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Socialization
A Multidimensional Perspective

Edited by Rosalba Morese,
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SOCIALIZATION - A MULTIDIMENSIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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Meet the editors

Rosalba Morese holds her bachelor's degree in Psychology from the University of Parma and her PhD degree in Neuroscience from the University of Turin. Her interest is in developing new techniques and approaches in cognitive and social neuroscience. She is an expert in neuroeconomics, psychophysiology, and cognitive and social neuroscience. Dr. Morese performs neuroimaging studies in social contexts in order to investigate neural correlations involved during social interactions, such as social exclusion, social support, empathy, communicative intention, and social decision-making.
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Sara Palermo received her MSc degree in Clinical and Community Psychology and PhD degree in Experimental Neuroscience. Currently, she is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Turin (Italy). She is a research member of the Center for the Study of Movement Disorders and the Placebo Responses Mapping Group at the Department of Neuroscience, and a research member of the Neuropsychology of Cognitive Impairment and CNS Degenerative Diseases Group at the Department of Psychology. She is an ordinary member of the Italian Society of Neuropsychology and the Italian Association of Psychogeriatrics. Importantly, she is involved in the European Innovation Partnership on Active and Healthy Aging (EIP on AHA).

Juri Nervo is an expert social project manager, conflict mediator,and professional animator. He studied professional counseling at the Adler Institute, Turin. Dr. Nervo worked as a teacher in primary school and collaborated with several Italian prisons improving educational projects. Now, Dr. Nervo is the president of "EssereUmani – Onlus", director of SoStare Center, and founder of "L'Eremo del Silenzio". He coordinated different formative and informative campaigns about justice, legality, bullying, and conflict management that involve kids, especially from schools, as well as adult groups for primary and secondary forms of social prevention by different "human instruments" such as empathy, listening, silence, and mediation. He dedicated himself to study bullying dynamics, with an important project called "Mediamente Bullo." He is promoter of the S.C.A.R. and of the "CORDATA" projects.

Contents

Preface

This is the first book that highlights how socialization is experienced as being a complex concept in everyday life in various countries of the world.

It represents the first attempt to provide an original and multidimensional definition of socialization that takes into account the contribution of different disciplines, such as cultural anthropology, philosophy, psychology, sociology, education, and even architecture, to underline the importance of socialization as a key aspect of human experience. The authors, representing different countries, offer original contributions to develop new perspectives in the field of socialization, with their ideas, theories, researches, scientific results, and discussions.

The first chapter of the book is on the interesting theoretical perspective of analyzing the process of socialization. It shows how socialization is a process of acquiring the societal culture and has rational and irrational sides. The rational side is revealed when an individual develops the ability to reflect the world discretely, normatively, through symbols, and, thus, reflexively. The irrational side represents a process of transforming the original extrasubjective needs of the individual in emotional satisfaction into the orientation toward the experience of certain emotional states connected with the possibilities of satisfying the needs in the conditions of a particular society and culture. It underlines how the socialization processes, in the emergence of the socially determined and latent, although contradictory levels in the value orientation system, are expressed.

The second chapter shows how the transitivity crisis situation in the world can have a particularly negative impact on socialization in a multicultural space, associated with various problems, e.g., in the uncertainty and destruction of identity and multiplicity, with difficulties in the socialization processes. Challenges and consequences of sociopsychological transitivity are analyzed in relation to ethnic identification based on native, rather than the most commonly used language, with an idealized attitude toward their ethnos, which lead to ethnocentrism, and a negative attitude toward alien nations.

The third chapter describes the theoretical background underlying the collaborative work and overviews the recent studies concerning social skills, especially from a psychological point of view. In addition, it demonstrates the psychological effect of collaborative block creation; collaborative LEGO block creation works as a medium of communication in group therapy for developing social skills and trust.

The fourth chapter reviews the research on gamification approach in education and socialization. It shows that different activities, that could affect success in online environments, are essential. These activities must be integrating them into the educational environment, supported by theories appropriate for students' ages, so as not to lose their motivation.

The fifth chapter addresses the socialization processes for the development of empathy, sympathy, and prosocial behaviors in children and adolescents. It shows how parents can model their children to exhibit empathy, sympathy, and prosocial behavior. With their own perspectives, sympathy, and feelings, parents contribute to prosocial development in their children.

The sixth chapter, through the description of an Italian pilot school project *Mediamente Bullo*, examines how the integrated application of two tools in the socialization processes, the empathy, ability to share and understand emotional states of others, and the mediation, useful to cope with interpersonal conflicts, can prevent bullying.

The seventh chapter describes the central features of some conditions that enable the socialization of children and adolescents in Argentina as a possible example of them in the Global South, from the perspective of sociology of the body/emotion. Authors look at the phenomenon of socialization in an "oblique" way and try to look at how certain *practices of feeling* that are constituted as conditions of possibility/impossibility for the processes from which the dialectic relationship of "becoming part of a society" is structured in the societies of the Global South.

The eighth chapter shows experiences from 123 Emprender Program, an interdisciplinary school project, which provide opportunities to vulnerable students in Santiago of Chile.

It describes, in detail, how financial and entrepreneurial education can be added in different curricular programs to develop basic skills to promote financial knowledge, economic and financial concepts, and entrepreneurial skills in children, for developing a new form of collaborative work in the socialization processes.

The ninth chapter considers how socialization of individuals with Islamic belief and observance operates in relation to the socialization of women of Islamic religious observance in a contemporary north-west European context as Finland. The chapter focuses on how the means of sartorial products, available thanks the globalized Islamic fashion industry, are used to encourage females to adopt a certain kind of practices, which are thought to be expressive of the religious norms of a community.

The tenth chapter describes the relationship between social, cultural, and religious traditions and the architecture of vernacular housing. It also represents a search for answers as to how the Turkish cultural traditions of the traditional Turkish family, beliefs, values, and rituals influence the housing architecture. It shows the relationship between the house form and sociocultural factors, architectural artifacts selected or devised by a culture, architectural values, social norms, and social values.

This book offers an excellent synopsis and an interesting expression of different theoretical ideas, structures, empirical evidences, and international references. Therefore, this book represents an extraordinary opportunity to outline new horizons on socialization topic.

Man is always something more than what he knows of himself. He is not what he is simply once for all, but is a process…—Karl Jaspers

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Socialization from the Point of View of Postnonclassical (Universum) Sociological Theory of Rationality

Dmitry O. Trufanov

Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

The chapter is focused on the theoretical perspective of analyzing the process of socialization from the standpoint of the postnonclassical (universum) rationality theory. Rationality is defined as the cognitive self-reference of a society, a recursive layer of social reality, reflecting its existence and development via the means of consciousness and thinking. Socialization is considered as a process of mastering culture, the former having rational and irrational sides. The rational side is connected with the individual's acquisition of the ability to reflect reality discretely, normatively, symbolically, and reflexively. These abilities are necessary conditions to enter the world of human society culture. The irrational side is expressed in the process of the needs' socialization, during which the individual's extra-subjective needs in emotional satisfaction are transformed into orientations toward experiencing certain emotional states associated with the possibilities of satisfying needs in a particular society and culture. An important result of the socialization process is the formation of a system of the individual's value orientations. The rational level of this system consists of orientations that have become the subject of the individual's conscious choice. The irrational level consists of orientations to value experiences; these are the individual's emotional experiences of his/her relationships with reality.

Keywords: rationality, socialization, postnonclassical approach, universum, sociological theory of rationality, reflexivity

1. Introduction

Socialization in the broader meaning is the process of absorbing the culture of a particular society which is done by the individual during his/her whole life. Such an understanding

of socialization can be traced in various sociological approaches to its explanation. During the socialization process, the individual acquires a set of supra-biological behavioral programs that form and support the social order of a particular society and its constituent parts. This social process's effectiveness depends largely on the stability of the social order, the ability, and the willingness of the society members to comply with the underlying norms and rules.

In a narrower meaning, socialization is an instrument of including the individual in various social spaces—organizations, groups, and communities. The condition to be abode by the individual to enter a particular social space is his/her acceptance of a certain behavioral culture—norms and rules that ensures social order and regulates social processes in this space.

Along with this, socialization is a part of any social technology aimed at creating a certain social behavior of specific target groups or communities. As a part of social technology, socialization is a purposeful fostering of values, norms, meanings in a specific target social group with the goal of forming certain patterns of response to any social incentives. These patterns are advertising campaigns designed to generate demand for various goods and services in target audiences; political campaigns that shape the electorate's political behavior to support a particular politician; social technologies for the creation and awakening of protest groups in different countries in order to perturb political elites of these states. To make buyers choose a particular product or service on a regular basis, to make the electorate support a certain candidate for political office, and to make the protesters actively express their dissatisfaction with the current power in the state, these groups of people should be socialized in certain systems of values and norms that are to start regulating their behavior.

Thus, the term "socialization" expresses both the general process of the individual's entry into the world of human society culture and concrete ways of including the individual in various subcultural spaces with specific norms and values. In all these cases, socialization acts as a process of certain cultural content internalization; in other words, this content is a set of norms and values that guide the individuals' social behavior.

The key feature of the human society culture, from our point of view, is its rationality. It is this feature that distinguishes the world of human culture from the world of nature, human society from other associations. **In this connection, socialization is the process of mastering rationality, which is similar to mastering culture.**

To discuss this thesis in detail, the rationality must be defined and its essential features must be revealed. Here, we encounter the most complex theoretical problem—the task of understanding and interpretation of "rationality" as a category. In this chapter, I did not set the task to analyze critically various sociological concepts of rationality, since they have been sufficiently covered in the precedent publications [1, 2]. In this chapter, I will pay attention to the new theoretical approach that can be productive in focusing both on studying rationality through sociology and a traditional sociological problem such as the socialization process. This approach is the universal (universum) sociological theory, based on the principles of postnonclassical approach in sociology. This theory is a product of the Russian scientific

school, well-established in the traditions of Russian social and philosophical thought. The author of this approach is Prof. V.G. Nemirovsky, who presented the main theoretical principles of this paradigm in his publications [3, 4].

Within the framework of the universum approach, the author of this chapter proposes a postnonclassical (universum) sociological theory of rationality [5, 6]. The basic notions in this theory that are necessary to explain the culture of society and socialization as culture mastering process are "rationality" and "irrationality" (here, we introduce the notions but the basic postulates of the conception will be described in more detail in the section "Theoretical approach").

Rationality in this theory means the *cognitive self-reference of the human society or its constituent parts* (social groups, institutions, and organizations). "Cognitive self-reference" implies the process which is used by any society in the course of its existence and development to generate a recursive layer of reality, reflecting the very existence of society through various symbolic systems. These are symbols of natural or artificial language, which are represented at the level of collective consciousness, e.g., verbally formulated norms and rules of social behavior, knowledge, and collective opinions, and values expressed in various symbols and operating in diverse spheres of human activity—science, religion, professional activity, and in everyday life. This recursive layer is a symbolic expression of the space of culture of human society.

Irrationality from the point of view of our approach is *a set of extra-cognitive (inconscient) components of social behavior that go beyond any verbal and symbolic shape*. These components are emotional states, effects, habits, and other behavioral phenomena that do not become the subject of the individuals' reflexive activity, though they appear and become significant for the individual in the process of social and group interactions. In society, they are represented at the level of the social unconsciousness [7]. Researchers call these components using different terms: collective feelings [8], emotional values [9], implicit underlying assumptions [10], value experiences [11], etc.

In the light of postnonclassical (universum) sociological theory of rationality, socialization is a process involving rational and irrational components. The rational components differ and in that they are apprehended by a social subject and expressed through a natural or artificial language, while the irrational components do not become an object of apprehension and have no symbolic expression. For example, the rational component of any social organization (university, supermarket, sports school, industrial enterprise, etc.) is presented in the form of charters, documents, instructions, regulations, orders, collective opinions, and other symbolic expressions that shape the existence and development of the organization. The irrational component of a social organization is expressed in the emotions, feelings, senses of its members that they experience in relation to this very organization: its goals, its functioning and corporate norms, their own status in the organization, and other aspects. Both rational and irrational components affect the behavior of the organization members.

In our approach, socialization is a process involving rational and irrational components. The rational component is connected with the internalization of the symbolically designed and

expressed in the language products of the activity of society culture. During this process, the individual's consciousness forms some structures through which he/she acquires the ability to reflect reality cognitively.

The irrational component is in the process of the individual's appropriation of special emotional states, when the initial needs for emotional satisfaction, inherent in a person as a representative of the biological species, are transformed into specific orientations toward absolutely precise values [11]. This is the process known in sociology and psychology as the needs' socialization. Even Plato once mentioned this process in his philosophical works: "Thirsting itself will never be a desire for anything other than that of which it naturally is a desire – for drink, and hunger itself is a natural desire to eat," and further: "Every desire itself is directed only at what in each individual case corresponds to its nature. Desire for such and only such quality is something adscititious" [12]. Thus, in the course of socialization, the individual becomes oriented toward certain forms and methods of satisfying needs. For example, the need for an experience of satiety with food, initially nonobjective in an infant, during the socialization process is transformed in the orientation toward the craving for certain dishes that are cooked in a particular culture.

Thus, during the socialization process, the individual irrationally develops orientations toward value experiences related to the corresponding needs, be they physiological, social, or spiritual. On one hand, they are preconditioned by the individual's inner motivations and personal characteristics, and on the other hand, by the social circumstances, the peculiarities of the culture in which the individual acts. Value orientations differ in direction and have a direct impact on the individual's social behavior.

Later in this chapter, we will discuss the theoretical perspective of considering socialization from the standpoint of the postnonclassical (universum) sociological theory of rationality. In the author's opinion, the conclusions drawn allow presenting the socialization process more thoroughly—in the unity of rational and irrational components.

2. Theoretical approach

The need for a sociological comprehension of rationality became topical at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, during the period of positivistic secularization of "reason," when the understanding of the reason in its abstract form as a transcendent subject was transformed into its interpretation as a precise characteristic of human activity and behavior. As Davydov notes, in this period there was a substitution of the "divine reason" for human reason. Now reason was not understood as transcendental will, but as an ability of simple individual to act expediently, in sound mind and memory [13]. This understanding of reasonableness as expediency formed the basis of the rationality theory by Weber, who proposed one of the first sociological theories of rationality. Further attempts at sociological comprehension of rationality have spawned its numerous interpretations, based on various characteristics, often far too much disconnected. Such characteristics were all sorts of particular content of reality, as well as different variants of their synthesis—expediency, efficiency, conformity to law, theoretical apprehension and order, normativity (standardization, conventionality), ability to set

targets, truth, autonomy of the acting subject, etc. [14]. Consequently, the rationality reduction to one or another of the above-mentioned characteristics in many cases does not stand up to criticism: the choice of attributes is often arbitrary based on a priori knowledge.

Thus, sociology formed theoretical pluralism in solving the problem of rationality, when there are simultaneous and different, often conflicting, explicit schemes that use different terminology systems to describe rationality. In the context of conflicting characteristics and explicit schemes of rationality, the scientific status of the "rationality" concept is blurred: it becomes an instrument of subjective assessments of certain phenomena and facts as positive or negative. The category "rational" then expresses positive assessments, and the category "irrational" expresses the negative ones [15–18]. It is natural that under these circumstances, rationality is declared a pseudo-conceptual notion that expresses not the object's properties but its significance in the human dimension of reality [19], while the ultimate result of the study of the rationality problem is its debatability [20, 21].

To overcome these difficulties, we should take an advantage of modern cognitive models that marked the transition of sociology to the postnonclassical stage of development. Such is the diatropic cognitive model [22], which was included in the theoretical foundation of the universum sociological paradigm [23]. This paradigm was introduced by Nemirovsky and has been developing within his scientific school. Social reality is considered here *as a garden, a fair* in which all possible objects and processes are presented in their diversity. Through the comparison of the most diverse objects of reality, the diatropic approach explores the general properties of these varieties and finds out "refrains" [24], the invariant qualities inherent in all the objects being compared. The result is knowledge about the general properties of various objects. This knowledge reveals the patterns of these objects' existence and development.

Later in this section of the chapter, I will use a more complex scientific language. It allows us to reduce the text volume and briefly describe the main theoretical positions, from the point of which the process of socialization will be examined in the next section of the chapter. For more detailed acquaintance with these theoretical provisions and their justification, the interested reader can refer to the author's previous publications, the references to which are given at the end of the chapter.

Based on the application of the diatropic cognitive model to the study of various objects, Nemirovsky formulated the diatropic principle of a minimal universum with a minimum number of characteristics necessary to describe the structure and dynamics of any developing system [25]. According to a brief summary of this principle, *any developing system* relies on two polar (complementary) elements; in the development process, it forms three hierarchical levels, each of which passes at least five stages and forms seven evolutionary strata in the process of change. Within the framework of this approach, we offer a universum sociological theory of rationality, which sets prerequisites to regard socialization as a social process further. The rationale for this theory was thoroughly analyzed in our previous papers; so here, I will give only its main points, which are crucial background for our study.

A diatropic analysis of various concepts of rationality makes it possible to distinguish the characteristic of the *cognitive shape of the reality contents* as an invariant trait that in one form or another is present in all rationality conceptions. To prove this, it is sufficient to consider all the

concepts of rationality in accordance with the theoretical assumptions of the postnonclassical sociological approach, a characteristic feature of which is the use of the complementarity principle [26]. As is well known, this principle assumes the use of binary oppositions to describe the objects of reality, i.e., pairs of opposing concepts that describe an object as integrity. To consider the concepts of rationality from the point of this principle, I shall use the opposition "the cognitive subject—the object cognized." The complementarity of the object and the subject of cognition lies at the basis of the human culture existence and development. It should be accepted that "there cannot be any 'purely ontological' characteristics that would describe the real world without taking into account the degree of this world cognoscibility. It is also clear that there can be no cognition as a purely subjective activity of a person that could be understood without the objective content of cognition" [27].

From this point of view, the concepts of rationality are *social objects*, the nature of which is conditioned by two bases. One of them is the cognizing subject (researcher), who makes up theoretical postulates and who is the product of the life and social group structures into which he/she is included. This is a well-known property of the researchers: their scientific activity is socially motivated and largely determined by the society in which they live [28]. Another foundation is the object of cognition, i.e., phenomena and connections of reality, which the research defines as rationality. Thus, the concept of rationality is not perceived as a set of theoretical postulates that reveal the meaning of the concept of "rationality," but rather as a fact of realizing reality through the prism of the ontological and gnosiological characteristics of the cognizing subject. This awareness necessarily requires the use of symbols and, above all, verbal means of the language, which serve as a tool for the cognitive shape of reality. Along with this, such awareness is *reflexive* in its nature. Many authors (Shvyrev, Demina, Korsgaard, Giddens, et al.) connect rationality, cognition, and reflexivity. It is not accidental as cognition always assumes that the cognizing subject is separated from the object, occupies an external position in relation to it. In this regard, the human culture world, the main above-mentioned characteristic of which is rationality, is a sphere of reflexive reflection of the existence and development of human society.

Thus, the trait of cognitive shape is an essential sign of rationality, which makes it possible to distinguish rationality from irrational phenomena. Rationality in this sense entails *a verbal-reflective activity and its result at the same time.* This trait acts as a general characteristic of rationality, either in an explicit or an implicit form present in all concepts of rationality, without exception. This trait acts as a universally objective referent of rationality and should be extended to any verbalized reality content (and we have all grounds for doing so). Let us highlight that rationality in the discussed sense is an essential trait separating the cultural world from the natural one, human society from other associations. Irrationality from this point of view is a set of pre-cognitive contents of social reality that go beyond the verbal-reflective level.

This understanding brings us to the following theoretical conclusions:

I. At the macro level, *rationality appears as the cognitive self-reference of the society and its individual components.* This is a recursive layer of social reality, reflecting its existence and development via the cognitive means. Let us emphasize that it is an issue of recursion, the effect of describing the system, its objects and processes, which occur within the system itself.

This effect is close to the concept of "autopoiesis," which Luhmann used for the analysis of social systems [29]. This phenomenon is also called the effect of "world duplication," namely, the allocation of "transcendental reference points and a specific angle of view, which sets the perspective to assess and systematize reality" [30]. The recursive layer of social reality in question, on one hand, reflects the existence and development of social reality via cognitive means, and on the other hand, it is a part of this reality, which does not go beyond it (beyond the limits of social reality, as we know, human thinking does not exist).

Thus, rationality implies the world duplication. Initially, such an understanding of rationality was posited in the philosophy of the Pythagoreans, where it was viewed as a measure expressing the commensurability of values and establishing the existence of two principles: a measurable quantity and a measuring person [31]. The relationship between these principles which can be expressed by a certain measure, was called rationality; and the relationship which is not expressed by measure, was called irrationality. A written fixation of this interpretation was given in Euclid's "Elements" [32]. It is of fundamental importance for the discourse on rationality, because it forms a coordinate system for all subsequent interpretations of rationality. The measurable value is objective and has the properties of commensurability and incommensurability of things as they are in reality; a measuring person is rather subjective and indicates a way of reflecting (measuring) these properties by human consciousness.

Further, this system of coordinates was reproduced in the Weber's theory of rationality (as an intellectual understanding of reality) and in the majority of following conceptions. Later, as regards scientific understanding of the rationality, its interpretations differed mainly in the measure that determines the commensurability of things and the reality phenomena. Such a measure was designated as a verbal shape (apprehension, the ability to be expressed through words, the ability to be said and to have a name), calculability (the ability to be expressed through count), a logical shape (the ability to be expressed in terms, judgments, inferences, compliance with the laws of the right thinking), reasonableness (conformity to norms, standards, structures of mind, the latter understood in various senses as expediency, normativity, truth, utility, effectiveness, structuredness, correspondence to one or another value (value system), etc.), intelligibility (awareness of the universal: laws of the world existence and development, which are not perceived by senses). The reality contents, expressed by means of these measurements, are considered rational; the ineffable contents, beyond the limits of measurement, are considered irrational.

The effect of "the world duplication" stipulates the reflexive character of rationality as its basic condition. A common place in the definitions of reflection is the presence of two positions, reflective one and reflected one, which has a distance between them. In this regard, *the cognitive self-reference of the society is a reflective process of the group subject of social action*, carried out through verbal communication means. The cognitive layer of social reality acts as a reflective attitude toward social life [33]. The results of this reflective process are expressed in the form of social norms, collective opinions, assessments, and behavioral rules that have received verbal shape, as well as in the form of knowledge, information, and other products of the reflective activity of individuals and groups.

II. At the microlevel (the level of the individual and the small group), *rationality is any reflective act (its process and result) of an individual or a group subject of social action, carried out through the verbal means of communication* [34]. A necessary condition for the realization of such reflection is a group communication and a group interaction; these are the processes which are described in detail in the theory of symbolic interactionism (Mead, Cooley, et al.).

The general properties of rationality in our understanding can be reduced to the following minimal set:

1. Discreteness: Disjointed and separated reality reflection is a characteristic for rationality. It is caused by the use of a measuring instrument, which implies distinguishing an elementary measure underlying it (a number, a word, a logical connection, etc.). With the help of such a measure, one is able to single out in the measurement object parts corresponding to the measure. These parts are segments, quantities, and other various qualitative determinations. As a result, the world appears in front of the measuring subject as a structure, i.e., a collection of individual fragments that enter into various relations and form different connections. Irrationality, on the contrary, indicates the existence of an integral, continuous, unstructured reality that is not reduced by the cognizing consciousness to its constituent fragments.

2. Normativeness: Rationality presupposes the existence of norms and rules for the application of certain means of measuring reality. These rules are a vital condition for the re-use of the measuring instrument (measure), which enables rationality existence in the form of cognitive models shared by many subjects of cognition. A clear illustration of such rules dates back to the above-mentioned Euclid's "Elements": "… for a given line there is an infinite number of lines both commensurable and incommensurable, <and> some are commensurable or incommensurable only linearly, others also – to a power. We can now call a given straight line rational, while lines commensurable with it, linearly as well as to a power, and lines commensurable only to a power will be called rational, but the lines incommensurable with it will be called irrational" [35]. Here we have the rule of measuring the lines, following which rationality occurs. Irrationality does not presuppose such measurements and, therefore, neither it is subject to this rule nor it is normative.

3. Symbolic shape: The allocation of any measure designed to identify the commensurability of reality fragments is realized through its designation by specific symbols—algebraic, geometric, logical, verbal, etc. Rationality is thereby expressed through a symbolic system: a natural or an artificial language. It is evident that the primary symbolic system expressing rationality is the verbal communication system which is the base for formation of artificial languages. Any artificial language is a social convention, the emergence of which is possible under the condition of an already existing system of natural communication which uses a specific system of definitions. Thus, rationality is first and foremost a verbal shape of the reality contents. Irrationality is not symbolically expressed and goes beyond verbal shape of the worldview.

4. Reflexivity: Rationality has a reflective nature, because it is a process of cognitive self-reference of reality. As it is known, the necessary requirement for reflection is the presence

of meta-position in relation to the content being reflected, which reflects this content by linguistic means. Such a meta-position in relation to reality is represented by consciousness comprehending reality, while consciousness remains a part of this reality.

These are the main theses of our approach to understanding rationality, as summarized briefly. This approach to the rationality definition allows us to get over the relativity of the rationality concept in its existing interpretations. The rationality characteristics (expediency, efficiency, normativity, conformity to law, etc.), on which various conceptions are built, appear here as particular aspects of reality, which have received a cognitive reference in the mass consciousness of a particular society. Being devoid of verbal-reflective shape, these aspects are not capable of characterizing specific human behavior, distinguishing it from the instinctive animals' actions. Along with this, the category of rationality in this approach becomes free of estimates. It fixes the fact of the cognitive shape of the reality contents, refusing to interpret their orientation in terms of certain value systems.

Next, let us consider the process of socialization from the standpoint of the postnonclassical (universum) sociological theory of rationality.

3. Socialization as acquiring rationality

Socialization in human society is intended to practice rationality. This means socialization is the process of teaching an individual to reflect the world discretely, normatively, through symbols, and thus, reflexively; this is the process of mastering the basic tools of the reproduction of the society culture. The discrete reality reflection presupposes the individual mastering of various ways of its measuring, by instruments such as a word, a number, and the ability to establish logical connections. In the process of mastering them, the individual begins to apprehend the world as a structure in the totality of its parts, segments, and elements. Normativity is associated with the acquisition by an individual of the ability to apply norms and rules that establish a social order. Reflection of the world through symbols involves mastering the language, i.e., a symbolic system, being the basic condition for the development of thinking and communication. Reflexivity is the ability of an individual to distinguish oneself from the world, to occupy a meta-position in relation to the world.

As an illustration of these theses, let us think about the socialization of the child, which can be successful only if the child masters rationality is in the aggregate of all its four aspects. So, in the course of interaction with the social environment, the child learns to recognize symbols and use them to define different objects. He/she learns letters, putting them into words, learns numbers, gestures, learns to recognize various iconographic symbols. This is the first experience of the child's exit beyond the purely biological mode of existence when he/she gets acquainted with the cultural world—that recursive layer of social existence, whose essential feature is rationality. Gradual acquisition of symbols actualizes the child's ability to use languages—natural (verbal) and artificial (numerical, iconographic, etc.). This, in turn, reveals the surrounding world as a structure, as a collection of parts, where each part has a symbolic

designation. So, one does not need any special evidence to assert that without mastering the means of language, such rational structuring of reality remains inaccessible for the child.

Further, the child's mastery of the norms and rules of social behavior structures the social world for him/her, resulting in understanding what the patterns of tabooed and socially approved behavior are. Finally, the gradual actualization of these abilities creates conditions for the development of the child's self-consciousness, the appearance in his/her mind of a reflective position that allows one to apprehend one's own being among other objects of reality. Such reflection is realized from the point of those meanings that are transmitted to the child by the surrounding society culture through the active agents partaking in socialization. Thus, the child becomes proficient in the basic cognitive products of his/her society, which express the basic content of culture, and becomes able to reproduce them in his/her social behavior.

Another example of the process of socialization as the mastery of rationality is the socialization of a new employee in any formal organization—an enterprise, an institution, or a company. In order to acquire the ability to act effectively in the organization, to fulfill their duties, the new employee must become fluent in the system of symbols that is used for communication in the organization and to structure it. The organization may consist of departments, brigades, shifts, and other parts, which are called by the appropriate names. Not having learned the symbols of the organization and the language of the correspondent communication, the employee will not be able to integrate into the organization's social processes. This statement is particularly relevant for specific organizations in highly specialized industries where special symbolic systems are used.

Next, the new employee is tasked with mastering the normative and value regulators in the organization. This task covers internalizing of the basic rules of social behavior and the values of corporate culture. The systemic effect of the new employee learning about these conditions of the organization's existence and development is the formation of a special reflexive position allowing him/her to regard himself/herself as the employee of this very organization. The employee separates himself/herself as a company employee from himself/herself as a private person or as a family member and is aware of the differences in these statuses. Under the condition that the new employees acquire these aspects of rationality, their socialization in the organization is successful.

Actualization of the individual's ability to rational (i.e., discrete, normative, symbolic, and reflective) reproduction of reality is a necessary factor for mastering the societal culture. This is obvious, given that the culture of human society, understood as the total set of the supra-biologic programs of social behavior, is based on these human abilities. In case when the process of socialization does not solve the problem of actualization of the individual's given abilities, the individual does not acquire the skills necessary to live in human society, the contents of culture become inaccessible to the individual, who remains predominantly a biological being.

Summing it up, acquiring rationality in the course of socialization is a communicative process that can happen exclusively in human society. Outside society, there is no position capable of communication [36]. Rationality is an attribute of social reality that cannot exist beyond its limits. In this sense, rationality is "a totemic symbol of a person's special position

in the existing world" [37], a property that distinguishes the world of culture from the natural world, human society from other associations. In this regard, researchers rightfully consider rationality as the value of culture and civilization [38, 39].

4. Socialization as a communicative process

A necessary condition for mastering rationality in the socialization process are social and group interactions and, more broadly, a person's ability to communicate [40]. Social communication is a key factor in actualizing the individual's ability to reflect reality discretely and comprehend the world as a structure. The methods of the reality discrete reflection such as a word, a number, symbols of artificial language systems, are social conventions (agreements) that have been formed during communication. At the heart of these conventions, there are common patterns of activity that most individuals realize in their behavior.

Such properties of rationality as normativity and the reality symbolic reflection also have a social and conventional nature and are the result of group communication. Social norms and symbolic systems (both natural and artificial) are a product of communication in social systems and do not exist outside of them.

Meanwhile, social-group interactions are a necessary condition for reflexivity as a rationality characteristic. Let us consider this process in more detail. It is of fundamental importance for mastering rationality in the course of socialization.

To actualize the reflecting ability in the process of socialization, the individual must acquire the cognitive position, as if located outside of oneself. Thus, the subject is capable of reflection only when he/she is outside the reflected area. This is a position on which the individuals can analyze their own social being using their language and thinking. Such cognitive reflection becomes possible in the course of the group social interactions. Group interactions generate the effect of the "self-duplication," i.e., the formation of meta-position with respect to the individual's social activity (the effect of "the observation of the observer" [41]).

This effect of the "self-duplication" becomes possible in the course of socialization by introducing a metasubject in the structure of group communication. This metasubject is at a higher reflective level and reflects on the activity of the first subject. In this case, every social actor acts as a metasubject in relation to other actors. The reciprocal reflection of the plethora of social actors in meta-positions in relation to each other creates a reflective space in which the individual subject acquires the ability to understand their own bases of activity through reflection in the products of the social group's reflective activity. As Mureiko writes, the organized normalized interaction of social groups provides the opportunity for the individual to identify oneself as a subject and the subject's self-control [42].

This understanding of the reflexive process has theoretical surmises in sociology and the psychology of behavior. Theorists of symbolic interactionism interpret social interactions as a system of mutual reflection and use for its description another terminology. Mead remarks about the formation of the self (distinguishing human societies from animals), as, in fact, the

product of the mutual reflection of social actors carried out through meaningful symbols. In the process of such reflection, one takes the role of the other, which means the process of successively developing stages—games and competitions. As a result, there appears a reflexive set of group conventions that determine the structure of the individual's self [43].

Similarly, the self is conceived in the theory of the "looking-glass self" by Cooley: the determining meaning for the formation of the social actor's self is the existence of group assessments and opinions that make the reflective scope of its self-identity [44].

Vygotsky, pointing to the reflexive nature of consciousness, affirms the equality of the mechanisms of self-cognition and the knowledge of others. The individual is aware of oneself insofar as he/she is aware of others, because he/she is aware of himself/herself. Consciousness cannot be directed to itself because it cannot become an irritant to a new reflex. "I am aware of myself only insofar as I am Other to myself, that is I can perceive my own reflexes as new stimuli again and again" [45]. The opportunity to "become Other for oneself" is realized in group interaction—in the cognitive reflection of the actor's behavior in the group members' minds. Thus, consciousness is "a kind of social contact with oneself," a necessary condition of which is social contacts with other actors.

In general, the reflection at the social group level has a mutually directed character and functions as a self-reproducing and self-developing system. In the course of this process, social norms, group values, behavior patterns, language, traditions, and other components that make up the culture of society are formed and consolidated by linguistic means. The cognitive shape of these conventions (their expression by linguistic means) is a manifestation of rationality. This allows us to define the reflexive process in a social group as the cognitive self-reversal nature of social practice.

Thus, communication in a social group is the basic condition for mastering rationality in the socialization process.

5. Value orientations as the socialization effect

One of the key effects of socialization is the formation of the individual's system of value orientations.

From the point of view of the postnonclassical (universum) approach, the system of the individual's value orientations looks as follows: **Table 1** [46]. The core of the system of value orientations has two interacting elements—rational (conscious) and irrational (unconscious) components. The system forms three levels of orientations: organic orientations based on vital human needs; social orientations based on the individual's social needs, and spiritual orientations based on the person's yearn for creativity and self-realization.

The system of value orientations is characterized by the existence of seven successively realized layers (levels). The orientation of each layer (level) is based on the corresponding class of needs. The content of the table layers and the classification of needs are given in accordance with Maslow's hierarchically constructed groups.

Two elements	Three levels	Seven layers (levels)
Irrational and rational levels of value orientations	Spiritual orientations	Need for self-actualization
		(realization of the individual's goals and abilities)
		Esthetic needs
		(harmony, order, beauty)
		Cognitive needs
		(to know, to understand, to explore)
	Social orientations	Need for respect
		(achievement of success, approval, recognition, authority)
		Needs for belonging and love (belonging to the community, being close to people, being recognized and accepted)
	Organic orientations	Security needs
		(to feel protected, to get rid of fear)
		Physiological needs
		(hunger, thirst, libido, etc.)

Table 1. The system of human value orientations.

Taking into account the existing criticism of Maslow's needs conception with its mechanistic and incomplete nature, we will give another illustration of the developmental levels of the system of the individual's value orientations. Let us avail Kohlberg's concept of moral development. The researcher marked out the levels of person's moral development based on this person's attitude to life as a value [47]. He is known to distinguish three levels of the personality moral development: pre-conventional (hedonic), conventional, and post-conventional, in fact, representing three hierarchical levels of the minimum universum of the individual's value system. They correspond to the seven evolutionary levels of moral development. In addition, Kohlberg identified a zero level, in its content corresponding to the pre-conventional (material-energy) level. At the pre-conventional level of moral development, the main determinants of human behavior are individual organic needs. The conventional (functional-organizational) level refers to role conformism, where the key indicators in the choice of behavior are values based on social needs. The post-conventional (informational) level is characterized by the individual's self-sufficiency as regards the moral autonomy (the level of spiritual orientations).

In the course of socialization, two basic parts of value orientations are formed, these are rational and irrational levels.

The rational (reflexive) level of the individual's value orientations is expressed in the individual's conscious choice of the reality objects in the social environment as values. These are "superficial," socially conditioned value preferences at the verbal level of the respondent's consciousness. These preferences, as a rule, express the individual's conscious (rationalized) representations about utility. These representations reflect current social norms operating in the individual's environment and are regulated by the individual's desire to join various social associations through which a person is connected with the society.

The irrational (non-reflective) level of orientations is expressed in the focus on value experiences, meaning the individual's emotional experiences of his/her relationships with reality. This level, in turn, includes two components (levels): socially-determined and latent. The socially determined level displays the orientation toward value experiences, consistent with the existing social norms [48]. It contains experiences that the respondent likes gaining in some way or other. As it was noted by Durkheim, "… the values, which some parties impress us with what is like the imposed reality, at the same time seem to us desirable things, which we sincerely love and which we aspire to" [49]. Positive emotional connotation of these experiences indicates that they are not an obstacle to establishing and improving social contacts, but, on the contrary, they are conditions that allow such contacts to be created, thus being useful to the individual as a social being. At the irrational, socially-determined level of the individual's value orientations, there are experiences of needs for activity, communication, assistance to others, love, reason to live, knowledge, freedom and independence, etc.

The latent level is associated with orientations inconsistent with the social norm, but fulfilling their functions in the system motivating the individual's social behavior. As values here we have experiences of such needs as need for power, control over others, control over negative emotions, need for a patron, conformist behavior, etc. These emotional values, rooted in the person's mental reality in the form of actual needs, are evaluated negatively from the standpoint of current social norms. In this regard, they hinder effective social interactions, i.e., act as though useless. The latter factor causes the displacement of these orientations to the latent level of the individual's value-need system. This is the psychological mechanism of repression, well known in the psychoanalytic tradition [50].

This correlation of the socially determined and latent levels of the system of the individual's value orientations allows us to clarify at the structural level the idea expressed by Gouldner regarding the problem of a person's alienating in the culture of utilitarianism: "Everything in a person that is not useful must be somehow excluded, or at least it should not manifested, and therefore a person is alienated or detached from a wide range of his/her own interests, needs and abilities" [51]. Thus, as Gouldner concludes, it is formed "unwanted self" as an alienated part of the individual's personal reality.

Orientations at the rational and irrational levels often do not correspond to each other and, moreover, contradict. This contradiction is the essence of the phenomenon of personal alienation from society and himself/herself. This alienation is rooted in the structure of the individual's value orientations. Social norms that are accepted in society or in certain social groups prescribe to the individual certain patterns of normative behavior. At the same time, the orientations at the latent irrational level manifest themselves, forcing the individual to violate normative behavior patterns in various forms of deviant behavior.

Thereby, in addition to the individual's acquaintance with the world of culture, socialization produces the effect of a personal alienating from oneself. At the level of the individual's value of orientations, this effect shows itself in the existence of socially determined and latent levels of orientations, which have a different relation to existing social norms. The socially determined level of orientations reflects the current norms in the society, while the latent one is based on the individual personal needs whose opportunities to be satisfied are either blocked or severely regulated by society.

Thereupon the problem of the individual's alienation is also demonstrated at the mass level. As shown by the research results, the mass of socially-determined level of orientations of the Russians turns out to be different for different strata and it changes depending on the features of the value-normative environment of various social groups. Practically in all cases presented in the studies, this indicator corresponds to the first evolutionary layer of the value orientations system. These are organic orientations (in terms of Maslow), so life is estimated by the value of things, status, and other personal characteristics (in Kohlberg's terms).

The real mass level of value orientations (a set of socially determined and latent ones), in contrast to socially-determined orientations, has a higher rank and is similar among the representatives of different social groups. This indicator corresponds to the second evolutionary layer of the value orientations system—security needs (Maslow), so human life is important because it is a factor in meeting the needs of other people (Kohlberg). At the same time, the parameter of the socially-determined level of orientations in all cases turns out to be lower than the parameter of their real mass level.

These properties of the real mass level of value orientations, apparently, signal the presence of some basic spectrum of the individual's natural needs for the emotional satisfaction that exist, regardless of the individual's social life conditions. This is a manifestation of the objective natural laws of the supreme maternal system, which includes people as well. Current social norms in society authorize some individual's needs and block the others leading to creating the socio-deterministic and latent levels in the structure of its value orientations, though the relationship between these levels has the character of contradiction.

6. Summary

1. Socialization is a process of acquiring the societal culture and has rational and irrational sides. The rational side is revealed when an individual develops the ability to reflect the world discretely, normatively, through symbols, and thus, reflexively. These abilities lie in the foundation of the culture creation as a set of supra-biological programs of social behavior and are necessary tools for its mastering by a socializing individual.

The irrational side of socialization is the socialization of needs. This is a process of transforming the original extra-subjective needs of the individual in emotional satisfaction into the orientation toward the experience of certain emotional states connected with the possibilities of satisfying the needs in the conditions of a particular society and culture.

2. A necessary condition for mastering rationality as a specifically human way of the individual's being in a culture is social group interaction. Communication in a social group creates conditions for the development of the individual's abilities to reflect reality discretely, normatively, symbolically and, as a consequence, reflexively. A key role in this process is played by the development of the individual's ability to reflect. This means an ability to isolate oneself from the world and to acquire the cognitive reflexive position in relation to one's own social being.

3. The key effect of the socialization process is the formation of the system of value orientations, which include rational and irrational levels. The first of them is expressed in the

individual's conscious choice of the reality objects represented in the individual's social environment as values; the second is expressed in the orientations toward value experiences, which represent the states of how emotionally the individual experiences his/her relations with reality. In this system, there is a contradiction between socially approved and socially disapproved orientations. This produces the emergence of the socially determined and latent levels in the system of value orientations, though the relationship between these levels is contradictory.

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Socialization in Modern Transitive World

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Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

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Abstract

The peculiarity of socialization in transitivity world is examined. Social and personal aspects of socialization in transitivity are revealed. It was stated that different aspects of transitivity are associated with various problems—the uncertainty with a destruction of identity and multiplicity—with difficulties with directions of socialization. Challenges-consequences of socio-psychological transitivity are shown. The analysis of obtained material showed the decrease of positive socialization in transitive space because it appears for youth as difficult situation which includes multicultural, uncertain and changing aspects of surrounding world. The results of two empirical studies are presented. The leading trends of transitivity in adolescence are the "weakening" of the criteria for self-assessing and value orientations. It leads to the increasing of conformism and positive attitudes towards schoolmates and decreasing orientation toward interaction with them. It is also decrease dominance, activity and responsibility. It was shown that reflection of the situation as a transitivity crisis situation has a particularly negative impact on socialization in a multicultural space. The ethnic identification is carried out on the basis of native, rather than the most commonly used language. Majority of teenagers and youth have an unambiguously positive, idealized attitude towards their ethnos, which leads to ethnocentrism and a negative attitude towards alien nations.

Keywords: transitivity, uncertainty, globalization, multicultural world, socialization, sociocultural, ethnic, linguistic identity, culture

1. Introduction

Analysis of the challenges facing contemporary psychology shows that we can distinguish one, the main challenge as well as the problems associated with it. It seems that the main challenge and the main problem facing us is transitivity.

2. Challenges of transitivity

Social transitivity is characterized not only by the multiplicity, that is, the simultaneous existence of several variants of the social world in one temporal and spatial continuum, but also by a constant change of these variants in an unpredictable direction and with indefinite content [1, 2]. Thus, one can speak of transitivity as a multiplicity, variability and uncertainty of macro- and micro-social spaces. Multiplicity in this case is connected, first of all, with the expansion of the multicultural space of socialization. Globalization and mass migration processes increase cultural, linguistic, social multiplicity, which further enhances the volatility of apparently familiar surroundings. Objective difficulties and psychological stress lie not only and not so much in the multiplicity and uncertainty itself, but mainly in people's attitude to them, people who expect new changes with serious anxiety. Multicultural environment causes not only tension, but also aggression, active and passive rejection of the new and not always understandable [3]. Therefore tolerance to variability and uncertainty, as well as the need to understand the language and culture of other people, are one of the most important factors that reduce tension and, thus, the degree of complexity and difficulty of the situation of transitivity [2, 4].

It can be stated that different aspects of transitivity are associated with various problems for a person. Thus, variability and uncertainty are associated with a destruction of identity's wholeness and the temporal perspective [5]. Multiplicity makes it difficult to choose a group of identification and direction of socialization [6].

The new situation of transitivity is typical for all generations, although, of course, it becomes the most significant for young people and teenagers. At the same time, for young people transitivity is accepted as a natural situation in which the process of their growing up takes place. The disintegration of the times connection is manifested not only in the broken personal integrity, but, what is no less important, in the integrity of a society in which values and stereotypes have changed, and often even ethnic and geographical images of native places have transformed. Emotional instability of the mature generation is so deep that it also infects young people, especially those who for various reasons find it difficult to adapt in a situation of constant uncertainty.

