appointment in the newly created Republican Italy, Gallarati arrived in Britain in 1947 with an instruction of "trying to make alive and fruitful the relations between two countries made to understand each other" (Canavero 1979). In London, he would have been constantly treated with deference and respect by British colleagues and politicians, but would have also been able to perceive how British perplexities toward the "new Italy" were still rooted into the dramatic experience of the war fought against the fascists. From this point of view, Bevin's foreign policy had thus not reversed the previous Anthony Eden's line. Moreover, even though since Italian ratification of its peace treaty in the summer of 1947 the shadow of British resentment had faded at times, during the latest part of the decade new elements of mutual incomprehension had risen. Doubts on Italian democratic consolidation, in spite of the first clear "Western" political choice the Christian Democrats had made by breaking up with leftist forces (approved by the electoral body in the election of April 1948); misunderstandings over the liquidation of Italian colonial empire, with its wake of tragedies, such as the Mogadishu riots that in January led to the killing of 52 Italians (Calchi Novati 1980); the long-run struggle for Trieste opposing Rome to Belgrade; the animated debate over Italian participation to the Brussels Treaty of March 1948 and the Atlantic Alliance of April 1949: these had all been occasions for talking, arguing and sometimes fighting (Pedaliu 2003).

The 1950s had begun with better dispositions from both sides, and Gallarati felt he could finally accomplish the mission he had been entrusted. Being a diplomat with a profound culture and wide interests, he had been able to built up a web of friendly relations: foreign policy issues represented a large part of his work, but internal political life did too, and rather—as this essay will illustrate—day after day the Labour party's problems and the possible beginning of a new phase again under Churchill's aegis got often the pre-eminence.

CRISIS SIGNALS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1951

"One of the highest Labour personalities confidentially told me that he has the impression that Conservatives are going to win the elections, with a remarkable majority" (Gallarati to Sforza, October 9, 1951, Asdmae): with these words on October 9, 1951, some two weeks before the political election day, Tommaso Gallarati Scotti initiated one of his ordinary reports for foreign minister Alcide De Gasperi. Four days before, the British electoral campaign had begun, and journalists and observers had already called it historical, enriched by the first "Party Election Broadcasts", for the few in possess of a television, tuned on the single BBC channel (Freedman 2003). It was the consequence of the long wave of Labour crisis, 20 months after the last election, won by a majority of only six parliamentary seats, something which affected the subsequent legislature.

In fact, after some months of a routine policy—inconsistent with Labour political postulates and thus bitterly criticized by Aneurin Bevan's left wing—the last part of 1950 and the first weeks of 1951 had brought upon some remarkable news: re-launch of nationalizations (the steel industry above all), and two Cabinet reshuffles which eventually led to Bevan's entry into the government in January 1951, right at a time when the communist menace appeared more serious (as the Korean "war by proxy" was showing) and a heated debate over the need to increase the budget for national defence was in progress (Pelling 1984). On the eve of a political change, it was enough to raise the interest of the diplomats in service in London and particularly of the Italian Embassy headed by Gallarati Scotti, always very careful in recording and transmitting every possible evidence of a pro- or anti-Italian attitude from both major parties.

Reserved and discreet, the ambassador could be sometimes sharp in judging men, especially politicians: in dealing with current events, he referred to Nye Bevan as a "left-wing, very demagogic subject"; his appointment as minister of Labour could put Clement Attlee's political stability at risk, at least in the long run. For the time being, Bevan would probably accept the political line of the Cabinet, including the announced social sacrifices: if not, "prudent Attlee would not decide himself to that [choice]". Together with Bevan's appointment, the Italian Embassy also hailed with surprise Ernest Bevin's unexpected confirmation at the Foreign Office, due to his precarious health conditions. "I don't know how long his [position] can last", Gallarati Scotti wrote on January 20, 1951. Nevertheless, the foreign minister was "so deeply attached to his work that he would hardly leave spontaneously"; and the prime minister, convinced that Bevin's situation was the direct consequence of his restless activity, would not deprive himself of such a collaborator and friend. Surely, the political weakness remained, while fibrillations within the majority reappeared. In such a "fluid" situation, the Italian diplomat wrote, a relevant voice was missing, as Winston Churchill was behaving "like Cincinnatus": still in Morocco, he was spending time "reading and painting", waiting for events to come (Gallarati to Sforza, January 20, 1951, Asdmae).

With the end of Christmas vacation, times seemed ripe and the reshuffled (yet precarious) Labour government had to face a Parliamentary offensive regarding the steel industry. After the recent creation of the "Iron and Steel Corporation of Great Britain" (Ross 1965), further moves toward nationalization would jeopardize the rearmament in progress: that is what Churchill argued on January 26, 1951, after finally laying down the Roman Consul-Dictator's dress. The steel issue was a really peculiar one, involving an essential point of the Labour electoral program which urged a re-launch—after analogous projects involving sugar, cement and insurances had

been abandoned (Butler 1952)—and Gallarati's view seemed in this occasion rather supportive of governmental positions, judged "not only formally but also substantially impeccable" (Gallarati to Sforza, January 26, 1951, Asdmae).

By mid-February, the Parliamentary debate on national security gave Churchill the occasion to deepen the reasons of his opposition: together with other deplorable measures, steel nationalization would undermine the efficiency of the British Navy right at a moment when "an impressive Soviet submarine threat" was at stake. The Labour government, other Conservative speakers added, was tremendously late on every aspects of defence policy: lack of means, lack of forces and training, incapacity in handling military and social needs contemporaneously, no supportive attitude toward the French plan of European army.

Hugh Gaitskell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, replied to the accusations. First, the rearmament plan was not even a part of the latest Conservative electoral program; however, to reduce military repercussions Labour had presented a more elaborate and challenging plan, which would rise the per capita cost from 16 to 36 pounds in the three following years, but would also be accompanied by a productive expansion, severe ties on allocations of raw materials and fiscal and monetary measures. Aneurin Bevan, then, dealt at length with the social aspects of the plan and also its international implications, in a closing speech which Gallarati Scotti reported extensively. Very critical over the Conservative tendency to see the "Communists' wrecker action" behind the rising number of strikes in the country, Bevan proclaimed that he was certain there were no ongoing aggressive Russian plans; and if Moscow seemed to take advantage from all the existing crises—mostly in Asia—the Soviets were also losing followers in non-communist countries. Britain, thus, should not abandon herself to Conservatives' scaremongering, which just tried to exploit international troubles in

order to destabilize the government; rather, the Labour leadership should accomplish the announced commitments, avoiding at the same time that "the global atmosphere becomes so exacerbated to prevent the nations from coming to an understanding in peace and harmony".

The motion from the opposition ended in a flop: not only was this a new case of a widening of Labour's parliamentary consent—due to the confluence of Liberal votes—but also within the Conservatives several dissident positions were recorded. According to Gallarati, Churchill's speech had in this occasion failed to convince a portion of his own party-mates (Gallarati to Sforza, February 17, 1951, Asdmae). To his eyes, these internal consequences had above all a strategic meaning: political stability was essential to promote bilateral co-operation, especially now that the diplomat was trying to convince his government to organize a visit to London of Prime Minister De Gasperi. The strengthening of the majority, with the attenuation of Labour rebels' voices, was indeed good news: the Cabinet was expected to hold out until fall, at least. On the other side, the Conservative party appeared in turn as leaded by a progressively more unsteady hand: Winston Churchill was "ageing and inferior than himself", so that no strong and clear opposition was possible at that very moment; and by the middle of May Gallarati would add that retiring would be a gesture of wisdom and political greatness from "the old lion" (Gallarati to Sforza, February 19, 1951, Asdmae).

As weeks passed and the government did not fall, Gallarati Scotti was thus able to calmly devote himself to the aforementioned purpose of bringing De Gasperi and a very reluctant foreign minister Sforza to Britain. Considered by the diplomat as a response to Italian-French February talks, the visit took place in mid-March; in the agenda: Trieste, ex-colonies, Italian admission to the United Nations, revision of peace treaty. Gallarati appeared very satisfied with the end results of the mission, even though in the aftermath differences of opinion on Italian issues re-emerged: nevertheless, in his view, as sooner or later elections would come, no future government would ignore the beneficial stimulus impressed to bilateral relations by the meeting (Varsori 2012).

On the internal front, after a temporary cease-fire, at the beginning of April Labour Party members started arguing again, just when Clement Attlee was lying in a hospital bed (Thomas-Symonds 2010), and Bevin's physical conditions were rapidly declining to death (Bullock 1983). In this situation, Gallarati asked himself: Would Bevan and his group accept the Cabinet line of increasing expenses for national defence while cutting—truly by a rather small amount—the Welfare State, and particularly the National Health Plan they had previously fought for? No, they would not; Bevan, along with Board of Trade president Harold Wilson and undersecretary for Supplies Freeman, resigned on April 23, 1951 (Childs 2006): apparently, attempts at fostering the stability of their parliamentary majority had finally failed. Even in this situation, nonetheless, from Gallarati's point of view Labour leaders should not be overly concerned. While new elections would not reasonably come until October—he confirmed—the Bevanist snatch and the new reshuffle that followed could indeed produce positive effects: an internal clarification within the party, a strengthening of Attlee's position, perhaps a further widening of consent among the moderates (Gallarati to Sforza, April 26, 1951, Asdmae). Labour political decline was maybe stronger than what was perceived by the Italian Embassy, as Gallup polls indicated an electoral advantage of more than 10% in favour of the Conservatives. Probably there would not be a great margin, so that, in their conversations with Gallarati, no surprise that Eden and Macmillan had openly declared that they would not like elections by a short term in any case (Theodoli to De Gasperi, August 24, 1951; Gallarati to De Gasperi, August 8, 1951, Asdmae).

When parliamentary vacation came, the situation was thus still uncertain. On the occasion of the closing of the House of Commons, Gallarati Scotti sent a long memorandum to De Gasperi, who had recently assumed the guide of Italian Foreign Ministry in his seventh government, summarizing the principal points of British debate. To Gallarati, while political dialectic was progressively moving from central to local electoral districts, some key-elements could reasonably influence all future developments. The economic contingency was evidently not "made for attracting public opinion's praise toward the Governments": growing cost of living, rumors of new restrictive measures aimed at sustaining defence expenditures—among these, a particular aversion was provoked by the announcement of an authoritative imposition of a limit to stock dividends (Rogow 1955)—while a predictably hard-fought Labour national congress was about to be held (Gallarati to De Gasperi, August 8, 1951, Asdmae). In the meantime, on the international front, an Iranian sword of Damocles was dangerously hanging over the Cabinet: earlier that April, Mossadeq's appointment as Prime Minister had been followed by the unanimous vote by which the *Majlis* nationalized Iranian oil; after weeks of highest tension, a U.S. mediation would show that only a recognition of this nationalization by the British could lead to a bilateral negotiation for the liquidation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Failing this, Iranians were ready to go it alone. In August, when the Lord of Privy Seal and Minister of Materials Richard Rapier Stokes finally came to Tehran (Elm 1994), Gallarati Scotti commented:

> A compromise with the Persians could hardly be exploited by the Government as a great success, while there is no doubt that [a failure] can provide an easy opportunity to Conservatives to double their allegations that Labour sheepish policy have led centuries of territorial and economic British conquests to destruction. (Gallarati to De Gasperi, August 8, 1951, Asdmae)

However, even the opposition was not in a very good shape. Eager to develop previous comments, Gallarati explained that Conservatives were in the middle of a "less evident but not less deep crisis", not only because of Churchill's present inability of taking care of public affairs—something other prominent Tories referred to in a very cautious way—but also because "they believe highly preferable setting the pace for a substantial [future] victory rather than hurrying up and getting a success like the Labour in 1950". Liberals seemed to share this opinion, avoiding for the time being to line up with one of the major parties; as their leader, Clement Davies, told Gallarati: "Liberals are going to lose some other seats at the Commons, and they already have only nine". Davies was nevertheless "also convinced that his party should not come to an agreement with the other two. Its strength can only be moral: far better, thus, having a few seats less with no compromise, rather than increasing the number of its seats as a consequence of alliances". Liberals were going to regret in the future. "I am persuaded", Gallarati concluded, "that he has not a very precise idea" (Gallarati to De Gasperi, August 8, 1951, Asdmae), while the whole situation was still "in a fluid state", as it was at the beginning of the year. And this was in spite of 12 points of electoral gap: a strange shared perception, indeed.

THE ROAD TO ELECTIONS

At the end of summer vacations, the moment for truth came: on September 19, 1951, Clement Attlee announced that the following October 5, King George VI would dissolve the Parliament: Election Day would be on October 25. According to the Italian Embassy, a sense of general relieve could be perceived within the electoral body, while no substantial difference was expected in political programmes, perhaps with the exception of "how assuring the country the maximum productivity":

Labour politicians think to obtain it through strict controls and profit reduction, fighting trusts and monopolies, and overcoming every obstructionism to production from the property; Conservatives believe they can get it through a more flexible price policy, overcoming every obstructionism to production from trade unionions [...] and thanks to a profit liberalization in those trade and industrial activities which turn out to be effectively productive. (Gallarati to De Gasperi, August 8, 1951, Asdmae; underlined in original)

Then, new difficulties arose: King George underwent a pneumonectomy surgery on September 23, 1951 (Wheeler-Bennet 1958), two days before the Iranian decision of expelling British personnel from Abadan oilfield, which would be eventually occupied and rapidly freed from foreign presence (Bamberg 1994). For some days public opinion concentrated on these events, but parties' activities did not stop. Between the end of September and the beginning of October, electoral manifestos were distributed, respectively by the Conservative, Labour—which on September 30 opened their national congress in Scarborough—and Liberal parties (Butler 1952). According to Gallarati, those documents confirmed a high degree of tactical prudence from both sides, still in search of the most appropriate propaganda in order to gain uncertain voters' consensus: that was the reason why Labour had probably abjured (or at least forgotten) most of the *leit-motivs* of previous electoral competitions.

