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(Editors)

FIGURES OF MIGRATION

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CUPRINS

Foreword	5
I. PRELEGERI ÎN PLEN / PLENARY CONFERENCES	
MIRCEA MARTIN	
Migrație și cosmopolitanism (Migration and Cosmopolitanism)	15
RADU DIMITRIU	
Migrațiile internaționale ale populației din Moldova (România) – lumini și umbre (The International Migrations of the Population of Moldova [Romania] – Lights and Shadows)	25
II. DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION IN EUROPE / DINAMICI ALE MIGRAȚIEI ÎN EUROPA	
AGNIESZKA WIERZBICKA	
Migration as a Choice. European Habitats of <i>Everlasting Travelers</i>	35
ELENA SIMONA VRÂNCEANU	
Highlights of the European Unity and Migration Pressures	45
VALENTINA DIANA RUSU	
Enterprise Migration to Obtain Finance: Evidence from CEE Countries	54
STEFANO SCARCELLA PRANDSTRALLER	
Migration and the Challenge of Ascriptive Sub-Cultures	64
CHRISTIAN TĂMAȘ	
The Long Arm of the Jihad: Migration as a Weapon	76
SILVIU-PETRU GRECU	
Models of Political Behavior: Political Attitudes and National Identity	86
III. MOBILITY AND PROFESSIONAL OPPORTUNITIES / MOBILITATE ȘI OPORTUNITĂȚI PROFESIONALE	
NICOLETA ROGOZ	
Rolul <i>mentoring</i> -ului și al contextelor de învățare experiențială în alegerea mobilității de studii și a migrației la tinerii înalt abilitați (The Role of Mentoring and Experiential Learning Contexts for Choosing Outward Mobility and Migration among Highly Able Students)	99
RARIȚA MIHAIL	
Migratory Habits of Some Vulnerable Occupational Groups from the Rural Areas	110
OANA RUSU	
Problematika migrației în sport (Issues of Migration in Sport)	125
LOREDANA-FLORENTINA CĂTĂRĂU	
Comunități virtuale în sfera familiilor transnaționale (Virtual Communities in the Transnational Families Area)	134
ANA-MARIA CHEȘCU	
Străini francezi la Galați între anii 1885 și 1900. Jurisdicția consulară (The French Foreigners at Galați, between 1885 and 1900. The Consular Jurisdiction)	142

IV. MIGRATING IDEAS AND BELIEFS / IDEI ȘI CREDINȚE ÎN MIȘCARE

ROXANA PATRAȘ	
19 th -Century Romanian Manuals of Rhetoric: Accepted Precariousness of Memory and Acceptable Political Volatility	153
PAUL-CEZAR HÂRLĂOANU	
Rut, paradigmă a imigrației și emigrației (Ruth – a Paradigm of Immigration and Emigration)	162
IULIAN FARAOANU	
Exodul, paradigmă actuală pentru migrație? (The Exodus, a Current Paradigm for Migration?)	174
CONSTANTIN RĂCHITĂ	
Reprezentările „străinului” în traduceri antice grecești ale Pentateuhului: γ(ε)ιώρας, πάροικος, προσήλυτος (Representations of the “Foreigner” in Ancient Greek Translations of the Pentateuch: γ[ε]ιώρας, πάροικος, προσήλυτος)	185
ANDREI CONSTANTIN SĂLĂVĂSTRU	
<i>Ragione di Stato</i> and <i>Raison d’État</i> : the Migration from Italy to France of a New Political Doctrine in the Early Modern Period	195
RUXANDRA-MARIA STOIA	
Când nu se filosofează acasă. Discursuri din timpul exilului în Antichitate (When Philosophy is not Made at Home. The Discourses During Exile in Antiquity)	205

V. EXPLORATIONS OF OTHERNESS IN THE POSTHUMAN AGE / EXPLORĂRI ALE ALTERITĂȚII ÎN ERA POSTUMANISTĂ

LORELEI CARAMAN	
Migrating Otherness: Posthumanism and the Rise of Human-Animal Studies.....	215
GABRIEL CRUMPEI, ALINA GAVRILUȚ, GABRIEL GAVRILUȚ, IRINA CRUMPEI TANASĂ	
The Mathematic Models of Axiomatic Systems in the Cognitive Perception of Reality and Intercultural Relations.....	222
LAURA CARMEN CUȚITARU	
The Design Features of Language and Evolutionary Morality	234
CAMELIA GRĂDINARU	
Corpul în comunicarea mediată de calculator: urme ale unei migrații incomplete (Online “Migration” With a Twist: The Body in Computer-Mediated Communication).....	240