3. Challenges-consequences of socio-psychological transitivity

• Violation of the harmonious relationship between socialization and individualization

The connection between the desire for rootedness in the group (society) and, at the same time, the desire for personalization is an important condition for personal growth and development. In the case of transitivity, difficulties are associated with increased anxiety and tension, resulting in the desire to 'hide from difficulties', to find refuge in the group (whether large or small), an increase in conformity. Opposite dynamics is associated with the dominance of personalization, including conflicts with others (negativism) and/or downshifting.

- Changes in the intergenerational transmission

According to the serious transformations and fluidity of norms, the age gap between generations decreases. At the same time, social, ecological, cultural and ethnic factors are increasingly influencing the process of formation of new generations and the temporary boundaries between age cohorts. Destruction of the intergenerational transmission between youth and elder generation also occurs due to the mismatch of information preferences.

- Changing of the role of the information space and depersonalization of information

There is a big difference between information elections and trust in information in different age cohorts, especially in different regions. In large cities, this gap is particularly large, as young people choose the Internet as the leading source of information, which they trust more than TV. Adults and older people, on the other hand, choose television as the main source of information to which they trust. Difficulties with assurance to the information coming from different sources are also due to the fact that the increasing role of the media, their transformation into one of the institutions of 'fluid' socialization leads to depersonalization and generalization of incoming information, which is often connected with emotional discomfort [7].

- Violation of the harmonious relationship between the flexibility-constancy of values

In the situation of transitivity, people's ability to flexibly change their value orientations, correlating with new sociocultural realities, remaining, however, within certain value standards that are important to them, is violated (significantly reduced). We can say that in this case the main and the periphery of values are constantly changing, preventing people from either correctly understanding and assessing the changes that occur, or adapting to them [8].

4. The phenomenology of transitivity

Psychological analysis of the concept of 'transitive society' allows us to identify the main features that determine its psychological content [1]. We can state that such a society is characterized by the following phenomena:

- Cardinal social transformations.

- Globalization, which leads to the expansion of space, including the space of interpersonal contacts.

- Strengthening of social uncertainty, connected first of all with constant transformations of values, norms and standards in the modern, changing world.

- Increase in the duration of the process of socialization, activation of resocialization and fluid socialization.

- Expansion of the information space and strengthening of its role, partially replacing the intergenerational connections.

Globalization is one of the most important characteristics for psychology of transitivity, as its effect is the interaction between people of different cultures, which leads the need to develop tolerance for a multicultural environment. The manifestations of globalization affect not only the economy and politics but also all aspects of the interaction of different cultures—from the exchange of technologies and joint scientific developments to mixed marriages. Modern technologies have a significant impact on people's perception of the surrounding space, which begins to be perceived as collapsed. The Earth represents as a small planet, the distances between different points on which are not as great as it once seemed. Not too long ago time and space seemed endless to people, life seemed eternal, the earth so huge that and it is impossible to get around it. Today people understand the transience and limited of life, and the simplicity of traveling. This gives another value to life, as well as the need to accept the fact of the existence of other people and other cultures. The increase in migration also leads to the need for interpersonal interaction among people belonging to different cultures, so it becomes extremely important to analyze the causes of people's disadaptation to new living conditions, refusal or passive rejection of that culture, those traditions that are significant for a new social environment.

At the same time, the interaction of people with different mentality, different languages, and different values leads to the need for comprehension on both the everyday and the scientific level of the relativity of our ideas about truth, about 'what is good and what is bad'. It becomes important to evaluate the same position from different points of view, in different approaches and different sciences.

The fluidity and variability of values and norms is the reason for the growing of anxiety as people find very difficult to adapt to the ever-changing 'rules of the game'. A consequence of this is the fact that the process of socialization takes place throughout the all life course. Therefore, at the present time it is said about the principle continuity of the process of socialization. In the context of this idea is the appearance of the term resocialization. At the same time, a modern multidimensional culture assumes a 'liquid' socialization, in which a multifaceted and undirected impact is possible, and the result may be a delayed, latent [9, 10].

These changes result in revising the concepts of identity and socialization as well as development of a new methodology and new investigation methods [2]. In situation of transitivity, the person himself, his thoughts and his behavior become more, than usual, ambiguous. That is, a person has at the same time a clear stable structure of motives and their ever-changing structure in a system of changing relations. Therefore, the objectification of motives of human behavior in a situation of uncertainty cannot already correlate with an action, as a phenomenon of personality. So, we need to find a new determination, first of all, cultural determination. It is in the context of a particular culture that one can judge both the causes, and the meaning of a particular act of a person, and its significance for the others.

As for the structure of identity in a transient, constantly changing world, it is necessary to emphasize that the problem of identity has always been actualized during periods of crisis, uncertainty, when comes out questions what norms, values, standards will be in demand tomorrow, how norms and rules of behavior will be transformed [11, 12]. These problems, turning into a personal, transcendental plan, focus on the main question—what will happen to a person, whether he will retain himself in the new conditions [13].

Transformation of the process of socialization leads to a change in the ratio of personal and social identity [5, 14]. It connects primarily with the fact that in a transitive society the balance of identities is an unstable characteristic that constantly shifts from one side to the other. Therefore, often, especially with a wide fan of identity group choices, dominates the personal not the social component of identity [6]. The person gets the opportunity to form (create), based on his ideas about himself and corresponding to his individuality group, in which the social identity is almost equal to the personal one. Internet communication and network communities also stimulate the creation of new relationships between personal and social identities that are associated not only with real, but also virtual groups. Considering identity from this point of view, it can be stated that with the expansion of Internet communication, an area of imaginary and virtual identity is increasing. The role of self-monitoring, which gives a person an opportunity not only for self-categorization, but also for self-presentation, demonstration of both real and imaginary qualities, whose existence is proved not in real interaction but in a story about oneself, is growing substantially.

Therefore, in the current situation of communication, the phenomenon of narrative identity develops. Narrative identity is manifested in the fact that in interpersonal contacts the percentage of stories about oneself increases, rather than presenting oneself in action [15]. This fact is directly reflected in the game of identities—opportunities to try yourself in different masks and different roles, which often increase the awareness of roles and oneself. At the same time, network communities on the one hand provide the opportunity for flexible and positive socialization, on the other they help to find different variants of the 'game' with its identity. In the found-created identity group (both real and, especially, virtual), self-assertion of fictitious (or appearing in the 'game') personality characteristics occurs, and the traditional connection categorization—self-categorization is transformed into the connection between self-monitoring and self-confirmation.

An important point is the fact that in a situation of transitivity the integrity of identity is associated with culture, and not with the continuity of life cycles. This actualizes the concepts of linguistic and sociocultural identity. Enculturation, acceptance and appropriation of culture are one of the important factors determining the success of socialization in new conditions. Native culture and language remain unchanged in a changing world [16]. Therefore, enculturation gives the rootedness and stability necessary in today's life, which many perceive as broken, uncertain. It is culture, emotionally perceived as a stable that allows finding the points of support in the changing reality and restoring the lost integrity of the self and world images. As for the role of language in the identity formation, in this case the concept of language is used in the broadest sense of the word and cannot be identified with speech. At the same time, the language form has not linguistic or philosophical, but psychological content, analogous to the modern narrative approach that regards a person as a text.

How the situation of the transitive and multicultural world perceived as the situation of the crisis affected the process of socialization of modern adolescents became the subject of our researches in Moscow and in Komi region (the main city Syktyvkar and settlement Vizinga), conducted in 2014–2017. In the first, the assumption was made that the situation of transitivity, more pronounced at the time of the crisis of 2016–2017, reduces the socialization of

adolescents. In the second study, the assumption was made that multiculturalism in a small city reduces the socialization potential of adolescents and increases their ethnocentrism.

5. Participants and methods

A sample of the **first research**—210 people (164 girls and 56 boys, aged 15–17 years). They were first-year students of College of Russian State University for the humanities. The study was conducted for 4 years, from 2013 to 2017, during the first half of the year, that is, in the process of adapting to a new professional educational institution. During this time, the social situation in the country has changed, so we conditionally divided students into three groups: 2013–2014—a stable period, 2014–2015—a slight transition period and 2016–2017—a period of crisis, tough transitivity. All the participants gave their consent to participate in the study.

Methods:

- Method 'Socialization'. Martsinkovskaya and Khuzeeva [17], who estimate the level of socialization and emotional comfort.
- The questionnaire 'Emotional intellect' [17].

A sample of the **second research**: 250 people from Moscow and the Republic of Komi (Syktyvkar and Vizinga). Participants in Moscow—80 respondents aged from 16 to 18 years. In the settlement Vizinga—58 respondents aged from 15 to 16 years. In Syktyvkar, the study involved 82 respondents aged 15–18 years. All participants of the study were aware of its purpose and agreed to participate in the work.

The need to split the sample precisely by the degree of homogeneity—the heterogeneity of culture and the cultural (linguistic) context explains the choice of the sites for this study. This also explains the scarcity and heterogeneity of the sample, which does not allow its static processing. Based on this, it was decided to focus on a qualitative analysis of the obtained material.

Methods:

- Method 'Socialization'. Martsinkovskaya and Khuzeeva [17], who estimate the level of socialization and emotional comfort.
- The questionnaire 'Identity', which allows to estimate the structure of identity. Martsinkovskaya and Khuzeeva [17].
- The questionnaire 'My country'—which estimates attitude to the native country, culture and language [17]

6. Results and discussion

6.1. Research I

As expected, the level of socialization among adolescents who entered the college at the year of the crisis is significantly lower for all indicators. For all positive indicators of socialization,

adolescents in the crisis group lose significantly to the other two groups—stable and transitional (slight transitivity). In particular, the level of emotional comfort in this group is extremely low, with, respectively, an extremely high rate of emotional discomfort. The adaptability index is also extremely low. Therefore, the greatest interest is the analysis of the differences between the three groups on individual scales.

The positive attitude to others in a stable period is the lowest and gradually grows during transitive period. Perhaps, it is the situation of the crisis, in which group socialization becomes important, which leads to the increasing of positive attitude towards others (**Figure 1**).

Important is the fact that the desire to dominate in this group of teenagers is lower than that of the other two. Therefore, it can be assumed that it is in this group that adolescents will be less active and less expected to take responsibility for a decision.

No less interesting are the data, reflecting the differences between the three groups in terms of understanding their own and others' emotions. On the one hand, one can see that during the crisis period, the assessment of competence in understanding and controlling emotions is significantly reduced. The obtained data show that all three groups have a very low indicator of a real understanding of other people's emotional states. We can also state that those teenagers, who are growing up during a period of serious transitivity, have the most adequate self-esteem, while the adolescents of the two other groups clearly overestimate their abilities.

Very important are the differences in the indicators of socialization and emotional intellect between groups of stable and slight transitional periods. If in a stable situation external control over emotional manifestations was not very high, unlike internal regulation, then in crisis, on the contrary, internal regulation falls and external control grows. The group of light transitivity is transient in these indicators, reflecting the growing trend of transitivity—the weakening of internal control (since the criteria for this control are not clear) and the strengthening of the external one (**Figure 2**).

The indicators of dominance and conformity are also transitional—as the transitivity increases, the desire for domination falls, and on the contrary, increases the level of conformity (**Figure 3**). This dynamics can be clearly seen in the evolution from one group to another. It is possible to
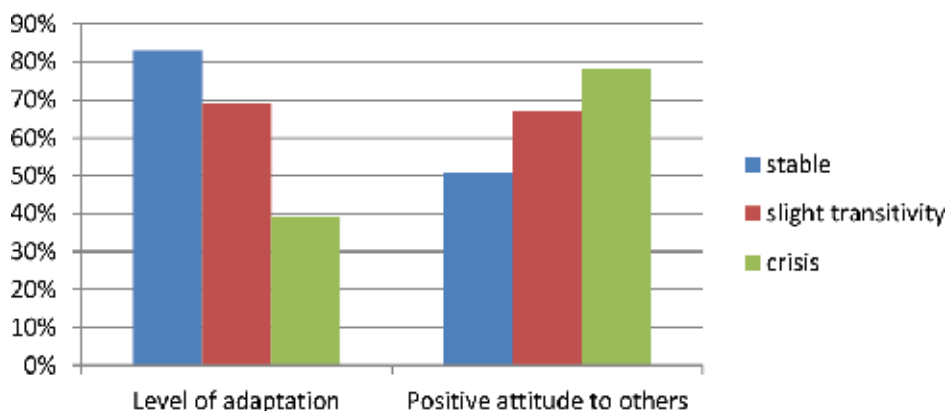
Figure 1. Adaptation and attitude to others.
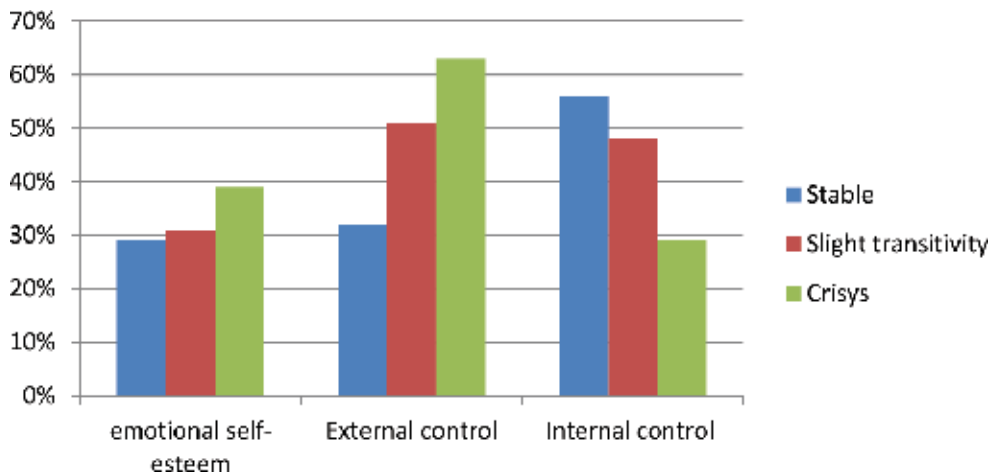
Figure 2. Emotional intellect.
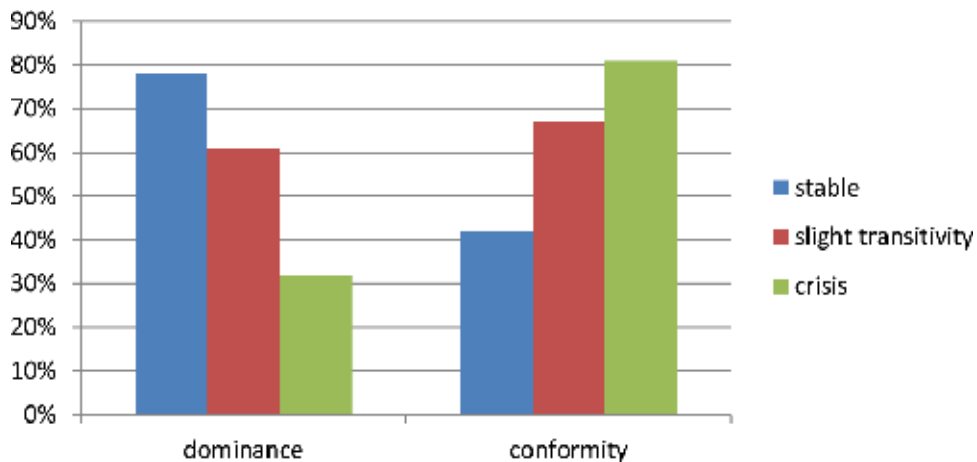
Figure 3. Dominance and conformity.

say that this fact is also connected with the 'weakening' of the criteria for assessing behavior and value orientations. Perhaps, the reducing of orientation towards interaction with other is also connected with high uncertainty, when teenagers are not sure in attitude to them.

6.2. Research II

The results obtained in the study of the attitude towards the country show that for the majority of respondents the leading parameter determining the attitude towards the country is not emotional, but externally descriptive (large, multinational) (**Figure 4**).

It should also be noted that countryside residents more often than residents of cities mention their emotional and positive attitude to their homeland, such as 'native', 'rich', 'friendly',
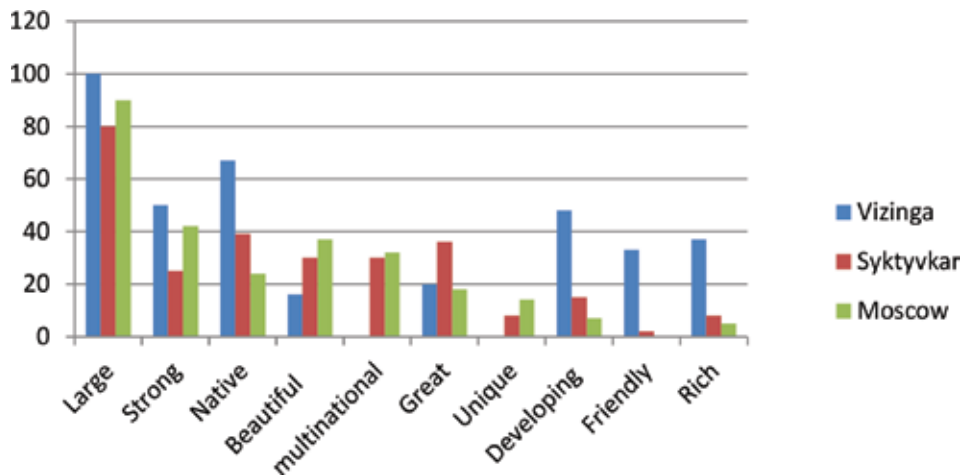
Figure 4. My country.

'developing.' Urban residents mark external characteristics of the country, such as 'multinational', 'unique', 'great'.

The data obtained in the study of attitudes towards the culture show that for the overwhelming majority of respondents the dominant is the positive attitude towards their native and world culture. In the answers to the question: 'How my culture helps me'—it was stated: to develop, live and communicate. These data also emphasize the leading role of culture in the formation of sociocultural identity and personal development (**Figure 5**). Only a small number of respondents associate culture with ethnic identity (mainly in Syktyvkar), which is connected with the desire to communicate with people their language, their nation.

About 50% respondents noted that their culture does not hinder them in any way. In a small settlement, the number of such answers is much larger than in cities, possibly due to the fact that other cultures, except the Komi and the Russian, are almost absent from it. In the city Syktyvkar, where there is a very large variety of cultures and nations, this indicator is the lowest. Many respondents there said that culture hinders communication with other peoples. Thus, we can say that in this case the language is identified with the culture (**Figure 6**).

In multinational cities, the differences between ethnic and sociocultural identity is minor and are mainly related to the main language of communication. In a small settlement, culture is perceived as a natural background for development and unites with the overall social situation, and in medium-sized cities and a megacity, culture can be seen as a hindrance for learning about other peoples and communicating with people who speak a different language.

We must emphasize that only residents of Moscow gave negative definitions to their culture, in Moscow also much more neutral characteristics of native culture and people than in Syktyvkar and Vizinga, where the positive characteristics of their culture and people prevail. In this context, it is indicative that the native nature, which is also regarded as part of culture, does not cause negative experiences. It is possible to say, that our respondents realize connection between culture and language and norms of behavior, that is why
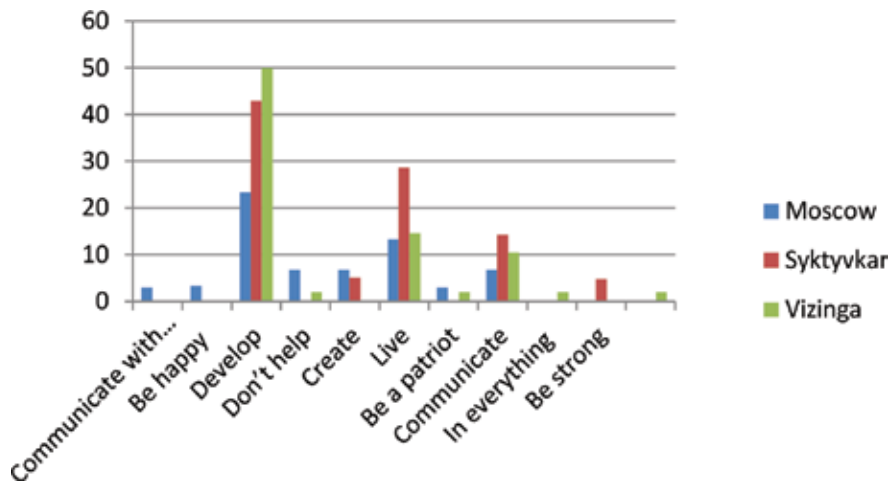
Figure 5. My culture helps me.
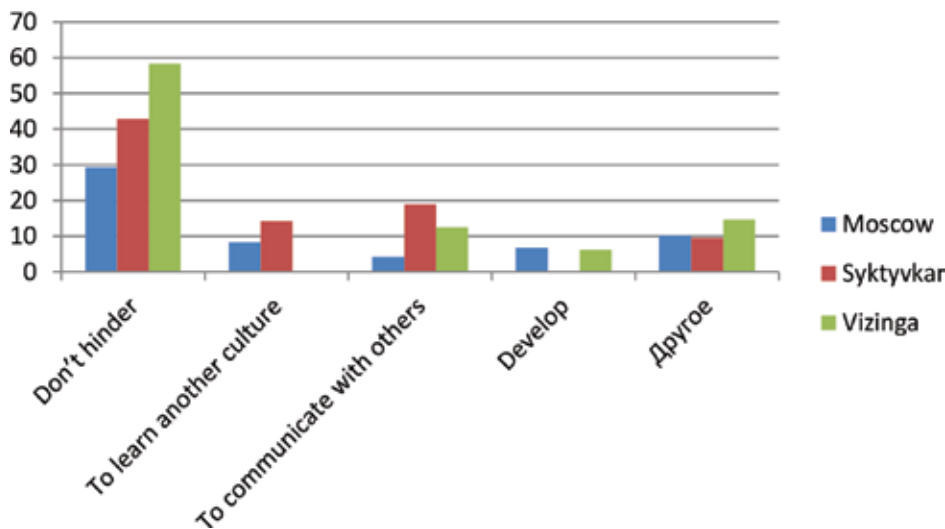
Figure 6. My culture hinders me.

culture is reflected by many of them as negative for development factor, while nature is perceived only on the emotional level and does not cause negative emotions. Language by majority of respondents was identified with culture and regarded as the important component of their native culture. Although many teenagers do not know well enough their native language (Komi, German), the main factor determining ethnic identity is precisely their native language, as they say that they are not Russians (thou speak mainly Russian) but Komi and Germans.

As a whole majority of teenagers appreciate two to three languages (Russian, English, Komi, German) and both native and world culture. Positive is the fact that the number of responses reflecting a negative attitude towards foreign culture and languages is decreasing.

Our
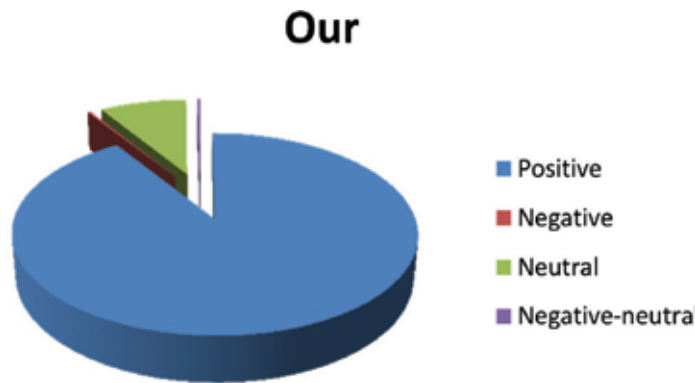
Figure 7. Our people.
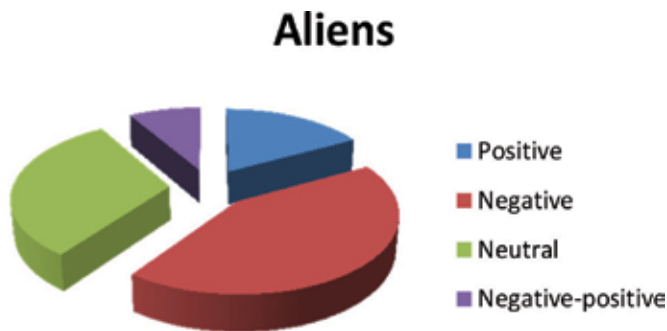
Aliens

Figure 8. Aliens.

At the same time, a significant number of answers are disturbing; it is those in which pronounced ethnocentrism manifests itself (**Figures 7** and **8**).

In this case, foreign peoples are characterized only negatively, in contrast to people of own nation, which are characterized only positively. The reason for this phenomenon is widespread ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. The low connection of culture with ethnic identity can cause a negative attitude towards other, 'alien' peoples, who are seen as bearers of negative features, and not carriers of another, but also interesting culture. This phenomenon is largely due to the fact that 'my own' people are viewed not in cultural context, but from the position of the emotional attitude to the idealized positive national characteristics. It is noteworthy that there are negative and critical descriptions in relation to the country, but such characteristics are completely absent in relation to native nationality.

7. Conclusion

Our material shows that the current situation of transitivity, which includes the variability, uncertainty and plurality of social and personal spaces and contexts, for many teenagers becomes a crisis and complex life situation that significantly reduces their socialization potential.

We can state that one of the most disturbing fact related to transitivity is that it leads to a significant weakening of the desire for dominance, activity and responsibility for one's actions and increasing conformism. This can adversely affect the further social activity of young people, and their creative and personal growth.

As we see, one of the leading trends of transitivity in adolescence is the 'weakening' of the criteria for behavior assessing and value orientations. It is also very negative for positive socialization fact, because it is connected with ambivalent situation of increasing positive attitudes towards schoolmates and a desire for group socialization and a fall of the orientation towards interaction with them.

Our materials released another worrying fact—the reluctance of many young people to live in a multicultural society. They are not yet aware of the global appearance of multicultural space and are not ready for life in a new situation. We suppose that because of this fact, in small mono-ethnic settlements, the attitude to the country and culture is more emotionally saturated and positive than in cities and, especially, megacities. And the most disturbing fact is the pronounced ethnocentrism presented in the answers of a large number of respondents regardless of their place of residence.

The optimistic fact, concerning the role of culture in positive socialization, is that language, which is not even a priority, emotionally remains the leading parameter of ethnic identity, even if it does not correspond with the sociocultural identity. So we can say that multifaceted socio-cultural identity is a predominantly constructive moment. It increases tolerance for uncertainty and socialization in a multicultural environment.

In the future, the study of positive socialization in transitivity can be continued in two directions—monitoring the socialization of adolescents and young people from different social and territorial groups and expanding research to other areas of coexistence of different ethnic groups (Karelia and Tatarstan).

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Improving Social Skills through Collaborative Artwork and Group Activity

Daiki Kato

Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

In this chapter, we introduce the framework and practice of collaborative artwork and group activity. In particular, we focus on the collaborative block creation method and show its psychological evidence. The first section introduces the theoretical background underlying collaborative work and overviews recent studies concerning social skills, especially from psychological perspective. The second section introduces this study, in which we demonstrated the effectiveness of collaborative LEGO® block creation work as a medium of communication in group therapy and investigated the effects of fostering communication, especially for developing social skills and trust. The third section focuses on interpersonal relations. We examined the psychological effect of collaborative block creation from the perspective of Ibasho, a Japanese term for one's whereabouts or a place of our own. Next, we show a case study of collaborative LEGO block creation for Japanese adolescents with autism spectrum disorder (ASD). Finally, we introduce a new type of group approach in the area of student counseling.

Keywords: social skills, art therapy, group approach, adolescents, LEGO blocks

1. Introduction

Several group approaches have been developed to facilitate individuals' social skills in the psychology domain. Collaborative art session is one of the effective mediums for developing social skills. Some fundamental studies and studies based on clinical settings have explored collaborative art session as a medium for developing social skills. The first section overviews these evidences from previous studies.

Art-based social skills training is useful for students with maladaptation or for those facing difficulty in social communication. For example, Walsh [1] proposed a short-term intervention in social skills training for adolescent students with social-emotional development delays. Most group members showed some improvements in social skills. Chin et al. [2] provided an innovative combination of treatment—art therapy, social skills training, and video therapy—for dropout adolescents. The results suggested that the combination significantly elevated their feelings of self-worth and self-esteem. In clinical situation, art-based program is employed for clients with brain disorder. Agnihotri et al. [3] examined the effect of art-based programs for adolescents with childhood brain disorder. They revealed that intervention participants showed improvements with regard to pragmatic communication skills and social and participation goals. Furthermore, Agnihotri et al. [4] showed the feasibility and effectiveness of a theater skills training program to facilitate social skills and participation for adolescents with childhood brain disorder.

Art-based activity is effective in the area of social skills training for people with developmental disorders. Autism spectrum disorder (ASD) is one of the core symptoms of developmental disorders. According to the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, a central feature of ASD is a persistent deficit in both social communication and interaction. Another trait involves restricted and repetitive patterns of behavior, interests, or activities. Activities involving group approaches help facilitate social skills in children and adolescents with ASD. Martin [5] categorized art therapy approaches used for clients with ASD. The categories include object relations [6], developmental approaches [7], developmental/behavioral approaches [5], and psychotherapy [8, 9]. Schweizer, Knorth, and Spreen [10] reviewed case studies based on the Context and Outcomes in Art Therapy (COAT) model. The results indicated that art therapy may add to a more flexible and relaxed attitude, a better self-image, and improved communicative and learning skills in children with ASD. Moreover, Gazeas [11] reviewed the outcomes of art therapy from previous studies. Gazeas [11] found that art therapy improves the ability to relate, socialize, and improve joint attention skills of individuals with ASD. Individual case studies have supplied evidences of increasing social skills. For example, Emery [7] presented the art therapy treatment of a boy diagnosed with autism without mental retardation. The case study explored the value of art therapy interventions in the young boy's development and his ability to relate to others. The boy's growth is highlighted by discussing three of his drawings that reflect his progress in developing object constancy. Durrani [12] conducted the case study and proposed that an art therapy intervention may facilitate sensory modulation and self-regulation. This would help lower anxiety levels, aid attachment to the therapist, and improve social engagement in general. Schleien et al. [13] organized a group of children with autism and nondisabled peers at a children's museum; they participated in monthly art activities. The results of this investigation supported the use of inclusive art classes as a means for promoting social interactions directed toward children with autism by their nondisabled peers. Kempe [14] applied drama to teach social skills in special school setting and suggested that it can be a powerful learning medium for children with ASD.

Several materials such as painting and drama are used as mediums for communication. Collaborative block creation has been found to be effective in addressing deficient social skills. The approach used by LeGoff [15], known as "LEGO® therapy," has been extensively

used in groups with children diagnosed with ASD. The participants are assigned roles of "engineer," "supplier," and "builder," and they are encouraged to work together to solve a particular task. The engineer is asked to give instructions to other group members. The supplier is in charge of choosing appropriate blocks and providing them to the group. Finally, the builder follows instructions and constructs the figures. Efficient collaboration and division of roles facilitate both verbal and nonverbal communication. In addition, the participants are more likely to share their creativity and problem-solving skills with others throughout the process, thereby enhancing their social skills.

The "block technique" [16] has also been used in group therapy settings. The technique was originally developed as a tool for individual psychotherapy. Using blocks and figures, the clients were given the tools to express anything that came to their minds based on the structures of both sand play and collage therapy. The therapists observed the creative process and noted that it had certain therapeutic effects. This framework was also found to be useful in group therapy. In our study, we used this technique with groups and divided participants into groups of 3 and 5. The facilitator observed each group, and the emotional expression process is involved. First, we provided a green LEGO® plate (which combined four pieces of 25 × 25 cm plates) for the group expression task. Then, the facilitator instructed participants to create anything they wanted while collaborating with other group members.

After the task was completed, the members and the facilitator discussed why members chose to express themselves in the ways they did. Although this technique was originally developed as a medium for individual psychotherapy and art therapy, this technique was effective in the group setting. Considering this positive outcome, we decided to use this method with a group of adolescents previously diagnosed with developmental disorders such as ASD. Further, we introduce the fundamental study of the collaborative block creation and the case study in the following sections.

2. Effects of collaborative block creation on social skills and trust

In this study, we examined the effects of collaborative block creation from the perspective of social skills and trust. The evidence is based on Kato et al. [17]. We focused on the psychological aspects of social skills, trust in others, and trust in oneself, which were examined during the activity. It is important to examine the effect using control group when we apply new technique in the clinical settings. The participants of this study were healthy high school students without any diagnosis of developmental and mental disorders. Our hypothesis proposed that social skills, trust in others, and trust in oneself would significantly increase through collaborative expression through block creation.

2.1. Participants

Thirty-nine Japanese high school students participated in this study (6 males and 33 females; all participants were either 16 or 17 years old), and they were randomly divided into groups of 3 or 4.

2.2. Materials

Green LEGO® plastic plates (50 × 50 cm) and several types of blocks were provided to each group. We prepared the cube-shaped blocks (in red, blue, green, yellow, white, black, and brown colors) and specific blocks such as animals, plants, wheels, windows, and doors. The human figures and its accessories were also prepared.

2.3. Procedure

The collaborative block creation was held as part of a psychology class in a university summer school. The participants expressed anything they desired collaboratively with other group members using LEGO® blocks and figures on the plate. They were asked to answer the questionnaires about social skills and trust before and after the activity.

2.4. Measures

2.4.1. Social skills

The 18-item Kikuchi Scale of Social Skills (KiSS-18; [18]) was used to measure social skills. It measures a participant's general social skills and includes items such as "I can join in conversation with others smoothly" and "I can express my feeling to others."

2.4.2. Trust

Trust scale developed by Amagai [19] is used as an index of the trust of the participants, and it includes 24 items. The items are divided into three subgroups of trust for others, trust in oneself, and distrust. In this study, we only used the trust for others (six items) and trust in oneself (eight items).

2.5. Results and discussion

The scores of each scale before and after the block creation were compared. The result showed that the social skills ($t(38) = -4.16$, $p < .01$) and trust in others ($t(38) = -2.28$, $p < .05$) were significantly higher after the activity than before. In contrast, the score of trust in oneself was not changed significantly ($t(38) = -0.48$, ns). **Table 1** showed scores of social skills and trust before and after the activity.

The collaborative block creation facilitated social skills. Social skills include many aspects of skills, and the abilities to join in conversations and express feelings to others are necessary in communication with others. Many of the participants were meeting for the first time, and they are not familiar to each other; certain participants may be anxious before the activity. It is considered to be difficult to use appropriate social skills in a new or strange situation without any help. The block expression reduced participants' tension or anxiety, and it might be a good medium to help them to adapt to the group.

Trusting other people in the group was found to increase significantly after the activity. We assume that the participants were interested in meeting all the other members of

	Before		After		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Social skills	59.9	9.7	65.2	11.3	**
Trust for others	34.3	7.1	35.3	7.6	*
Trust in oneself	24.1	5.4	24.6	5.6	

**p < .01.
*p < .05.

Table 1. Scores of social skills and trust before and after the activity.

their group and that they came to know each other through a collaborative exercise. The facilitation of positive regard for others through collaborative expression and conversation resulted in participants' trust in others increasing after activity completion. In contrast, scores for trust in oneself did not change significantly following activity completion. Trust in oneself is a personal, psychological construct and is strongly connected to the foundation of one's personality. It cannot be changed in the short term because it cannot significantly increase without continuous introspection. As with the theory of art therapy or counseling, a continuous therapeutic process is sometimes necessary to facilitate self-insight. In this study, collaborative expression was the first and only opportunity for participants to engage in this activity. Future research should examine the effects of block creation over a period of time to investigate additional clinical applications. In addition, expanding the range of applications for collaborative block creation will require practical and statistical studies including several types of participants and assessments of various psychological aspects.

The results obtained in this study show that collaborative block creation has positive effects on participants' social skills and trust in others. It also suggests that collaborative block creation could be useful in education, therapy, and cross-cultural group settings as a medium for communication. In future studies, the multiple effects of this method should be examined.

3. Collaborative block construction on the sense of acceptance

The effect of collaborative block creation especially focused on the sense of acceptance is overviewed in this section based on Kato et al. [20]. Examining the effects of group cooperation and group therapy are important research topics in educational and clinical psychology. For example, the self-categorization theory was developed (Turner et al. [21]), and it indicated that collaborative group work could improve social identity. It also promotes reciprocal positive evaluations, trust among group members, and sense of acceptance by others. The role of peer groups and gender in adolescents' task values and physical activity were examined (Yli-Piipari et al. [22]), and the study mentioned that it was important to investigate the effect of group dynamics on adolescents as a research

topic. The results also reinforced the importance of peer group membership as a determinant of future activity.

Blocks are a useful medium for self-expression not only in individual art therapy but also in group settings as mentioned before. LeGoff [15] found that collaborative problem-solving activity using blocks was useful to developing social skills of autistic children. In addition, both social skills and trust were increased through the collaborative block creation (Kato et al. [16]) as shown in the previous section.

The Japanese term "Ibasho" means "whereabouts or a place of my own" literally, and it is one of the key terms of Japanese psychological studies. In the psychological context, the sense of Ibasho is defined as the sense of being accepted by others unconditionally (Ishimoto [23]). Norisada [24] developed the scale to measure the sense, and it includes four subscales: sense of authenticity, sense of role, sense of perceived acceptance, and sense of relief. In addition, the friendship styles are also influenced by the sense of Ibasho. For example, school adjustment in Japanese female adolescents is related with the respectful friendships (Ishimoto et al. [25]). As these previous studies showed, the sense of Ibasho concerns the cognition of individuals' relationship with others. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the experience of engaging collaborative block increases the sense of Ibasho.

The participants of this study were also healthy students without any developmental and mental disorders. The purpose of the study is to examine the effect of the collaborative creation work using healthy samples and show useful evidences for the future application.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants

Twenty Japanese female university students participated in this study (Mage = 20.15 years, SD = 0.37). They were randomly divided into groups of between three and four people.

3.1.2. Materials

We provided green LEGO® plastic building plates (50 × 50 cm) and several types of blocks and figures to each group. The detail of the material is same as the previous section.

3.2. Measures

3.2.1. Sense of Ibasho

The general sense of Ibasho scale for university students [26] is used. The scale is developed based on the sense of Ibasho scale for adolescents [24] and includes four subscales: sense of authenticity, sense of role, sense of perceived acceptance, and sense of relief. It also measures the general sense of Ibasho as the sum of the four subscales. It is consists

of 20 items such as "I have a place where I can express myself as I am," "I am useful to someone," and "I have a person who accepts me unconditionally," and they are rated from 1 (disagree) to 5 (agree).

3.3. Procedure

The collaborative block creation was held in psychology class in the university, and the activity was held in 60 minutes. Participants were asked to express anything they desire on the plate using blocks and figures with group members. They were also asked to answer the questionnaire before and after the activity.

3.4. Results and discussion

The scores of the sense of Ibasho scale before and after the collaborative creation were compared. First, the general sense of Ibasho (the sum of the four subscales) score after the activity was significantly higher than the score before the activity ($t(19) = -1.81$, $p < .10$). Second, the score of subscales before and after the work was compared to examine which aspect of the sense of Ibasho was influenced by the collaborative work. Result of the analysis showed that the score of the sense of role was promoted significantly after the work ($t(19) = -3.18$, $p < .01$). There was no significant difference in any other subscales (the sense of authenticity ($t(19) = 0.71$, ns), sense of perceived acceptance ($t(19) = -1.14$, ns), and sense of relief ($t(19) = 0.66$, ns)). **Table 2** shows scores of Ibasho before and after a collaborative task.

The results showed that the general sense of Ibasho was increased after the collaborative block creation. In addition, especially sense of role was promoted through the work more than other subscales such as sense of authenticity, sense of perceived acceptance, and sense of relief.

When we express something or tackle a task with others, such as a block construction task, the role of each participant is important. Participants perceive their own role through the work, and it may facilitate their sense of role. For instance, self-confidence of participants was enhanced when their idea or proposal was accepted by other group members. This process may improve their sense of role.

Self-disclosure and the ability to understand one another are important in friendship of adolescents [27]. This is also necessary for establishing roles in peer groups and maintains good relationships with others. Participants of the present study expressed their idea to other members, and it promotes their self-disclosure. In addition, they could know the way of thinking of other members at the same time. These interactions may promote the skill of sympathy and understanding one another. The sense of role is also deeply connected with social skills. As shown in the previous section, the collaborative block creation improves social skills, and it might support the establishment of roles among the participants.

	Before		After		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
General sense of Ibasho	4.04	0.69	4.15	0.73	*
Sense of authenticity	4.29	0.83	4.23	0.91	
Sense of role	3.49	0.90	3.87	0.86	**
Sense of perceived acceptance	4.04	0.89	4.11	0.91	
Sense of relief	4.60	0.48	4.55	0.45	

*p < .10.
**p < .01.

Table 2. Scores of Ibasho before and after a collaborative task.

In contrast, we could not find significant differences in the sense of authenticity, perceived acceptance, and relief. However, the sense of role concerns with social skills, the other factors are more individual factors, and they might relate with the personality of each participant. Therefore, it is considered that they did not change in short time. It is important to examine the effect of the continuous collaborative activity over a longer period of time in future studies.

3.5. Conclusion

We examined the effect of collaborative block creation on the sense of Ibasho in this study.

The result showed that the collaborative activity increased the general sense of Ibasho and sense of role especially. The findings indicated that the activity can be a useful medium for communication in group therapy or social skills training program. However, this finding is meaningful for future clinical application, and we need to interpret the result of the study carefully because the result is based on the limited setting of healthy samples. The study that includes the view point of both genders, generation, and clinical samples are necessary in the future.

4. Collaborative block creation for ASD adolescents

This section will provide examples of the clinical applications of collaborative block creation based on evidence mentioned in previous sections of this chapter. While this method is useful with several clinical subpopulations and ages, we specifically focused on the application of this approach for groups of adolescents with developmental disorders, particularly ASD.

As LeGoff [15] demonstrated, toy blocks are very attractive to children and act as useful materials in the evaluation of children with developmental disorders. His "LEGO® therapy"

method is well structured and effective as a social skills training program for them. However, the "block technique" approach in this study allows for more freedom in expression than other approaches; furthermore, it can be applied in a group therapy setting for children with developmental disorders. We tested the collaborative creation approach with a group of ASD children. We created small groups of three to five children that met with one of the facilitators. Based on Kato et al. [28] study, the effect of the group is reviewed in this section.

4.1. Participants

Six Japanese adolescents with ASD joined the study. Three were junior high school students, and the others were high school students. All participants were male, diagnosed based on DSM, and categorized in the high-functioning ASD.

4.2. Procedure

The study was conducted in a social skills training group for ASD students. The group contain six times program, and it includes several social skills training activities. The collaborative block creation was held in the second time of the group. Participants were divided into two groups. One group consisted of the junior high school students and the other of the high school students. As shown in the previous section, the participants were asked to express themselves collaboratively with the other group members and encouraged to build anything they wanted on the group's plate using LEGO® blocks and figures. Graduate students majoring in clinical psychology joined each group as facilitators. The creation was completed within 1 hour. Participants responded on the trust scale [19]. This scale originally included three subscales: "trust for oneself," "trust for others," and "distrust." We used "trust for oneself" (six items) and "trust for others" (eight items) in this study. After the entire process was finished, group members presented their works to each other and shared their experience.

4.3. Results and discussion

The scores of each item of the trust scale were compared before and after the group work. The scores from after the work were categorized into three groups as "increased," "decreased," and "not changed." The percentages of these three groups were compared to "trust for oneself" and "trust for others." The results showed that there were significant differences both in "trust for oneself" (χ^2 (2) = 13.50, p < .01) and "trust for others" (χ^2 (2) = 19.63, p < .01). Multiple comparisons showed that "not changed" was larger than "decreased" (p < .05) in "trust for oneself." In addition, "increased" and "not changed" were larger than "decreased" (p < .05) in "trust for others."

The total number of participants who increased and decreased the scores of the items in the trust scale was counted. As a result, the score increased in the majority of the participants regarding the items "I am worthy of trust" and "I can trust myself" on the subscale "trust for oneself." In addition, there was an increase in "I can keep trust with others if we face problems" and "I trust others based on my experience." There were no decreasing items for the majority of the participants.

However, the increased scores did not rise significantly; the category of "not changed" was higher than "decreased" in "trust for oneself." This means that the collaborative block creation does not have negative effects in regard to their trust for themselves. Participants presented their image on the base plate, and the facilitator watched the process. This secure framework of the block technique contributed to the result. The scores were particularly increased in the items "I am worthy of trust" and "I can trust myself." These items directly represent self-trust in simple words more than other items, and the increase here might reflect participants' experience of the collaborative work. The previous research has shown that ASD students have low self-esteem or distrust because of continuous experiences that show them that they are unable to establish relationships smoothly with others. The collaborative block creation is useful in assisting with secondary issues such as low self-esteem and distrust.