More in detail, while for many aspects foreign and defence plans seemed not to collide—as Conservatives stated their will to carry on with the rearmament program, actually reaffirmed in a quite lesser enthusiastic way by Labours—the party led by Churchill launched a stronger attack on economy and finance, given that the present devaluation was a consequence of the "application of a doctrinaire socialism". So, while in the short run they confirmed the necessity of political prices, as a structural remedy they were proposing bureaucratic simplification, the cutting of governmental expenses, and above all the end of nationalizations: something which was

particularly urgent for the steel industry, in urgent need of reorganization along lines of decentralization and productivity improvement. As already announced during summer debates, the Conservative manifesto also showed a strong will of revising the taxation tariffs on enterprises, to be reduced in case of ploughing profits back. On all these economic issues, Labours were "on the defensive", underlining the gravity of the global crisis and the importance of a future strengthening of the price control system, workers' participation to industrial choices, and new forms of income redistribution. Lastly, a great role was attributed by the house-building issue (Gallarati to De Gasperi, October 2, 1951, Asdmae), with the Labour promise of maintaining the popular construction rate at two hundred thousand new houses per year, and the Conservative commitment—arisen from Blackpool Congress as a "banner steadily hung to the mainmast" (Macmillan 1969)—to elevate it to three hundred thousand: a further confirmation of Labour delicate position, aimed at emphasizing the value of a governmental action which the Italian Embassy considered as "rather scant". It was nevertheless true that Conservatives, willing to diminish Labour Welfare State accomplishments, were taking good care not to indicate "how to maintain the existing social system with no imposition of further taxation" to sustain the rearmament (Gallarati to De Gasperi, October 2, 1951, Asdmae).

How was the real mood within the government majority? To diplomatic counsellor Livio Theodoli many Labour politicians did not appear so worried in view of a loss, in the hope that from the opposition the party would be able to reorganize itself and finally be ready to regain power in the next future. Given Conservative declarations previously reported, it seemed that nobody wanted to win elections. The Italian Embassy appeared now more optimistic toward a Conservative victory, esteemed by between 20 and 90 seats.

By mid-October, Gallarati's analysis became more

precise and accurate, based on facts "and not on psychological evaluations likely to lead to unwise and erroneous conclusions". Among these facts there was the certainty that vote dispersion would be limited, due to the small number of Liberals in electoral lists. Still in the realm of "psychological evaluations", instead, there was the dejection within Labour, perhaps provoked by a desire not to appear "surprised by others' victory"; but not only:

> A Cabinet member let me almost understand that, apart from his party's interest, a Conservative victory should be considered objectively desirable: his opinion is that Labour, after six years in power, has ruled enough, has carried out numerous and extensive reforms, and it would be better if a Conservative government took over, at least for some time, in order to restore that pendulum game which assured continuity to democracy in this country. (Gallarati to De Gasperi, October 16, 1951, Asdmae)

On October 25 all doubts dissolved: Labour gained 295 seats, Conservatives 321 (Rallings and Thrasher 2007). Gallarati Scotti's prediction thus proved right but he underestimated the late Labour comeback. The diplomat had however distinguished its outline: "more energy" than the opponents, a remarkable commitment lavished by Premier Attlee—"with a mobility that reminded of American elections"—while Churchill "has nearly not moved and has delivered only a few speeches. And Eden, given the frailty of his position, did not put much on display"; for him a return to the Foreign Office was however certain (Gallarati to De Gasperi, October 19, 1951, Asdmae). Would the new Cabinet succeed in carrying out the electoral program, calling for a fresh start in British policy? The narrow margin could rather suggest the beginning of a more prudent line, and in Churchill's first statements after the vote Gallarati perceived "the intention of giving to the new government's policy a high national value" (Gallarati to De Gasperi, October 27, 1951, Asdmae). What about Italy?

CONCLUSIONS

The Italian ambassador could only hope that the Conservatives' alleged new approach would at least concern Italy, in a positive way. In fact, also recently Churchill had not avoided falling into verbal excesses: at the beginning of March, he had addressed defence minister Emmanuel Shinwell: "Oh, shut up. Go and talk to the Italians; that's all you're fit for". Judged by Harold Macmillan as "the most absurd storm in a teacup", the story had a sequel, and a telegram of apology signed by a hundred of Labour activists was sent to De Gasperi and Sforza (Macmillan 2004). Nonetheless, other—more specific—circumstances had shown a constructive attitude, fostering Italian hopes: in the previous year, in the midst of a "Pindaric toast" to greet foreign minister Carlo Sforza on official visit to Britain, Eden had already made the promise that as soon as Tories would come again to power, they'd correct some mistakes made by Labours with respect to Italy (Sforza to De Gasperi, May 19, 1950, in *I Documenti Diplomatici Italiani* 2009). Were these *avances* inexpensively expressed by a prominent opposition member hoping to get back to power in the near future, or was it an advance notice of a new political line? Now that he had again the direct responsibility of British foreign policy, in his first public speech of international relevance—at the General Assembly of the United Nations in mid-November—he really seemed not to forget that promise, re-launching the need of having Italy within the Organization; and after that "The Times" had judged Italian persisting exclusion as "intolerable", Eden confirmed (Gallarati to De Gasperi, November 2, 1951, Asdmae).

Time would tell if apprehensions of those who remembered previous Conservative hostility would prevail over the optimists' faith that in the cold war framework, De Gasperi's reliability would be well appreciated; meanwhile, Sforza's exit from the government had eliminated from the Italian political

landscape a key player whose personal relations with British counterparts had never attained a high level of cordiality (Pastorelli 2009). In any case, there would not be Tommaso Gallarati Scotti to verify in practice the good intentions expressed. In disagreement with his foreign ministry on certain aspects of Italian policy, his resignation as ambassador to Britain had already been accepted on the eve of the elections. He had been the witness of Labour party's political dusk—contrary to expectations, they would stay out of power for 13 years—and time had come for his own political sunset, at the end of a short, but so intense, diplomatic experience. Perhaps it was a pity, with all the good relations he had patiently built up with the Conservative establishment—Harold Macmillan calls him "the sweet Italian ambassador" in his memoirs—but before leaving London he anyway gave his advice on what he considered the necessary evolutions bilateral relations should have in the future, in Italy's interest: development of Italian emigration to Britain, further increase of economic interchange and above all pursuing the political efforts to put these relations on "that level of mutual understanding and affability they had experimented in other times" (Varsori 2012: 31-32). The following months seemed to prove these predictions wrong, because of the re-emergence in a dramatic way of the Trieste issue (Lefebvre d'Ovidio 2012), but the path was marked and from the second half of the 1950s Gallarati Scotti's hopes actually began to be realized.

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Access-to-Credit and the Rate of Victimization in an Entrepreneurial Community

Giacomo Di Gennaro[a], Riccardo Marselli[b]

Abstract

The scope of the paper is to empirically assess whether entrepreneurs experiencing difficulties in access-to-credit are vulnerable to some forms of victimization, especially when this refers to crimes more related to entrepreneurs' activity. The basic idea is that those entrepreneurs might be induced to fund themselves into the informal and criminal credit markets or, if informationally captured by a bank, can be exposed to requests from the financial intermediary that might also have a criminal profile. This has been investigated using an original data set with information collected through a victimization survey administered to entrepreneurs in Campania, the largest region in the South of Italy. The estimation results from a logistic equation are consistent with the hypothesis that, in presence of difficulties in accessing credit, the entrepreneur might incur in a higher risk of victimization.

Keywords

Access-to-credit, relationship banking, victimization

The issue of repeated and multiple victimization has been addressed in the literature generally stressing the role of relational aspects, and in fact a contemporary prospect of victimology includes among others the contextual factors and those symbolic and cultural elements that contribute to originate an act of violence (Fattah 1992; Tilley and Laycock 2002, 2003; Townsley, Homel, and Chaseling 2003; Baldry 2003; Johnson, Bowers, and Pease 2004).

The historical evolution of the concept of victim gave rise to a flourishing empirical literature, ranging from studies relating to the status of wife-beating in the 1980s (Steinmetz 1980; Straus 1983) to research on the abuse and mistreatment of the elderly (Solicitor General of Canada 1985; Bowland 1990) as well as to usury phenomenon involving pensioners and the elderly as victims (Stefanizzi 2002; Spina and Stefanizzi 2010), or the ill-treatment of children and young people (namely sexual abuse, mistreatment, child abuse, hazing as structure of institutional behaviour, bullying, etc.) (Depolo 2003; Ege 1997, 2005; Hirigoyen 2000; Baldry 2006; Curci, Galeazzi, and Secchi 2003; Merzagora Betsos 2009; Ponzio 2004; Ventimiglia 2002; Fonzi 1999; Genta 2002; Manesini 2003; Olweus 1996). More recent empirical research emphasizes the unequal treatment of social control agencies, the persistence of ethnic prejudice, the relationship between migratory and crime processes (Palidda 1999; Ruggiero 2008; Melossi 2008; McDonald 2009), and, finally, with a twist of

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perspective of victimization and change in gender relations, the case of mistreated men (Struve 1990; Vezzadini 2004).

Since any offence is a product of an interaction (between subjects and/or between subjects and the surrounding environment), the most recent assumption is that different social situations, such as socio-occupational positions, relational and interactive conditions, lifestyles or daily practices, increase the risk of victimization (Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo 1978).

Although the analysis of social processes of victimization and causal mechanisms governing these processes has expanded its range of observation, still there is not any analytical framework that might consider certain social, professional, occupational conditions and the relationships between them and the environment, or the organizational structure with which the victim interacts. This is, for instance, the case of victimization risk of businessmen and the relation that this phenomenon has with access-to-credit.

The analytical assumption discussed in this paper is that the difficulty of access-to-credit by the social category of entrepreneurs unfolds as a risk factor of victimization because it exposes them to loan shark credit, to criminal organizations and to various forms of intrusion into their business. However, this threat is differentiated, depending not only on banking policy strategies of credit companies rather on the quality of the relation which is intertwined between entrepreneur and Bank and on the use of the information available to the customer's Bank.

In the next paragraph a brief review of the literature on victims of business and white-collar crimes is presented, followed by a sociological perspective on the study of business victims, considering the case of a community of entrepreneurs based in Campania, the most important region in the South of Italy, and their experience in the access-to-credit. Then, on the basis of the relationship

banking literature, it is argued that when a firm is informationally captured by a bank, it might observe a deterioration in its credit conditions and can also be exposed to requests from the financial intermediary that might also have a criminal profile. In the fifth paragraph, by using an original dataset collected administering a survey to entrepreneurs in Campania, a measure of the relationship between victimization and access-to-credit conditions is provided. Finally, the sixth paragraph concludes the paper.

"INVISIBLE" CRIMES AND THE RATE OF VICTIMIZATION

In the victimization literature a special consideration has to be reserved to those studies analyzing the victims of business or the victims of white-collar crimes, and more generally of the so-called "invisible" crimes. As a matter of fact, these sets of offences, because of proper characteristics (e.g., randomness of harm; the victim's undefinability; widespread victimization; technical complexity of the committed crime) or environmental characteristics (prejudice against the complainant; transnationality; greater informal control; type of relationship between victim and perpetrator), escape social control agencies, or receive an evanescent social reaction, or are even downgraded in public opinion to the offences of a criminal elite considered dishonest but not criminal (Jupp 2001; Vidoni Guidoni 2006).

First, research on corporate crime victimization was primarily focused on crimes resulting directly from business activities, such as environmental crimes, fraud to consumers, corruption, economic and fiscal fraud or computer thefts. For these crimes, it is the company that strategically acts in order to gain a direct or indirect advantage (corporate offences). Since its origin, this literature has interacted with the research on white-collar crimes: victims are generally "collective" and sometimes indefinite, and spatiality and temporality is asymmetric and asynchronous,

since crime occurs at a different time and place respect to when it produces effects.

Another strand of literature investigates offences that are committed within the business activity. In this case, a company might be the offender, when crimes concern the non-compliance with rules on safety or health at work, or the victim, as with shoplifting or extortion. Furthermore, an enterprise is considered as the organizational model *par excellence* in which the hierarchical structure of working relations promotes a series of relational offences and power abuse (Vidoni Guidoni 2006; Bandini et al. 2004; Croall 2001a).

Quite absent are the contributions that consider the effects of credit restrictions on entrepreneurs' victimization as well as the relationship between access-to-credit difficulties and exposure to risk of infiltration of organized crime in the management of the enterprise (Savona 2009).

Unfortunately, this kind of literature underestimates the actual volume of the committed offences, the reason being difficulties in obtaining data and precise information and identifying a clear cut cause-and-effect relationship between victimization and crime, the lack of cooperation on the part of firms and a poor quality of official statistics on these crimes that has been only recently improving. More harmful, however, is the widespread social consideration that leads to the decriminalization of such offences and behaviors, so as to render those crimes invisible or even not punished (Croall 2001b).

THE SOCIOLOGICAL RELATIONAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF A BUSINESS VICTIM: THE CASE OF A COMMUNITY OF ENTREPRENEURS IN CAMPANIA

Sociological research on this specific topic has not provided solid explanations yet, basically because of the contributions of economic and criminal sociology, the first studying a differential performance or territorial economies, the second studying the factors motivating economic crimes. An analytical thematic subject above the enterprise victimization has not been found as a consequence of these different streams. The result is that we have a sterile list of practical facts which has been gathered without any analytical improvement.

Probably, this is due to a misrepresentation of the way the market operates or of the relationship between economics and society, not stressing enough that, as it is now widely acknowledged in the economic rational approach (Coleman 1990; Hechter and Kanazawa 1997), formal institutions and other complex social structures evolve responding to rules and sanctions, to positive and negative incentives (Barbera and Negri 2008; Coleman 2005; Hechter and Kanazawa 1997). In order to prevent the birth of the interpretative dichotomous model of the homo economicus opposed to homo sociologicus.