VI. LITERATURE AND CULTURAL TRANSFER / LITERATURĂ ȘI TRANSFER CULTURAL

EMANUELA ILIE	
The Inter-War Constantinople. A Romanian Woman Writer’s Perspective	257
ANDREEA MIRONESCU	
Literatura ca mediu al transferului cultural. Scriitori basarabeni în România după 1991 (Literature as a Medium of Cultural Transfer. Bessarabian Writers in Romania after 1991).....	266
OANA ANCA DUBĂLARU (FOTACHE)	
The Imaginary of Migration in W.G. Sebald’s Novels.....	275

LOREDANA NETEDU Interdisciplinary and Intertextual Migration of the <i>Hooligan</i>	284
MARIA PARASCHIV <i>Honour</i> Code Between Islamic Tradition and Migration in Elif Shafak's Homonymous Work	295
ADRIANA ELENA STOICAN Transcultural and Traditional (Trans)migrant Identities in Jhumpa Lahiri's <i>Hema and Kaushik</i>	302
PAULA-ANDREEA ONOFREI "The International Theme" in Henry James's Works	314
VII. LANGUAGE CONTACTS AND LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION / CONTACTE ÎNTRE LIMBI ȘI ADAPTARE LINGVISTICĂ	
ANCA-DIANA BIBIRI, CRISTINA BLEORȚU Se poate vorbi despre <i>rumaño!</i> ? (Can We Talk about <i>Rumaño!</i>)	327
ALINA BUȘILA, OXANA CALMIȘ Terminologization and New Lexical Acquisitions in the Field of Migration Brought Forth by the Migration Crisis of 2015-2016	335
CAROLINA POPUȘOI Lărgiri semantice în limba română din Basarabia (Semantic Enlargements in the Romanian Language from Bessarabia)	349
ALINA-MIHAELA PRICOP Nume de vânturi străine în limba română (Foreign Winds în Romanian Language)	361
VIII. MULTILINGUALISM AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION / MULTILINGVISM ȘI ACHIZIȚIA CELEI DE-A DOUA LIMBI	
SHULAMIT BACHAR, ADELINA ȘTEFĂRȚA Language Development of Ethiopian Immigrants' Children in Israel	371
OANA BARGAN (MAXIM) The Status of Multilingual Legal Texts: Migration and Legal Translation	379
LAURA IOANA LEON Barriers to Communication in Pharmacy Settings	388
ALINA-MIHAELA PRICOP, ANCA-DIANA BIBIRI, ANDREEA-GIORGIANA MARCU, MIHAELA MOCANU, EMILIAN PRICOP, OANA ZAMFIRESCU Despre lexicul comun din dicționarele explicative multilingve pentru științe exacte și tehnologie (About the Basic Vocabulary of Multilingual Explanatory Dictionaries for Technical Sciences and Technology)	394
SORINA POSTOLEA Migrating Knowledge. New Concepts and Their Settling into New Languages	406

Migration and the Challenge of Ascriptive Sub-Cultures

STEFANO SCARCELLA PRANDSTRALLER*

Abstract: Sociology demonstrated that every kind of society functions only if some prerequisites subsist, and modern Western societies, named *acquisitive*, are not an exception. These prerequisites should be related to a shared form of psychological organization, that is, *subjectivity*, which is the result of a peculiar socio-economic path of development, going through Renaissance, Enlightenment, bourgeois Revolutions, industrialization, market economy and liberal democracy. The *subject* is a self-referent individual, owner of civil, social and political rights and motivated for self-achievement, within the limits of the law of a secular and democratic State. But this path marked a deep rift toward traditional practices in societies of any age and context, namely the *ascriptive* societies, from the ancient and medieval past of Europe, to those still present in a large part of the World, from Asia, to Africa, to Middle East, especially where Islam is the dominant religion. These societies have an inherent functional form of psychological organization – *ascription*, which subordinates individual to the constant reference to a superior metaphysic (of collective or religious order), which rules every aspect of human life. Therefore, in this type of societies it is quite impossible to discern religion from politics or individuals from tribe, clan or family. With the entrance of millions of ascriptive people (which often group together in strong sub-cultural communities) within acquisitive societies, migration opens a serious and unprecedented challenge, whose challenge refers not only to the legitimation of law and values of hosting societies, but also to the idea of personal freedom and human rights.