In contrast, the category of "increased" was higher than "decreased" in "trust for others." This means the collaborative work increased students' trust for other group members. The previous section examined the effect of collaborative block creation on Japanese high school students and showed that the work increased feelings of safety and a sense of acceptance of others. Participants in the present study had the same experience, thus explaining the increased trust for other members. In particular, the scores were increased in the items "I can keep trust with others if we face problems" and "I trust others based on my experience." Collaborative creation facilitated participants' communication, and this positive process affected their trust for others. Therefore, blocks are familiar toys for participants and play the role of a medium for nonverbal communication.

The facilitators were responsible for implementing the collaborative creation approach. Although the participants tended to convey a very narrow range of expressions at the beginning, they gradually started to communicate and collaborate more with each other. This process proved effective in helping the participants increase their social skills, self-efficacy, and satisfaction. We are currently preparing to test this approach with a group that includes children with several different developmental disorders, such as ASD and ADHD. Although ASD children prefer to be alone and stay in their own world, ADHD children are often interested in many different things and actively communicate with others. The social differences between these two groups of children may represent a good opportunity for the participants to communicate with each other. Of course, the facilitators will have to closely monitor the group dynamics closely, maintain a good atmosphere, and secure the framework of the approach in order to effectively facilitate the communication.

5. Group approach for ASD adolescents in student counseling

In the area of student counseling at universities, the support for students with developmental disorders, including ASD, is an important mission. ASD students often have talents in specific fields, such as an expert knowledge of mathematics. However, while they have special talents in some areas, it is difficult for them to use these talents fully because they have difficulty with social skills. Communication skills are necessary for professors or laboratory members so that

they can use their talents effectively at universities. However, many ASD students are not good at smoothly establishing relationships with others. Such difficulties sometimes cause maladaptation to the university, and this problem is aggravated after the students drop out. Individual student counseling deals with the problem, and until recently it was the only way to help ASD students. Recently, attention has begun to focus on therapy involving a group approach for students with developmental disorders. This section will introduce a case of a new group approach for university students, based on the work of Kato and Yura [29].

5.1. Details of the group

In regard to student counseling, when many students with ASD attend counseling, their main problem is relationships with others. However, while individual counseling can reduce their daily stress, preventive approaches are also necessary. This case study attempted some group approaches from this perspective. One of the groups in the study was named "Collector's Club." Any student from the university could join the group, both students with ASD and students with no such diagnosis. The group was announced by poster and website at the university. In some cases, a counselor would refer students to the group. Such collaboration between individual counseling and the group is important. The main aim of this group was to support improving the social skills of participants through their collections or hobbies. While ASD students have interesting collections and hobbies, it is not always easy for them to find friends with whom to share these interests while at the university. The group was planned in order to provide an opportunity for students to present their hobbies and a chance to make new friends. The group was held in a classroom at the university after class. Every session was approximately 90 minutes long and held once a month. A clinical psychologist and psychiatrist joined the group as facilitators. In each session, one participant took on the role of presenter and introduced his or her own hobby or collection.

5.2. Case report

This section summarizes one of the cases from the Collector's Club. The participant was a male university student with high-functioning ASD (diagnosed based on DSM), majoring in science. He had difficulty forming good relationships with laboratory members, and his professor referred him to the group. He participated in the group with a total of 15 times. He was nervous when he joined the group the first time. He said "Many people talking together looks like fun. However, it is difficult for me to join them; today's experience is exciting" (#2). He brought a book for the club, but he hesitated to show it to other members. The facilitator talked to him and asked about the book. Then, he gradually talked about it (#5). He brought a photo album for the other members. These were his favorite photos, which he collected using the Internet, and he introduced each photo to the other members (#7). He brought a leaflet of the event to the university and presented on it. It was impressive that he voluntarily checked out the event and was able to share his interests with others (#8). He began to talk to other members in a loud voice and said "I want to try things I'm not good at" (#11). He again brought some event leaflets. Other members took an interest in them, and they talked to him. While in the past he had only been able to communicate with other members if the

facilitator mediated their communication, he could now talk to the other members without the facilitator's support (#13). He showed some origami books to the other members. One of the members was interested in origami too; they talked together about origami works while looking at the books (#15).

5.3. Discussion

When he first began to attend the group, he seemed to be nervous. It should be noted that he felt conflict because it was the first time he had joined a group with unfamiliar people. For example, in #2, he had a conflict between two emotions: the desire to communicate with other members and a lack of competency concerning his own social skills. His comment "Many people talking together looks like fun. However, it is difficult for me to join them; today's experience is exciting" strongly represents his conflict. The "medium of hobby" had an important role in communication in his case. Origami and photos functioned as a medium for communication. However, if he had had no "medium of hobby," it would have been difficult for him to establish relationships with other members. Common interests or hobbies can thus be a useful medium to facilitate communication. It is important for the facilitator or counselor to notice the medium and share their interest in verbal and nonverbal ways.

This student's positive approach to others could be clearly seen in #7 and #8. He introduced his interest to other members through photos or events. His comment "I want to try things I'm not good at" in #11 represents his growth and confidence. Ultimately, he was able to communicate with other members without the facilitators' support. The experience of the group facilitated his confidence and reduced hesitance.

The good thing about the Collector's Club was that various students could gather with common hobbies. Participants could join the group regardless of age, gender, major, or diagnosis. The role of facilitators was important for the success in their communication. However, it should be noted that the facilitators were not supposed to disturb the natural communication of participants. While directive support was necessary on some occasions, a nondirective approach was more fundamental. The main roles of the facilitator were to watch carefully over the group dynamics and to support the participants where necessary.

Shimoyama et al. [30] suggested that roles within student counseling should resemble "support," "education," and "community." These points were also important in this case study's group approach. First, we focused on the viewpoint of "support." Participants of the group had several difficulties with communication and social skills. In addition, as secondary problems, they lacked confidence or self-esteem. A secure base was necessary for them, and the group served within that role. The facilitator collaborated with the students' tutors to participate with the group as necessary. This collaboration could supply a new realm of support for each participant. Second, regarding "education," the uniqueness of the program featured the curiosity and interests of the participants; however, sometimes, their interests were highly specific, such as stamp collecting or animation. For example, the participant in the case study described above was interested in origami. At first, many of the other members did not have the same level of interest in origami, but after he introduced the details and good points of origami, they gradually became more interested in it. The discussion turned to the relation-

ship between origami and mathematics. This academic communication was something that was original to the group approach at the university, and it could be another medium in establishing relationships among university participants. Finally, we discussed the "community" aspect. This group was organized in a community at a university. Several students of different genders, generations, and cultural backgrounds were learning together at the university; these cultural differences were also able to incorporate developmental disorders. The university diversity was useful for peer support. The group was open to every student, and they could share their interests and hobbies in it. They also strengthened their social skills with each other by sharing their similar interests. This group was a new peer support model that facilitated social skills in the participants, especially those with ASD, at the university.

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A Review of Research on Gamification Approach in Education

Senay Kocakoyun and Fezile Ozdamli

Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

Gamification has become the most popular topic of the last few years. Studies in gamification area are examined based on certain different criteria in this study and content analysis method was used in order to identify trends in this area. Web of Science were scanned through using gamification as keyword without year restriction. A total number of 313 studies were regarded as appropriate for the aim of the study and examined. It is seen that research in this area have begun in 2011 and increased every year. It is also seen that motivational theories are mostly preferred in the studies conducted in gamification area. It was determined that goal-duty, reward and progression sticks are the mostly used components as game components. It is seen that gamification applications are frequently preferred in virtual environment, simulation and augmented reality learning environments after mobile environments and in parallel with these, they are also preferred in learning areas such as public, service, food and health. Therefore, identifying different activities which could affect success in online environments, integrating these into education environment and provide these activities with theories appropriate for students' ages for them not to lose their motivation are essential.

Keywords: gamification, education, content analysis

1. Introduction

It is known that people have a tendency to play game [1]. It is essential to prepare enjoyable learning environments for people who are in need of new search for playing game and having fun. Gamification concept which appeals to users from every age has arised based on the idea of integrating structure of the games into education [2]. Although concept of game is too old,

concept of gamification is a new concept. Gamification has become the most popular topic of the last few years [3–5].

Gamification approach which emerges as the new face of education in the information age is defined as the process of including users into game [6]. According to Bunchball, gamification refers to make the components and mechanics of game more enjoyable through non-play activities in order to generate behavior change among individuals [7]. While gamification approach is an appropriate method for obtaining positive outcomes in education and it leads students to adapt new behaviors through motivating them, making them to study more or learn new things; it also aims to keep people's motivation high and facilitate attachment and certain behaviors [8]. Level completion, awarding, specialization, professional development which lead to addiction among individuals playing game are used for improvement in education. Therefore, using the system in games for instructional aims would both make instruction more enjoyable and allow individuals to change their behaviors [9].

It is necessary to look at the statistical data to understand why the concept of playing spreads so fast. The market size of the global gaming industry is 99.6 billion dollars by 2016. When the game revenues at the country level are examined by 2016, it is seen that China ranked first with 24.2 billion dollars, followed by the USA with 23.4 billion dollars and Japan with 12.4 billion dollars. Total Western Europe (Germany, France, England, Spain, Italy) totaling $ 17.3 billion in game revenues. The top five countries in the industry dominate about 70% of total gaming revenues. There is an annual income of $ 685 million to 16th in Turkey [10]. In Turkey there are more than 20 thousand internet cafe and is visited by 7.5 million active players each month here [11].

According to Game Designers, Developers, Producer and Publishers (OYUNDER), the average age of gamers in our country is 31 and there are more than 25 million active gamers. Every day, the average number of people playing on a daily basis is more than 10 million, and the average playing time is increasing all over the world [12]. about 30 million people in Turkey are active on the computer, playing digital games in the mobile phone or game console. Experts, an annual turnover of 600 million dollars in the sector in Turkey, said that the turnover of the world reached $ 100 billion [13].

Turkey Games Market Report 2016; Turkey 14.5 million young people (above the EU average) and 46 million online user than 80 million people is a developing country with a young population and it is one of the most valuable gaming market potential in EMEA [14]. In a study conducted in the United States, the average age of those playing in the last 12 years is 37 years. This rate shows that excitement about playing games on the computer is at an advanced level. In addition, 61% of senior executives who participated in the study stated that they were playing during working hours. Lastly, an international survey shows that the ratio of the total population of regular electronic game players is 66% in Germany, 57% in Mexico, 53% in Russia and 52% in England [15].

These figures and studies show us that people are conscious and willing to play. In fact, this enthusiasm is growing day by day and the new generation is a full-fledged player profile. From this point of view, the excitement and motivation resources that people show to play games can be put into life. These motivators, dynamics and processes can be used to generate behavioral changes in order to increase productivity in real life [16].

In recent years, it has been shown as a potential mechanism to enhance participatory participation through online work and practices that play games [17–19]. Firstly; it is done with points, graphics, level, competition etc. features. By adding features to otherwise ordinary tasks, it can create a more enjoyable and engaging experience for the user [20–22]. By using the features of the games, it is possible to make the testing experience less burdensome, thus reducing wear. In previous surveys, participants' personal report surveys have found that playing experiences are usually more fun than their non-play counterparts [23–27].

In the cases where the method of play is preferred in education, game elements such as rewards, points, rosettes come first in the design phase. Therefore, there are arguments that playing is a system that is rewarded only for learning, and that this is a negative effect on the motivation of students who are engaged in such a process [28]. Two systematic investigations have recently been conducted, with gaming playing an impact on 'online programs' (mostly e-learning) [29] and web-based mental health interventions. Looyestyn and his colleagues have found that playing games on objective measures of events such as the use of the program, number of visits to the website and contributions is a big influence. In contrast, Brown and colleagues assessed the effect of gaming on loyalty to online mental health intervention, and they have found that most games play only one game item, rather than just light application of games, but have little effect on effectiveness [30].

According to Yilmaz and O'Connor, gamification studies aim to carry out human-human or human-computer interaction actively [31]. Accordingly, it is aimed to determine what to award at first, what kind of behavior is expected from individuals and more importantly what kind of options should be offered to maintain the system in a healthy way.

According to Gartner Hype cycle, although gamification has become popular in recent years and it has begun to be used for educational purposes, it shows a rapid growth in order to meet the requirements in this context [32]. When topics related with gamification keywords are examined, it is seen that search on examples related with gamification and gamification education are at a high level [33]. When trends in gamification concept are compared based on regions, it was figured out that Singapore and South Africa were emerged as the first countries [33]. Gamification is commonly used in these countries since it support occupational training toward adults. It is known that gamification method is used by institutional organizations in order to increase satisfaction and efficacy among workers and increase product and service quality in the organization [9].

When the literature is examined, it seen that gamification is used in many different areas including marketing [34, 35], health [3, 36], sustainability, journalism, entertainment [3] and education [3, 35–38]. Gamification is taken really seriously in countries which frequently use technology. Professor Kevin Werbach from Pennsylvania University gives online education on gamification. This is lasting 10 weeks and it can be followed with Turkish subtitles. Certificate is also given at the end of education [39]. There are organizations in Turkey which realized the effect of gamification approach as well. The first gamification attempt named as "Gameatwork" was successful with the prepared web site. Gamification will be more prevalent when it is used in different areas and there will be various attempts when organizations continue to realize its effectiveness [40].

On the other hand, in education there are already processes like playground; students gain points when they achieve the desired learning goal, scores that they earn become grades, and at the end of the academic term they pass to the next level [28, 38]. Playing will allow students to have fun in the learning process [41, 42] or by giving the user an advantage in time management [43] motivation affects the positive direction. Although Samur is a new and popular method with a similar approach, when a limited number of studies conducted in the field of education are examined, it is generally stated that positive results are obtained in the processes involved in this method [44]. With a similar approach Buckley and Doyle are evaluating the fact that it provides individuals with the opportunity to experiment, make mistakes, gain experience and make sure that failure is not an end and that the individual can achieve his goal [28].

According to Landers and Callan, gamification application for the education of students or individuals who wants to develop themselves has not yet become prevalent enough [45]. Findings in the literature also support this notion. It is seen that there are limited number of studies examining achievement, motivation and views of students in gamification approach. Examining studies related with gamification approach and identifying trends in these studies constitute the problem of this study. Therefore, this study is expected to contribute to researchers for future research.

Main aim of this study is to examine the studies related with gamification in Web of Science database and identify trends in the area of gamification based on these studies.

2. Method

Content analysis method was used in this study to identify the trends in gamification research. According to Yildirim and Simsek, content analysis is conceptualizing the collected data at first, then organizing the concepts through using themes and interpretting themes [46]. Content analysis is commonly used with frequency analysis technic through digitizing the data. Content analysis is a scientific approach that enables to examine verbal, written and other materials in an objective and systematic way [47]. According to Cohen et al., content analysis is also described as the process of summarizing and describing the basic content of written information and the messages it contains [48]. Content analysis is a reusable, objective and systematic technique in which some words or chapters of a text are summarized under categories, depending on the rules [49].

This review was undertaken and reported according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines (S1 Appendix) and Meta-analysis of Observational Studies in Epidemiology (MOOSE) guidelines for observational studies (S2 Appendix) [50]. In analyzing the research included in the study, PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyzes), which is both a critical and quality-guided guide, was used in combining the results of the evidence-based research. Coded information;
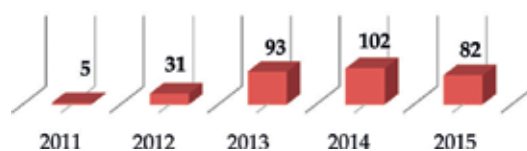
- Distribution of Studies based on Years
- Distribution of Publications based on Number of Authors

- Distribution of Studies Based on Type of Publication

- Distribution of Studies Based on Paradigms

- Distribution of the Studies Based on Research Sample

- Distribution of the Studies Based on the Environments

- Distribution of the Studies Based on Theory/Model/Strategy

- Distribution of Game Components, Dynamics and Mechanics

- Distribution Based on Learning Area

It was decided that the researcher should read all the researchers found in the result of the research. Data collected in the research were first evaluated in MS Excel by entering into meta-analysis programs. Gamification keyword was scanned in full-texts in Web of Science database without year restriction and 313 studies were obtained by November 2015. Web of Science Categories; Computer Science Theory Methods (n = 101), Education Educational Research (n = 83), Engineering Electrical Electronic (n = 82), Computer Science Information Systems (n = 79), Computer Science Interdisciplinary Applications (n = 48). Letter to editor, book reviews and meeting abstract were not included in the research (papers excluded n = 20). Since the number of studies on gamification in Web of Science database increase day by day, the present study included studies published before December 2015 and therefore, 313 studies in total were examined. The flow diagram depicts the flow of information through an up-down approach throughout the different stages of the process. The system is treated first in general terms. Then, the processes in the internal structure of the system shape up to the relationship between the number of defined, included and excluded entries and the reasons for exclusion (refer to S1 Appendix) [50]. Analysis of studies was carried out based on the common views of researchers in order to ensure reliability and validity. In digitization process of the data, if a study included two or more dimensions, frequencies were calculated through covering every dimension separately. Data were interpreted after constituting tables.

Cohen's kappa statistical technic was used to calculate the relationship between category classification carried out by researchers and high level of inter-rater reliability was obtained (.96). Distribution of the articles based on years is provided in **Graph 1**.

As it can be seen in **Graph 1**, research in gamification area have begun in 2011 and increased through the years. Therefore, it is not possible to observe academic studies on gamification before 2011. Eighty-two studies were obtained in 2015 since studies including December 2015 might not be added into the system.

Graph 1. Distribution of studies based on years.

Number of authors in the studies is demonstrated in **Table 1**.

As it can be seen in **Table 1**, articles have been mostly written by 3 authors (n = 125), 2 authors (n = 76) and 1 author (n = 71). It is seen that number of studies conducted by 4 or 5 authors are lower. Distribution of studies on gamification based on countries is provided in **Table 2**. Countries with less than 6 publications are not included in **Table 2**. All of them were shown under "other" category.

When studies in Web of Science are examined based on countries, it is seen that there are 39 different countries in which the studies were carried out. It was figured out that 51 of the studies were conducted in USA, 29 of them in Spain, 25 of them in Germany, 22 of them in England, 18 of them in Korea, 15 of them in Australia, 13 of them in Canada and 11 of them in Brazil.

It was determined that gamification is actively used in Australia, USA, India, Canada and Holland in 2013. Brazil and France followed this rapid development [51]. According to the results of Google Trends (2016) since January, it is seen that Singapore, South Africa, Holland, Denmark, Australia, Sweden and India are interested in gamification approach. This shows that studies might change based on countries throughout the years [33].

Author	n
3 authors	125
2 authors	79
1 author	71
4 authors	18
5 authors and above	20
Total	313

Table 1. Distribution of publications based on number of authors.

Country	n	Country	n
USA	51	Portugal	9
Spain	29	Japan	9
Germany	25	Finland	9
England	22	Romania	7
Korea	18	Austria	6
Australia	15	Holland	6
Canada	13	Greece	6
Brazil	11	Other	77
Total			**313**

Table 2. Distribution of studies based on countries.

Distribution of studies based on type of publication is provided in **Table 3**.

According to **Table 3**, number of proceedings (n = 164) presented in conferences with a rate of 52.4% is really high. Researchers explained that gamification concept has been the discussion topic of conferences since 2010 and this might be the reason for this result [52]. Karatas examined studies covering gamification approach for education and indicated that there are few number of master and doctorate thesis since this area is newly recognized [53] .

Type of publication	n	%
Proceeding	164	52.4
Article	149	47.61
Total	**313**	**100**

Table 3. Distribution of studies based on type of publication.

Distribution of studies based on paradigms is shown in **Graph 2**.

According to **Graph 2**, 163 studies used quantitative method. Studies using mixed methods are the second with 59 number of studies. Since it is a trend topic, it is seen that there are 28 review studies. In pedagogical terms, most of the researchers examined gamification approach especially on ensuring integration [54, 55]. This might be the reason for high number of review studies. Other studies also discussed environments in which gamification system could be integrated into a certain learning [56–59].
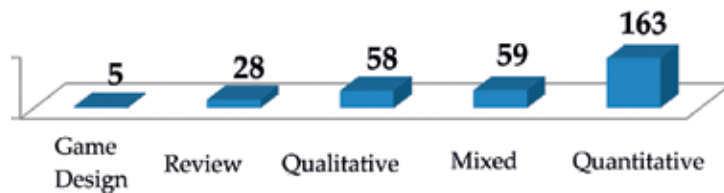
Graph 2. Distribution of studies based on paradigms.

3. Results

In this section, results related with studies on gamification area examined in line with the aims of the present research are provided with tables.

3.1. Distribution of the studies based on research sample

Distribution of the studies based on research sample is provided in **Table 4**.

According to the results provided in **Table 4**, it is seen that studies related with gamification have mostly been conducted with adults. This result might be related with the fact that playing

Research sample	n
Adults	152
Students	95
Voluntary participants	21
Children	15
Customers	5
Writers/players	4
Patients	4
Civil servants	4
Library users	3
Teachers	3
Sportsmen	3
Twitter community	2
Managers	2
Total	**313**

Table 4. Distribution of the studies based on research sample.

games is prevalent among adult population. Following the category of adults, students were the second category of research sample frequently used in the studies related with gamification. This result is consistent with other studies including undergraduate students as participants [60, 61]. Researchers need to have technical knowledge and knowledge on software and hardware for gamification and this might be the reason for including university students in the studies [53]. It is seen that voluntary participants (n = 21), customers (n = 5), writers and players (n = 4), patients (n = 4) and civil cervants (n = 4) constitute the research samples of the studies as well. Schouten et al. examined the users' experiences and motivations toward gamification among individuals with low levels of literacy [62]. This study showed that individuals with low educational level are also included in the studies on gamification approach as participants.

3.2. Distribution of the studies based on the environments

Distribution of the studies based on the environment in which the studies were carried out is provided in **Table 5**.

It is seen that mobile environments are the most frequently used environments (n = 126). Following mobile environments, online environments (n = 91), internet-based environments (n = 91) and social media platform (n = 25) are the most frequently used environments.

Educations including Microsoft Ribbon Hero which aims to teach office program in a funny way, ClassDojo which is game-supported class management application that can be used by parents and students [63], Duolingo and Lingualeo which is used for foreign language teaching

Environments	n
Mobile environment	126
Online environment	91
Internet-based environment	32
Social media platform	25
Virtual environment	11
Game-based system	8
Online and offline platform	4
Real environment	3
Sustainable environments	3
Advertisements	2
Other	8
Total	**313**

Table 5. Distribution of the studies based on the environments.

[64], Kahoot which is used in question-answer activities in class through mobile devices [65], web design with Khan Academy which provides free learning materials throughout the world and programming languages continue to provide education through mobile devices. Almost all of these applications allow online access. In addition, these environments are preferred since they might ensure positive learning outcomes through selecting appropriate social gamification tools for contents which could be provided in social learning platforms [8].

3.3. Distribution of the studies based on theory/model/strategy

In this study, approaches, theories or models used in the studies are also examined and shown in **Table 6**.

It is seen that motivational theories are the most frequently used approach in the studies on gamification (n = 131; 41.86%). Other studies also frequently included motivational theories [66–68]. It was also revealed that there are many studies emphasizing game design factors (n = 86; 27.48%). There are also studies in which their theoretical structures are unspecified (n = 44; 14.06%). This might be because of the fact that this is a recent area. It is determined that motivational theories are important indicators for internal and external motivations of students in a course about gamification system provided to engineering students in order to reinforce their entrepreneurship [69].

3.4. Distribution of game components, dynamics and mechanics

Distribution of game components, dynamics and mechanics is provided in **Table 7**.

Theoretical approaches	*n*	*%*
Motivation theory	131	41.86
Game design factors	86	27.48
Unspecified	44	14.06
Main characteristics of game learning	27	8.63
Learning theory	9	2.88
Flow theory	8	2.56
Technology acceptance model	3	0.96
Mechanics, dynamics, esthetics	3	0.96
Alternative learning-model	1	0.32
Self-determination theories	1	0.32
Total	**313**	**100**

Table 6. Theoretical distribution of the studies.

Game components	*n*	*%*
Goal-duty	105	25.06
Reward	101	24.11
Progression stick	52	12.42
Cup	35	8.36
Feedback	32	7.64
Success	19	4.54
Badge	12	2.87
Virtual goods	9	2.15
Experience	9	2.15
Leader board	8	1.91
Promotion	6	1.44
Score	6	1.44
Quiz	5	1.2
Cooperation	5	1.2
Sustainability	4	0.96
Difficulty	3	0.72
Event detection	3	0.72
Fantasy and control	2	0.48
Entertainment	2	0.48
Richness of data	1	0.24
Total	**419**	**100**

Table 7. Distribution of game components, dynamics and mechanics.

As it can be seen in **Table 7**, the most frequently used game components used in the studies are goal-duty (n = 105; 25.06%), reward (n = 101; 24.11%) and progression sticks (n = 52; 12.42%). O'Donovan investigated distribution of individuals motivated through gamification based on game components. Results showed that individuals were mostly motivated through progression sticks [55]. Sari and Altun figured out that badges and cups earned by students motivate them to earn more rewards. It is stated that although students compete with each other in order to earn these components, in fact, they compete with themselves [70].

When positive outcomes of using gamification in learning environments are considered, it has been concluded that integration of game components into these designs will positively affect learners' motivation [71].

3.5. Distribution based on learning area

Learning areas in which the studies have been conducted are also examined in this study and results are provided in **Table 8**.

According to the results, it is seen that learning areas are activated in mobile learning area (n = 91, 29.08%). These findings are expected since games can be used through mobile devices and adults prefer this area. Mobile learning which is used as a support for learning processes among contemporary methods arises as the first step of every learning approach today [72]. Results showed that there are varieties in terms of learning areas used in the studies. It is also seen that gamification applications are preferred in virtual environment, simulation and augmented reality learning areas (n = 59; 18.85%), public, service, food, transportation and health

Learning areas	n	%
Mobile learning	91	29.08
Virtual environments/simulations/augmented reality	59	18.85
Public/service/food/transportation/health	56	17.9
Web-based gamification education	43	13.74
Computer games	17	5.44
Game design/creativity	15	4.8
Computer assisted cooperative learning	14	4.48
Digital environments/games	9	2.88
Social network	3	0.96
Sustainability	3	0.96
Educational sciences	3	0.96
Total	**313**	**100**

Table 8. Distribution based on learning area.

sector (n = 56; 17.9%). Different learning areas show that gamification concept could be used in all learning areas. Since gamification concept might differ from game to game, learning areas will also shape in every application.

4. Discussion and conclusion

Designers could view users' experience in a wider context through gamification concept and constitute an effective learning environment with using motivational components in environments in which there is a competition, cooperation and social interaction [73]. Gamification will become more prevalent when it is begun to be used in different areas and there would be various attempts in this area when the potential of gamification is realized.

The present research is aimed to examine the studies conducted in the area of gamification. It was revealed that studies in the area of gamification have begun in 2011 and increased through the years. When studies in Web of Science database are examined based on countries, it is seen that studies have been conducted in 39 different countries. These countries were identified as USA, Spain, Germany, England and Korea. It was also indicated that gamification are actively used in Australia, USA, India, Canada and Holland. Brazil and France follow this rapid development [51]. When trends in gamification search in 2016 are examined, it was revealed that Singapore and South Africa are the first two countries [33]. This also shows that gamification approach would be a trend topic in different regions over time and different studies would be conducted in this area.

Furthermore, it was figured out that number of proceedings presented in conferences are higher when compared to other types of publication. Researchers indicated that gamification concept has been the discussion topic of conferences since 2010 and this might be the reason for this result [52]. It is expected that number of different types of publication for educational purposes would increase. It was revealed that there are 8 master thesis and 1 doctorate thesis in the area of gamification until January 2016 in YOK thesis center of Turkey [74]. It is considered that this rate will increase at the end of 2016.

According to the results, it is seen that quantitative studies are more preferred when compared to other type of research methods. Karatas indicated that there are insufficient number of quantitative and qualitative studies in the area of gamification [53]. It is expected that paradigms of the studies will become more salient. It is considered that studies examining game designs appropriate for gamification approach would be conducted more frequently in the future. In addition, it is expected that number of studies including achievement tests as quantitative studies will also increase.

When distribution based on research sample is examined, it is seen that studies related with gamification have mostly been conducted with adults. Since playing games is prevalent among adults, the accuracy of this result is accepted. Gokkaya revealed that since gamification

supports learning at work as a practical solution for qualified personnel requirement, it is an ideal method for obtaining positive outcomes in especially adult education [9]. Following adults, students are also frequently included in the studies. This result is consistent with other studies including undergraduate students as participants [60, 61]. Diversity in research sample shows that gamification might be used in every age group and area.

Results showed that mobile environments are the most frequently used environments in the studies related with gamification. Gamification applications are supported by mobile devices and this might be the reason for these results. It is also seen that online, internet-based environments and social media platforms are also used in the studies. Educations including Microsoft Ribbon Hero which aims to teach office program in a funny way, ClassDojo which is game-supported class management application that can be used by parents and students [63], Duolingo and Lingualeo which is used for foreign language teaching [64], Kahoot which is used in question-answer activities in class through mobile devices [65], web design with Khan Academy which provides free learning materials throughout the world and programing languages continue to provide education through mobile devices. Almost all of these applications allow online access. These applications are commonly preferred since they allow users to share their status or scores in social media after activity. Therefore, it is essential to determine different activities which will affect success in online environments and integrate them into education environment.

It is seen that motivational theories are the most frequently used approach in the studies on gamification. Although it is known that motivational theories are mostly preferred, it must be also noted that gamification could include many different disciplines. Karatas indicated that future research would not only benefit from motivational theories, they might include different theories related with game, learning and behavioral sciences [53]. It can be said that gamification should be provided to students appropriate for their levels so they would not lose their motivations.

It is determined that the most frequently used game components in the studies are goal-duty, reward and progression sticks. O'Donovan investigated distribution of individuals motivated through gamification based on game components [55]. Results showed that individuals were mostly motivated through progression sticks. Reinforcing structure of game components might be the reason for this result. When positive outcomes of using gamification in learning environments are considered, it has been concluded that integration of game components into these designs would positively affect learners' motivation [71]. When studies in the area of gamification increase, usage rates among game components would change. It is considered that different game components will be integrated into education based on learning environments and areas in future research. Applications might be prepared for lessons with advanced level of difficulty through providing rewards and scores.

Furthermore, results showed that learning area concentrates on mobile learning area. Results showed that there are varieties in terms of learning areas used in the studies. It is seen that gamification applications are also preferred in virtual environment, simulation and augmented

reality learning areas, public, service, food, transportation and health sector. Although the number of studies are low, there are studies in learning areas such as science, food, interactive teaching, marketing, simulations, medicine and transportation. This shows that area of gamification is not limited to technology. Different learning areas show that gamification concept could be used in all learning areas. Karatas stated that gamification might be used in different learning areas. Since gamification concept might differ from game to game, learning areas would also be shaped in every application [53]. It is expected that appropriate designs for different learning areas would increase in future research.

This study will be a guide for researchers to integrate different game components into education environments, constitute independent learning areas and learning environments including different theories and conduct research in this area.

Supporting information

S1 Appendix. This is the completed PRISMA flow diagram.

S1 Appendix. Completed PRISMA Flow Diagram.
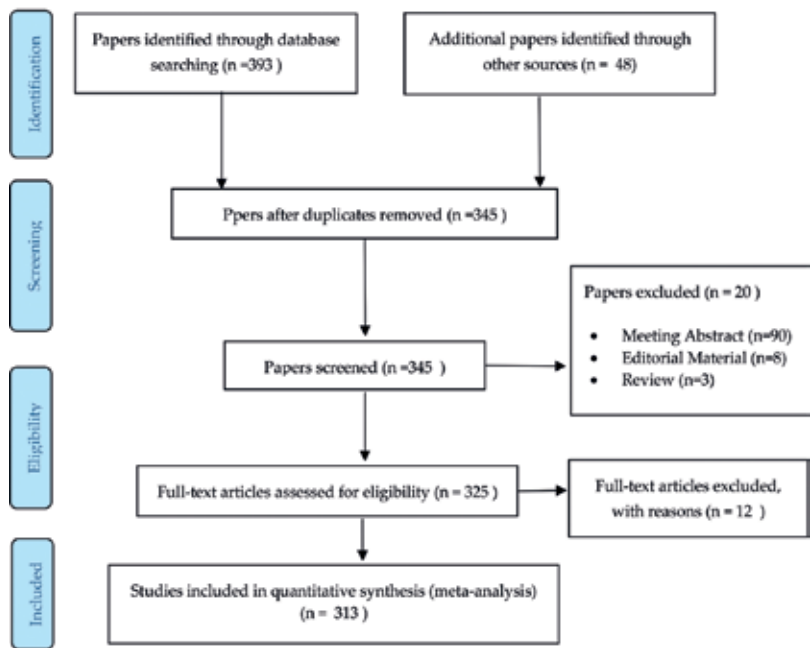
S2 Appendix. This is the completed PRISMA checklist.

S2 Appendix. Completed PRISMA checklist

Section/topic	#	Checklist item	Reported on page #
TITLE			
Title	1	Identify the report as a systematic review, meta-analysis, or both.	1
ABSTRACT			
Structured summary	2	Provide a structured summary including, as applicable: background; objectives; data sources; study eligibility criteria, participants, and interventions; study appraisal and synthesis methods; results; limitations; conclusions and implications of key findings; systematic review registration number.	1
INTRODUCTION			
Rationale	3	Describe the rationale for the review in the context of what is already known.	1, 2
Objectives	4	Provide an explicit statement of questions being addressed with reference to participants, interventions, comparisons, outcomes, and study design (PICOS).	2, 3
METHODS			
Protocol and registration	5	Indicate if a review protocol exists, if and where it can be accessed (e.g., Web address), and, if available, provide registration information including registration number.	NA
Eligibility criteria	6	Specify study characteristics (e.g., PICOS, length of follow-up) and report characteristics (e.g., years considered, language, publication status) used as criteria for eligibility, giving rationale.	3
Information sources	7	Describe all information sources (e.g., databases with dates of coverage, contact with study authors to identify additional studies) in the search and date last searched.	3, 4
Search	8	Present full electronic search strategy for at least one database, including any limits used, such that it could be repeated.	3, 4
Study selection	9	State the process for selecting studies (i.e., screening, eligibility, included in systematic review, and, if applicable, included in the meta-analysis).	3, 4
Data collection process	10	Describe method of data extraction from reports (e.g., piloted forms, independently, in duplicate) and any processes for obtaining and confirming data from investigators.	3, 4
Data items	11	List and define all variables for which data were sought (e.g., PICOS, funding sources) and any assumptions and simplifications made.	3, 4
Risk of bias in individual studies	12	Describe methods used for assessing risk of bias of individual studies (including specification of whether this was done at the study or outcome level), and how this information is to be used in any data synthesis.	NR
Summary measures	13	State the principal summary measures (e.g., risk ratio, difference in means).	NR

Section/topic	#	Checklist item	Reported on page #
Synthesis of results	14	Describe the methods of handling data and combining results of studies, if done, including measures of consistency (e.g., I^2) for each meta-analysis.	4
Risk of bias across studies	15	Specify any assessment of risk of bias that may affect the cumulative evidence (e.g., publication bias, selective reporting within studies).	4
Additional analyses	16	Describe methods of additional analyses (e.g., sensitivity or subgroup analyses, meta-regression), if done, indicating which were pre-specified.	4
RESULTS			
Study selection	17	Give numbers of studies screened, assessed for eligibility, and included in the review, with reasons for exclusions at each stage, ideally with a flow diagram.	10, S1 Appendix
Study characteristics	18	For each study, present characteristics for which data were extracted (e.g., study size, PICOS, follow-up period) and provide the citations.	4, 5
Risk of bias within studies	19	Present data on risk of bias of each study and, if available, any outcome level assessment (see item 12).	4, 5
Results of individual studies	20	For all outcomes considered (benefits or harms), present, for each study: (a) simple summary data for each intervention group (b) effect estimates and confidence intervals, ideally with a forest plot.	4, 5
Synthesis of results	21	Present results of each meta-analysis done, including confidence intervals and measures of consistency.	4, 5
Risk of bias across studies	22	Present results of any assessment of risk of bias across studies (see Item 15).	NR
Additional analysis	23	Give results of additional analyses, if done (e.g., sensitivity or subgroup analyses, meta-regression [see Item 16]).	5–8
DISCUSSION			
Summary of evidence	24	Summarize the main findings including the strength of evidence for each main outcome; consider their relevance to key groups (e.g., healthcare providers, users, and policy makers).	5–8
Limitations	25	Discuss limitations at study and outcome level (e.g., risk of bias), and at review-level (e.g., incomplete retrieval of identified research, reporting bias).	4, 10 S1 Appendix
Conclusions	26	Provide a general interpretation of the results in the context of other evidence, and implications for future research.	8–10
FUNDING			
Funding	27	Describe sources of funding for the systematic review and other support (e.g., supply of data); role of funders for the systematic review.	NA

From: Moher et al. [50]. For more information, visit: www.prisma-statement.org. NR: not reported. NA: not applicable.

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Socialization Processes toward Children and Adolescents for Developing Empathy, Sympathy and Prosocial Behaviors

Turhan Şengönül

Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

This chapter addresses the socialization processes for the development of empathy, sympathy and prosocial behaviors in children and adolescents. Democratic or authoritative socialization practices contribute to prosocial development. Parental support, warmth and sensitivity, parental induction and inductive reasoning, parental demandingness and control have been associated with empathy, sympathy and behavior in children and adolescents. Parental warmth/responsiveness can develop a secure attachment between the parent and the child. Securely attached children tend to be responsive to parental controls and more eager learners and prosocial during the socialization process. Parents may foster behavior in children by modeling and concerning for the needs of others. Parents may induce perspective-taking, empathy and sympathy in their children and adolescents by pointing out the beneficial or harmful consequences of their actions through inductive reasoning and explanations. Parental inductive reasoning and explanations can lead to empathy-based guilt in them by highlighting consequences of the deviating behavior in the children and adolescents for the victim. Children and adolescents can attend to and care about parental messages, internalize prosocial values of their parents, socialize to acquire prosocial behavior when parents behave warmly, responsively and supportively and use inductive reasoning and explanations for their children and adolescents in socialization practices.

Keywords: parental warmth/responsiveness, inductive reasoning, empathy, sympathy, prosocial behavior

1. Introduction

Theorists and researchers have discussed that parents socialize children and adolescents for the development of empathy, sympathy and prosocial behavior. They contribute to prosocial development of children and adolescents through definite socialization practices. Democratic or authoritative parenting includes socialization practices such as parental support, warmth and sensitivity combined with parental induction and reasoning, demandingness and control [1, 2]. Support and demandingness or control are identified as two dimensions in parental behaviors in socialization process [3]. Parental support or warmth and responsiveness are displayed in interactions with the children in socialization practices and refer to the positive affection in parent-child relationships [4]. Warmth and responsivity reflect parental support-ive, affectionate and sensitive attitude and behavior to the needs of the children and entail approvals and positive emotions and behaviors for the children [5]. Certain socialization practices have been related to prosocial and moral development [3, 6, 7]. Parental inductions and parent modeling as well as parental warmth contribute to prosocial development in children. Parents try to socialize their children to behave in prosocial ways by using inductive reasoning, particularly by using other-oriented reasoning and focusing on the needs of others and by eschewing firm control practices, punitive techniques in relations and interactions with children [8]. Democratic or authoritative parents can perform socialization practices such as explaining rules to the children, reasoning with the children, listening to the needs of the children, considering their arguments, respecting differences in opinions and finding solutions that take into consideration the wishes of the children, showing interest and participating in activities and experiences of the children. These parents not only accept and love their children but also exert the necessary hierarchical control or authority [9]. Parents give direct messages about positive and negative consequence of particular behaviors for their children by verbal reasoning through inductions [10]. Parental inductions that include a supportive parenting practice provide explanations to help children understand the positive or negative conse-quences of their actions [11]. Parents use inductions and encourage or model prosocial behav-iors and give explanations for expected prosocial behaviors from their children [1]. Children can be more receptive to socialization practices to foster concern for others when parents model other-oriented behavior and elicit or encourage affection and connectedness toward their children [8]. Theorists and researchers have argued empathy because it is a motivating component of prosocial behaviors. Empathy is defined as an affective response that stems from understanding emotional state or condition of another by identifying what the other person is feeling or by feeling similar to what the other person is feeling. It implies eliciting an emotional reaction that is highly similar to affective state or condition of another person [12, 13]. Empathy refers to perceiving, imagining and inferring affective state or condition of another [14]. A person empathizes with him when he/she perceives or imagines affect of the other person [15]. Empathy implies the ability to understand and respond to the unique emotional experi-ences of another individual [16]. An individual empathize with others when an individual observes or imagines affective state of another person and feels the isomorphic affective state of the other person and he/she knows that affective state of the other person is the source of his/her own affective state [17]. Researchers have asserted that an individual try to understand

the emotions and behaviors of others by activating neural representations corresponding to those states. A representation of that state is activated automatically in this person when he/she observes or imagines another person in a neuroscientific model of empathy [18]. Shared neural representations play an important role in understanding cognitive states of the other people and provide capacity to simulate their corresponding affective or cognitive states [19]. Vicariously feeling pain awakes the neural network in a person that is activated when he/she experiences pain in his/herself [17]. Empathy indicates similarity between the experienced feelings of an individual and feelings expressed by other individuals. It includes an emotional response to another person that requires sharing emotional state of the person and a cognitive ability to take the perspective of the other person and observing mechanisms that catch the origins of the experienced feelings in self and other. Empathy indicates the capacity to feel or imagine vicariously cognitive or emotional experience of another person and it includes both affective and cognitive components. Cognitive empathy requires using information retained in mind or memory. It refers to perspective-taking and the capacity to cognitively understand internal situations and cognitions of other persons. Cognitive empathy refers to the ability to accurately imagine experience of another and assume the perspective of a person through mind or perspective-taking theory. It is described through a person representing the internal mental state of another individual as cognitive empathy to theory of mind. Cognitive empathy requires an ability to effectively recognize emotions of another and to deeply understand a distressing situation [15, 16]. The cognitive ability to correctly perceive internal state of another person is referred to as empathic accuracy [20], empathy, emotional contagion or affective resonance with feeling as another person feels [21]. Affective empathy implies the ability to vicariously feel the emotional experience of the other people while cognitive empathy refers to comprehending experience of the other people. It means the ability to be responsive to and vicariously experience the feelings of other individuals. Affective empathy refers to appropriately responding to emotions of the other persons and indicates emotional contagion and the ability to catch feelings from observed affective situations of the other persons. Affective empathy refers to an individual attempt to understand their emotional show such as body movements and facial and vocal expressions of another person [22]. It entails individual vicariously experiencing of the emotional state of others and experiencing a vicarious emotional response to emotions expressed by others [23]. An individual tries to understand cognitive and emotional situation of another person based on auditory, visual and situational cues in the other person. Affective empathy involves swiftly recognizing emotions in the other person on the basis of his/her sound states, body gestures and facial expressions. An individual can respond to situation of the other person and correctly identify with the emotional state of the other person by feeling and reflecting emotional experience of the other person in self. Empathic situation of a person may then be stated through verbal or affective expressions or by exhibiting sympathy and providing comfort or aid to the other person. Empathy is connected with concepts such as imitating, emotional contagion, compassion and sympathy. Imitating or emotional contagion precedes empathy that is foremost for sympathy and compassion, which can precede prosocial behavior. Imitating and emotional contagion may contribute substantially to an empathic response [17]. Persons can imitate corresponding affective expressions when they perceive affective facial expressions of the other persons such as smiling or frowning [24]. Imitating enables an individual to understand and share emotions of the

other [25]. Emotional contagion also implies the inclination to catch emotions of the other people [26]. Theorists have argued that empathy can lead to sympathy that means concern or sorrow for another based on perceiving and understanding their emotional state by orienting and focusing on the others. Sympathy is defined as emotional response that is oriented to another based on the understanding of negative emotional state of another. It involves feelings of concern and the desire to alleviate the negative emotions experienced by the others in distress [27]. Sympathy results in a motivation to relieve the negative emotions experienced by the other person in distress [28, 29]. A person can behave in prosocial or altruistic ways and help the other person by a desire to alleviate the negative arousal by feeling the other experiencing negative emotions in distress [21]. Sympathy and internalized norms/principles are seen as the two primary motives for altruistic actions [1]. Empathic concern orients others and involves feeling for the others. Compassion states a dimension of morality that emphasizes interpersonal responsibility, ethical behavior and concern for the well-being of others in distress. Individuals can develop sympathy and understand distressful situations of others by empathizing others. Sympathy that means compassion feelings for others motivates prosocial behavior [30, 31]. Sympathy, empathic concern and compassion do not necessarily require shared feelings, while empathy entails feelings that are in an isomorphic way to feelings of the other person. Empathizing with a person in distress can lead to a feeling of distress in the self, whereas sympathizing associated with empathy or feeling compassion for a sad person may result in compassionate love for the person. When an individual realizes that a person is jealous of him, he cannot begin feeling jealous himself though he may exhibit sympathy or compassion for the jealous person [15]. Empathic concern, sympathy and compassion have sometimes been addressed as synonymous [14]. Empathy has usually been associated with prosocial and altruistic and other-oriented motivations in order to increase well-being or welfare of the other person. Although empathy does not necessarily arouse such motivations, examples of empathy in real-life may leave a prosocial tendency. A tormentor can use empathy in order to enhance suffering of his victim to operate warfare in sports or business environments. An individual may think the negative effects of an action for the rival person and behaves selfishly instead of prosocial, other-oriented behavior as he/she experiences too much empathy. When a person generally empathizes with other, he/she starts with affect sharing by understanding with the feelings of the other person and then motivates prosocial, other-oriented action and engages in helping behavior [17]. Emotions influence prosocial behaviors in children and youths. Emotions, particularly empathy-related emotions, play an important role in developing prosocial values, motives and behaviors in socialization processes. Persons perceive self and other when feeling empathic concern. Children can develop personal distress or sympathetic distress after they perceive the self-other distinction by feeling empathy for the others. Empathy motivates altruistic behavior and similar prosocial behavior [21]. Empathy facilitates caring actions such as sympathizing, helping, sharing, providing physical comfort that reflect concern for the well-being of others [1]. It characterizes an ideal mechanism that underlies caring behavior that respond to pain, need or distress of another [21, 32]. Individuals display sympathy and altruistic responding when they take the view point of another. Perspective-taking encourages sympathy and the performance of prosocial behavior [33]. Individuals may identify, understand and sympathize with distress or needs of others via perspective-taking skills [34]. These skills can provide accurately understanding emotional

reactions of others and develop empathy and sympathy and consequently prosocial behavior [13].

