

ISSN 2159-5526 (Print)
ISSN 2159-5534 (Online)

Sociology

Volume 1, Number 3, August 2011

Study



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David Publishing Company
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Sociology Study

Volume1, Number 3, August 2011 (Serial Number 3)



David Publishing Company
www.davidpublishing.com

Publication Information:

Sociology Study is published every month in print (ISSN 2159-5526) and online (ISSN 2159-5534) by David Publishing Company located at 1840 Industrial Drive, Suite 160, Libertyville, Illinois 60048, USA.

Aims and Scope:

Sociology Study, an international, scholarly and peer-reviewed journal, aims to provide the most complete and reliable source of information on recent developments in sociology. It covers a broad spectrum of sociology, such as: institution and culture; criminality, deviance, law and punishment; economic sociology; education sociology; family, gender, and sexuality; health and illness; social network and media; knowledge and science; military; political sociology; race and ethnic relations; religion; social networks; social psychology; stratification; urban and rural sociology; work and industry; sport sociology, social welfare and social policy etc.

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Abstracted / Indexed in:

Database of EBSCO, Massachusetts, USA
Chinese Database of CEPS, Airiti Inc. & OCLC
Chinese Scientific Journals Database, VIP Corporation, Chongqing, P.R.China
Ulrich's Periodicals Directory
ProQuest/CSA Social Science Collection, Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS), USA
Summon Serials Solutions

Subscription Information:

Print: \$450 (per year) Online: \$300 (per year) Print and Online: \$560 (per year)
For past issues, please contact: shelly@davidpublishing.com, order@davidpublishing.com

David Publishing Company
1840 Industrial Drive, Suite 160, Libertyville, Illinois 60048
Tel: 1-847-281-9862 Fax: 1-847-281-9855
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The Transition to Adulthood in Europe: A Comparison of Different Models

Monica Santoro^a

Abstract

In a few decades, transition to adulthood has undergone significant changes in the manner and timing of attaining adulthood. The objective of the paper is to focus on the most significant transformations: the transition to adulthood process has undergone in different European contexts, through the use of the findings of research performed in 2004 in Denmark, Germany and Italy. For the purpose of the comparison, in-depth analysis was performed of the interviews conducted on young people aged between 19 and 35, who had completed their education and were preparing to enter into the workplace. By means of the analysis of the interviews, the paper evaluates how youths perceive the passage from education to the workplace, taking into consideration the opportunities and resources provided by individual national contexts (social benefits, training and work opportunities) to facilitate the process of attainment of adult roles. The role played by family support to achieve transition is also analyzed. In particular, the type of support (financial, emotional and affective) provided by parents to their offspring during the various transition phases, with the aim of highlighting the existence of different parent-child relationships in the three countries examined.

Keywords

Transition to adulthood, parents and children relations, parental help, youth autonomy

For many years the transformations in the transition to adulthood patterns have been the subject of research and debate in sociology. At the beginning of 1980s, Cavalli (1980) shed light on how the youth phase had been transformed from the preparation to take on adult roles, to a condition of “awaiting an unpredictable outcome”. The uncertainty permeating this life cycle is underscored by widespread non-linear transition patterns, characterized by the prolongation over time of several phases (extended education, late access to the labour market) and by the postponement of the steps which traditionally completed the process (for example, deferral of the creation of the first stable union and of parenthood). The transition model prevailing in the years following the Second World War, which was cadenced by socially predictable

milestones (completion of full-time education, entering into the labour market, leaving the parental home, and becoming a parent) (Elder 1985; Modell et al. 1976) had been flanked by more complex and individualized paths. As opposed to previous generations, occupational stability and the attainment of independence from the family of origin have modes and timing which are almost impossible to schedule: for a longer period compared to the past, young people are forced to live in a kind of limbo, experiencing

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incomplete transition steps, which are not necessarily brought to completion by leaving home or having a stable occupation.

Contributing factors to these changes are different structural factors. In particular, since the end of the 1970s, the prolongation of educational cycles, the labour market crisis, the restructuring of several production sectors (for instance, the recession in the manufacturing industry), and the decline of traditional family models, have provoked the disruption of the temporal sequence of the steps, in the meantime generating the proliferation of situations which may be defined as semi-independency. To clarify, young people may have set up independent homes but still be financially dependent on their family of origin, a widespread situation in countries where living away from home to attend university is incentivized (for example, in Great Britain). Just as there is the opposite situation (having achieved financial independency, though not having abandoned the parental roof), which is particularly characteristic of the young resident in Southern Europe, where marriage usually marks the departure from the parental home (Cavalli and Galland 1996; Cherlin et al. 1997; Holdsworth 2000; Jones 1995; Santoro 2002, 2006).

Notwithstanding, therefore the standpoints which consider achievement of financial independency as the essential provision to overcome the other phases, the different housing, occupation and family strategies, adopted by young Europeans, seem to depend on the complexity of the opportunities, constraints and challenges posed by the social and relational context to which they belong. More specifically, the analysis of the transition to adulthood patterns needs to be performed according to a multidimensional perspective which, together with the social policies, the educational and employment schemes, also takes into consideration the role performed by the family. Financial, practical and emotional support from the family of origin represent an essential component to facilitate accomplishment of transition to adulthood.

In many Western countries, for example, setting up an independent home has become problematic following the rocketing costs of houses and rent. In these cases, financial support from the family of origin is clearly crucial in order to achieve living independence. Compared to the past, young people have a greater need of emotional support from their close significant others because they are more vulnerable to the risks of unemployment, job insecurity and being forced to remain in training for longer periods.

The purpose of this paper is to set forth the results of a qualitative survey conducted in 2003-2004 regarding the transition paths of young Danes, Germans and Italians who are close to complete (or had recently completed) their education (or degree) and training and are on the verge of entering into the labour market. More precisely, in each country, approximately forty young people were subjected to in-depth interviews, with the objective of examining the processes through which young people succeeded in elaborating the most important biographic decisions, in the lead up to taking on adult roles, more specifically, during the phase comprised between leaving school and entry into the labour market (Leccardi et al. 2004; Stauber et al. 2004; Stølán and Mørch 2004).

The different manner in which transition to adulthood is elaborated in the three contexts posed a problem for the purposes of the comparative analysis. Notwithstanding the fact that all respondents were transitioning into the labour market, some of them, irrespective of their age, were at different stages in the path to adulthood in comparison to the completion of other phases. In fact, some had already set up independent homes, were living as a couple and/or had become parents.

As in all qualitative surveys, the analysis of the interviews examines a limited reality and is therefore not significantly representative of the youth status in the three countries. The objective of the analysis is not to achieve generalization of the transition patterns but

rather, to outline the experiences of the young respondents, to then be able to examine the role played by the various types of resources (for example, the financial and cultural level of the family of origin, potential entitlement to social benefits, the educational qualification attained, etc.) which facilitate attainment of adulthood.

DIFFERENT EUROPEAN TRANSITION MODELS

The decision to analyze three countries such as Denmark, Germany and Italy has its roots in two forethoughts. Above all, according to comparative studies on longitudinal data, Denmark and Italy represented the opposite ends of the scale regarding transition to adulthood models (Iacovou and Berthoud 2001). The former is characterized by the rapid transition through the phases, whilst the latter by a markedly prolonged transition. Due to their opposite and extreme characteristics they are considered to best represent the two European transition models: Mediterranean and Northern. The former is widespread in the Southern European countries (Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal); the latter in the Central and Northern European countries (France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Nordic countries). The young resident in the latter group of countries follow more complex transitions, characterized by the experimentation of different living arrangements. The education, employment and family phases may overlap and not follow the traditional temporal sequence. In the first group of countries, the transition is generally more linear, living with peers is not widespread and leaving home usually coincides with marriage, after having achieved financial stability. For this reason, many young people tend to defer leaving home until well above the thirties threshold.

Among the young Europeans, the Italians have longer educational cycles however without obtaining higher qualifications (the percentage of graduates in

the range of 25-34 age is among the lowest in Europe and the percentage of those with secondary school qualifications ranks near the bottom), and are unemployed for longer periods before entering into the labour market (OECD 2010). In Italy, youth unemployment has reached a high percentage, especially in Southern Italy. In addition, the young Italians are more reluctant to experiment the various living and family arrangements which differ from living with their parents or marriage. According to 2010 estimates issued by Istat (the Italian Central Institute of Statistics), more than 31% of young people aged between 30 and 34 still lived with the family of origin and this percentage was close to 60% in the group of 25-29 age. According to European data, young people aged 18-34 who lived in couple (married or cohabitant) in Europe were respectively 47.6% of women and 35.8% of men while this percentage was by far lower in Italy (39.8% of women and 24.7% of men) (Eurostat 2010).

This is undoubtedly unlike the situation of the young Danes, for whom unemployment does not pose a problem, due to the massive youth employment schemes. Among the young Europeans, they are the most inclined to experiment multiple living arrangements and family situations, at a relatively young age.

The decision to analyze the transition models of these three countries also stems from the different welfare measures benefitting families with children and youth occupation.

Considering the Esping-Andersen's (1990) categories of welfare regimes and the social democratic regime, typical of Scandinavian countries adopts an individualistic approach aimed at granting individual rights by taking universalistic measures. The conservative regime, typical of countries like Germany and Italy, assigns the nuclear family the duty to support its dependent members, economic and fiscal measures are devoted to the family-households and guaranteed services are considered as integration

to family care. Ferrera (1996) included Italy, with Spain, Greece and Portugal, in a fourth category of welfare, characterized by a strong familism and little interventions to support the family.

In Italy, the policies on behalf of infancy and youth are almost totally lacking. Services for infancy are inadequate and young people are considered to be dependent on the family even over the legal age. The investment which Italy allocates to family and infancy policies is one of the lowest in Europe: In 2005 it was equal to 1.1% of the GDP, compared to Denmark and Germany which respectively allocated 3.8% and 3.2% of their GDP (Eurostat 2008).

Transition to adulthood is a particularly difficult process in those countries in which the public initiatives for the younger generations are limited, whilst, on the other hand, crossing some transition thresholds is smoother in those countries where young people can rely upon state benefits. In particular, it appears that moving away from home is less problematic for young people who can rely on abundant social policies (Aassve et al. 2001; Fussel and Gauthier 2005).

Prior to setting forth the results of the analysis, this study will outline the most significant social policies adopted by Denmark and Germany benefitting families with children and also youth employment, and measures which are absent in Italy. Contrary to Italy¹, both these countries have family allowance schemes of a universal nature, among the most extensive in the European context (Saraceno 2009).

STATE SUPPORT FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN DENMARK

Vocational Training and Youth Unemployment Schemes

Since 1997 the Danish government has launched a series of programmes with the specific aim of

improving the conditions of the young generations. The main objectives were to improve the educational level and to obtain full youth employment.

According to official figures, in 2005 almost 80% of young Danes obtained a secondary school qualification and 44% graduated from university (degree or higher education). The objectives of the government's initiatives were to increase the percentage of secondary school qualifications at least five percent by 2010, to as far as 95% in 2015. For university education the target to be reached is 50% of graduates in 2015 (Danish Ministry of Education 2005, 2008).

The key importance attributed to education is evident by the level of public spending destined to education. In 2005, with an expense equal to 8.3% of the GDP, Denmark occupied first place in Europe with regards to investments in this sector (Eurostat 2009a).

Education is guaranteed by means of state benefits in the form of education allowances with a universal amount for all students up to 18 years, after which they are entitled to education grants from the State Educational Fund. The amount of the grant varies on the basis of the family income and the length of the course chosen. In addition to these funds, the state may provide long term reimbursable loans.

The problem of youth unemployment in Denmark has been dealt with by promoting the professional training of the unemployed youth. The adopted strategy has increased funding to youth education rather than facilitating rapid labour market integration². For this reason, the percentage of young people under the age of 25 in education is huge, whilst unemployment between 16 and 24 years of age is almost non-existent. For example, in this age range, unemployment figures fell from 4.2% in 2004 to 1.4% in 2008³ (Cirius 2008; Danish Ministry of Education 2004). For young people under 25 who have been unemployed for more than six months, it is compulsory to attend training courses and vocational

programmes which last approximately 18 months. Under these schemes, they are remunerated an amount, which is less than unemployment benefit, but double the education grant received by students. When they reach 25, the young unemployed are enrolled in adult life long learning training programmes with the aim of acquiring additional skills to finally be able to enter into the labour market.

The unemployment benefits in Denmark are quite generous despite the government's attempts to curb them since 2006. To be able to claim, workers must be a member of one of the numerous unemployment insurance funds, linked to the trade unions. Over the last ten years, a decrease in the percentage of young members has been recorded, caused by both the prolongation of the training period and also by the existence of other allowances granted by local authorities.

In addition, further forms of support are provided for housing for young people who do not live in university accommodation.

Support to Families

Denmark adopts universalistic criteria when allocating child allowances. Until the child reaches legal age, the parents receive an annual child allowance, the amount of which varies on the basis of the overall family income and the age of the child. Single parent families or families with disabled children are eligible for further state aid.

Prolongation of the Transition to Adulthood

Toward the end of the 1980s, various indicators pointed to the prolongation of the dependency phase on the family of origin. More precisely, the young Danes left home and became adults at a higher age compared to the past.

The prolongation of living at home was attributed to a number of factors, including the longer educational and training cycles; the improved housing situations of the older adult generations, thanks to

which their children had their own room inside the family home; the condition of the housing market, especially in cities where the real estate prices had increased by 250% over the last 20 years. Another contributing factor was the increase of non-antagonistic parent-child relationships, based on dialogue and reciprocity (Mørch and Stølman 2002).

Moving into independent accommodation is still problematical, in spite of government efforts. In the scope of the policy to improve the educational level of the youth population, the government has also set itself the goal of meeting the accommodation needs of young people in further education. Only a small percentage (approximately 3% of the young people aged between 15 and 29) live in university accommodation or in student flats. In the majority of cases, young people manage to achieve living independence thanks to the assistance of their parents. For those who cannot rely upon family resources, finally leaving home still remains a critical phase.

STATE SUPPORT FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN GERMANY

Vocational Training and Youth Unemployment Schemes

In Germany vocational training carries out an important role in the process of attaining adulthood. As only the young people who have obtained the *Abitur*⁴ can access to university studies, approximately two thirds of the young people who complete compulsory education obtain a vocational qualification through the dual training scheme. This system combines apprenticeship in a company, with vocational training in professional schools, for a period of approximately three and a half years. The apprenticeship contract stipulated between the young person and the company thus grants them access to social insurance and healthcare system and a monthly salary, which varies on the basis of the type of work carried out and the academic year attended.

However, since the late 1980s, the success of the dual system in ensuring a rapid transition to adulthood had begun to show a few cracks. The new economic policy, inaugurated following the re-unification, has limited the expansion in the production sectors (manufacturing and craft) from which the majority of apprenticeship requests originate. In a short period, the recourse to the scheme has increasingly become an instrument to limit unemployment of youths with a low level of education, instead of guaranteeing them stable access to the labour market (Witzel et al. 1996). In particular, to combat the unemployment crisis, the German governments have attempted to conduct specific programmes aimed at increasing youth employment. School leavers with no qualifications⁵ and unemployed youths who do not attend apprenticeship schemes are encouraged to attend a pre-vocational year of training with the aim of supplying them with greater professional skills to validate their employment in the workplace.

Support to Families

The state allowances in aid of families and young adults are varied and diversified according to the beneficiary. The Kindergeld is a state benefit paid to families with children, independent of the level of income. For every child until the age of eighteen, the family receives a monthly sum of 164€, a figure which increases to 195€ for the fourth and every other child. The subsidy may extend to 21 years if the young person is unemployed and to 27 years for young people in education or apprenticeship. For dependent young adults up to 27 years of age⁶, specific tax deductions are foreseen.

The second type of subsidy (Bundeserziehungsgeld) entitles young couples who are unemployed or work part-time (less than 30 hours per week) a child care allowance. Parents can choose between a regular amount of €307 a month for two years and alternatively €460 monthly, only for the first year.

Young couples with or without children can also benefit from special tax relief. The incomes of the partners are not taxed separately, but jointly, with the advantage for both partners of an overall reduction in payable income taxes.

Another type of allowance is dedicated to poor families or those not entitled to unemployment benefits, who are guaranteed a minimum level of income (approximately €286 monthly to the head of the household) and access to healthcare.

The benefit scheme includes the Bafög: support in the form of an education grant, to which students (university and apprentices) under 30 years of age, are entitled, if they are unable to pay for their education. The amount is established on the basis of the type of education, income and accommodation situation of the young persons. Those students who do not live under the parental roof are entitled to a correspondingly higher amount, to a maximum of €565 monthly. Starting from 2001, all students, regardless of their income and utilization of Bafög, are entitled to special loans guaranteed by the Ministry of Education and Research.

Prolonged Transition to Adulthood

According to research carried out from the early years of the nineties, the path towards independence from the family of origin of young Germans has experienced a significant attenuation. The pointers of this trend are the prolongation of the phase of financial dependency on the family of origin and the delay in setting up an independent home. Even though financial support from the family becomes less significant after 21 years of age, the percentage of young 30 year olds who are financially dependent on the family of origin remains extremely high (approximately 30% of those aged 29 compared to 80% of 18 year olds) (Buba 2002).

The reasons behind the prolongation of dependency are not only the transformations in the work market, but also the absence of adequate housing

policies to deal with rising house prices. With the exception of university students, who are entitled to accommodation in university campuses, the income and eventual housing benefits of apprentices or the unemployed are not sufficient to pay rent expenses.

A salient effect of the manifest modifications is the assertion of unsettled living arrangements, like that of the so-called boomerang generation (Da Vanzo and Goldscheider 1990; Goldscheider et al. 1999). For some young people, setting up an independent home is subordinated to the presence of contingent situations which, when lacking, force them to return under the parental roof, even temporarily. The termination of education, break ups of cohabiting partners and unemployment are the most common reasons motivating the return to the parental home (Buba 2002).

THE SURVEY IN DENMARK, GERMANY AND ITALY

The group of young persons interviewed in Denmark was composed of 42 subjects aged between 18 and 30, residing in Copenhagen and the surrounding area. The majority were employed, a large section were in education, nine were unemployed, whilst a young woman was on maternity leave (see Table 1).

Thirty-seven persons interviewed in Germany were aged between 16 and 37, lived in Tübingen and Reutlingen, two small to medium sized industrial cities⁷ located in an area of ex-West Germany, which in 2003 had a lower unemployment rate (5%) than the average national rate (9%). Almost half the subjects interviewed were working (nineteen precisely), nine were continuing their education at university level (post-graduate) or by vocational training, four youths had just completed their studies and were looking for work, whilst six young people were unemployed at the time of the interview (see Table 2).

In Italy, 40 young people, aged between 19 and 38, were interviewed and all the subjects lived in Milan,

or the surrounding area. Very few worked, whilst the majority were studying at university or continuing education after their high school diploma (see Table 3).

The most strikingly differentiated data of the young people in the three countries is their housing and family situation. In Denmark, the majority of respondents had set up an independent home, were married, were living together, with or without children, or were co-habiting with friends. The living arrangements and family decisions were not so much dictated by the socio-economic class and by age. Thanks to state allowances, even students and young unemployed managed to precociously achieve independency from the family of origin. The young Danes, who after 25 years of age, lived with their parents were an exception to the rule (Iacovou 2002).

The same trend was evident in Germany, even though the number of respondents who had set up an independent home was significantly lower. The socio-cultural level of the respondents was the determining factor in their living arrangements: the university graduates with suitable employment had left the parental home, whilst the young persons with a medium⁸ or low level education experienced greater difficulty in making this step. The respondents who lived with their parents had an age range between 17 and 25 years and, as in Denmark, the threshold age for completion of transition was set at 25 years (Cook and Furstenberg 2002).

The situation in Italy was diametrically the opposite: All the young respondents lived with their parents, with the exception of a girl who lived alone. The financial situation in the family of origin and the educational level do not appear to be influential variables decisive for living arrangements, whilst a certain influence is recorded regarding the employment situation. The young single woman was the only member of the respondents who had been in stable employment for the last five years and her wage allowed her to pay the rent, albeit with some sacrifices.

Table 1. Features of Young Respondents—Denmark

Number of respondents	Gender	Age	Occupation	Living arrangements	Place of residence
42	23 boys	18-30	17 employed	7 live at home with their parents	Copenhagen and hinterland
	19 girls		9 unemployed	19 cohabit/are married with/without children	
			3 looking for first job (graduates)	11 live alone with/without children	
			15 study at university or in further education	5 cohabit with friends	
			1 on maternity leave		

Other than this young girl, only one other respondent had experienced living away from home. In the past, she had lived with her partner and when the relationship broke down she returned to her family of origin. Finally, none of the respondents had children.

TRANSITION FROM EDUCATION TO THE LABOUR MARKET IN THE THREE COUNTRIES

The data which the young respondents of the three countries have in common, is the prolongation of the transition period from education to the labour market. When moving through this phase, the young people encounter various employment, education and personal experiences which can make this passage particularly complex. On the basis of the stories of the young respondents, the duration of this phase and the manner in which it is completed depend on a multitude of factors, such as: the opportunities in the labour market and in the education and training sectors; the entitlement to state subsidies and the socio-cultural level of the family of origin. The latter variable seems to strongly determine the control of biographical decisions: in fact, it is in all three countries that the culturally advantaged young people voluntarily undertake non-linear transition trajectories. This happens with different modes and frequency in the three countries. In Denmark, specifically, it is the respondents with a higher level of education who experience complex transition trajectories. The

biographical trajectories are however goal-directed: periods of unemployment, deferring the choice of the university faculty or protracted training courses before entering the definitive one are rather the result of adaptive strategies aimed, on the one hand, to overcome the structural limitations of the labour market, and, on the other hand, to achieve their set goals. For example, Emil, a 27-year-old psychologist, who has been unemployed for six months, is not willing to lower his aspirations, although he is frustrated by being unemployed. His preference is to wait for a job matching his qualifications and to continue to improve his skills by writing articles in scientific magazines. Overall, the transition process is fragmented, where delays in education and employment spheres are accompanied by definite transitions to parenthood. For instance, Birgitte, a 29-year-old psychologist, has decided to look for a job after her baby is born.

Those who showed greater uncertainty regarding their education trajectories were those graduate respondents originating from families of a lower cultural level. Frequently they went through uneven transitions, above all due to lack of knowledge regarding the education possibilities available:

It took me a long time to find out what I really wanted to do. I was 27 years old when I enrolled at university. Before that I had done several different things: I had chosen to do a course and for a certain period I had wanted to become a dancer. (Majken, Danish, 33 years old, Psychologist)

Table 2. Features of Young Respondents—Germany

Number of respondents	Gender	Age	Occupation	Living arrangements	Place of residence
37	19 boys	16-37	19 employed	18 live at home with their parents	Tubingen and Reutlingen
	21 girls		6 unemployed	4 cohabit with friends	
			4 looking for first job (graduates)	2 Single mothers	
			9 attend doctorate course or further education	4 are married/cohabit and have children	

The apprentices move through more complex transitions from school to the labour market, passing from one training course to another, with the hope of securing a fixed job. The only alternative to unemployment is, in fact, to enrol in a new apprenticeship scheme. The prevailing attitude of these respondents is fatalistic with very little personal initiative. The most widespread feeling is one of lack of control over their biographical events, addressed with a passive attitude.

A similar fatalistic attitude is evident among the young German apprentices interviewed. For these subjects, the possibility of accessing apprenticeship schemes can represent the possibility to avoid prolonged unemployment, just as it may become the opportunity to postpone the final entry into the labour market. Some of the respondents declared that, in spite of enrolling in an apprenticeship scheme, they were not satisfied by the type of vocational qualifications they would achieve; for this reason, once they terminated the training course, they planned to retrain in a successive apprenticeship.

The situation of the respondents who have obtained a degree is markedly different. Their transition trajectories are considerably linear, even though prolonged by the greater investment in education. Unlike the Danish respondents, they did not appear to be driven to adopt strategies centred upon experimentation and optional reversibility, preferring instead to pursue definite objectives by exploiting the available resources.