Keywords: *subjectivity, ascription, migration, challenge, sub-cultures*

Introduction: the Discovery of Different Forms of Psychological Organization

According to many sociologists and psychologists, the psychological organization of human beings is the same, independently from factors as different geographical location, degree of civilization, culture, beliefs and religion, and it has also always been the same in the different ages throughout history, from Antiquity, to Middle Age, to early and late modernity. For all these authors, *subjectivity* is an innate quality of the human being, configurable as consciousness, self-reflection, agency or something else, in any way common to all.

Some authors, Talcott Parsons, Herbert Marcuse, Nicklas Luhmann and Michel Foucault, provide the theoretical tools to unveil *subjectivity* as a human creation, a form of self-construction of man linked to certain presuppositions and civilization achievements, and as a social technology essential to allow the existence itself of modern acquisitive societies.¹

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¹ Cf. S. Scarcella Prandstraller, *La soggettività come tecnologia sociale. Un orientamento per le politiche*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2008.

The base of this focal path of discovery is due to Talcott Parsons, who states that:

a) the social system is a system of action, a cybernetic hierarchy of four interdependent sub-systems which are, in ascending order: the organism directed to adaptation, the system of personality to goal achievement, the social system to integration and the cultural system of maintenance of the latent structure;²

b) the connection between society and individual happens through the mechanism of introjection, taken from the psychoanalysis of Freud. In the course of primary socialization, the individual introjects as an integral part of his personality the values of social orientation proposed by his/her parents; this is made possible because, since the very beginning of his/her life, the individual is organized as a subject, acting in accordance with certain roles, which include expectations;³

c) the self-organization of the individual as a subject is an essential step in primary socialization, because it makes possible the attribution of roles. The subject's own history is a series of transitions from role to role in the different stages of life, from childhood to maturity to old age; without roles and reciprocity of interaction, socialization wouldn't be possible at all.⁴

Parsons's most important contribution, however, is the dichotomy *achievement* vs. *ascription*. Parsons uses these terms as a structural variable concerning alternative ways of considering the individual object of an interaction process. *Achievement* means considering the individual on the base of general criteria of performance, including educational qualifications and capabilities, achieved through instruction, experience and personal commitment. *Ascription*, on the contrary, means basing the consideration of the individual on ascribed qualities, a combination of features that he or she cannot modify in any way, such as lineage, sex, age or ethnic group.⁵

Although Marcuse does not give a definition of *ascriptive societies*, he surely takes this step in account when he refers to the different stages of civilization, using the term *acquisitive society* in precise reference to the modern society of the subject. In addition, Marcuse affirms that cultural factors, which have determined the construction of the individual as a subject, have also "severed the instinctual roots of society."⁶

Marcuse also states that psychoanalysis epitomizes a precise theory of the human being as a subject who is psychically organized to be able to interiorize in

² P. Baert, *Social Theory in the Twentieth Century*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1998 (it. tr.: *La teoria sociale contemporanea*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2002, pp. 74-76).

³ T. Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1951 (it. tr.: *Il Sistema sociale*, Edizioni di Comunità, Milano, 1996, pp. 211-219).

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 221-311.

⁵ Cf. T. Parsons, *The Social System*, ed. cit.

⁶ H. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud*, The Beacon Press, Boston, Massachusetts, 1955 (it. tr.: *Eros e civiltà*, Einaudi, Torino, 1964, pp. 61-78).

a certain way the repression of instincts and to subordinate the principle of pleasure to that of reality, functions essential to the existence of the modern, acquisitive society. This means that different kinds of people with a different mechanism of interior repression not only existed in past societies, but could also exist in the future through an inversion of dominance between the principles of pleasure and of reality, and be liberated from permanent repression of the instinctual structure.⁷

Nicklas Luhmann defines the *subject* as “a system which makes use of sense”. He also explains that subjectivity “unlike directly lived experience, is not an innate quality, and not something already existing simply to bring into evidence through phenomenological reflection, but a late form of human self-construction, socially full to the maximum with presuppositions.”⁸