Phenomena are economically relevant not so much for their intrinsic economic significance but for the economic effects they generate. Access to bank credit, for example, is a typical economic action based on rational assumptions of utility maximization that has effects on the economic development of an area.

In order to optimise his behaviour, any entrepreneur does not disdain interpersonal contacts, and evaluate the cost conditions and the collateral required by the bank or the certainty of the loan. On its side, the financial intermediary is active in monitoring the economic agents, their selection, even considering the social reputation of the debtor. In such a situation, a positive match between demand for and supply of credit depends not only on the maximization of the objective function of each individual agent, but also on a wider number of structural factors or "social capital" that encourage the agents to favour certain strategies. This is the case of a widespread recourse to informal lending and/or social networks when the formal process of credit is unavailable, insufficient or beset with complicated procedures.

Social and customer relations are fundamental assets for the understanding of the mechanisms that facilitate the access-to-credit, and such a relationship is crucial for explaining why some regions suffer poor economic conditions and are less developed than others.

In Italy, for instance, Southern regions are less developed than the ones in the North of Italy and this is partly due to the fact that in the South of Italy credit conditions are more severe, since financial intermediaries ask for higher interest rates or collaterals. This undermines the prospects of economic growth and exerts a negative effect on firms' investment decisions, conditioning their businesses unless they can rely on alternative sources of credit.

Due to poor institutions and insufficient social capital accumulation, financial intermediaries select their customers not on the basis of economic variables but on the basis of the quality of the customer relationship. These relationship are usually permeated by "informal" or amiable properties and by the logic of social exchange that transforms customer relationship into a dimension of social relation similar to a bonding-type social capital, whose relevance is inversely related to the size of credit firms.

In some pathological circumstances, these relationships might expose an entrepreneur to the risk of victimization since, as it will be argued in the next paragraph, difficulties in the access-to-credit can confine the firm to informal credit markets or even to credit markets controlled by mafia-type criminal organizations[1] (Masciandaro 2001; Pinotti 2010; Camera dei Deputati 2011; Bonaccorsi di Patti 2009).

What kind of explanation can sociological perspective suggest for these relational performance and paradoxes that are recorded in the local environment to the point total to catch conditions of victimization of the entrepreneur? That is, what is the form of social relations that predominates and what results it arouse both as a product (the greater burden of access-to-credit for entrepreneurs) and as an impact on the territorial community (favors the climate of uncertainty, the deterioration of the economic fabric, the weakening of the development)?

From the sociological point of view among the latest theoretical developments that are targeted toward the exceedance of the dichotomy structure/agency, there is a relational perspective that moving its first steps from the 1980s in Italy, has been spreading beyond these borders offering an interpretive model of the relationship between individual-society that goes beyond dichotomous prospect and conceives the society "making".

The relational approach looks at the essence of the society, to form social relationships whose forms give rise to what we call society: in short, it conceives the social relationship as a "social molecule" and then starting it observes the ways in which changes continuously (morphogenetic aspect) or forms stable structure (morphostatic aspect) (Donati 1983, 1991, 2006, 2010, 2011, 2013). The relational paradigm, which over time has been enriched by an epistemological, methodological base of thumb (Donati and Terenzi 2006; Donati and Colozzi 2006), neither keeps, then, the result of social interactions (e.g., social structures, institutions, organisations, etc.), nor looks at the intent of the act, the course of an individual's action, but considers the society as a condition for explicit actions (it is constraint and a resource for agents). The social relation, in this analytical framework, is not conceived as a bridge between the individual and the system, or as a mix of individual and systemic elements, but as an emergent effect of interactions between action and social system: these are "reality with their properties and powers".

The social relation itself (as a concept) is decomposable inside (because it is reticular and multidimensional) and can be recomposed as an emergent effect precisely because it assumes a certain configuration in the growing network of relationships (to create goods, to gain an interest, to realize a

connection) in a given contingency (Archer 1995, 2003). Morphogenesis and morphostasis are those which best fit to the social relations. The results of such processes can be different. It's in fact the quality of the relation that produces specific features marking the phenomena. Observing a social fact (in this case, the connection between risk of victimization and difficulties of access to credit) means, then, looking at the interaction between two autonomous spheres (the process of victimization to stakeholders and the organization mode of credit) and explains (identifies) what effect emerges, i.e., what is the identity that takes the relationship between entrepreneur and credit company (communicative interaction) and following up with the kind of relationship understanding which new pattern is produced, so asking the lender could have an impact on the credit amount by the requiring company.

In the context of empirical evidence, the data seem to suggest that the supply of credit, especially in the areas of the province of Naples, is addressed to customers whose selection takes place not according to variables of economic-financial performance (corporate budgets, sales growth prospects, propensity to export, investment, margin size, undertaking research and development costs, organizational innovations, product or process, etc.), but on expressive variables concerning the quality of the relationship established with the contractor. Plus the customer relationship is thickened by "informal" properties, communication, friendships and logic of social reciprocity specifies that curve the shape of the relationship with the contractor in that dimension of social relations which takes on the character of social bonding type capital, it maintains the same relationship. The banking company's size is limited (and territorially device) to a greater extent the customer relationship takes on this quality.

In the conceptual frame of the relational paradigm, the communicative interaction between entrepreneur and credit company can be explain by observing the

binding type. The communicative relationship among the different players creates an energy which helps only those who shares the same relational identity, so to have selective effects, not just because the person who receives is the object of universal credit strategy, but giving a meaning to the relationship which is created.

In short, while from the point of view of the credit company it is expected to produce a communicative interaction organized customer oriented purposely to achieve objectives (formal relations in systemic sense described by Habermas), in fact access-to-credit based on those subjects that build (using their informational stock) a mutually shared sense orientation for which the (quality of) relation has hallmarks from the assets over functional and formal economic organizations request.

The paradox that occurs in the context of the city where most prevalent is the presence of large banks is that the sharp contraction in supply of credit to businesses is affected by a limited importance given to customer relationships, self-laid more by informational elements that improve the objective function of the banking company (paying some of the credit granted) and expansion strategies of the offer of products. The weak political strategic focus on credit penalizes employers who extend their gaze on other credit sources. The town is markedly more negative with respect to the province where the customer selection takes place, however, on the basis of the identity of the report definition that seems to reward more stakeholders.

The difficulty of access-to-credit exposes entrepreneurs, as they try, to the risk of victimization, temporary state illiquidity or recourse to sources outside the banking system, until the closure of their companies. Additionally, it must be considered that South of Italy has bank credit more chronically rationed compared to the rest of Italy. If one adds to this that the continuing economic crisis since 2008 has made the most critical business financing (Albareto

and Finaldi Russo 2012), you can understand what impact takes on the dynamics of the economic difficulties of access-to-credit. However, even though data processing is not a linear correlation registered with this factor, interviews indicate that exposure to credit loan shark and the conditioning of criminal organizations on the life of the enterprise appear relevant.

RELATIONSHIP BANKING AND THE LOCK-IN PHENOMENON

The modern literature on financial intermediation has primarily focused on the role of banks as relationship lenders. Banks develop close relationships with borrowers over time. Such proximity between the bank and the borrower has been shown to facilitate monitoring and screening of the borrowers and can overcome problems of asymmetric information.

Despite a huge literature on the relationship between banks and borrowers (Hodgman 1961; Kane and Malkiel 1965; Wood 1975), there is not any clear definition of "relationship banking". Hodgman (1961) maintained that banks might induce some of their customers to keep their deposits with them, and not with competing banks, offering higher interest rates. Kane and Malkiel (1965) emphasized the gain in information that allowed each bank to select the best customers (those demanding for more deposits on a longer time span) to whom they can lend at lower interest rates. Wood (1975) stressed the role that the relationship might play in defining a strategy to compete with the other banks on the lending market: first, the bank can acquire more customers offering loans at very low prices; once the relationship has been established, then the bank can increase the lending rates. On the whole, however, all these contributions consider the "relationship banking" as a competitive strategy to increase their market share on the loans and/or the deposit market.

More recently, the same concept has been considered within the asymmetric information literature and it has been used to justify the existence of banks as source of loanable funds in alternative to (bond) markets. This kind of literature stems from the theoretical contributions by Leland and Pyle (1977), Diamond (1984) and Fama (1985) on the differences between commercial banks and the other financial intermediaries.

Traditionally, commercial banks hold illiquid assets that are funded largely with bank deposits, and that might be often withdrawn on demand with little uncertainty about their value. By liquidating claims, banks may facilitate the funding of projects that would otherwise be infeasible. Greenbaum and Thakor (1995) maintained that banks managed and absorbed credit and liquidity risks by issuing claim on its total assets with different characteristics from those encountered in its loan portfolio. As for the banks' assets, they are illiquid mostly because of their information sensitivity. In pricing loans, banks develop proprietary information that is further exploited through subsequent monitoring of the borrower. It is this proprietary information that actually makes these loans a non-marketable asset, thus providing the most fundamental explanation for the existence of banks as financial intermediaries (Bhattacharya and Thakor 1993).

Thanks to the client relationships, the bank can acquire private information on each borrower thus reducing the informational asymmetries that make the access-to-credit markets very difficult for the opaque entrepreneurs (Bhattacharya and Thakor 1993). According to this view, the relationship between customers and their bank is antithetic to the one with the markets, and in fact these contributions have mostly been developed in USA and UK, that is, in countries where financial and credit markets are well established and the question of the benefits that might derive from the bank lending is a crucial one, since usually the resources collected by bank are more costly with respect to the ones collected into the

market.

Further developments consider the "relationship banking" as one modality in which each bank can model its organization. When the relationship is lasting for a long period through multiple interactions with the same customer over time and/or across products, the bank can acquire borrower specific—often proprietary—information available only to the intermediary and the customer. This information can be obtained when banks provide screening (Ramakrishnan and Thakor 1984) or monitoring services (Winton 1995) and allow banks to gather information beyond readily available public information thus spreading their collection costs onto a broader range of products or along a longer period of time. On the basis of this private information, the intermediary can device the optimal contract and make the access-to-credit more easy, either granting a loan even to borrowers that otherwise would be faced with serious financial constraint in the market for funds, or lending a larger quantity of credit at a lower interest rates or even asking for a smaller amount of collateral (Boot and Thakor 2000).

With respect to the type and quality of information, they are mostly qualitative and borrower-specific (e.g., entrepreneur's ability, her ethic profile, etc.), a sort of "soft" information that goes beyond the information conveyed by "hard" elements such as the firm's financial statements, its collateral and credit score, thus helping the financial intermediary deal with informational opacity problems better than any potential transactions lender (Udell 2002; Petersen 2004).

Several studies have also argued on empirical grounds that the "relationship banking" is more successful when the dimension of the financial intermediary is not very large, so that those who collect the "soft" information are the same who decide whether to extend credit to the firm, and the bank is very proximate to the firm: when this is the case, the financial intermediary is then more efficient in

screening firms with relevant informational opacity, as in the case of small and micro enterprises (Angelini, Di Salvo, and Ferri 1998; Alessandrini et al. 2009).

To this extent, one motive of concern is in the consolidation process observed in the financial systems, where most financial intermediaries are increasing their dimension through merging and acquisitions with other competitors, since this tendency might cause a credit constraint that to a larger extent will be suffered by the less transparent firms (Bonaccorsi di Patti and Gobbi 2001; Sapienza 2002). These firms might be thrown out of the market or induced to raise borrowing funds in less transparent ways through informal or even criminal markets.

A second motive of concern is the "hold-up" problem that has to do with the information monopoly that the bank acquires in the course of lending. The threat of being informationally captured ("locked in") by the bank is closely inversely-related to the possibility for each firm to establish multiple bank relationships (Ongena and Smith 2000).

Whenever a firm is "locked in", it might observe a deteriorations in the credit conditions or a reduction in the amount of products offered over the time. But it could also be exposed to requests from the financial intermediary that might also have some criminal profile, as in the case of Parmalat vs. Capitalia.

Parmalat is a multinational Italian dairy and food corporation, a leading global company in the production of UHT (ultra-high temperature) milk, which went bankrupted in 2003 with a 14 billion Euro default (Di Staso 2004).

By the mid of 1990s, Parmalat financed several international acquisitions. However, since 2001 many of the new divisions were producing losses, and the company financing largely relied upon the use of derivatives, with the intention of hiding the extent of its losses and debt.

At that time, Parmalat had Capitalia, a leading Italian commercial banking that has then been merged into Unicredit, as its primary source of borrowing

financing. A criminal investigation run by the Procura of Parma and the Procura of Milano has revealed that Mr. Geronzi, the CEO of Capitalia, forced Mr. Tanzi, the CEO of Parmalat, to acquire the Eurolat company for the amount of nearly 400 million Euro, an amount larger than the market value of Eurolat. Most of this amount went to repay the debt that Eurolat had with Capitalia. As the criminal investigation has assessed, in 2002 Mr. Tanzi was asked for acquiring Eurolat in order to have granted from Capitalia a "bridge" loan of 50 million Euro which was needed to recover the losses of Parmatour, a division of Parmalat. In 2011 Mr. Geronzi was fined with a 5-year penalty.

THE DATASET AND THE EMPIRICAL RESULTS

The relationship between victimization and access-to-credit have been investigated using an original dataset with information collected through a victimization survey administered to entrepreneurs in Campania associated with UNINDUSTRIA[2].

The entrepreneurs were asked questions on their characteristics (e.g., age, sex, level of education) and those of their firm (e.g., geographical location, industrial sector, number of employees, employment dynamics, origin of the firm). They have also been asked on their experience in the access-to-credit, whether they ever experienced any difficulty and how they solved the problem, and whether they have ever been victims of crimes both related and unrelated to their professional activity.

Most of the entrepreneurs have their firms located in the province of Naples (53%) and Caserta (29%), the two provinces in Campania where mafia-type organizations are most active. A large part of the firms are in the engineering (24%) and the textile (11%) industry, and nearly 40% of them have less than 20 employees.