In both countries, employment instability does not necessarily translate into deference of parenthood. The transition to parenthood and transition to work phases frequently overlap and, even when a stable occupation is lacking, forming a stable union or parenthood are conditions which many of the respondents, especially the older ones, have already attained.

As previously illustrated, the young Italian respondents were characterized by the homogeneity of their employment, education and housing status. The element which differentiates them from the young Danes and Germans is not so much experimenting uneven or delayed transition trajectories, but rather, the manners in which the transition trajectories are modelled, originating from the opportunities that the national context offers. For example, the most evident characteristic of the sample group is the widespread contact between the professional training education system and the academic world. The young people who had attended a technical institute decided to enrol in university much more frequently than those who had vocational qualifications. Rarely, however, the decision to enrol in university seems to be a confident choice. Instead, it appears to represent an attempt to obtain education credentials which should guarantee occupational alternatives to the training received at school. The decision to enrol in university studies is therefore linked to the scarce belief in the employment opportunities available. This decision seems to be consistent to the experimental approach, a marker of the current difficulty in structuring individual

Table 3. Features of Young Respondents—Italy

Number of respondents	Gender	Age	Occupation	Living situation	Place of residence
40	19 boys	19-32	10 employed	39 live with their parents	Milan and hinterland
	21 girls		4 unemployed	1 woman lives alone	
			3 looking for first job (graduates)		
			23 study at university or in further education		

education trajectories. For example, Cinzia, 20 years old, with a senior high school qualification in tourism, who was unenthusiastically attending a university course in Cultural Heritage. The first two exams had gone well, however she still doubted about the choice she had made:

Now I'm doing Cultural Heritage Studies and I'm giving it a shot, however I have several ideas for change, but I'm not sure, now I feel like doing Psychology, because I did sit the test for Communication Sciences but I didn't pass, there were a thousand of us. Then I would have liked to do Social Sciences Studies, but I realised that there were very few places available and I didn't have enough background knowledge and so I thought I'd better not even try. (Cinzia, 20 years old, Italian)

For the adolescents of the lowest socio-economic level, the alternatives to university studies are the training courses financed by the European Social Fund, which are very often accessed by sheer chance, in alternative to unemployment or an unsatisfactory job. The channel through which the training opportunity becomes known is generally the school, less frequently by direct involvement of the adolescents⁹. The decision to lengthen the education path by a year after obtaining a high school diploma is also the best solution to a labour market which offers scarce guarantees from a contractual and financial point of view. An emblematic case was illustrated by Marco, aged 21, with a vocational qualification as an electronics technician, who, disappointed by his experience as an apprentice, seized the opportunity to

attend a computer course with the hope of widening his employment opportunities:

I really wanted to be an electrician, so I overlooked the financial aspects... if you want to become an electrician, you have to be an apprentice at 600 € a month and that wasn't bad for me since I don't have many expenses... Being a worker is tough... it's hard, eight hours is tiring... Then my boss wasn't a nice person; he never paid on time and he was never around, so I left... Now, I don't know, I'm only doing this course hoping to get an office job in front of a computer. If I don't make it, I really don't know what to do. (Marco, 21 years, Italian)

The overall picture denotes the strong uncertainty of the young Italians in the relationship with the labour market. Entry into employment, especially of the young high school leavers, is configured as a process in which active periods alternate with inactive periods, passing through different stages which cannot be described by the usual categories of active (employed or unemployed looking for work) or inactive (all other status). For these adolescents the choice of continuing education represents an alternative, sometimes temporary, to the status as unemployed.

FAMILY AND STATE SUPPORT

The spheres in which family support generally occurs refer to financial, practical and emotional help. The young respondents, with no marked differences between the three countries, most frequently mention

help of a financial nature, an essential element in order to overcome some transition phases. The following is an in-depth examination of the forms of support in the three countries.

In Denmark, financial assistance from the family is fundamental during the school or vocational education of adolescents and is normally more substantial until 18 years of age, when the young people are entitled to grants from the State Educational Fund. Financial independence from the family of origin, for both parents and offspring, represents a fundamental goal to establish individual independence and so, for this reason, the young people are oriented from their teenage years to earn their own income and to contribute to the household expenses. According to official national figures, almost 60% of thirteen years olds had odd jobs after school, whilst adolescents between 16 and 18 managed to earn a considerable amount monthly, usually integrated by state support (Mørch and Stølan 2002). Whilst the offspring are financially dependent on their parents, they contribute in various manners to the household budget, usually supplementing to their upkeep and part of the rent. This, for example, is what the majority (four sevenths) of the young respondents living with their parents do.

The financial exchange between parents and offspring can also take on the role of long-term agreements. In this instance, the parents take responsibility of the state funding to their children (for example, setting aside a part in the bank for future housing), who in exchange, continue to live free of charge in the family. Parents may act as a guarantor if their children need loans to buy or rent housing or for their education to integrate state funding. In one case, the parents had bought a flat for their son, who then paid them monthly rent (Stølan and Mørch 2004).

If the financial support for young Danes mainly appears to be limited to the educational phase, the emotional, affective and practical support is unconditional. The social background of the family of

origin is a significant variable in determining the manner and circumstances of the provision of such support. The respondents belonging to higher social classes stated that they had received a great deal of support from their parents during the various transition phases, particularly regarding their education and career decisions, in addition to searching for accommodation, or setting up or moving house. Other than the above, they also mention the emotional support received when they had problems:

For me [my parents] have been a mental and social "lifebelt" and this has helped me and made things easier for me. When I moved [from Jutland to Copenhagen] they helped me with the practical aspects... If I needed a lamp or any other thing, they would bring it to Copenhagen. They also supported me emotionally; for example, when I was having a hard time with my studies or was depressed, they would notice and ask me what was wrong. (Emilie, 25 years old, Danish)

However, there were cases in which such support has been totally lacking: some respondents accuse their parents of being unable to help them make education and job decisions and to give them affection. Then again, these forms of support are particularly appreciated because, contrary to financial support, this kind of support cannot be supplied by the state. The opinions regarding the latter form of support are extremely positive. The respondents considered it to be amply sufficient to support oneself while studying and some admitted that they didn't even need to work part-time to supplement their income. The prevailing attitude towards this type of support is indifference: it is neither considered "positive" nor "negative", but "normal", given that they had not terminated education and attained financial independence.

In Germany, the financial support provided by the family of origin is fundamental in the school/training period. With the exception of those who are in apprenticeship, the students are almost totally dependent on their parents or on subsidies obtained through educational grants. Given the exiguous

amount of this type of support, the young Germans during their training—especially the apprentices interviewed—prefer to live at home with their parents and take advantage of the practical advantages that living together brings (laundry, housework, meal preparation, etc.). Young parents however have a different situation as they are entitled to special benefits.

In the interview sample, the most privileged youths at a financial and cultural level, received not only financial, emotional and practical support, but also advice regarding education and career matters. Their parents also appeared to be more willing to help them through difficult periods in these two spheres.

Fortunately my parents helped me enormously... I wanted to switch Faculty and study Law. I discussed the payment issue with them in depth. I didn't get any state support and this meant that they would have had to pay at least the taxes of the first four semesters. They understood and said that if I thought that Law was the right faculty then they would have helped me... When I broke up with my girlfriend, I had in-depth discussions with my parents. They told me to put on a brave face, that it was only a passing moment. On that occasion, I found it very constructive to talk with them. (Gert, 32 years old, German, postgraduate)

There were however some respondents who were dissatisfied by the support provided by their families. Among these, some young people declared to have received mainly practical support, but little affective or emotional support. On the other hand, some young people complained about the indifference shown by their parents, particularly in the case of exceptional circumstances. There were the cases of a young lady who fell pregnant when she was 16 and of a 24-year-old young man who was practically abandoned by his parents when he reached 18, and at the time of the interview, was living in a community and was unemployed.

These were not dissimilar to the types of support that the young Italians declared to receive from their family of origin. Above all, their parents provided care

and support "in difficult times", caused by unsatisfactory school results, by the difficulty of finding a job and by heartbreaks. Furthermore, younger people frequently sought their parent's advice on the so-called "important decisions" matters, such as those concerning education and work. At the other end of the spectrum, the young adults, nearing their thirties, are more aware of the generation gap between their parents and therefore, they no longer perceive their parents as key reference figures when they have problems. Unlike the young Danes and Germans, the Italian respondents were unable to imagine any alternatives to the financial support from their family, as they could not rely upon any state support. The condition of total dependency on their parents is considered the only solution, pending attainment of job stability. The earnings deriving from "odd jobs" or part-time jobs are not sufficient to achieve the status of financial independency, nor much less, to be able to significantly contribute to household expenses, a contribution which however, their parents do not seem incline to ask for.

The transition becomes particularly tiring and slow for those young persons who do not possess the necessary family resources to support themselves while studying. Beatrice aged 30, a final year university student, for example, had to work throughout her entire university education thus delaying her degree by several years:

I did many different jobs. At first, I worked full-time in the summer in a factory to pay for my university fees, after that, I worked almost two years as a dentist's assistant. Then I had to leave because the hours weren't suitable, then I worked in a sandwich bar, then I left and worked in a bakery for almost three years, then as a barmaid in a shopping centre and now as a cashier... it's been hard... I've had to make so many sacrifices... for example I couldn't go on holiday because I had to work.

Some young people feel a strong sense of obligation towards their families, their only source of support, and in the future plan to reciprocate what they

have received from their parents. The respondents coming from families with low incomes were aware of the sacrifices made by their parents to provide for their upkeep and, for this reason, were planning to allocate part of their wages to their family as soon as they were able to. Walter, 20 years old, whose parents had just closed down their business and had been forced to take up some casual jobs, hoped to find a job rapidly so that he could contribute to the household's finances: "If all goes well and I find a job in September... I'll give my wages to them and just keep some pocket money for myself, at least for the first few years".

The young people coming from more affluent families mainly envisage providing companionship, affection, care and practical help, especially when their parents grow older. Quite a few respondents planned to live close to the family home, a trend in line with tendency of young Italians, once they leaved home, to live in close proximity to their parents' home (Barbagli et al. 2003; Istat 2006).

TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD IN THE THREE COUNTRIES

The structural transformations which have occurred in the education and employment sectors over the last twenty years have contributed to the prolongation of the transition phases, thus rendering the route towards acceptance of adult roles harder and slower. It appears that each country has elaborated different transition models as a result of these transformations, giving rise to new forms of dependence on (or independence from) the family of origin. For different reasons, in the last decades, the financial and emotional support of the family of origin has proven to be an essential element, to ensure completion of the education and training cycle and the final attainment of setting up an independent home by young people. Essentially, the state subsidies do not always manage to guarantee the rapid accomplishment of the transition and the

financial contribution of the family is proven to be fundamental to overcome some phases, especially regarding leaving home. Then again, the emotional support from parents allows the young people to deal with the risks linked to the transformations of the labour market with greater determination.

During the interviews, several respondents had pointed out how their parents had helped them to make education decisions and supported them during the education and career trajectory. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the prolongation of the young person's dependence on the family of origin is a widespread phenomenon, the Danish transition model is strongly oriented towards individual independence. It distinguishes from the other models by the precocity in which financial independence is obtained and by the symmetry in relationships between parents and their offspring. Young people, beginning in their adolescence, work and contribute to the household expenses, according to an exchange model based on reciprocity. The state subsidy and the youth unemployment schemes represent actions which are coherent to this educational approach, which is oriented to the early attainment of independence from the family. It is the state that is the guarantor of the independence of young people from their families, intervening, even in a prescribed manner, to facilitate entry to the labour market through professional training. Many of the respondents emphasized the importance of financial independency from the family, whilst they did not seem to be overtly worried about the prospect of a prolonged dependence on state subsidies which they instead considered themselves to be entitled to.

Therefore, we are dealing with a socialization model focused on taking on individual responsibilities precociously, among which, the attainment of financial independence from the family of origin is the cornerstone for acquiring adult identity. The early work experiences undertaken during the scholastic period are elements which favour experimentation

during adolescence of different work and education states. What emerges is a fragmented transition model in which education and work periods alternate and is overlapped by various living arrangements and parenthood situations (Van de Velde 2006, 2007). Lingering in intermediate “borderline” positions (Cavalli and Galland 1996) deferring the entry into stable occupation, does not however prevent them from making decisive family plans (for example, parenthood), as they are entitled to state support.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, if among the young Europeans, the Danes perceive financial aspects to be of little significance to setting up independent homes, this is a more pressing question for the young Germans and Italians. According to the statistics in a recent Eurostat (2009b) survey, 44% of young Europeans aged between 15 and 30, affirmed that the main reasons of prolonged permanence in the family home were of a financial nature. Only 31% of the young Danes perceive the latter as a priority issue, compared to 57% of the Germans and 49% of the Italians. Moreover, a higher percentage of young Danes (57%) compared to their European peers, place their job in first place as the main source of income, followed by training subsidies or education grants (22%); only 5% affirm to be dependent on support from their family or from their partner. However, the latter source of income appears in second place for the young resident in other countries of the European Union. For example, the young Germans, declare that they mainly rely on the income from their job (35%), but 26% are supported by their family or partner, whilst a fair percentage (13%) rely on education grants and training subsidies. On the other hand, the young Italians quote their main form of income to be their family or their partner (50%), their job is mentioned in second place (37%); and only a meagre percentage (2%) declare that their main means of maintenance to be education grants or subsidies.

The Danish transition model, centred on experimentation and individualization, appears to be

more easily applicable among the more financially and culturally privileged young respondents. Instead, the poorly qualified young people experience inevitably complex transitions, where work periods alternate with training periods, as the only alternatives to unemployment. Even among the German respondents, the young apprentices encountered similar difficulties and were forced to avoid unemployment spells by repeatedly enrolling in different state training schemes. Their income was not sufficient to attain independence from the family of origin and they were forced to live with their parents. However, it must be stated that some young people admitted that they had deliberately chosen to live with their parents. Living at home allows them to benefit from a series of practical advantages which they do not seem to want to give up (meal preparation, laundry, and housework). Notably, the young boys are the ones who have a greater postponement of setting up an independent home, whilst the young ladies tend to accelerate crossing this threshold by living together with a partner or cohabiting with friends. This trend was amply confirmed by the 2007 European statistics, which indicated that young girls left home at an earlier age than their boys counterparts (Eurostat 2009b).

The young Germans belonging to families of a higher socio-cultural level experience smoother transitions, less uncertain at career and financial levels. Contrary to the Danish respondents, they did not follow complex trajectories deliberately oriented towards experimentation, even if the sequence of the phases was the end result of a complex weave of decisions pertaining to leave home and start a family (in addition to career decisions), which might or might not have lead them to a condition of stability. Occasionally, these decisions may lead to “micro-transitions”, i.e., they may be reversible and for this reason, not mark the crossing of the threshold of one of the steps in transition to adulthood. For example, students may live away from home for the duration of their studies and then return home to their

parents; young people may break up with their partner or stop cohabiting with friends.

The transition of the young Italian respondents was profoundly different to that experienced by the other young Europeans. What is striking is the immobility of the young Italians when compared to the dynamism of their Danish and German counterparts. In particular, there is a clear perception of the disorientation of numerous young people when faced with the choice of their education or training paths. Rather than an opportunity, education or training become a stopgap measure to avoid unemployment and does not provide any undertaking regarding the achievable job opportunity. Most of the time, the decision to enrol in further education after obtaining a high school qualification is the consequence of the lack of job opportunities. Unlike the educational trajectory of the young Danes and Germans, which slides along the fixed tracks of the state schemes, the Italian training context includes "intermediate positions", in which the young Italians combine several work and training situations. For example, it may occur that they begin a university course, at the same time as a training course and keep an eye open for any potential job opportunities that may arise.

The social class the young Italians belong to plays a more decisive role than that is witnessed in the other two countries, above all, because they can only rely upon the financial support of their parents. The greater the financial resources of the family, more substantial are the forms of assistance that the offspring can rely upon during the transition process. For some respondents, the job title of their parents, especially the paternal profile, ensured a secure job for the future. Those young people who follow in the footsteps of their parents are driven towards linear transitions, given that the problem of finding a secure job does not exist.

In Denmark and Germany the training schemes guarantee, sometimes temporarily or in a compulsory

manner, a concrete opportunity to avoid unemployment and to partially or totally become independent from the family of origin. Although such measures are not sufficient to stabilize the transitions of those young people who are financially and culturally underprivileged, they are, however, important measures for the promotion of employment through training. The young Danes and Germans have less difficulty compared to the Italians to undertake family plans because, other than support from their family, they can rely upon state aid.

The greatest discrepancy among the transition models was recorded at the age in which the various phases are partially or wholly completed. By the age of 25, the young Danes had set up independent homes, had formed a stable union or live alone and some had become parents. A similar trend, albeit to a lesser extent, was recorded in Germany where, after 25 years of age, none of the respondents lived with their parents and by 30 mainly lived as a couple, with or without children.

In the sample group of Italians, the transition experience appeared to be stranded at the transition from school to work phase, blocked by the total inability of the respondents to make decisions in other spheres. Of the forty respondents, only two young ladies (one of whom lives alone) had spent significant periods away from the family of origin. The remainder confessed to only having left their parents' home for the summer holidays, and for periods of several weeks, accompanied by friends or their partner. It is crystal clear that it is difficult to build a future around deferred parenthood, deemed to be practicable only after attaining a secure job and setting up an independent home, or achievements which are often vouched for by their parents.

CONCLUSIONS

To complete the outlined picture regarding the differences recorded in the transition experiences of

the three groups of young people, it is necessary to accent some aspects which have been overlooked in studies of the transition to adulthood. In comparison to the young Danes and Germans, the young Italians do not only experience greater difficulty in accessing to the labour market, in obtaining qualified training and setting up an independent home; they also carry the burden of the progressive aging of the population together with the National Debt inherited from the adult generation (Balduzzi and Rosina 2009). This study want to examine further how these two factors will make the transition process increasingly difficult.

The slump of the birth-rate together with the increase in life expectancy has modified the age structure of the kinship network¹⁰, inside which the individuals are inserted during the crucial times of their lives. Compared to previous generations, in the future, the young persons will have to take care of their elderly family members for longer periods, and as a result of the declining birth-rate, and will only be able to rely on the assistance of a lower number of family members (husband/wife, sisters/brothers). The weakening of career opportunities in the labour market and the worsening of the financial position of young persons mean that the forms of solidarity that they will be able to dedicate to the future generations (the future offspring of young people) are very uncertain. The future also appears less glowing, if one considers how the growing marital instability will produce single parent families, usually less capable of providing their children with adequate resources.

The situation of the young Italians appears even more dramatic if one considers the impact of the National Debt on the intergenerational distribution of resources. According to the Eurostat figures, in 2008 the Italian National Debt had almost touched a 106% ratio of the GDP, the highest percentage in Europe. In the years to come, the distribution of public spending will be heavily and disproportionately allocated to the more adult generations, to the disadvantage of the generations currently in their twenties and thirties.

According to the Eurostat outlook, in the coming years, the social security expenditure will remain at the current high levels, until it peaks in 2040,¹¹ to then start to decrease as of 2050, when the generations currently in their twenties and thirties approach retirement, as a joint result of the minor numerical incidence of these generations and the savings envisaged by the implementation of the 1995 pension reform (Dini Reform). Conversely, the percentage of expenditure for education in relation to the GDP, an investment which benefits young people, will progressively decrease until 2035 and successively show signs of recovery until peak at 3.7% in 2050 (in 2005 it stood at 4.2).

The picture is more pessimistic if one calculates that in Italy, every year, 2% of the GDP is assigned to pay the interest on the national debt, a percentage which is detracted from more useful investments which could be utilized to correct the uneven distribution of resources among the generations and to modernize the country. The per capita expenditure for interest on the national debt is quite burdensome: the Italians pay one third more than the Germans, more than double compared to the French and English and triple the amount paid by the Spaniards (Balduzzi and Rosina 2009).

It is highly unlikely that the transition to adulthood models in Italy will undergo significant transformations. Due to the absence of measures of a political and social nature, aimed at facilitating the transition of young people from education to the workplace or the provision of social policies capable of easing the dependence on the family of origin, the completion of transition to adulthood will acquire new elements of criticality linked to the demographic and labour market transformations.

Funding

The research was funded under the Improving the Human Potential Key Action of the European Commission's Fifth Framework Programme.

Notes

1. In Italy family allowance is mainly provided for employees, even if retired, penalizing atypical workers and the self-employed professionals who are only entitled in certain circumstances. As a result, these measures do not include the neediest families (Saraceno 2007).
2. In actual fact, the policy of increased funding to training of the unemployed was launched at the beginning of the nineties by the Labour Market Reform to contrast long term adult unemployment and to control the level of youth unemployment. For further details consult Grunow and Leth-Sørensen (2006).
3. This trend is also present in the global unemployment rate which fell from 5.4% in 2000 to 3.4% in 2007. In 2008 the unemployment rate increased slightly, especially among boys (Statistics Denmark 2009a, 2009b).
4. This is the secondary school diploma which enables access to any university course.
5. For the former this provision is compulsory.
6. This claim limit has been reduced to 25 years for offspring born as of 1983.
7. Tübingen has 80,000 inhabitants whilst Reutlingen's population is 100,000.
8. These are young people who after the high school diploma have continued education not necessarily at university level. Among these are skilled workmen and clerical staff.
9. Only one young girl, among the respondents, interested in training in the fashion sector, had actively sourced information regarding the available courses and had successively managed to attend one.
10. Istat (2000) compared two generations of women born respectively in 1940 and 1960. The former can potentially divide the burden of care giving to the elderly and the children of the household with other nine adults (husband, brothers/sisters, brothers and sisters-in-law); the latter can only rely upon the potential help of five adults. According to calculations, the women born in 1940 will have, for at least twelve years of her life, one or more elderly persons in her kinship network; this period will lengthen to eighteen years for the women born in 1960. These changes have caused the increase of the average age of the kinship network, further increased also by the slump in the birth-rate. Considering the close relatives (parents, husband, children, sons/daughters-in-law, grandchildren), this average age rises from 26.1 for the forties generation to 44.6 for the women born in 1960.
11. In 2005 the social security expenditure reached 14.8% of the GDP, while in 2040 it will reach at least 15.6% of the GDP (Eurostat 2009a).

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Priority Directions of National Policy of Regulation of Mutual Relations Between Youth and Mass Media: The Theoretical and Empirical Researches

Vera A. Gnevasheva^a

Abstract

The study was concerned with the problem of the Russian youth, with a special emphasis on the history of the theoretical and empirical researches devoted to the youth issues. The research delineates the term thesaurus and its connection with the formation of youth's outlook. The central focus of the research is social and cultural value orientations of the young Russian. The study presents a detailed analysis of impact that mass media plays in socialization of youth, its generations, its influence on public opinion formation and priority directions of national policy of regulation of mutual relations between youth and mass media. It attempts to examine the presence of mass media in youth's everyday life. The research provides a detailed analysis of contemporary state of the youth's trust to the mass media and degree of dependence on it. The study also presents a detailed analysis of the traces of mass media's influence on young Russians. The completed research is fundamental for the sociological and the philosophical generalisations that underline comparative research on the youth problems in Russia, its social and cultural value orientations and the influence on public opinion formation and priority directions of national policy of regulation of mutual relations between youth and mass media.

Keywords

Youth, mass media, national policy, mutual relations, identification

The human being of the 21st century lives in the media space, which is his new habitat, the reality of the modern culture. Mass communication media has penetrated into the all spheres of life. Media has become the main mean of modern culture production and not only a transmissive mechanism. Media has begun to determine many parameters of society, industry, policy. The globalization of the information technologies' net has occurred. The Russian communication systems are gradually involving in it being assimilated.

The information boom, which has become reality of life of the Russian society, has led, on the one hand, to the inclusion of Russia in the global information space, which is one of the most major components of

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modern civilization, and on the other hand, it has become in many respects a defining factor in formation of young man personal characteristics among which system of value orientations plays the essential role.

Especially it is necessary to designate the importance of media for formation of social values of contemporary youth. Today mass media has become one of the social institutes, which influence the basic processes of society forming. It can be quite easily explained by means of thesaurus approach to socialization (Lulov 1999).