Theorists and researchers have discussed prosocial behaviors. The prosocial personality is described as a tendency to feel concern and empathy for other people, a behavior that helps and benefits them and an approach that think about the rights and welfare of other people. Individuals can exhibit prosocial personality when they feel empathy and sympathy and have other-oriented values and cognitions [35]. Prosocial behavior is defined as voluntary action that intends to help or benefit others in need [13, 36]. Prosocial behavior does not aim at personal gain or concrete or social rewards or the avoidance of punishment. Internal motives such as internalized values and moral principles or concern and empathy, sympathy for others motivate prosocial or altruistic behavior [36, 37]. Prosocial behavior may occur altruistic, public, anonymous, emotional, dire and compliant prosocial behavior in ways through different situations and motivations. People can exhibit public prosocial behavior as helping behavior in the presence of others and carry out anonymous behavior without the knowledge of others. They display dire prosocial behavior as helping behavior in crisis situations and show emotional prosocial behavior aimed at comforting another in emotionally evocative situations [30]. Prosocial tendencies aim to meet the needs of others and promote the well-being of others. People can prevent another coming to harm and react spontaneously to events they witness and exhibit reparative behavior after causing some distress to another and respond compliantly to solicitations for assistance by displaying concern for others. For example, prosocial behaviors are characterized acts such as a child offering his toy to a crying infant, a preschooler inviting a peer to play a game, a child comforting a classmate who falls and gets injured or a teenage volunteering for an organization that delivers meals to the poor [38]. The diverse motivations may lead to prosocial behaviors. The individuals can behave in prosocial ways because they expect rewards, social approval, reciprocity, fear repercussions for not being prosocial or alleviate distress of another [37].

2. Parenting styles in socialization process

Theorists have argued that parenting styles in authoritative, permissive and authoritarian practices. The permissive parents accept, approve and do not punish impulses, desires and actions of the children. They exhibit extreme responsiveness to the requests of the children and rarely try to control them. The authoritarian parents tend strictly to control and punish the attitudes and behavior of the children. The authoritative parents also try to approach activities of the children with a rational attitude. The authoritative parents display responsiveness to the needs of the children and exert control on them. Both authoritative and authoritarian parents are demanding towards their children. The authoritative parents reason with the children and offer explanations, while the authoritarian parents expect their children to accept values and judgments of the parents without questioning [39]. Democratic or authoritative parents who are warm toward avoid rigidly rejecting and harshly punishing their children. They behave both flexibly and responsive to desires of children and expect maturity from their children and control them [1]. Warm and supportive parents interact warmly and affectionately with them

by often smiling at, praising and encouraging their children. They avoid criticizing, punishing and disapproving children and provide more praise than criticism. Parents who are rated high on warmth tend to be responsive to the needs and desires of their children and deeply commit to welfare of their children. They spend more time and enjoy shared activities with their children. Warm parents exhibit more active concern, involvement and affection, caretaking and playful joking behavior toward their children. Accepting parents nurture, support and love their children [40, 41]. Parents exhibit responsiveness and attune to the needs of their children and serve as a secure base when children experience discomfort or stress [42]. Barnett [43] has suggested that parental warmth is a criterion for socialization regarding empathy. Parents can empathize with their children when they satisfy own emotional needs of the children and encourage the children to experience and express broadly their emotions and provides opportunities for the children to observe and interact with others and impede excessive self-concern. Parental warmth provides an optimal environment for socialization because children may attend to and care about more pleasing their parents when the relationships generally are supportive [44]. Parental warmth/responsiveness can develop a secure attachment between the caregiver and the child. Support leads to children feeling secure and minimizing self-concern [45, 46]. Attachment relationships begin to develop when parents are consistently sensitive to their children's crises or their needs and they respond consistently, sensitively and appropriately to distressed children [47]. Securely attached children exhibit behaviors consistent with a loving, trusting relationship with their parents. They can be upset by the absence of the parent and be calm by the presence of the parent and feel comfortable enough to explore their surroundings. Children with secure attachments tend to differentially attend and orient positively their parents and want to please them. They are familiar with and reproduce their actions and accord with values, expectations of their parents. Children with secure attachments tend to be responsive to parental controls and wish to avoid undesired and deviated behaviors [45]. Children may pay more attention to them, look forward to interacting with them, feel secure in the relationship and thus be more eager learners during the socialization process when they seem happy in their relationships with their parents. These tendencies may enhance the effectiveness of parental attempts that encourage and foster empathy, sympathy and prosocial behaviors [48, 49]. The quality of early attachments fosters sympathetic responding within the parent-child relationships because it plays an important role in developing connections to others and positive valuing other people's characteristics [50]. Children who internalize secure relationship qualities engage empathically with others and prepare to act on behalf of others [51]. Children with secure attachment histories can empathize with the plight of that person when they see someone experiencing distress. These children with secure attachments who have warm parents might be more prosocial. Parents may bring up the children who engage with and respond to the needs of others by displaying sensitivity, giving reliable responses toward their children and relieving them from distress [38]. Dimensions of parenting styles not only include parental warmth/responsiveness but also parental demandingness or control in socialization process. Parental demandingness or control indicates the degree of strictness and behavioral standards expressed by parents for their children [52]. Parents who engage in authoritative parenting exercise control by combining with warmth, nurturance, democracy and open parent-child communication [3]. Parents play a major role in displaying leadership and knowledge, determining rules and providing care by

exerting their own authority. They accept and respect their children. The rational-authoritative model balances control with warmth and judicious demands with responsiveness; it rejects the false polarity between indulgence and tyranny in child-rearing ideology. Authoritative parents tend to be both more demanding and more responsive, in contrast with authoritarian parents [53]. Parents set high behavioral standards and monitor their children more closely when they place strict demands on their children. Demanding parents might rear children who strongly internalize moral values [54]. These parents set firm controls on their behavior for their children [55] and apply or justify firm control by rationally explaining consistently enforced rules [53]. Parents who exhibit authoritative or democratic attitudes and behaviors strongly demand maturity and listen to viewpoints of their children and even adjust their behavior accordingly [55]. These parents remain receptive to the views of the children and guide firmly children for their actions. Authoritative parents communicate friendly and use reasoning and discuss rationally with their children as tutorial and disciplinary in socialization practices. They emphasize the rights and responsibilities in children [53]. Democratic parents carry out socialization practices such as using less coercive methods and explaining rules, offering reasons for desired behavior, pointing out the hurtful actions of children hold for others, asking children to perform up to their ability, giving children the opportunity to make their own decisions and expecting mature behavior and a high level of responsibility [2].

3. Method, data collection technique and research process in the studies examined

Researchers obtain data via methods such as observing parents and children as they watch empathy inducing clips, videotaping empathy shows during interactions between parent and child, parents and children responding to questions that relate to empathy and observing parents and children engaging with stories meant to produce empathic responses. They collect data as nonverbal self-report measure as well as verbal reports by observing and interviewing children and their parents, using measures such as the Authoritative Parenting index [56], the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (the HOME inventory) [57], the Prosocial Tendencies Measure-Revised (PTM-R; [58]) and Prosocial Reasoning Objective Measure (PROM; [59]). Participants are asked to rate the degree to which statements that describe parent-child interactions in their families in order to obtain data concerning warmth/responsiveness or strictness/demandingness as components in authoritative parenting style. Parental warmth and demandingness are described as the Authoritative Parenting index [56] and the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (the HOME inventory) [57]. Parental warmth is measured via items such as "parent makes the child feel better when something is wrong," "parent shows interest in child," "parent physically expresses affection (e.g., hugging, kissing, holding)" and "parent shows patience with the child" while demandingness is assessed by statements such as "parent clearly states rules to be followed," "parent provides instructions to the child for appropriate behavior" and "parent has high expectations of child's behavior." The extent of responsiveness is reflected through statements such as "my parents help me with my school work if there is something I don't understand." The extent of strictness

is also identified by statements such as "my parents really know what I do with my free time." Prosocial behaviors are obtained through observing the children at preschool and at the laboratory, as well as self, parent and friend reports depending on the time point. Researchers use the Prosocial Tendencies Measure-Revised in order to determine prosocial behaviors of the participants (PTM-R; [58]). Prosocial behaviors are measured via items such as "You feel that if you help someone, they should help you in the future," "You can help others best when people are watching you," "It makes you feel good when you can comfort someone who is very upset," "You tend to help people who are in a real crisis or need," "You prefer to donate money without anyone knowing" and "You never wait to help others when they ask for it." Prosocial moral reasoning in participants is assessed by using the Prosocial Reasoning Objective Measure (PROM; [59]). Prosocial moral reasoning is defined as reasoning about dilemmas in which one person's needs, wants or desires conflict with those of another in a context in the absence of laws, norms, rules, punishment, authorities and formal obligations [60]. Prosocial Reasoning Objective Measure (PROM); Carlo, Eisenberg, and Knight [59] contains five stories designed to invoke a conflict between the wants, needs and desires of the protagonist and those of a needy other. These story dilemmas dealt with (1) getting an injured child's parents versus going to a friend's party, (2) keeping food after a flood versus giving food to others so that others have some, (3) helping handicapped children strengthen their legs by teaching them to swim versus practicing for a swimming contest to win prize money, (4) continuing to play in his or her yard versus trying to stop a bully that is picking on a peer and (5) donating blood across an extended period of time to a needy other versus missing time at school and money at work. For example, a story dilemma present to participants: One day Mary was going to the party of a friend. She saw a girl who had fallen down and hurt her leg. The girl asked Mary to go to the house of the girl and get her parents so the parents could come and take her to a doctor. But if Mary did run and get parents of the girl, Mary would be late to the party and miss the fun and social activities with her friends. After reading each story, participants are first asked to indicate whether the protagonist (a) should help the needy other, (b) should not help the needy other or (c) whether they were not sure what the protagonist should do (the PROM; [59]). Participants are asked to rate the importance of each of the reasoning items on why the protagonist should or should not help the needy other in the story. The PROM items are selected on the basis of frequently reported prosocial moral reasoning responses to the open-ended interview format measure of prosocial moral reasoning. Participants can use (1) hedonistic reasoning that promotes own needs or desires of one, (2) approval-oriented reasoning in order to please others, (3) needs-oriented reasoning that focuses primarily on concern for the physical and psychological needs of others, (4) stereotypic reasoning that base on expected behaviors and (5) internalized reasoning in terms of personal beliefs and principles. Child-rearing behavior is also assessed using the information obtained from observations at home and interviews with the parents. For example, in school, the children are individually told three stories containing conflicts, which the child is asked to solve. The parents are observed while working together with their children on two puzzles in order to record the parenting style. Both puzzles are quite difficult for the children to complete alone. Parents are told to help their children without touching the pieces of the puzzle. Parental verbal behavior is coded in three categories as support, authoritative control and restrictive control [2]. Support indicates behaviors that include offering help, active concern, sympathy,

affection and encouragement with statements such as "It is good." or "It is difficult, isn't it?" Authoritative control refers to behaviors that contain giving explanations or suggestions, asking questions stimulating the children about a solution with statements such as "Maybe you should try to find corners first." or "How should the block at the corner look like?" Restrictive control describes behaviors that include negative commands, restrictions, explicit or implicit commands or orders with statements such as "Don't do that" or "Put it down." Following the observation session, the researchers present each parent with 10 hypothetical child-rearing situations that involve failures to act prosocially such as hurting the children, teasing the peers or being teased. The parents are then asked to imagine that the main character of each story is their own child and are asked questions regarding how to deal with the hypothetical situation. The anticipated strategies are coded in three categories. (1) Support includes behaviors such as physical affection, praising the children, comforting the children, accepting offers of the children and showing understanding for behavior of the children with statements such as "I know it must be difficult for you." (2) Authoritative control indicates behaviors such as asking and giving explanations; pointing out their consequences and behaviors of the children for others, explanations referring to needs or motives of others; stimulating the children to take perspective of the other; encouraging the children to solve the problem on their own, or to think about a solution, or to make a decision; reminding the children of their own or mutually agreed decisions and pointing out own responsibility of the children for their behavior, references to social or moral values and norms with statements such as "You must learn to share with others." (3) Restrictive control indicates behaviors such as isolating or ignoring the children, reprimands, disapprovals, reproaches, directives, imperatives, physical punishment, deprivation of privileges and threats of punishment with statements such as "If you do it again, I will hit you" [2].

4. Findings and discussions

4.1. Findings and discussions related to socialization processes toward children and adolescents for developing empathy, sympathy and prosocial behaviors

Researchers have argued that parental inductions and explanations are an important disciplinary practice to attain prosocial behaviors. Parental conversations or inductive reasoning point to the needs of others, communicate notions regarding moral issues and broaden social perspectives in children [61]. Parents socialize their children to attain prosocial behaviors by highlighting the needs or well-being of others, illuminating their effects and actions of children on others, explaining why rules are necessary and informing children about norms and principles [38]. Parents can promote more prosocial behaviors in children by directly teaching the children about right and wrong in social relationships and by pointing out the social norms, rules or expectations and the considerations and their consequences and behaviors of individuals on others through they use inductive reasoning [3, 62]. Parental inductions appeal justice and legitimate authorities in order to be fair to consequences and behavior of the children for another or provide moralistic information and non-moralistic information [63]. Children may

increase their understanding of their own agency, responsibility to avoid harm and ability to make reparations because inductions clarify cause-and-effect relations such as the adverse effects of hurtful actions and because inductions can lead to emphasizing the needs of other persons serve to clarify understanding of children about situations of others when it gives necessary support for children to attain ability to identify distress of others [38]. Researchers asserted that inductive reasoning and explanations induce an optimal arousing level for learning prosocial behaviors. Other-oriented inductive reasoning techniques point out their effects and behaviors of the children on others by giving explanations such as "if you push him, he'll fall and cry," "don't yell at him, he was only trying to help" or "he feels bad because he was proud of his tower and you knocked it down" ([64], p. 247). When moderately arousing children through inductive reasoning and explanations, they orient their parents and do not feel fear or anger of punishment and more effectively attend to socialization message of the parents. Children can attend to and process and internalize the information, meaning embedded in inductive statements and messages transmitted by parents because inductive reasoning can arouse enough to elicit attention and do not produce high anxiety or anger levels in children [54, 63]. Children over time experience and internalize inductive messages and may remember the causal link between their actions and consequences for others because they play an active role in processing the information and in encoding and integrating with information contained in other inductions and because inductions focus on action of the children and its consequences. Children can experience emotions of empathy and guilt when they recall the stored information at later time in a similar situation [63]. Parental inductions encourage children to think about how their misbehaviors hurt another person in a less coercive atmosphere that does not lead to fear and anger in children [65]. Children experience guilt for their deviating behaviors that harm to another and feel another's negative emotion by inductions focusing children's attention on consequences of their behavior for others. Parental induction motivates children to pay attention to harm or distress of the victim. It can help to promote empathy in the offending children toward a victim or a hurt person. Inductions and explanations may induce empathy-based guilt in the children by specifically highlighting consequences of the deviating behavior in the children for the victim such as a peer or the parent and by concentrating on the consequences and behavior of the children for the parent or for the other person. Children evoke an empathic response when they understand themselves are the cause of that harm or distress. Children empathize with the victim and try repair the harm or to relieve the distress by experiencing empathic distress and an affectively unpleasant and cognitive self-blaming or guilt response [66]. The values are internalized through empathy-based guilt that can lead to a moral emotion. Prosocial motives and behavior especially among highly empathic adolescents associate with guilt. Feelings of empathy and concern lead to altruistic motivation and feelings of guilt motivate reparative actions [13, 63, 67]. Parents may lead to children and adolescents experiencing positive and guilt emotions by using inductive socialization practices [68, 69]. Children and adolescents can better focus the parental message and increase accepting the parental message, thereby promote internalizing the values through they feel a positive and guilt-related response toward inductive reasoning and explanation [54, 69]. The effectiveness of inductive reasoning and likelihood of internalizing parental messages depends on children perceiving the messages accurately, that is, understanding the rules expressed in the message, intentions, investment of the parent in the messages and children

accepting the messages. Children can perceive and accept the messages accurately when parental messages are clear, redundant and consistent and comply with developmental levels of the children, and the messages motivate them and they believe messages. Parents contribute prosocial development through children's internalizing parental expectations and societal values in socialization processes [70]. According to researchers children understand and accept its use when they perceive inductive discipline as appropriate [54]. Hoffman [63] asserted that some pressure is sometimes needed to perform an effective induction. It directs the children toward more self-oriented concerns and away from the consequences of their actions for the victim because the frequent use of power assertive and love-withdrawal techniques can elicit anger and fear of punishment or invoke fear of reduction/loss of parental love. Some children can be more incline to stop, attend and process inductive messages when the messages are made more salient with the occasional use of power assertion. Adolescents perceive and evaluate appropriately, favorably induction. When parenting practices are perceived as appropriate, adolescents tend to experience positive and guilt-related reactions [69], as children grow older, guilt-related experiences become more internalized and moral identity [71]. The adolescents increase the likelihood that they pay attention to, accept and internalize the parental messages in socialization practices when they favorably evaluated induction as fair and appropriate [13, 54, 68, 72, 73]. Adolescents may pay particular attention to perceive discipline techniques when parents express disappointment expectations within the induction category. Parental socialization practices can be effective for adolescents help to understand the reflections of their deviating behaviors for others by expressing disappointment. When adolescents view disappointment as appropriate, this increases their receptivity toward the parent and motivate the person to engage in the reflective process in socialization process. Adolescents who receive parental feedbacks favorably may reflect on the disappointment of parents and feel disappointment in their self for not living up to an ideal personality [74]. Adolescents who perceive messages to the disappointed expectations of their parents as fair may develop and internalize moral values. They feel guilt over their deviating behaviors that harm others and appropriate disappointed expectations of their parents. Parental inductions convey messages toward adolescents to make better behaviors and behave appropriately [75]. Parents contribute adolescents in order to develop a good personality or morality by expressing disappointment. Researchers found that 10th graders were higher in moral self-relevance scores than the younger students. Students in early and mid-adolescence began to use moral principles and qualities to depict and appraise the self [76]. For adolescents who do experience parental disappointment and who react with positive and guilt emotions or view these expressions as appropriate or fair, there is a greater likelihood of high morality. Researchers indicate that this finding relates to the broader positive relationship found between parental disappointment and prosocial action [46, 67]. Adolescents who received inductive reasoning and explanations as their primary discipline and those who evaluated appropriately or fairly inductive reasoning and explanations responded with positive and guilt-related emotion to this technique in parental socialization practices and felt that generally accepted by the parent also reported higher morality. Perceiving inductive discipline as favorable facilitates the impact of this technique on morality and prosocial values. Evaluating induction as appropriate or fair and with positive or guilt-related emotion may make adolescents more receptive to this technique, thereby increasing its effectiveness in value transmission [77].

Adolescents espoused more values consistent with those socialization practices or authoritative parenting style of their parents when their parents carried out authoritative parenting style or socialization practices [78]. The authoritative parenting style that entails prominently using inductions facilitates internalizing values and develops moral identity among adolescents over time [79]. Hoffman asserted that parental warmth is essential for modeling and inductions to take effect and should use and blend frequent inductions, occasionally power assertions and more affection in order to socialize children [63]. When parental modeling of prosocial behaviors was accompanied by parental warmth, children could internalize and engage in the prosocial behaviors. Modeling or observational learning as well as inductions or verbal reasoning plays a significant role in developing prosocial behaviors in children. According to social learning theory, children may learn through observing and imitating the behaviors they see in others, such as their parents [80]. Most human behavior is learned through observation or modeling [80]. Children who exposed to models of prosocial behavior can emulate those acts especially when they see positive consequences for the models they observe [81]. Parents socialize their children to behave prosocially by providing information about expected and desirable behaviors and modeling, encouraging prosocial behavior and pointing out appropriate behavior by constituting an effective environment or atmosphere that stimulate empathy development [63, 82]. Parents may foster prosocial behaviors in children by modeling and concerning for the needs of others through they engage in volunteer work or care and help the other person in distress. Parents increase the likelihood that the children will emulate behaviors of their parents by conveying prosocial messages and fostering a connection toward children. Researchers found that children could engage in prosocial behaviors themselves when they saw their parents engaged in prosocial behaviors such as philanthropic and volunteering behaviors and doing chores in the home [83]. Parental modeling of volunteer behaviors was positively correlated with volunteerism in their children [84, 85]. In a large survey research, adolescents engaged in volunteerism when parents monitored activities of adolescents. Adolescents who reported that their parents closely monitored their activities subsequently could exhibit more engagement in volunteer community work [86]. Stukas and his colleagues [87] indicated that students who reported that their parents modeled helping behaviors could have more altruistic personality and become helpful people in the future. In another study, mothers had children who could volunteer their time more to aid a patient child when they were more empathetic and sympathetic. Mothers had daughters who had prosocial personality than daughters/children of mothers who did not win score as highly when they had high score in empathy concern [88]. Similarly, mothers with more empathic children significantly empathized highly with the others. They exhibited more empathy and understanding for their children and followed more prosocial goals than mothers of children who won lower score on empathy scales [89]. Supportive parents transmit the desires and tendencies to take their perspective and to empathize and sympathize with their experiences and feelings toward their children. Hence, supportive parents themselves take perspective and empathize and sympathize with children within the parent-child relationships or interactions and can model empathic capacities for their children [90]. Parental warmth or affection was linked with prosocial characteristics in children [91]. Children can attend to and care about parental messages when parents behave warmly and supportively toward their children in socialization practices. Thereby parental warmth enhances socialization for children [92].

Children may attend more to their behaviors when their parents are warm. Children who need to feel the security of a warm, loving relationship attend to the behaviors modeled by their parents [93]. Parental warmth plays an essential role in prosocial moral development for children by increasing the positive emotional bond between parents and children that facilitated children's attention to and regarded for messages from their parents about prosocial behaviors. Children internalize their parents' values about prosocial behavior when parents convey warmth to them [63]. Children can more understand and internalize prosocial values when parents behave warmly, responsively for their children and respond to their prosocial behaviors that children perceive as appropriate [94]. Warm or accepting parents use authoritative parenting or inductive discipline [13, 92]. Theorists and researchers have argued that this increases the effectiveness of parental inductions and enhances the likelihood that they attend to, accept and internalize the socialization or inductive messages and values when parents use inductive discipline by exhibiting warmth toward their children and adolescents [13, 54, 71]. Inductive messages seemed to be more effective when received by adolescents who perceived the parents as generally warm and accepting, thereby fostered their morality. When inductions used in the context of a warm parent-child relationship has been linked to prosocial behavior and moral values of children and adolescents [13, 92, 95]. Hoffman asserted that nurturance or warmth fosters the children's receptivity to parental inductive reasoning and explanations [96] and hence the effectiveness of the parent's messages in socialization practices [54]. Authoritative parenting style or inductive reasoning and explanations entail reciprocal trust and caring [97]. Thus, parental induction may promote internalization or facilitate morality to the self via the children generally feels accepted or loved by the parent. The insecure bond or lack of emotional attachment between the parent and child may hinder transmitting moral values [98]. Parental feelings toward children and discipline practices of parents predict prosocial behavior. Children exhibit more prosocial behaviors when parents orient more positively the affect and discipline toward their children. The more parents direct negatively the affect and discipline toward their children, the lower prosocial behaviors are displayed by their children [1]. Supportive parenting style facilitates prosocial behaviors because warm parenting or socialization practices tend to foster perspective-taking, empathy, emotional sensitivity and behaviors aimed at helping others [43]. Researchers indicated that parental affection positively related to empathy in children [5] and that the empathy experienced at a certain time associated with the desire to help the victim. They found that empathy correlated with prosocial behavior in the children aged 5–13 years [99]. Components such as parental warmth, connectedness, reciprocal parent-child positive engagement and happy emotional climate associated with prosocial tendencies reported by kindergartners [100]. Janssens and Dekovic [2] found that democratic or authoritative parenting style that includes parental warmth, support, responsiveness, nurturance with demandingness and induction could develop prosocial behavior in children. They examined 125 children within aged 6–11 years and their parents in their homes. Children choose between satisfying their own needs and needs of others by reasoning concerning prosocial moral dilemmas. Pratt et al. [95] found that inductions play an effective role in inculcating the morality to the self as children reach and enter adolescence via they conducted a research on contributions of parenting practices to prosocial development in adolescents ranged from 13 to 21 years. Parental inductions become an effective socialization practice to internalize values and foster the morality in adolescents.

Adolescents adopt values consistent with those of their parents through suggesting an appropriation, internalization or value transmission when their parents carry out authoritative parenting style or inductive reasoning. Warmth and strictness that included the authoritative socialization practices predicted the similarity of values between adolescents and parents. Authoritative parents tried to acquire prosocial, moral values and social responsibility in their ideals for the adolescent by emphasizing values such as good citizen, honest/truthful, trustworthy, fair and just, kind and caring, shows integrity. Both parent and peer value emphases perceived by the adolescent played an important role in relations between parenting style and own values of adolescents. When parents were seen as more authoritative to emphasize social responsibility in their ideals for the adolescent, this perceived emphasis by parents could mediate any relations between parenting style and an adolescent's focusing more on moral qualities or endorsing a moral, socially responsible ideal personality for the self [95]. In a study conducted by Carlo and her colleagues [11] examined the impact of parental inductions on prosocial behavior in the early adolescent. They determined a sample of 207 Mexican American children and 108 European American fourth and fifth grade elementary school students. The adolescent participants filled out a questionnaire designed to measure their own prosocial tendencies. Researchers found that parent inductions were significantly positively related to prosocial behaviors. Supportive parenting practices containing verbal reasoning enhanced ability to engage in perspective-taking in children and instilled prosocial values in socialization process for children. A similar study conducted by Shen and his colleagues [10] also examined 504 early adolescents, including 106 European Americans, 202 Mexican Americans and 196 Taiwanese in the fifth or sixth grade. Researchers investigated the influence of induction or parent socializing behaviors on early adolescent using prosocial moral reasoning that entailed giving judgments to assist another person in need, in the absence of norms and rules about helping through perspective-taking and sympathy. Perspective-taking and sympathy of early adolescents were measured using the perspective-taking and sympathy subscales of the Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index [101]. The results of the study indicated that parental inductions were associated with prosocial moral reasoning in early adolescent children and predicted prosocial moral reasoning indirectly through the increased perspective-taking and sympathy of the adolescents as the mediating processes. In their studies, Krevans and Gibbs [67] revealed that parental induction positively correlated with empathy and prosocial behavior in children. Inductions stimulated prosocial behaviors by emphasizing how parents and others reacted to behaviors of children through reasoning and explanations. Authoritative parents could lead to more moral reasoning, moral conscience and prosocial behaviors in children by using inductive socialization practices that referred to verbal reasoning and explanations. Children and adolescents tended to experience more vicarious empathy and guilt when their parents used more inductive socialization practices [67]. Parental sensitive behavior was viewed as the important condition for predicting empathy in children. Parents treated their children with sensitivity and empathy. Mothers exhibited sensitivity by reflecting positivity and warmth toward children, meeting developmental level of the children, responding rapidly and accurately to changing marks and successfully negotiating conflictual instants. Children began to internalize and incorporate the parental messages into their own behavior toward their parents and others within socialization process. They could behave in empathic and prosocial ways toward others. Children showed stronger and more affective and prosocial

behaviors for distress of their mothers than the distress of strangers [102]. In their studies, Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow [103] indicated that children exhibited prosocial behaviors such as attending, providing comfort, sharing and helping to other persons in distress by empathizing with them when their mother, father or caregiver behaved sadly or stress out. Young children tried to help them in some way when parents looked upset by embracing or caressing their backs. Children tended to empathize with their parents or caregivers through they tried to understand the attitudes and facial expressions shown by their parents or caregivers. Parents helped to socialize preschoolers in order to teach behaviors affecting other persons. They aimed to develop a concern for other persons in their children via inductions that explained the consequences of their behaviors to interpersonal dilemmas. Preschoolers could demonstrate prosocial behaviors in order to respond to other persons in distress when they are informed about the expected and appropriate behaviors or unexpected and inappropriate behaviors that adversely affected others. Children could respond empathetically to the pain of another more when mothers conveyed socialization messages with strong emotional overtones such as when you bite me, it hurts and I don't want to be near you. I am going away from you until you stop biting me [104]. Kochanska and his colleagues [105] looked at the relationship between rule-compatible behavior and moral emotions such as empathic distress and guilt in young children at 33 and 45 months. Mutually responsive orientation directly affected their moral emotions through mothers behaved sensitively toward infants and predicted higher empathic distress in toddlers at 22 months and later guilt reactions in children at 45 months. Parental responsiveness and shared positive emotions between parent and children were associated with conscience and empathy development in children. Young children could respond more empathically to a person experiencing negative emotions in distress when they had more responsive parents. The ability to empathize with distress of others was viewed as an important factor to develop prosocial behaviors in children. Children positively internalized values and developed early conscience when parents behaved warmly and responsively in mutual relationships and interactions with children [105]. Moral emotions and rule-adjusted behavior were associated with the development of the conscience. Children who felt more guilt when doing wrong and who exhibited empathic distress for the distress experienced by another could more follow given rules such as cleaning up toys without supervision [106]. Children who continued their early developments and who were brought up within warm and responsive relationships and interactions embraced more eagerly values of their parents and could develop a stronger conscience through shared cooperative relationships. Mutually responsive orientation could develop conscience in children by fostering enjoyment that they received from interactions with their parents, by promoting committed compliance and internalization and through parent reduced to use power assertion [105, 107]. Waters and his colleagues [49] also indicated that children who enjoyed their interactions with their parents developed stronger conscience and behaved by complying with rules and prosocial values rather than focusing on selfish concern in their moral judgments. They could behave to continue good feelings by engaging in pretty behaviors. They could act to maintain good feelings by engaging in good behaviors that stemmed from their own positive emotions. In their studies, Laible and Thompson [108] found that emotion-laden discourses that children shared with their caregivers contributed to emotion understanding and fostered early advances in conscience. Children increased their willingness for accepting parental messages

and values when mother behaved mutually, harmoniously and shared positive affects in relationships and interactions with children. Mother contributed to his/her early conscience development that involved acquiring the multiple components such as committed compliance, behavioral internalization and guilt through mother shared positive affect with the child. Children could experience guilt, remorse and related reactions to deviating behaviors or mishap, with committed adaption when mothers referred to needs, feelings or purposes and social, moral rules and moral assessing statements such as "do not harm others," "say thank you," "good bye" and "this is a nice thing to do" through mother conversed with their 4-year-old children ([108], p. 1428). Emotion-laden discourses by the mother contributed to early conscience development in children because it fostered emotional understanding that was prerequisite for empathy and prosocial behaviors. Children internalized moral values and standards of their parents when they engaged in conversations about moral issues with their children [109]. In his study, Feldman [110] revealed that mother-infant synchrony measured at 3 and 9 months in the first year of life was directly correlated with empathy level at 6 years in childhood and at 13 years in adolescence. He measured time and activities shared by mothers with their children. Children and adolescents experienced more empathy during their middle childhood and adolescence when mothers more matched and influenced each other in relationships and interactions with infants through face-to-face play in their infancy. Parents matched effects of their infants during interaction and children provided important experiences in these processes. Children could internalize feelings and experiences of the other persons by imitating emotion-laden expressions and behaviors of the other persons. Children could feel that another or the parent felt what they felt during interaction on the one hand, they attained an understanding that affectively motivated behaviors that influenced another person and promoted the necessary feelings for activating a desire to aid other individuals on the other hand [111]. In their studies, Hastings and his colleagues [8] pointed out that children displayed prosocial behaviors more observed, reported by mothers and teachers 2 years later when mothers behaved in more authoritative ways and were less authoritarian with preschoolers. Mothers brought up children who displayed less empathy and prosocial behavior 2 years later by reflecting disappointment, anger and criticism to preschoolers. Mothers who experienced or expressed negative affect, anger, disappointment and conflict with their children and who displayed authoritarian approaches that practiced strict control, discouraged the emotion-laden expressions, exercised physical punishment or set prohibitions and reprimand had children who won lower score related to guilt such as reparation, apology, confession, concern about deviating behaviors of other persons and internalized behavior when their children came from age 5 to age 7 when compared to democratic approaches that used inductive reasoning and guiding, encouraged independence and supported the open expressing feelings in socialization processes [8]. Eisenberg and her colleagues examined the prosocial moral reasoning in elementary school children and adolescents in longitudinal and cross-sectional studies [32, 34, 62]. In a research, they conducted on Euro-American children (4- and 5-year-old 40 girls and 34 boys), Eisenberg and her colleagues [112] addressed relationship between moral reasoning, vicarious emotional responding and prosocial behavior. Children's facial reactions for watching the films were videotaped while children watched both a boy and a girl who leaped from a large tire and who injured themselves and cried in one film and a different girl and boy who felled from a playground in the another film. Researchers

found that children exhibited prosocial behavior for both peers and adults by responding vicariously and emotionally. Children reported their own sad emotions and helped peers in distress. It has been revealed that preschool children use highly moral reasoning by talking about self-reported and by demonstrating facial expressions related the vicarious responsiveness towards peers and adults. Prosocial behavior toward others of children depends on their moral reasoning and vicarious emotional reactions. Eisenberg-Berg [113] designed four prosocial moral dilemmas in order to assess level of prosocial moral reasoning. She observed and interviewed 125 second, fourth, sixth, ninth, eleventh and twelfth graders and described their reasoning as hedonistic reasoning, needs-oriented reasoning, approval/stereotyped reasoning and self-reflective empathic responding and role-taking. These moral judgment categories reflected the development of prosocial moral judgment. Preschool and elementary aged school children reasoned in a hedonistic and self-oriented manner and used prosocial moral reasoning fewest. Hedonistic reasoning promoted own needs or desires of one. Individual in needs-oriented reasoning focused primarily on the physical and psychological needs of other persons. Reasoning in this phase reflected a more developmentally mature type of moral consideration. It increased while hedonistic reasoning decreased with age. Young children tended to use hedonistic and needs-oriented prosocial reasoning. Their reasoning started to reflect concern for approval of others and they reasoned in stereotypic ways such as good, bad and mean when children reached elementary school age. Approval/stereotyped reasoning in ways to please others was identified as the next of prosocial moral reasoning. Approval/stereotyped reasoning was based on images of good and bad persons and maintained the approval of others. The next stage of prosocial moral reasoning was characterized by self-reflective empathic responding and role-taking. Youths with advanced cognitive abilities in adolescence behaved in accord with more self-reflective, empathic and internalized values, norms and principles in judgments. Prosocial moral reasoning developed with age and transformed from hedonistic, approval-oriented and needs-oriented forms in early childhood to relatively more sophisticated stereotyped, empathic and internalized forms in middle childhood and adolescence. Elementary school children reasoned at lower levels of prosocial moral reasoning that was identified more hedonistically, stereotypically or approval-oriented, while high school students' reasoning reflected more abstract and empathic moral concerns [62]. Higher level other-oriented and not hedonistic prosocial moral reasoning in preschool, elementary or high school students was correlated more positively, frequently with costly prosocial behaviors such as donating or volunteering time after school than with behaviors low in cost such as helping pick up dropped paper clips [32].

5. Conclusion

Socialization practices such as parental support, warmth and sensitivity combine with parental inductions and reasoning, demandings and control and contribute to prosocial development in children and adolescents. Parental support, warmth and sensitivity provide an appropriate environment for socialization that encourages empathy, sympathy and prosocial behaviors. Warm and sensitive parents exhibit more active concern, involvement and affection toward

their children. They nurture, support, love, approve and praise their children. They spend more time and enjoy shared activities with their children. Parents foster secure attachment relationships by satisfying own physical and emotional needs and desires of the children. Children with secure attachments can be more receptive to efforts to socialize them and they tend to attend parental messages and accord with values and expectations of their parents. Induction is viewed as another socialization practice uses for socializing children to behave in prosocial ways. Parents can foster empathy, sympathy and prosocial behaviors in children by giving prosocial messages through practices such as transmitting notions regarding moral issues, focusing children's attention on positive or negative consequences of their behavior for others and highlighting the needs or well-being of others. Parents try to socialize their children in order to attain ability to empathize with the victim or identify distress of others by focusing children's attention on consequences of their behavior for others and by specifically highlighting consequences of the transgressing behaviors through inductions. Children can experience empathy-based guilt when they empathize with the victim. This empathy-based guilt also plays an important role in internalizing the values and developing prosocial motives and behaviors such as reparative actions. Parents model their children to exhibit empathy, sympathy and prosocial behavior through parents, take their perspective and sympathize with their experiences and feelings toward their children. Parent modeling of prosocial behavior contributes prosocial development in children.

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I Teach You to Quarrel - Empathy and Mediation: Tools for Preventing Bullying

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Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

Bullying is a very common, complex and important public health problem among school students. Dovigo describes the school as a place where the conflict can emerge among relational dynamics and involve students, teachers and families. Through the description of an Italian pilot project "Mediamente Bullo," this chapter examines two tools for preventing bullying: empathy, the ability to share and understand emotional states of others, and mediation, useful to cope interpersonal conflicts. Using the mediation tool, students can learn that many forms of conflicts, including violence, can be solved by identifying the causes, discussing them and practicing nonviolent methods and behaviors. This process helps students to become more aware of positive aspects during the conflict and the power that they have in making important and positive choices. In addition, using the empathy tool, they can better understand the experience of social exclusion. In fact, several studies show that children with higher levels of empathy show less aggressive and more prosocial behaviors and they are more able to regulate their emotions. The goal of this chapter is to provide a contribution about integrated application of two important tools, mediation and empathy, in bullying among school-aged youth for future directions and intervention efforts.

Keywords: bullying, empathy, mediation, conflict, prosocial behavior

1. Introduction

"A person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, and he or she has difficulty defending himself or herself" [1]. This is commonly accepted definition for bullying given by Dan Olweus, editor of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program [2]. Instead, a synthetic and effective definition is

that of Sharp and Smith [3] that speaks of "peer abuse," that is, social relationships between friends based on power and control roles. This phenomenon is characterized by aggressive behavior repeated over time. Shelley and Swearer [4] underlined that the pioneering contribution of Olweus [5–7] has allowed to define this social problem as a subcategory of interpersonal aggression characterized by intentionality, repetition and an imbalance of power, distinguishing bullying from other forms of violence [8–17]. In detail, its characteristics are given as follows:

- Intentionality: Aggressive behavior is guided by the need to overwrite the other to the possibility of creating physical harm.

- Systematicity: Bullying becomes persecutory because it manifests itself systematically at every encounter between a victim and a persecutor.

- Asymmetry of power: To be classified as a bullying phenomenon, the victim is unable to defend himself or to react or seek help.

Bullying has always existed, but was once considered to be a natural manifestation of aggression experienced by young people linked to a process of growth and maturity, but today, it is known as a real social emergency. Bullying comes from a series of factors, such as culture, stereotypes, family, school, social networking, individual characteristics and ways of managing emotions and conflicts [10, 12, 18].

Offensive action can be exercised in a variety of ways: through the use of the word (offenses, teasing, threats) by resorting to physical force and contact (in these cases, it is referred to as direct bullying), talking badly about him/her with other comrades (indirect bullying) or excluding the victim from the group using social pain caused by social exclusion [20–23]. The experience of social exclusion is distressing and can induce people to feel strong negative feelings. In fact, the emotion more associated with low perceived relational value, compromised interpersonal relationship or exclusion experience is called "hurt feelings" [19]. Neuroscientists discovered that during the experience of social exclusion, the brain areas involved in this interpersonal condition are similar to those of physical pain [20–27], these results may explain why people report negative feelings and that they are "hurt" when other people devalue or excluded them.

The experience of social exclusion, even more bullying, may cause various emotional, psychological and interpersonal consequences. For example, the victim usually appears as an anxious and insecure person who suffers from poor self-esteem and tends to have a negative self-esteem. These kids at school are usually isolated and have few friends inside the classroom. The passive or submissive victim, in particular, seems incapable and insecure to react in the face of insults, has a reactive model of anxious behavior, submissive and associated with physical weakness, ability to assert themselves [28–31].

Bully is usually characterized by the use of aggression, which in some cases does not only address mates, but also parents and teachers. It has an impulsive behavior and deficit of empathy for its victims. According to Olweus, at the base of violent behavior, there is no

tendency to anxiety or poor self-esteem, on the contrary bully often has a positive image of itself [1, 2].

Passive bullies are those who participate in bullying without actively taking part and usually take on the role of gregarious, followers or sobers. Each bully is surrounded by at least two to three peoples who act as supporters. Bullying causes a series of disease that if they persist in time they can turn into dramatic situations as well. In fact, according to some researches there is a relationship between bullying and suicidal behaviors [11, 30, 31]. It seems to be many factors: the presence of self-reliant behavior during the previous year seems to be the most important predictor for the subsequent appearance of suicidal behaviors in all the groups of subjects being examined that were involved in bullying episodes (victims, bullies and persecutory victims) [11]. In addition, recent research conducted in 168 schools throughout Europe focused on the study of what appears to be the main predictor of suicidal behavior in adolescents, namely self-injury [12]. All three types of bullying considered (physical, verbal, relational) are associated with the appearance of self-reliant behavior, both casual and repetitive, and gender effects have not been significant. Research shows that there is a relationship between bullying and depression, this relationship does not have a clear direction, that is, it is still unknown if boys who are bullied are depressed, or if depressed teenagers are more likely to be bullied [30]. Summarizing, in the victim, this leads to states of anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, school dropouts and suicide in the most serious cases. In the bully, there is difficulty in awareness of their behaviors due to lack of sense of guilt and empathy.

Bullying represents a social emergency not only to people directly involved (bullies and victims) but it is a problem that involves everyone, the whole society. The lack of awareness of their own emotions and the consequences of their actions and their inability to handle conflict with each other are two key points from which to start preventing. Bullying can be fought through the prevention, that is, information and training to prevent the phenomenon from arising and spreading, and intervention, that is care and support of all people involved [32].

2. How prevalent is bullying?

The bullying has been studied since 1973 by the Norwegian Dan Olweus and since 1991 in England by Peter K. Smith. In Italy in 1995, researchers [33–42] started researches about it and confirmed the presence of this social problem in different Italian contexts and cultural and social backgrounds. Ada Fonzi [33] reported that in Italy 41% of children attending elementary schools was victims of bullying and compared to those of other European countries, 27% in England, 20% in Canada, 15% in Spain, 6% in Finland, respectively.