In 46% of the cases, the set-up of the firm was funded with personal capital, while nearly 15% with bank credit or credit facilities and 30% were inherited. Difficulties in accessing credit were experienced by 63% of the entrepreneurs, and these have been circumvented offering personal guarantees (54%) or receiving funds from relatives and friends (32%).

Among all the available variables, the ones that have been selected to explain victimization rates are the following: difficulties in accessing credit, province where the firm is located, number of employees, employment dynamics, age and level of education of the entrepreneur, and origin of the firm (more details in Table 1).

These variables were used as predictors of three selected victimization rates (theft, robbery, imposition of employment or suppliers) in a logistic equation and the empirical results are shown in Table 2.

The results show that robbery and theft victimization rates are exclusively determined by two variables: the province where the firm is located and the number of employees. In particular, if the firm is located in Naples or if the firm has no more than 5 employees, then the chances for the entrepreneur to be victimized are higher. None of the other covariates relating either to the characteristic of the firm or to entrepreneur's profile are significant.

This evidence is not unexpected, since the types of crime under investigation are not strictly related with the entrepreneurs' activity; what matter are background factors, as the geographical location or the dimension of the firm, since micro-firms are more likely clustered around the city of Naples, where victimizations rates as such are higher than in the rest of the region.

When a different crime more related to entrepreneurs' activity is considered, then the picture is remarkably different. Victimization rates related to the imposition of employment or supplier are also determined by the dynamics of the employment and the origin of the firm, besides the background factors. When the number of employees has increased in the previous three years, the likelihood of being

Table 1. The Data-Set

Variable		
Access-to-credit	1 = difficulties (always or sometimes)	0 = never experienced any difficulty
Prov_NA	1 = firm is located in the province of Naples	0 = firm is located in one of the remaining four provinces in Campania
Micro-firm	1 = no. employees ≤ 5	0 = no. employees > 5
Employment dynamics	1 = no. of employees has increased in the previous three years	0 = no. of employees has not increased (stable or decreased)
Age	1 = <50 yrs old	0 = otherwise
Education	1 = Diploma or Laurea	0 = otherwise
Origin of the Firm_1 Origin of the Firm_2 Origin of the Firm_3	1 = Personal capital 2 = Bank Credit/Credit Facilities 3 = Foreign/Other	0 = inherited

Table 2. Empirical Results

Odds-Ratio	Robbery	Theft	Imposition of employment/suppliers
Access-to-credit	.80	.66	1.31**
Prov_NA	12.20***	7.35***	8.60***
Microfirm	1.11*	2.77**	5.50**
Employment dynamics	.95	.84*	.43**
Age	.88	.94	.85
Education	.73	.69	.81
Origin of the Firm_1	1.20	1.08	.83
Origin of the Firm_2	.79	.81	1.11**
Origin of the Firm_3	.33	.72	.22***
Constant	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-test Origin of Firm (*p*-value)	.251	.153	.039
Goodness of Fit (*p*-value)	.094	.043	.002
% cases correctly classified	58%	66%	73%

Notes: * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%; Yes = The models are estimated with a constant.

victimized is smaller: dynamic firms are less vulnerable to some forms of imposition onto their activities. As for the origin of the firm, when the firm was set up with funds from bank credit or credit facilities then the odds for the entrepreneur of being victim of some imposition is higher than for those who inherited their firm; the opposite for those who run a firm originally financed with foreign capital: they experience smaller probability of being victimized than those who inherited their firm. As a whole, the variables "origin of the firm" are significant at a significant level of 4% or higher.

Furthermore, for this type of crime the variable access-to-credit turns out be significant: those who experienced difficulties in accessing credit have a greater probability of being victims of some imposition in the choice of their suppliers or in the decisions on the number and type of employees. This evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that, in presence of difficulties in accessing credit, the entrepreneur might solve the problem either establishing a close relationship with a single bank, being "locked-in", or going to the informal credit market. In both cases the entrepreneur is vulnerable to

some victimization.

CONCLUSIONS

Access-to-credit is a key factor in the economic development of a region and its diffusion is based not just on economic considerations but also on a close customer relationship between entrepreneurs and financial intermediaries, especially in presence of poor institutions and low social capital accumulation.

In some pathological circumstances, when the financial intermediary acquires a relevant information monopoly due to the close customer relationship, a firm might be locked-in, thus observing a deterioration in the credit conditions or a reduction in the amount of credit supplied that exposes the firm to unlawful pressure from opaque intermediaries or requests from banks that might also have some criminal profile.

According to the original dataset collected through a victimization survey among entrepreneurs in the largest region of the South of Italy, there is a significant evidence that corroborates the hypothesis that entrepreneurs experiencing difficulties in access-to-credit are vulnerable to some forms of victimization, especially when this refers to crimes more related to entrepreneurs' activity.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. Several studies have shown that during the last 30 years, and particularly in the provinces of Naples and Caserta in Campania, criminal organizations have entered in a pervasive manner the industrial system, altering the functioning of market rules and increasing economic and financial vulnerability of the region Campania, with significant side effects also on credit to firms.

2. Campania is the largest region in the South of Italy, ranking second for the number of population and first for the density of population among all the Italian regions; UNINDUSTRIA is the most important Italian association of entrepreneurs with branches in each single Italian region; the survey was conducted in 2007 and the questionnaire was made available on a password-protected page of UNINDUSTRIA website; the cases collected were 150 out of nearly 2,500 potentially responses.

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Encountering Mandela on Screen: Transnational Collaboration in Mandela Image Production From 1987-2010

Okaka Opio Dokotum[a]

Abstract

This article examines transnational collaboration in the production of Mandela's biopics and what it means for Mandela's self-image, for South African history, and for the globalization of human experience. The films covered in this discussion include: *Mandela* (1987), *Sarafina* (1992), *Mandela and de Klerk* (1997), *Goodbye Bafana* (2007), *Endgame* (2009), and *Invictus* (2010). The article examines the portrayals of Mandela as a lover, action hero, conciliator, and as a symbol of the anti-apartheid liberation struggle, and then focuses on *Invictus*, Clint Eastwood's adaptation of Carlin's book, *Playing the Enemy* to show the degree to which Mandela is incarnated on screen through Morgan Freeman's stunning performance while at the same time underscoring the dangers of Euro-American cultural production of Mandela's image. While Carlin's book employs reminiscences, flashbacks, and shifting chronology to expose the injustice, oppression and brutality that the Springboks symbolized, the film instead focuses on magnifying Mandela's image and charm at the expense of South African history, leading to the misrepresentation of Mandela: the "heroic self-transcendence" typical of Hollywood's shallow treatment of historical material for commercial and cultural expediency.

Keywords

Nelson Mandela, film adaptation, heritage construction, image production, post-colonial celebrity

The world's most famous political prisoner from the 1960s through to the time of his release from prison in 1990, Nelson Mandela is one of the most iconic political figures that have straddled the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Mandela's iconic status stems first and foremost from his moral authority as prisoner of conscience for 27 years and as a champion for children's welfare, an advocate for people suffering with AIDS, and as a rare breed of African statesmen who willingly give up power. Mandela's personal charm and charisma is an added advantage to his image. He is also rare in the way he treated his enemies after taking the reins of power. Mandela is a celebrity in every way, a "post-colonial" celebrity, as

Stadler (2009: 311) observed, the antithesis of contemporary celebrity colonialist infesting the continent with their humanitarian facades. As such, Mandela's celebrity status is not born of family inheritance, nor is he just a product of media hype and spin or "sloppy journalism" as Lowe (2009: 304) insinuated, but out of his long struggle against racial prejudice and the fight against social injustice. He is

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thus a global emblem of freedom and justice at par with the likes of Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King and Mother Teresa. As the father of democratic South Africa, "He was to South Africa what George Washington had been to the United States" (Carlin 2008: 257), and a rare example to his successors in choosing to retire from politics like George Washington in order to go back to "being a private citizen" (Stengel 2010: 202). While Washington accomplished on the battlefield, Mandela accomplished through negotiations after long years of being a living martyr in apartheid prisons. Richard Stengel, his close collaborator in the production of *Long Walk to Freedom* found a parallel between him and Barack Obama, the first black president of the United States (Stengel 2010: 18-19). This analogy works as well for Mandela as the first black president of South Africa. Madiba stands shoulder to shoulder with the greatest of the greats and towers above them all. Mandela is therefore the perfect raw material for celebrity image and heritage production of a biopic, and the story of the birth of democratic South Africa.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR MANDELA'S BIOPICS

In February 2010, South African reporter Maureen Isaacson wrote that "Nelson Mandela is in danger of being swallowed by Morgan Freeman and Hollywood" (2010: 16). She was alluding to Clint Eastwood's film *Invictus* and its re-enactment of "Mandela Magic" in the 1995 Rugby World Cup while arguing that Mandela lives in the shadow of his media generated image. The international scramble for Mandela's biopic productions underscores his post-colonial celebrity status as well as the globalization of image production in the age of industrialized culture. Mandela represents the universal fight for freedom and human dignity. The celebration of Mandela's life is a celebration of global ideals of freedom and justice for all. The apartheid

system that he fought to destroy presented a challenge of racial hatred to entire humanity and was destroyed through coordinated international effort with Mandela and the ANC (African National Congress) as the lynchpin of this struggle. The screen productions of Mandela's image have attracted some of the world's greatest actors, but acting Mandela has not been easy. Journalist Bill Keller begun an article with the statement:

> The role has defeated actors as varied as Danny Glover (*Mandela* in 1987 TV drama), Sydney Potier (*Mandela and de Klerk*, 1997, also TV), and Dennis Huysbert (*Goodbye Bafana*, 2007), in vehicles that were reverential and mostly forgettable… But I found Freeman's performance in *Invictus* (2010)… less an impersonation than an incarnation. (Keller 2009)

These are by no means the only films about the iconic South African leader. Another significant Mandela film is *Endgame* (2009) in which Ian Clarke acts Mandela, and of course Anant Singh's South African production *Sarafina* (1992) with Leleti Kumhalo (Sarafina) acting Mandela in the metatheatrical production. In *Sarafina*, Mandela is an absentee actor because he is still in prison but his spirit pervades the film as he provides inspiration to the youth of Soweto in their fight against apartheid. At the start of the film, *Sarafina* shares her dreams of becoming a star with the iconic portrait of Nelson Mandela on the wall as she says, "Nelson, why can't I be a star?". She would later tell the invisible spirit of Mandela how she was tortured by the police.

Apart from *Sarafina*, all the actors who portray Mandela in the above films are American, which points toward the internationalization of Mandela's image production by Euro-American film producers with implications for historical veracity as well as global appreciation of Mandela's sacrifice. Transnational collaboration in making Mandela's biopics shows how his name is not just South Africa's national heritage but has become a world heritage

alongside those of Ghandi, Martin Luther King, and Mother Teresa. However, to what extent do these cinematic productions give us encounters with Mr. Nelson Mandela, and how much of the man is lost in the illusion foundries of Hollywood? This article raises concerns about fidelity to South African history; the ideological effacement that uproots Mandela from his historical context making him what Thomas Leitch calls, "a free-floating wonder" whose story celebrates "the triumph of the human spirit" (Leitch 2009: 297). Using Kamilla Elliot's literature/film adaptation theory of "Incarnation" (Elliott 2003: 261), the article traces the screen incarnation of Mandela from Danny Glover's *Mandela* (1987), to Morgan Freeman's *Invictus* (2010) with a view to investigate the intercultural exchanges around the global production of Mandela's image and what it means for South African history. Much of the analysis focuses on *Invictus* because it is the most accomplished Mandela biopic to date in terms of its content and style.

IMPERSONATING MANDELA

All the films chosen for analysis in this article emphasize in different ways certain dimensions of Mandela's life and personality, but they also bring on board the reciprocal cultural intertexts of Hollywood as well as the style and cultural referents of each actor. Robert Stam (2000: 57) observed that "The text feeds on and is fed into infinitely permutating intertexts, which is seen through ever-shifting grids of interpretation". This statement holds true for Mandela's biopics. The film *Mandela* (1987) acted by Danny Glover portrays Mandela as an action hero and focuses on his younger years up to the climax of the antiapartheid struggle, from the 1950s to the 1980s. In this film, Mandela is a lover, youth leader, a charismatic and energetic statesman. The film ends with the Schwarzenegger *Terminator* style quote of Mandela's words from prison when he rejected Botha's conditional offer of release: "I will return!".

Played in the characteristic Danny Glover action hero style, it is fast, melodramatic and extremely physical. There is a detailed focus on Mandela's first meeting with Winnie. Their romance is given much emphasis with Mandela and Winnie romancing in the open fields in poetic cadence; an account which is as Hollywood as it can get since Mandela and Winnie had no time for such frolicking due to the pressure of work and constant threat of arrest. There is a focus on Mandela's youthfulness and physical prowess, with Mandela exercising and boxing, usually paired with a weak and unfit individual to underscore his fitness. The shyuzet of this film is historically broad, starting from the defiance campaigns of the 1950s and ending with Mandela's rejection of Botha's release offer. Produced while Mandela was still incarcerated, there was very little access to seeing and studying the "real" Mandela, and therefore the director relied on historical records, little video footage and on the myth of Mandela generated while he was in prison. The simplistic acting of Winnie by American actress Alfre Woodard shows that the producers had little understanding of the sophisticated, beautiful and enlightened Winnie Mandela; nor does the film bring out the depth of Mandela's character. Although the film is a biopic, nevertheless action and romance, the two major strands of the Hollywood action genre are deeply embedded in the high-energy fast-paced acting of Danny Glover and the unpolished-innocent beauty acting of Woodard, creating a hybrid action-romance film.