According to this approach thesaurus is a peculiar organization of information of an individual, which is closely connected with his/her position in society both in macro- and micro- social spaces. Arising during socialization process a combination of elements (models of behaviour, aims, values, information, etc.) is built from fragments of thesauruses of significant others. These fragments that bear traces of earlier thesaurus formations also apprehended from significant others of another generation. The general part of thesaurus fragments, from which individual thesauruses are actually being formed, are called thesaurus constructions. They can be compared with roots of words, which get exact meaning in a combination with other blocks (with prefixes, affixes, etc.) (Val. A. Lukov and V.I. A. Lukov 2004). Concatenation of thesaurus constructions into thesauruses is caused by aims of orientation in socio-cultural space-time.

From the very first years of life human being falls into an information field created by a network of mass communications. Mass media includes all kinds of means of mass transfer of information streams functioning in globalized cultural space, in the information field, which is created with the use of new technologies. This information field unites socio-cultural meanings of its diverse elements. Because of that there is a problem of interference of information environment and system of values of a

young man as a social agent.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VIDEO CULTURE IN SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH

The most significant part of information environment today is video culture. Various spheres of vital activity of youth—school and system of vocational training, youth centers, work and sphere of leisure—are included into the field of its influence. It becomes the most important agent of socialization and a powerful factor of value system formation.

The analysis of TV as a mean of reflection of the external world in the context of the modern theory is based on the thesis about conditionality of representation: All our attempts to represent the reality are determined by language, culture and ideology. If we agree that we perceive the world through systems of representations then the very raising of the problem of TV objectivity or subjectivity will change and instead of the question—“Do we learn the truth about the world by watching TV?”—there will be the question: “How does it represent the world?”.

The expansion of video culture sphere leads to the change of leisure structure of teenagers and youth. If in the recent past the culture institutions played a greater role both in socialization and training in creative activity and spiritually-aesthetic qualities of young generation but then from the mid-1980s more opportunities for satisfaction of many cultural needs in house conditions began to appear. By the second half of the 1980s the changed living conditions have given basically recreational character to spare time. The mass media rushed powerfully into the sphere of leisure of youth, becoming its basic and structuring component.

In the study “Features of Labour Socialization of Teenagers” conducted by the Institute of Humanitarian Researches and the Faculty of Sociology of Moscow University for the Humanities (Lukov 2007), the teenagers’ answer distribution

concerning spending of their spare time shows that the TV occupies one of the priority places.

The list of actions in the spare time is quite traditional for modern teenagers: 41.2% watch TV and video, 37.4% meet friends at home or at their apartment. Approximately equal parts (not much more than the third of the interrogated) spend leisure time in book reading, exercises, trainings in gyms, and going to the cinema: 27% attend parties, discos and student clubs. Shopping and playing computers are activities of 25% of teenagers. Approximately a quarter of them “has their sleep out” at their spare time, and about 16% surf the Internet and “hang around” the streets. Almost the same number of them is engaged in self-education: go to the theatre, museum and library; 10.7% play on musical instruments. These activities—lessons in theatrical circles, art and dancing studios, driving, motorcycling, bicycling, and visiting sick relatives—fill leisure time of less than 10% of teenagers.

There is an interrelation between belonging to an educational institution and a way of leisure spending. As a matter of fact, belonging to a type of an educational institution, as well as a kind of leisure, to some extent is the evidence of amount of teenagers’ family income and value orientations, which are customary in them. Computer games as a form of leisure are more widespread among lyceum students (29.8%) and students from institutes of higher education (27.6%), then among pupils of colleges and schools. As to pupils of technical training institutions only 12.5% of them devote spare time to computer games, 6.9% of pupils of technical training colleges and 27.7% of lyceum students surf the Internet.

Mass media are filling personal space of people in society more and more swiftly. Orientations to the opinions generated in mass media are spreading and the trust for its information and estimations is growing. To a greater extent young generation is subject to it. The surveys of All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center (2004) showed that as a whole the Russian

mass media were estimated positively by the majority of the Russians (53%). At the same time the level of approval of mass media work is higher than of many states and public institutes (such as, the Government, the State Duma, the Council of Federation, political parties, and law enforcement bodies). The interest in information and information-analytical broadcasting is keen enough. The third of the interrogated people (31%) watch TV news and information-analytical programmes on political themes daily. Approximately the same number of people (32%) watch them a few times a week. However there are not few of those (35%) who either watch these programmes occasionally or do not do it at all. As one would expect, these programmes arouse essentially deeper interest among respondents of the senior age groups and more passing among young people.

Nowadays one type of human being is finishing to exist and develop. The conditions for the formation of the type with another kind of mentality, spirituality and system of aesthetic values are appearing. Now they speak of “the second Copernican Revolution”, which is connected with the penetration of “new technologies” into all spheres of social life. Under these conditions the purposes of upbringing of youth are directly related to the context of formation of a human being of the approaching culture and civilization. New forms of life and new experience in contacts in many respects are connected both with mass communication media development, which play a huge, even a leading role in the formation of value priorities and personal qualities of young generation.

INFLUENCE OF PERIODICALS ON YOUNG GENERATION

Among all mass media of nowadays market of information services periodicals is the least popular among youth. Every tenth student approves that he/she does not take newspapers in his/her hands (except for a TV schedule); among schoolboys and

schoolgirls this share is considerably larger. According to the sociological data 70-80% of young people look into newspaper articles casually, looking through the newspapers, which they have got accidentally. Probably their parents have subscribed to them or they find free copies in a cafe or in the underground waiting for a friend.

The reason of such a low popularity of periodicals lies in the nature of information channels and also in opportunities of information processing with the purpose to transfer a maximum of content, which may interest a listener, in the shortest possible time and also, it is desirable, with the use of proper means of attraction of consumers to the information flow. It is more convenient to gather social and political information from the TV screen. Glossy magazines tell more thoroughly and colourfully about cultural life and "high life parties". By separate estimates youth more likely will read "yellow press" than a serious political edition. As a bearer of operative information newspaper cannot compete with electronic mass media, besides (it is important for modern "running" youth) it is inconvenient for reading "on the move". As a rule magazine reading is superficial. They do not really read articles and interviews, but mainly scan them. Only a few can name the authors they are fond of. For the overwhelming majority of young readers journalism is nameless.

The ideal model of an edition for youth should contain the following basic thematic directions: social and political analytics; articles about job placement, dwelling, health (social block); information on clubs, cinema, concerts and books with brief summaries; cognitive materials (about countries, celebrities, events of the past); interviews with different heroes; crossword puzzles, humour; narrations, documentaries, artistic and imaginary literature (sentimental melodrama is in popular demand); criminal; sports; special advices to girls and young housewives; computer and automobile page; and at last, something

pathetic "about eternal" and "about meaning of life".

It is significant that female magazines are in the lead, three fourths of girls read them, and schoolgirls are noticeably more active than female students. According to girls, young men are not averse to concern themselves with this sort of periodical press, but they hesitate to confess that they do. As a rule young men demonstrate indicative reading of computer and automobile magazines.

MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC OPINION FORMATION

By separate estimates mass media influence on the formation of "public opinion" is profound enough. Dennis (1997: 139) assumed that "mass-media 'forms' our thinking, 'influences' on our opinions and aims, 'pushes' us to the certain kinds of behaviour, for example, to voting for a definite candidate".

At the same time not all of researchers are assured of mass media power. The co-author of Dennis, Merrill (1997) opposed to him: "Probably mass media possess force to focus our attention on certain things, but it is not that power which makes us act". Further he came up with the following quite moderate estimation: "Mass media impact is more likely to point out what society should reflect on and not to tell what it should think of...". In other words, mass media power in many respects consists in determination of a corresponding "agenda" in a specific moment of time.

Mass media is capable of having a special impact on young generation under the formation of public consciousness. Here the main problems of young age—fear of loneliness; associates', parents', teachers', and contemporaries' misunderstanding of teenagers; unrequited sympathy; inability to organize leisure time, to find an interesting pastime, activity—are the categories, which contribute to suggestibility. In adolescence there is a desire to create an "idol" and to imitate him/her entirely. Nowadays a young man—whose mentality develops

in the information environment, i.e., not only under the influence of norms and values, taught in sphere of interpersonal contacts, but mainly because of various kinds of mass media—often turns out to be unable to get correct guiding lines in the flood of strongly awry information transferred by different channels of mass media. As the ideological vacuum exists an extreme partiality and discrepancy between information streams contributes to the fact that outlook of young men becomes less integral and appears to be more subject to manipulation, impact of propagation of false ideals and life values.

During last decades all over the world the interest in concepts of identification and identity has been more and more increasing. Identity is becoming a kind of prism through which many important features of modern life are examined, estimated and studied (Bauman 2002). In this case we will discuss the Russian national identity.

According to theoretical notions, ethnic consciousness is a wider concept presented by a wider identification, including actually not only ethnic but also other forms of identification corresponding to relevantly existing objects of an ethnic reality: territorial, cultural, language, religious, ceremonial, racial, anthropological, psychological, etc. (Hotinets 2000: 158). Among the parameters of community ethnic development there are race and biological (patrimonial roots), climate and geographical (historical territory), and social and cultural (national history, ethnic symbols of culture and religion, etc.) parameters, which are ethno-identification markers. “What does it mean to be a Russian today?”—such was the theme of the public essay competition among senior pupils, conducted in March-July 2003 in Russia formulated. (The founders of the contest were the Committee of Culture and Tourism of State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, the Federal Russian National and Cultural Autonomy of Russia, the League of National Property Protection, the Russian Intellectual Club, the Russian Club of Art

and Culture, “Natsional’naia gazeta [National Newspaper]”, and the Regional Public Fund of Assistance to Russian Culture [Russian Fund].) The essays of young authors in amount of 565 letters were sent to the contest. Among the examined questions concerning national identification the questions about distribution and formation of national culture were raised. In youth’s opinion, mass media plays one of the key roles. In particular, mass media can be an effective weapon for obtrusion and formation of a general national idea with the attempt to unite a nation as well as it can unleash international dissention and form a negative image of a particular nation and even a country as a whole in the external world.

“It is impossible to allow propagation of radical ideas, which exalt one nation above another...”—Anna (Republic of Tatarstan) marked in the competitive essay. There were works in which authors thought that “being born a Russian it is not only dangerous to walk on the earth... of ancestors, but fatally dangerous for Russianness has become the verdict which has been brought in by the forces of Evil... They write about that in newspapers and magazines, they talk about it on the radio... All these media persistently drum into heads of young people: it is the end of Russians!” (Irina S., Moscow region). Many authors wrote about the role of mass media and the influence of the West: “It is necessary not to imitate the West and its values completely as the main thing there is money” (Taras L., Shugan village); “... together with good patterns we adopt the bad ones in the West”; “TV—continuous violence, drugs, weapon. Children learn advertising slogans” (Anna P., Republic of Tatarstan, Kazan); “the aggressive attack of the blue screen” (Vera J., Birsik). But there and then they noticed: “It is a difficult question: do we form the content of articles, reports of mass media or, on the contrary, they impose something on us, forcing us to change... Mass media, first of all, is oriented on our national features, at the same time it persistently makes the Russians to pay attention to the European

measures and standards” (Darya S., Republic of Adygea, Maikop) (Il’inskyi 2005). By estimations of the Russian youth cultural models, which mass media demonstrates today, are imposed on Russia from outside. These models play a defining role in the formation of national identity of young Russians.

YOUTH AND MASS MEDIA: BASES OF TRUST

Practically all the conducted sociological researches, the purpose of which was determination of value orientations of the society and modern youth, considered the question of mass media impact on the formation of the system of their vital perception. The group of the most popular among youth topics, demonstrated by the means of mass media, has been empirically determined.

One of the topics is youth fashion. Popularization of shocking epatage fashions with propagation of various subcultures, styles for disco, unisex, tattoos. Further there is the topic of deviation and crime. Deviation is a way to leave the designated way, destruct a taboo and common norms of behaviour. The description of various kinds of crimes, obscene abusive language, etc., relates to it.

The next topic is drugs. It includes propagation of “madness”, “extremenesses”, and extreme kinds of sport. Around a person a mythological cover forms. It promotes full loss of orientation in life. The verge between the real and the imagined becomes vague.

The topic of pop stars and pop music is also important. Advertising of a pop star, information on his/her fees, admirers, description of success, wealth, love affairs, reports about deviant acts. As image of a “star” among young people determines their deeds and lifestyle, it is clear what examples for imitation are imposed on them.

The topic of youth infrastructure and modes of entertainment (advertising of clubs, rock concerts, discos, and mass holidays) completes the five popular

among youth topics.

The results of interrogations of students (Il’inskyi 1999) showed that representatives of the young generation estimated the role of mass media in formation of value system of youth critically. According to the research the share of Moscow students, who considered that publications of mass media caused sense of fear and vulnerability in the society, has grown from 64% up to 70%. From 50% up to 60% of students thought that mass media evoked rage and aggression, and from 23% up to 45% supposed that it induced to violence. Besides 65% of Moscow students accused mass media of propagation of criminal slang and foul language, and 64%—of spreading of debauch and prostitution.

One of the hypotheses of the research was the assumption that students do not put the equal degree of trust to various kinds of mass media, what could be proved by the data of 58% of the respondents who expressed confidence in mass media. The majority of the respondents could not answer unambiguously the question on trust to the information containing on the Internet (42.7% were at a loss to answer and 39.3% quite confided in the Internet). It can be explained by the fact that news and many other kinds of information published on the Internet pages often duplicate the information of printed press. The central purpose of the research was to find out which values are propagandized by mass media and on which values, in students’ opinion, direct the modern Russian youth.

To their understanding, mass media directs on the following values, which concern the group of values of common to all mankind character according to the degree of priority: beauty, life values, safety, peace and on the last place—health.

Among human interrelations’ values students emphasize first of all value orientation on love, then on professional relations and friendship, as for marriage, in the interrogated people’s opinion, mass media almost does not orient the modern youth on it at

all. This fact has already been noted in several sociological researches, in which the authors mention that changes of youth views on love and marriage—made by the transformation of social and cultural norms and traditions—have essentially reduced the degree of parents' influence on the formation of their notions about these values while the role of mass media in this matter, on the contrary, is growing.

Among the values of person's self-affirmation in society on the first place they note the value of material welfare, on the second—career, further—social prestige and social recognition. Practically nobody understands education as a value on which mass media directs its audience. Thus, by students' estimates, mass media claims that today in society much more people are often estimated not on the basis of the education they have acquired but of a successful career, material welfare, and social recognition. Mass media positions it as socially significant.

Among the values of self-realization of a person the leading one is active life, after it there are: independence, individuality and spare time. Mass media orientates students on creativity to a lesser degree.

As a result of the research the proposed hypothesis was among the value orientations, which were formed by mass media, in the students' opinion, on the first place there were values of self-affirmation and self-realization. Among the most prevalent value orientations in this list there was the value of material welfare: 70.7% of the interrogated students considered it to be a value, on which mass media orientated the Russian youth most of all. On the second place among the all options, which were offered—is the value of career (61.3%). It was significant that education in comparison with the value of material welfare and career was the least widespread value. Besides, in the students' opinion, mass media urged students to be active, independent and special.

CONCLUSIONS

During the last 10 years in Russia thousands of non-governmental broadcasting companies have appeared, almost in 600 cities there is a local TV station. The influence of private regional radio companies in youth information space has sharply increased. Now there are 652 radio companies registered in Russia (Lukov 2007).

Under the conditions of expansion of telecasting the radio has not lost the audience, but has obtained a prospect for its development. Radiocasting has overtaken the TV in terms of programme differentiation intended for young listeners. Information and artistic broadcasting is, as a rule, no more than 15-20% of the general broadcasting time, the rest of the time is reserved mainly for musical and entertaining programmes.

Nowadays the need for legislative acts, which would regulate the correlation of news, entertaining, cultural and educational (domestic and foreign) programmes not only on the radio, but also on the TV, has increased.

The Government of the Russian Federation, the State Duma, and the Council of Federation of the Federal Assembly of the RF supported the offers of the television community to allot money for the financing of socially significant programmes of electronic mass media from the federal budget in 2000. In this time the system of grants for support of programmes for teenagers and young people was used for the first time in Russia. Paramount importance is attached to patriotic, juridical and educational programmes devoted to social problems—preventive measures against drug addiction and criminality.

Realization of the functions of youth world outlook formation by the means of mass media presupposes openness and availability of information. In the Russian Federation there are registered more than 350 periodicals for youth. The total circulation of these editions is up to 3 million copies monthly. Thematically

the Russian juvenile and youth press has become more diverse, considerably more differentiated taking sex and age of the readers into account during the last decade. Newspapers and magazines for family reading intended for both teenagers and their parents have appeared.

At the same time at the modern Russian market of printed mass media for youth editions for entertainment prevails. Their cumulative monthly circulation is up to 75% of the circulation of all types of the juvenile and youth editions.

Besides in the editions, which are addressed directly to youth, the share of the publications peculiarly mentioning its age and social problems (especially in case of editions for teenagers of 14-15 years) is small. In the whole spectrum of the youth press the editions of training and cognitive content are poorly presented.

The former youth editions on the whole have become editions for all ages. The published materials are intended for readers of different age brackets.

The problem of information vulnerability of minors is acquiring an increasing acuteness. The number of the periodicals, which use materials of sexual content for commercial purposes, is growing impetuously. In several such magazines there is a direct abuse of interests of the youth. Hundred thousands of readers of these editions are involved in the turnover of the printed output of sexual content.

For the last decade the Russian teenage amateur press has been developing. This press exists officially. It is included in the mass media system and competitive. Its polygraphic level is often very good.

It gives an opportunity for pupils and students to obtain journalistic skills. The most important thing is that it allows them to express their opinion on an event and the present day life.

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Bio

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Unjust Decision Making Resulting in Marginalization of the Powerless Prostitution Community in Silir-Semanggi of Solo

Sudarmo^a

Abstract

The city government of Solo has made a decision that street vendors operating in the city's Revolution Monument in Banjarsari Square for years must be relocated to the new built traditional market, called *Pasar Notoharjo*. This study utilized ethnographic methods, a combination of methods including observation, in-depth interview, focus group and the unobtrusive method including collecting written information. The study showed that the decision of Solo city government which tended to privilege street vendors' interests resulted in the life chance of prostitution was deteriorated and marginalized. The city government has accommodated street vendors' demand to remove the organized prostitution community operating in Silir-Semanggi of Solo since 1960s as one of requirements for their relocation to this area, where the new built traditional market with more than one thousand kiosks was provided for street vendors. The procuresses' demand to obtain their rights of the land they occupied for more than 20 years on behalf of their legal ownership failed due to administrative, bureaucratic and legal obstacles. Prostitutes were inhumanly chased away by the city government apparatuses in collaboration with the police from the site of operation in 2006 and it resulted that the social and economic lives of procuresses and prostitutes got worse since their prostitution activities in this location were totally forbidden and unfinished. Both procuresses and prostitutes were marginalized because they did not have links to the powerful stakeholder who were able to protect their rights. Their health was in danger because the city government's concern to their activities was limited in particularly since 1998 when the location was formally closed by Solo mayor of the new order.

Keywords

Decision making, marginalization, citizen participation, development, government agenda

The city government had prepared the sub-village of Silir in the *Kelurahan* of Semanggi for relocating many of the street vendors. It was incorporated in the sub-district of Pasar Kliwon. Silir had grown to be a major place of prostitution in Solo since the 1960s. Most of the residents of Silir lived on either public land (land owned by either the national or city government of Surakarta) or private land, called *tanah persil* where the real owner had not used it for long

time. Most residents in this area did not have a formal license for the ownership of the land they lived on.

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In this area, there were officially 63 procurers with 187 women having prostitution as their main occupation (Bernas October 15, 1997) but according to the local residents there were about 200 prostitutes. In fact, the former Mayor Imam Sutopo of the New Order regime had formally closed this location through the issuance of the Mayoral Decree No. 4623/094/1/1998 dated August 27, 1998 (Suara Merdeka April 19, 2002). Before the city government closed this prostitution place the city government promised to provide financial compensation of Rp1 billion from the 2000 Local Budget (APBD) but it had never been provided (Suara Merdeka June 9, 2003). The area where they lived was popular called *resosialisasi-Silir* or *resos-Silir*.

The current city government had a plan to develop Solo city, and consequently, one of its areas, the Monjari where numerous street vendors had occupied this area in particular since early 2000s must be relocated to Silir sub-village because this was one area which was part of the development of Solo. However, most street vendors were not willing to be removed until the city government was willing to provide facilities for their business and remove prostitution in this area as they demanded on November 22, 2005 (Sudarmo 2008).

In this new location, within an area of 1.1 hectare, the Solo government constructed 1,018 kiosks, each of 2×3 metres. The government also intended to complete the construction of this market with other facilities including a *mushola* (worshipping place for Moslems), a management office, an internal corridor 3 metres wide, lavatories, a green line, an area for a loading dock (*bongkar muat*), a circle road inside the market, a main gate, and side doors for the market (Suara Merdeka January 2, 2006), but due to financial shortage, the city government did not construct the lavatories until September 2006. Eventually, the city government could construct all kiosks and other facilities as the street vendors had requested after the Regional Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan*

Rakyat Daerah [DPRD]) approved the provision of a larger budget allocation to the government. All of this construction required almost Rp 10 billion (Sudarmo 2008). This construction was named the *Notoharjo Market*, and a place where the street vendors in the Monument at Banjarsari area called *Monjari* would be relocated.

This paper argued that the city government's decision to relocate of street vendors from *Monjari* to Notoharjo Market in Silir where prostitution practices operated for long time and tended to favour street vendor interests had resulted that prostitutes' and procuress' life chances declined. They were not only marginalized in terms of exclusion from decision-making process but also economic accesses. Their migration to Silir based on the old local government era decision which enabled them to live in peace in this area for more than 20 years had been suspended due to the current city government's program which required them to remove from their site of operation.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Since 1960s Solo had an organized prostitution operating in Silir Semanggi. Many of them were not local people who migrated to Solo. According to Lee, there were four main factors associated with migration: (1) factors associated with the area of origin; (2) factors associated with the area of destination; (3) intervening obstacles; and (4) personal factors (Lee 1966: 47-57). Most migration has happened because of the economic motive to make the migrants' livelihood better although it does not easy as the new situation is always uncertain and unpredictable. As they were people who did not have legal authority of ownership to the land they occupied, they would have impediments in taking part in the process of decision-making regarding their site of operation in this area.

Citizen participation is an important dimension in

decision-making. It is a taking part or involvement and it may include distinct and complex meanings. Based on the work of Ralph M. Kramer on *Participation of the Poor: Comparative Community Case Studies in the War on Poverty*, Nasikun defined participation in three categories. The first category is where “participation requires the involvement of the poor citizen in the process of decision making which is represented by their representatives in coalition together with the government agents and non-government organizations, and other leaders of interest groups”. The second category is where “participation means the poor citizen is placed as the main consumer of a development program and therefore their interests and advisory must be heard and considered by policy makers”. The third category, what Nasikun called “radical participation”, is where “the poor people are seen as the constituency of a development program which is politically ‘powerless’” and “therefore they need stimulation and support”. In this category of Nasikun’s, their powerlessness is the factor causing them to remain in poverty and only through mobilization of them and their organization as an effective pressure group will be able to influence the process of decision-making that has effects on their lives (Nasikun 1990: 99-100). These categories are based on political ideologies of what activism is possible and desirable. Participatory approaches need to be used in such a way that people are empowered, rather than being used as window dressing by the powerful.

Participation of citizens in policy process may face a range of obstacles: (1) strong control of power relations by the state; (2) lack of citizen organization support; (3) lack of participatory skill; (4) lack of government political will; (5) lack of awareness for participation; and (6) insufficient financial resources at the local level (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999: 8-10). Gaventa and Valderrama concluded that, although citizen participation “is about power and its exercise by different social actors in the spaces created

for interaction between citizen and local authorities, control of the structure and the process for participation including defining spaces, actors, agenda and procedures, is usually in the hands of government institutions and can become a barrier for effective involvement of citizens” (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999: 8).