Luhmann clearly states that subjectivity is just one of the many possible forms of self-construction of the individual, and was preceded by a different kind of man, functioning in response to “the social orders of the past”, based on a “prearranged structure of needs and goals”. In these traditional and pre-modern societies, “something would have existed that represented the ultimate basis of orderly human coexistence”, itself based on “institutionalized foundations of sense at the level of the overall society”, identified as the “cosmic order” or “ultimate interpretation of the world”. On the contrary, in acquisitive societies, those of the subject, “undetermined complexity is replaced by a vision of world intended as reducible complexity” and the basic processes on which sense is based have lost their general grade of institutionalization and are relegated to “partial systems, relatively well identified”, like science and law.⁹

The main characteristic of an individual organized as a subject according to Luhmann is the ability to make use of sense by him/herself, without referring to foundations of sense institutionalized at the level of the overall society, and thus to be self-referential. The subject is the actor and unique judge of his/her actions, free to choose among many possibilities and to find success and master roles based only on his/her performance.¹⁰

In other words, the subject builds him/herself as the possessor of individual rights, recognized as such by the partial system of law and immunized by the social link with his/her community of origin against any religious entity overseeing his/her life.¹¹

Society’s control over a self-referential subject is assured by the roles and the expectations of role, in terms of *expectations of expectations*, through the

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 180-181.

⁸ N. Luhmann, J. Habermas, *Theorie der Gesellschaft oder Sozialtechnologie – Was leistet die Systemforschung?*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1971 (it. tr.: *Teoria della società o tecnologia sociale?*, Etas Libri, Milano, 1973, p. 34).

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 7-9.

¹⁰ N. Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1984 (it. tr.: *Sistemi sociali. Fondamenti di una teoria generale*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2001, pp. 147-149).

¹¹ Cf. M. Bortolini, *L'immunità necessaria. Talcott Parsons e la sociologia della modernità*, Meltemi, Roma, 2005.

normative mechanism of double contingency. It appears evident in Luhmann that both subject and subjectivity are typical products of modernity, due to the particular path of historical, economic and socio-political development of the Western world from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment and the French and American Revolutions. In other contexts, free of the effects of acculturation during and after the colonial period, an essentially traditional model of man and society would have remained dominant.¹²

Michel Foucault observes that neither mercantile society nor the later bourgeois society of the Age of Reason ever manifested itself as a simple “association of isolated juridical subjects”. Instead the individual has become “the fictitious atom of an *ideological* representation of society”. At the same time, the modern individual conceived as a subject is “a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called *discipline*.”¹³

Discipline is “the unitary technique”, made possible by the scientific knowledge of the body, “by which the body is reduced as a *political* force at the least cost and maximized as a useful force”. It is essential in the construction of the subject, who has a manipulable self, because he/she continuously needs adjustment to fulfil roles and to be socially predictable. Along with the other technologies of “accumulation of capital” and “social division of work”, discipline makes possible “the accumulation of men” in the new organizations of modernity: the factories, the armies, the bureaucracies, etc.¹⁴

Nowadays sociological approaches such as *dynamic sociology* recognize the existence of different forms of psychological organization and propose consistent systems of intervention. *Forms of psychological organization* are schemes by which are organized both perception and thought. They are entities which find their position in the frontier zone between the *social system* and individual *psychological systems*. They are the forms of human action and experience, fundamental ways of being, *structural prerequisites* underlying the *system of personality*, which may assume a widely differentiated range of orders and traits. They drive most of sensations, perceptions, objectives, intentions, motivations, attitudes and beliefs.¹⁵

Ascription and Ascriptive Societies and Cultures

Ascription is a simple and very old social technology and a form of psychological organization. It has characterized traditional societies and cultures, from those of ancient and medieval civilizations in Europe and elsewhere to those of the Middle-East, Asia, Africa and large parts of the world up to the present day. Ascriptive societies differ widely from each other, from tribal and primitive to

¹² N. Luhmann, J. Habermas, *Theorie der Gesellschaft*, ed. cit., pp. 20-34.

¹³ M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, Gallimard, Paris, 1975 (it. tr.: *Sorvegliare e punire*, Einaudi, Torino, 1993, pp. 212-213).

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 240-242.