The Italian National Institute for Statistics (ISTAT), the main supplier of official statistical information in Italy, published the latest bullying data [43], just over 50% of 11–17-year-olds has suffered some episode of offensive, disrespectful and/or violent by other boys or girls in the previous 12 months. A 19.8% is a victim of one of the "typical" acts of bullying,

that is, it suffers them several times a month. In total, 9.1% acts of bullying are repeated on a weekly basis. They behave repeatedly offensive, not respectful and/or violent between 11-13 years (22.5%) and 14–17 years (17.9%); females (20.9%) and males (18.8%). Among school students, high-school students are in the lead (19.4%); followed by the students of the professional institutes (18.1%) and those of the technical institutes (16%). The most common consist of bullying offenses with ugly nicknames, swearing or insults (12.1%), derision for their physical appearance and/or how to talk (6.3%), defamation (5.1%), exclusion for their own opinions (4.7%), aggression with pusher, kick, kick and punch (3.8%). A 16.9% of 11–17-year-olds have been victims of direct bullying, characterized by some relationship between the victim and the bully and 10.8% of indirect actions without physical contact. Among the girls, the difference between "direct" and "indirect" (16.7 and 14%, respectively) is minimal. In contrast, direct male forms (17%) are more than double the indirect (7.7%). Olweus [44] found that males acted more physical and direct aggressive bullying, while females were more exposed to behaviors of indirect bullying. In this way, he has traced the precise profiles of the subjects involved in this phenomenon and their roles within this social problem.

3. Empathy

The empathy, ability to share and understand emotional states of others, is defined as the process through which an individual understands the emotions of others by generating an isomorphic affective state and knowing that the cause of one's emotional state belong to the other person [45–49].

Empathic process does not mean to become like the other (i.e., think like him) but to be with the other, trying to fully understand the subjective experience of another person, from his point of view without assuming it as his own. Entering into resonance with the emotional state of another individual undoubtedly leads to a strong bond for sharing experiences and thoughts. Being able to understand the mind and emotional states of our conspecifics is fundamental to life, contributes to the success of social relationships because it allows us to communicate, understand and predict the behaviors and reactions of others. This ability to resonance within others' feelings allows a better understanding and the ability to promote prosocial behaviors [50].

Edith Stein, a student of Husserl, addressed the theme of empathy in a phenomenological point of view, trying to outline the characteristics of the human subject from his inter-subjectivity and relationship with other people [51].

According to researchers [45, 46], it is important to distinguish empathy from the theory of mind, sympathy or compassion and emotional contagion: (1) emotional contagion: the precursor of empathy cannot be considered as an empathic response as it does not involve emotions, but merely physiological responses to the emotional state expressed by another

person (i.e., pupil dilation); (2) empathy: the ability to understand/participate in the feelings of others; (3) theory of mind: the ability of a person to represent the mental states of others including the affective ones; (4) compassion: ability to experience feelings but not necessarily the same as being tried by another person.

Summarizing the concept of empathy is considered a multidimensional construct that represents an emotional aspect composed of two main components: *affective empathy*, ability to experience and share the emotions of others, and a cognitive trait, *cognitive empathy*, ability to understand the emotions of others. Both of them can coexist in the empathic process. Haviland and Lelwica [52] have showed behavioral evidences during ontogenetic development that demonstrated how the affective component of empathy develop before that cognitive, because for adaptive questions can be very important to experience feelings and emotions as information about what others feel [52–56].

Researchers [58, 59] described as higher level of affective empathy (i.e., share an emotional state) can predict constructive conflict resolution when encountering problems with friends and cognitive empathy (i.e., understanding emotional states of others) can predict higher reciprocity and stability in social relationships with friends. A very interesting aspect is that if it is present only cognitive empathy without the affective component can predict higher levels of bullying [60]. The lack of empathy can cause the development of problematic interpersonal behaviors.

In addition, several studies [5, 60] showed bullying intervention programs that have incorporated empathy concept as an essential element, reduce bullying behaviors in the classroom. Overall, empathy is important for preventing bullying.

4. Mediation

Dovigo [61] defines the school as a place where conflict can emerge very easily in which many social and dynamic relational actors are involved. At the same time, the issues involved in school context can be multiple and cover different aspects, such as organizing activities and schedules, teaching design, behavior rules, homework, and so on. In this complex social system, students undergo the pressures of the most skilled and experienced actors in social interaction, and this leads them to experience the feeling of inadequacy, especially for those who are less capable of communicating, who manifest this discomfort using inadequate behaviors (i.e., marked aggression or liability and self-closure). This aspect is combined with a widespread approach in many school contexts that considers the student exclusively as a subject that has only needs and not even ideas, emotions, proposals and therefore tends to evaluate him pliability to instructions and directions of scholar system rather than its ability to find autonomous solutions to problems. In fact, when a conflict arises, the disciplinary tool that is often applied is that of sanction in order to bring order back to class without giving students the ability to create shared and discussed rules and dynamics. Instead, the

mediation approach seeks instead to draw attention to the contribution that everyone, starting with students, can create a positive and satisfying atmosphere of cooperation for promoting general health [62]. Mediation is a concrete instrument to manage conflict and to avoid escalation. Through mediation litigants can meet themselves in front of a third person, impartial about the conflict [56]. Mediator must not judge them, interpret what they tell and give them advices: he has to welcome them, make them feel heard and lead them toward a solution. Its goal is to restore their communication and he should suggest them what to do: only litigants will be able to find the best solution possible [56]. Therefore, mediation is the best practice to face the conflict because it cares about relationship and prevents escalation to ruin it. In fact, mediation is increasingly complicated as escalation progresses. In conclusion, in mediation path, students can learn that there are many forms to react to the conflict, including violence that is certainly the least effective. Identifying the causes of the conflict, discussing them and practicing nonviolent dispute resolution methods helps students become aware of the positive aspects of the conflict, and above all of the power they have in making important and new choices.

Bertoluzzo and Bouquiè [62] described in depth the concept of conflict the various ways in which one can handle it. They pointed out that the term conflict is always associated with that of resolution because the first aim is to resolve it, but they put the emphasis not on the usefulness and effectiveness of the resolution that if forced can lead to other problems but to change the prospective and to focus on the emotional aspects such as fears and suffering of the person involved in the conflict. Considering aspects such as individual sensitivity, interpersonal relationship, story, fragility can be useful for effective conflict management. One of the typical features of the conflict is the predisposition to grow. In fact, from the moment it begins, it naturally tends to convolve all energies and resources in a vortex characterized by increasing intensity, this tendency is called *escalation* [63]. It represents the process by which conflicts grow through various stages in severity over time, driven by incompatible point of views and goals; it can lead to destructive social and interpersonal dynamics. To describe this escalation mechanism, Path Pathfoort [63] used the so-called MN model. According to it, in the relationship, one of the two persons assumes superior position (M = higher) while the other that of inferiority (m = minor). This can be humiliated and offended and can accumulate a lot of tension that will push him/her to assume a superior position over the other. This mechanism creates a situation that tends to increase the level of aggression until it reaches a point of rupture and often to violent behaviors [62]. Often escalation has already reached such a level as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to restore the peaceful situation from which it is started. All conflicting dynamics, especially those affecting bullying, are fuelled by the inability of the main actors (victims, bullies, and observers) to recognize themselves inside or outside these dynamics.

In particular, in bullying events, mediation can represent an efficacy practice to face the conflict because it cares about relationship and prevents escalation to aggressive behaviors. In conclusion, mediation can represent a tool for preventing bullying.

5. The relationship between empathy and bullying

Empathy is the ability to understand and experience how another person feels [24–27, 45, 46] and bullying as a subtype of aggressive behavior in which an individual or group of individuals intentionally attacks, humiliates, and/or excludes a relatively powerless person repeatedly and over time [33–37].

During the last 30 years, it has been well established that elevated levels of empathy are associated with prosocial behavior [53]. The association between empathy and antisocial behavior has been the focus of numerous studies: empathy's affective component was measured in several ways, including story presentation, facial and gesture reactions, questionnaires. Eisenberg [59] reviewed these studies and found affective empathy was negatively associated with antisocial behavior, especially when it was detected by questionnaires. In a more recent study, Joliffe and Farrington [60] studied links between empathy, in both her affective and cognitive components and offending: they found a negative association between empathy and offending that was stronger for cognitive component. Moreover, 3 years later, this negative association between empathy and offending was confirmed, though it was stronger in studying children and adolescent, and not so obvious in studying younger children. The first study that assesses a direct link between empathy and bullying was by Endresen and Olweus (2001) who found a negative association. After that, a number of bullying intervention programs have incorporated empathy as an essential element to reduce bullying [60]. For these reasons, we have deepened the concept of bullying considering that of mediation and that of empathy strictly associated with the prosocial behavior.

6. An Italian example of preventing bullying: the "Mediamente Bullo" project

The "Mediamente Bullo" ("average bully") is a pilot project for preventing bullying. It is based on two important theoretical backgrounds:

1. Morgagni's theoretical approach [64] that highlights and distinguishes the exogenous (socio-economic and cultural context) factors from endogenous (internal conditions). First, the social and cultural contexts play a very important role in establishing norms of behavior and also of social cooperation because people who break the social norms of the group may be subjected to punishment or normative sanction by other ingroup members [65–67]. It has been shown by recent studies that it is transcultural behavior [65–67]. Second, the internal condition represents a very important aspect because it considers psychological characteristic, such as personality, empathy, ability of problem solving and so on, resources useful to cope the conflict.

Morgagni [64] considered both of these aspects to be more effective. On the one hand, it can create a positive social environment by encouraging the integration of all students and avoiding the marginalization that often causes school dropouts, and on the other hand, it positively affects personal resources.

2. The concept of mediation, conceptualized as concrete instrument to manage conflict and to avoid escalation. Through mediation students can meet themselves in front of a third person, mediator, impartial about the conflict (Morineau, 2004; Morineau 2010). Mediator must not judge them, interprets the two point of views, that of the two students and what they tell and give them advices in order only students to be able to find the best solution [56].

In line with these theoretical backgrounds, the "Mediamente Bullo" project is applied in 15 lower schools, in Piedmont region of Italy. A total of 1100 students were recruited (658 males; mean age = 13.6; SD = 0.53). For each of lower school, three classrooms of third-year students were involved. Data were collected in 2017.

The aim of this project was to teach the conflict management, in particular for bullying, using their own personal energies in order to create positive interpersonal relationships among students.

The project also intends to be a response to requests of schools for bullying on three levels:

• Primary prevention: information and awareness raising on the subject.

• Secondary prevention: intervention in contexts where the phenomenon is already born.

• Tertiary prevention or intervention: treatment and care of persons involved in bullying.

This project responds to two needs for bullying, prevention and intervention. In the first step, it was possible to form all scholastic actors (students, teachers, parents etc.) about this phenomenon and its effect on interpersonal relationships. Then, in a path consisting of three meetings for each class, students and teachers have learned and experienced in class as resolving conflicts using mediation and empathy processes applying them to classroom relationships. During Mediamente Bullo, made up of three meetings that last 2 h, in the class there is a trainer (professional mediator) and the teacher who do not play an active role usually.

In detail:

6.1. First meeting: conflict

After a brief introduction to the path of project, it worked on the meaning of the word conflict and the other words associated with it. In fact, the first meeting is focused on the meaning of "conflict": kids write their ideas, then they match with their bench mate to reach an agreement. In this way, they experience what a conflict is. After that, there is a plenary discussion

in which the trainer points out importance of emotional aspects (in particular what role could anger have and begins to explain what empathy is). This leads to considerate the conflict not necessarily a negative situation but it can become a new possibility to be both winners.

6.2. Second meeting: before the conflict

During the second meeting, the attention is focused on communicational aspects and through examples and stories he talks about relationships, prejudices, observation and needs. Then he highlights why it is important to know how to communicate their emotions and how to change point of view, to understand the other's emotions. At the end of the meeting, a short movie called "The Cookie Thief" is watched and discussed (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NK3WYvwbFrQ&t=43s). This meeting focuses on the change point of view about each member of classroom group and interpersonal relationships. The aim is to discover and better understand more positive qualities of each student belonging to own classroom. The ability to know and recognize more positive aspects about others represents a very important resource for preventing and better managing the conflict. This meeting can change point of view, trying to understand and feel the others, emphatic experience. This also allows for more inclusion rather than social exclusion.

6.3. Third meeting: after the conflict

The last meeting is focused on mediation: the trainer presents it as the best conflict management tool and argues highlighting emotional aspects and the role of empathy, according to previous meetings. In the last part of the meeting, through different role playing, some kids can experience himself as a mediator or as a litigant [56]. In particular, this meeting focuses on two components. The first is to develop and improve communication skills, learning this expertise can have many benefits. For example, it can help better report feelings and thoughts experienced or those of other people, and to stay in own emotions to understand those of others. Furthermore, it can mean to try not to be judgmental or biased by preconceived ideas or beliefs—instead can help to view situations and responses from the other person's perspective. The second is to represent the different way of reacting to conflicts. This meeting considers role playing and discussion of real episodes experienced in own classroom.

After the explanation of who is the mediator and his role in a conflict, students improve their skills trying to manage example of problematic situation of conflict.

In this meeting, the points are: empathy (to share and understand emotional states of others), neutrality (to identify causes, discussing them and practicing nonviolent methods and behaviors). It concludes with the graphic representation and explanation of what is and how it works, step by step, a mediation.

At the end of the path, all actors involved in this project discover different and new aspect about themselves and others. This can represent a possible tool for preventing any form of violence, in particular bullying.

To evaluate the effect of the project in each class, the level of bullying, prosocial behavior and mediation skills, two questionnaires were assessed before and after the path of three meetings.

6.4. Questionnaires

6.4.1. "My Life in School": bullying and prosocial behavior

For the assessment of score of bullying and prosocial behavior, the questionnaire "My Life in School" [68, 69] was used. This questionnaire was originally designed by Arora [65] and resumed by Sharp and Smith [8] to implement prevention actions and intervention strategies in the school context. It allows you to identify the quality and quantity of bullying and pro-social behaviors. The questionnaire composed by 39 items, which is related to different four indexes: (1) *physical bullying* (blows, punches, etc.); (2) *verbal bullying* (threats, offenses, etc.) defined as direct modes of bullying and are the most open and visible manifestations of abuse against the victim; (3) *Indirect bullying*, on the other hand, the most hidden and subtle bullying, and this is often more difficult to detect, for example, exclusion from the group and students' defamation by other students; (4) *prosocial behavior*, action, evoked by empathy, intended to help others, such as helping, sharing, donating. For rating responses, students were presented each item with question: "How often have these things happened to you at school?" Students responded using a three-point Likert scale (1 = never, 2 = one time, 3 = more than once).

6.4.2. "You and the conflict": mediation

For the assessment of mediation skills, the questionnaire "You and the conflict" (Comoglio, 1998) was used. This questionnaire identifies five scales corresponding to five different types of conflict management: (1) *Avoidant*: avoidance of conflict, renunciation of personal goals and relationship with others (e.g., "I do everything to escape the situation"; (2) Aggressive: imposing your solution in order to achieve your personal goals and despise the relationship (e.g., "If it's something I do not give up absolutely"; (3) Compliant: conflict management with gentle and friendly ways to avoid going out of an interpersonal relationship (e.g., "I'm reliable and courteous in this way I get more and with a lot"); (4) Accommodating: the search for compromise is not trying to pursue neither personal goals nor to preserve the relationship with others (e.g., "I am willing to give up something if he too shows the same intention"); (5) Shopkeeper: search for comparison both by pursuing one's own goals and by preserving the relationship (for example "I believe that neither one of them has the truth perhaps"). For rating responses, students were presented each item with question: "if I have a conflict with someone I act this way?" Students responded using a five-point Likert scale (1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = a few times, 4 = frequently, 5 = always).

This pilot project was planned as descriptive and exploratory study. The questionnaire was administered to teachers in collaboration with mediators. For statistical analysis, SPSS for Windows 22.0 was used. Variables have been presented on the basis of frequency (%) for each scales. In order to test the effect of Mediamente Bullo, the Wilcoxon test were used in the data analysis to compare all scales of two questionnaires before and after the project. P-value <0.05 was considered significant.

6.4.3. Pre-"MediaMente Bullo" project

For the questionnaire "My Life in School": *physical bullying*: 80.45% never, 11.2% one time; 7.63% more than once; *verbal bullying:* 61.6% never, 11.5% one time; 26.9% more than once; *indirect bullying*: 64.3% never, 12.2% one time; 23.3% more than once; *prosocial behavior:* 31.5% never, 20.4% one time; 48.1% more than once.

For the questionnaire "You and the conflict": 24.4% *avoidant*; 8.1% *aggressive, 23.2% compliant;* 18.3% *accommodating*; 23% *shopkeeper.*

6.4.4. Post-"MediaMente Bullo" project

For the questionnaire "My Life in School" [68, 69]: physical bullying: 82.1% never; 13.2% one time; 4.7% more than once; *verbal bullying:* 80% never, 11.8% one time; 8.2% more than once; *indirect bullying*: 80.9% never, 11.3% one time; 7.8% more than once; *prosocial behavior:* 16.3% never, 23.7% one time; 60% more than once.

For the questionnaire "You and the conflict": 16.1% *avoidant*; 4.5% *aggressive, 22.3% compliant;* 14.1% *accommodating*; 43% *shopkeeper.*

The general index of bullying of the sample is calculated by the average of these scales for the three bullying (physical, verbal and indirect) indices. Data analysis shows significant differences between before and after the project in bullying, mediation skills and prosocial behavior. After the evaluation of scores, distribution data did not follow a normal distribution that is, a Gaussian distribution. The main tests for the assessment of normality Kolmogorov–Smirnov (K-S) was used to investigate it. According to the available literature, nonparametric statistical tests were considered. Considering this assumption, we applied the Wilcoxon test. We found significant differences between *Pre* and *Post* "MediaMente Bullo" project in *physical bullying (p < .005); verbal bullying (p < .001); indirect bullying (p < .01); prosocial behavior (p < .05); avoidant (p < .05); aggressive (p < .05); shopkeeper (p < .001).*

Descriptive results of percentages and data analysis indicate significant decrease in bullying scales (*physical bullying; verbal bullying; indirect bullying)* and increase prosocial scores and mediation skills after the path of project "MediaMente Bullo."

These results indicate that this path, in which students have experienced empathy and mediation, can contribute to decrease phenomenon of prejudice, bullying, social exclusion for a system of inclusion.

7. Discussion

These results indicate that educational approach proposed in this project can represent a new cultural paradigm in the educational approach to conflicts because the attention is not on the balance that to be re-established after the dispute (resolution of conflict), but the central focus becomes the conflict itself and the goal is not to find a solution but possible solutions about it, to rediscover the relationship that has deteriorated and then to reach a shared (nonimposed)

agreement. In particular, for what concern prosocial behavior and empathy, our results are in line with the literature that show how elevated levels of empathy are associated with high scores of prosocial behavior [53]. Several studies confirm these evidences, for example it is demonstrated that children with higher levels of empathy show less aggressive and more prosocial behaviors and they are more able to regulate their emotion [57, 58]. According to this concept, several studies found that empathic response is negatively related to bullying. This importance is supported also by a recent functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) research. In fact, neuroscientists [70] discovered the role of empathy in social exclusion; social exclusion activates similar brain areas of physical pain when this is experienced personally or if it is the empathic response to another person's social exclusion. In line with these scientific evidences, empathy is a very important component, important aspect to consider for preventing bullying. In conclusion, our results confirm that empathy can represent an important role in prevention of bullying, increasing the prosocial behavior.

For what concern the mediation aspect, our results are in line with the literature. In fact, different studies describe how the mediation skills improve the conflict resolution, communication abilities, management techniques [71], coping strategies and resiliency [72]. Mediation is important for acquiring the ability to use effective coping strategies to solve problems and conflict.

Finally, the most innovative aspect of the present project "Mediamente Bullo" is undoubtedly the opening to the theme of mediation in bullying, which can become a step in the future for peer mediation, after the formation of junior mediators. The students themselves can start an experimental form of mediation, which may be repeated during the following school year. This is, more specifically, a form of conflict resolution involving the participation of impartial and non-involved students in the dispute as mediators in order to help students who are involved in finding peaceful, fair and collaborative solutions.

The purpose of peer mediation is therefore to foster the empowerment of students by helping them to strengthen their skills in successfully managing interpersonal conflicts. Another interesting aspect is the feedback received at the end of the project by the students: the greatest awareness emerged thanks to this path. We think that it is important also to underline the positiveness expressed by students during this experience, they reported that most acknowledged and methods used were useful in promoting prosocial relationships not only with their peers but also with people outside the school context. Some of them have expressed profound reflections about the value of mediation in social interpersonal interactions; others have expressed interesting links between difficult social situations and the possibility of violent behaviors.

In summary, we think that this example project, even with its limitations, can be a methodological model for verifying the effectiveness of prevention interventions for the promotion of prosocial relationships and the reduction of aggressive behavior among peers.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter, for the first time we examined the phenomenon of bullying, very common, complex and important public health problem among school students. Then, we described

two tools for preventing bullying. The first tool is represented by the empathy, ability to share and understand emotional states of others. This construct helps to better understand the experience of social exclusion because it allows to change point of view.

Subsequently, we explain the importance of the mediation, useful to cope interpersonal conflicts. Using the mediation tool, students can learn that many forms of conflicts, including violence, can be solved by identifying the causes, discussing them and practicing nonviolent methods and behaviors. This process helps students to become more aware of positive aspects present during the conflict and the power that they have in making important, positive and new choices. Through the description of an Italian project "Mediamente Bullo," we examine an example of integrated application of this two tools, empathy and mediation. Results demonstrated that both of them can decrease level of bullying and thus improve the level of cooperation among students The goal of this chapter is to provide a contribution about preventing and intervention to bullying among school-aged youth for future directions and intervention efforts.

> *"I like to listen. I have learned a great deal from listening carefully. Most people never listen." -* Ernest Hemingway.

Acknowledgements

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Socialization, Poverty and Love: Contributions from the Sociology of the Body/Emotion

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Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

This chapter aims to describe the central features of some conditions that enable the socialization of children and adolescents in Argentina as a possible example of them in the Global South, from the perspective of a sociology of the body/emotion. To achieve this goal, we propose the following argumentative strategy: (1) first, we will present a general approach to a sociology of bodies/emotions that allows us to access the phenomenon of socialization in an "oblique" way; (2) we will present general data related to the transformation of the educational institution as processes associated to the conditions of possibility/obstacle to the connection education-socialization; (3) we present and analyze data on the status of child poverty in order to render some central features of the processes that condition the possibilities from which children and adolescents "become part" of society; (4) the same is done regarding the nutritional deficit in Argentina; (5) to conclude, the re-constructed scenario is completed by identifying and describing interstitial forms from which maternal "love" is constituted as a platform for the possibility of certain axes of socialization in spaces of socio-segregation and expropriation.

Keywords: socialization, poverty, body, emotions, love, Argentina

1. Introduction

"Dr. Georg Simmel seems to have been the first writer to use the word socialization in a definition of sociology. In his opinion, the investigation of the forces, forms, and development of socialization, of co-operation, of association of individuals, should be the single object of sociology as a special science. This definition is substantially equivalent to the conception of sociology as the fundamental social science. By socialization, however. Dr. Simmel apparently means chiefly the formation of social groups and

the development of the forms of association. In the following pages, socialization is conceived as the development of a social nature or character—a social state of mind—in the individuals who associate. Socialization, as thus conceived, is furthermore regarded as an effect of association, and of the formation of social groups, and as a cause of the developed forms of association." [1]

As it is possible to observe in the affirmation of Giddings for more than 120 years, the socialization interests to the sociology since it are one of the axes of the constitution of the society.

Social agents apprehend the content of social norms—about the adequate/acceptable and the inadequate/unacceptable—through a systematic process of making body/emotion the social history, which social sciences have called socialization. These processes begin in childhood and take place throughout the subject's whole lifetime, which must incorporate social mandates, as well as the epochal modifications.

From the perspective of systemic integration and social integration, socialization processes become basic devices not only for the "incorporation" of individuals into society, but also, and fundamentally, for the arrangement of necessary and sufficient feeling practices in order to create, manage, and reproduce a particular type of social order.

In a very general way, socialization is in many cases analyzed in terms of the times and agents involved: the primary is linked to family and belief institutions such as religion, school, etc., while the secondary ones are linked to the market and friends/peers such as clubs, public spaces, etc. In the processes of socialization, states, cities, and corporations—through the so-called corporate democracy or corporate social responsibility—often participate with variable intensity. In all cases, the aforementioned participation implies the identification, elaboration, distribution, and reproduction of values and goals that the subjects and society will take for granted as "valuable objectives."

It is in these processes that emotions become crucial for the subjects' lives, and for the constitution of the society in terms of the social bearability mechanisms and the devices for the regulation of the sensations. These mechanisms and devices are directly related to the social phantoms and fantasies that structure the politics of the sensibilities of a particular state of the political economy of morality [2].

In this context, it is easy to see that the set of convergent processes in socialization is embedded in a specific surface and in regimes of truth, as well as, centrally, in their material conditions of existence. That is, socialization varies according to the regimes of accumulation, the forms of State, and the spatial-temporal contexts.

There is evidence of the changes that have occurred in the processes of socialization, the different times/spaces and the various agents of socialization. For example, what Jőrg Dűrrschmidt and his colleagues wrote about "Families, Social Capital and Migration in Time and Space: An exploration of strategies of getting by and getting ahead in comparative context – Germany and Britain" [3].

In the same direction, Annette Lareau has argued: "What we found was that although all parents want their children to be happy and to thrive, social class makes a very substantial difference in how this universal goal is met" [4].

From another perspective and recently it is possible to observe research on: socialization practices of Asian American second generation parents [5], perception of cross-generational differences

in child behavior and parent socialization in China [6], the socialization experiences of Afghan adolescent refugees in an Iranian context [7].

It is from this setting that the central question of this chapter emerges: What is the situation of the process of socialization of children, adolescents, and young people in the current Global South structural conditions?

The question points to a very simple direction: to analyze concretely the material conditions of existence of children, adolescents, and young people that make socialization practices possible or difficult.

The Global South has become a temporary/spatial metaphor of the processes of expulsion, dispossession, and surplus expropriation that upset or re-mold boundaries, borders, and frontiers. Concrete examples of this re-spatialization are preventive war, forms of expulsion from migration, and dispossession of commons goods. All these indicate both the direction of "dangerous subjects" in all types of territory and groups/individuals living in conditions of double expulsion in other countries (and their own countries), and to the corporate ventures which, for example, capture water and virtual water in the four corners of the planet. Where the conditions of imposition, heteronomy, and segregation are updated, the Global South is instantiated as a planetary form of the expansion of the market as the only measure of things.

Given space constraints, we do not explain here the reason for "the existence" of the Global South under the assumption that the reader will grant us his/her agreement with two arguments: (a) the fact that we understand by Global South what social discourse captures when it is referred to, for example, at the World Social Forum and (b) although the present writing mainly refers to Argentina, this does not mean that we do not accept and suppose the proximity and distances with other scenarios of the Global South.

Thus, this chapter aims to describe the central features of some conditions that enable the socialization of children and adolescents in Argentina as a possible example of them in the Global South, from the perspective of a sociology of the body/emotion.

To achieve this goal we propose the following argumentative strategy: (1) first, we will present a general approach to a sociology of bodies/emotions that allows us to access the phenomenon of socialization in an "oblique" way; (2) we will present general data related to the transformation of the educational institution as processes associated to the conditions of possibility/obstacle to the connection education-socialization; (3) we present and analyze data on the status of child poverty in order to render some central features of the processes that condition the possibilities from which children and adolescents "become part" of society; (4) the same is done regarding the nutritional deficit in Argentina; (5) to conclude, the re-constructed scenario is completed by identifying and describing interstitial forms from which maternal "love" is constituted as a platform for the possibility of certain axes of socialization in spaces of socio-segregation and expropriation.

Thus, in this chapter we make clear how insufficient and unequal distribution of nutrients, accumulation of deficiencies, and structural deficits in education clearly indicate the existence of a process that we will call *disallowance of socialization*, like a form of socialization: socialization-in-the-non. The multiplication and impact of the impossibilities of living in a "world-of-no"

generate socialization in the non as a practice of feeling. The impressions and perceptions associated and produced by the negation become the sensations that are socialized; the negation happens to be the axis of what society "teaches" to the majority of the subjects.

By showing evidence in this respect, we also strongly emphasize that love, in terms of interstitial practice, is the hiatus of the politics of sensibilities that rejects the aforementioned *denial.*

2. Approach to a sociology of body/emotion

By looking into reflections and theories about affection, emotions and feelings [8], we found references to seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century social philosophers, including Descartes, Montesquieu, Bentham, Pascal, La Mettrie and Darwin, among others.

Early sociologists like Comte, Durkheim, Fourier, Marx, Sombart, Simmel and Weber also stated that emotional control is yet another form of discipline, one which affects social practices, relationships and worldviews in a reciprocal and dynamic way [9]. To a great extent, such concerns are also addressed in contemporary social theory, from different perspectives, by Bourdieu, Giddens, Foucault, Agamben and Esposito. In this context, Brian Turner and David Le Breton have been regarded as forerunners of social studies on the body, including the inquiries about emotions made by Kemper, Hochschild, Scheff, Collins and Illouz [10, 11].

A different perspective toward understanding the theoretical traditions that usually support the studies in this field of inquiry is to turn to the classic authors on this theme: Nietzsche, Merleau-Ponty, Spinoza and Marx. An additional view is gained in the presence of contemporary authors of sociology such as Goffman, Simmel and Elias, from the philosophy of Derrida, Butler and Deleuze, or the psychoanalysis of Freud, Lacan and Zizek.

From another perspective, it is necessary to also consider what Lisa Blackman and Mike Featherstone have recently stated. As editors of the journal Body & Society, they have emphasized the need to repair the multiple connections between life and affects:

> *"In our role as editors we have identified a number of emergent themes that are shaping the field, and these include a renewed interest in relation to life and affect across the social sciences and humanities. The paradigms of both life and affect break down the distinction between humans and other life forms, as we find in various forms of vitalism (Bergson, Deleuze, Massumi) and echoe in debates across the biological and 'environmental' sciences (Varela, Oyama, Lewontin, Margulis, Rose). This is a new post-humanism that examines our communality with other forms of creaturely life and companion species (Haraway), and the need for a non-anthropocentric ethics (Derrida). The focus upon life recognizes the governance and regulation of bodies (bio-politics), as well as investments across diverse practices (media, consumer, biotechnological) in both the materiality and immateriality of bodies as biocapital and bio-media (code, information)."* [12]

As is often seen in Latin America as well as in other regions of the world, body(ies) and society(ies) are systematic objects of research where affectivity and sensitivity are strongly present.

Smith and Schenider [13] maintain that the numerous theories on emotions can be grouped within a tripartite classification: determinism, social constructionism, and social interaction.

Gross and Feldman Barrett [14], with an intent to evaluate the differences of perspective on the "generation" and/or "regulation" of emotions, classify current perspectives for studying emotions into four large groups: models of basic emotions, evaluative models, models of psychological construction and models of social construction.

For more than a decade Scribano have been aiming to account for the importance of the "existential turn" in social theory [15], advocating a close connection between the studies of the body and emotions [16–20] and also supporting the importance of exploring a line of study regarding the intersection of these works, by investigating the place and feeling of colors in relation to the issues that they raise [21].

Social agents experience the world through their bodies. Impressions of objects, phenomena, processes and other agents structure the perceptions that subjects accumulate and reproduce. From this point of view, a perception constitutes a natural means of organizing an agent's set of impressions. This configuration consists of a logic built by impression, perception, and the result of these, which gives a sense of surplus of sensations. That is to say, it locates them on both sides of the aforementioned logic. Sensations, as causes and results of perceptions, give place to emotions as the effect of the process of assigning and matching between perceptions and sensations. Emotions, seen as consequences of sensations, can be seen as the completed puzzle coming together between sensations and action. So identifying, classifying, and completing the connection between perceptions, sensations and emotions are vital for understanding the mechanisms for regulating sensations, used by capitalism as a contemporary means of social domination.

Now, the connections and disconnections between perceptions, sensations, and emotions ordinarily operate in a "pre-reflective" state and become concrete practices amid the flow of social life, permeated by individuals' class and status and their belonging groups. The need to distinguish and link the possible relations between sociability, experience and social sensibilities becomes crucial at this point.

Sociability is a way of expressing the means by which agents live and coexist interactively. Experience is a way of expressing the meaning gained while being in physical proximity with others. It is a result of experiencing the dialog between the individual body, the social body and the subjective body on the one hand, and the natural appropriation of bodily and social energies on the other.

For the body to be able to reproduce experience and sociability, it is necessary for the bodily energy [to be] an object of production and consumption. Such energy can be understood as the necessary force to preserve the state of 'natural' affairs in a systemic functioning. At the same time, the social energy shown through the social body is based on bodily energy, and refers to the allocation processes of such energy as the basis of the conditions of movement and action.

Thus, sensations are distributed according to the specific forms of bodily capital. And the body's impact on sociability and experience shows a distinction between the body of appearance, body of flesh and body of movement. The forms of sociability and experience are intertwined and twisted in a Moebius band with the sensibilities that arise as a result of mechanisms for regulating sensations.

Social sensibilities are continually updating the emotional schemes that arise from the accepted and acceptable norms of sensations. They are just a little closer or distanced from the inter-relationships between sociability and experience. Sensibilities are shaped and reshaped by contingent and structural overlaps of diverse forms of connection/disconnection among various ways of producing and reproducing the policies of the body and the emotions. As such, the policies of the body—that is to say, the strategies that a society accepts in order to respond to the social availability of individuals—are part, and not a small one, of the power structure.

From what has been put forth above, it is possible to understand that the logic of capital means that each subject is a potential merchandise and that, for them to become so, it is necessary to regulate sensations. That is to say, causing these subjects to become merchandise requires shaping the perception they have of themselves, annulling the sense that their lives are a set of objectifications, and which implies the dispossession and plundering of themselves.

Sociability, experience and sensibilities form a space of practices of the feeling that build and are built by the processes of socialization.

There are three fundamental features that contribute to understanding the context of socialization of children in the territories of what here we refer to as Global South: the situation of education, poverty and nutritional deficits. Undoubtedly, the "cut" that is presented here is not exhaustive regarding the complexity of socialization processes in the region.

However, these features are paradigmatic insofar they condense a sensitive point in the structuring of the politics of the bodies/emotions in the Global South: that is, they allow re-constructing a possible outlook at the game of availability of the corporeal and social energies. They also make possible to glimpse the consequences that this "state of relations" has in the configuration of the daily experiences of millions of children in these territories.

In this context, it is possible to understand how the reproduction of devices for the regulation of sensations is the contents of socialization processes creating the conditions for a specific politics of sensibilities. The regulation of sensations is the basic process that shapes the affective cognitive modalities by which subjects learn what is socially acceptable and what is allowed to them.

The complex interconnection between social bearability mechanisms and the devices for the regulation of sensations expresses and produces all the socialization process that derives from the material conditions of life. Poverty, denegation and "no real school access" make up of the deepest platforms from which denial and disallowance becomes a form of socialization. Disallowance of socialization like a form of socialization implies that negation "is the medium that becomes a message" (*sensu* Marshall McLuhan).

3. Socialization context I: education and politics of sensibilities

The policies of the body and the emotions are within and developed in specific geopolitical and geocultural contexts. In the current situation of the Global South, we can partly characterize such context by understanding the transformation of two of the most important axes: the social accumulation regime and the political regime. The former refers to a set of economic,

social, cultural and judicial institutions through which the process of production, distribution and accumulation (reproduction) of material goods and values of a society are performed. While the political regime can be understood as a set of governmental and non-governmental institutions and processes carried out by social actors vested with a measure of power. It is through this measure that the political domination of society is exercised. One axis through which the policies of bodies and emotions are connected with the political regime is education. The educational processes, together with the family, are the pillars of all socialization. The social possibilities/impossibilities to have access to education are the basic features necessary to build the long-awaited inclusion of children in society.

Through these conceptual vectors, the processes of socialization can be analyzed from their inscription—as a condition of possibility and as a result—of specific social sensibilities. In this way, there is no doubt that the "school" has been a privilege actor in the processes which society regulates for its own reproduction: it shapes the bodies and the passions for "life in society." Next, we will address some significant data about the recent transformations in our country's educational system, as a way of understanding the complex perspective that is proposed here on socialization.

In this regard, we must point out that although the institution of education has lost its monopolizing role in the establishment of knowledge after the transformations that took place in Latin American countries during the last decades, it still retains an important role in the processes of socialization. However, it is necessary to determine its scope and characterize the impact of recent transformations. Under our perspective in particular, this becomes of interest as regards to the relations that can be established between these transformations—for example, in the formal education system—and the configurations of the subjects' dispositions linked to a certain policies of the bodies/emotions.

Focusing on the relationship between the body/emotions and education is not a novelty; on the contrary, several authors have emphasized the same function of characterizing central connections in the processes of social change. In this regard, pointing out the role of schools and the education system in modern society, Carranza observes:

> *"The success of such an endeavor [constructing other behaviors, other habitats] means nothing less than the confirmation of the regulatory role of the school, and through it the confirmation of the State's role, on group and individual behaviors; so that through the 'inculcation' of the new values, the subject inscribes 'in his body' what the State imposes."* [22]

Such regulatory function acquires certain characteristics in Argentina, due to the impact of public policies promoted by the State during the industrialization period and within the framework of a social pact between the capital and labor—first half of twentieth century. In this social formation—and despite an incomplete absorption of the workforce by the modern sectors—work held some centrality associating to a stable social condition, through its connection to rights and guarantees that did not exist so far. In this context, and along with the process of economic growth, the expansion of enrollment at all levels reached large segments of the population. Although this expansion had some limitations—and it is compelling to point out that these processes of social mobility and educational coverage have marginalized large groups of the population—the permanence of several sectors in the education system contributed to the

consolidation of a certain "inclusive" societal matrix. This consolidation is associated not only with the universalization of the ideal of progress and social advancement linked to study and knowledge, but also with "the school's" ability to shape the bodily and emotional dispositions necessary to ensure certain relations between the production of the social aspect and the social aspects of production [23].

Thus, if education is taken as one of the basic components of socialization in Argentina, looking at today's scene is discouraging, and at the same time it is informative regarding its "enabler" or "hindering" character. In this sense, Alieto Guadagni acknowledges that:

> *"(…) our high schools [24] not only have a very low graduation rate, but also display inequality: out of 100 children enrolling first grade in a private school, 70 finish secondary school, while out of 100 who enroll first grade in a state school, only 30 complete middle school. But now we know the results of the 2016 Learning Assessment, which last year examined 6366 state schools and 3959 private schools for 319,000 students in fifth and sixth grade in high school. These results are conclusive because, unfortunately, they indicate that our school system is not breaking the negative cycle of the intergenerational reproduction of poverty. In other words, the knowledge of senior students in high school depends, essentially, on the socioeconomic status of their parents."* [25]

"School performance" data from the "Evaluación Aprender 2016" report (Learning Assessment 2016) indicates that students attending public high school institutions have poorer levels of mathematical knowledge (**Figure 1**); and it shows that most of the students who do not achieve basic knowledge levels in this area come from the lower socioeconomic sectors (**Figure 2**).

A similar perspective is gained by observing coverage at the primary level. If primary school enrollment is observed, the information follows the already outlined trend:
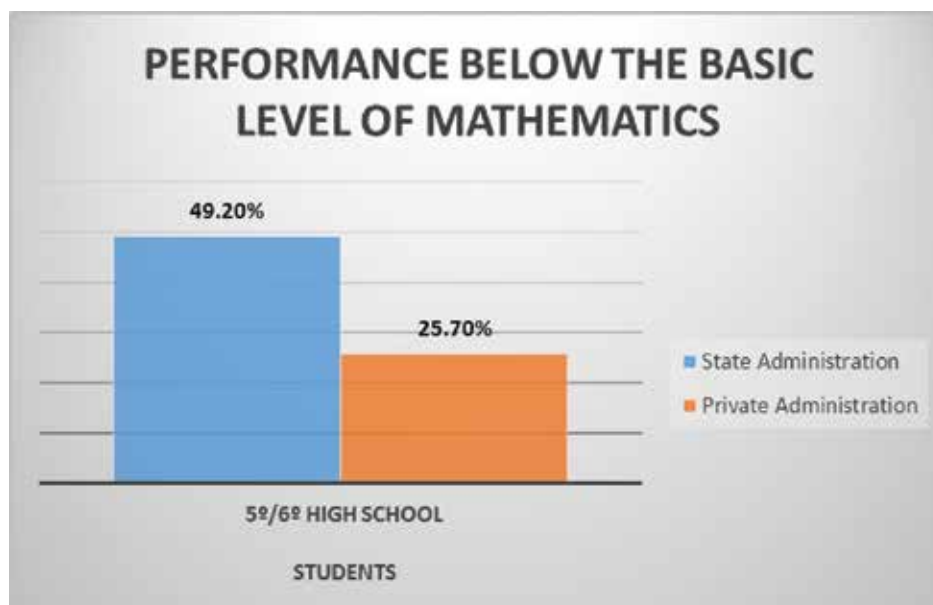
Figure 1. Percentage of high school seniors with lowest level of mathematical knowledge, according to management system [26].
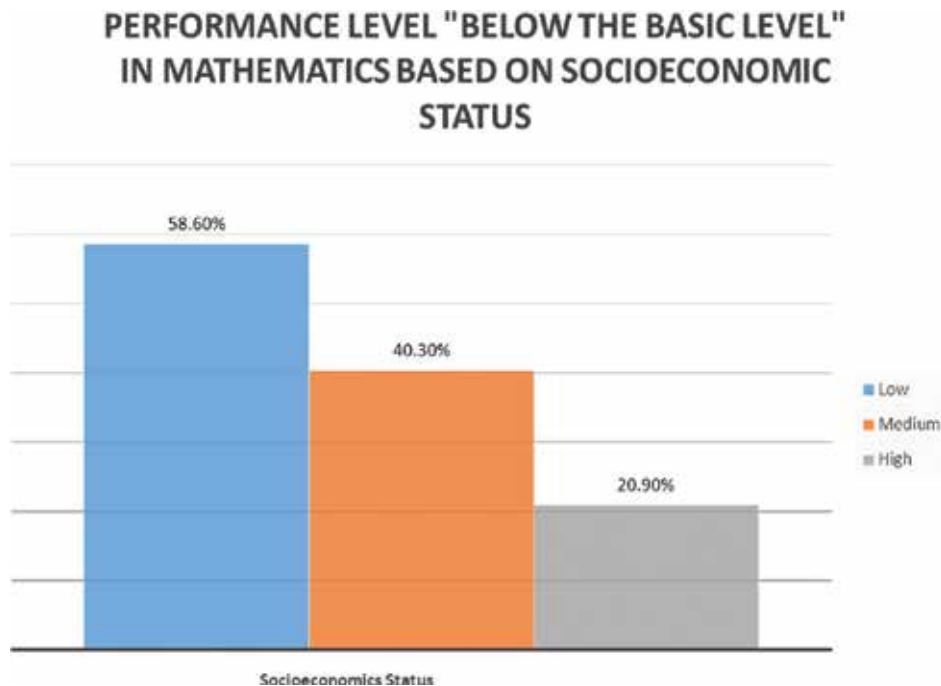
Figure 2. Percentage of high school students with lowest level of mathematical knowledge based on socioeconomic status [26].

In 2015, 434,000 fewer students enrolled in primary school at state level compared with 2003—a decrease of 12%. This decline in primary school enrollment at state level is particularly noticeable in first grade, since, in 2015, 18% fewer students enrolled in these schools than in 2003. We are witnessing a steady state school exodus process. It is the first time this phenomenon occurs since the sanction of law 1420 in 1884 (of universal, free and compulsory education) [27].

Finally, considering the initial one, it is possible to see that 25% of the children do not attend the initial level (**Figure 3**), while at the general level, coverage of publicly managed education reaches the 76% of children.

This brief review of some significant data about recent transformations in the educational system allows us to notice one of the most important changes of the last decades: the privatization of the school institution in a country with a strong state public tradition. This implies that one of the main agents of socialization is left "de facto" in the hands of the market, producing a turn not only in the qualitative inequalities but also, and fundamentally, in the politics of sensibilities associated with them. The paradox of the increase in the public education budget with the concomitant increase of the private enrollment rates implies a set of modifications for the possible socializations.