Mandela and de Clerk (1997), an HBO (Home Box Office) film directed by Joe Sergeant also focuses on Mandela's life and picks up from where Glover ends. It focuses on Mandela's life from the time of the UDF (United Democratic Front) campaigns and mass township unrest from 1985 to 1991 which was also the period of intense behind the scene negotiations between Mandela and de Klerk. This is a historical docudrama featuring Sydney Portier as Mandela who is portrayed as an older man but a complex statesman

and negotiator. This film is part of what Ciraj Rassool has called the "veritable scramble" for the "cultural production of the messianic Mandela" (Rassool 2004: 257), showing Mandela as the forgiver, peace maker and reconciler. Portier is outgunned by a stunning performance by Michael Cane as de Klerk. The film was also hurriedly done on a budget of $5 million dollars only. It underscores the Nobel Peace Prize award to Mandela and de Klerk. The two men are given equal coverage in the film to show their joint commitment to peace. The pre-election Inkatha-ANC violence is explored and de Klerk apologizes to Mandela for the implication of security forces as a "third force" in the violence. But there is very little insight into Mandela's character, let alone a treatment of the complex social-political undercurrents of apartheid. This movie is part of the post-colonial celebrity productions of Mandela's image that detaches him from the wider social forces and historical undercurrents that shaped his resolve, confidence and temperament. Because Portier was 70 at the time he acted Mandela, coupled with his long acting experience, this film is closer to a Mandela screen incarnation than previous films. It is also shot on the locations where the negotiations took place, giving it a measure of historical credibility. This docudrama approach is evidenced by embedded live footages of real historical events. The large scale use of South African actors also brings more authenticity and makes the international collaboration a bit balanced. Pretty much a Portier production with his method acting style, it is basically an impersonation of Mandela. There is no attempt made by Portier to study the postures, mannerisms and speech habits of Nelson Mandela.

Endgame (2009) is a British film directed by Pete Travis from a script by Paula Milne, based upon the book *The Fall of Apartheid* by British journalist Robert Harvey (2003). Clarke Peters plays Nelson Mandela. It was filmed at locations in Reading, Berkshire England, and Cape Town, South Africa.

The film focuses on the last stage of apartheid and the intense negotiations between the ANC in exile led by Thabo Mbeki (Chiwetel Ejiofor), and the Nationalist government led by Willie Esterhuyse (William Hurt), professor of philosophy at Stellenbosch University. It ends with the release of Nelson Mandela from Victor Vester Prison. The film also gives the viewers a glimpse of what was happening at the ANC Headquarters in exile in Lusaka. In a 2009 interview on BBC Radio's Channel 4, Michael Young mentioned how he had been asked by Thabo Mbeki to write the final chapter of *The Fall of Apartheid*—the chapter—on which this film is based—is titled *Endgame* (Young 2009). Indeed, one could call this film Mbeki's film. There are strong portrayals of Thabo Mbeki and professor Willie Esterhuyse in the film, but a rather weak portrayal of Nelson Mandela. Even Oliver Tambo (John Kani) is better represented in this film. Although in *Endgame* Mandela is still at the center of the political process both in South Africa and in exile, this Mandela lacks charm and charisma. The impersonation is made worse by the stiff performance of Carl Peters. Mandela is slow, hesitates, lacks charm and charisma and is talked down to by security chief Dr. Niel Barnard (Mark Strong) who treats him with little respect. Anyone who has seen images of Mandela and has read about Mandela and seen the real man with his contagious smile and self-confidence can tell that the Mandela of *Endgame* is far from portraying Nelson Mandela the man. It is the stiffest and least convincing portrayals of Mandela. Understandably, this film was an adaptation of a commissioned chapter of *The Fall of Apartheid* which sought to highlight Mbeki's invisible role in bringing down apartheid as well as the conversion and transformation of white extremist symbolized by professor William Hurt.

Goodbye Bafana/The Color of Freedom (2007) is an adaptation of James Gregory's book *Goodbye Bafana* (1995)—an international collaborative work with Bob Graham, which gives us the jailer's point of

view. It shows the stark difference between the normal family lives of the warders in Roben Island and the restricted and virtually destroyed family life of Mandela. This is the most controversial film of all the Mandela biopics because it is alleged that Mandela did not endorse the story. According to Ciraj Rassool, Mandela posed with his former jailer James Gregory in many pictures and invited him to his inauguration as first democratically elected president of South Africa and to the opening of parliament, but these were mere reconciliation gestures. Mr. Gregory went on to claim that Mandela was his very close friend and wrote *Goodbye Bafana* subtitled "Nelson Mandela my prisoner, my friend", yet Mandela did all this to show that he was indeed the "father of the rainbow nation" (Rassool 2004: 98). In spite of the reconciliation gestures, Richard Stengel who collaborated with Mandela in writing *Long Walk to Freedom* said that the old man was deeply hurt by the way he was treated in prison, was regretful that his youthful years were wasted in prison, and hated the way his wife and family were treated. He was also pained by the sacrifice of his marriage to the liberation struggle, and did not really care for James Gregory "whom he found limited and who he thought was exploiting their connection" (Stengel 2010: 98). The film, like the book, is from the point of view of the warder and humanizes Mr. Gregory. It shows a high degree of empathy for his high profile prisoner that exonerates Mr. Gregory.

In the film just like in the book, Mr. Gregory shows a deep understanding of Africans and how his destiny is tied to the destiny of black people. On top of its being a disputed narrative, Denis Huysbert's young-man-playing-old-man acting is also wanting. Artificial white hairs, mechanical walks and conversations make the movie problematic. The movie however gives us a rare glimpse into the mind of a Roben Island prison warder, or at least a point of view that preaches the common humanity of both Blacks and Whites.

INVICTUS: THE SCREEN INCARNATION OF MANDELA

Eastwood's film *Invictus* stands out as the most positive and convincing film about Nelson Mandela to date. The uniqueness of the film is in the fact that it was produced at the height of Mandela's fame as a post-colonial celebrity. He was the most celebrated Africa statesman; a man Richard Stengel called "the last pure hero on the planet" (Stengel 2010: 3). The film's progenitor text *Playing the Enemy* (2008), is equally unique. John Carlin broached the idea of writing the book to Nelson Mandela first, clearly seeking endorsement for the project. Mandela's response was "John, you have my blessing. You have it wholeheartedly" (Carlin 2008: 4). Previous Western authors and auteurs did not consult the African subjects of their writings or productions, and they rarely do that today. *Invictus* treats Mandela with great respect and idolizes him. Even where his family failures are brought into focus, it is presented in a manner that elicits sympathy from the viewer, casting Mandela in the light of his long suffering as a prisoner of conscience. Carlin (2008: 6) stated in his introduction: "This book seeks, *humbly*, to reflect a little of Mandela's light". The screenplay was also written by South Africa's Anthony Peckham who even though he lived in exile, had some insight into the history and Rugby story Carlin reconstructed. This is therefore not just an armchair Euro-American imaginary of Mandela and of South Africa, but a story that has a high degree of authenticity in the fact that the event took place, and that it unfolded in real time. *Invictus* is also unique in that Nelson Mandela personally had asked African American actor Morgan Freeman to play him in Anant Shingh's proposed adaptation of *Long Walk to Freedom*, but Freeman ended up acting Mandela in *Invictus*. Freeman also had access to Mandela on several occasions, for he had told Singh: "if I was going to play him [Mandela], I was going to have to have access to him… I would

have to hold his hand and watch him up close and personal" (Keller 2009). Freeman also made himself Mandela's invisible understudy in order to understand the man, his postures, mannerisms and accent in order to attempt a reverential performance that would at best humanize a saint. It is therefore pertinent to ask the questions: What makes the internationally collaborative imaging of Mandela in *Invictus* so successful as far as the heritage production of Mandela's legacy is concerned? Could it be because of Mandela's personality and sacrifice? Could it be because of Mandela's overlapping intersection as guardian of the underprivileged and global icon who fought against all forms of domination, Black or White? Or is this just Morgan Freeman's genius?

MYTHOGRAPHY IN *INVICTUS*

A large part of Hollywood's movie enterprise is about myth-making. Myth is at the centre of science fiction, action and adventure films and romance. As Peacock (2001: 13) observed, "Movies have always had a way of giving us outsized icons". Without any doubt, Nelson Mandela is one of the greatest icons of our time and his moral resume and extraordinary courage and tenacity are beyond question. But Mandela is also a man of his times, shaped in the furnace of the political, cultural and social history of his world. He is pure gold because he was made in the intense heat of South African apartheid history and went to finishing school at Roben Island. It is impossible to celebrate Mandela outside the context of the popular struggle against oppression and injustice in South Africa and around the world. Hollywood's Mandela is in a sense uprooted from this reality and planted onto the platform of hero-worship while giving minimal treatment to the circumstances that shaped him. We never get to know why Mandela was in Roben Island. The montage sequences of Mandela in Roben Island does not show a suffering man but a tough hero who his "master of his own fate" unbowed, unmoved. The

intense suffering he went through, the frustrations and even more, the evils of the system that kept him there is not treated. It is as if prison was just another heroic feat or extreme sport. But Mandela's account in *Long Walk to Freedom* shows that prison was not as stylized as it looks in *Invictus*. He was crushed by among others, being treated like an animal by the guards (Mandela 1995: 404-410), a confession he repeats in *Conversations With Myself* (Mandela 2010: 202), brutal separation from his wife (Mandela 1995: 477), the death of his mother (Mandela 1995: 528-529), and of his son (Mandela 1995: 530-531), and the fact that he was not permitted to bury them. Although the film does allude to the vagaries of prison life, it's not allowed to interrupt the "feel-good" nice-old-man mood of the film. While *Playing the Enemy* organizes South African history around Mandela's biography, *Invictus* deflates history and inflates Mandela's image instead.

Commenting on the scramble for telling Mandela's life story through biographies that started in the late 1980s, in different forms of media, Ciraj Rassool said it all started with the 1994 release of the autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* which led to "the monumentalisation of Mandela's life history in the new South Africa" and the book which apparently had many production collaborators became "the undisputed primary cultural icon of the 'new South Africa'" (Rassool 2004: 259). All sorts of versions and editions of *Long Walk* were made including an abridged version for those who wanted to get a glimpse of Mandela's life in one sitting which some saw as creating "a sanitized history in which Mandela becomes the struggle and the struggle becomes Mandela" (Rassool 2004: 260). *Playing the Enemy* falls within this Mandela national biography discourse to a large extent. The author makes a studious effort to link the story of South Africa's unlikely quest to win the Rugby World Cup through Mandela's strategic genius to Mandela's quest for freedom for all South Africans through the conquest of key characters in the

apartheid establishment. Carlin called it seduction; Mandela's ability to seduce his enemies and to prevail over them; a seduction he also applies on Pienaar and the entire Rugby establishment. The different characters on the racial divide come to converge in the Rugby victory of South Africa through the mediation of Mandela. What Rassool (2004: 261) called "incorporative nationalism" into Mandela's new Rainbow Nation takes place through reconciliation championed by Mandela. This "incorporative nationalism" takes place in *Invictus* as well, but Hollywood's account differs significantly because Hollywood is loyal to different representational discourses like the box office factor, the star cast, and dominant Euro-American government's institutional implications in abetting the apartheid system which makes South African history in its raw state too murky for the political and cultural economy of Hollywood block buster production.

Mainstream Hollywood is fundamentally a business empire for which stories and biographies are commodities to be packaged for marketing; as such, their commitment to history is questionable. In spite of the deep respect the screen writer, director and actors of *Invictus* had for Mandela, and the care they took to craft his image, Hollywood treated Mandela's story not as a hallowed narrative but as raw material for creating a mythical giant to satisfy the fantasies of the audience. As Richard Peacock (2001: 13) observed, "People want heroic fantasies and Hollywood responds by creating *Young Guns*, *Rambo*, *Batman*, *Superman*, *Spiderman*, *Terminator*, *Robocop*, and *Braveheart*", and I am afraid to say, *Invictus*! These characters are "free agents" who do extraordinary feats just by reason of their superior destiny, and indomitable courage as masters over their own fate. The characters in these films become glorified mythical giants and the actors who play them also share in this glory (Peacock 2001: 14). Mandela took pains on the day of his release from prison to tell people that he was "not… a prophet but a humble

servant of… the people" and that he was not a messiah but "an ordinary man who had become a leader because of extraordinary circumstances" (Mandela 1995: 676). He was aware of the myth surrounding his name and he hated the idolatry it generated. Reminiscing about announcing his divorce to Winnie in April 1992, Mandela acknowledged that the process of mythologizing him might have played a part in Winnie's frustrations: "She married a man who soon left her; that man became a myth; and then that myth returned home and proved to be just a man after all" (Mandela 1995: 719). Richard Stengel remarked that Mandela was the smiling symbol of sacrifice and rectitude, revered by millions as a living saint but he said "this image is one dimensional" and that Mandela "would be the first to tell you that he is far from a saint—and that is not false modesty" (Stengel 2010: 3). In countering the saintly discourse of his life, we see Mandela the man trying to fight back Mandela the mythological creature in whose shadow the global media tries to force him to live. As someone who has known Mandela closely, Stengel gave us a glimpse into the real man, not just the performer with the radiant and infectious smile which Stengel considered "most radiant in history" (Stengel 2010: 96), a smile Mandela perfected like a mask behind which he hid his pain and failures. Mandela projected the image of a "happy warrior, not a vengeful warrior" and to consolidate this image he made appearances with his jailers, visited the widow of Henrick Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, and hugged General Constant Viljoen who nearly led a civil war against Mandela. The smile became an effective mask and that smile was "symbolic of how Mandela molded himself" (Stengel 2010: 99). Behind the myth and the mask was a real human being who dealt with the pain of his long detention and who after declaring "forget the past", had to work out the forgiveness of his enemies. During a dinner hosted by the prime minister of Norway to celebrate the joint Nobel Peace Prize award given to Mandela and de Klerk, Mandela spoke with

bitterness against his jailers and the evils of apartheid, a speech that shocked even his long-time lawyer and friend, George Bizos. Carlin said of the event, "Clearly, Mandela retained some residue of bitterness toward his jailers contrary to his own claim in the press conference on the day after his release, and to the perception that his admirers worldwide wished to have of him". Carlin concluded by saying, "He was human after all; he was not a saint" (2008: 143). This pain is captured in *Invictus*, but there is no bitterness attached to it. In the film, one of Mandela's White bodyguards Hendrick Booyens (Matt Stern) made the mistake of asking Mandela how his family was and it reminded the old man of his loneliness and the pain of separation from his wife and family. The old man decided to cancel the morning jog altogether. This enraged one of his Black bodyguards Linga Moonsamy (Patrick Mafokeng) who exploded saying Booyerns should never ever ask the president about his family: "He is not a saint, Okay? He is a man, with immense problems. He doesn't need us reminding him about it". The loneliness is also captured in his estranged relationship with his daughter Zindzi, but all these scenes are constructed to make us sympathize with the old man and identify with his sorrows. While *Playing the Enemy* textualizes South African struggle history through Mandela, *Invictus* on the other hand makes Mandela a "free agent" and master of his own fate which is a misrepresentation. Mandela himself saw his rise to the position of leadership through the extraordinary circumstances of the struggle. The history making Mandela of *Invictus* is different from the real Mandela who was shaped by South African history and only rose up to meet the challenge of leadership (Stengel 2010: 175).