¹⁵ S. Scarcella Prandstraller, “Dynamic Sociology: a Social Theory in Action”, in 2nd International Multidisciplinary Conference on Social Sciences & Arts SGEM 2015, Conference proceedings, Albena, Bulgaria, 2015, pp. 439-450.

highly sophisticated, and at present, after the acculturation processes of the colonial and post-colonial age, are very rarely pure. China, India and many Eastern and Islamic societies are hybrid types, where subjects and ascriptive people live side by side, and both forms have their strongholds in different roles, organizations and institutions, often giving rise to contradictions and conflicts. Ascription is a form of psychological organization also typical of nomad communities, as Roma or Sinti, from long time widespread all over Europe.

These are the pattern variables of ascription:

1) *Hetero-reference*: it is an external element that directs decision-making in the community as a whole and is also an absolute precondition for the processing of experience by individuals; it is a religious/metaphysical or traditional entity or concept, in any case unquestionable and taken for granted.

2) *Necessary sharing*: hetero-reference is also something which “represents the ultimate reason for the order of human coexistence”¹⁶, and so expresses the essence of the “community as necessary sharing” and as the “irrevocable basis of the social bond.”¹⁷ The individual feels deeply bound to his/her community, which may be religious and as such potentially universal (such as the *Umma* for Muslims), or more narrow: a race, for example, a family, a village or a tribe, which in any case represents a sort of *chosen people*.

3) *Inequality*: human beings are not equal and their differences are due to ascribed attributes (birth, inherited religion, lineage, race, caste, sex, age). Anyone who is part of the chosen people deserves respect and solidarity, while others are enemies, unbelievers or aliens and deserve hate, contempt or indifference; in the community, there are “procedures of *ascending individualization*”¹⁸, from the lowest subordinates to the chiefs, where everyone has a rigid status.

4) *Imperative of tradition*: there are no written and changeable norms from human legislators but rather only rules directly derived from sacred texts or oral tradition, which must be accepted and cannot be changed (the *Shari'a* for Muslims). These rules regulate in a complete and integral way both the duties toward the hetero-reference and every segment of social life; the community has a group of experts (Mullah, Brahmins, etc.) with a monopoly on the interpretation of these texts or rules, while power is vested in a unique authority, both political and religious at same time.

5) *Cultivation*: under ascription, social life is in large part the “fulfilment of previously established ultimate goals”; socialization processes have no reason to exist; the new-born is simply cultivated, introduced by the elders to the culture, the “cosmic order” or “ultimate interpretations of the

¹⁶ N. Luhmann, J. Habermas, *Theorie der Gesellschaft*, ed. cit., p. 7.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Bortolini, *L'immunità necessaria*, ed. cit.

¹⁸ M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, ed. cit., pp. 210-212.

world”¹⁹ of the chosen people’s community. There are no choices about what to believe, to be or to become: almost everything is already decided by ascribed attributes and rigid status.

6) *Functional unity of Self*: the ascriptive man/woman is complete, and is what he/she is in every moment of life and of the day and has no concept of changeable social roles. He/she does not know the rift between duty and pleasure, working and leisure time; the ascriptive individual simply does what he/she does because of a recognition that it is right; it is part of an order of things that cannot be changed and it is not up to him/her to modify or judge.

7) *Oral communication*: communication and transmission of knowledge are mainly oral, and every relationship is direct and personal, not mediated by social roles; the essential dimension is the empirical one; great importance is bestowed on learning sacred texts and teachings from memory; this does not impede a wide utilization of the new media, with images and oral messages.

8) *Intensity and visibility of punishment*: little freedom of action is left to the individual and rules are harshly enforced; disagreement is not admitted; deterrence is not assured by the certainty of the sanction, but by its intensity, its public and exemplary nature.²⁰

Subjectivity and Acquisitive Societies

Subjectivity is an elaborate social technology, requiring several preconditions in society itself, which must be in place and working properly to assure its replication. These are the main preconditions for the existence of an acquisitive society:

a) *Irrelevance of religion* as a shared factor in social orientation; religion is downgraded from inherited and “unquestionable truth” to “personal belief”, one of the many possible choices in the private sphere of the subject, while the State is secular and neutral regarding atheism and the different religions.

b) *Equality of rights*, civil, social and political, which must be granted to all subjects; this also means the irrelevance of ascribed attributes.

c) *Balanced structure of opportunities*, in terms of the possibility of gaining access to the diverse roles of society, feasibly reachable through a prearranged and knowable system of performances and selections.

d) *A single map of reality* shared by all the subjects, with a prevailing rational and symbolic dimension.

e) *Disciplinary approach* in all phases of socialization and in every context, from family, to school, to all organizations.