Despite their involvement in decision-making process, the “acts and process of participation... sharing knowledge, negotiating power relationships, political activism and so on—can both conceal and reinforce oppression and injustices in their varied manifestations” (Cooke and Kothari 2001: 13). This is to underline that as the city government has its own agendas or goals, the city government may use a variety of ways to materialize or achieve them, including oppression, eviction or other ways which are unjust. The decision-making would then be basically still dominated by the city government or even be carried out through adopting a top-down approach which centralizes the decision-making in the hands of the city government which represents the city government interests or agenda which may differ from what the street vendors demand, prefer and think (Sudarmo 2008: 25).

Relocation program as part of development is believed to be “progress towards a complex of welfare goals such as the elimination of poverty, the provision of employment, the reduction of inequality and the guarantee of human rights” (Turner and Hulme 1997: 6). However, it is not always the case because development is “a two-edged sword which brings benefits but also produces losses and generates value conflicts” (Goulet 1992: 470). This suggests that Solo’s development which may take the form of change from informal to formal business sector through relocation could privilege elite stakeholders for their own benefits at the expense of a marginalization of powerless community such as prostitutes and procuress from their site of operation or their occupation without providing the best

alternative for their sustainable livelihood (Sudarmo 2008). According to Schaffer and Smith (2004: 2), marginalization implies the issue of human rights. To overcome this issue, the city government needs to provide a “protective security” (Sen 1999) and adopt “capability approach” (Nussbaum 2000).

RESEARCH METHOD: TRIANGULATION AND THE ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

The study was a descriptive qualitative research, not statistical hypothesis-testing. It used an ethnographic method, involving several periods of fieldwork using participant observation, spending much time watching people, talking with them about what they were doing, thinking and saying. This approach was designed to gain an insight into the street vendors’ viewpoints and the way they understood their world, and included triangulation by using several approaches to people and to topics from different directions. Those approached were selected on the basis of both purposive and snow-ball sampling. This was combined with interviews of local people who were not street traders and with detailed content analyses of secondary research and local newspapers.

Ethnography may utilize several qualitative research methods in collecting information from the ethnographer’s informants, including in-depth interviewing, using of focus groups or collecting written information (as an unobtrusive method) (Liamputong and Ezzy 2005: 174). In applying ethnographic methods the author used a triangulation method which is typically a combination of methods including observation, in-depth interview, focus group and the unobtrusive method. As Denzin argued, “by combining multiple observations, theories, methods, and data sources, a researcher can hope to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-methods, single-observer, and single-theory studies” (Denzin 1989: 307). Thus, these methods allow the author’s research to: “(1) obtain a variety of information on the

same issue; (2) use the strength of each methods to overcome the deficiencies of the other; achieve a higher degree of validity and reliability; and (3) overcome the deficiencies of single-method studies” (Sarantakos 1998: 169). In this research the author used both data source triangulation and triangulation methods. For its data source triangulation this research obtained information from various informants including members of Solo’s legislature, officials of various sections of the Surakarta government organization, formal traders, street vendors, road users and other relevant stakeholders; and for its triangulation method, this research combined use of in-depth face-to-face (and phone) interview, focus group, documentary analysis, and participant observation (Liamputong and Ezzy 2005).

Combined with observation, the author used in-depth interviews. According to Sarantakos, this method was a very valuable technique because it allows the researcher to study relationships in a relaxed unstructured way, where there is less chance of being misunderstood and more opportunity to check inconsistencies and to obtain accurate answers (Sarantakos 1998). During the in-depth interviews, these questions were presented as part of a discussion rather than as a pre-structured questionnaire, and the author was actively involved and encouraged the respondent to talk and converse about the research issue under discussion. The use of this technique was productive as, “it allows flexibility, continuity of thought, freedom of probing, evaluation of behavior during the interview, and interest in all aspects of the opinions of the respondent including those not in the areas covered by an interview schedule” (Sarantakos 1998: 264).

DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

The following section discusses histories of migration of prostitution to Silir, relationship between them and the city authorities and its leader, reasons for their

removal from their site of operation, and the impact of government policy to relocate street vendors to Silir on the life chance of prostitution activities.

Reasons for Migration and Life Chances in the New Destination

The procuresses of *resos*-Silir had occupied this state-owned land since 1960s based on the earlier Mayoral Decree No. 361/I/Kep (Suara Merdeka June 9, 2003), but many of them had died and most current residents were their children or their generations (Sudarmo 2008). Some others had even had sold their land to others without legal license more than 20 years ago (Sudarmo 2008). According to Sarto Sarjoko, a resident of one of the smaller sub-sections of the area, about 85 percent of the residents of the *resos*-Silir in particular those who lived in several of the sub-sections had occupied the public and private land for at least 20 years. He said that many of them had lived there for more than 20 years because their houses elsewhere had been demolished when the project of Bengawan Solo was constructed in the 1980s under new order of Solo's Mayor (Wawasan February 8, 2006). The following is the account of a resident of one of the sub-sections of *resos*-Silir:

We moved here together with my parents when I was still very young, may be when I was about 3 or 4 years old. Now I am about 49 years old. This area was a remote area and far away from the city and with no electricity. We constructed a well by ourselves for a water supply. Most people lived in this area were the new generation and we followed our parents' occupation as procurers until now. Many of us also married prostitutes. All our prostitutes were uneducated, unskilled and poor. They mostly came from outside Solo. We have been here for more than 40 years. Our community together constructed the road surrounding our neighborhood to connect it to the main road with our own money. Before 1998 we lived peacefully, enough income and we were happy and this place was alive during the day and evening but our peacefulness was disturbed when Mayor Imam Sutopo in 1998 closed our occupation because the city government saw us as sources of social disease, immoral and making violations of God's law but we did not really close our occupation because we just kept our survival. Since then

our visitors have declined drastically but we still do it hidden because the Mayor did not meet his promise to provide compensation for us and we continued until the Slamet Suryanto administration finished. But we were totally closed in July 2006 by current Solo Mayor and our lives started declining. (Adopted from Sudarmo interview on September 14, 2006; Sudarmo 2008)

According to the Agrarian Law of 1960, people who had lived on the public land for at least 20 years were eligible to have the land they occupied registered in their name. Residents of the *resos*-Silir also recognized that they had built the infrastructure of their *kampung*, such as the residential road connected to the main road costing a million rupiah, with their own money without any city government subsidy (Sudarmo 2008). The head of the former Solo Police Resort, Police Lieutenant Colonel Imam Suwongso had questioned the closing of *resos*-Silir as a place of prostitution, because, as he pointed out, the economic condition was declining and the opportunities for employment were rare. He said:

They work as prostitutes mostly due to stomach need (economic) reasons. If now the city government is compelled to close this location, the prostitutes will practice illegally outside this location. It will create a new problem. But if it is the city government decision, we are ready to control them if the city government demands we do it. (Bernas August 26, 1998)

Conflict Between the Powerless and the Powerful

The leader of the procurers, Philip Rachmat, more popularly called Usik, together with all procurers opposed the closing of the *resos*-Silir for prostitution, because they felt that they were the supporters of the Golkar¹ and had contributed to Golkar's winning in the election of 1997. He said, "Our struggle is not small, we have spent 40 million rupiah, we also put our lives in danger due to threats" (Bernas August 26, 1998). Usik accused the head of Solo's DPRD in the period of 1994-1999, Raharjo, of being inconsistent in

keeping his promise to protect the prostitution, and Usik and his group asked Rahardjo to resign from the Golkar party. Rahardjo provided three options for resolving the problem regarding the residents of *resos-Silir*: (1) the houses of the residents of *resos-Silir* would be demolished and they would be relocated to a new place; (2) their housing would not be demolished and they could keep them as places for prostitution; and (3) the *resos-Silir* prostitution would be closed and their houses and the land they used would become the property of the residents of *resos-Silir* and they would be eligible to have legalized land certificates on behalf of their names as the legal owners. The residents of the *resos-Silir* chose the last option, but the Golkar party ignored its promises. Usik said that, "When we asked him, Rahardjo replied of his own will by saying that 'the struggle for helping the procurers and prostitutes is not similar to those of the workers'. His statement was really discriminatory and discredited us" (Bernas August 26, 1998).

The city government's intentions to finish the practices of the *resos-Silir* prostitution as, it argued, resembling a "societal disease" and with a negative connotation, was strong; and the city government also encouraged the Moslem community to construct an Islamic centre in this area. The Indonesian Council of Religious Scholars (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or *MUI*) also supported the city government's intention to wipe out the prostitution through its Letter of Recommendation No. 60/DP.MUI/X/1997 which the secretary of the Surakarta MUI signed on September 22, 1996 and sent to the chief of the Solo DPRD (Bernas October 15, 1997).

The residents of the *resos-Silir* were also not free from Islamic group intimidation. The Islamic paramilitary group (*Laskar Islam*) called itself the *Koalisi Ummat Islam Surakarta* (Coalition of the Surakarta Islamic Community) had threatened them. About 200 members of this group wearing white uniforms moved from the Kartopuran, an area where

the *pondok pesantren*-Al-Islam (*santri* area) was established, driving motorcycles and pick-up vehicles, and entering and intimidating many night entertainment places and "dim" restaurants in Solo, including the *resos-Silir*; and this group was involved in conflicts with the local residents of Silir who were enjoying their leisure time at the traditional simple food-stalls (Tempointeraktif October 18, 2005).

Despite these challenge, threats and abuse, the procurers' community of the *resos-Silir* continued to struggle for their demand to have ownership of the land they had occupied since 1960s legalized in their names until finally the administration of the current Solo administrators produced a plan to provide the land for them coupled with the relocation of street vendors from the 45 Monument at Banjarsari to Semanggi. The Vice Mayor recognized that at this moment the land certification team had been mapping the area of *resos-Silir*. The city government had by then almost finished mapping one of the six neighborhood associations level sub-sections of the area. He announced that, "In particular, in RT 1 of the RW.VII Semanggi, the complex of the former *resos-Silir* the mapping is almost finished" (Jawa Pos-Radar Solo April 5, 2006).

Members of the current city government desired to close down the *resos-Silir* prostitution by providing the land as compensation to the residents. The residents of the *resos-Silir* had promised that if the city government met its promise to provide them each with 300 square metres of land they would leave this occupation and use the land certificates for obtaining loans from the banks for opening new businesses other than prostitution. As Usik said, "Basically our demand is simple. Give us the land certificate on the land we have occupied on behalf of our name and we will change our occupation. With this legal ownership certificate, we can obtain capital from the bank for business and use this certificate as bond. If it is materialized, all occupant of the *resos-Silir* will leave this occupation as procurers" (Suara Merdeka April 19,

2002). In addition to the plan to provide the land for them, the city government also made an ultimatum that by July 10, 2006 this place must be clean from prostitution practices (Suara Merdeka January 2, 2006).

Policy Outcome

In relation to the street vendors' demand for removing the prostitution as one of the requirements for their accepting the relocation to Silir, as discussed earlier, the city government had made an ultimatum that July 10, 2006 was the last day that prostitutes could live there. The procurers had agreed to the Mayor's instruction as long as the city government provided a parcel of 300 square metres of land for each procurer who had occupied it for more than 20 years and granted him or her with a formal certificate as the legalization of land ownership.

However, it was not easy for the procurers to obtain the land because they had to meet several requirements. According to a member of faction of the Welfare Peace Party (*Partai Damai Sejahtera*) and the local legislature's, Commission I, if the current status of the land was as a city government asset then transferring it required the agreement of the local legislative Assembly. Moreover, the provision of this land for them should not break the Local Law No. 8/1993 about the General Plan for the Urban Design of Surakarta City (Wawasan February 8, 2006).

There were another options offered by other assembly members. For example, Reni Widyawati, of the Democrat Party (*Partai Demokrat*), argued that rather than the land certification on behalf of the occupier, the city government could build more kiosks for them or employ them to manage the market assets; employ them as parking attendants and cleaning service workers as a way to empower them in the development of south Solo (Wawasan February 8, 2006).

Despite this, the city administrator had tried to meet the requests of the residents of *resos*-Silir.

However, an investigation by the National Land Board (*Badan Pertanahan Nasional* or *BPN*), the office with authority to issue the promised land ownership certificates, showed that 96 families occupied the Silir area. Some were procurers, others not, and were occupying 27,000 square metres; 15,200 private land (*tanah persil*), 10,800 of city government concession land (*tanah hak pakai*), and 2,250 of national state land (*tanah negara*) (Solo Pos May 17, 2006). The Balikpapan could not provide certificates for those occupying the privately owned land. Among 63 procurers living in the area, 2 had obtained a certificate and 22 had sold their land, while 16 were occupying state-owned land, 30 privately-owned land and 15 city government concession land (Solo Pos November 16, 2006). The National Land Board could only process the applications of those on national state land. Processing the applications of those on the concession land was more difficult because it required a prior agreement between the Surakarta Municipality government and the Local Assembly (Solo Pos May 17, 2006, June 21, 2006), and the local legislators had asked the city government to delay the land provision to the applicants. The city government could not work alone as it could not make the necessary decisions without the agreement of the Assembly (Solo Pos July 18, 2006, August 1, 2006).

The processing of the 10 applicants who were occupying state land was given priority because their cases was relatively easy (Solo Pos July 6, 2006). However, the procedures was still not easy as they had supposed, with only two procurers, obtaining the symbolic certificate of land ownership from the BPN on July 22, 2006, after each of them had paid to this office a total of 7 million rupiah, Rp 5,301,000 for the correct acquisition cost for the land and construction, Rp 1,165,000 to the state treasury and Rp 602,000 for operational costs (Jawa Pos-Radar Solo July 26, 2006). The others who lived on the privately owned land and the concession land were in trouble. According to Ari Machkota, a BPN official, this was not only due to the

complicated procedures required but also to their financial incapacity because the process would require between 3 and 5 million Rupiah depending on the size of land they were applying for (Solo Pos November 15, 2006), and this did not include the additional fees for the state treasury and operational costs that could be as much as another Rp 2 million (Solo Pos November 15, 2006).

Also, the city government had broken the agreement it had been made with the procurers and prostitutes. They had agreed that the prostitutes would leave by July 10, 2006 but the city government officials in cooperation with police and non-procurer local people had actually chased them away on June 23, 2006 (Solo Pos November 14, 2006) three weeks before the due date, coming when they were sleeping. Each of the prostitutes only obtained Rp 50,000 (about AU\$ 7) from her procurer for a transportation fee. This money was basically the prostitutes' own money which they had previously contributed to their procurer because each of them had an obligation to always provide Rp 500 per visitor she served. A procurer could thereby obtain Rp 2,500 per night; and the total cash before they closed had reached an estimated almost Rp 50 million (Solo Pos November 14, 2006). The city government basically had promised to provide Rp 1 million as a financial compensation to each prostitute but this had never materialized.

The prostitutes were scared and under pressure. They did not have enough money to finance themselves after they were forced to leave; most were uneducated and unskilled poor people who became prostitutes to enable their families' survival. A procurer gave the following account:

About 12:30 a.m. when we all slept because we had no visitors since the city government had announced the closure of our occupation, many policemen came together with the city government officials and local residents. We were scared because they knocked the door loudly and we were woken up suddenly. All prostitutes cried because the

policeman and the local residents spoke roughly and treated us like animals, they treated us inhumanely. We were under pressure. The policemen drove all prostitutes out but they did not have enough money for even the transportation fee to return home. They were uneducated, unskilled and unemployed, and they were really poor. They had responsibility to look after their parents and children. I pitied them. The police also made a threat to us that they want to arrest and send us to jail if we did not close our prostitution business. We were really scared and tormented. The city government did not provide any compensation for the prostitutes; we gave money for them but very small amount just for transportation fee to their home. We also did not know how we would live in the next few days, because until now we did not get the land certificate for us because it was difficult to proceed. (Sudarmo 2008)

The leader of the procurers and prostitutes colluded with the power holders of Solo by encouraging them to close the prostitution businesses. Since he had been dissatisfied by Golkar in the election of 1997, he had joined with the the Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* [PDIP]) and became the right-hand man of candidate of Mayor and Vice Mayor in encouraging his community members to support them in the election of June 2005 of Solo's mayor. The demand by the leader of prostitution community on behalf of all procurers of *resos*-Silir for the city government to provide land certificates to them was encouraged by the fact that he was occupying at least 13 parcels of land of 300 square metres each, and his demand was positively responded to by one of the Solo power holder because it was also part of the reward for him for his efforts on behalf of the victorious mayoral team. He had also always encouraged the other procurers to leave their houses, hoping they would sell their properties to him, and after that he asked the city government to help him by providing the certificates of the land ownership in his name.

The closure of the prostitution businesses had caused the procurers' life to deteriorate; and they lived in economic trouble because they were unemployed

and they did not have a certain income anymore.

One women procurer commented:

After the current city government totally closed our occupation, our life is really tragic. We have no permanent income, no occupation and no employment. For keeping our survival we sold our possessions. I sold my furniture, electronics, clothes and whatever I had. Before everything was sold, I tried to get a casual job to collect used newsletters and sell them to the broker but I could not stand it because it was too heavy because my physique is not strong enough and I got back pain. About two months I worked as a used newsletter collector. Then I changed to find another casual job. I tried to pick the frangipani flowers in a cemetery in a remote area in Sukoharjo, Boyolali and Klaten and sold them to the broker but our income was minimal because in two weeks I only got 2 kilo of dried frangipani flowers at 15 thousand rupiah per kilo. The broker did not allow me to sell the wet flowers to him because he only wanted the dried flowers. I was also frightened because I had to work in the silent, dark and scary cemetery and I always worried when I started to sleep in the evening because I was worried about having a bad dream and I could not sleep almost every evening. Only about two weeks I could stand as a frangipani flower collector. I tried to find another job, now I have become a casual washer and ironer in two households with total income of Rp 30,000 per week but my income is uncertain because my boss sometimes does not need me continuously; my income also declined when I was sick as I could not work. My husband also became a casual worker with an uncertain income because he is not physically strong enough; he is uneducated and unskilled like me. But several others who are physically strong could sell clean water to the Notoharjo market.²

Since the current city government totally closed the *resos*-Silir, most prostitutes now prostituted themselves in the street in the Kelurahan of Gilingan and the surrounding area of the Tirtonadi Bus Station with low prices and unsafe practices. They were also working without any of the medical checks or controls by the city's Health Office which they had when they operated in Silir, in particular before 1998; so that they were susceptible to be infected by sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhea and HIV and to transfer these diseases to their customers. Only very few of the prostitutes were still hiding in *resos*-Silir

but under pressure, not only by the city government, but also by the local people who were anti "society disease". The street prostitute usually only obtained 75 percent of the total cash paid by their customers; another 25 percent went to the mediators and for a security fee (Sudarmo 2008).

In Solo, until the end of October 2006, according to official figures 49 people had been infected by HIV and 21 people were positively suffering from AIDS. According to UNAIDS, an institution of the United Nations for AIDS resolution, for every person suffering from HIV there will be at least 100 infected by AIDS (Solo Pos December 1, 2006).

The provision of the land ownership certificates had resulted in the jealousy of other non-procurer residents at Semanggi who had similarly occupied the concession land and privately owned land for more than 20 years and demands that they should also have the same treatment. They even opposed the provision of the certificates for the procurers due to jealousy. A resident of RT 01/RW 07 of Semanggi said:

If the city government will provide the ownership right certificate for the residents in the area of former Silir prostitution, it should provide equal treatment for the residents in other RT including the residents of Kenteng. If there was a prerogative attitude toward them, it may result in unfairness that may encourage social conflict. (Solo Pos June 24, 2006)

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

This paper discussed how the marginalization of procurers and life chances of prostitute occurred due to city government privileging the street vendors' demand that resulted in the prostitution community strongly banned and removed from their site of operation, and they were marginalized. Marginalization of this community can be seen as an injustice treatment by the state and powerful community to them and it may undermine their human rights to have the economic access for their survival.

Problems of social justice can be alleviated or solved by implementation of “capability approach” which provide ways on the realized functionings (what an individual prostitute or procurer is actually able to do) or on the capability set of alternative she has (her real opportunities).

The city government implementing a policy on prostitution removal regarding its policy on street vendor relocation should take into account any issue related to procurers’ and prostitutes’ sustainable livelihood, their family, their children and their older parents.

Notes

1. Golkar was the well-organised and resourced government party during the New Order period and, by a range of means, would always win elections. After the fall of Soeharto and the New Order in 1998 Golkar became an ordinary political party although with much “baggage” both against and in support of it.
2. Interview with Tuti, a woman procurer at Silir Semanggi, on December 17, 2006 (Rp 30,000 equals to about AU\$ 4).

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Civilization: Natural and Controlled Stages of Social Evolution

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Abstract

Some sociologists of the 20th century—Popper, Nisbet, Tilly, Wallerstein—doubted the applicability of the concept “evolution” to the process of social changes. It was stated that processes happening in a society cannot be described using the approach of strict causality. However, dignifying life of the mankind is doubtful without elaborated scheme of social evolution and universal guiding line for the control over the further society evolution. General logics of social evolution can be traced by the change of human position in a society. Describing this change with the help of the activity-value approach one can construct ideal types of such evolutionary stages as wilderness, barbarism, civilization. The study of features and properties of ideal types of social evolution stages shows the regularity of two natural civilizations appearance: home-service civilization and market one. Countries of home-service civilization are ancient Egypt, China, and Russia (since Moscow Kingdom arose). Athens, Novgorod Republic and Western countries are examples of the market civilization. The study of the market civilization properties shows that its long existence is doubtful. Authors propose an ideal type of spirit-game civilization as a long-term guiding line for the controlled social evolution. Control over evolution could save mankind and solve their main problems.

Keywords

Evolution, civilization, ideal type, activity, values

European social science has been trying to create some perfect models of social order for a while. These models were conceived to find a reference point that would help to solve any current social problems and allow to control the social evolution in the long term. Plato’s works, theories of social utopism and Marxism contain the principles of building and detailed theoretical models of such social orders. However, the real social practice either ignored these models or their embodiment led to unsatisfactory results. Western sociology became allergic to any kind of universal models of social evolution in 20th century and as result the same applicability of the term “evolution” to the process of changes in a society seemed to be doubtful. This point of view is reflected in the critical

works of a few famous sociologists—Popper, Nisbet, Tilly, Wallerstein.

One of the arguments in favour of this allergy is that social processes cannot be explained by the principle of strict determinism, consequently there is no possibility to discover the laws of social development. Besides, the future state of a society is not predictable since knowledge is an indispensable part of any social organism and foreseeing of the

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future knowledge is a formal-logical contradiction. Correspondingly, sociology should focus on individual and collective activity of the people (taking into account their caprices, free choice, etc.) instead of impersonal historical tendencies. It is only possibly to cognize the patterns of particular historical events in a limited time period. These statements served as a basis to criticize Spencer's, Marx's and Sorokin's classical theories of social development (Ivanov 2002: 10-22; Sztompka 2005: 513-514).

One can acknowledge the correctness of some critical remarks (regarding the models of social evolution they studied) of the authors mentioned above. However, one can suggest that all doubts regarding the same possibility to work out the universal model of social evolution can be eliminated if this model meets a few conditions. This model should reflect: (1) features that allow distinguishing one stage of social evolution from another; (2) the possible source of energy of the social development; (3) the possible directions of the development for now; and (4) human activity based on a free choice.

It is also worth noticing the current that the situation of modern society does not look the bright, as without a detailed general model of the social evolution and finding a universal reference point for the future development—mankind's existence in a more or less acceptable state—is doubtful. That is the reason why scientists keep trying to attract people's attention to this problem (Zinoviev 2006: 446).

Therefore, this article has two goals. First, it contains a universal model of social evolution and opens the discussion on this subject. Second, it formulates a preliminary understanding of the spirit-game civilization as a long-term reference point for the social evolution.

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ARTICLE

Ideal types of social evolution such as wildness,

barbarism, civilization serve as the theoretical basis for the construction of social evolution model. Correspondingly, the main method of the model construction will be formulating ideal types of the above mentioned stages. Concepts that are being implemented for ideal type's formulation are: (1) the concept of human position in a society as a measure of social evolution; (2) the activity-value approach for social processes and phenomena studies that is being developed in St-Petersburg by Boronoev, Pismak and Smirnov; and (3) the economy type that supports society's existence.