In this way, this first glance at one of the essential components in analyzing socialization processes leads us to reflect on those policies of the bodies/emotions. These sustain and, at the same time, are instantiated as a result of the mentioned transformations in educational
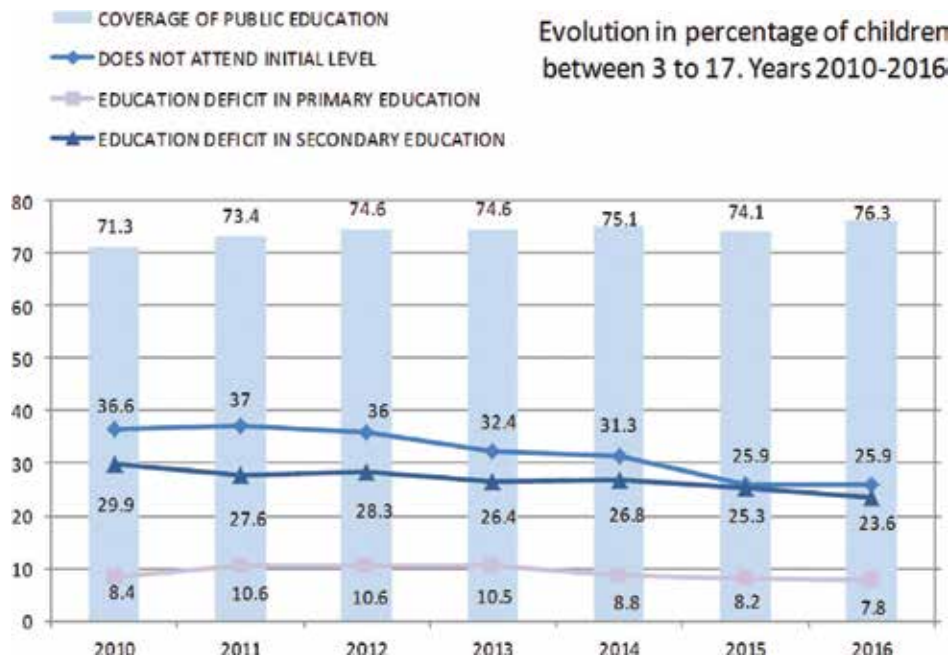
Figure 3. Indicators of deficit in the education setting and in the coverage of public education [28].

institutions. The state public education sends a clear message: the private is more effective, thus socializing an aspect of negativity that implies denial.

Next, we will go on identifying some of these general features that contribute to define the limits of the transformations described so far, expanding the range of the issues/actors that shape the possibilities/obstacles of socialization in the Global South.

4. Socialization context II: poverty and nutritional deficit

Poverty in terms of deprivation implies the second feature of denial conditions of socialization. UNICEF's report "Well-being and poverty among children and adolescents in Argentina," recognizes the need to focus on multidimensional and dynamic hardship to "measure" poverty among children and adolescents. According to this well-known methodology, poverty has to do with the "deprivation of the material, spiritual and emotional resources needed to survive, develop and thrive…" [29].

Thus, by analyzing the structure of poverty among children and adolescents based on the survey of indicators by multiple clusters carried out in the country in 2011–2012, and based on the second quarter of 2015 of the Permanent Household Survey, the Report concludes that Argentina presents between a 25 and 32% of child poverty—that is, between 3.3 and 4 million subjects between 0 and 17 years old. Specifically for 2015, the UNICEF/ECLA methodology (2010) indicates that 31.7% of the children had experienced some kind of deprivation, with the highest values of "extreme deprivation" concentrating in the segment 0–5 years old [30] (**Figure 4**):
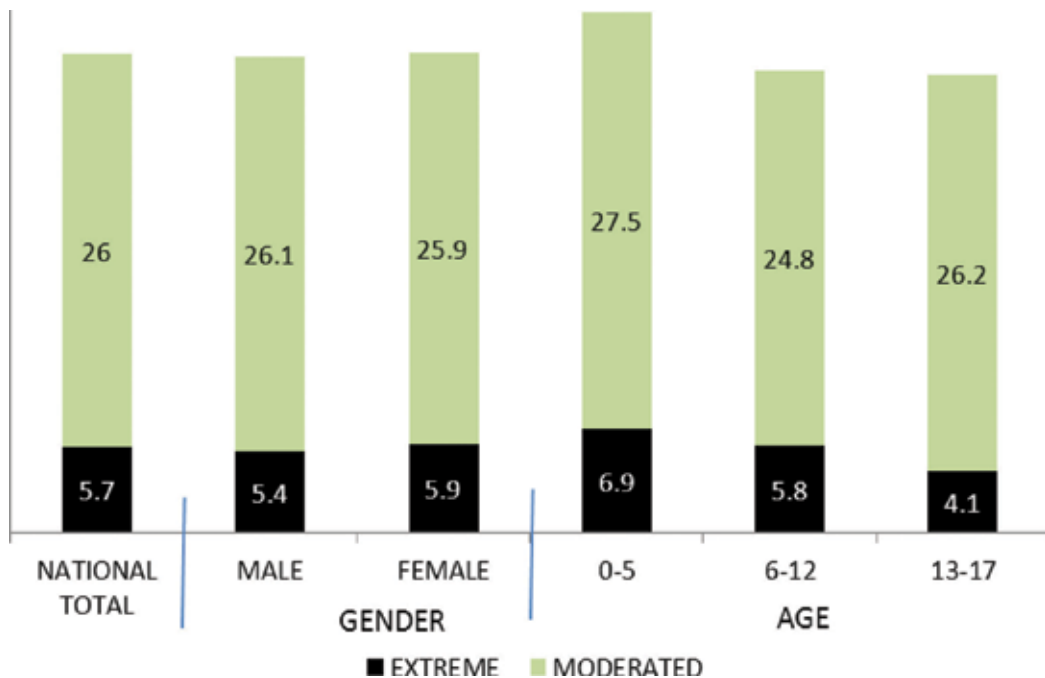
Figure 4. Total and etreme child and adolescentet poverty, Argentina, 2015 [30].

The implemented methodology selects 10 dimensions (nutrition, health, education, information, sanitation, housing, environment, protection against violence, protection against child labor and leisure) linked to 28 indicators (e.g., regarding nutrition: those not exclusively fed with breast milk, those who do not receive at least 2 meals a day, etc.), from which certain "deprivation thresholds" are established. [30]

Even though the report focuses on different quantitative measurements of the above mentioned dimensions, we are interested in considering them as a whole to analyze to what extent these "deprivations" inform us about the state and distribution of body energies in almost one third of children and adolescents in Argentina. In this way, we could make a map of the experience of these subjects from the indicators defined in the report for each dimension-deprivation:

By piecing together the "clues" from **Table 1**, we can start giving shape to the idea of denial to illustrate the context in which the experiences of almost a third of the country's children are configured, in relation to the successive "deprivations" described: boys, girls, and adolescents who are unprotected and exposed to "avoidable" conditions and deaths, "condemned" to school failure and suffering from disinformation; boys, girls, and adolescents who live in unfit environments where they settle in precarious houses that do not have sanitation conditions, and who are subject to labor exploitation and physical and psychological violence.

Instead of emphasizing the absence of the causing factor linked to deprivation, the notion of denial seeks to identify a process from which the impossibilities of the constitution of the individual, subjective and social bodies are configured. The idea of denial is then linked to

Dimension	Gathered indicators	Values	Bodily/social energies
Nutrition	Breastfeeding, do not have at least 2 or 3 meals a day	**22.4%** of children between ages of 0 and 4 experience at least one deprivation in this dimension	"(…) they are unprotected from gastrointestinal and other kind of infections, and they have higher neonatal mortality and death from diarrhea rates" "(…) those who were not breastfed perform more poorly in intelligence tests" [31]
Health	Diarrhea or cough (they are "easily avoidable" indicators)	**27%** of children "would be deprived of their right of life"	"(…) they are easily avoidable dysfunctions that could be eliminated with simple measures and at practically no cost" [31]
Education	Repetition, overage and school dropouts	**23.4%** of children suffer some deprivation in education	"a child that lives in a household that displays low-education levels triples the chances (of experiencing deprivation) in comparison with that who lives in a household with a higher education level" [31]
Information	Air TV, cable TV, computer, landline, cellphone, Internet access	**30%** of children experience deprivation in at least one of the indicators	A child's access to information is related to "(…) her/his social, spiritual and moral wellbeing as well as her/his physical mental health" [31]
Sanitation	Public and open bucket latrines	**28%** of the children would be deprived of access to sanitation	"The germs that develop in stools and that are not ingested orally are the main cause of diarrhea. This occurs more frequently when the elimination of the feces is deficient or when there is no drinking water available (…)" [31]
Housing	Overcrowding, floor and type of housing	**19.5%** of the children is deprived of this dimension	"Overcrowding is key in measuring housing quality, and cohabitation with too many people per room increases the risk of losing dignity, contracting infectious diseases, and favoring domestic violence. More specifically, for children, this involves, among other things, poor sleep, contracting illnesses and being victims of abuse and violence" [31]
Environment	Habitat in areas close to landfill, likely to flood, do not have a regular waste collection service	**28.3%** of the children experience deprivation in this dimension	Disaster areas (with "inclusive urbanization" policies seeks to "significantly reduce the number of deaths and people affected by disasters (…)" [31])
Protection against violence	Verbal and physical violence	**31%** of the children suffer deprivation of an environment free of verbal and physical violence	"Violence against women has repercussions in their children through maternal stress, anxiety, and depression. Children who witness violence are at greater risk of developing emotional, behavioral, and educational problems. When abuse occurs during pregnancy, the risk of complications increases, including preterm birth, low birth weight, miscarriage, and fetal death" [31]

Dimension	Gathered indicators	Values	Bodily/social energies
Protection against child labor	Economic activity carried out by a child	**Around 7%** of the children between ages 5 and 15 work	"it deprives them of carrying out activities typical of their age, which affects their dignity and which, moreover, is detrimental to their physical and psychological development" [31]
Leisure	Time devoted to recreational activities	**33%** of children experience deprivation in this dimension	"(…) they have to do with the development of children and their well-being. Thus, development is acknowledged as a multidimensional process that includes the motor, the cognitive (ability to integrate, think, and reason), the emotional (self-confidence and ability to feel) and the social, where the capacity to relate to others appears" [31]

Table 1. Context of deprivation as a condition for socialization [32].

the capacity of the mentioned indicators to communicate about the policies of the bodies/ emotions that are configured as conditions of possibility—as territory—for the (possible) processes of socialization distributing a sensation: impossibility. In this context, it is necessary to ask ourselves about what possibilities of socialization, of "incorporation," are linked to the existence of subjects who, for example, have not received the amount of basic nutrients for their development in their first years of life.

5. Socialization context III: nutritional deficit and weak bodies

In order to think about socialization in the Global South contexts, in addition to the education and poverty situation, it is necessary to highlight some central features about the persistence of nutritional deficits in the context of children's food policies.

In Argentina, since the beginning of the last century, at least, there exists state practices aimed at remedying the so-called market failures (and/or the State's) in the allocation of resources whose central objective is food. The scenario of its emergence can be described in a very simple way: along all these decades the State has recognized that a variable but important number of citizens cannot or have problems having an adequate food intake. The mere fact of maintaining such state practices over time, despite the obvious modifications they have undergone over the decades, points to the persistence of the problem: a significant part of Argentine citizens cannot meet their food needs through the free sale of their labor.

In Argentina—after a number of discourses about the profound transformations and the handling of sensibilities of the food problem [33]—nowadays there are clear indications that in the last 20 years, at least, the "same" food policies have been around, whose results continue not only to be insufficient but also inadequate in nutritional terms.

Two of the upheld characteristics of the policies mentioned are their continuity with similar criteria and their massification. Maceira and Stechina, in an article published in 2011, describe the food policy from 1983 to 2010 and argue that:

"With some exceptions, national food programs have been implemented in all Argentine provinces. This accounts for the broad coverage they provide. The stage of increasing decentralization and targeting of social policy, which began in the 90s, had systematically been eroding the universality that had characterized, for example, the school canteens program and the Mother and Child Program. In the analyzed period, the main criterion for the selection of beneficiaries has been, in general terms, the unsatisfied basic needs of the population. Some have kept considering the organization of civil society in relation to the community as a criterion of inclusion. Since 2001, food programs have tried to unify the beneficiary population, keeping children, women, and the elderly as a priority. The way of providing the benefit has been basically through the food packages supplemented, in the last years, with tickets or vouchers. The content, frequency of delivery, and nutritional value of the components of the packages have not been efficient or adequate, generally speaking. Both support to the canteens—with PRANI and FOPAR, continued by the PEA and PNSA [34]—and production in family, community and school gardens—ProHuerta, continued under the UNIDOS Program, PEA and PNSA—have been upheld since the early 90s onwards." [35]

From another perspective and in a quantitative research, Longhi states very clearly:

"Far from being a thing of the past, child malnutrition is one of the most significant problems today; different territories with dissimilar living conditions that coexist within the same nation are identified, at least, from their concentration. The evidence found shows that malnutrition, despite having decreased, represents such an enormous problem that it is ranked as one of the most important national public health problems, greatly influencing high rates of infant morbidity and mortality, as well as prevalence of certain chronic diseases, which are difficult to quantify. Furthermore, the economic cost of the disease is very high—hospital expenses, productivity, education expenses, lower purchasing power, etc.—and the irreversible brain damage that it generates is also complicated to quantify." [36]

Another study on early lactation yields similar results to those already mentioned:

"In short, the nutritional status of children and their subsequent development and health is related to the correct feeding from the mother, the duration of breastfeeding, the quantity and quality of food consumed by the child and the health conditions in which they live. The data prove that much remains to be done since, for example, there are too many children who do not receive exclusive breastfeeding during the first 6 months of age, there exist deficiencies in the consumption of food that are sources of essential nutrients among children from ages 2 to 5. Pregnant women suffer from nutritional deficiencies that could be avoided, childhood obesity has become more frequent, and there are still cases of food shortening, acute malnutrition, and low early childhood weight. In addition to all these, there are great inequalities between socio-economic strata." [36]

In the inquiry about the connection between food programs and the diet improvement of the "beneficiaries," the results are also negative:

"Regarding the objective considered in this paper, as a conclusion, it is highlighted in general lines that even though food programs should improve child feeding, there is no significant difference in the quality of the diet of children who receive food programs and those who do not receive them. There are even some negative aspects regarding crucial nutrients such as calcium intake and energy consumption among the program beneficiaries." [37]

In short, we could say that: the more help they receive, the less energy they have and the more handling of weak bodies there is. The more lasting the help is, the greater are the epigenetic consequences. The more massive the help is, the more generalized/vast is the non-overcoming of the limits of life's physical reproduction: the reproduction of the "programs" implies stabilization toward the fall of the corporal energy available and this becomes a disadvantage. In this way, "soup kitchens" keep on existing in communities, schools and institutions as a place to have a meal, which proves the persistence of malnutrition in women in their fertile age.

In the current conditions of the massive strategies used in food assistance, what is addressed is satiety and not nutrition. Therefore, these strategies do not consider how much energy people spend, and they are not even designed accordingly. They imply an intraclass and intergenerational reproduction of levels not yet explored. The need that the "program beneficiaries" of food products have to "cook," "look for the powdered milk," "take the program's certificates," "go to a workshop in the neighborhood," "help at the community center," among others is not a minor issue. In sum, there is no energy, no growth, no movement. There is an enshrinement of a "it's what there is" and the State handles millions of weak bodies that undergo deficiency in nutrients intake. This way, the idea of denial of socialization in the contexts of Global South is related with the handling of weak bodies. These rules out any possibility of reproduction of corporal and social energies that exceed the metabolic processes of the capital.

It is not new in Latin America to find testimonies of families that receive governmental or NGOs' food assistance. However, it becomes significant to realize that three or four generations are benefited from different social programs related to the management of nutritional deficit, considering the causes and consequences of this process as those that produce a specific modality of sensibilities. Therefore, this situation is an inescapable topic to understand the complexity of the current socialization processes.

The frequent expressions of the "world-of-no," which are part of the multiple needs that children and adolescents experience, together with the unavailability of the energies of the "weak bodies," constitute a framework where the processes of socialization, as we know them, should be questioned taking into account the aforementioned conditions. Far from being "new issues," these are particularly significant because of their persistence in time and the consequences they imply. If we add the educational deficits to this situation, we have as a result a triangle of denial of socialization. Then, the weak bodies, the accumulation of needs and the difficulty in having access to education are hindrances to the social effort to socialize its members into "shared values," which are just a way of non-socialization taken as socialization.

However, it should be noticed that denial in the contexts of weak bodies does not depict a single scenario of socialization in the Global South. Certainly, the perspective we introduce here allows us to identify a series of interstitial practices [38] which refutes the "extinction"

of large social groups as an inevitable end. Indeed, this perspective originates a side of the socialization sometimes underestimated of the aforementioned contexts. Thus, in the last section we will address *love* as one of the practices that "organize" children's and adolescents' life in society.

6. "Everything for the children": love as a life organizer

We want to depict in this section the role of maternal love whose main and practical objective is to guarantee the children's present and future as much as possible. It is one of the fundamental features of the fracture, the fold, and the hiatus of the politics of sensibilities that the world-of-no education, nutrition and work—builds as socialization axes in segregation and expropriation spaces.

In the heyday of the Welfare State, a political economy of morality was consolidated and deepened based on work as an everyday life organizer: time to wake up, time to leave and go back home, having a credential to belong to a group—labor unions or associations-, among others. In this way, work organized the personal and familiar past, present and future: vacations, births and retirements. The central axes of socialization processes were the way adults dealt with the juggling of actions according to their work, their learning at school of capacities to get and keep a job, and their sharing with friends their first experiences of "earning money."

In the crisis of the welfare models, the capacity to organize the everyday life differentiated those who still had a job—though unstable—from the ones who had to accept State's assistance as a supply to reproduce their material conditions of existence. Within this framework, the social policies competed against work regarding their distinguishing impacts in the structure of the routine. Since 2000 mainly up to now, the social policies imply the creation of new guidelines in the economy of the moral where the receptors "adopt" a set of "feeling practices"; it is in their cognitive affective facet that they draw guidelines and color their everyday life. Thus, social policies, on the one hand, involve a hidden curricula and a pedagogic ambition; on the other hand, they involve methodologies of "working-as-a-beneficiary" which shape the everyday life organization of millions of people and hence becoming new ways of socialization.

It is precisely in the interstices of these last practices that maternal love is produced and reproduced as hiatus of the set claim for totality installed in the politics of sensibilities that involve social policies of resignation, propaedeutic to some extent.

Love is a fold that disputes resignation, as it turns the Me-You-Other relation into an object of desire. Our point of view here is based on the social approach of W.I. Thomas on desire as an organizer of social relations. In this light, the logic of response appears when the Me-You-Other relation is within the "energy" of desire. Love is a response structured in the intimacy and contact, which dialectically intertwines exteriority and interiority. A logic of response is made, between what is biological and what is social, as a structuring desire, as an action of wanting to get consent. That desire of being answered is part of a logic that has to do with the reproduction of the self and the reproduction of the surroundings. The key to answering and being answered is, as a result of the energy of desire, the potentiality that originates in the breaking with abandonment.

In the same way that the sociodicy of frustration implies impotence as a feature of what is social, love as an interstitial practice involves the energy of knowing oneself with others in the world as a springboard for action.

Resignation is another side of love as an affective state that turns the Me-You-Other relation into a main goal, that is, when "being with other(s)" becomes the goal of daily life production and reproduction, not only in reflective ways but also, and mainly, as an "unnoticed" component of the life we live every day.

We could say, from this perspective, that in the same way that there is a libidinal structure of capital, there is also an erotic processuality of the resistance. That erotic processuality of the resistance is crossed by the recognizing ability, as the first choice, and by the main goal that involves an affective state focused on the Me-You-Other relation. This, in turn, finds helically its interstitial abilities in the folds of the "non-human" necessity (sensu Marx).

Let us review now, in a preliminary and schematic way, that love consists of an interstitial practice. The complex and contradictory parent-child relations represent the first scenario where the actors grasp and reproduce the "practices of wanting." Care, protection, safety and continuity are some of the manifestations of these practices. The asymmetry between children and parents establishes, among many other things, the social and genetic mandates of the reproduction of human species. Within the framework of the current structuring, we must emphasize that the practices that we want to conceptualize do not depend only on the genetic or blood relations. Care is one of the most basic practices of the wanting where by attending and assisting we relate to each other. Protection relates to shelter and safeguard. Continuity relates to persistence and lengthening. It is this way that, within the context of neo-colonial religion that involves the experience of millions of individuals from the sociodicy of frustration and from the world of "no," the only thing they (we) "have left" is family. We cannot insist enough on the fact that we understand this as a "trench," as a small leaking point where the oppressive totality is not structured or makes no sense: the "practices of the wanting" are a shelter from where hope is daily exercised. Precisely, this is so because filial love means, in any case, care, protection and continuity. These are what parents and children give each other, including, of course, parents and children without blood relation—that is to say, among all those who play the role of parents and children. Care has a lot to do with what future means. Why? Because that is what we care about. What is the bourgeois logic? It is misuse and acetic consumption. What does taking care mean in the You/Me/Other relation? It means to protect from harm. It means to protect in order to avoid getting hurt and hurting others. It is that pore that "stays there" and that resignation that does not manage to go through entirely. In other words, there is a point where the constitution of filial love works as a pivot point, as a platform where the relation "jumps" to another state as "practice of the wanting."

Filial love, as an interstitial practice that "moves" toward a collective practice, is what Goffman calls "turns" in the dramaturgy of life experiences.

Yves Winkin, in its introductory study of "Erving Goffman Moments and their men," holds that one of the events Goffman uses to exemplify his concept of "turning point" is "Love intervenes in a moment of people's crisis and 'redirects' all its conduct. 'Reorientation that love conducts can be called 'turn'" [39].

Most mothers, fathers, wives, relatives, and friends we refer to in the studies mentioned in this work said that their loss-situations "have changed their lives": their everyday interactions, their bodily hexis, and the material ways of reproducing their existence have changed, in some cases, radically.

Filial love is extra energy that manifests as a result of the tensions among the family's instituted features: legitimacy of the unequal gender trafficking, reproduction of private property, instructive process to the basic components of the political economy of moral principles, and material reproduction of the bodies/emotions.

Year	Expression	Experienced connection	Women's features
2014	"…I set aside half of what we save to put it there and the other half in case they need something (for the children)." (1, …)	Need	26 years old Argentinian
	"… then, having a card to buy food, I buy yoghurt and milk for my children, because… my children had suffered a lot, my children saw how they had yoghurt and they ask for that, they wanted to beg and I hit them because of that, then I felt a lot of pity…"(3, …)	Suffering	32 years old Argentinian
	"In my case, it is useful for me. I do not know about the other cases… in my case I thank for it, but if there is another person who does not need it and cannot take advantage of it… because I can take advantage of it… I buy food or stuff that my children do not have." (6,)	Gratitude	42 years old Peruvian
2015	"Well, like any mother that wants the best for their children, right… in my case, I'd like to get out from here in a near future, to give them a better life, and I do not know… because I think that in slum areas, the slum areas are not for the children, unfortunately, it's like that… (2,)	The best for the children	43 years old Argentinian
	"The prenatal care… I just devote myself to my children, I buy them clothes, tennis shoes, stationeries, just and only for the children. And my salary, apart from my salary, yes, I have to pay the rent, I have to pay the electricity or cable, because here sometimes I am charged for cable, and [I have to pay] to eat. I manage at home with that. And expenses that we women have, you know? But what I have to spend on the children is separated, that's true." (7)	Children's expense	25 years old Argentinian
2016	"I really do not like that my child stays here all the time, all his life. Here there is too much danger." (…) "I tell you that a person can leave, for example, young people go out and party out there. And you do not know if they are coming back, because you get killed for any stupid thing (…)." "Erh, are you scared, that this will happen to you too, right? It's like that, but well. And they want to stay, but well. Their future here." (3,)	Danger	50 years old Paraguayan
	"I am only in charge of my family and that's it. (…) Once you have children it's like you just lean on them, because your family is not like you said it was before… No, that's that, your children are your children." (1,)	Leaning on the children	23 years old Argentinian

Table 2. Feeling practices, love and features of socialization from an interstitial view [40].

In this context, to round up our paper on socialization, we want to present briefly some results about a set of interviews held in Buenos Aires, Argentina to women that receive some kind of State assistance. These interviews (29) were conducted in 2014, 2015 and 2016 with mothers that live in different slum areas in the city [41].

When we analyze the women's answers, we find a recurrent connection across ages, nationalities, number of children, and marital status; it is the living by the precept of [doing] "everything for the children." What we propose here is one of the axes of socialization that children who live in poverty and undergo diverse types of exploitation "have in common": the corporal mark of their mothers' love who give everything for them.

Beyond the fact that it is the moralization of the performed role of maternal care imposed by current social policies, the ones that complete the panorama of these complex politics of sensibilities, it is love as an interstitial practice the one that reorganizes the everyday life of millions of children, adolescents, and young people who see and realize how their mother does "everything for them." Reciprocity, being free of charge, generosity in terms of achieving the minimal practices, shelter, clothing and food are, at least, seen and felt by the social subjects who, as we have shown in the previous sections, participate in expropriating socialization practices.

As we can see in **Table 2**, the connections between feeling practices, love and features of socialization from an interstitial view occupy a specific places in mothers and their children's everyday life.

The filial love identifies and acts by breaking and re-establishing a network of practices of feeling characterized by: Need, Suffering, Gratitude, Danger and "The best for them." Mothers give their children and by giving them they teach how to give, mothers provide and by providing show them how to provide. Mothers shelter their children's and given shelter sharing modes of action to care.

Patterns of feelings start forming in children in such a way that, perhaps, just like their mother, these actions are the only ones that they "repeat" while remembering their mother's love.

7. Conclusion

Returning to the initial quote of Giddings, and re-thinking the processes of socialization in the current contexts of global restructuring continues to be a central mission for sociology.

In the particular spaces that we have defined as "Global South," this task nevertheless acquires specific features that lead us to problematize the paradoxical situation from which millions of subjects live the tensions constituted between two apparently antagonistic forces. On the one hand, the inertia that drives various forms of association between individuals, and on the other, the expulsion forces that question not only the social nature of the subjects, but also their own individual existence.

Thus, a concept of socialization that does not simplify the complexity involved in this paradox, should implies a compression framework that integrates the specific contributions that from various fields have been developed around the mutations of the practices from which societies "historically" con-form their members.

The proposal that we outline here—recovering some elements from the sociology of bodies/emotions – address as an oblique look at the processes of socialization. That is, we ask ourselves about certain *practices of feeling* that are constituted as conditions of possibility/impossibility for the processes from which the dialectic relationship of "becoming part of a society" is structured in our societies of the Global South.

From our perspective, these practices can not be thought of in a way that is separate from the individual bodies that support them. Thus, it is the bodies of children and young people who provide us with clues about the updating of these tensions that concern sociology from its origins. In other words, the marks that print on the bodies the experiences of these subjects in the different areas (the school, the family, the secondary groups, etc.) constitute the concrete evidence of the processes that occupy us here. Addressing the obvious transformations in the actors, institutions and times of the processes of socialization from this perspective involves centrally linking the relationships between the conditions of existence of individuals and social forms specifically developed in terms of establishment and maintenance of certain proper ways of being and feeling socially.

As we have stated, the changes in educational institutions, the deprivations associated with poverty as well as the nutritional deficit suffered by children and adolescents, led us to the notion of denial of socialization. This notion constitutes a particular platform of practices that are at the same time product and process in production. That is, practices that are the result of living in a society where an important part of children and young people "have no education, are poor and can not access food." And at the same time, these practices extend as a *regime of truth* associated with a *political economy of morality* that seems to traverse and shape institutions and individuals, constituting a specific social order. The mediations between one and the other are an unavoidable point in the research agendas of a sociology committed to the construction of critical tools of knowledge.

Precisely in order to establish a possible research agenda about socialization, here we wanted to end this brief contribution highlighting a specific component of the observed processes: mother's love as an organizer of life. In the scheme we propose, the denial as a central component of an extended socialization platform in the Global South does not constitute a uniform and inexorable feature in the experiences of children and adolescents, but rather, based on the indeterminate logic of social processes, we find a series of specific, interstitial practices that deny "the lack of a future" as the only possible reality. Thus, even those who live the world-of-no (not education, not nutrition, etc.) also experience the love of mother as a social force that, while it teaches other forms of "being" and "feeling," poses certain brief parentheses of socialization in the face of expulsion inertias.

The mark of the interstitial practice nestled in the mother/child love is, at the same time, the most basic and persistent experience of humankind that a child can have. And fortunately, that is what occurs in the contexts of *denial of socialization and of weak bodies* such as the ones that millions of children suffer in the Global South.

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Entrepreneurship and Interdisciplinary School Projects of Vulnerable Students in Santiago de Chile: Experiences from the "123 Emprender" Program

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Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

Abstract

Currently, to learn entrepreneurial skills, economic and financial literacy is relevant to understand the globalized world. In this way, around the world various programs are being developed to support the learning process of relevant knowledge and skills. Therefore, financial and entrepreneurial education is being added to different curricular programs from elementary schools to universities, aimed at developing basic skills to survive in this increasingly complex world. From the Center of Excellence in Economic Psychology and Consumption (CEPEC), economic literacy and entrepreneurship have been taught to schoolchildren through the methodology of interdisciplinary classroom projects, where multidisciplinary pedagogical interests and school interests are articulated through a central axis. The second version of the program, "Teaching to Teach: Economics and Entrepreneurship," for students between 11 and 14 years old, was created in 2016 in conjunction with Juega+, and sought to promote financial knowledge as well as entrepreneurial skills in children, which are developed through a social entrepreneurship project. To evaluate the experience of this program descriptive-type qualitative research has been carried out through six focus groups, one for each participating school, whose general objective was to describe the experience of the participants of the "123 emprender" program, the results obtained show acceptance, enthusiasm and enjoyment to this new form of learning. In addition, students show an incorporation of economic and financial concepts; they give relevance to the collaborative work, among other skills.

Keywords: interdisciplinary projects, entrepreneurial, economic literacy, entrepreneurial skills, student's experience

1. Introduction

In societies today, economic and financial literacy skills and the incorporation of entre-preneurial skills are ever more relevant. As a result, around the world programs of financial and entrepreneurial education from elementary school to universities are being developed [1]. The aim of this is to develop entrepreneurial skills, such as persistence, creativity, and proactivity, tools that are becoming increasingly relevant in today's labor market [2].

The definition of financial education is based on conceptualization from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), plus three significant terms included by the Advisory Committee for Financial Inclusion, in charge of the National Financial Education Strategy: life cycle, attitudes, and welfare related not only to individual welfare but also to social interaction. In this way, the definition of financial education for the general population is:

"Process by the people, throughout their life cycle, to improve their comprehension of the financial world, concepts, and risks and, through information, education, and objective assessment, to develop skills, attitudes, and trust to become more aware of financial risks and opportunities, to make informed decisions, to know where to ask for help, and to take any effective action to improve their welfare and the welfare of society."

In this manner, the definition seeks to realize that financial education has to be implemented taking into consideration the decisions that are made during the different stages of life, and not just as an adult or a consumer [3, 4].

That is why financial education is in an operational way a means to achieving economic and financial literacy. Understanding the combination of economic and financial knowledge, skills, and attitudes provides people with the tools to understand the economic world, to interpret events directly or indirectly, and make correct and informed judgments that allow effective decision making to determine consumer habits, use of money, and the efficient use of credit now and in the future [5–7].

1.1. Tweens population

Research has shown that 10 to 11 year olds have consolidated cognitive skills, relative auton-omy, progressive interest in the social world, and an increased susceptibility to peer influ-ence and mass media. At this stage of life especially, interest is focused on the strategies of economic and financial education. One particular impact at this stage of life is strategic, because for their own characteristics are three types of market: a present market, detail-ing all the income they manage and the high level of autonomy they have when making decisions about consumption; a future market, because at that age they are establishing attitudes and consumer patterns, which can remain throughout youth and into adult life; and an influence market, which is the impact they have when making common decisions regarding consumption. Therefore, the achievement of a responsible, informed, and efficient

consumption profile could impact not only in an individual way but also in a familiar way as well as socially [8].

1.2. Entrepreneurship

In addition to economic literacy, as mentioned before, entrepreneurial skills have become ever more relevant. Be able to became with something new with a different purpose, being with frequency obtain money the reward is understanding like entrepreneurship, without to be a need condition to refers to a business entrepreneurship, because a lot of activities are realized with social, educational even environmental purposes, among other [9].

In this sense, an entrepreneur is a person who has skills that are different from other people's. Entrepreneurs can generate innovative ideas and put them into practice, taking account of the risks involved, using support networks and generating successful entrepreneurship, which are all relevant to their own interests and to society in general. They are able to be persistent and have confidence in themselves, and in them own abilities on face of failure. These skills complement the approach of financial education from the OECD, considering in an implied way the abilities of creativity, flexibility, self-confidence, risk, and tolerance to uncertainty, which are currently necessary to enter the working world and contribute to a greater overall perspective, taking into account the opportunities being offered by the environment [10].

Entrepreneurs are no longer considered as bearers and makers of individual interests, but rather as protagonists of a public interest, which not only depends on material progress, but also on the social solidarity of our time, which currently overlooks winning the fight against discrimination [11]. This important task is needed in our society along with the teaching of skills that could help to develop it.

From a psychological perspective, we can define entrepreneur behavior as multidimensional, considering social, environmental, personal, and cognitive factors. Social factors are related to socioeconomic status, education, family, culture, and laws from the country of origin. Personal factors consider skills related to emotional intelligence such as innovation, autonomy, and risk management. Finally, cognitive factors are intelligence, critical thinking, and creativity. While social environmental factors cannot be controlled, personal and cognitive ones can be developed through training, education, and projects, which provide opportunities to vulnerable students [12].

It is understood that the teaching of entrepreneurship should be included in education systems from the beginning as a new approach to training and basic skills. At certain levels it should be considered as a transversal and horizontal facet, which is assisted by an education methodology in accordance with the achievement of expected learning objectives, and, at other levels, it should be established as a concrete subject [13]. It is also true that education should always present the promotion of personal attributes, which are the basis of entrepreneurial spirit, such as creativity, initiative, responsibility, risk management, and independence or work autonomy. This kind of attitude could be taught from elementary school stage and should impart knowledge through an active learning process. For all of the above reasons

it is relevant that schools accept responsibility for teaching deliberate and comprehensive entrepreneurial education with the objective of developing entrepreneurial knowledge, attitude, values, and behaviors in children, enabling them able to reach adulthood with the ability to manage their own and other people's resources wisely and responsibly [14].

In elementary school, the development of entrepreneurial spirit is achieved through the inclusion of curricular elements in two areas: social sciences (core subjects) and social values (specific subjects). The first element, core subjects, encourages the development of both individuals and teamwork, as well as the essential element of the learning process and the responsibility of studying, for example, self-confidence, critical sense, individual initiative, curiosity, interest and creativity in learning, and entrepreneurial spirit [15].

Quite often practical entrepreneurship experiences include very precise guidelines to enable teachers to fit into the curricula of particular subjects (civic education, social sciences, integrated research projects, business, and entrepreneurship), or for their development in hours of tutoring. This strategy significantly facilitates the level of implementation of certain initiatives as it develops during school hours [15].

The concept of entrepreneurial skills implies not only having knowledge and skills, but also defining the importance of an individual's independence and creative capital. Training for the competitive world of entrepreneurship implies surpassing the mere definition of performance. It is necessary that individuals generate other projects, new hopes for themselves, and other competences [16].

2. Teaching to Teach: Economics and Entrepreneurship?

Learning moments are specific moments of life that allow people to understand a specific subject in an easier way, since an experimental situation is directly related with what must be learned [17].

In that sense, the learning moments help to answer the next question: What life events allow people to learn more easily the prioritized financial education contents [17]?

From the Center of Excellence in Economic Psychology and Consumption (in Spanish the CEPEC), economic and entrepreneurial literacy has been assisting scholars through interdisciplinary projects methodology, using a central axis of articulated pedagogical multidisciplinary interests and scholarly interests.

This is a methodology that organizes a teaching–learning process in a flexible way, considering diversity as a way to address a topic or problem. The emphasis of a project is the relation between the different disciplinary contents regarding a central axis topic, bringing together the pedagogical interest of teachers with their students' interest, and acting like an organizer and articulator of varied aspects and disciplines that are part of the project, where there should exist coherence between the various curricula contents of the involved courses [18].

To develop classroom projects it is possible to use varied pedagogical methodologies, such as cooperative groups, concept maps, field trips, construction of models, laboratory work, and computer and audiovisual techniques [17].

Before starting a project in the classroom it is important to establish a general sequence of main objectives, contents, and activities, which should orient the students' learning process, and should be sufficiently flexible to accept specific suggestions and areas of interest from the students. Here, the teacher's or teachers team's role should be similar to an "orchestra director" or "general manager" of the project [19].

What are the phases needed to develop an interdisciplinary project?

There exist three main phases of development:

1. Project formulation.

2. Implementation and execution.

3. Evaluation [17].

1. Project formulation

This phase focuses on organizing the interdisciplinary work team (teachers who are teaching in the selected course and assigning time to the work team in planning activities), its consolidation, and the formulation of the project to be carried out together. The ideal is not more than four subjects or subsectors because it could be more difficult to coordinate interest and common working spaces.

Examples of activities to develop this stage are:

• The formation of the work team ("partnership) of teachers and the central topic.

• Justification of the relevance of the project for both teachers and students and the link with the profile of the students and mission of the school.

• Formulation of objectives and selection of curricular contents, which should incorporate conceptual, procedural, and attitudinal objectives expressed in expected learning.

• Selection of activities and timing.

• Design of evaluation strategies.

Finally, the format of the basic project formulation document should have at least:

• A topic and title.

• Involved subsectors or subjects.

• Justification of the project, considering its importance from a teaching and student perspective.

• Expected learning.

• Contents.

• Central activities to develop the project.

• Evaluation strategies and expected products.

• A timeline.

2. Implementation and execution

In this phase, the project is implemented in a coordinated way by each teacher of the team in each of their respective subjects and schedules. Permanent coordination of the work team is necessary to permanently evaluate project development and incorporate the adjustments that are deemed appropriate.

In addition, it is necessary that the work carried out throughout the project (research, documentation, etc.) should be reflected in evidence or concrete products, such as a mural, a model, a monographic work, plays, exhibitions, the sale of products, and others.

Like the first phase, there are various activities to develop:

• Presentation and launch of project.

• Development of the classroom program of the project, incorporating students' questions.

• Organization, coordination, and supervision of students work teams of each subject, which will be the same during the development of the project. A continuous review of the logbooks and project portfolios of each team should be carried out.

• Teachers team coordination meetings.

• Self-assessment and incorporation of necessary adjustments.

• Presentation of project products and shared reflection on these.

3. Evaluation

The evaluation phase is a permanent phase, which is organized into three subphases based on a series of questions:

A. Initial evaluation: What do students know about the topic? What are their hypotheses and learning references? What questions are asked? How are they organized initially to answer them?

B. Process evaluation: What are they learning? How are they following the meaning of the project? How are they organizing their logbooks? How do they solve the problems and conflicts inside each teachers team? How is critical reflection being promoted through the project?

C. Product evaluation: What have students learned in relation to the initial proposals? Are they capable of establishing new relationships? What have they reflected in the final report? What does self-assessment and coevaluation reflect? What have we learned as teacher team about teaching work? What has been our progress in developing or consolidating more efficient economic attitudes and competences in our students and ourselves as a teaching team?

Suggested activities to carry out in the evaluation phase:

• Formulation of evaluation questions.

• Development of stages of evaluation and application of assessment tools and strategies.

- Internal analysis of the team and preparation of corrective measures.

- Self-assessment of the teachers team.

- Elaboration of final project reports.

On the other hand, in relation to project tracking, guidelines are identified for the preparation of the project portfolio and the logbook:

A. Project portfolio or project group folder: This is an ideal tool for monitoring formative and summative evaluation of classroom projects. Ideally, each student team should have one, containing a register, evidence of file activities, and project products. In addition, this will allow the development of transversal values such as self-criticism, order, responsibility, and the ability to prioritize.

The portfolio should include at least:

- A script of the project.

- Materials.

- Registers.

- Intermediate and final products.

B. Activities register logbook: This is a personal document and students should develop their own to register progress and difficulties. Ideally, teachers should also prepare their own blog to evaluate the progress of the project, the students' responses to each of the activities, and the difficulties and their solutions. Finally, the logbook has a basic structure for its evaluation: (1) Date, (2) Activity, (3) Results, and (4) Personal reflections.

The second version of the "Teaching to Teach: Economics and Entrepreneurship" program was launched in 2016 together with Juega+, which was created from the need to incorporate, in a playful and applied way, economic and financial literacy in school planning. For it to work, it is based on the development of entrepreneurship, so that this could be considered as a future option for self-employment. It seeks to promote financial knowledge as well as entrepreneurial skills in children, which are developed through a project of social entrepreneurship.

2.1. To whom is it addressed?

The 123 program is aimed mainly at students between the second and third cycle, with a low socioeconomic level, belonging to municipal schools of the commune of Peñalolén, in the city of Santiago de Chile.

2.2. Why use interdisciplinary projects?

It has been determined that the best way to teach financial content and develop the fnonding competences is to use "learning moments" in the resources and pedagogical activities that the different educational programs design and implement [14].

2.3. How was it done?

First, it was realized that teachers in the participant schools would have to be trained in economic and financial concepts, entrepreneurial skills, and interdisciplinary project methodology. As a part of this, teachers formulated their projects into interdisciplinary teams.

The projects were then communicated to students and a tutor assisted the teachers in the development of the projects.

The topics chosen by teachers to work with the projects were:

- "Radio: New Generation," a radio station that was transmitted at recess and lunchtime; students broadcast news, music, and interviews of interest to them. The project will be replicated annually.

- "Healthy diet," where students became familiar with the meaning of healthy food using samples of healthy snacks. In addition, students were made aware of the new law regarding black seals in commercialized food. This law indicates that food that contains more than recommended amounts of calories, saturated fat, sodium, and sugar must have a black seal containing dietary information.

- "Entertain your recess," a project that consisted of game stands made from recycled materials, for example: throwing jars with a ball. Students from other courses paid to use it; if they won, they received an award, like a teddy.

- "3Rs" (Reduce, Recycle, and Reuse), a project that taught students how to make objects with recycled and reused materials.

- "Solidarity cooperative," a project whose main objective was to create a solidarity cooperative, which has a common fund to buy tools and elements that children can use in classes.

- "City," a project that created a small city in the classroom with about 1,50 meter stands that represented different city services such as a bank, taxi service, bakery, and drugstore, among others. In this city, children could learn economic and financial concepts and how they are used in daily life.

The development and results of projects were presented in an exhibition by teachers and a number of students.

Finally, an evaluation of the experience through a focus group was realized with students from the participant courses.

3. Method

The methodology used to evaluate the students' experience from the 123 emprender program had a qualitative, descriptive design.

It was a convenience sample of 48 students from participant schools, made up of six focus groups with eight students in each group; the participant students were randomly selected. Focus group topics were related to the experience of students in the program, who were asked

about their opinions, relevant topics, significant learnings, learnings used in daily life, learnings used in family life, and which improvements they would like to make.

Focus groups were recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions were analyzed in the NVivo program, version 11. An open coding strategy was used to analyze the contents of the transcriptions, which is a way of codifying whereby codes are not premeditated and appear at the same moment. Subsequently, a dendrogram was generated by joining related concepts.

4. Results

Based on a qualitative analysis of the information collected, in the dendrogram (**Figure 1**) it is possible to observe, in the first instance, a dichotomous classification referring to the experience of students who are attending the second or third school cycle in the "123 emprender" program.