¹⁹ N. Luhmann, J. Habermas, *Theorie der Gesellschaft*, ed. cit., p. 2.

²⁰ M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, ed. cit., p. 7.

- f) *Merit system*, which allows every subject to advance in a mode proportional to his/her capacities and investment in terms of effort and self-denial.
- g) *Certainty of sanction* in case of transgression of the law and social rules.

Subjectivity is the form of psychological organization of the individual that functions in acquisitive societies. Typical of western modernity, but widely exported all over the world during and after the colonial period, it is passed down through primary and secondary socialization processes, with these pattern variables:

- 1) *Self-reference*: the subject is a self-referential system “who makes use of sense”. He/she is oriented to self-actualization, to the realization of his/her social destiny, solely responsible for his/her own decisions and actions because subjectivity entails an emancipation from any reference to superior entities of a religious or metaphysical nature, operating as a shared “sense of the overall society.”²¹
- 2) *Principle of reality*: the psychological system of the subject is disciplined and able to distinguish between what is simply possible and what is in fact feasible. The subject has largely interiorized the repression of his/her instinctual structure²² so as to be able to give up or at least delay the fulfilment of his/her own desires or sometimes even needs, in favour of the achievement of an objective future that is not only possible but feasible.²³
- 3) *Internalization of rules*: this is the internal consequence of the socialization process, of an introjection into the individual’s personality system of modes of orientation consistent with the norms of the social system and the values of the cultural system²⁴; the subject must have interiorized the majority of repressions, so that they become “automatic and unconscious.”²⁵
- 4) *Social predictability*: this is the external consequence of the socialization process, which reflects on social behaviours and entails both the mutual identification of other individuals as subjects and the sharing of the same social structures, in terms of “expectations of expectations”, in accordance with the normative mechanism of “double contingency.”²⁶
- 5) *Manipulable self*: the individual has to follow the path of disciplinary instruction, and to satisfy the specific requirements of the social role, which to a greater or lesser extent requires the systematic adoption of institutionalized behaviours and subordination to a disciplinary order.

²¹ N. Luhmann, J. Habermas, *Theorie der Gesellschaft*, ed. cit., pp. 7-9.

²² H. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, ed. cit., p. 61.

²³ L. Benvenuti, *Malattie mediali. Elementi di socioterapia*, Baskerville, Bologna, 2002, pp. 22-23.

²⁴ Cf. T. Parsons, *The Social System*, ed. cit.

²⁵ H. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, ed. cit., p. 77.

²⁶ P. Baert, *Social Theory*, ed. cit., p. 90.

6) *Functional differentiation of self*: it is the specific way by which the subject, as a system making use of sense, reduces his/her internal complexity and increases his/her performance. This reduction leads to a division of his/her life into areas with distinct and separate boundaries (family, work, social and political activity, leisure time, religion, cultural and sport interests) in which he/she becomes a social actor, interpreting different roles.²⁷

7) *Capability of selection*: to achieve his/her goals, the subject has to be able to reduce external complexity through the ability of selection among the disordered variety of actions and messages in the environment; this is possible by means of the institutionalization of some behaviours.

8) *Capability of performance*: to reach his/her goals, the subject must display a capacity to convert potentialities into performances, which are “concrete expressions of a capability to create, increase and improve socially useful objects”²⁸; with a combination of performances the subject carries out projects and assumes roles, pursues a career and fulfils his/her social destiny.

9) *Orientation to the future*: the subject has an idea of time that is linear and open to the future, because the actualization of his/her potentialities requires the availability of time; present and future are so interdependent that “the present almost seems to stop having its own role in life.”²⁹

10) *Symbolic communication*: the subject’s communication takes place mostly at the symbolic level, where values, norms and roles may exist. Literacy is fundamental for the subject, along with the capacity for the symbolic processing of empirical situations through language and reasoning.

Nowadays Challenge: Ascriptive Sub-Cultures vs Acquisitive Societies

From the underlined features of ascription and subjectivity, emerges the real extent and unprecedented nature of the challenge represented by nowadays migrations in Western Europe. Millions of human beings, coming from peoples in large part with an ascriptive form of psychological organization enter the boundaries of the acquisitive societies, where subjectivity is a basic social technology.