Basic Concepts

Society. Eminent German sociologist Luhmann noted that “the word ‘society’ is not connected with any certain ideas” (Luhmann 1999: 196). Without going into a long discussion, for the purpose of this article the word “society” will mean the union of people that arose on the base of multiple and correlated types of interaction (natural, emotional, speech-communicative, active and legal). To that the basic type of interaction is the active one—exchange of activity results (products and services).

Civilization. This word has a lot of meanings but three main definitions are: (1) synonym of culture; (2) stage of social development, material and spiritual culture; and (3) stage of social development that comes after wildness (Iliychev et al. 1983: 765). For this paper, civilization will mean the third definition—this way it was understood by Morgan, Engels, etc.

Ideal type. It is a means of cognition and was used by many scientists, as per Weber (Weber 1949: 43, 96-98) who gave the special name to this logical means. In particular, ideal types are all “pure” types of a state that were offered by Aristotle—monarchy, aristocracy, polity, tyranny, oligarchy and democracy (Barker 1946: 1279a-1279b, 112-115). The ideal type is like a notion in formal logic. Both of them are ideal models of some phenomena. The only difference

between them is that logical notion reflects serial phenomena (for example, things) but ideal type reflects—unique and abstract ones (historical period, communism and capitalism). Most probably Weber introduced the concept of ideal type in sociology because he tried to apply the simplest abstract models like “ideal liquid”, “ideal gas” and “perfectly rigid body” that were being used in natural sciences but used them to study social phenomena. It is doubtful that sociologists can create such simple and logical models but it seems to be worthwhile trying to construct descriptive models (ideal types) of social phenomena (in particular, stages of evolution), using a limited set of the simplest concepts. The main goal is to reflect the simplest and most essential features of the real phenomena in these models.

Concept of human position in a society as a measure of social evolution. As a matter of fact, social evolution can be traced from different points of view. It is mostly impossible to feature all of them. For the purpose of this article the basis of the most important directions in social development periodization served ideas about:

(1) The successful expansion of humans in nature. In accordance with this point of view, the change of different stages in development of society (for example, wildness, barbarism and civilization) connected with the settlement of nature by human through discoveries, inventions, new technologies and the like (Engels 1902: 34);

(2) Progress in the sphere of communication technologies. One speaks about “the Age of Printing”, “the Age of Television”, “the Age of Computer” and the like;

(3) Correlation of social development periods with the evolutionary stage of human thinking. Auguste Comte’s ideas would be the classical example here;

(4) Change of position of human in a society. This point of view was expressed by Popper in his work *The Open Society and His Enemies* when he analysed the transition from closed society to an open one. The

main feature of social evolution is the permanent expansion of the sphere of human personal decisions at the expense of the reduction of the sphere of taboos and rationally stated laws of human behaviour regulation. Position of a human in society changes according to the degree of freedom he gets (Popper 1992, Vol. 2: 216-220);

(5) Vivid, obvious empirical features like labor division, rise of state or city, invention of writing, etc., that are chosen in an eclectic way and not theoretically grounded. Most of the social evolution schemes are eclectic. However, it is obvious that more or less precise ideal types cannot be built based on the eclectic ideas.

The point of view stating that the evolution of society can be measured by the position of the human in society seems to be the most adequate for the nature of society. For instance, the level of technical development in the former U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and the U.S. was approximately the same but the position of human in these social systems was drastically different. That is the reason why this point of view is taken as the basis in our logical scheme. However, Popper’s concept described the position of the human as very abstractly. Surely, the degree of freedom given to a human can be a certain measure for the evaluation of his position in a society. However, Popper focused only on the “freedom from” idea whereas the “freedom for” concept would give a more precise evaluation. It is important to know how people will use the given freedom.

Self-realization of a human in society is the main goal of the use of given freedom. Let us assume that the position of a human in society can be best described by the possibilities of self-realization the society leaves to a human.

Activity-value approach. It can be implemented for the evaluation and description of these possibilities. The gist of this approach can be expressed in a few simple statements: (1) society is based on the activity

interaction between people (more precisely, social subjects), i.e., on the exchange of activity results (products and services); (2) stimuli of activity are needs and values (values are stimuli of human activity only and needs are stimuli of activity for humans and animals); (3) values as human activity stimuli underlie social systems; and (4) the most important stimulus of the activity of people as social beings is social significance.

Additional Ideas and Concepts

Main types of activity. Society exists on the basis of very different types of activity. By describing society one can use any of them—creative, routine, appropriate, productive, economic, political, collective, individual and so on. However, in the mentioned variant of active-value approach, we will use three main types of activity: (1) activity that is realized by an active subject for himself. One can call it ego-activity; (2) activity that is realized by active subject for the other. Any part of world can be this “other”—personality, society, God, nature and so on. That is the alter-activity, the service activity or just the service; and (3) activity that is realized by the active subject for the process of realizing activity. That is game activity or just the game.

Compared with other types of activity (for example, creative and routine) the three types of activity mentioned above are more appropriate for the analysis of social phenomena, for they are inseparably linked with the existence of active subject (actor) fulfilling very important functions. The ego-activity provides the existence of the actor, alter-activity (service) gives the sense of existence, and game introduces joy in the existence. Ego-activity and service activity are types of objectively necessary activities. Society exists on the basis of their combination but one of them can become the dominant and characteristic feature of particular society (Boronev, Pismak, and Smirnov 1996: 81-92). Empirically, service activity differs from ego-activity

by rigid norm regulation (instructions, traditions) and systems of encouragement and punishment (there are some additional features as well). Besides, they have some principal different features. In particular, ego-activity can develop much faster than service-activity.

Values as the basis of social systems. Followers of structure-functional analysis stated that definite systems of values underlie social systems (Parsons and Shils 1962: 202-203). One can also express the thought that values are the most coherent structure of such systems (Smelzer 1994: 24). However it is not clear what values form the basis of different societies. Values underlie social systems as stimuli of activity in the frames of an active-value approach. Fundamental values of society are discovered through the conception of social significance of humans as a basic personal value.

Social significance. It is the main stimulus of activity of people as social beings. It means the capability to influence the course of events in a society. The opposite notion is social nonentity. Usually, people try to eschew social nonentity and aspire to social significance. At level of everyday conscience people do not distinctly understand their real yearning. They strive after values that are more habitual and comprehensible for their understanding. We call these values modi (i.e., forms of manifestation or existence) of social significance. The possession of these modi (for instance, power or wealth) increases distinctly the human capability to influence the march of events in a society. The activity oriented to achieve social significance is the main source of energy for society's evolution, for the achievement of some modi of social significance by some people results in the changing of the whole system of activity interaction—the basis of social structure. The process of social significance achievement is the process of human self-realization in a society.

Society controls the access to the modi of social significance through two principally different types of

social recognition. The first mode is personal expertise. In this case, the meeting of trusted judges (experts) acknowledges the right of particular individual to possess certain values. Examples of personal expertise are court decision, announcement of testament, awarding of academic degree, elections of an official etc. The second mode is “impersonal” (or market). In this mode the procedure of social recognition comes to the act of purchase and sale. If the market accepts the product or manpower of this person thereby his social significance is also recognized to a certain degree. Human is not interesting for a market as a moral being and is evaluated only as the executor of social function (possessor of goods or producer of goods) (Smirnov 1990: 38-43).

One can mark out five groups of social values obtained on the basis of the social significance idea. Its modi form the first group and constitute the core of values typology described below. Every modus can have a number of modifications and some of them are shown parenthetically. Mentioned modi are: the holiness (righteousness, spirituality), the knowledge (information), the fame (popularity), the craftsmanship (professionalism), the economy (business, undertaking), the power, and the wealth (capital, fortune). They are purposeful values of activity subject as social being. They represent values that are common human values of the individual level.

Instrumental values form the second group. They regulate the competition among subjects who strive to achieve purposeful values. They are law, freedom, equality, fairness, brotherhood, mercy, duty, discipline and so on. They are social by birth and implement a function of some criteria. Means and results of purposeful values achievement are recognized as “legal”, “moral” and “justice” on the basis of these criteria.

The third group consists of instrumental values that people naturally inherit from parents. These values are life (life of a person), intelligence, health, beauty, strength, adroitness and the like. Their

presence either facilitates the achievement of social significance or is the necessary precondition for it. For example, minimal level of intellect is necessary in order to become a social being and having such features as strength, beauty and intelligence gives additional possibilities for success.

The features of environment that are controlled by social subjects are the forth group of values. They are earth, water, minerals and other natural resources. They are the natural substance for wealth and economy, and their presence or absence has long-term consequences.

Finally, the fifth group is the highest common human values. They are: Thinking Spirit (God or aggregate soul of mankind), Society (patria), Personality, Mankind (native people), Human, Nature, for these phenomena are unconditional preconditions of all human existence and today their preservation demands more and more efforts from every individual and all people together (Boronoev and Smirnov 2001: 40-45).

Type of economy. Weber introduced an idea about different types of economy (Weber 1923: 7-9). Relying on his views but not copying them one can distinguish two main types of economy that have different objects of production—home and market. Home economy exists for the direct satisfaction of producers needs—needs of family, collective, or society. The objective of production in a market economy is the profit earning through exchange in the market.

Conceptual means mentioned above are used below for the construction of ideal types (models) of wildness, barbarism and civilization.

IDEAL TYPES OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION STAGES

Wildness

In an early stage of wildness (when a human only

begins to stand out against a background of other animals), power is the only modus of social significance. Only the leader can realize himself as a social being. Other members of association remain natural beings and realize themselves through the posterity.

In the later stage of wildness shaman (Magian) and master appear. The foundation for their appearance is the gradual development of activity and forming of conscience.

Development of human activity is mainly based on the increase of its energy power and informational density. In other words, humans can use much more energy than they need for their own needs and much more knowledge than they could ever get from their personal experience. Little by little human studies and other methods of natural materials processing acquire the possibility to influence the life of society not only through power but also as a knowledgeable and skilled person (master). This knowledge and skills at the early stage of wildness form a unified whole that contains fantastic ideas and elements of objective knowledge. Fantastic ideas serve as a basis for the “control” of natural processes through magic tools. Elements of objective knowledge underlie primitive technologies of goods production.

Bit by bit the conscience is formed and ideas about spirit as mysterious but doubtless strength and about holiness as a specific belonging to a spirit appear. Some people are believed to have temporary or permanent supernatural spiritual power.

Often one person can be a chief, magician and master at the same time or play two of these three social roles in any combination. It means the possibility of appearance of syncretic modi of social significance that can exist separately sometimes.

Society is the most important value in the pair of values “society-personality”. Officials (leaders, magicians, masters) become significant because they fulfill important social functions, and if these social functions are executed badly it can cause different

repressions right up to death (Frazer 1957: 12). Service is the main type of activity.

The chief’s activity is directed on the society. He needs to keep order within community; organize important commune activities within his tribe and interaction with neighbours—peace, war, trade, unions, etc. The magician’s activity is connected with the sphere of supernatural forces and space, including the world of spirit and body and spiritual well-being of a particular individual. The master’s activity is all about the world of things. Presence of sanctions means the diffusion of personal expertise that is inseparably linked to the service activity. At this stage economy is kept just for direct handling of society’s members needs and that is the reason why it can be called “home” economy. The necessity of expert evaluation of the three eminent figures leads to the forming of early tribe democracy.

As a whole, the wildness as ideal type is characterized by: (1) supremacy of service activity; (2) the domination of the value “society”; (3) presence of power, craftsmanship and holiness as modi of social significance; (4) leading role of personal expertise as a mean of social recognition; and (5) home economy.

Society can be stable enough on the stage of wildness, for the activity of main officials meets the most important social needs. Then the questions arise: How is the further evolution of society possible? Why does the value “personality” appear? How does ego-activity appear in a society and other modi of social significance become available on the basis of human free choice? Where is an “underbelly” that allows for these phenomena to get in an integral society?

Barbarism

Probably fame as a modus of social significance is this “underbelly”. Activity directed at the achievement of fame naturally combines service activity and ego-activity. So, the value “personality” is introduced through this modus in the system of society values. Fame is often in connection with a feat and a

self-sacrifice of human for the welfare of society. It is a feature of service activity. But fame is achieved only through free feat and voluntary self-sacrifice. Moreover, freedom and voluntariness are inalienable features of ego-activity, and fame immortalizes the human name, which is a reflection of value “personality”.

Not surprisingly ancient texts value fame that much (The Poetic Edda 1936: Verse 77-78) or as poet Shota Rustaveli expressed this evaluation in words—“Death with a fame is better than shame of fameless days”. The same principle made Achilles choose his destiny. Sometimes even ill fame is wanted (Herostratus).

Thus, a society legalizes ego-activity and “let through” value “person” in the system of its fundamental values through the modus of fame.

Further ego-activity spreads on other modi and reinforces the position of a person in a society. Carriers of new modi appear as result of this change—people start attaining social significance not only through the fulfillment of social functions but also through ego-activity, for example: the rich man (merchant), owner of a big or small business, bards as bearers of very important knowledge—mythical history of the people (later, as bearer of knowledge appear sage, philosopher, teacher), hermit (saint who devoted himself to his personal redemption), and tyrant. In short, all modi of social significance can be attained either through service or ego-activity.

Achieving the highest stage of barbarism, society starts having different strata and suggests special modi of social significance and procedures of social acknowledgement to the forming social classes.

Nobles strive to achieve fame, power and military art. They are supposed to spend money for their reputation in a society and prefer to use force and violence in order to get wealth—for this reason they hire a military squad. Meanwhile, they also study economy as a source of wealth. The main method of acknowledgement in their milieu is “personal

expertise”, including duel.

Lower classes are left with such modi as economy and wealth as well as craftsmanship in the sphere of material activity. At the same time public opinion considers life of people focusing on making the money as not very honorable and sometimes even disdained (usury). Small market economy gives an opportunity for an owner to achieve social significance through his product but it also contains a serious contradiction since this social tool serves exclusively to a biological need to survive. In fact, the master refuses to achieve social significance through “respected” modi—fame and power—and avoids personal expertise that means a certain risk for life.

The impersonal market method of social acknowledgement becomes the main way to achieve social significance for ordinary people. It also causes non-recognition of personal qualities of a master or a small owner. For the point of view of a “noble man” this kind of a master looks like “coward”, “nobody”, “mean man”. In order to compensate non-respect from society and restore self-respect and dignity, “market people” unite into professional unions. Not by a coincidence original meaning of the word guild is a festival (Gurevich 1972: 189). Guild members call themselves “comrades” or “brothers” (Durkheim 1960: 11-12).

The highest stage of barbarism is characterized by the following: (1) all modi of social significance begin to function in a society; (2) both types of objectively necessary activity—ego-activity and service—are represented; (3) both methods of social recognition—personal expertise and market—are formed and coexist concurrently; (4) values of “society” and “personality” are introduced in the system of social values; and (5) there are two types of economy—home and market.

Barbarism is featured by the full set of indications that are possible in the frames of proposed methodology. However a society cannot stay on this stage because of the disarray of all these signs,

characterizing the position of the human in it (the highest common human values, modi of social significance, types of activity, and procedures of social recognition). All features compete with each other. The minimum acceptable order in a society is supported through brute force that is disadvantageous in connection with the vain expenditures of any resources.

Society must finish with chaos and reduce the use of force. In order to accomplish this, “natural” complexes must be formed from common human values, modi, activities, procedures of social recognition etc., where mentioned indications are coordinated with each other. Similar complexes are possible, for example, on the basis of the values “society” or “personality”. Then society is on the stage of civilization.

Transition

However society cannot reach the stage of civilization immediately. A short or long transition period is required when values, activities, procedures of social recognition, etc., are settling and bunching in stable complexes. In the real history such transition is accompanied by social cataclysms such as wars, etc. The reduction of violence is possible if a society is in two theoretically possible transition conditions: civilized community or inwardly tense civilization.

Civilized community is based on a special language that binds its members. It can be either intercultural or “holy” language that is used for divine service. Besides, this community must share a universal religious cult or respect to some historical personage that expressed moral laws (“moral teacher”—Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Confucius). Finally, there is a need to have a common historical memory (real or mythical) that preserves the faith about common origin or common life of the people (brother peoples or neighbor peoples). Total of these conditions form the ethnical and cultural identity of community members that is very important for the preservation of civilized community.

Violence is distinctly softer within such community but it cannot be removed absolutely (it is not possible in principle). Relationships between coreligionists are smoother and friendlier than between them and “giaours” or pagans. Principles of interaction within and outside of community were fairly well described by Plato when he speaks about interactions between Hellenes and barbarians.

Such unions of people are often called civilizations (for example, Greek, Roman, Chinese, Christian, Muslim and the like). Weakness of the activity interaction as a social basis determines the fragility of these communities and allows backward movement to the barbarism and leads to the split in a society in case of heresy or the change of “holy” language. It would start here to be logical to call culture the totality of the indications that serve as a basis for a civilized community.

Inwardly tense civilization as a condition of a society is possible when there is an active interaction in the foundation of society, but the exchange of activity results is not balanced between different social stratas and groups. In particular, it happens if any part of society (“heads”) interact with another one on the basis of ego-activity and the latter (“masses”) because some reasons must serve the first one. As result, all activity of a society is subordinated to the service of one of its parts. This situation is unnatural, for there is always tension in society and the latter becomes unstable. The features of internally tense civilization are obvious in the Tchingischan empire that served men from khan kin—uruck, in the Russian empire (after “Charter to the Nobility”) etc.

Civilization

Society is in a more stable condition on the stage of civilization when the application of violence is minimal. Depending on the choice of basic value there are two possible “natural” internally coordinated civilizations—service-home and market. According to their characteristics and properties they are like the

mirror reflection of each other. Besides, there is a possible stage of controlled evolution of a society—spirit-game civilization (see Table 1).

In the first column there are characteristics and features of social evolution ideal types that are formed on the basis of activity-value approach. In the second, third and fourth column you find characteristics and features of particular civilizations. At the same time there is an assumption that all characteristics and features of every civilization are in a complete accordance with each other. In theory all three civilizations can function on a different technological basis (slave labor or automated production systems).

The basic feature of civilization is its basic value. The choice of the latter determines the domination of correspondent type of activity. If the basic value is “society” or “Thinking Spirit” then service activity is dominant but if the basic value is “personality” then ego-activity is dominant. Modi of social significance are available to people by the law in all civilizations. However, they are accessible in home-service civilization not because of personal free choice but because they belong to any group (estate, cast) that fulfills some specific social functions, i.e., serve a society. Every individual has formally the right to lay claim to any value in the market civilization. In the game-spirit civilization access to the modi is possible basing on the free choice and vocation of a particular human.

Leading modi of social significance in home-service civilization is connected with service activity—power, holiness, knowledge and fame. Access to them is provided predominately through personal expertise and often through feat or even self-sacrifice. It is necessary to pass the tests, get references and recommendations, etc., in order to get promotion in any sphere of activity. Market as a mean of social recognition is brought to nothing in this civilization. It exists only as social institute providing the exchange goods and supply with the livelihood of functionally different groups.

Dominating modi in market civilization are—wealth, economy and craftsmanship (in the sphere of material production). They are associated with ego-activity and especially with the market as a procedure of social recognition. Since, wealth is successfully acquired and economy can develop in the conditions of market. However, other modi are also highly valued, except holiness (righteousness), for it does not contribute to the development of material production serving corporal needs. Basic modi of social significance in the spirit-game civilization are pretty much the same as in the home-service civilization. However, mastership in the sphere of spirit is added to them.

It is evident that discipline and duty as instrumental values are necessary for a normal functioning of service activity and freedom and law are indispensable conditions for ego-activity and the functioning of a market as a procedure of social recognition (market requires free exchange of activity products and the guarantee of exchange results). It was not accidental that the system of law was developed in the western society together with the development of industry, free market and initiatives it is offering (Popper 1992, Vol. 1: 91). The most important instrumental value in the game-spirit civilization is vocation, for free choice of the particular service activity guarantees due duty execution without external control. Brotherhood is an instrumental value and is necessary in sake of softening people’s competition for modi of social significance.

Factors that support the appearance of a concrete type of economy and further civilization existing on its basis are natural environment and external danger. If the environment is rich in resources then their development requires coordinated work of the masses and the appearance of home civilization of a peaceful agricultural type is almost inevitable. For example, great river civilizations (Egypt, Countries between two rivers, and China) whose task was the

Table 1. Main Features and Properties of Home-Service, Market and Game-Spirit Civilizations

Characteristics and properties	Service-home civilization	Market civilization	Game-spirit civilization
Factors of appearance: Natural environment and external danger	1) Natural environment requires coordinated work of masses; 2) External danger is big and permanent	1) Natural environment does not require coordinated work of masses; 2) External danger is not big	1) problem of human self-realization without harming environment; 2) free time problem
Basic value	Society	Personality	Thinking Spirit (God)
Dominant activity	Service	Ego-activity	Service and game
Accessibility of modi of social significance for individual	Modi are accessible through service activity as for the representative of a group	Modi are accessible through person free choice	Modi are accessible through service activity and game
Leading modi	Holiness, knowledge, power, fame	Wealth, economy, craftsmanship (in the sphere of matter)	Holiness, Knowledge, Power, Craftsmanship (in the sphere of spirit), Fame
Procedure of social recognition	Personal expertise	Market	Personal expertise
Instrumental values	Discipline and duty	Freedom and law	Vocation, brotherhood
Economy	Home	Market	Regulated
Development	Slow	Fast	Depending on the particular situation
Existence	Long (if there is no external danger)	Long existence is doubtful	Long and stable
Interaction with neighbour countries	Mainly defensive	Vividly aggressive	No aggression

development of fecund river valleys appeared. It required irrigation works in order to create and maintain the irrigation systems (Dyakonov 1983: 19).

Presence of irrigation system contributes to the rise of strong central power (Dyakonov 1983: 19) and stimulates bureaucracy appearance as well as different duties and total dependence of subjects from Tsar's bureaucracy (Weber 1923: 202). State-economy appears and it is controlled by officials from the center and under supervision of the highest governor—pharaoh, khan and tsar. Production in this state-economy is kept for internal needs only and its economy might be called “home” as well as civilization that arises on its basis. However, this civilization can be also called a service since service activity dominates in it. In general, let it be called service-home civilization.

If the natural environment compromises small and different landscapes and the territory is crossed by rivers, flowing into the big reservoirs then the rise of

market civilization is very likely. The development of natural resources allows (and often requires) the use of labor of a relatively small quantity of people. Articles of consumption are different enough and produced near form each other and the presence of natural transport rout permits to bring them together for the exchange in particular places. Every particular economy can strive to be home in the beginning but then inevitably the accumulating surplus of product will be different in every economy. First, it will serve as a motivational stimulus for an occasional exchange but then it will lead to the production for the exchange. Accordingly, market economy dominates in this civilization. Examples of societies with features of market civilizations are Carthage, Athens, Novgorod Republic and western countries.

In case of great external and permanent danger society must concentrate its forces on the struggle with it. Additional product is withdrawn for social needs and concentrated on sovereign's hands. Military

home civilization brings all its activity under the control of defense needs (Russia since Moscow Kingdom). When the danger is not great then the chances of market civilization origin are more preferable (England). Mostly, it is pre-conditioned by the fact that society does need service activity that much (for self-defense) and excess of human activity is focused on the field of ego-activity.

Extent of the individual freedom for the achievement of social significance is very limited in the service-home civilization. That is the reason why its source of energy for the development is very weak.

Besides, service activity is conservative by itself. It is being done according to stable patterns and its energy and information density are growing slowly. As a result, this civilization can exist for thousands of years without any factual change (Ancient Egypt). From the point of view of civilization development speed—this conservatism is a disadvantage but in terms of long-term existence, it can be seen as an advantage.

Market civilization has a powerful internal source of development—free activity of a personality striving for social significance. In addition, ego-activity, especially stimulated by the market, develops very quickly. That is the reason why this civilization is able to have a quick development. However, its long existence is doubtful, since its basic modi are wealth and economy; and the quantity of people pressing towards them is permanently growing. The level of minimal acceptable wealth is also growing. As a whole it conditions on the development of economy. But if wealth and economy need material substance then the long existence of market civilization requires unlimited resources and it is impossible. It contains elements of self-destruction. It has been a little bit more than two hundred years after the Great French Revolution happened when this civilization started dominating in Europe and results are so negative that it is doubtful whether it can exist for the next two hundred years.