CONCLUSIONS

It is not possible for any film however accurate to give us an encounter with Mr. Nelson Mandela because as a fictional medium film merely reenacts reality through the cinematic apparatus which by nature of its codes and political economy of production retells the story of Mandela's life from different focal points and time. The fight against the last stronghold of colonial repression in Africa which Mandela spearheaded was a global fight. It therefore follows that the victory of humanity over apartheid sparked a global celebration, but so did the scramble for a piece of Mandela's profitable post-colonial celebrity image production. The problem with the internationalization of Mandela's story and its internationally collaborative screen productions is that South African history is short-changed on the screen and other anti-apartheid activists, contemporaries of Mandela, are forgotten leading to the total Mandelisation of South Africa's antiapartheid history.

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Archaeoacoustics Analysis and Ceremonial Customs in an Ancient Hypogeum

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Abstract

The archeaoacoustic properties and the historical rituals of two ancient underground hypogea were compared. The first in Malta is more widely known and researched; the second in Italy has been studied by SB Research Group (SBRG) and presents some similarities to the Maltese hypogeum. The results show that archaeoacoustics is an interesting new method for reanalyzing ancient sites, and it uses different study parameters to re-discover forgotten technology which operates on the human emotional sphere. The effect on the psyche of ancient people through the acoustic proprieties suggests that the builders of these sites had knowledge of this process and probably used it to enhance their rituals.

Keywords

Archaeoacustics, infrasounds, low frequencies, Malta, Cividale del Friuli, hypogeum

The phenomenon of resonance is something that has been known for many centuries. It is often misunderstood and sometimes confused with episodes of mystical philosophy. Traces of it are found in ancient writings and oral traditions, and also in ancient artefacts and prehistoric architecture (Mortenson 2011). Today it is a recognized phenomenon and used in many modern technologies by physicists. Without going too deeply into complex physical mechanisms, resonance is the phenomenon in which an object absorbs energy, transforms it and makes it into another energy form which has been enhanced, an acoustic guitar is one such example.

SB Research Group (SBRG)[1] have conducted research in different European countries on this theme for three years at several underground structures and with some similarities discovered amongst them. Is it possible that this technology was well-known by ancient people who used it in their rites thousands of years before Christ? What was the impact of their technology on human perception? Following on from the findings of other researchers (Princeton Engineering Anomalies Research—PEAR, from University of Princeton; see Jahn, Devereux, and Ibison 1995), SBRG experiments at ancient sites in Europe (Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina) (Debertolis and Savolainen 2012; Debertolis and Bisconti 2013) have confirmed their hypothesis. This is suggestive of the idea that through the resonance phenomenon, the ancient population was able to influence the perception of the human body to obtain different states of consciousness without the use of drugs or other chemical substances. This mystery is along away from being resolved, however the technology hidden in these temples underneath apparently crude

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architecture suggests that builders used their knowledge of this physical phenomenon thousands of years before modern day technology. SBRG is beginning a new study in collaboration with the Otorhinolaryngology Clinic and the Neurophysiology Service of Trieste for the assessment of the effects of resonance phenomena on the human body. Volunteers will undergo examination by electroencephalogram (EEG) while listening to tones between 90Hz and 120Hz, similar to the resonant sounds present in some Neolithic structures in Europe (England, Ireland, Italy, and Malta).

In this paper, the comparison between a well-known hypogeum in Malta (Hal Salfieni) and another one in Italy (Cividale del Friuli hypogeum) is presented, the technology used by their builders appears to be very similar even though they are very different in terms of size.

THE MALTESE TEMPLES AND THE HYPOGEUM OF HAL SAFLIENI

The Maltese archipelago is made up of two main islands: Malta and Gozo. Among them there are two small islands, Comino and Cominotto, on the South there is a small rock called Filfla. According to academic archaeology, the first time man arrived on the island was in 5200 BC. Through archaeological excavations and the use of carbon 14 dating, the construction of megalithic complexes was placed at around 3600 BC (Trump 1981). Many researchers have tried to analyze and study the architecture of the Maltese temples, the most widely known were: Zammit, Ugolini, Ceschi and the British archaeologists Trump and Evans.

The Maltese temples are the most perfect architectural expression of Mediterranean civilizations, and appear far superior to other similar structures in the lands bordering the Mediterranean. The "nuraghi" of Sardinia, the "sesi" of Pantelleria Island, and the "talayots" of Balearic Islands are architecturally far

less important than the Maltese temples (Ceschi 1939).

The architecture of Maltese culture has from the earliest stages developed into two different styles: Epigeous and Chthonic. The first is probably connected to "religious" ceremonies, but the kind where a connection was made to the divine; it is not possible to say how these were performed with any certainty.

The better known temple sites have anything between one to four temples, which are often interconnected to form unique architectural structures. These were probably made in stages, through a process of continuous change and transformation.

Sometimes structures of different types were added to the temples such as altars, external trilithons and megalithic enclosures. In most cases these areas appeared to be the main centre of worship, as the enclosed area suggests that they formed "nucleus of worship" (Recchia 2006).

The architectural structures of these megalithic temples have common characteristics between them but there are also a number of different solutions employed between each site. The recurring elements are the large D shape outer perimeter wall and facade to exedra, with a curtain of orthostatic blocks arranged horizontally above a base constructed from vertical blocks with a large basement step present. The front opening is a trilithic structure that leads into a hallway or a central courtyard. On the sides there are interior compartments which are sometimes elliptical or semi-circular.

Among these megalithic complexes, the Ggntija temples, located on the island of Gozo, should be cited. The name was devised in the Middle Age and means "tower of the Giants"; dating suggests that they were built around 3600-2500 BC. These massive structures have a four-leaf clover shape, consisting of coral limestone cyclopean stones, some of which are up to 5 meters long, weighing up to 50 tons. Both temples have a series of semicircular apses connected by a hall
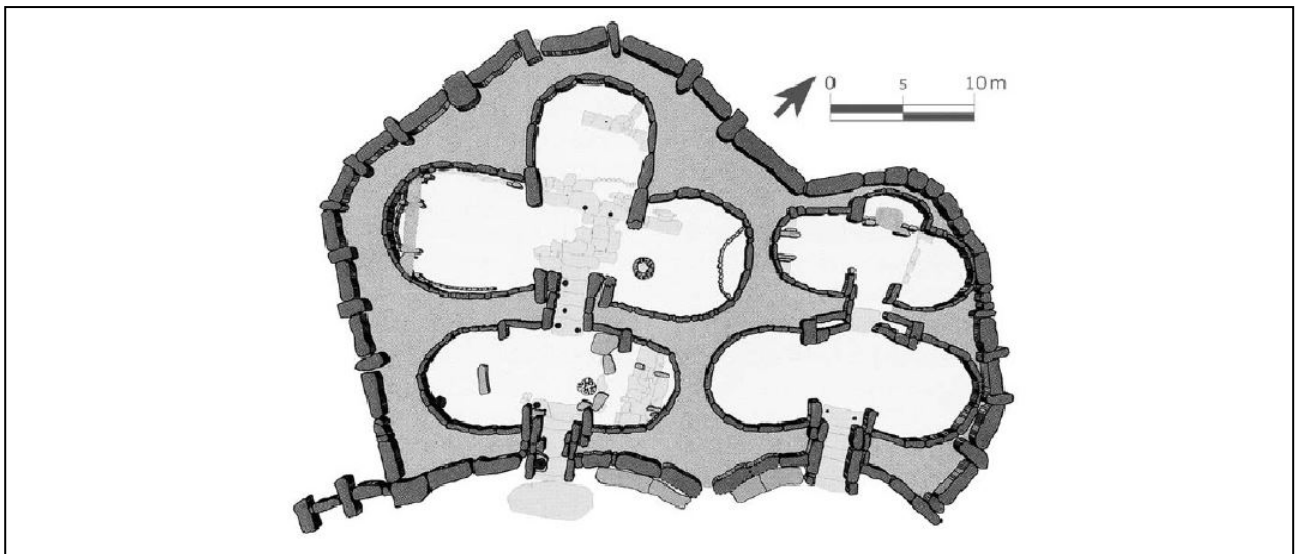
Figure 1. Plan of Ggantija Temple.

in the center, according to legend these two megalithic complexes were built by a race of giants that lived on the island in ancient times (see Figure 1).

A similar shape is present in Hal Saflieni hypogeum, an underground complex dug into the rock. This is a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) heritage site (together with Ggantija, Hagar Qim, Menaidra, Scorba, Ta Hagrat Tarxien) and was accidentally discovered in 1902 during construction work. The complex consists of a system of chambers and passages that develops into three distinct underground levels until reaching a maximum depth of about 11 meters and covering an area of about 500 km^2.

At the first glance, this immense work seems to be the result of a well organized and advanced civilization. It seems difficult to believe that the rock has been excavated using only simple tools made of bone or hard stone. The architecture of this hypogeum features a curved shape such as an apsis cellae of the surface temples. Inside, it is remarkable to see the rock excavations of the chambers which would have allowed other more spontaneous and rational solutions, full of arches, vaults and domes, and more primitive

rigid masses with two vertical stones and one horizontally placed on top (Ceschi 1939) (see Figure 2).

The Maltese hypogeum played two roles, the first as a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of the Mother Goddess, the second as a burial place, as evidenced by the remains of thousands of skeletons with their ornaments and their pottery.

It has been hypothesized that the holes in the ground in front of the entrance could have been used to collect the libation of animals destined for sacrifice, or for solid offerings with rope being run through the holes (Evans 1971).

The holes in the walls of the interconnecting chambers are attributable to the practice of the oracles; it is plausible that a priest took advantage of the echo phenomenon and resonance, answering anonymously any questions that were asked. The most interesting example, attributed to this fascinating practice, is the one that inside the Hypogeum, speaking from a niche carved inside a room, the voice is greatly amplified and deepened.

These chambers may have served as centres for social or spiritual events, so the resonance of the
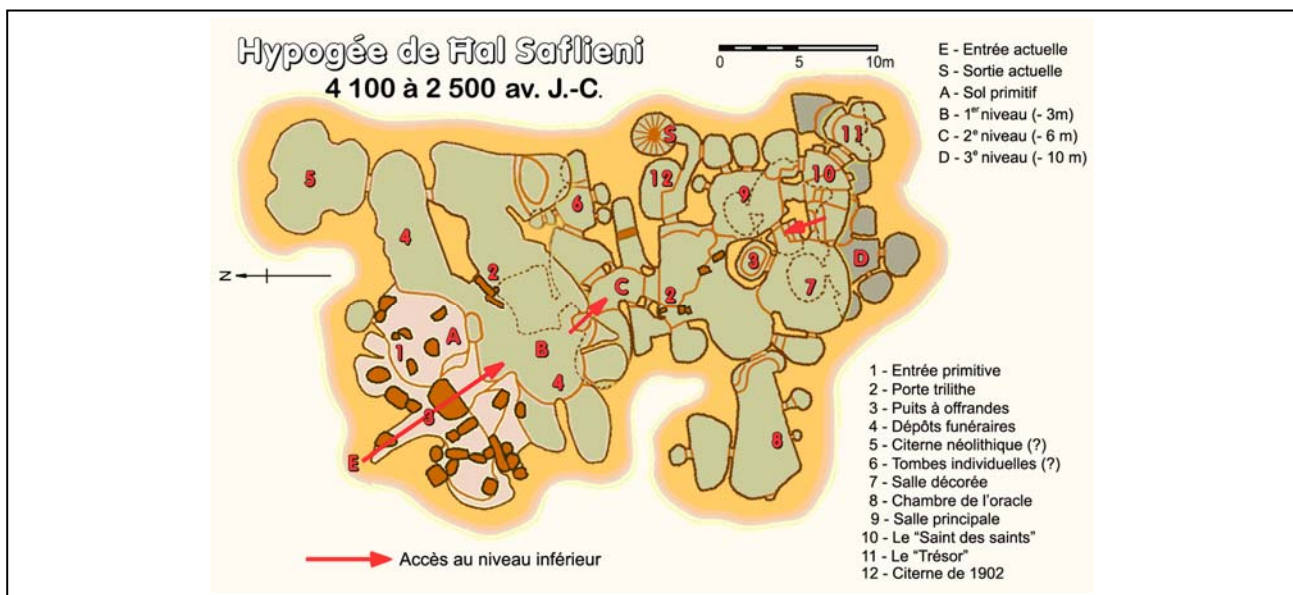
Figure 2. Map of the Maltese Hypogeum Hal Saflieni.

chamber cavities might have been intended to support human ritual chanting and mystic consciousness.

In this context archaeoacoustic studies were carried in this underground structure in recent years by the Maltese Old Temples Study Foundation (OTSF): many of these chambers have a resonance frequency of between 95Hz and 120Hz, especially close to 110Hz, using a well-known system of rock carving to tune the chambers to this low frequency range.