The challenge is made by far more serious by the fact that many immigrants from Africa, Asia or Islamic countries do not arrive in a condition of isolation, but or already in groups, or are received by a pre-existing net of fellow countrymen. This fact may give responses in terms of solidarity to many urgent survival needs, but also creates a barrier to integration and sometimes to the learning process of the hosting country language. The more significant effect is the development and increase of strong sub-cultural communities, which often absorb large part of the social relations of the new immigrants, and preserves

²⁷ N. Luhmann, J. Habermas, *Theorie der Gesellschaft*, ed. cit., p. 41.

²⁸ H. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, ed. cit., p. 180.

²⁹ L. Benvenuti, *Malattie mediali*, ed. cit., p. 60.

indefinitely the ascriptive culture dominant in their country of origin. This challenge presents some main issues.

The first issue comes from the possible contrast between the obedience to the law of God (*Shari'a*, the *straight way*, for Muslims, whose peculiarity is to discipline the whole human activity in the external world³⁰) or of any superior reference, such as tradition, and the necessary respect of the codified law of the secular hosting state. Ascriptive immigrants mostly feel much more to be obliged to respect what their culture recognizes as part of religion or tradition (but not necessarily is such), than what is just seen as a prescription of men, as such absolutely secondary and disposable. Some examples are the problems provoked in several western countries by the use of *chador* or *burqua* by certain Muslim women, because concealing face and therefore identity, with resulting public security law violations, or the habit to butcher in open areas goats or other animals for certain religious or traditional festivities, disregarding any healthcare legislation.

The second issue is the relevance or irrelevance of ascribed attributes, like sex/gender, when compared to the relevance of social roles. For ascriptive people, being a man or a woman is much more important than the social role acquired through school, studies or career. A woman mostly must show submission, obedience and compliance to male figures such as the father, the brother or the husband, must obey to the desires of the parental group, usually driven by a patriarchal “order of gender”³¹, may not mix with males in many activities, including work or the practice of religion, and so on. To take orders, to show respect, to listen to or even to pay attention to a woman invested of a relevant social role, being also the one of medical doctor, psychologist, judge, lawyer or policeman, it is seen as something unacceptable, if not blaspheme. Even the chance given to women to drive cars or to reach a certain degree of education, as high school or university, is considered something absolutely negative and in open contrast with superior traditional or religious norms. Also any kind of domestic violence toward women in many ascriptive cultures is disregarded, being evaluated mostly as a matter of family or as a rightful action of punishment of the father/husband. And when a wife, a sister or a daughter tries the way of rebellion and self-determination in name of a gradual discovery of *subjectivity*, she very often risks harsh punishment, disfiguring, mutilation or even murder, like happened in many notorious criminal cases in Western Europe.

The third issue concerns the boundaries of individual human rights, beginning with personal freedom and self-determination. Ascriptive men don't find any meaning or value in a pretension to individual freedom, seen more as a form of rebellion toward the sacred dimension of a superior order, established by religion, revelation, tradition or God himself. For them, *human rights* do not mean anything; it is just an empty concept taken by western juridical norms, which their countries of origin were in some ways forced to implement. For Muslims, both

³⁰ A. Bausani, *L'Islam*, Garzanti, Milano, 2001, pp. 37-38.

³¹ Cf. R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1987.

the dimensions of *ibhadat*, the human duties of man toward God, and *mu'amalat*, the human duties of men between themselves, are a matter of religion and do not tolerate the intrusion of rules coming from secular authorities.³² The main decisions on the public or private life of people are essential part of the sphere of decision of tribe, clan, enlarged family or parental group. A consequence is, for example, the marriages between (or involving) children or teenagers, decided by families according with the clan's or enlarged family's interests, which are a very frequent practice in many sub-cultural communities. Another one is the exploitation of workforce, which often takes place in clandestine factories or laboratories for many hours a day, disregarding any rule of safety or labour legislation.

The concrete effects and the real consequences of these three issues on individual and collective behaviours are many, diversified and very difficult to prevent, often beyond any possible attempt of cultural mediation.