Logical consequence of conservatism in the service-home civilization is that countries with its features take a defensive position to their neighbors (Great Chinese Wall). On the other side, voracious thirst for resources makes countries of market civilization extremely aggressive. That is probably the reason why Toynbee described the West as “archi-aggressor” (Toynbee 1995: 156). The problem of aggressiveness does not exist for the game-spirit civilization since presently it can appear in a global scale only.

NECESSITY FOR CONTROL OVER EVOLUTION: ITS POSSIBLE SCENARIOS

Zinoviev noted that “second half of 20th century meant the change in the evolutionary process: the degree and scale of historical events consciousness reached such a high level that spontaneous evolutionary process was replaced by projected and controlled evolution” (Zinoviev 2006: 446). The necessity of evolutionary process control is caused by global problems. Usually one names such problems as ecological, arms race, lowering of the mass culture level, saving the human gene pool, international terrorism etc. (Bestugev-Lada 1998: 36-41). However, one can show that those vivid problems are directly or indirectly caused by hidden problems—the problem of human self-realization in a society without harming the environment and the free time problem. In particular, the ecological problem is caused by the self-realization problem—self-realization through wealth and economy requires unlimited resources. The arms race is a consequence of the fight for resources. Lowering of the mass culture is conditioned by the free time problem since it can be easily solved using the primitive sides of human nature, etc.

Solving global problem is connected to the change of highest human values hierarchy (only acknowledgment of the Thinking Spirit as the highest value can lead to logically acceptable consequences)

and leading types of activity etc. The choice of social development direction depends on how these problems will be solved by people. Theoretically, there was only one acceptable direction—peaceful expansion in the sphere of Spirit, “the unanimous construction of a spirit of the Earth” that Teilhard de Chardin (1987: 201) dreamed about. The “old good” method of human self-realization in a society through developing new sides and levels of the matter with help of material activity perfection is not possible further.

The Propitious Scenario of Social Development—Construction of Spirit-Game Civilization

There is a need to direct human energy in the sphere of spirit in order to solve the problem of self-realization. Only spirit can consume human energy without limit and return it back to the people in a new improved quality. Modi of social significance (holiness, knowledge and mastership) must be more accessible in order to make self-realization harmless for humans and society. “Political” modi—power and fame—should be also more accessible since society can consume some portion of human energy without harming environment. It is also necessary to build a genuine democracy.

Palliative measures that are being implemented currently—birth control, recycling, environment protection, and consumption limitation are useful and necessary but not good enough to solve the problem. Self-realization of a human being in the world is a necessary condition for his existence and since material world cannot offer this for everyone, then there is a need to offer people self-realization in the sphere of spirit.

As regards to the problem of free time—it can be solved through games that elevate spirit and strengthen body. Presently, most of the entertainments corrupt spirit and destroy body.

In general, there is a need to build a civilization

where spirit would be acknowledged as highest human value and taking care about its preservation would be important for everybody. That this civilization can never be reachable in its final embodiment but moving towards this civilization, people could realize themselves as spirit social beings and limit themselves in the material sphere. This perspective is an abstract possibility but it is very desirable although unlikely at present.

Inauspicious Direction of Development—Movement Toward Post Civilized Barbarism

Most probable is the return of violence as a mean of maintaining minimal order in the society.

There are two conditions that will stimulate the use of violence.

First, “competition” of the highest all human values will be tough. It is clear that a person cannot be such a value since the problem of human self-realization in the world is caused by the market civilization and this civilization sees a person as the highest human value. There is a need to choose another all human highest value at the global level. However, it is doubtful that this change will happen smoothly. Most likely there will be a violent fight between different groups of people defending their values—“person”, “society”, “spirit”, “nation”, etc. There will be also an unclear situation with the dominating types of activity, instrumental values, and procedures of social significance recognition.

Second, the thirst for resources is peculiar for market civilization. Fight for resources will stimulate (stimulates already) the use of force. As a result society will be moving towards post civilized barbarism.

Less likely but potentially possible would be an appearance of inwardly tense civilization—when, some country, for example, USA tries to control evolutionary process, forcing other countries to serve its “life interests” and acting to them based on

ego-activity (this situation already exists—to be discussed whether consciously or unconsciously). In particular, the fall of Soviet Union meant that the western countries (under the leadership of the USA) had the weakening of competition for the social evolution control. However, the competition was still there since China became the successor of Soviet Union (Zinoviev 2006: 458). However, the potential success of such try to create an inwardly tense civilization will not have long-term historical perspective. There are also possible tries to build civilized community—for example, based on Islam. However, these tries will also push the society in the direction of post civilized barbarism.

CONCLUSIONS

Applying the ideal types for the construction of social evolution theoretical model aids in finding solutions to some very important sociological issues. Activity-value approach helps to consider individual and collective human activity and determine features that distinguish one stage of evolution from another. The concept of social significance allows building the system of society fundamental values and points to the source of energy of social development. The studying of ideal models' features of some particular stages helps to understand the general logic of social evolution and its possible directions. The key condition of the adequacy of the above mentioned models and the conclusions made on the study of these models are that the models' features are essential. Whether the models' features proposed in this article are essential or non-essential is to be openly discussed.

Presently, mankind faces a real problem to switch to the controlled social evolution. The study of a market civilization ideal type features shows that its long-term existence is doubtful. That is the reason why all the attempts of the USA to take over the control of evolution process having this civilization

type as a reference point are extremely dangerous for the dignifying existence of the mankind. It is proposed (as an open discussion) that the ideal type of game-spirit civilization is needed as a long-term reference point. Moving towards this civilization mankind could survive and solve most of the important problems they face now. Besides, it would allow giving all humans a chance for self-realization in the environment without harming it.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank Paul Remington for reviewing and his valuable comments on previous draft of this article.

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Sociology and Degrowth: Visions of Social Change, Entropy and Evolution in a Waydown Era

Ernest Garcia^a

Abstract

In the last few years, different sources pointed to a same message: industrial civilization had entered into an overshoot mode; the natural limits to growth had been already surpassed. This frontier does not wait for us in the future; it already belongs to our past. If population and the economy are truly beyond the limits, then current visions and theories of social change would be deeply perturbed. If the development era is approaching its end, then many sociological theories on current societies will share the same destiny: sustainable development doctrines between them. It is worth to examine theories that explicitly look at the social world which at least are not incompatible with it. Four different approaches are discussed in this context: governance of complexity, post-development and alternative local development, utopian sceneries of a prosperous waydown, visions of collapse and the die-off. As a conclusion, the paper accepts an evolutionary perspective supports that there are some potentials for conscious social change, but it does not justify the belief in a particular only line of history. This conclusion does not satisfy the desire of knowing the future; nevertheless it may be the only one possible. The future is not written. Neither in history nor in evolution; not even in the mixture of history and evolution that conforms us as inhabitants of the Earth.

Keywords

Degrowth, environmental sociology, sustainability, complexity, post-development

More than three decades ago, the first report to the Club of Rome on limits to growth predicted that, if current trends of population and capital growth, resource use, pollution, and ecosystems' degradation continued unchanged, the outcome would be a situation of overshoot in the second decade of the 21st century and, eventually, a collapse of the industrial society. Its 30-year update (Meadows et al. 2004) has stressed that humanity is already in overshoot. And, therefore, that the collapse is now more difficult to avoid. And its effects are more difficult to resist, because a new balance would now demand a prolonged phase of decreasing, of "undevelopment".

The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (Reid et al. 2005) has concluded that two thirds of the services of world ecosystems are now deteriorating. The report focuses on four main conclusions: (1) In the second half of the 20th century, human beings have transformed the ecosystems more quickly than in any

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other previous period of history; as a result, damages to biological diversity have been considerable and to a great extent irreversible; (2) These changes are connected to remarkable increases of material well-being and economic development, but costs related to the degradation of many services of the ecosystems, to a greater risk of nonlinear changes, and to the intensification of poverty for a part of the humanity are severe, so that the continuity of these costs, if it is not corrected, will considerably diminish the benefits that the coming generations obtain from ecosystems; (3) The degradation of natural services could get worse during the first half of this century, making impossible reducing poverty, as well as the improvement of health, and the access to basic services for a good part of the world population; and (4) Degradation of the ecosystems could be partially reverted through significant changes in policies, institutions and practices; however, at the moment, these changes are not under way. That is to say, the report recognizes like something established that the capacity of the planet to provide services is decreasing (that limits have been surpassed), that the next decades they can make worse the situation of the environment (collapse) and that measures taken until now (the three decades of environmental policies, sustainable development and ecological modernization) are not what is needed sufficiently. According to the *Living Planet Report* (WWF 2004), world ecological footprint was 20% higher than the sustainable level. Eco-footprint analysis indicated that humanity's load was equal to about 50 percent of the biosphere regenerative capacity in 1961, that it had surpassed that capacity since the 1980s, and that it had now reached more than 120 percent of capacity.

The end of cheap oil is on view. Oil is now being consumed four times faster than it is being discovered, the gap between growing consumption and shrinking discovery continues to widen, and the situation is becoming critical. It is now clear that the rate at which world oil producers can extract oil has reached, or is

extremely close to reaching, the maximum level possible. This is what is meant by "oil peak". With great effort and expenditure, the current level of oil production can possibly be maintained for a few more years, but beyond that oil production must begin an irrevocable decline. This decline is a certainty, guaranteed by the natural laws that govern our physical world, and nothing in science, technology, or engineering can prevent it. Even without scarcity, to avert the worse effects of climate change requires a drastic cut in fossil fuels consumption.

In the first years of 21st century, the signals that limits to growth have already been surpassed are abundant and they are each time more consistent. If this is the case, if population and the economy are truly beyond the limits, then current visions and theories of social change are going to be deeply perturbed. Old questions will reappear and new questions are going to arise: What if limits to growth come back into their former condition of unavoidable sociological issue? Are sustainable development and environmental modernization suitable conceptual guides for a post-development era? The idea of sustainable development supposes that population, use of resources and pollution have entered a transition that will lead them to become stabilized below the Earth's carrying capacity. It also supposes that economic growth goes ahead on a way of dematerialization, thanks to the relative decrease of its material requirements, to the delinking between wealth and environmental impact. It finally supposes that environmental policies, implemented by public and private organizations, can avoid the overshoot. However, if the overshoot has already happened, the description of the present situation must be very different. Under this premise, population and the use of resources are already over the planet's carrying capacity, the expected dematerialization is still pending and, finally, the balance between society and nature will only be able to recover in a sensibly lower scale to the present one, lower scale of population, the

economy and the use of resources.

IMPLICIT APPROACHES

Some current approaches, although do not recognize overshoot in an explicit way, are compatible with it. Governance of complexity puts the accent in the adaptation under conditions of uncertainty. Post-development and many theories on alternative local development start from social realities that have been excluded by the development process. Both approaches can be applied to growth contexts, but also to non-growth contexts.

Governance and Complexity

In recent years the concept of “governance” has spread widely. That concept refers to the set of social actions—not only of the governments but also of the different institutions, organizations and social networks—that allow maintaining structural stability without changes triggering a chaotic behavior. The idea suggests the possibility of conscious control of adaptive complex systems, as human societies, i.e., systems which are characterized, among other things, by the unpredictability of its future states. In the framework of the discussion on sustainability, the question must be extended to the relationship between these systems and their natural environment (that is to say, the object of analysis is not the society, but the system formed by the society and environment, a social-ecological system) (Berkes et al. 2003). Conscious intervention, then, requires integrating objectives whose directionality can be and is often contradictory; and objectives, in addition, that are not comparable to each other in the sense that they are not susceptible of a common unit of measurement (Spangenberg 2004). That intervention (or the complex formed by many of them which is alluded by means of the mentioned fashionable neologism) demands to look for a balance between contradictory preferences. Or, more exactly, some types of

meta-balance between manifold objectives in diverse scales (local, regional, national and world-wide). Recent theories on complexity are feeding the hope of being able to cope with this troublesome difficulty. The subject is not closed and, surely, it is worth to follow with attention to its evolutions. In any case, a conceptual drive towards schemes in which the key question is not as much to maintain the system under control as maintaining its flexibility is perceivable. That is to say, the question is how to avoid excessive acceleration and interconnection in order to leave margin for successive adaptations in a process of test and error. In such circumstances, even if it stays as a reference, development is not a predetermined goal (“catching-up the advanced societies”), but a process in which the conscious action is oriented by desirable (and variables) states of society, nature, production or the institutions. And the idea of sustainability begins to refer to those criteria of adaptive flexibility, often alluded by means of ecological analogies (resilience, co-evolution) or by means of technological analogies (robustness) (Perrings 2001; Rammel et al. 2004; Anderies et al. 2004).

Alternative Developments and Post-development

Accessing to the process of development is occupying a competitiveness niche in global markets. Those not reaching it can maintain themselves connected to that process as objects of the “cooperation for development”, as objects of the “humanitarian aid” or plainly starving (or perhaps the three things successively, depending on how the winds of geopolitics or the big media machineries blow). As it can be supposed confronting such a panorama, the world is full of multiple experiences in which the victims of development try to escape to that destiny, affirming independently its own projects of life improvement. Many of those experiences are to some extent successful (otherwise, the dimensions of the holocaust that is associated to the exclusion would be

still greater than they are). Many of these experiences are expressed in terms of social conflict and through a logic of resistance. In words of Shiva (1989: 2): “‘Development’ could not but entail destruction for women, nature and subjugated cultures, which is why, throughout the Third World, women, peasants and tribals are struggling for liberation from ‘development’ just as they earlier struggled for liberation from colonialism”. The exclusion appears in different societies in different scales and intensities, but it takes place everywhere.

Proposals and initiatives arising from this manifold resistance sometimes express themselves as alternatives to development and sometimes as alternative routes to development; sometimes adopt the sustainable development language whereas in other occasions they reject it. Discourses are frequently centered upon re-localization (Mander and Goldsmith 1996), but also on post-development (Sachs and Esteva 1996; Rahnama and Bawtree 1997) and cultural diversity (Escobar 1994). The debates arisen in that context are of extreme interest, as well as the divergences that can be appraised between different interpretations (Toledo 1992, 1996; Esteva 1994; Escobar 2000; Barkin 2002). Here the study wants to allude to certain characteristics that in the author’ opinion almost all those proposals and initiatives have in common. It is the case, first of all, of the accent put in the local-regional scale as the suitable scope for the expression of resistances to development-globalization as well as for concretion of the alternatives. It is the case, also, of the vindication of autonomy, as much in front of the market as in front of the state, and as much if that autonomy is grounded on association as on community. It is the case, finally, of the insistence on cultural diversity (producing a knowledge based on experience and “adapted to the case”, rejecting any model universally applicable, and offering the source of a plurality of spaces for a multitude of experiments). Very frequently, that universe of proposals for alternatives

to development is associated to the principle of sustainability. The main argument in favour of that association is worth to be considered: almost always, to be viable, these socially alternative experiences depend on the access to local natural resources and on a prudent use of these resources. Whereas “global” development uses the resources of all the planet in a large scale and causes damage everywhere and very quickly, local alternatives tend to act in a more modest scale upon the nearest natural systems and to have a concrete interest in not damaging them irremediably.

However, there are two questions for which theories of post-development still have not found a consistent answer. The first one has to do with the population scale: how post-development solutions could be applied to maintain nine or ten billion of human beings? The second one has to do with the current scale of urbanization: present megalopolis are a more or less monstrous product of the development, and it is unclear how they could subsist outside it.

EXPLICIT VISIONS OF DECLINE

The author will now mention some theories that explicitly affirm that industrial civilization is entering (or it is next to do it) a phase of decrease of its physical scale, demographic as well as economic. The debate about the reach and the social effects of that “waydown” is intense, often bitter and, until now, mostly underground. In that debate there are some significant dividing lines. The most important one brings face to face those who connect the descent with the continuity of welfare (advocating the idea of a “prosperous waydown”) and those associating it to a complete collapse of the civilization (the die-off, a fast return to the Olduvai Gorge). Recently, Odum, Diamond, Heinberg or Kunstler have expressed with force the point of view “optimistic” (The author uses this word even knowing that many people will find this use rather inappropriate). Hanson, Duncan or Morrison have expressed the point of view that the

author will call pessimistic. Interestingly, an old quarrel of the social sciences—human exceptionalism, the specificity of culture—is in the center of the dividing line. The “optimists” see the present as a crossroad, as a bifurcation, i.e., a situation in which it is still possible to choose: the subtitle of Diamond’s book about social collapses is “how societies choose to fail or survive”. The pessimistic faction usually invokes physical or genetic determinism to announce the collapse as inevitable.

A Soft (and Maybe Prosperous) Waydown

The following text is characteristic of the reasoning of those who locate themselves in the first pole of the above mentioned polarity:

For the next half-century there will be just enough energy resources left to enable either a horrific and futile contest for the remaining spoils, or a heroic cooperative effort toward radical conservation and transition to a post-fossil-fuel energy regime. The next century will see the end of global geopolitics, one way or another. If our descendants are fortunate, the ultimate outcome will be a world of modest, bioregionally organized communities living on received solar energy. Local rivalries will continue, as they have throughout human history, but never again will the hubris of geopolitical strategists threaten billions with extinction. That’s if all goes well and everyone acts rationally. (Heinberg 2003b)

Some of the new proposals offer an explicit answer to why the continuity of growth is becoming counterproductive. It is the case of a book by Howard and Elisabeth Odum (H. T. Odum and E. C. Odum 2001). Their argument, in synthesis, maintains that a cycle with four phases (growth, climax, descent, slow recovery of the resources previous to a new ascending phase) is common to ecosystems and civilizations. They add that the industrial society now lives its climax and that, therefore, descent is imminent and inescapable. That maintaining growth-phase policies beyond the climax, despite the fact that these policies (great scale, speed and competition) are well adapted

to the ascending phase, leads to a deterioration in life conditions and, finally, replace the ordered descent by collapse. And that applying principles which are more suitable to a situation of limited resources (reduced scale, efficiency and cooperation) can do the decrease benign and compatible with the maintenance of a sufficient degree of well-being. Odum’s utopia, then, is not apocalyptic at all, rather to the contrary: “Precedents from ecological systems suggest that the global society can turn down and descend prosperously, reducing assets, population, and unessential baggage while staying in balance with its environmental life-support system. By retaining the information that is most important, a leaner society can reorganize itself and continue making progress” (H. T. Odum and E. C. Odum 2001: 3).

Waydown as Die-Off

The point of view of the extinction (die-off), that announces an inevitable and catastrophic collapse of the industrial society and discards the possibility of choosing a peaceful descent, usually depends on some kinds of strong determinism, energetic or biological. The following fragment is very characteristic of this type of approaches:

- (1) We are genetically driven just like any other animal. We have no mind other than the body, and we lack behavioral choice...;
- (2) Most environmental damage is the inevitable by-product of overpopulation and is a necessary part of the plague cycle;
- (3) The environmental problems we now face do not have a technological solution. All human activity—“good” and “bad”—adds to our environmental debt. The more technological the attempted solution, the greater our environmental debt...;
- (4) The plague cycle is a vital component of the evolutionary process and an essential evolutionary escape clause in the case of a fertile, high-impact species like *Homo sapiens*. (Morrison 1999: 242)

Hanson (2001a, 2001b) had synthesized the basic

arguments of this type of approach. Those arguments refer to a particular reading of the basic principles of thermodynamics and the theory of evolution. The inescapable entropic degradation which it is the result of all productive activity, according to Hanson, implies that the concept of sustainability is theoretically consistent only if it means a continuous reduction of the whole energy requirement of the human species. Maximizing durability, then, implies less population, of human bodies as well as of artifacts (or in other words, maximum sustainability entails population so reduced as it is possible and so technologically modest as it is possible). The recognition of this condition was blocked because, as it maintained Morrison (1999), a genetically driven predisposition to inhibit self-knowledge with respect to the social issues, and to delude ourselves with false hopes about the reach of our actions, was positively selected in early phases of the human evolution in order to favor survival (and it is now a solid pre-programme of our behaviors). Hanson added to it that natural selection compelled to violate social norms whenever it offered some adaptive advantages. As a consequence, the capitalist system—that obtains stability only through continuous expansion—is led towards a state of disorganization and chaos once the natural limits are reached. Like any other animal species, a transitory abundance takes humans to exceed the carrying capacity and, thus, to end up in anarchy and war, in an extremely painful collapse.

In the author's view, in its considerations on the laws of energy, Hanson took a reading that was not the only one that made sense. The practical recommendation that should be associated to the inescapable entropic degradation is not one of maximum diminution in population and the economy, but rather a criterion of parsimony and prudence, of avoiding extravagant consumption. The rationale for this criterion, relatively more moderate, is that maximum reduction of entropic degradation does not have to be an objective of the human action.

Sustainability does not fit maximum physical scale nor minimum physical scale: a too small population with too primitive technology is also very vulnerable to environmental perturbations and, consequently, it is scarcely sustainable. Sustainability is rather associated to an intermediate scale, an intermediate value of the main variables, so that flexibility and the capacity of adaptation are optimized. On the other hand, there are good reasons to consider the predominance of culture in social life as a true emergent phenomenon, not as a simple cover for the operation of genetically determined programs (Ehrlich 2000). Jointly, intermediate scale and predominance of culture imply some possibilities of choosing, some margin to organize a controlled way down, even being pessimistic, as the author is, about the probability of this soft outcome.

The very meaning of the word “collapse” has something to do with the fuzzyness of the above mentioned dividing line. Because, as it has been said, collapse “is not a fall to some primordial chaos, but a return to the normal human condition of lower complexity” (Tainter 1995: 198). “A complex society that has collapsed is suddenly smaller, simpler, less stratified, and less socially differentiated. Specialization decreases and there is less centralized control. The flow of information drops, people trade and interact less, and there is overall lower coordination among individuals and groups. Economic activity drops to a commensurate level...” (Tainter 1995: 193). “Reduction of scale, less inequality, smallness, re-localization... Under this point of view, collapse is not very different from the old environmentalist advice: scale down, slow down, democratize, decentralize” (Roszak 1993: 312). Maybe the question is not so much the goal as the costs of achieving it.

UTOPIAN REVIVAL

The four approaches which have been summarized in

the preceding sections are, to the author's judgment, compatible with the knowledge on the limits imposed by nature to social change in modern societies which is available today. There are many differences between them, and the attempt at explaining these differences bumps into the rank of indeterminacy that is characteristic of the evolution of many natural systems and also into the opaque uncertainty of history. Although some versions of those approaches include some kind of "sustainable development" jargon, most of which are built upon another frame of reference. After development, sustainability is no longer the exactly appropriate question. Many of the commented theories can be described as utopian (and only some of them as apocalyptic). Despite of these differences, most of them can be related to the utopian thinking in a sense that is more technical-historical than value-laden. In the beginnings of the industrial society, the first steps of social theory were accompanied and influenced by a good number of utopian proposals. The beginnings of the third millennium are registering again a sprout of utopian views. Many of those new views discuss the descent after the development era, the coming phase of reduction or decrease of the industrial society. Empirical analyses of the current state of the relationship among population, resources, and environment, lead to the conclusion that this descent is inevitable (or, often, that it has already begun). The question, then, is how social change and social organization will be shaped in that context. As it happened with the nineteenth century utopies, many proponents of the new visions are scientists with a background quite distant from the social sciences: they are people coming from the ecology, geology, computer science, biochemistry, evolutionary genetics, etc. Characteristically, also, their prescriptions about the social order tend to be remarkably doctrinaire and arbitrary. In spite of their flaws, it would be erroneous not paying attention to these utopian proposals: they are the best available option, because suitable sociological

theories are lacking. Along the 21st century, it is perfectly possible that societies respond more to these pre-sociological visions than to the currently consecrated lines in social sciences.