At first, considering the experience of the "123 entrepreneurship" program, it possible to identify some positive aspects such as the development of learning and future discourses. In relation to the development of learning, students identify the acquisition of concepts related to economic and financial literacy, such as savings, budgeting, planning, compare prices, and money. "We learn how to compare prices before we buy" and "We learn financial language." In addition, they identify the acquisition of mathematically logical concepts, which were used for the development of the project; these included addition, subtraction, division, multiplication, interpretation of graphics, and others. "We saw percentages, graphics, and charts in mathematics class" and "We learn how to calculate a discount."
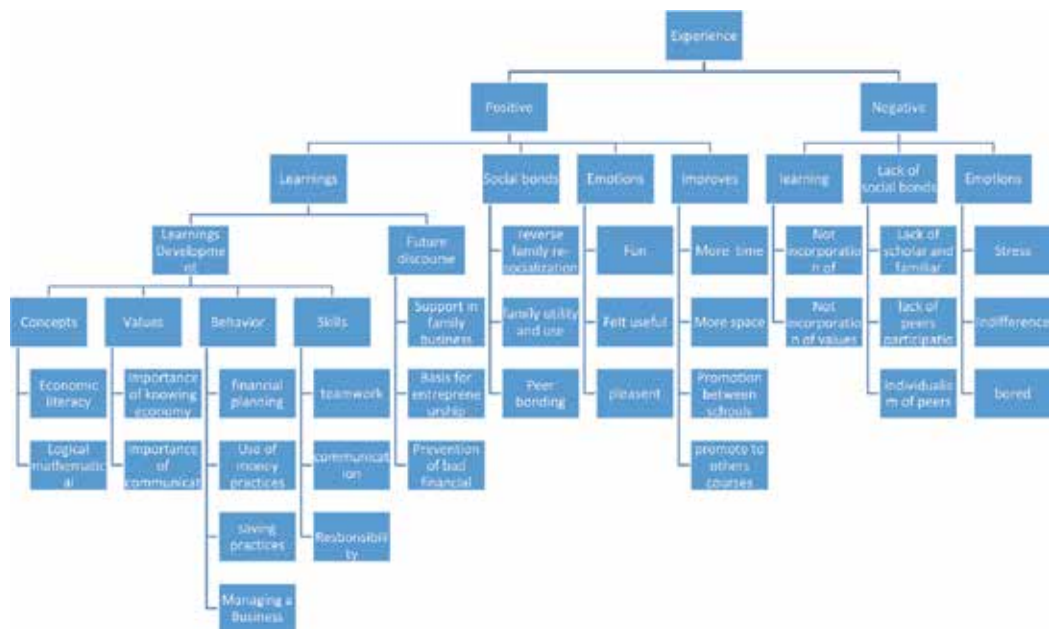
Figure 1. Dendrogram.

In addition, participants identifying the development of values learning focused on valuing knowledge and learning about economics. "It's important to learn how to take care of money." Also, through the planning and execution of the project the students gave value to the importance of communicating, referred to the relevance of effectively communicating, were tolerant, and knew how to listen to and transmit information. "We learn to listen to others" and "We listen to others' opinions."

According to the participants, behavioral learning emphasizes financial planning, the acquisition of new practices of using money, and favorable practices of saving, for example, there was an increase in students who actually save and have the ability to manage a business, mainly by collaborating in the administration of family businesses. "There are many children who previously did not save and now they do" and "To compare sales on shops in downtown."

Considering the planning, development, and execution of an entrepreneurship, through the methodology of interdisciplinary classroom projects, students can work and develop many competences related to teamwork, communication, and responsibility. "The course worked as a team."

Also, in relation to learning, the students' tendency for future declarations is observed, mainly linked to the support of a family business. Through the developed and acquired tools, the participants feel able to collaborate and/or take charge of a family business. "My mom has a Christmas decoration business, and now I will be able to help her." In relation to this, with the knowledge and skills base acquired, they also feel capable of developing an entrepreneurship. "I want to be a veterinarian and open my own pet clinic." Likewise, by increasing their participation as economic citizens, through the learnings of the project, they can prevent future bad financial practices. "It is interesting to learn about money and thus not make a mistake in the future."

The development of the project had an impact on the social bonding of students with various actors in their environment. An important element of this was their families, for example, reverse resocialization, where they can transfer knowledge to members of their family, such as parents and grandparents, favoring certain positive financial practices and highlighting the usefulness of the new knowledge acquired. "I told my grandmother that the bottles she will not use can be used as flower pots" and "When I go shopping with my mom, I tell her not to buy without checking the price in other stores." On the other hand, students identify union between peers and classmates, by working together using the skills they have developed. "We come together more as a course."

Different emotions were experienced by the participants of the project; they described it as a fun, entertaining, cool, and incredible experience. They felt rewarded when observing the impact and results of a project of which they were a part and emphasized this emotion by referring to the program as a pleasant and beautiful, fantastic experience. "It was fun" and "It was really cool."

Although the participants valued the initiative and development of the program, they suggested improvements could be incorporated in future versions. For example, the project should be allowed to develop over a longer period of time, and while it was accessible, there should be more physical space for the planning and execution of the project, the participation of the establishment involving other courses should be increased, and, finally, to generate impact in other establishments, there should be diffusion and promotion of the developed projects. "I feel it was a short time and I would have liked it to last longer" and "Get together with other schools to tell them to eat healthily." (The topic of this project was healthy diet.)

Despite the fact that the majority of the participants valued positively the experience of the program, Some students could identified certain negative characteristics and evaluations, in relation to learning, could be inferred than students do not incorporate contents referred to the project. "I do not know I didn't learn anything." It possible observe than some students have a conceptual understand, but are not be able to apply it. "I'm not sure how to do the exercise" (referring to the calculation of a percentage of discount). Regarding to learning of values some students do not identify any value in the contents reviewed and developed in the project, not being able to identifying or useless to learn. "We didn't learn anything but it was fun."

There was a lack of involvement with some of the participants' significant connections with others, such as lack of family and school support, lack of commitment and involvement of peers, and, finally, the individualism of certain peers, who considered the project competitive, especially during project development. "My mom told me to do it alone" and "They don't care about our project."

Finally, there were some who experienced participation in the program as negative; the predominant emotion in this case was stress. Participants considered the activities as boring and even showed indifference to them. "I don't care" and "It was boring."

5. Conclusions

There is generally a positive assessment of the program, but it is important to consider negative assessments, especially if improvements in the development of new versions are included.

The students emphasized the playful way of acquiring new knowledge and recognized in large part the effectiveness of this, since various means are used to facilitate learning, including reading, debating, planning, teaching, creating, and developing, among other recommended activities, for example, the learning pyramid.

Participation in programs focused on acquiring and developing knowledge, in this case, financial literacy, and focused on work with entrepreneurial skills, which could generate greater self-confidence, motivation for achievement, and projection both personally and professionally. The ability to work in a team, the responsibility and development of diverse traits and/or styles of leadership, in addition to the link with students' peers, the environment, and the generation of networks, applicable and useful both now and in the future, strengthen the development of economic world comprehension and entrepreneurial skills by bringing out the necessary implementation of this kind of program in formal education. In Chile, economic education is precarious, is developing on 20 or 22 weeks in the 12 years of formal education (contents like, economic market, limited resources and unlimited needs, some bank instruments), and does not exist programmatic axes which organize the dispersed topics in the different subjects [8]. Also, the lack of a pedagogical model of economic education for guidance and organization is demonstrated. Economic education is more like an isolated instructional recommendation, which cannot effectively handle the world of consumption and management of money [19].

It is important to consider that even when some students did not experience the achievement of incorporation of the contents, it was possible to observe a gradual incorporation of these, where some achieved an attitude and behavioral change. However, one should not ignore the incorporation of technical language, values, and content, because these could be the first step to develop significant learnings, considering the necessary training and construction of a systemic vision of the economic–social model in which they are placed and the acquisition of competences for the achievement of critical, reflexive, and socially responsible consumption[20].

It is also possible to consider how the teachers described the objectives of the project, how these were to be worked, and the learning involved, because some children may not recognize as learning the incorporation of skills such as teamwork, leadership, self-confidence, and problem solving, among others; however, this could be achieved by incorporating an interview with the teachers, which could be included in future versions of the program.

Finally, it is important to mention than this project provides a first approach to interdisciplinary projects related to entrepreneurship topics, and allows continual research into its importance and how it is possible teach this important topic in schools. For the future, projects should consider further teacher training on issues such as conflict resolution, objectives planning and setting, curricular adaptation, and "soft skills."

Acknowledgements

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The Hijab as Gift: Mechanisms of Community Socialisation in the Muslim Diaspora

Anna-Mari Almila and David Inglis

Additional information is available at the end of the chapter

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Abstract

In the worldwide Islamic diaspora today, how does the socialisation of women into Islamic belief and observance operate? This chapter considers such matters in the contemporary Finnish context. It deals with issues of bodily comportment and types of garments intended to be expressive of Islamic piety, and made available by the globalised Islamic fashion industry. The focus is on the means whereby sartorial objects are used to encourage females to adopt certain kinds of practices, thought to be expressive of the religious norms of particular diasporic communities. Attention is directed to what happens when one woman gives another woman an Islamic garment as a gift. The gift brings with it a set of obligations on the part of the receiver, which functions as often potent means of ensuring acceptance of group norms as to acceptable and unacceptable visual appearance and behaviour. We discuss this with reference to Marcel Mauss's classical anthropological work on the institution of gift-giving. It is found that Mauss's original insights continue to be valuable for understanding socialisation processes in globalised, diaspora contexts today.

Keywords: hijab, Muslim women, gift, veil, Islam, Mauss

1. Introduction

One of the most important features of the worldwide Islamic diaspora at the present time is how the socialisation of individuals into Islamic belief and observance operates. How the transnational migration of people, ideas and practices affect modes and methods of socialisation requires careful consideration. This chapter considers such matters in relation to the socialisation of women into Islamic religious observance in a contemporary north-west European context, namely Finland. Any consideration of the relations between Islam, women

and gender has to deal with the sometimes controversial issues surrounding Islamic female dress and bodily comportment. This includes types of garments intended to cover parts of the female body in certain ways that are taken to be expressive of Islamic piety. Such clothing objects are often made available to women and their families by a complexly globalised Islamic fashion industry, the latter being part of broader trends towards the appearance of multiple Islamic cultural industries [1]. (For an extensive review of the production and consumption of Islamic garments, see [2]).

Garments conventionally associated with Islamic observance are important tools for socialising individual women into the expectations of Islamic faith, as these are held by both local and transnational religious groupings. Garments can of course be used by women as means of individualisation and resistance to group norms [2]. Here, by contrast, we will focus on the means whereby such sartorial objects are used by representatives of religious groups to encourage females to adopt certain kinds of practices, which are thought to be expressive of the religious norms of a given community.

A potentially powerful means of socialisation and persuasion in this regard is the act of gift-giving. We focus on what happens, or what is intended to happen, when one woman gives another the gift of some sort of Islamic garment. When such an object is rendered as a gift, it brings with it a set of obligations on the part of the receiver, and these obligations function as often potent means of ensuring acceptance of group norms as to acceptable and unacceptable visual appearance and behaviour. We consider the obligatory nature of gifts, which pull recipients into a broader social system (here, observance of religious rules and community norms), in light of Marcel Mauss's classical anthropological work on the institution of gift-giving [3].

Since Mauss's time, gift-giving has been widely acknowledged by social scientists as an important form of socialisation. For Islamic people today, gift-giving is tied up in various ways with diaspora, migration, and the Islamic fashion industry [4, 5]. Life in diaspora contexts necessarily transforms the ways a religious or ethnic community operates, creating new practices that may be different from those back in the country of origin. Younger generations are engaged in different sorts of religious practices from earlier generations, as well as creating newer forms of gift-giving. One major innovation here is the ubiquity of giving low-cost Islamic garments, often with the aim of recruiting new believers into religious observance. The low prices of such garments are made possible by the ready availability of them made possible by the globalisation of the Islamic fashion industry [1]. The easy access to clothing of this sort makes some women's wardrobes so large that charitable gift-giving becomes not just possible, but instead a practical necessity, as well as a religious imperative, as we will see below.

The empirical material that we consider here is drawn from ethnographic fieldwork carried out by one of the authors (Almila) in 2011–2012 among Islamic diaspora groupings in Finland [6]. The particular groups in question are Finnish-born converts to Islam, and Iraqi Shi'a and Somali Sunni migrants to Finland.[1] In each case, gift-giving and gift-receiving functioned as

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[1]Migration of these ethnic groups into Finland is a relatively recent phenomenon [7], and all the women cited here are first generation immigrants.

important ways in which the broader religious group to which women already belonged, or were about to enter, sought to invite, encourage, and compel those women to dress in certain ways, and thus to act and think in manners felt to be appropriate by the group at large or by the moral leaders within it. Standing behind such micro-level practices of gift-exchange stand a range of macro-level and often transnational factors, including competing interpretations of Islam. Through gift-giving, these interpretations are projected onto material objects, which in turn work as subtle but compelling tools of socialisation of individuals into community norms and relations.

Garments, as material objects invested through gift-giving with deep religious significance, are taken out of both the capitalist commodity economy and the realm of the globalised Islamic fashion system, and come to operate within more localised moral economies characteristic of particular migrant and convert groups. This allows us to focus on a relatively under-researched area, that of the micro-politics of Islamic veiling within communities, in contrast to much of the academic literature, which often focuses on Islamic cultural industries and the intrusion of macro-level politics into everyday life [4–5, 8]. We also show the ongoing relevance of Mauss's ideas about gift-giving for understanding phenomena of religious socialisation.

2. Thinking about gift-giving

Since the initial publication in 1925 of Mauss's *Essai sur le don* (translated into English as *The Gift*) [3], there has been a huge amount of critical responses to his claims about the roles played by gifts in human societies, some being sympathetic extensions of his arguments, others involving sometimes severe refutations of the work on theoretical or empirical grounds [9]. Nonetheless, the central arguments remain influential in understanding how gifts operate within particular social contexts.

The general thrust of Mauss's argument is that the phenomenon of the gift is highly ambivalent. Gifts operate in the socio-psychological spaces that exist between sets of opposed values: kindness and aggression, disinterestedness and self-interest, cooperation between individuals and conflict between them, care for others and endeavours to control them, giving away wealth and making personal gain, the power of the giver over the receiver (and vice versa), inner volition and social obligation and interior piety and the social display of virtue [10, 11]. Gifts are uneasily, yet dynamically, located within a complex social-psychological terrain.

For Mauss, in most if not all societies, a great deal of 'everyday morality is concerned with the question of obligation and spontaneity in the gift' [3]. On this view, the act of one person giving a gift to another is at one level a spontaneous and self-willed act of kindness, and may very well be experienced as such by the giver. But the giving and receiving of gifts is a social, rather than individual-psychological, phenomenon *par excellence.* Gifts, 'which are in theory voluntary, disinterested and spontaneous … are in fact obligatory and interested … the gift [may be apparently] generously offered … [but] the transaction itself is [in fact] based

on obligation' [3]. Thus surface-level generosity masks tacit, subterranean but nonetheless powerful forms of obligation, whether or not the giver is explicitly conscious of this fact, or whether s/he intends it to have that effect.

The receiver of the gift is in fact under two forms of obligation, sanctioned by the social group to which (often but not always) both giver and receiver belong. First, there is an obligation to accept the gift being offered. Refusing to accept a gift is like 'a declaration of war', because it involves 'refusal of friendship' and other forms of positive social intercourse [3]. Moreover, a person 'does not have the right to refuse a gift … [because to] do so would show fear of having to repay … admitting defeat in advance' [3]. '[Y]ou accept [the gift] … because you mean to take up the challenge and prove that you are not unworthy' of the gift you are being offered [3].

However, Mauss adds that, 'in certain circumstances … a refusal can be an assertion of victory and invincibility' [3]. A refusal to receive a proffered gift is possible if the putative receiver has both the personal bravery and social resources necessary to resist the blandishments of the putative donor, refusing their overtures to enter into a gift-giving relationship, while being content to risk giving potentially grave offence to the would-be donor.

Second, there is an obligation for the receiver, after a certain period of time, to reciprocate the initial gift, by in turn giving the original giver another gift, the counter-gift. The initial receiver is strongly obliged 'to make a return gift for a gift received' [3]. Strong social sanctions are attendant on someone who fails to return a gift. In this social situation, the return gift usually must be of equal or greater value to the initial gift. According to Mauss, we 'must always return more than we receive; the return [gift] is always bigger and more costly' than the original one [3]. '[S}uch a return will give the donor [i.e. the initial recipient] authority and power over the original donor, who now becomes the latest recipient' [3].

In other words, the power gained over the initial receiver by the initial donor is reversed, when the counter-gift shifts the balance of power back towards the initial recipient, who now as donor gains the moral high ground. We can add that a counter-gift need not necessarily take the same form as the gift. As we will see below, the gift of an Islamic garment can be repaid by the recipient through publicly shifting their visual appearance and their behaviour in the direction felt to be appropriate by the donor. In this way, certain gifts can operate as powerful mechanisms of socialising people into the observance of certain religious and/or community norms.

An initial round of gift-giving is very likely to provoke a further series of gifts and counter-gifts between both parties involved, a process that may last a long time, possibly even for life. The important point here is that through the initial stimulus of the first gift, both donor and receiver are pulled into a social system that is given both life and permanence by the to-ing and fro-ing of gift exchange [12]. There is an 'obligation upon the [gift partners] thereafter to make perpetual gift-exchange' [3]. This explains why 'it is the nature of the gift in the end to be … its own reward', because the initial expenditure by the first donor leads to a chain of counter-gifts, which tends to be of at least equal value to the initial gift, and the existence of the chain itself may bring various benefits to the original donor [3]. Yet gifts are also deeply ambivalent, precisely because of the combination of 'intimacy and … fear which

arise from th[e] reciprocal creditor-debtor relationship' [3]. The intimate nature of the giver-receiver relationship fundamentally goes together with the risk of 'losing face' if one cannot adequately reciprocate the donor with an appropriate counter-gift [3]. To be unable to proffer an adequate counter-gift is to lose honour, social status and self-esteem.

The gift-exchange chain need not (and according to Mauss, does not usually) involve a simple dyadic relationship between two individuals. Instead, if the donor is (or presents themselves as) a representative of a given social group, then the receiver is pulled into a set of obligations to, and forms of reciprocity with, that group as well as with the individual donor. This is why for Mauss the gift is 'a means of controlling others', for the obligations involved in the gift relationship entail that the initial receiver comes into the gravitational pull of the group of which the initial donor is, or presents themselves as, a representative. In so doing, the gift opens pathways by which the group can instil its values into the mindset and behaviour of the initial recipient [3].

That is why the gift-giving process can act as a very effective means of socialisation. The latter term is conventionally taken to refer to processes whereby a child born into a particular group is inducted into the habits, values, outlooks and so on of that particular community. But gift-giving can operate as a means whereby adults raised within the cultural parameters of one group may be pulled towards observing obligations to another group, those obligations involving some level of subscription to the values of the group to which the gift donor belongs. Alternatively, gift-giving can operate as a means of re-socialisation of existing group members, pulling them back more thoroughly than hitherto into the moral life of the group. This may happen especially in cases where the donor may perceive the recipient to be exhibiting less strongly than would be desirable the attitudes and practices of the group.

Some other features of gift-giving identified by Mauss are also pertinent here. The object that is given as a gift is transformed from being a mundane material thing into a special sort of entity. In many non-capitalist economies, things are thoroughly bound up with the persons who make or give them; the personality of the maker or giver is felt to inhere within the object in profound ways. This stands in stark contrast to capitalist economic logic, which disentangles the object from those who made or passed it on to a consumer [13]. Once the capitalist consumer has purchased the object, it is (usually) wholly 'theirs'. But gifts work differently, and gift relationships that exist within a broader capitalist economy may still operate according to their own specific logics that are irreducible to capitalist market principles. This is because gifted 'objects are never completely separated from the [people] who exchange them' [3]. Therefore, if we are dealing with gift relationships rather than capitalist market transactions alone, then the giver retains 'a magical and religious hold over the recipient' [3]. This is because the object is felt to be invested with some of the spiritual essence, or the soul, of the giver.

For example, one might be reluctant to sell on e-Bay a gift received from a favourite relative, even if the object itself is not particularly appealing. The object seems like an avatar of the favoured person, and so to give it away or sell it seems somehow wrong, because to do that would be to insult the image of the person who gave it to you. The spiritual element of the gift is a pronounced one: when giving a gift, 'one gives away … a part of one's nature and

substance, while to receive something is to receive a part of someone's spiritual essence' [3]. The process of gifting and counter-gifting involves not mere economic exchange but rather 'a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons' [3]. As the spiritual presence of the person who originally gave the gift resides within and lingers around it, then the gift received is owned by the receiver, 'but the ownership is of a particular kind', for the gift retains strong traces of the personal charisma of the person who first offered it. For Mauss, this shows that the gift is a complex of different properties which modern, Western thought usually separates from each other: it is simultaneously both 'property and a possession, a pledge and a loan, an object sold and an object bought', among other things [3].

In other words, a received gift is not a mere object; it is a powerful reminder of someone else, and most likely of the social group that stands behind them too. Wearing such an object, then, is a potent and embodied reminder of the desires of the donor and of the group to which s/he belongs. To wear a gift garment is to acquiesce, at least to some degree, in the intentions of the donor and their social group. By wearing such a garment, I start to resemble, to some degree, the image that the donor and their group have of me, or the image which they want me to have.

Any object can potentially take on the special qualities of a gift; it just must be given to a recipient in the spirit of gift exchange. As Mauss puts the point, 'everything is stuff to be given away and repaid … [thus becoming] a perpetual interchange of what we may call spiritual matter' [3]. So deeply can objects be invested with special significance by both donors and receivers, that for those in a gift-giving chain these objects can come to seem to have 'a virtue of their own which [itself seems to] cause … them to be given and [in turn] compels the making of counter-gifts' [3]. In essence, once objects become gifts, those 'things have personality', [3] and are felt to have a special sort of resonance and charisma. They possess both the traces of the personality of the individual donor, and of the group to which s/he belongs. For example, a Bible given by a grandmother to a grand-daughter resonates with the personality not only of the esteemed elderly relative but also, because it is an explicitly religious object of the Christian church, community and belief system to which the grandmother belongs and subscribes. The Bible-gift seeks to pull the child into the ambit of the religious community of which the more senior woman feels herself to be part and representative of.

We can note here that some authors have pointed to the especially strong bonds between women, whether as relatives or as friends, that can be created through gift-giving processes [14]. We can add that certain objects will be defined by particular groups as being especially worthy of being given as gifts. Weiner's extension and critique of Mauss's original formulations notes that hand-made objects, especially those made by donors themselves, operate as particularly powerful gifts, as they very deeply embed the personality of the maker-donor into the material fabric of the object. Objects that are not made by donors, but which are framed by donors as having been very carefully selected and sought out by them for the recipient, can also take on strong traces of the donor's personality [15].

Objects that a given community regards as especially spiritual are also likely to operate as particularly potent gifts. An object already defined as somehow spiritually *special* is particularly

amenable to be used as a gift and transformed into an even more unique entity. People in Islamic communities are likely to think that garments for women, which indicate the wearer's piety are particularly suitable to be defined and used as gifts. An Islamic headscarf given as a gift is made *doubly special*. It both reverberates with piety, because it is understood by all relevant parties as an expression and embodiment of faith, and it is also disentangled from capitalist economic relationships, being rendered as superior to them by dint of being proffered not as a mere object for sale, but rather as a gift, that is, as a part of an apparently disinterested, friendly gesture on the behalf of one Muslim believer towards another. The Islamic headscarf has the potential to function as an exceptionally powerful and compelling gift. To refuse to accept it would require a great deal of bravery and social resources on the behalf of the intended recipient. It is usually very difficult to turn down an object so deeply invested with the powers of both piety and friendship, an exceptionally potent combination of socio-psychological properties.

The connections that can pertain between gift-giving and religions are complex, but one can note that the major world religions tend to stress the importance of believers giving gifts and alms, especially to those less fortunate than themselves. Donors are meant to expect no explicitly earthly return on their generous acts of gift-giving. Nonetheless, they may tacitly expect some credit in the afterlife on the basis of their religiously-inspired gift-giving in this world [16]. Once again, we see that the act of gift-giving oscillates between the display of selfless generosity on the one side, and on the other, the expectation that one stands to achieve something by giving the gift away. This applies as much to explicitly religious gifts as to any others. This is worth bearing in mind as we now turn to examine the empirical data concerning gift-giving among Muslim women.

3. The hijab as an invitation

Aisha[2], a Finnish woman in her mid-20s, converted to Islam at the age of 18. Having grown up in a small Finnish town, she now lives in Helsinki, the capital city, and studies at a university. Soon after her conversion, she arranged her marriage to an Arab man through her religious community, and they now have one child. Aisha's views and dress choices – a full-length khimar[3] and previously also the niqab[4] – reflect a conservative interpretation of Islam, and she regularly visits a mosque that some other Finns consider 'Salafi-influenced'. Aisha is very articulate and critical of what she considers the cultural and commercial objectification of the female body in Finland and in 'the West' more generally.

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[2]All names of the interviewees have been changed.

[3]Khimar refers to a head-covering, initially worn by both women and men. By the 1980s, khimar had come to mean 'a headcover that covers the hair and extends low to the forehead, comes under the chin to conceal the neck, and falls down over the chest and back'. [17] Khimars come in different lengths: below the hips, down to the knees, and full-length with sleeves.

[4]Niqab is an Arabic face-veil, 'a free-flowing piece of black cloth of various lengths that covers the lower part of the face'. [18] It typically leaves the eyes visible, although there are niqabs that can be used to cover the eyes as well. More recently, niqabs have been available in a variety of colours.

Aisha told the interviewer how she, after reading the Qur'an and believing it to be 'the truth', learned more about the practicalities of Islam. Through an internet discussion forum, she made the acquaintance of a Somali Muslim woman of her own age, and learned more about everyday life as a Muslim.

> *I visited her a couple of times and she showed me how to pray and gave me a scarf and then an abaya.*
> *… So, I actually started to wear them and pray before I had said Shahada [the declaration of belief].*

As Muslim women are required to veil when praying, such garment gifts have a practical value for the new convert when she learns to pray and to integrate her new religion into her daily life routines. The gift serves the purpose of encouraging her to veil and operates as a welcome to the community.

Such gifts are often easily given and considered neither too personal nor too valuable to accept. They are typically bought cheaply from sources outside Finland, and as commodities operate in the cheaper end of globalised fashion systems. However, as Mauss reminds us, a gift is normally given and received under obligation, and in the process of gift-giving, it turns from mere commodity into something more spiritual and socially meaningful. In this case, the scarf and the abaya can be seen as a covert attempt to convert someone (or at least to encourage their conversion), and one of the gift's purposes is to bind the receiver, if not to the gift-giving individual per se, then to the Muslim community as a whole through a sense of gratitude and obligation to return the favour. New converts who are on the receiving side are expected to contribute back to the community, which the original donor represents, later on. Rather than creating a bond between two individuals, the gift therefore aims to create a bond between an individual and the community, imposing certain expectations with regard to appearance and behaviour onto the potential convert woman.

There has been a significant shift in Somali interpretations of Islam as the Somali diaspora has spread across the world. While many of the older generation are Sufist, many of the younger generation are influenced by trends of the global Islamic revival, and particularly those actively marketed by Saudi Arabia [19]. Many young Somalis are also involved in Da'wah ('calling to Islam'). This is a form of missionary work, which targets both non-Muslims and also Muslims deemed to be not the 'right' kind of believers and religious practitioners. Popular among various Arab populations and, in the US especially, black converts to Islam, Da'wah work is sometimes associated with conservative (or even radical) views of Islam. In Aisha's case, the presumed intention of the original donor bore fruit: Aisha is now a moral leader with conservative religious views, and lectures to other young Finnish converts to Islam. She has been successfully socialised into a religious community, and the original garment gifts she received some years ago played an important role in this regard.

The following story exemplifies the nuances within the Finnish Somali community with regards to interpretations of Islam. Nura is a Somali Muslim woman in her mid-20s. She arrived in Finland as a teenager and is married to a Somali man from her own clan. The marriage was arranged by their families, and both spouses share Salafi-influenced views of their religion. The interviewer was passed leaflets to that effect from the husband when visiting their home, but never actually met him in person as he firmly stayed in his room when the female

interviewer visited his wife. Nura wears the long khimar and the niqab, and believes that others should do so too. While she stressed that the wearing of the hijab should be everyone's own personal choice, she also stated that she is 'advising' her younger sister to conform to more conservative dress styles, which the sister apparently resists. This kind of pressure was fairly common in this community, and was not considered to be in any sort of conflict with the requirement that wearing the hijab be 'freely chosen'.

In this regard, garment gifts may also serve the purpose of encouraging the wearing of a certain kind of hijab, and thus fostering the 'right' kind of representation of the religious and ethnic community. Such gifts are given under specific conditions, and usually follow the receiver's desire to change her dress (and the giver's desire to support her decision), rather than as a general encouragement for veiling. As Nura explained,

> Just this summer I gave up a scarf I've worn for many, many years. It was very dear to me… But… in my opinion it was useless to leave it in the closet; I got a migraine and I couldn't [wear it]. Someone else wanted to start [wearing] the [khimar], which is a great thing if another Muslim wants to cover herself more. I was very glad [and] I gave it to her.

Thus, giving away a garment to which she had an emotional bond was justified for Nura for two reasons: her inability to wear it (negative reason), and the other woman's need for it (positive reason – it encourages a deeper level of Islamic observance). Here, she practices a certain level of sacrifice, which is discussed in more detail below. The gift signified her encouragement and acceptance of the other woman's choice to 'cover more', as well as materially making that more possible and more likely. Such gifts are not simply about linkages between individuals, but are also about the expressing, forging and maintaining of networks within the ethnic/religious community [3]. The gift works as an invitation for a particular woman to be included in a particular group of veiling women, which in turn pulls her into the orbit of the religious norms of the broader community to which that particular group subscribes.

4. The hijab as connection-maker

Miriam, a Finnish woman in her late 20s, had a very different conversion story. She also dresses very differently from Aisha, preferring long skirts, long-sleeved tops and a small scarf that covers her hair but not her neck. Converted 2 years prior to the time of the interview, she had no connection to any local Muslim communities, and her only Muslim contacts were her Arab husband and his family, who live abroad. Miriam has one child, and is practically a single mother in her husband's absence. She tells the history of her scarf-wearing as follows:

> In Finland, I've worn this kind of a scarf [a small scarf covering most of the hair and the ears but not the neck] since the spring… It was actually because in 2010 we visited Jordan and I wore there for the first time the full scarf and the family saw me wearing it… Then [my husband's] brother came to visit [Finland]… and when I heard he's coming and thought that they've seen me with the scarf and I kind of can't appear with them without the scarf so I started wearing this… I couldn't imagine myself any more without a scarf in front of the family.

When Miriam married her husband, the husband's family asked if she wanted to convert to Islam. When she refused, the topic was never brought up again. Muslim men, unlike Muslim women, are allowed to marry a non-Muslim, so there is no doctrinal compulsion for conversion of the bride [20]. Nor had her husband ever indicated, after she eventually did convert to Islam, that he would wish her to veil, or indeed that he had any opinion on her dress whatsoever. However, Miriam herself had a desire for continuity of dress in front of her husband's family and thus compromised between what she calls the 'full hijab' (and which she considers 'ideal'), and a version of it that can be worn in Finland without risking drawing too much attention to herself. Her choice is even more interesting in the light of what she says about her Finnish family:

> I didn't tell [them about my conversion] directly; they've been left to deduce it from the changes that have happened to me. They've not said anything [negative] about it, and my mother even wanted to buy me a scarf, which was really nice. We were at the [open air] market in Porvoo, they have handmade woollen scarves there, and it was really kind of her because I think they think I've converted because of my husband.

In a Finnish cultural context where the family does not necessarily communicate through expressing themselves in verbal and direct ways – a fairly typical situation in many Finnish families – a garment-gift may gain considerable significance, for it eloquently says that one's choice of religion – and by extension, one's broader lifestyle – is accepted and even supported by one's family. This kind of gift is also highly emotionally invested. A valuable gift, handmade (if not by the donor) [15], and embedded in intimate family relations, the gift clearly carries the personality of its donor, in this case, Miriam's mother, a non-Muslim who nonetheless wishes to signify her acceptance of her daughter's religious choices and forms of norm-observance.

A garment gift may also signify a new family bond created through marriage. Many of the women interviewed in the study mentioned scarves and other garments that they were given by their mothers-in-law. For example, Afra, an Iraqi Shi'a Muslim woman in her early twenties, married her husband in an arranged marriage.

> It was through my aunt. His sister asked if I'm married. … Then they came to visit and asked for my hand and my father asked me what I think, do I agree? I asked what do you [both the parents] think, what kind of a family is it? The family is good and it has a good reputation, we knew this is a high-status family… [O]ne doesn't look at the boy what he's like, what he's done, but at the family. Because the family is responsible for the son. If he does something [wrong], the family takes the responsibility. I thought: that's a good family, the best family here in Finland, really good reputation, no one has as good a reputation here in Finland. So why not?

In the frame of Shi'a Iraqi marriage, reputation, as well as status, is something that a family holds as a unit, and thus every individual's behaviour is judged as part of that unit. Therefore, a family unit holds a position within a community that defines each family member's status in that community, but at the same time each individual contributes to her or his family's status position. In a 'traditional' Muslim view on marriage and women, the women's honour is directly connected to the family honour, and therefore the women of the family also strongly influence the family's honour through their actions [21].

In light of this, it is not very surprising that after her engagement, and especially upon her marriage, Afra faced new requirements regarding her dress code.

When I got married, my mother-in-law gave me clothes; she had bought them abroad… At that time I didn't yet wear a black long robe, I had trousers and a top down here [indicates below mid-thigh] and then the scarf. This robe⁵ I started to wear when I got married. It was [my husband's family's] wish and I said why not.

Here it is important to consider this requirement within the frame of the Finnish Iraqi Shi'a community. The family Afra married into is said to be directly descended from Prophet Mohammed. Within the Shi'a community, the descendants of Mohammed hold a special, very highly regarded position. They are also permitted to wear a certain special shade of green in their clothes, which makes them very recognisable within the community, particularly during celebrations. Such high status and clear visibility within the community is highly likely to motivate the family to protect their reputation more carefully than they might need to do otherwise.

Indeed, Afra learned that she was marrying into a family with stricter religious dress codes than her own family has. For example, her younger sisters wear trousers, tunics and scarves, while her husband's sisters all wear more covering forms of dress. (Afra's own family's responses to her dress changes are discussed in the next section.)

In respect to dress, we are different because they [the husband's family] all wear the abaya⁶ and the jilbab. When a girl goes to school, they dress [like that] immediately. Now [one young daughter] wears trousers and a tunic but they slowly teach her to wear the abaya… But us, mother wears the abaya and the jilbab but we don't, we wear jeans and tunics and skirts. We are different in the sense that it's not so particular, not so necessary to have the abaya. I didn't either, only when I married I put it on.

Afra's sister-in-law, Kayani, a Finnish convert woman who married into the same family, also wears the same more covering form of dress. But she frames her dress style as a personal choice that fits her character, personal convictions and sense of style better than the trousers and tops that she initially wore after her conversion.

I've always worn [covering clothes]; I've never been a [sleeveless] top-person. Our upbringing was such that in the summer I might have worn a tee-shirt, but I never wore anything horribly revealing. I've liked skirts and dresses. It wasn't a great change; it was actually just the scarf [that was new].

She altered her dress style before her marriage, stating that in the progression of her conversion career [23], she 'gained more courage' and therefore was able to embrace a more covering style which she felt was more 'like me'. Thus, she does not consider her dress choices to have anything to do with her husband's family but rather she believes that they derive from her personal integrity and preferences. In the eyes of the community, however, it is highly likely that her dress and behaviour are viewed in the context of family status and its protection. The hijab carries connotations of family reputation and intimate family connections, and gift-giving between women of different generations is a powerful means of enforcing family forms of control over individual women.

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⁵Afra wears the jubbah, a long robe loosely covering the body from the neck down to the wrists and ankles. It is not unlike the better-known abaya (see next footnote).
⁶The abaya is 'a traditional Arab cloak that a person dons over his or her clothing when leaving the home', 'a long-sleeved robe that covers the body from the neck to the floor'. [22] Abayas are typically black but are often decorated, especially the sleeves and the fronts.

5. The sacrifice of goods and vanity

Both Afra, Shi'a Iraqi and Nura, Sunni Somali, spoke of certain kinds of sacrifices connected to their veiling. These were both more material sacrifices – involving giving away one's garments, contributing to charity through the giving of garment gifts – and also more personal sacrifices, involving the sacrificing of certain worldly desires.

On one occasion, Afra was interviewed together with her mother and her 19-year old sister. Afra's mother spoke limited Finnish, so her daughters interpreted her statements. It was clear that this Shi'a Iraqi family interprets religious dress as involving not just the wearing of certain garments thought to indicate piety, but also the intentions and motivations of the wearer herself. Afra explained how her mother interpreted Afra's attire:

> *The more you make an effort for the religion, the more you work, the better level of paradise you achieve… Mother makes a comparison that I who wear the long robe get more, because I'm young after all, want to dress fashionably, want to look pretty but I still cover myself for God. Because I fear God and put the long robe on, I get more virtues, I get more points. But [a woman who] dresses according to fashion, she gets less.*

The sacrifice for her faith is framed as neither material nor directly social. It is rather a question of a sacrifice of one's supposed desires and vanity. A young woman who is expected to be vain and have a desire to dress fashionably, gains more religiously through her sacrifice of donning non-fashionable attire. It is not directly a question of covering the body to greater or lesser degrees, but more a question of embracing more sober styles of dress for the sake of enhancing one's religious credentials. Afra's sacrifice of being fashionable in order to win religious credibility is a kind of gift – she gives up to her community and to Islam in general her vanity, in the expectation that the counter-gift of religious approval will come her way in time. Moreover, she gives away her fashionable clothes. By redefining them as castoffs, she can disentangle her personality from those now unwanted and un-loved objects. This in turn opens up a symbolic space in her life, and a literal, physical space in her wardrobe, for more religiously suitable garments.

This is where her mother-in-law's gift garments came directly into play. These gifts that Afra was given were donated partly for the benefit of family reputation. The family into which Afra married dresses more conservatively than does Afra's family, and therefore the garment gifts powerfully socialised Afra into the norms of her new family, thereby ensuring in their eyes the maintenance of familial honour and perceived piety. Yet the garments were also given as gifts for the perceived religious benefit of Afra herself. Her in-laws gave her covering forms of dress in the belief that they would endow Afra with greater personal religiosity. Thus the gifts were at the same time acts of kindness and forms of spiritual care, while also acting in some ways as subtle acts of aggression, making demands as to how an individual now belonging to a high status family should dress, look and behave [3].

As mentioned above, the religious status a woman gains through wearing more obviously religious forms of dress is not only valid for herself but also for her family. Afra's mother, who herself wears the jubbah, throughout the interview stressed the fact that Afra dresses in a more covering manner, while she seldomly referred to her younger daughter's dress style.

She wears trousers, tops and tunics with a scarf. Yet the mother, Afra and Afra's sister all agreed that the sister is also appropriately covered, and the family seemed to exercise no direct pressure on her dress style.

This was unlike Nura, who admitted to openly criticising her sister's less conservative dress style. For Nura, religious duty is the most important aspect of dress, and it is the religious duty ascribed to her garments that makes them dear to her:

> *In my opinion the clothes aren't the thing, but that you obey God. If a garment serves that purpose it becomes important. Not so that you're attached to material, but you wear certain [clothes] because you're a Muslim and you obey God and that's it. Nothing else. In my opinion Muslims shouldn't cling to anything worldly. You wear what you wear because Allah has told you to and you obey God, and there's no greater reason.*

Through duty to God, Nura's garments become both symbols of that duty and tools that help her to fulfil and meet it. At the same time, she recognised that 'people have favourite clothes', although she considered such preferences as worldly desires that should be discarded, along with the garments themselves. Here we see the opposite of the religiously approved gift, namely the cast-off, the garment deemed to have failed to meet certain religious standards. But while Nura states that clothing is important only insofar as it represents religious conviction and 'nothing else', she also, as we saw above, feels fondness of certain garments and needs a significant religious motivation finally to give them up. Indeed she sacrificed more than just a mere garment in the moment she described this way:

> *[The garment] was very dear to me… But… in my opinion it was useless to leave it in the closet; I got a migraine and I couldn't [wear it]. Someone else wanted to start [wearing] the [khimar], which is a great thing if another Muslim wants to cover herself more.*

Nura describes how she had a khimar in her wardrobe, which she was not wearing but her sentimental attachment to it meant that she did not want just to throw it away. But when she found out that another woman was in need of such a garment, she was enthusiastic about giving it away as a gift. By gifting it, the object was treated with the respect she felt it was due, while it could function as a means of extending Muslim piety, by allowing another woman to have a style of dress which met the criteria of a pious look and behaviour. Turning the garment into a gift therefore solved a personal problem while extending the reach of the norms of Islam onto another person.

Charity is one of Islam's five pillars. Giving clothes to charity – whether Islamic or not – is also a way of controlling the number of garments one owns at any particular moment, while managing the guilt that the contradiction between consumerism and religion may well provoke. Nura explained in this vein:

> *I've also learned to recycle the clothes I don't wear anymore so that my closets won't be stuffed. So that I won't feel guilty for having closets full of clothes.*

Charity is a particular kind of gift [16]. While the act of charitable giving can create bonds and debts of gratitude between individuals, it is also the case that Muslims recognise charitable giving as a religious duty, while the Muslim receiver of the charity is also aware of this. So when another young Somali woman, Zaynab, elaborately spoke of her charitable acts of

sending old garments to her home country, she was engaging in a different kind of act from what her community would consider a 'proper' gift (i.e. the giving of a new garment, not the donation of second-hand clothes).

This became evident when the interviewer discussed garment gifts with Khadija, an elderly Finnish convert who had a long history of being acquittanced with Finland's Somali community before her conversion. Khadija had befriended many Somali families through her work for the City Council of Helsinki, and the community had learned to appreciate her efforts for their well-being. A group of women wanted to gift her a garment[7] to show their appreciation. Before making the garment, the women came to show the fabric to Khadija, to demonstrate that the garment she was to receive was new and made specially for her. According to Khadija, this is crucial for Somali gift-giving: it would be unacceptable to give a second-hand gift. This is why it is so fundamentally different to engage in charitable giving (of used garments) as opposed to personal gift-giving (of new and bespoke clothes) within this community. This garment gift had all those women who participated in the selection, making and presenting of it embedded in the object itself. A 'proper' gift must come with personality, with spiritual charging, and thus it carries with it connotations of the whole Finnish-Somali diaspora community, which Khadija, as a Muslim, holds especially dear. It is important to stress how this kind of gift differs from the garment gifts described above. Those are cheap, industrially produced garments that gain their spiritual value from the purpose they are meant to fulfil. They are far from the personal, carefully selected and prepared gift that Khadija received. Yet both kind of gifts come with sets of social connections and expectations, and effectively enforce and strengthen links and connections between individuals and the ethnic-religious groups of which they are part or which they have joined.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter we have considered what happens when garments are passed as 'Islamic' gifts from one woman to another. By being rendered as gifts, such garments are symbolically charged in powerful ways. They are perceived not only as 'Islamic' and indicative of religious piety, but also as expressions of friendship, of the essence of the person who is the donor, and of the expectations and norms of the group to which the donor belongs. When passed between individuals, the garment-gifts create individual-to-individual, as well as group and community, bonds and a sense of inclusion and belonging, while also serving everyday functional purposes for the receiver. They draw symbolic community boundaries and establish alliances, inclusions and exclusions [25]. Bonds between the women of a particular family can be created and nurtured through garment gifts. Such gifts can also invite new members into a family and act as means whereby non-Muslims are converted to religious observance. These garments are essentially gifts of continuity, aimed at establishing long-term relationships

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[7]Khadija described the garment as 'traditional Somali dress', which is likely to refer to Dirac. This is a type of garment that Finland's Somalis would nowadays wear only in gender-segregated celebrations, if even there. Dirac 'is a full-length, sleeveless, quadruple-shaped dress-like garment, often made of translucent fabric'. [24] It is the sleevelessness and transparency of this garment that makes it unsuitable for public appearances of veiling women.

which will uphold community bonds and religious practices. To receive such a gift is an honour; but to refuse them risks causing great offence, in terms of rejecting not only a personal overture but also the behavioural norms of the religious community which stands behind the donor. To refuse a garment-gift from a community member or family member risks certain sorts of social catastrophe. To fail to participate in expected ways in the community after receiving a garment gift can mean a severe loss of face. In such ways, garments given as gifts work as powerful means of socialisation and norm enforcement.

These are particularly female and 'Islamic' forms of gift-giving, yet they involve similar kinds of patterns of obligation, belonging, transmission of values and socialisation into expected behaviours as other types of gift-giving practices among other groups in different situations. Our empirical data here demonstrate that some of the original insights of Mauss as to pre-modern gifting practices are still compelling today, even when the nature of the physical objects being gifted is profoundly shaped by globalised garment industries and the conditions of ethnic diaspora. The gift remains today a powerful means of pulling individuals into dense webs of community connections.

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How Do Social Values and Norms Affect Architecture of the Turkish House?