THE CIVIDALE DEL FRIULI HYPOGEUM, ITALY

This consists of various underground spaces below the surface, with different levels and branches that have been carved out of the conglomerate. Its shape looks very rough to a careless eye, but in reality despite the alterations over the centuries, the builders made full use of the shape of the rooms to take advantage of the resonance phenomenon, obtained during prayers and mystic songs (see Figure 3).

The underground could have been derived from a natural cavity along the right rocky riverbank of the

Natisone river. Aside from the fanciful interpretations mixed with legends, it was hypothesized that during the Celtic age, the Hypogeum was used as a depository for funerary urns, however other researchers believed that it was used as a prison during the Roman or Lombard period.

There are three big and disturbing masks carved on its walls in the style of the Celtic tradition, similar to the remains of sculptures found in Celtic graves in France known as *têtes coupées*. There are also niches carved by different builders which are perfectly dry, they could have been used as a mortuary at a later date. In respect of the other chambers they are wet so would have been unsuitable for use as a mortuary.

It is assumed that some of the hypogeum's rooms functioned as water tanks used for some sorts of ceremonial rites of uncertain origin. However, the true function and origin of this underground structure, unique in Friuli, remains a historic mystery. It is certain that the underground has been remodeled over successive periods, however none of the other hypotheses have been supported by evidence.

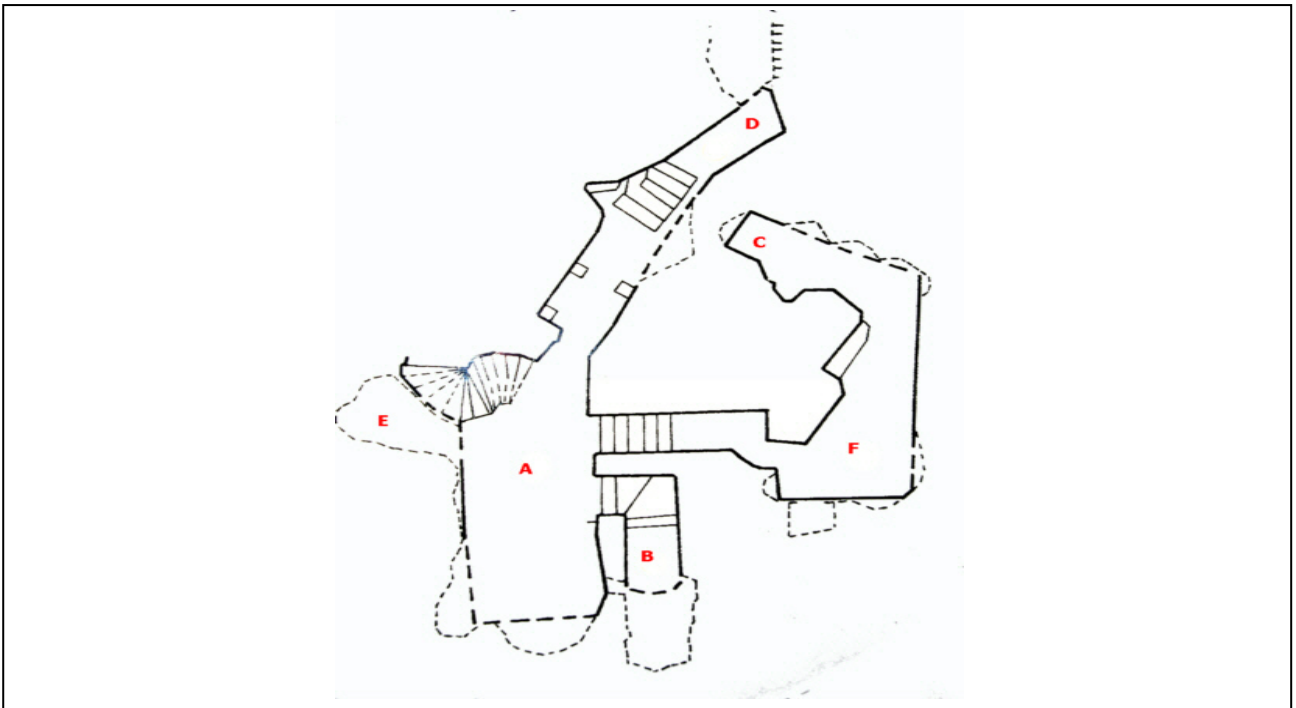The structure is represented by a central tall

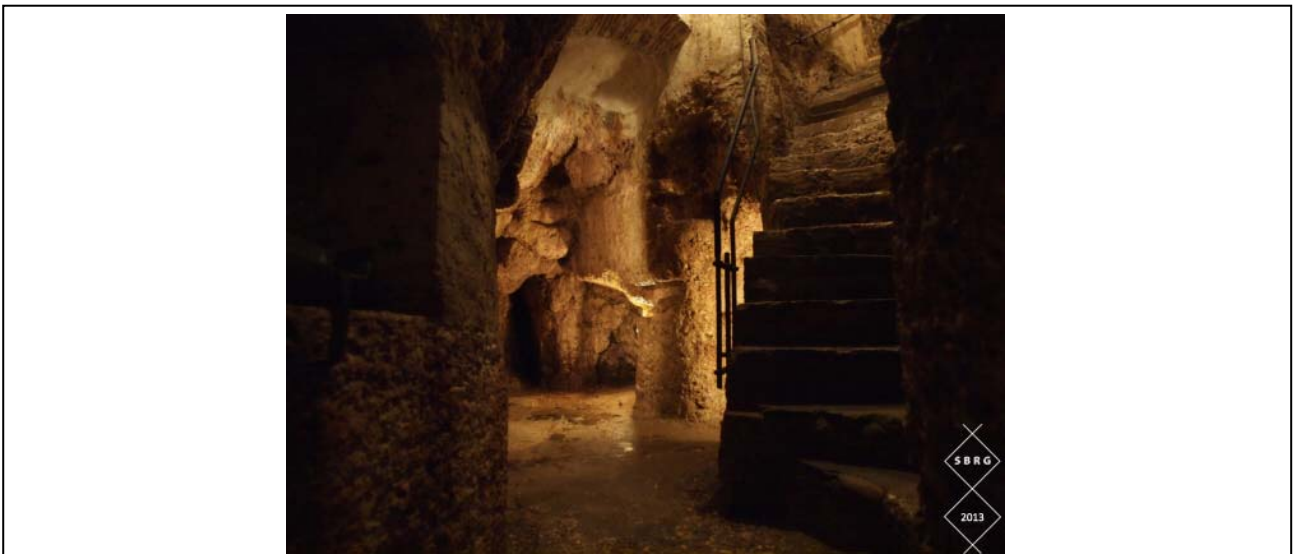**Figure 3.** Map of the Hypogeum of Cividale del Friuli.

Figure 4. The Stairs Leading to the Central Room (Chamber A of the Map).

chamber that is reached from the surface through steep descending steps (see Figure 4). At the beginning of these steps, you can find the only window that gives access to the riverbank of the Natisone, the rest of the structure is completely underground. Three corridors lead off from the central chamber and contain niches and seats of various heights. Many niches appear to have been dug with a pick and refer to later periods.

SBRG's focus on the function of this archaeological site was influenced by the theories of

Valter Maestra, an Italian independent researcher and historian of ancient civilizations. He drew a parallel with similar structures found in Malta, which were used to officiate rites of prayer to Mother Earth. According to this hypothesis, the Cividale hypogeum was used in a similar way, to make contact with the esoteric underworld.

This hypothesis was striking and, in parallel with archaeoacoustic research conducted in the South of England and Bosnia-Herzegovina by SBRG. Other researchers had detected the resonance phenomenon in the Maltese underground temples; it was important to test the Cividale structure in the same way.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Initially, a preliminary study examining every chamber of the hypogeum of Cividale del Friuli with electronic sound generators was carried out following a procedure established by PEAR (Jahn et al. 1995). Once the resonant frequency was identified, the "knots of resonance" provided the optimum position to achieve a resonance effect, which allowed the frequencies to expand in every chamber. After this study, the conditions present in ancient times were recreated using a male or female voice for singing or praying.

SBRG's recording equipment and microphones were far more dynamic and high-end compared to the equipment used nearly 20 years ago by PEAR (Jahn 1995). The equipment used consisted of dynamic high-end recorders extended in the ultrasound field with a maximum sampling rate of 192KHz (Tascam DR-680) or sampling rate of 96KHz (Tascam DR-100 and Marantz PMD661 equipment).

Microphones with a wide dynamic range and a flat response at different frequencies (Sennheiser MKH 3020, frequency response of 10Hz to 50,000Hz) were used with shielded cables (Mogami Gold Edition XLR) and gold-plated connectors (see Figure 5).

Ultrasensitive omnidirectional microphones

(Aquarian H2a-XLR Hydrophone, frequency response from 10Hz to 100,000Hz) were used to accurately obtain any possible resonance response from the water in the bottom of the chambers. This type of microphone has a wide bandwidth and is used by sea biologists to hear whale song up to several kilometers away. In this case the sound is transmitted very quickly in water, with the body of water acting as a reflector capable of capturing the resonant vibrations (Debertolis and Savolainen 2012).

The correlation between the sound source and response of the chamber through sound spectrum graphics (using computer audio programs) was verified at the same time as the singers voice vibrations were being correlated to the response of the chambers, being analyzed.

Pro Tools version 9.05 software for Mac was used to overlap and mix the various recorded tracks, Praat program version 4.2.1 from the University of Toronto and Audacity open-source program version 2.0.2, both for Windows PC.

Before recording a spectrum analyzer (Spectran NF-3010 from the German factory Aaronia AG) was used to search for electromagnetic phenomena present in the surrounding environment which could potentially have a negative influence on the results.

All recordings were taken several times during the night where the risks of noise from human activity on the surface were lower.

The singers performed a repertoire of ancient chant and overtone singing. It was found that mantras and modulated frequencies excited the surrounding structures at particular frequencies, typical of various mystical songs and prayers.

RESULTS

The experiment took place on various days over a six-month period with different singers used to search for the right resonance phenomena frequency. A few months after SBRG's research began, the presence of
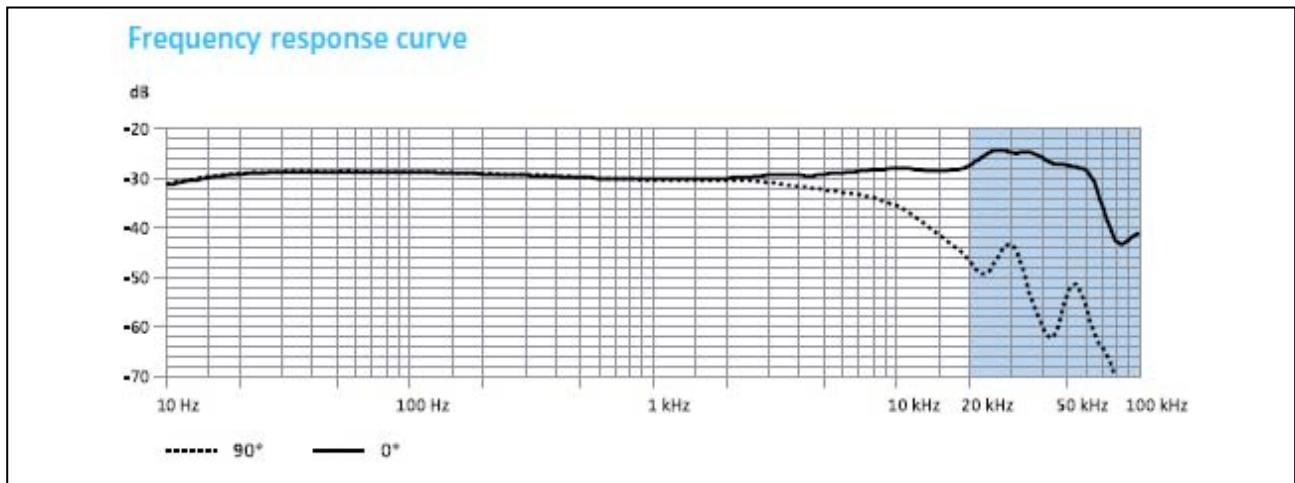
Figure 5. The Extremely Flat Response of Sennheiser MKH 3020 Microphones With a Greater Sensitivity in the Ultrasound Field.

Figure 6. The Entrance to Chamber C Which Seems to Have Retained the Original Shape and Has Demonstrated a Conspicuous Resonant Effect.

the resonance effect in two chambers C and D was detected (see Figures 6-9). These sections retain the original arched shape form along their top. In order to obtain a better response the singers were positioned inside the "sound knots". A small truss on the end wall in the two chambers seems to have been carved specially to tune up the room for a male voice singing or praying.

The male voice is absolutely necessary to stimulate the resonance phenomenon as the two chambers are tuned to 94Hz and 102Hz. On several occasions, a female voice was used, including a mezzo-soprano voice, however the resonance effect was not reached because below 150Hz it is not possible to stimulate the structure.