Facing the Challenge: the EU “Daphne 2” Programme

What to do about this unprecedented challenge? Nobody has a ready and definitive solution. The only feasible way in my opinion is to make aware of it always larger sectors of society, beginning with public administrations, giving an adequate preparation to the front line officials, those who are most directly in contact with immigrants, beginning with the most essential services, such as Healthcare System and Police Forces.

An example of intervention driven by the need to face the above challenge has been the *Assistance to Victims of Crime* project (A.Vi.Cri.), approved and financed inside the “Daphne 2” Programme by the European Commission, managed by the Central Direction of Criminal Police of Italian Ministry of Interior with the Faculty of Psychology 2 of “Sapienza” University of Rome.

The project, designed to enhance the relation between police operatives and crime's victims, especially those of more vulnerable categories, like women, youth and children, had the partnership of Ministry of Interior of Lower Saxony (Germany) and Devon and Cornwall Constabulary and London Metropolitan Police Scotland Yard (United Kingdom).

The training courses, started on March 31st 2008, provided for 150 officers and officials, intended to operate in the role of instructors of operatives in the different Italian police forces with information about victimization and interaction with crime victims; modules of five thematic areas were provided: jurisprudence, police professional technique, forensic medicine, psychology and sociology.³³

The module of sociology was committed to the European models of intervention on the crime's victim and to the cultural perspectives of victimization, underlining the peculiarities of the behaviour of police operator and of the reaction of victims to primary and secondary victimization processes from the perspective of possibly different psychological organization forms.

³² A. Bausani, *L'Islam*, ed. cit., pp. 41-42.

³³ Cf. A.M. Giannini, C. Rossi, *Victims' Care: A Handbook*, Echo Communication, Milano, 2009.

The contribution to face the challenge coming from the differences introduced by migrations has expanded in three steps:

a) The police officers had at first to learn to identify themselves with a form of subjectivity, to understand its features and to become aware of the possible astonishment or disappointment of people of a different psychological organization form in front of what they had the inclination to take for granted.

b) Secondly, they had to reflect on the possibility to come in contact during their service and operational activities (not only as victims, but also as authors of crime or witnesses) also with people with a different psychological organization form, as ascription in the case of immigrants from Asia, Africa and Islamic countries, but also of Roma or Sinti nomads.

c) Thirdly, the police officers had to understand how to build behavioural strategies to cope efficaciously with people with a different psychological organization form and to manage problems related to their specific condition of victimization. The examples mentioned were the difficulty of women to accept even the idea to suffer victimization from their husbands or patriarchal groups, the refusal of children to abandon their camp even in situations of continuous violence, or the resistance of forced prostitutes and irregular workers to report their condition of exploitation and blackmail.

Conclusions

After the failure, in France and worldwide, of the *assimilationist* model in front of the phenomenon of massive migrations, nobody speaks any more of a duty of the immigrant to conform his system of beliefs and values to the one of the hosting society. What's more, sociology speaks of a fourth generation of rights: after the *civil*, *political* and *social* ones, nowadays is come the time of the new category of *cultural rights*.

Alain Touraine explains that if in the past, in the *age of the social*, people were struggling to be and be recognized as equal, today people (productive categories, professions, gays and lesbians, ethnic and religious minorities, immigrants, etc.), named *post-social*, struggle to be and be recognized as different, claiming their *cultural rights*, which of course vary dramatically from group to group.³⁴

Dynamic sociology and all the sociological approaches recognizing the existence between different forms of psychological organization show that to embrace the claims of cultural rights of the immigrants it is possible just until a certain limit: the one which allows to an acquisitive society based on the social technology of subjectivity to continue functioning. This means in the first place that its preconditions have not to be denied or repudiated in any way.

To reach the goal of a possible *non-assimilationist integration*, in my opinion, acquisitive societies have to quit blindly taking for granted that men are all

³⁴ Cf. A. Touraine, *Un nouveau paradigme. Pour comprendre le monde d'aujourd'hui*, Fayard, Paris, 2005 (it. tr.: *La globalizzazione e la fine del sociale*, Il Saggiatore, Milano, 2008).

equal and immigrants are and behave like us. They have instead, on one hand, to be inflexible in applying and enforcing their laws; on the other hand, to recognize the existence of immigrants, to develop a deep knowledge of the ascriptive sub-cultures within their structure, and to prepare adequately their civil servants with training programs, police forces and public service operators to properly face the challenges.

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