Nevnihal Erdoğan

Abstract

This chapter investigates the relationship between social, cultural and religious traditions and the architecture of vernacular housing. It also represents a search for answers as to how the Turkish cultural traditions of the traditional Turkish family, beliefs, values and rituals influence housing architecture. The relationship between the house form and sociocultural factors can be explained through a model. Therefore, in this chapter, a model that consists of four parts and is flexible is used. It shows the linkages between architectural artifacts selected or devised by a culture, architectural values, social norms and social values. We illustrate the model through a study of the traditional Turkish house, focusing on how social values such as religious beliefs or the relationship between the male and the female figure, family structure, statue of the family in the society, privacy of the family, neighborhood, hospitality and social values in Turkish-Islamic tradition relate, in order to build form in Anatolia.

Keywords: traditional Turkish house, social values, social norms, architectural values, architectural artifacts

1. Introduction

It is known that the formation of dwellings and architectural forms is affected by a wide spectrum of factors, and that the characteristics of dwellings are not only determined by physical influences or factors but also shaped by the results of all sociocultural factors within the society. The design of the house is influenced by both cultural values and choices. Houses reflect rules, norms and social relationships. In the same way, houses are replete with symbolic meanings.

This chapter investigates the relationship between social, cultural and religious traditions and the architecture of vernacular housing. It also represents a search for answers as to how the Turkish cultural traditions of traditional Turkish family, beliefs, values and rituals influence housing architecture.

For housing is a cultural fact, it is affected by cultural values of the society to a large extent. Rapoport [1, 2] was instrumental in describing the cultural variability in the ways people designed and constructed their houses. According to Mazumdar, they are made up of rules, norms and social relationships [3], which according to Lawrence and Low they are replete with symbolic meanings [4, 5].

Some scholars tended to focus on the symbolic meanings and purpose of the house [1, 6–8]. Several studies have demonstrated that religious beliefs influence the layout of micro-spaces, including those of the house [9–16]. Rapoport agrees with this opinion when he adds that religion is a factor that affects both the environment and individuals within that very environment [1]. The hierarchical space designed and the sacred spaces in Hindu households were examined by Mazumdar and Mazumdar [3, 17]. On the other hand, while there have been many studies that focus on religious symbolism, meaning and ritual, there are only a handful of researchers who have been studying the gender-based separation and its relation to space [18–21].

Regarding the issue at hand, there have been a number of comparative cultural studies [1–22]. In their investigations about the domestic architecture of Iran, scholars such as Mazumdar and Mazumdar [23, 24] have focused on the interrelationships between religious traditions and domestic vernacular architecture and the relationship between religion, majority-minority intergroup relations and vernacular domestic architecture.

Many scholars have taken an interest in the study of the spatial surrounding of domestic life by focusing on the ways to achieve a better understanding of the use and meaning of the home environment. In Pierre Bourdieu's famous study of the Berber house, he underlines the symbolic significance of domestic spatial patterns [25]. Other scholars have conducted extensive research into M'zabite (Berber) houses in Algeria. According to Bellal [26], *"the Berber house is not only defined as formal or informal, it is defined foremost as male/female, Muhram/non-Muhram and as then as formal/non formal."* Kazimee and Mcquillan [27] stated that a pattern of 'diurnal rotation' is key to the layout of domestic courtyards in Afghanistan, and that this pattern is embodied in more monumental Afghan structures as well.

In traditional cultures such as those found in Islamic countries, values are largely shaped by religious ideology. Some studies about domestic architecture in Iran have been carried out. Memarian and Brown [28] explained the impact of climate and of religious ideology (Shi'a Islam) on the spatial and formal organization of the traditional courtyard house in Iran.

From this perspective, very few works have systematically identified and analyzed the relationship between cultural values in Turkey and architectural features of the Turkish House. Despite this, Atik and Erdoğan [29], Erdoğan and Atik [30] have analyzed features of the traditional Turkish House in relation to the sociocultural factors of the country.

In this chapter, an abstract model of the relationship between cultural and social values and architecture is represented, and case studies of traditional Turkish Houses in Turkey are provided to help exemplify this very approach to the relationship between cultural and social values. Architecture has been analyzed through the traditional Turkish House in which cultural groups live.

2. Model of the relationship between social values and architecture

The relationship between the house form and sociocultural factors can be explained through a model. Therefore, in this chapter, a model that consists of four parts and is flexible is used. It shows the linkages between architectural artifacts selected or devised by a culture, architectural values, social norms and social values. The elements depicted in the model can be analyzed through a systematic exploration of certain questions presented in a tangible-intangible direction, such as "What architectural artifacts are in use?" "What architectural values effected the circumscription of choice of artifacts?" "What social and behavioral norms, prescriptions and proscriptions affected these architectural values?" "What social values affected and gave rise to the social norms, regarding activities, certain behavior and choices?"

We illustrate the model through a study of the traditional Turkish House, focusing on how social values such as religious beliefs and the relationship between the male and female figure, family structure, status of the family in the society, privacy of the family, neighborhood, hospitality and social values in Turkish-Islamic tradition interact and coexist to build form in Anatolia. Thus, traditional Turkish House explains an artifact of culture, which is a synthesis of subcultures of Thrace and Anatolia. This relationship between the house form and sociocultural factors has been explained using a four-part model, which shows the relationship between architecture and social factors by Mazumdar and Mazumdar [3] (**Figure 1**). This model can be used as a methodological tool for exploring and understanding the relationship between a particular culture and its architecture and also to learn about the value and meaning of specific architectural artifacts.

In the working standards of this model, the social norms and the relations of values such as extended family pattern, the status of family in society, relationships between men and women, neighborhood relations, the daily habits of the family, traditions, beliefs and their rituals
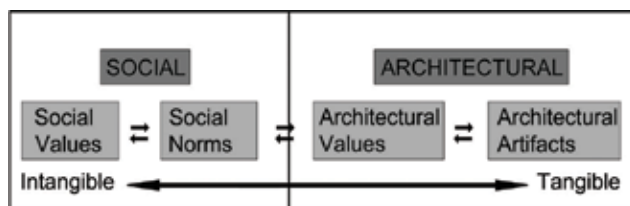
Figure 1. Model of the relationship between social values and architecture [18].

among the society, their hospitality, the beliefs and practices of the Islamic tradition have been surveyed. The aim is to explain the cultural background of the Turkish House which is a synthesis of Turkish and Anatolian culture. Six different housing structures from various regions of Turkey, which include the characteristics of 'Turkish House' from the beginning of the twenty-first century, is examined as part of a postgraduate research project based on this model, and results have been obtained through the data collected from naturalistic fieldwork around Turkey. Survey method has been used in addition to architectural analysis, observation and visual documentary, together with several interviews with family members.

The houses inspected within the research content are Kocaeli/Suzan Şimşek House, Kırklareli/Fatma İner, Sakarya/Kozan Family, İzmit/The house on Kapanca Street, İzmit/Sırrı Paşa Kioks, Kocaeli/Tavşancıl village-Hatice Tuzcu House. They are able to accommodate many cultures. Finally, necessary methods for understanding the relationship between culture and architecture need to be used. There are many lessons for architects and designers to learn when using modern design criteria relating to culture in general design principles.

2.1. An example: traditional Turkish house in Anatolia and Thrace

This chapter deals with the examination of the relationship between cultural traditions and domestic space of the traditional Turkish Homes, along with specific factors. These factors will be explained through an analysis of the religious "Suni" sect Islamic beliefs in Turkey, followed by a description of the sociocultural traditions of the Turkish House. Six housing structures from various regions of Turkey, which embody the characteristics of the "Turkish House" from the beginning of the twenty-first century, are studied. I examine in the following sections each of the four parts, namely the social values, social norms, architectural values and architectural artifacts for this period (**Figure 2**).

2.1.1. Social values

The features of social values I focus on are family structure and the status of family within the community, relationships between men and women, hospitality and neighbor relations, the daily customs of the family, and the customs, beliefs and rituals within the life of the community.

2.1.1.1. Family structure and the status of family within the community

The extended family represents the foundation of traditional Turkish society [31]. The traditional Turkish family consists of the mother, the father, children and grandparents if they are still alive. The mother is the second head of the household after the father. In rural areas, any male child who has completed his military service and is married also gains the right to be called the head of the household. If there is more than one male child in the house, then the eldest one has the right to the title after his father. Whether or not a married son should leave his father's home is based on a few conditions. These conditions usually are as follows: (1) when the family owns a vast amount of land and (2) when the brides who have become a part of the family are incompatible. Even though it is rare, sometimes a daughter can bring a husband into the family home. This is called an "iç güveyi." The family dynasty is kept on with the sons.

The status of the family was related to the economic and social position of the family. It was important for the family to be an extended one and have a long past and bygone. The career
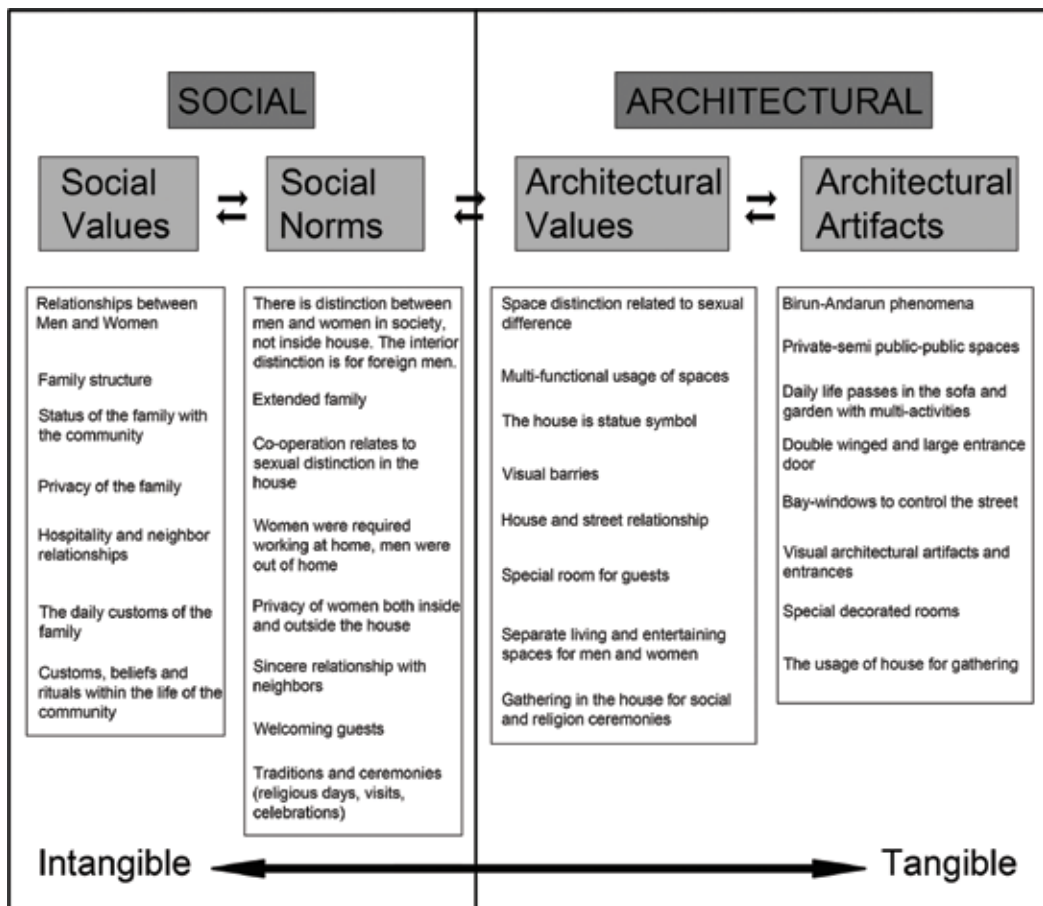
Figure 2. Model showing the socio-physical aspects of the Turkish house.

of the head of family, whether he is a soldier, a clerk or a merchant reflects and affects the social status of the family.

In Turkish-Islamic tradition, women had a significant place in the family. She had a role in educating children and making decisions regarding the family as a unity. The other important traditional behaviors were to respect women, the faithfulness of men and women and their interdependence [30].

2.1.1.2. Relationships between men and women

Islam is not only a religion but also a lifestyle, which organizes religious activities and daily behaviors. Under Islamic Law, men are required to pray in mosques all together, especially on Friday prayers. According to Turkish-Islamic traditions, men have the responsible position as a head of the family. Women are required to do the house work, bring up the children and lead the social interactions while men are required to work outside of the house, earn money and protect his family. Men usually live in a world without women outside because of the distinction between public and private. This resulted in separate gatherings for ceremonies like weddings and house entertainments.

Islamic principles required that women should be accessible or visible to only certain categories of men [32]. There existed no strict restriction regarding men and women of two or three generations living in the same house in the traditional extended family. According to Islam as practiced in Turkey, there are no restrictions regarding the members of two or three families residing in the same house either. It was, however, very important to preserve the privacy of the family against people outside of the house. There was a certain distinction between men and women in the society, and women covered themselves for privacy and protection.

2.1.1.3. Hospitality and neighbor relationships

The family's relationships with their neighbors were as strong as the ones they had with their kin and close relatives. It was so strong that when it came to a social support system and solidarity, after the family it was the neighbors who were the closest. In the Turkish and Islamic traditions, relationships with neighbors are very important and the rights of neighbors are protected.

Hospitality means welcoming guests, treating them well, making them comfortable as if they are in their own homes, during valuable social functions such as weddings, funerals or circumcision feasts. Hospitality was evident in the way that the guests were received, the way they were served and were seen off.

2.1.1.4. The daily customs of the family

The daily customs of the Turkish family differed with the seasonal climate, number of people and meaning, and they would live either outside or inside or both. The most fundamental customs were attached to daily life, how they spent their free time, getting together for meals and how they greeted guests.

2.1.1.5. Customs, beliefs and rituals within the life of the community

Social values are deep-seated convictions, shared beliefs and ideas held by the culture and include general ideas within a society, regarding the society itself and people's role in it, about people's relations with the environment, with the cosmos (cosmic view), with the world (world view) and religion. Through mutual interactions and negotiations among its members, societies develop a way of socialization among its members. Traditions take form in time and are necessary for the survival of society.

The social values in Turkish-Islamic tradition are like religious days, weddings, funerals, births and circumcision feasts. The society has some traditions and rules about these values, especially for wedding ceremonies. This became a tradition in years generation by generation. Funerals are religion-related ceremonies. Another tradition is to give birth in the house.

Orientation is particularly important to Muslims. Since prayers must be performed while facing in the direction of the *kibla,* mosques must be oriented in the direction of Mecca. In home construction, one pays attention not to build the courtyard toilet so that it should not be in the direction of Mecca.

2.1.2. Social norms

Primary social norms and prescriptions that developed out of social values were the requirements for privacy. The privacy of women and family can be shown as the main norm of the traditional Turkish society. While men have a more active role in society, women have to protect themselves outside of the house and they are expected to not make a contact with strange men. But they were allowed to meet their male relatives and neighbors in the house without covering. As a result of extended family, there was cooperation in the house. According to this, men were responsible for the relations outside of the house, while women were responsible for the relations inside of the house. Neighborhood relations were so strong that helping each other was important. Also, treating the guest with respect and sincerity can be counted as one of the social norms of the Turkish society. Offering help to each other among neighbors was important, and women usually did the housework with their women neighbors. Hospitality was another value, which required treating people with respect and honor. Ceremonies like religious holidays, weddings and funerals were held in the house, in separate or the same spaces for men and women.

2.1.3. Architectural values

These social norms required definite sorts of behavior, which in turn led to certain architectural values. Since there is a distinction between men and women in society, visual barriers were used for privacy of women and family. It also developed the house form, which emphasized the lack of visibility of the inside of the house in order to protect privacy. The distinction between the public and the private supported the development of a guest room, which was used to welcome male guests. Other parts were used by women in daily life.

Therefore, there were no direct entrances into the house. One entrance was from the street for males directly into the guestroom. The other entrance was used by women and family members and was from another street, opening to the garden. Furthermore, the door of the main entrance was a status symbol.

The house represents the status of the family in social life, and the house is multifunctional and designed flexibly according to the extended family. The usage of rooms varies regarding the needs of the extended family. Rooms have multiple functions. Multifunctional rooms were used in daily life, which also opened to the courtyard and the garden. The house-street relation was designed as public, semi-public and private spaces in hierarchy.

The close neighborhood relations and hospitality in the Turkish society's traditions show their effect on the specialized places in the house and that shows the value of the guest. As a result of hospitality, a special place was prepared for guests. Guestrooms were better decorated than the other rooms in the house.

Social and religious ceremonies were held in the house. In these ceremonies, close relatives and male or female neighbors could be in the same place, but they gathered separately in different places in the presence of foreign men. The hall (sofa/Hayat) was both a transition area and a gathering place.

2.1.4. Architectural artifacts

The small house did not provide separate areas for different genders. The space could be used both by men and women separately at different times during the same celebration or could be used by men and women at the same time (**Figure 3**). But big houses had two separate quarters. The *haremlik* (andaroun) consisted of those areas reserved solely for the use of family members and offered privacy (the concept of "mahremiyet") to its users. The *selamlık* (Birun), on the other hand, included those areas used to host male guests and the stable for mounts of the house. In this sense, these latter areas are considered semi-public.
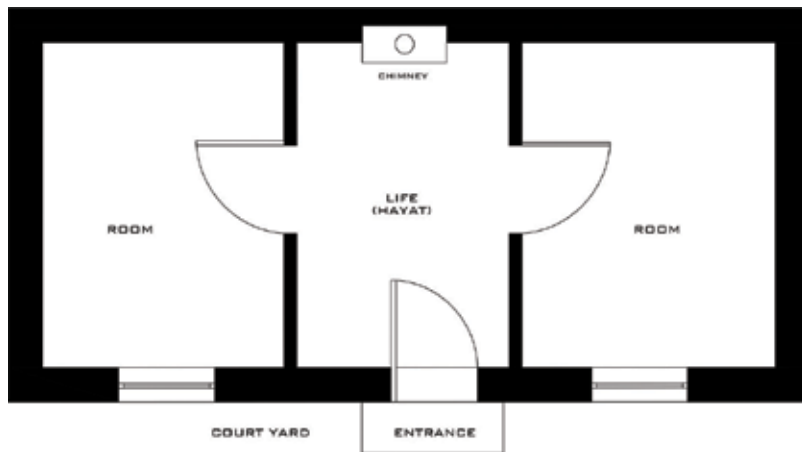
Figure 3. Ground floor plan of Fatma Iner house.
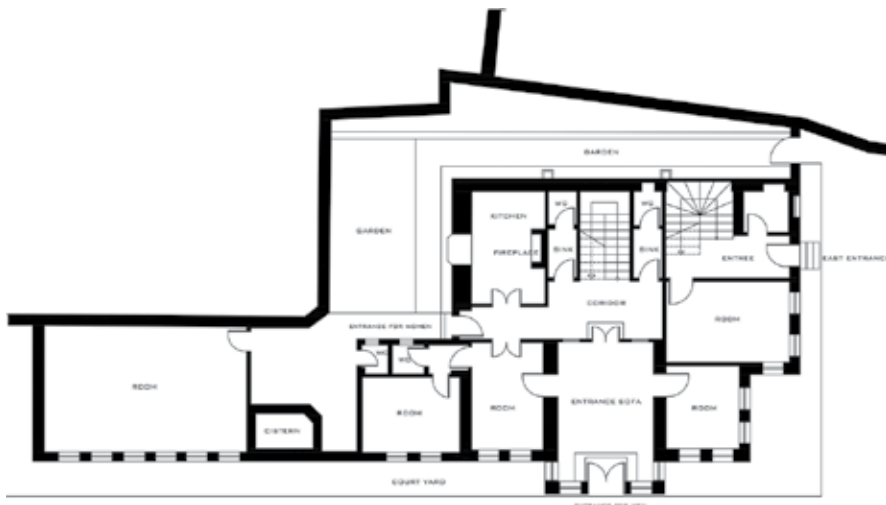
Figure 4. Ground floor plan of Sırrı pasha mansion.
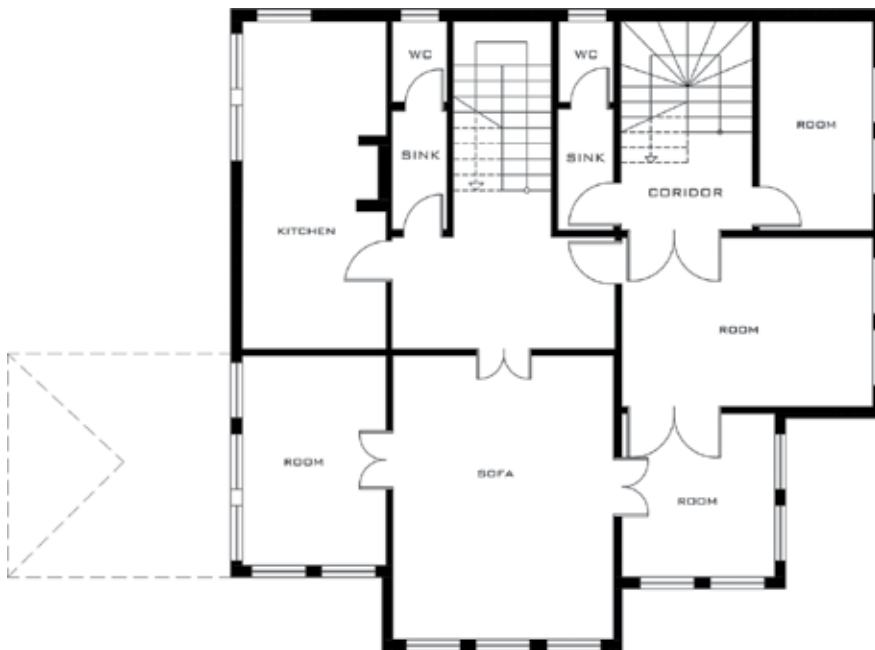
Figure 5. First floor plan of Sırrı pasha mansion.
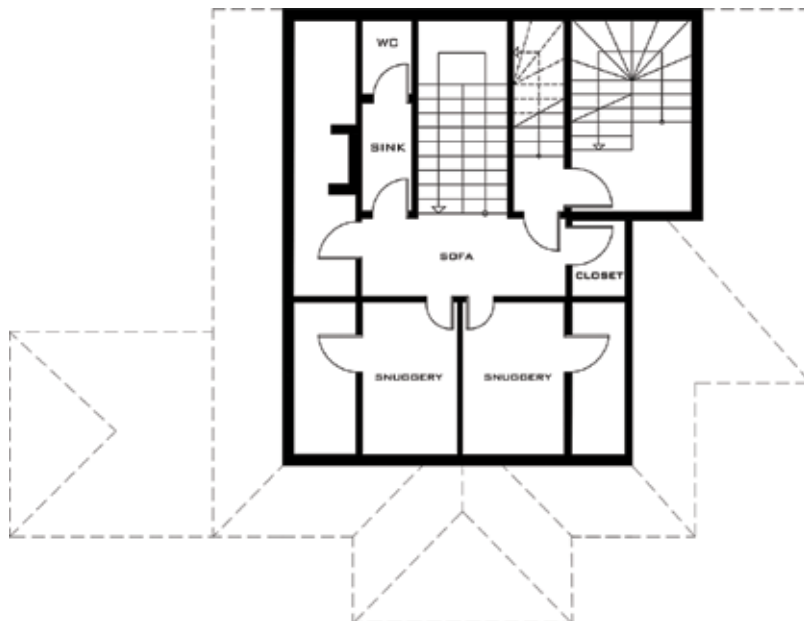
Figure 6. Second floor plan of Sırrı pasha mansion.
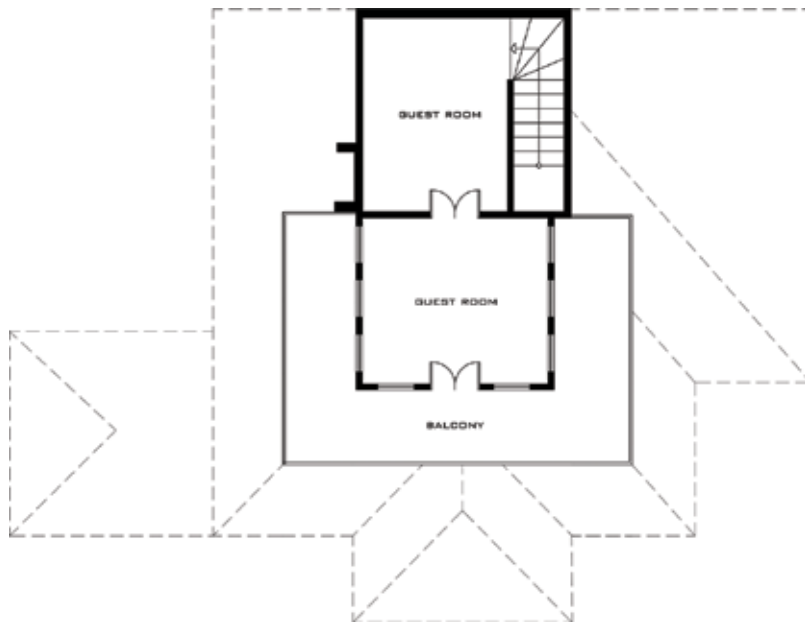
Figure 7. Attic floor (cihannüma) plan of Sırrı pasha mansion.

Figure 8. Bay windows of Sırrı pasha mansion and the windows overlooking the street/garden/courtyard.
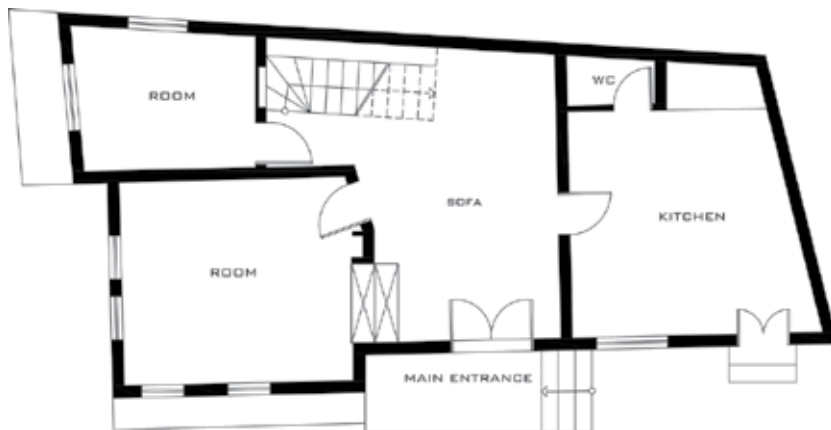

Figure 9. Guest room of Sırrı pasha mansion.
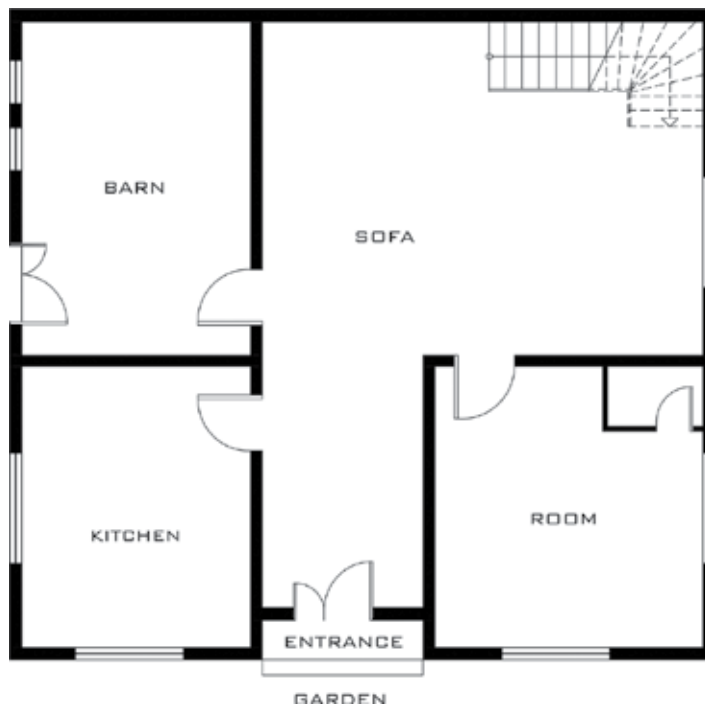
Figure 10. Ground floor plan of Kozan family.
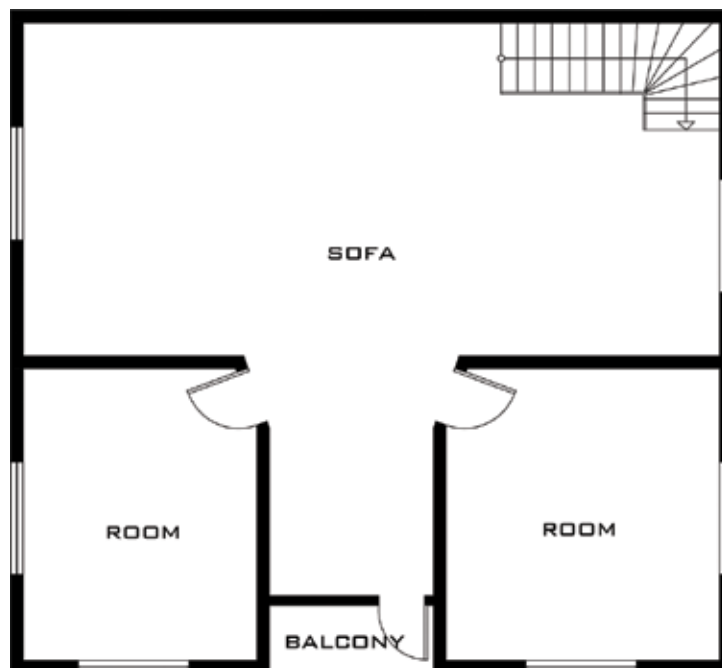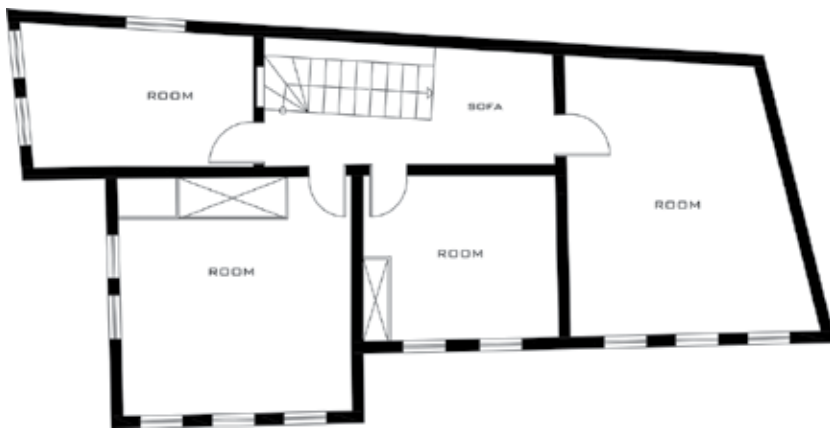

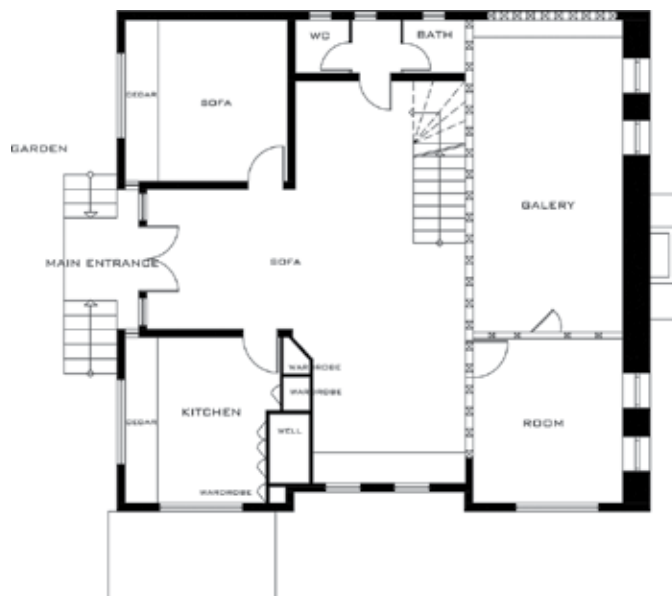**Figure 11.** Upper floor plan of Kozan family.

Figure 12. Site plan of house on Kapanca street.

Figure 13. Ground floor plan of the house on Kapanca street.

The house had two entrances (**Figure 4**). One of them was the entrance, which was used by male guests in order to protect the privacy of women and family. From the courtyard it led directly into the house. At the same time, it was the main entrance with a large, wooden, double-winged entrance door.

**Figure 14.** Upper floor plan of the house on Kapanca street.

The houses within the case study reflect how the extended family structure reveals the need for more rooms for the family members. They were used according to the family's lifestyle. Daily life had been lived in a multifunctional room where the family gathered, spent time, ate and slept (**Figures 3**, **5**, **7**, **11**, **14**). While the bathing closet in the rooms was used for daily cleaning, the Turkish bath (hamam) was used for weekly cleaning (**Figures 6**, **10**, **15**, **16**, **18–20**).

**Figure 15.** Ground floor plan of Hatice Tuzcu house.

**Figure 16.** Upper floor plan of Hatice Tuzcu house.
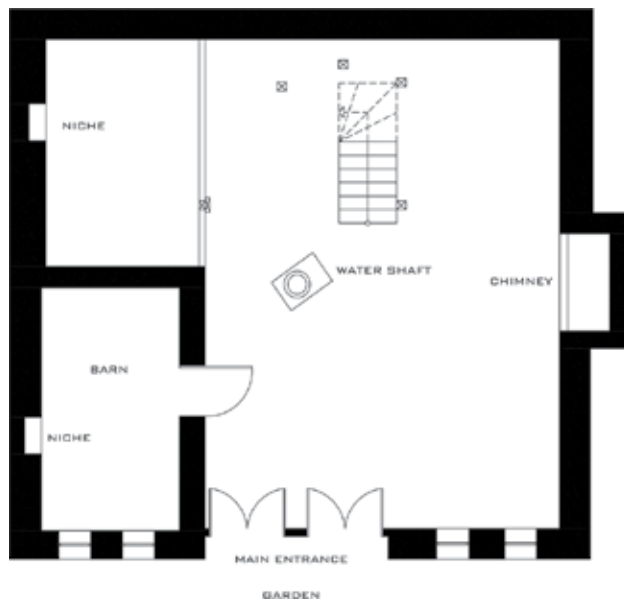
Figure 17. Basement floor of Hatice Tuzcu house.

The courtyard functioned as the most active space in the house and was the center of the family's activities. This space, according to season and climate (sun, wind and shade), was used all day long for various activities. This rather introverted lifestyle made the garden a very important space and brought nature in the house (**Figures 3**, **10**, **12**, **17**).
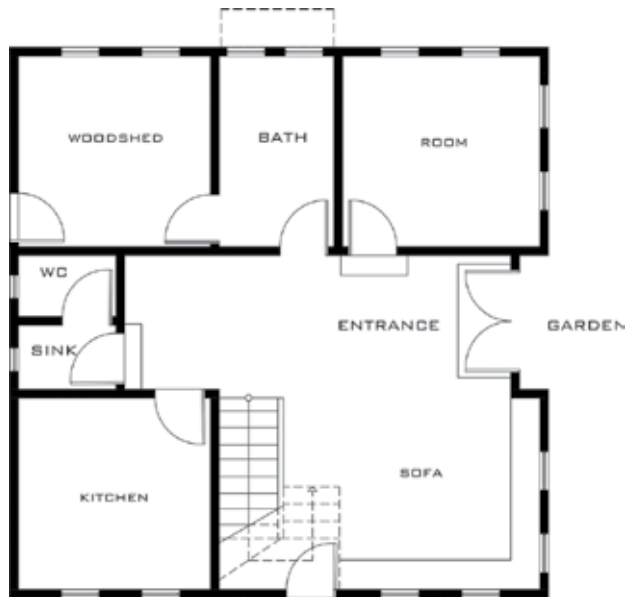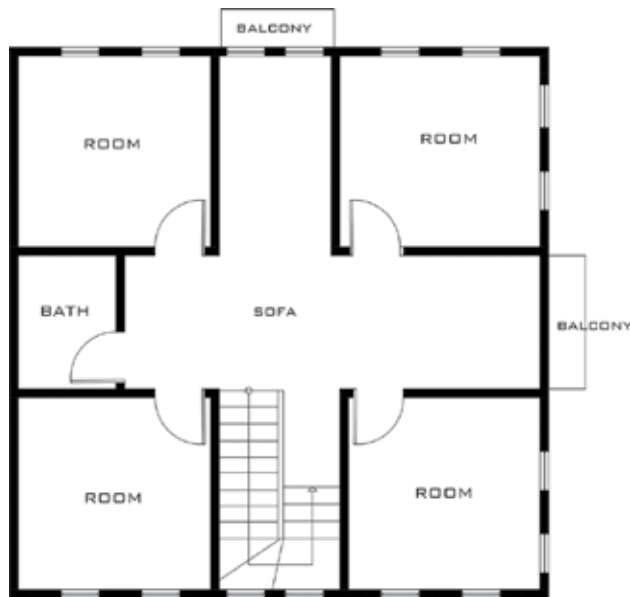
Figure 18. Ground floor plan of Suzan Şimşek house.
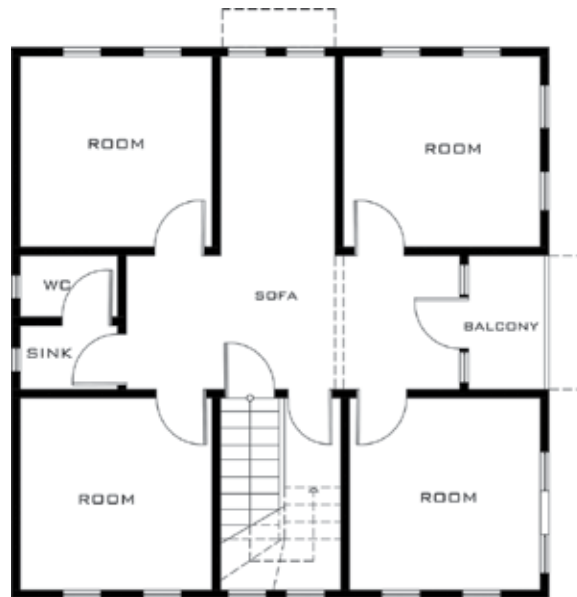
Figure 19. First floor plan of Suzan Şimşek house.

There is a single entrance to the house, and the common place that people see upon entering the house is called the Sofa (hall), while the place which is called Hayat (Aşana, Sofa, Eyvan) [33] is often used by male guests. Other private rooms of the house were used by women. Ceremonies and entertainment were held in the sofa. These places were gathering spaces for

Figure 20. Second floor plan of Suzan Şimşek house.

relatives and neighbors in religious days and visits, for example, when people visited the baby and the mother after a birth or a circumcision. A special preparation was carried out for these situations. Wedding ceremonies and entertainment were held separately for men and women, sometimes held together for a specific gender group in the same space inside the house (**Figures 3–5**, **7**, **10**, **13**).

The guestroom phenomenon existed for foreign men. The guestroom in the ground floor or the upper floor was used as a room to welcome male guests (**Figures 7**, **9**, **13**). A special room was designed for guests with special decoration and furniture because guests were important. The guest room parlor was obviously different and better decorated than other rooms of the house (**Figure 17**).

Windows, doors and wells were planned strategically so that the inside could not be seen from outside. Bay windows were used to control the street/garden/courtyard and visitors (**Figures 7**, **8**, **14**).

3. The role of traditional house in Turkey for contemporary housing design

During the modernization process of development countries, modern housing forms have become the focus of scholars and researchers in the search to achieve a balance between modernization and traditional values and to retain or blend some traditional elements in newly built modern houses. It has been observed that the rapid transition from traditional houses to the multistory apartment buildings is very common within urban areas of modernizing third world countries.

Contemporary architecture (modern architecture) in Turkey has been examined in generating a modern idiom from traditional architectural, this is *"is not repeating what was valid and built for the past but is a continuous search for abstract intrinsic values to guide new solutions"* [34].

Sedat Eldem, Hassan Fathy and Rifat Chairji had contributed to regionalism within modernism, which shares a similar fate in the Islamic countries. Sedad Eldem is also a devoted regionalist in search of an architecture that is primarily Turkish. Eldem has coupled a continuous search into the source of traditional architecture with a modern practice that drives from, and reinterprets, the finding of these sources. Turgut Cansever and Behruz Çinici are also students of Eldem and kept using his architectural ideas, and Doruk Pamir has also elevated the quality of the contemporary architectural environment by employing the regional idiom, regional input and environmental determinants. During the tourism boom in Turkey in the 1980s, new vernacularism dominated the design of tourism-functional accommodation. This approach utilized Mediterranean rather than Anatolian architecture in the holiday village of group EPA in Bodrum and Datça.

During modernization, developing countries supported using traditional elements in modern houses in today's architectural practice rather than traditional house form, material, construction form and appearance.

Eldem always based his traditional architecture references on abstractness and interpretation. *Even though* "his research in the form of collective typologies as the Turkish house and Turkish garden. Also, In drawing only abstract references from what belongs to the past he use proportions and structural systems, reinforced by the selection of materials, blended wish very limited use of ornamental geometric patterns exclusively in the form of surface treatment and tiling. Behruz Çinici's reflection of Eldem's idiom occurred in the Middle East Technical University Staff Housing, where he not only utilized traditional load-bearing brick construction but also referred to the central Anatolian courtyard-type house plan with many details from Turkish house types" [35]. The widest area of the application of neo-vernacularism approach is obviously architecture intended for tourism and cultural uses. Local forms and settlement patterns have been revived in conventional technology and precast accessories in order to imitate the prevent vernacular on Holiday Village in Bodrum and Datça [36].

4. Conclusion

We find out some results using the four-step physical model of Mazundar and Mazumdar [3], which shows the relationships between culture and architecture. Restricting the study to tangible architectural artifacts alone seems problematic, as certain aspects of the relationship are left unexplored, leaving us with an incomplete understanding. The model allows us to catalog and analyze the design, forms, spaces, structures, materials and effects of geography, topography, climate and general environmental conditions. The relationship between architectural artifacts, behavioral norms and social values can be explored systematically through the use of this very model, and the questions are outlined. This model helped us understand culture, cultural values and cultural norms and has shown that combined approach is necessary. Thus, it can be used as a pedagogical tool for researching and understanding cultural values that relate to architecture.

Turkish houses clearly exhibit sociocultural factors, which affected their formation in general. Courtyards, sofas, rooms, hayat and service areas are placed in an order from open to closed in a hierarchical way. The houses provide flexible usage for men and women without distinction in the family. The distinction between men and women under Islamic Law had let to the concept of a 'guest room', different entrances and bay windows to the street. The separate entrances for women and men required a hierarchy like private, semi-public and public order. The status of the family affected the size of the house, the number of floors and the shape of entrance doors. Moreover, extended family structure created multifunctional rooms that provide flexible usage for day and night, and summer and winter. The importance of sincerity among neighbors shows itself with shared garden walls and common doors. Men and women gather separately in sofas, rooms and courtyards of the house in all social ceremonies. Especially, courtyards and gardens play an important role in social gatherings with relatives and neighbors. As a result of hospitality, guest rooms emerged as a special space for male guests. In many of these studies, both gender and space relations have been studied through physical occupation and a representation of a range of complex meanings, emotions, experiences and relationships, but spatiality remains implicit. Space and gender relations in Islamic societies have also been the subject of study in the context of public and private realms [37]. Orhun studied proceeding from the premise that space constitutes gender relations in its structure and functioning and asks how gender relations are systematically expressed in various spatial-functional types of houses. It argues that each type developed locally into a complex spatial culture [38].

I can conclude my argumentation regarding the traditional Turkish House after finding out the sociocultural factors that affect the formation of those very factors in general. Courtyards, sofas, rooms and service places are in order from open to close in a hierarchical way. The case houses provide flexible usage for men and women without distinction in the family.

This chapter aims to analyze the influence of specific sociocultural values regarding the design and meaning of domestic architecture. It is obvious that there are lessons for architects and designers to create modern design criteria related to culture by using a general design principle. Also there could be a need to research how are cultural values in architectural education. Educators need to confront several fundamental and troubling questions. The existence of multiple cultures and philosophies prompts questions about pedagogical and curricular organization in architectural education. In future study, I discuss how educators will impart the teaching of values and norms in teaching and learning processes.

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This is the first book that highlights how socialization is experienced as being a complex concept in everyday life in various countries of the world.

The book represents the first attempt to provide an original and multidimensional definition of socialization that takes into account the contribution of different disciplines, such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, education, and even architecture, to underline its importance as a key aspect of human experience. Therefore, it represents an extraordinary opportunity to outline new horizons in the field.

Man is always something more than what he knows of himself. He is not what he is simply once for all, but is a process...—Karl Jaspers

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