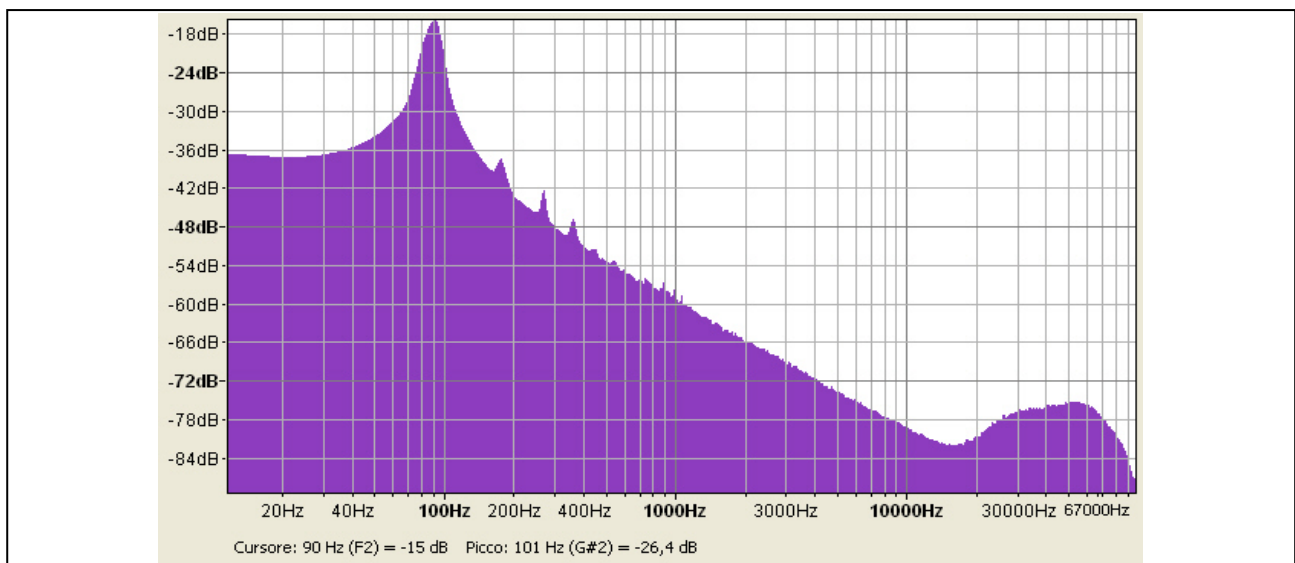The resonance sound response is a range of sound

Figure 7. The Logarithmic Plot of the Effect of Resonance in Chamber C.

Notes: The hump between 30KHz and 90KHz is due to increased sensitivity of the Sennheiser microphones at these frequencies, but this is not an anomaly. No ultrasounds have been found in the Cividale del Friuli hypogeum so far.
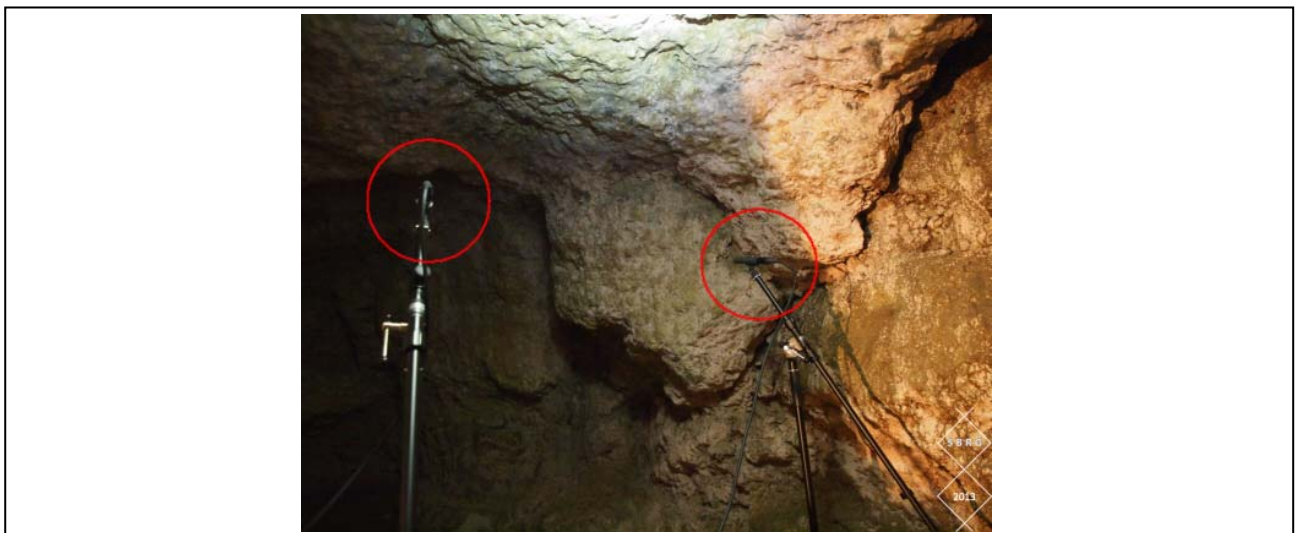

Figure 8. The Un-illuminated Bottom of Chamber D With Microphones Positioned for Recording.

that starts from infrasonic up to the frequency of 102Hz for chamber D or 94Hz for chamber C (the tuning by a male voice to create the resonant effect). This is particularly evident when comparing this graph with the graph of the female voice in which a hole appears in the same range of audible frequencies. Chamber E located below the access stairs had no resonant effect. It is possible that this was dug in a

later period as its shape is completely different from the other rooms along with chamber B (see Figure 10).

DISCUSSION

With a male voice tuned to the right frequency, a response in the infrasound and low frequency bands is
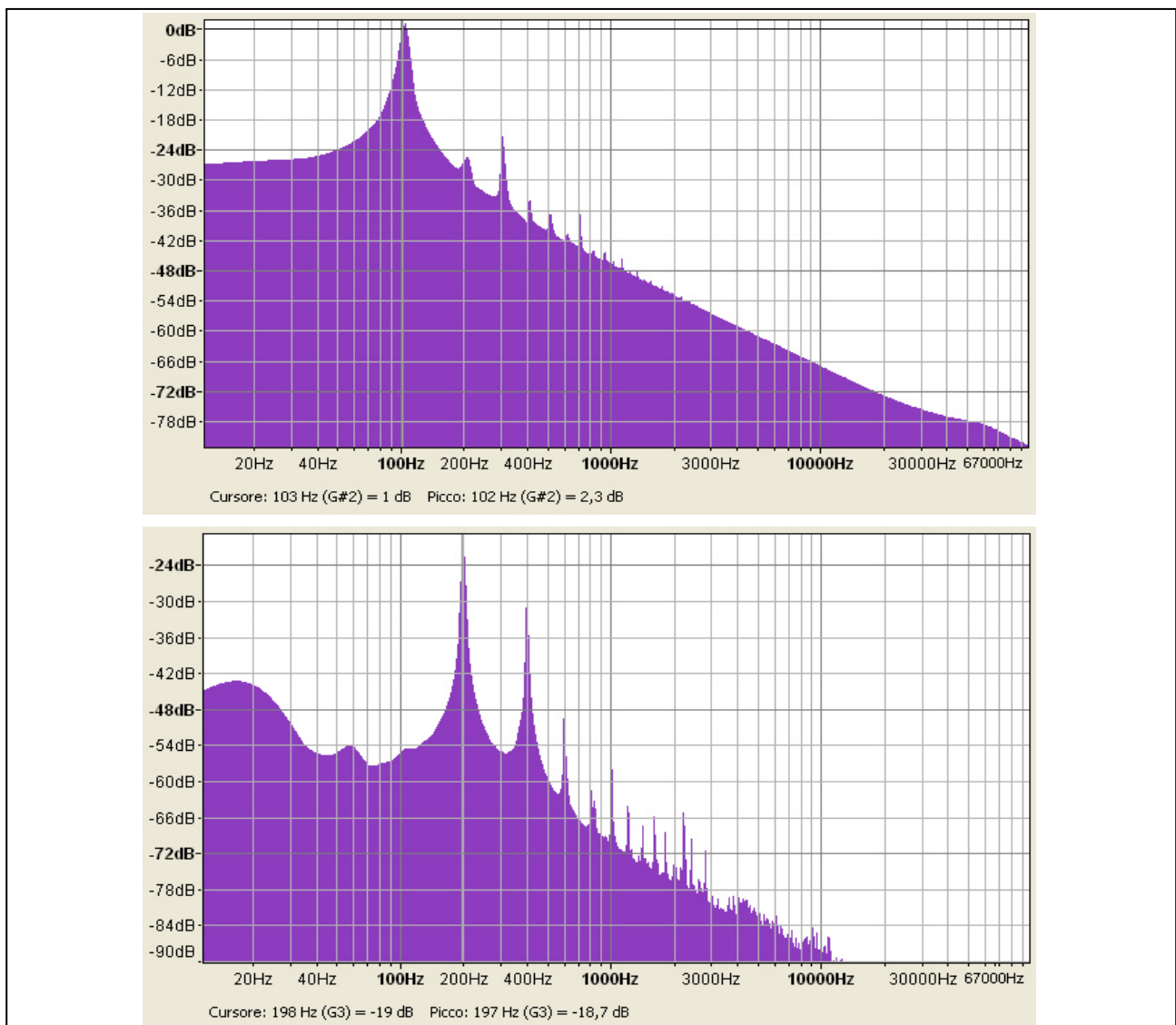
Figure 9. Top: The Harmonious Appearance of the Graph From Chamber D, With a Male Voice Stimulating the Resonance at 102Hz. Bottom: The Detectable Graph of Chamber D With a Female Voice.

Notes: The dominant feature is around 198Hz, the hole in the low frequency range between 20Hz up to 200Hz is clearly shown in the graph.

obtained (see Figure 7). The male voice is reflected back from the structure in a low tone, as happened in the hypogeum of Hal Saflieni, Malta. This is not possible to achieve using a female voice, Figure 7 shows a big hole where any frequencies could be reflected back. The conclusion drawn is that only a male priest could trigger the resonance phenomenon along with a very low frequency response.

There are many scientific papers that evidence mechanical vibrations can have a positive or negative influence on human health and perception. It is known that the environment contains several sources of naturally occurring very low frequency and infrasounds.

Figure 10. Chamber B of Cividale del Friuli Hypogeum Has a Different Shape to That of Chambers C and D.
Notes: Therefore it is likely that it was modified in later periods or had another purpose. SBRG are also studying if the basin is filled with water, if it is possible to obtain a sound response.

Depending on their age and gender, humans can perceive sounds in the range of 20Hz to 20Khz, and in some cases sounds below 20Hz (which are not audible to the human ear). Careful measurements have shown that hearing does not abruptly stop at 20Hz but the ear is capable of registering infrasound if the sound pressure is sufficient.

Low frequency sound has a relatively long wavelength and low material absorption rate, hence it has the ability to travel vast distances. These properties make it possible to achieve a profound effect on vast tracts of acoustic space with the production of high sound pressure level acoustic waves. Low frequency sound is non-directional in its propagation and therefore has the effect of enveloping the individual without any discernable localized source (Gavreau 1968; as cited in Vinokur 2004).

Some animals such as elephants, hippopotamuses, rhinoceros and giraffes are known to use infrasound to communicate over distances (Langbauer et al. 1991). Many animals are able to perceive infrasonic waves that pass through the earth before natural disasters, which act as an early warning system for them.

Any severe and artificial extreme imposed on the sonic environment has a profoundly destabilizing effect on the human body. Indeed infrasounds have been used in the context of wars and there are several organizations currently conducting research in the area of acoustic weapons, such weapons can confound and reduce the capacity and resistance of concentration in their target when discharged at a sufficiently high volume.

However, natural low vibrations with an absence of high pressure can have a positive influence on human health and some people can perceive very low-frequency sounds as a sensation rather than a sound. Infrasounds may also cause feelings of awe or fear in humans. Given it is not consciously perceived, it may make people feel like odd or supernatural events are taking place (Tandy and Lawrence 1998).

Very low frequency sounds and infrasound vibrations are perceived more by nerve receptors in the bones than by the spiral organ hearing cells. Furthermore this type of sound vibration being non-directional appears to have a substantial effect on the cognitive abilities of the human organism, as

reported in the literature (Tandy and Lawrence 1998).

Unfortunately infrasounds have been long studied primarily as a weapon of the future, but their effect only applies at high volumes. With lower volumes this does not happen, indeed such vibrations can instead strengthen human perceptual abilities (Tandy and Lawrence 1998). This could explain the mystical feeling that some people have when they are in an ambient environment full of these frequencies in deep meditation during a sacred rite, but of course this also happens in other historic "sacred sites" that have the same natural tonal characteristics.

This research was also influenced by the works by Cook, Pajot and Leuchter (2008), who examined the response of the range of resonance phenomenon in ancient temples (95-120Hz) on the human brain. They carried out a pilot project to monitor the brain activity of 30 healthy adults (16 females and 14 males) using an EEG while test subjects listened to tones in the same frequency range. In this study, they were trying to establish if patterns of brain activity changed during a brief exposure to these sounds.

The results were amazing: the activity in the left temporal region was found to be significantly lower, closer to 110Hz than other frequencies. Additionally, the pattern of asymmetric activity over the prefrontal cortex shifted from one of higher activity on the left at most frequencies to right-sided dominance at 110Hz. These findings were compatible with the relative deactivation of language centres and a shift in prefrontal activity that may be related to emotional processing. Achieving this emotional state was an important component of ancient rites so that a real sense of mystical elevation could be obtained (Cook et al. 2008).

CONCLUSIONS

This research demonstrates the effect of archaeoacoustics on the human body, which appears to be an interesting new method for reanalyzing

ancient sites to re-discover a forgotten method that effects the emotional sphere of human consciousness. Modern recording technology is now able to give greater clarity to the origin of many interesting phenomena (Debertolis and Bisconti 2013), reaffirming the aura of legends that pervades some sacred places.

It is clear that the builders of Cividale del Friuli hypogeum wanted to achieve this effect. The similarity with the technology of Hal Saflieni suggests that the construction of the Italian hypogeum could be backdated to the same time period as the Maltese hypogeum. The small truss found on a wall inside two of the chambers which responds to a male singing or praying voice, appears to be an example of knowledge of the physical phenomena of resonance. Its ability to induce mystical states in ancient people using secret rites of Mother Goddess (or other ancient deities) would have been very strong. Could this forgotten process be made use of today to achieve optimum brain states using sound vibrations?

Note

1. SB Research Group (SBRG) is an international and interdisciplinary project team of researchers (Italian, Croatian, English and Finish members) researching the archaeoacoustics of ancient sites and temples in Europe (www.sbresearchgoup.eu).

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