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Critical Theory Between Tradition and Innovation: Axel Honneth and the New Paradigm of Recognition

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Abstract

In the actual political philosophical debate terms as dialectic, emancipation, social conflicts seem to have lost every actuality and the attempts to revitalize them often assume a nostalgic tone. In that tradition, only the term “criticism” is not looked with suspicious, but rather it is associated in an automatic way to every analysis of the society, that has some normative claims and doesn’t limit itself to a mere empirical description of the social reality. One of the few exceptions in this scenario is the attempt of Axel Honneth to connect the category of recognition to the original idea of the critical theory, without depriving it of his theoretical pregnancy, but at the same time eliminating his premises of philosophy of history. This study will start from the Honneth’s reading of the first critical theory to analyze, secondly, the limits individualized by Honneth from the Habermas’ sociological perspective, particularly those referred to his two levels model of society. The study will finally analyze the actuality of the category of recognition in relation to three problematic spheres: the cultural pluralism, the normativism, the connection between political philosophy and social theory.

Keywords

Political philosophy, social theory, recognition, cultural pluralism, normativism

Most of the sociologists agree in considering that the so-called School of Frankfurt has reached its “third generation”. We are talking about the transformations that affected, between the second half of the 20th century and today, the critical theory of society or the School of Frankfurt, whose founder fathers were Adorno and Horkheimer (1979). One of the most important hinges of the change, still ongoing, can be identified with the fundamental taking note, by some representatives of the critical theory, of the fact of pluralism.

With this we do not affirm that Adorno, Horkheimer, but also Marcuse and above all Benjamin, remain totally unrelated to the theme of pluralism. It is, in fact, possible interpreting the present landing

places of critical theory through the negative dialectics, the Hegelian philosophy and Karl Marx.

Compared to the precedents, nevertheless, the German philosopher Axel Honneth, who succeeded to Habermas as director of the Institute for social researches of Frankfurt, seemed to go beyond the contest of totalitarianism, beyond the denunciation of a purely instrumental human reason and, so, beyond the dualism actor-social system, on which, for a long time,

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social sciences were structured.

In other words, Honneth is considered, right or wrong, the interpreter of the post-traditional society, a voice of the so-called post-metaphysical thought, who, on the other hand, does not conform to that kind of justified abstention of contemporary philosophy from judging the particular direction of individual and collective projects of life.

In this way, he does not yield to postmodern disillusion, fully interpreting the role of representative of a theory (which wants to be) critical of society that, in consequence of the so-called communicative turn in social sciences, and in social theory recovers the autonomy of the subject towards systemic imperatives coming from the society. The communicative turn, coinciding with the publication of theory of Communicative Action (Habermas 1991), would coincide with the second generation of the Frankfurt School.

This turn carried out by the crisis of the ideals that inspired the Soviet revolution, by the emergence of the totalitarian regimes of Stalin in Russia and the Fascist and Nazis ones in Italy and Germany, by the missed revolutionary uprising of working classes in western societies, by their appearing, on the contrary, increasingly integrated into the capitalist system. The reifying character assumed by the socialization of masses in the great democratic societies, particularly in the United States, and the explosion of the destructive violence of the Second World War, had already convinced, in fact, the same founders of the Frankfurt School that sociology could not limit its mission to a pure neutral recording of phenomena, as positivist tradition suggested.

On the contrary, it should assume full critical responsibility of latent and manifest forms of political and economic dominium. The analysis of cultural industry denounced the desperation of the dialectics, and the impossibility, that is, of judging the particular direction of individual and collective life projects.

The identification of the contradictions in the

advanced industrial society, however, seemed to be no longer sufficient. Honneth argued that the situation in which the social philosophy of the time was, of an objective difficulty to act as orientation and guide of praxis, and was determined by the conceptually arid transposition, outlined in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Adorno and Horkheimer 1979), from the domination of nature to the domination on human being in the analysis of the civilization process. The analogy between domination of nature and social domination, in fact, involved the reduction of the conceptual framework of social behaviour to the concept of labor.

This reduction by the first generation of critical theory excluded, from the analysis of social behavior of a particular age, the interpretation performances of subjects or groups oppressed by the society. Honneth can be connected with the first critical theory without agreeing with the assumptions of philosophy of history. In the writings of Horkheimer of the Thirties, he identified the main feature of the Frankfurt tradition: his ability to be reflective. With reflective capacity Honneth referred to non-neutral role of sociology in orientation and guide of praxis with regard to the contradictions acting in the society.

Critical theory was, from his point of view, the instrument of self-listening to the advanced industrial society: it, through the critique of capitalism, made the players aware of the possibility of liberation from the exploitation of man by man, implicit in the same development of productive forces. If those were the historical social conditions in which the critical social theory matured, Honneth (1991) wondered how it was possible that it was developing today. The theoretical matrix, from which it came, was, in fact, the materialist conception of history, which judged labor and man's dominion of nature, the only form of social behavior.

It is not easy to understand, then, how critical theory can claim a methodological alternative to traditional sociology. There are, indeed, various

sociological currents that attempt to limit the exploitation of nature by humankind, with the aim of increasing the development of productive forces, but they obviously do not allow criticism of the capitalistic economical organization.

Recent trends in social sciences lack precisely the reflection moment of questioning the existing order. In Marxian theory there seemed to be no room for the emergence of a critical theory perspective as emancipatory perspective for the actors, because, at a pre-theoretical level, a social action aimed to emancipation, rather than to self-preservation, was excluded.

For Honneth, however, what is deserving of attention about the critical theory is the ability to catch, in social reality, “quasi-transcendental” dimensions of action, not in a metaphysical sense, but in relation to particular historical conditions, that can give a basis to the theoretical claim of their overcoming.

Conveying the need for a renewal of the critical theory of society, Honneth (1991) retrieved the Horkheimer’s concept of dialectical totality, according to which the true object of social sciences was not the single individual behaviors, but the totality of social relations.

From the dialectical totality, as vision of a practical behavior that can transform society, inherit the nexus, constitutive and unavoidable, with the emancipatory dimension: the purpose of critical theory is to guide the action in its contemporary political practice. Such aspirations, however, seem to him irreconcilable with the Marxian conception of praxis that would have affected the whole interdisciplinary project for the analysis of society by the Frankfurt School, to a purely functionalist discourse: the political economy, the psychoanalysis, and the theory of culture were used to describe the way in which society reproduced and preserved itself, without being able to legitimize its critical views about it.

Once again, Honneth researched, in the works of his predecessors, the element was able to go beyond

the limits produced by a functionalist approach: social conflict, to be set against an ideologically-distorted cultural behavior that acquired propulsive function in the process of civilization.

Also challenging the dominant values of a society, it is possible to develop critical interpretations of reality, which is able to influence a transformation of it. The selective review of the Horkheimer’s works was useful, therefore, for Honneth to define the key features of a new approach, which he got exactly where Horkheimer did not turn out to be entirely consistent with the assumptions of Marxist philosophy of history. In this way he reconstructed the core of critical theory, discriminating against those assumptions and legitimating the resumption today, in a changed social context.

LIMITS OF HABERMASIAN PERSPECTIVE

The second phase of the Frankfurt School, as the author said initially, was certainly the Habermasian re-foundation of a criterion of rationality that is able to guide the social-historical behavior toward emancipation, refusing both a neutral praxis and the instrumental rationality. His theory of Communicative Action was, in fact, the attempt to recover the tradition of Enlightenment, orienting it to the development of an inter-subjective communication. The main merit of Habermas was undoubtedly having found the way out from the paralysis in which critical theory was at the end of the Forties: the closed circuit capitalistic dominion-cultural manipulation had led sociology to a desperate appeal to “thought that resists” with the same conceptual instruments of critique of instrumental rationality, and with a “critique of reason by reason”. Habermas tried to extend the notion of social action, distinguishing the instrumental behavior from communicative behavior.

To catch the implications of the communicative turn in social sciences, we must understand how the social sciences have traditionally conjugated systemic

mechanisms, products of modernization, with the requirements of communicative rationality, expressed by the world of life. Habermas attempted to transfer the emancipatory potential of the subject from the sphere of economic production to the sphere of social interaction, put in the foreground the discursive interaction, instead of working activity, and this was the “new” normative element, to which critical theory had to be anchored. This is not a mere attempt to replace the Marxian category of labor, excluding the typical contradictions of capitalism from the analysis. Replacing the concept of labor with the concept of strategic behavior, Habermas renounced univocal link which Marx had established between work and liberation of humankind.

According to Marx, in fact, the development of revolutionary social consciousness followed the logic of action totally similar to that of the manipulation of nature. Instrumental actions were reduced to mere knowledge of technical requirements: the subject drew satisfaction from his activities on the basis of the success with which he could manipulate objects. Habermas believed, on the contrary, that critical instance could no longer be sought in the historical process of human socialization, but rather in trans-historical conditions of its socio-cultural existence. He then set the critical theory on the intimate structure of language. Taking from pragmatism theories, he argued that practical conditions of ordinary language had a normative character, because they were also the conditions for achieving mutual comprehension. The communicative turn takes place exactly here: the process of emancipation of social actors is independent from the existence of groups historically oppressed by the economic structure. Indeed, if the normative element is located in the communicative presuppositions of ordinary language, the emancipation could come even beyond the will of those concerned that do not always see as the restriction of linguistic rules intuitively used like injustice.

Habermas, in other words, freed the existence of conflict and criticism of the alienation from a particular social group—the proletariat—unlike Horkheimer. Thus, the transition to a transcendental model makes the critical theory get on, compared to the model developed by Horkheimer, as it sacrifices its functionalist assumption, the promotion of a concrete interest by social actors in favor of the recognition of the “moralizing” role of conflict in promoting social progress. The charge of transcendentalism frequently addressed to Habermas regards, more than anything, the duality of his theoretical approach, the division between strategic action and communicative action, which would confine labor exclusively in the dimension of strategic behavior and, more generally, it would belittle the fight as a key strategy in the dynamics of social recognition, flattening its potential for moralization of society. According to Honneth, on the contrary, it was exactly the changed image of social change that gave substance to the communicative turn: from the idea that change came from the clash among social groups about specific interests to a comparison among conflicting normative conceptions that underlied the conflicting processes of rationalization.

In other words, there is the possibility that the duality of Habermasian theory between strategic action and communicative action hidden some areas of conflict. According to Honneth the pathologies of our time were not only those resulting from the transformation of communicative rationality in strategic rationality, but they also might be internal to both them. Honneth (1995: 130-137) elaborated this kind of reflections on the communicative turn, still keeping one of its underlying assumptions intact: the inter-subjective foundation of rationality, as historical-logic precedent that justified the emphasis on the inter-subjective character of recognition practices.

Only respecting this assumption, Honneth could reach the obvious conclusion that conflict, caused by

misrecognition, was able to moralize society. Thanks to the changed theoretical framework, towards a theory of inter-subjectivity based on recognition, critical theory returns to be both sociological and potentially normative, so far as it tackles again, in social theory, the theme of self-realization between conflict and progress. Honneth not only changed the way we considered the evolutionary history of mankind, but also the theoretical framework of society: the institutionally-mediated relations, among morally-integrated social actors, form now the model through which it was possible to understand the integration of society.

NEW APPROACH: HONNETH'S PERSPECTIVE IN NOWADAYS DEBATES

Honneth in 1992 developed all the elements necessary to develop his own autonomous model of critical theory that was systematically presented in the book *Struggle for Recognition*. The struggle for recognition will be rebuilt on the basis of “the original idea of Hegel”. Considering that Hegel was the first philosopher to give a complete form to the theme of recognition was not so innovative, but, usually, this issue was brought back to the famous topos of master-slave dialectics in *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (Hegel 1977). A first element of interest in Honneth's research was the author's attention almost exclusively on pre-phenomenological Hegel, and mainly on texts ranging from *Natural Law* (1802) to *Jena's Thinking* (1805-1806). If, indeed, recognition becomes, from phenomenology, an essential element in the formation of self-consciousness, it plays an essential role in the young Hegel's writings. In these writings the desire of individuals for inter-subjective recognition of their identity was inherent from the very beginning in social life as a moral tension. To the idea of “social struggle” as the driving element in the auto-determination of individualities, and the idea

beloved to most of the modern political tradition (from Hobbes to Machiavelli, Honneth reminds), Hegel gave another reason of enormous value. The dynamics of recognition, free from transcendental characteristic of Fichte's model, allow a reading of human ethicality oriented accordance with “successive stages of conciliation and conflict”.

Hegel would have thus seen a chance to read, through a single register, on the one hand the needs of self-preservation, and the main foundation of political anthropology; on the other hand the needs for recognition, in which social conflict became possible. The different ways of recognition which, according to Honneth, Hegel seemed to have guessed are: love, law and solidarity, as normative elements implied in the experiences of humiliation and contempt, respectively identified in the violation of physical integrity, the denial of fundamental rights and social devaluation of life projects, both individual and collective ones.

Love, law and solidarity were the conditions of personal self-realization, the skeleton of a “formal theory of ethicality”, as the mediation between a Kantian moral theory and the communitarian ethics, or a kind of ethicality covering simultaneously generally-valid norms and specific reasons for personal auto-realization. Another aspect which the analysis of Honneth dwelled upon was the idea that Hegel seemed to realize in these writings, that the crime, the aware infraction of a norm would normally originate in a state of missed recognition.

The dynamics of the recognition would become not only an expression of social conflict, but also its own origin. This sociological hypothesis was extended by Honneth toward the identification of inter-subjective practices of recognition that could set the moral autonomy of subjects.

The first form of recognition is love, in which the subject, feeling loved, become more self-confident and confident in the possibility of his own body. Solidarity is on the second. Through solidarity self-esteem is acquired through social approval of own life

projects. Finally there is law, as a set of obligations towards others, through which the subject learns to understand himself as a person with rights and understand his actions as an expression of his own autonomy respected by others. Love, law and solidarity were, according to Honneth, essential dimensions for the affirmation of human identity and dignity; they were the foundation for moral autonomy of subjects. So the development of communicative rationality as emancipatory perspective for the actors includes within the normative value of recognition. But Honneth, unlike Habermas, identified the key practice of social relations in the conflict resulting from serious situation of misrecognition, like the violation of physical integrity (examples were rape and torture), deprivation of rights (as in the case of marginalization and slavery) and humiliation (as in the case of disqualification of so-called “alternative” lifestyles). From this perspective, the struggle for recognition is configured as an inter-subjective condition of personal integrity, that structures the whole formal ethicality which is the basis of action of individuals, and therefore of groups. From the individual reaction for the lack of recognition we can see a social conflict defined as a practical process in which the individual experiences of mis-recognition are interpreted as typical experiences of a whole group, so that they may affect, as reasons orienting action, the collective aspiration to wider social relations. But what are the normative implications of such a discourse?

Cultural Pluralism

The first test is the theme of cultural pluralism, before which the position of Honneth appears as a valid alternative to both liberal and communitarian authors. Facing the fact of pluralism, the liberal model emphasizes the need to separate the political field from the ethical one. The typical proposal of this model is the Rawls’ overlapping consensus (Rawls

1971), by which individuals should arrive about the fundamental principles of a theory of justice, while in the ethical field everyone can embrace his own comprehensive doctrine. For communitarian authors this model seems inadequate as it continues to consider the cultural identity of each individual like a purely personal element that does not deserve to be recognized by others. Taylor (1992), highlighted the process of the identity question, described identity as the vision that a person had of what he is, of his basic characteristics that defined it as a human being. So first of all, identity is based on the “vision that a person has of himself, the sense of self as an individual, inwardly built, but in which identity is not exhausted”.

An interpersonal dimension is also necessary to become aware of self as a human being, to understand the specific way in which humanity become concrete in them, in an absolutely peculiar way, which can be understood in its own uniqueness in comparison with the other and in mutual recognition of respective specificities. Taylor dwelled on this question: the image that we formed of ourselves depended largely on recognition or misrecognition which others awarded to us. Thus neglecting the importance of recognition that has for the development of personal identity can damage the same forming process of the identity. An example is provided by historically humiliated or disregarded groups, like colonized people or women, who have internalized the negative image reflected on them by society, eventually accepted the role assigned to them by the dominant culture and lost every capacity of opposition and resistance.

The problem with Taylor was perhaps the lack of a normative criterion through which it was possible to distinguish between forms of identity that deserved to be recognized and forms of identity that should be discouraged. With regard to Taylor and Rawls the first advantage of Honneth’s prospect could be envisaged in the identification of different forms of recognition,

with which Honneth (2001) tried to bring together the concepts of self-determination and self-identity, seen as two successive levels of individual identity. Through legal recognition of relationships the individual perceives himself as autonomous, but the process of individualization does not stop: the subject struggles to see recognized, as having value, its own form of life. Thus Honneth admitted only those values that could be structurally reconciled with the moral conditions of modern law. The social solidarity, finally, assures symmetrical approval of respective forms of life among legally autonomous citizens.

Normativism

The question now is where the normative element needs to distinguish between good and bad forms of recognition. The possible way is to search the normative element not in the forms of legal recognition, but starting from misrecognition, from reaction feelings like anger, indignation and remorse. In Honneth's writings, we can see an answer to the problem of the normative foundation—now adopted by many authors, including Walzer (1990) and Margalit (2010)—namely that of a form of negative normativism, that does not support the universality of this or that culture, of this or that form of life but it affirms only that any culture and any form of life is defined only by what it excludes. With analysis of misrecognition emotions felt by moral subjects, Honneth argued that it was a priority to identify and describe behaviors and actions to be avoided rather than to prescribe those that had to be followed. The awareness of suffered injustice in fact not only precedes the establishment of a linguistically articulated system of values, but for some social groups it is the only way to express their moral expectations. In this way, Honneth reconnected his thought to the intent explicitly pursued by Adorno (1974) in *Minima Moralia*: through an examination of offended life formed determining indirectly the conditions for a successful life.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY VERSUS SOCIAL THEORY AND CONCLUSIONS

The real peculiarity of recognition-based approach can be seen more clearly in its differentiating regards to nowadays dominant positions of who, like Rawls and especially Habermas, stick the normative point of view to the delineation of a theory of justice that is limited to the legal-institutional level, to the dimension of public sphere. These prospects are now completely outside of the original critical theory, since leaving the need to connect the theory to the diagnosis of pathologies present in social reality. The “critical” alternative option in tackling the issues of justice and democracy lied in transferring them from the public sphere to the social one: thus, on the one hand Honneth extended Habermas' philosophical assumptions towards a theory of justice; on the other hand, he made the normative idea of democracy a social ideal. Honneth considered unjustified the auto-limitation of discursive ethics, its remaining neutral not only with respect to questions of good life, but also in relation to a principle of social justice.

The normative content of discursive ethics is not exhausted in the ideal linguistic model, because a rule is valid not when it can be accepted by all participants in the discourse, but when the practical discourse, through which it is established, actually is fulfilled in conditions of free and equal participation for all interested subjects. Discursive ethics should so indicate, together with procedures for discursive formation of will, and also the type of social structure that makes the establishment of will be possible. It should include, in the list of needed assumptions, those norms of justice that settle the conditions for the possibility of such discourses. Therefore, it might be considered fair only a society that contains, in its normative infrastructure, the conditions for a free-from-domination dialogue. But in this way, discursive ethics loses its character of purely formal justice to embrace an inter-subjectively wider concept

of substantial justice. Honneth used discursive theory to argue that the idea of coming to an agreement through argumentation involved implicitly the idea of moral subjects that came to individual autonomy only through inter-subjective recognition that allowed them to take a stand about morally undisputed norms.

Since the autonomy of the moral subject is not that atomistic of an isolated individual, but rather that, inter-subjectively achieved, of a socialized individual, discursive ethics has to be opposed against all those moral doctrines that consider issues of justice only as problems of division of goods, that come from the assumption of isolated individuals which can only consider their own interests. If, in fact, the autonomy of the subject is no longer assumed, but it is seen as a result of a process of inter-subjective recognition, we become conscious of the fact that questions of justice also affect shape and structure of the process of recognition. We must assume equal access to social information and cultural training, so that subjects perceive themselves as people being able to express opinions and judgments. Therefore the discursive ethics estimates right only those binding structures of a social order which guarantee, to all members of a society, the institutional preconditions for achieving auto-respect. So, now it becomes clearer, the task entrusted by Honneth to the critical theory is more demanding: critical attention must be given to concrete moral and symbolic dimensions of social inequality that prevent citizens from getting the same freedom for the taking of moral stand. Only in this way a discursively-motivated theory of society would keep on the intentions of the Marxist critique of class society.

To expand in social terms the normative ideal of democracy, finally, Honneth used Dewey's idea of "democracy as reflexive co-operation" (Dewey 1908), since in it the communicative freedom was not realized at the level of inter-subjective discourse but at the level of communitarian cooperation. The socialization essential to a healthy democracy should

not be accomplished within the public sphere but in pre-political form, within the structures of a division of labor experienced as cooperation. The idea of democratic public sphere, in fact, requires social assumptions that can be insured only outside it. The guiding idea is that the collective resolution of a problem in the context of social work provides a paradigm for other collective activities, in particular for the political opinion and will forming processes. According to Honneth's democratic procedures (2008) there were not sufficient for the formation of opinion and will: people could feel motivated and interested in taking part in public opinion and will formation, only if will and opinion had become a normative element inherent in their daily habits. Near the procedural aspect we had therefore to bring the democratic ethicality interpreted, according to the Dewey's conception, as the result of the mutual experience that all members of society would do if they could relate to each other in a fair condition about division of labor.

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Yogic Prescription for Corporate Wellness and Excellence

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Abstract

Yoga has been practiced as a complete way of life management and ecological harmony for time immemorial. Successful companies across the globe like Microsoft, IBM, and PepsiCo etc., have incorporated yoga or spirituality at their workplaces for employees' wellness and organizational excellence. In contemporary scenario, scientific researches on yoga that substantiate its positive impacts at bodily, psychic, societal, spiritual and organizational level have been made abundantly. However, there is a lack of an innovative yogic model that is holistic and supportive to boost corporate wellness (CW) and excellence (CE). So the basic aim of this paper is to propose a yogic prescription (YP) for the corporate wellness and excellence that needs to be tested in future researches.

Keywords

Corporate wellness, corporate excellence, yogic prescription

There are a number of emerging concepts and confusions regarding the term yoga. In fact, the yoga was propounded by seers and sages of yore to be freed from all bondages of lives and to reach liberation. Yoga stands for a fusion of embodied consciousness with supreme consciousness. From the perspective of Samkhya philosophy, yoga is fission of *Parkirti and Purusha* that happens when all psychic modifications get inhibited (Taimni 2002). It's targeted toward inner journey to reach trance and liberation unless its primitive journey starts from gross practices that are quite effective for a sound physical, mental, social and spiritual well-being of each individual. Physical fitness, sound mental health, focused mind and purified emotions are the foremost to any individual desired for success, happiness and harmony in life. So yoga seems essential, eternal and global for entire

humanity and global harmony. In modern context, most of the yoga practitioners are concerned to their physical and mental benefits. Basically, they have been practicing yoga for health promotion and disease management. For instance, only US invests \$5.7 billion dollars per year in the yoga classes and products by involving 15.8 million people. Of these US yoga practitioners, 72.2 percent are women who practice yoga to be slim, flexible, de-stressed and

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attractive (Macy 2008). In most of the Western and South Asian countries, yoga has been a craze to everyone and has a greater space in corporate circles too. “Turnover of the yoga business in Asia is more than 50 crores per year. A large number of corporate personnel are being trained in yogic ways of stress management and mind management in Pure Yoga Studio of the Hong Kong” (Singh 2009). Moreover, the rise of yoga masters like Swami Ramdev has promoted mass media communication of yoga worldwide at large.

Basic concern of the corporate companies is to earn material prosperity at large, enjoy life and take care of corporate social responsibility (CSR). This needs the boosted employees’ wellness, personal effectiveness and harmonious interplay among four human intelligences—spiritual (SQ), emotional (EQ), creative (CQ) and intellectual (IQ). “Health is the complete state of physical, mental and social well being not only absence of infirmity or diseases” (World Health Organization [WHO] 1998: 1). This definition of health seems incomplete and needs to be redefined because it excludes spiritual dimension of health. Spiritual health is basically concerned to level of purified emotions, optimal thinking, power of receiving, sustaining and properly utilizing cosmic energy that governs bio-magnetic field (Acharya 2005), critical existential thinking (CET), personal meaning production (PMP), transcendental awareness (TA) and conscious state expansion (CSE) (King 2008). This incompleteness in the definition of health is complemented by redefining “logical progression in the definition of health from the absence of diseases, the presence of wellness, which also means a low rise of disease, enhanced functionality which means an increase in the value of employees’ human capital” (Hunnicut 2003: 7). This definition of health explicates that health is the critical factor for CE. Moreover, CW is defined as “good physical, mental, social, and spiritual health of individual and organizational workforce” (Yukon Workers’

Compensation Health and Safety Board [YWCHSB] 2006-2010 2008: 14). This concept of CW has explicitly accepted the significance of spiritual well being for total health. Recently the concept of four human intelligences and their harmonious interplay is also deemed essential for total health and human excellence.

There is intimate connection between yoga and CW and CE. Impacts of yoga practices happen in bio-psycho-socio-spiritual form—at physical level it improves musculoskeletal functioning, cardio-pulmonary status, ANS (autonomic nervous system) response and endocrine functioning; at psychosocial level, it enhances self-esteem, coping, social support and positive mood; and at spiritual level it elevates compassionate understanding and mindfulness (Evans et al. 2009). The term wellness is concerned to physical fitness, mental alertness, focused mind, personal effectiveness, purified emotions, social adaptation, and cognitive clarity, PMP, CET, TA and CSE. On the other hand, the term CE indicates “the high performing organizations that bear a respected, competent, and cohesive board of directors; effective leadership, trusted stewardship, a stable and reliable organization; and mutually beneficial working partnerships” (YWCHSB 2006- 2010 2008: 5). Interestingly, effective leadership has a key concern for CE and basically is the function of EQ and SQ acquired by leaders/board of directors.

If a leader bears 12 spiritual traits—self-awareness, spontaneity, being vision and value led, holism, compassion, celebration of diversity, field independence, humility, tendency to ask fundamentals, ability to reframe, positive use of adversity, and sense of vocation (Zohar 2005), there is no doubt in his or her personal effectiveness, charismatic leadership, integrity, reliability and mutual care as well to achieve excellence. Indeed, yoga is skillfulness in action (Sivananda 2003: 44). Yogic feeling stands for a steady feeling of self-realization, holism, interconnectedness and global harmony.

Workplace YPs can be made on the basis of four possible human personalities—emotive, rational, mystic and dynamic (Satyanand 2002). The emotive personality is predominated by feelings, sentiments and elations. Rational personalities are accustomed of reasoning and rationalizing. Dynamic personalities prioritize actions rather than feeling and thinking where as mystic personality bears the partial traits from all three. So yogic practices from *Bhakti yoga* (yoga of devotion), *Gyan yoga* (yoga for wisdom), *Raj yoga* (eightfold path of yoga) and *Karma yoga* (yoga of action) respectively may be supportive for the optimal development of emotive, rational, mystic and dynamic personalities. This explicitly recommends that workplace YPs targeting CW and CE needs to be contained with yogic practices from all the four major streams of yoga.

It's difficult to detect the personality type of an individual by a common yoga expert without sufficient psychic power and Extra Sensory Perception (ESP). So it's better to flow and prescribe eightfold path of yoga (*Raj yoga*) as it suits every one's personality to boost total health, four quotients and personal excellence. Eight limbs of yoga are *Yam* (way of social adjustment), *Niyam* (way of inducing inner harmony), *Asana* (way of achieving physical health, steadiness of mind and overcoming pros and cons), *Pranayam* (way of achieving sound mental health, psychic refinement and expanding *prana*-bio-electricity; boosting psychic powers-self-esteem, will and self-confidence), *Pratahyar* (way of conserving energy at bodily, psychic and spiritual level), *Dharana* (power of focusing on target and firm determination), *Dhyan* (way of gaining ESP and realizing truth) and *Samadhi* (fusion of embodied consciousness with cosmic consciousness vanishing the self-identity). This chain of *Raj yoga* explicates the effectiveness of yogic practices to boost health, happiness, harmony and excellence at individual and corporate level.

CORPORATE PROBLEMS AND YOGIC RELEVANCE

“Globally, 65% of the population over the age of 15 are in their productive years and spend one-fourth of their time in the workplace. In today's market-driven competitive world, a capable and resilient employee is the most important resource and fundamental to productivity” (World Economic Forum [WEF] 2008: 1). However, scandal, unethical relationships, occupational accidents, job stress, work related illness (backache, hearing loss, lung cancer, diabetes, obesity, and cardiac problems), drug addiction, alcoholism, smoking, emotional traumas, bullying, poor family friendly environment, work life conflict, unnatural life style, fast food, and materialistic relationship are very common in corporate companies in these days. WHO estimated that,

between 2005 and 2015 income loss due to non-communicable diseases (NCD) or chronic diseases (in international dollars) could rise to as much as \$558 billion in China, \$237 billion in India, \$303 billion in Russia and \$33 billion in the United Kingdom. Recognized as a limiting factor on the length and quality of life, chronic diseases also account for roughly 75% of healthcare costs, and their associated productivity losses are as much as 400% greater than the cost of treatment. Similarly, costs associated with mental ill health account for 2-3% of GDP; with most costs related to absenteeism and presenteeism. (WEF N.d.: 3)

NCDs, which include cardiovascular conditions, cancer, chronic respiratory conditions and type 2 diabetes, are responsible for more than half of all deaths in the world. The World Health Organization (WHO) predicts that they will account for two-thirds of all deaths globally in the next 25 years, the majority in low and middle income countries. Almost half of those who die from chronic diseases are in their productive years. The economic consequences—driven by productivity reduction and the increase in costs in workforces caused by these diseases—are dramatic. (WEF N.d.: para. 1)

“An Indian industry survey showed that lifestyle-related illnesses—caused mainly by poor diet, physical inactivity and tobacco consumptions—

account for 27% of illnesses among employees” (WEF 2008: 2). Unhealthy behaviors like tobacco use, smoking, sedentary life style etc., work as precursors of different health problems and cause great loss in corporate productivity too. According to Aldana (2007),

Physical inactivity costs 15% of the total healthcare expenditures per annum in a corporation. In the same manner, the cost of tobacco use is also driving significant cost differently among female and male employees. A female of 24 years having smoking habit have to spend \$106,000 for her lifetime to treat the diseases that are conducive by tobacco use where it costs \$220,000 for male employee for the same. Next unhealthy behavior is physical inactivity and wrong eating habits that breed obesity which is the top most cost driver among health hazards of the corporate world. Someone who’s obese and someone who’s not, and they both have the same health condition or the same disease, it costs \$1,200 more to treat the obese person than it does the person who maintains a healthy weight—even though it may not be an obesity-related condition. Preventable health conditions account for 35-40% of total healthcare costs. If tobacco use is added in it, it becomes 65-70% of total healthcare expenditures within a organization.

Consequently, corporate vision and mission have been greatly hammered. As all these factors cause great loss in medical expenditure, poor employee effectiveness, organizational distress, performance impairment and low productivity. To minimize these issues, a number of interventions are employed and tested, but neither of them has been found holistic and sustainable.

Yoga being a holistic approach of life management and bearing multidimensional impacts at bodily, psychic, societal, spiritual and ecological level, its incorporation as an inseparable part of the corporate trainings may be effective, global and sustainable for CW and CE. As aforesaid, the successful companies of the world—Microsoft, IBM, Infosys, Nexcomm, INTEL, United Airlines, PepsiCo, New York Police Department, GE, The White House, AT & T, Forbes, Apple, US Marines etc., have

incorporated yoga at their workplace to promote employee health and performance excellence (Yoga Vibe N.d.). Obviously, persistent practice of yoga by corporate employees have promoted their health, healthy and empathetic behaviors; personal effectiveness, workplace harmony, charismatic leadership, team spirit, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, morale, integrity and fairness in all matters; zeal to excel and zest; respect for dignity and divinity of each stakeholders; learning attitude and innovations; loyalty and pride in the company; strict adherence to commitments, mutual concern and CSR.

YOGIC PRESUMPTIONS FOR CW AND CE

Yogic concept does not differentiate hurdles that encounter at individual and organization level. As an organization is the group of two or more persons joined together to reach a common goal. The gist of all yogic scriptures has been compiled in Patanjali Yoga Sutra (c.200 CE-300 CE) as eight fold limbs of yoga (royal path of yoga) that has enumerated nine hurdles for progress at individual or organization level viz. ailments (physical or mental), dullness, doubt, procrastination, laziness, over indulgence, delusion, not to achieve expected position or infrastructures, and instability in achieved position (Satyananda 2002). It further asserts that the consequences of these hurdles manifest as pain or miseries, psychological despair, trembling of body and un-rhythmic breathing. In the same line, a widely accepted scripture of life management, SBG also advocates that ignorance leads to repeated thinking on a particular sense object, that breeds attachment toward the object, attachment breeds desires (likes and dislikes), desires lead to anger, anger results in delusion, delusion leads to loss of memory, loss of memory causes loss of intellect and loss of intellect ruins whole human personality (Sivananda 2003). Therefore, all these hurdles should be overcome by yogic practices prescribed as per personality of the aspirant. As Satyananda (2002)

advocated, human personality may be of four types: (1) active; (2) intuitive/rational (3) emotive; and (4) mystic/volitional and selection of yogic practices should be made accordingly. Obviously, for the active aspirant, practice of selfless deeds may be effective for psychic refinement and awakening hidden talents that needed for success. For rational personality, the hierarchy of practices, listening to enlightening discourses (*Sarvan*), contemplation of the perceived knowledge (*Mananan*), and meditation (*Nidhidhyasan*) as prescribed by *Vedanta* may suit for the same purpose. Emotive personality may prefer *Ishwar Parnidhan/Bhakti yoga* (*Mantra Jap, devotional session etc.*) for psychic refinement and transformation. For mystic personality, eight fold path of *Raj yoga* is preferred more to attain the same goal. So designing of YP for CW and CE needs to include all yogic practices from all streams of yoga as its indispensable contents.

Yoga Versus CW

Yoga may be an integral part of worksite health promotion program (WHPP).

WHPP is an organized program in the worksite that is intended to assist employees and their family members (and/or retirees) in making voluntary behavior changes which reduce their health and injury risks, improve their health consumer skills and enhance their individual productivity and well-being whereas wellness is an intentional choice of a lifestyle characterized by personal responsibility, moderation, and maximum personal enhancement of physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health. Wellness programs typically begin by focusing on the reduction of health risks and then target issues that affect personal productivity, general well being, quality of work-life, personal growth, and other areas of interest. (Hunnicutt and Chapman 2006: 4)

On the other hand, CW is a good physical, mental, social and spiritual health of an individual and organizational workforce. Royal path of yoga starts from:

(1) *Yama* (social codes): The practice of

improving social health and harmony-non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, non-possessiveness, and celibacy);

(2) *Niyam* (moral codes): The practice for creating homogeneity and harmony among feelings, thinking and actions—purity, contentment, austerity, self-study, and complete surrender to God;

(3) *Asana* (posture): The practice for improving physical health, physical flexibility and fitness; overcoming conflicts, and maintaining steady posture for meditation. Yoga quiets the body and mind through vascular and muscular relaxation (Monro 1995). Maintaining of posture was thought to lead strengthening and relaxation of voluntary muscles and eventually to control over the autonomic nervous system (ANS) (Vahia et al. 2004). In the same way, another study had reported that intensive practice of postural sequences as *surya namaskar* for longer than 10 minutes was associated with sufficiently elevated metabolic and heart response to improve cardio-respiratory fitness (Hagins et al. 2007). There also happens a continuous extension and flexion of muscles during yoga poses is associated with activation of antagonistic neuromuscular system as well as tendon-organ feedback resulting in increased range of motion and relaxation (Riley 2004);

(4) *Pranayam* (breathing mechanics for control and expansion of *prana*): The practice for attaining a sound mental health, the yogic practice of channeling *pranic* flow in subtle energy channels, expanding and controlling *pranic* energy, regulating secretions of endocrine hormones and neuro-transmitters. The voluntary control of breath can modulate autonomic nervous system functions including cardiac vagal tone as measured by heart rate variability (Lehrer 1999; Sovik 2000), vigilance and attention (Fokkema 1999), chemoreceptor and baroreflex sensitivity (Bernardi 2001; Spicuzza 2000), as well as the level of central nervous excitation (Brown and Gerbarg 2005). *Pranayam* like *Ujjayi* breathing increases vagal tone, heart rate variability (HRV) (Telles and Desiraju

1992), and respiratory sinus arrhythmia (RSA) (Carney et al. 1995) by inducing parasympathetic activity through numerous mechanisms, including slow breath rate, contraction of the laryngeal musculature, inspiration against airway resistance and breath holds (Cappo and Holmes 1984). Further, they emphasized that slow breathing with prolonged expiration was shown to reduce psychological and physiological arousal, anxiety, panic disorder, depression, IBS, early Alzheimer's and obesity (Friedman and Thayer 1998; Haug et al. 1994). Thus, *pranayam* is the best practice of boosting morale, will power, self-confidence and mind-body health;

(5) *Pratyahara* (senses withdrawal): It is the practice of conserving energy or *prana* by diverting senses inward from their external objects to seal outward *pranic* flow. It's an introspective practice of increasing bio-immunity, psycho-immunity and spiritual immunity at large. The prevalent practice like *Yoga Nidra* comes under *Pratyahara* in which practitioner goes in relaxed meditative state and gets dissociated from wish to act. Kjaer et al. (2002) made a study to investigate whether endogenous dopamine release increased during loss of executive control in meditation (*Yoga Nidra*) and found an increase of 65% in endogenous dopamine release, concomitant increase in theta activity, decreased desire for action and heightened sensory imagery;

(6) *Dharana* (concentration): The practice of hitting target by being pin pointed. i.e., hundred percent focused mental flow at a particular target. The practice like mindful awareness, mindful based stress reduction technique, guided imagery and advance stage of *Yoga Nidra* come under this. Siegel (2009) hypothesized that mindful awareness induced internal attunement thereby catalyzing the fundamental process of integration. Moreover, he asserted that integration—the linkage of differentiated elements of a system led to the flexible, adaptive, and coherent flow of energy and information in the brain, the mind and relationships;

(7) *Dhyan* (meditation): The prolonged concentration on a particular target that culminates in self-realization and paranormal accomplishments. The subsequent practice of meditation is supportive for awakening ESP and reaching self-realization. Neuroimaging studies had shown that meditation resulted in activation of the prefrontal cortex, the thalamus and inhibitory thalamic reticular nucleus and a resultant functional deafferentation of the parietal lobe (Mohandas 2008). He further asserted that neurochemicals' (GABA, endogenous dopamine, epinephrine, nor epinephrine, encephalin, acetylcholine, etc.) changes as a result of meditative practice involved all the major neurotransmitter systems that contributed to ameliorate anxiety, depressive symptomatology and psychogenic property. Moreover, intuitive flashes and ESPs are very common when mind gets tranquilized and calm in deep meditative stage. In such condition there happens interplay among conscious, subconscious and unconscious minds thereby causing intuition and ESPs;

(8) *Samadhi* (trance or super-consciousness): Fusion of embodied consciousness with cosmic consciousness, steady feeling of holism and interconnectedness. As per yoga, *Samadhi* is supposed as the stage of total health where an aspirant gets freed from the effect of three strands—*Sat, Raj and Tam* and realizes one's real self. In other word, it is *Nirudha* stage of psyche that represents the total health.

Yoga Versus CE

CE is the function of four intelligences—SQ (farsightedness, serenity, discriminative wisdom, PMP, CET, TA and CSE), EQ (affectionate and loving relationship with family and society; memorizing God's compassion is unbounded, transfer of privilege, career development, team building, empathetic, sound leadership and civility), CQ (creativity and innovations) and IQ (good-managerial capability, job

placements and technical performances) born by an organization family. The optimal level of these intelligences among organization family members can be induced by inculcating yogic culture among them. On the basis of the ladder proposed by *Raj yoga*, an interesting model for achieving CE can be set. Removing aforesaid hurdles by appropriate yogic practices induces inner harmony, harmony induces talent, talent leads to creativity and innovations, creativity and innovation lead to perfection, and perfection culminates in excellence. On the other hand, employees' health and performance are closely linked to each other—good workers' health leads to productivity at the work, productivity at the work leads to business competitiveness, business competitiveness leads to economic development and prosperity, economic prosperity leads to social well being and wealth, social well being and wealth help to maintain good employee health (Burton 2010). This hierarchical relationship between health and wealth also displays the high possibility of achieving CW and CE via yoga practices. Therefore, total health and perfection need to be developed first at individual level for CW and CE by adopting persistent yoga practice. This may be feasible by developing corporate yoga culture to provide equal chance of practicing yoga for each member of organizational family and its fraternity.

YOGIC PRESCRIPTION FOR CW AND CE

Yoga has been found quite effective for health promotion and diseases management. Mind-body interventions derived from yoga (including breathing, meditation, postures, concentration and visualization) ameliorate stress-related mental and physical disorders—asthma, high blood pressure, cardiac illness, elevated cholesterol, IBS, cancer, insomnia, multiple sclerosis, and fibromyalgia (Becker 2000; Jacobs 2001). Curative effect of yoga has been seen in psychiatric problems, cardiovascular problems (CAD,

hypertension), respiratory disorders (bronchial asthma, OPD, pneumonia, diabetes, neurological problems, musculoskeletal disorders, and others) (Khalsa 2004). Ornish (2009) asserted that changes of lifestyle (yogic way of living) could be considered not only as preventing chronic diseases but also reversing their progression—as an intensive non-surgical, non-pharmacological intervention. Moreover, the coronary heart disease, prostate and breast cancer, diabetes, and obesity account for 75% of health-care costs, yet the progression of these diseases can be stopped or even reversed with intensive lifestyle changes. Falus et al. (2010) highlighted the considerable connection between the length of telomeres and intensive changes in lifestyle and nutrition as well as behavioral and psychological factors. Epel et al. (2009) concluded that some forms of meditation might have salutary effects on telomere length by reducing cognitive stress and stress arousal and increasing positive states of mind and hormonal factors that might promote telomere maintenance. Between times one (before the Life Force Yoga program) and two (two weeks after learning it), participants reported 64% decrease in total mood disturbance, 53% decrease in average depression scores and overall mood disturbance continued to drop after two months (Bennett, Weintraub, and Khalsa 2008).

Besides, enhancement of SQ, EQ, CQ and IQ and their harmonious interplay by yogic practices is also substantiated by various scientific researches which are deemed essential for love and happiness at workplace: visionary leadership, sound management practices, creativity and innovations, and optimal work performance. Interestingly, level of SQ and EQ is more about love and happiness at workplace. Moreover, happiness assists organization's members to be more productive, creative, fulfilled with high morale that lead to outstanding performance and therefore, have a direct impact on organization's financial success (Claude and Zamor 2003).

But the level of these four intelligences varies person to person as per their personality types (dynamic, emotive, rational and mystic). Therefore, that holistic YP designed to promote CW and CE needs to include selected practices from *Gyan, Bhakti, Karma and Raj yoga*. Moreover, YP must include yogic practices of gross body, subtle body and causal body. As per author's self-experience, previous research findings and needs assessed in corporate companies, the tentative YP may be as under that needs to be tested to assess its effectiveness for promotion of four human intelligences and holistic health in future researches.

YOGIC PRESCRIPTION (YP)

(1) Postures: Wind releasing series, Spinal series, *Tadasana* (Palm tree pose), *Triyak Tadasana* (Tilted palm tree pose), *Katichakra asana* (Spinal twist), *Ardhamatsyendrasna* (Semi Spinal twist), *Gomukh asana* (Cow pose), *Manduk asana* (Frog pose), *Tikonasana* (Triangle pose), *Vakrasna* (Semi-spinal twist with extended legs), *Marjari asana* (Cat stretch), *Supta Vajrasna* (Thunderbolt pose in supine position), *Pashimuttanasana* (Forward bending in sitting position with legs and hands extended and aligned), *Bhujanga asana* (Serpent pose), *Uttanpadasana* (Supine position with raised legs at angle of 30⁰ to 45⁰ between plane of ground and straight legs with breath retention), *Shalabhasana* (Locust pose) .

Gestures: *Gyan, Sanmukhi, Chin, Prana, and Apana*.

Psychic Locks: *Mool Bandha, Jalandhr Bandha, Uddiyan Bandha and Maha Bandha* at early morning or evening 15-30 minutes.

(2) Pranayamas: *Bhastrika* (Periodic breathing), *Kapalbhati* (Deep breathing), *Anulom-vilom* (Alternate nostril breathing), *Bahya, Ujjyai, Bharamari, Udgeeth, Pranav Pranayam* as prescribed by Swami Ramdev after practice (1) 15-30 minutes.

(3) *Om Chanting and Gayatri Mantra Sadhana*

after practice (2) 15-30 minutes.

Commencement of *Gyatri Mantra Sadhana* with *Om* chanting is itself complete spiritual practice. As it includes simultaneous practice of meditative posture, gesture, pranayam, contemplation and meditation. *Om* is supposed as a primal sound of the universe that spontaneously reverberates in gross and subtle planes. 15-30 minutes.

(4) *Attmabodha* and *Tattwabodh* (when you get up and go to bed) 5-10 minutes.

Attmabodha is a sort of powerful contemplation that is to be undertaken in bed after rise in morning. During its practice one has to feel oneself a newly born baby (human birth) as the greatest gift of God that given in trust for one's own good as well as for promoting universal good; each day as an entire life span and chalk out conscious programs for its proper and virtuous use. Subsequently, she/he prays to God for his subtle protection to accomplish the tasks chalked out just as His instrument.

Tattwabodh is another powerful yogic technique for self-assessment. It is to be practiced during bed time when one lies down in bed by making mental observation of the activities undertaken throughout the day. By making mental observation, one has to surrender the credit of accomplished tasks to the lotus feet of God feeling oneself as an instrument of his hand. Moreover, one has to pray for lacked power/prosperity/knowledge to correct the mistakes and accomplish the remained tasks as an ignorant baby. Thus, aspirant surrenders both success and failures to God before deep sleep and request him to reawake if she/he needs to reborn to accomplish the remained duties. Otherwise, one surrenders into divine lap for his care and protection and leaves his all conscious efforts as a corpse.

(5) Meditation preceded by practice (2) 15-30 minutes.

Meditation is very important to harmonize bodily, psychic and spiritual functions. It regulates the secretion of neuro-transmitters and endocrine

secretions. Creative intelligence, intuition, elevated will power and global love are the byproducts of the meditation. Here, the prescribed meditation stands for mixed meditation that activates the functions of body, mind and spirit. Especially, it targets activation of three psychic centers—*Manipura, Ajana and Anahata*. Its brief procedure is—sits down in *Dhyan mudra* with straight spine with motionless body, closed eyes and palms (left palm fitted on right palm) in the lap; at some quiet place at the prescribed time facing the east with unperturbed mind. The rising golden Sun of the dawn behind the snow-capped *Sumeru* top of the middle Himalayas spreading its golden rays should be contemplated and felt. It should be visualized that the Sun's rays are flowing in the aspirant's physical subtle and causal bodies and she/he is becoming enlightened and vibrant with energy. Then there is a union between the light symbolizing God and the enlightened soul of the aspirant. The devotee surrenders to God and receives His grace. This giving and taking goes on. There is a complete sense of self-surrender, end of duality, merging and oneness with God. It is felt as if nectar is raining all around and the mind gets filled up and flooded with happiness, eternal bliss and joyfulness. This results in physical, subtle and causal attainments in the form of *nistha, pragya* and *shraddha* and there is experience of gratification, contentment, peace and tranquility (*tripti, tushti* and *Shanti*).

(6) Study of Self-introspective Literature after practice (5) 15-30 minutes.

Regular study of motivating and encouraging texts and self-introspection to search one's real identity is self-study. It's one of the effective practice for cognitive restructuring and emotional rectification.

CONCLUSIONS

CW and CE are the function of four human intelligences—SQ, EQ, CQ, and IQ, and employee health. Optimal health and level of these four

intelligences can be attained by regular yoga practice chosen as per personality type. Inclusion of yogic practices as a major part of corporate culture may greatly contribute to the goal reaching. Designing specific yogic capsules as per met corporate problems is to be made differently along with concerned scientific researches for their impacts validation. So it is warranted to develop corporate yoga culture for CW and CE.

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Sociology Study

Volume 1, Number 3, August 2011

David Publishing Company
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Tel: 1-847-281-9862; Fax: 1-847-281-9855
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