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When Physical and Social Distances Produce an Analogical Perceptual Bias in the Ebbinghaus Illusion

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Abstract

Grounded theory argues that perceptual and memory processes share common sensorimotor properties, and that they influence each other during perceptual processing of the environment's features. When these principles are applied to social cognition, it was shown that to live, or represent, a situation related to a social distance concept (e.g., ostracism) leads to a similar bias on the perceptual judgements of the space's properties, illustrating that distance-physical cues are intrinsically linked to social concepts. In two experiments using an Ebbinghaus illusion based-paradigm, we investigated the symmetrical incidence produced by a perceptual physical (Experiment 1) and conceptual social distance (Experiment 2) on the perceptual judgements of size. The present findings have shown an analogical pattern of results, regardless of whether the perceived distance between the central and inducer disks was physically or conceptually manipulated. Experiment 1 indicated that when the physical distance between these latter disks was important, the size-contrast perceptual bias was weaker. Experiment 2 has shown a similar weakness of the Ebbinghaus illusion when the social distance was present between the central and inducer disks. A plausible explanation for both sets of findings is that insofar as social distance concepts are physically based, it appears that a perceptual dimension of physical distance can be reactivated by the presence of a conceptual social distance between stimuli. As a consequence, it is not surprizing that a analogical size-contrast perceptual bias emerges when a perceptual physical distance and conceptual social distance are inserted in Ebbinghaus illusion figures.

Keywords: Grounded social cognition; physical and social distances; Ebbinghaus illusion paradigm; size-contrast perceptual bias.

Introduction

Grounded theory argues that perceptual and conceptual processes share common sensorimotor properties and they influence each other, in such manner that memory can bias perceptual processing and perception can bias memory processing (Barsalou, 2008; Goldstone, de Leeuw, & Landy, 2015; van Dantzig, Pecher, Zeelenberg, & Barsalou, 2008). This reciprocal influence has notably been shown in the processing of perceptual components (Brunel et al., 2009, 2010; Riou, Rey, Vallet, Cuny, & Versace, 2015), as well as perceptual judgments of an object's size (Rey et al., 2014, 2015). Moreover, a grounded perspective assumes that situations in which these cognitive activities are involved are not independent of the emergent sensorimotor state, insofar as a given situation, lived or represented (i.e., simulated), is an integral part of these cognitive activities (Barsalou, 2008; Niedenthal, Barsalou, Winkielman, Krauth-Gruber, & Ric, 2005; Semin & Smith, 2013). Accordingly, when these principles are applied to the social cognition, it is not surprising to observe that to experiment or represent a social situation, such as ostracism (Zhong & Leonardelli, 2008) or feeling of social power (Yap, Mason, & Ames, 2013), leads to a similar perceptual bias of physical features of the environment or others.

The idea that concepts related to social situations can bias our perception of the physical space, as well as judgements of an object's properties, is known in social cognition literature (see e.g., Morgado, Muller, Gentaz, & Palluel-Germain, 2011; Lee & Schnall, 2014; Schnall, Harber, Stefanucci, & Proffitt, 2008). More particularly, it appears that physical-distance cues are intrinsically linked to social distance concepts (Knowles, Green, & Weidel, 2014; Williams & Bargh, 2008). For instance, an ostracized individual is both socially and physically kept away from the ostracizing group; this why an ostracized individual tend to perceive the rejecting people as more distant than accepting ones (Knowles et al., 2014). In the same vein, it was shown that to live or represent an experiment of social power leads to perceive others as smaller (Yap et al., 2013), which is not surprising insofar as the social concept of power is embodied within a vertical spatial dimension (Robinson, Zabelina, Ode, & Moeller, 2008; Schubert, 2005). In this respect, it is reasonable to think that it could exist a symmetrical perceptual bias between a perceptual physical distance and conceptual social distance. The present study aims to examine this analogical influence on the judgements of an object's size by using an Ebbinghaus illusion based-paradigm, which has been shown as an useful tool to investigate the reciprocity of perceptual and memory processing (see Rey et al., 2014, 2015).

// Insert Figure 1 about here //

The Ebbinghaus illusion paradigm is known to highlight a perceptual bias when two identical central disks are simultaneously displayed, which are surrounded by either smaller or larger inducers (see Figure 1). Although central disks have the same size, participants usually report that they are not. The Ebbinghaus illusion is typically

explained as resulting of a size-contrast perceptual bias induced by the inducers' size, in such a way that an underestimation of the central disk's size is observed when inducers are large, and an overestimation when they are smaller (Coren & Enns, 1993; Massaro & Anderson, 1971). Recently, it was shown that this perceptual bias is not only perceptually-based and that it may be reactivated in memory (Rey, Riou, & Versace, 2014). Rey et al. (2014) have adapted the Ebbinghaus illusion paradigm by creating a color-size association during a learning phase. For instance, large inducers disks were associated to the red colour and the small ones to the blue colour. In the test phase, the inducers disks were displayed in a physically identical size, but in different colours such as previously presented (i.e., red or blue). Their results indicated that the learned color-size associations have biased the perceptual judgements of size, in such way that the inducers' size has been influenced by the reactivated memory size (for similar results, see Rey, Vallet, Riou, Lesourd, & Versace, 2015).

In the same vein, other studies have stressed that the magnitude of the Ebbinghaus illusion is also modulated by the conceptual similarity between the Ebbinghaus figure's components (e.g., Coren & Enns, 1993). For instance, Ishii & Kitayama (2011) have used the out-group homogeneity effect (i.e., the tendency to perceive out-group members as more similar than in-group ones, see Boldry, Gaertner, & Quinn, 2007 for a review) in order to show that a phenomenon related to categorical similarity can affect the size-contrast perceptual bias. To this end, the authors have inserted pictures of American adults' faces in the central and inducers disks, and manipulated the group membership by associating a specific background colour to disks (red background was associated to the out-group members, and the blue background to the in-group ones). Similarly to classical results, the perceived size of the central-target face was overestimated when the surrounding inducers-faces was small. More interestingly, Ishii and Kitayama (2011) shown that the size-contrast perceptual bias was greater when the central-target face was enclosed by inducers-faces of out-group members (i.e., red background).

Along these lines, it appears that perceptual and conceptual dimensions of an object modulate the perceptual judgment of its size. However, could these latter dimensions lead to a symmetrical size-contrast perceptual bias? Distance-physical cues appear to be deeply linked to social concepts (Knowles et al., 2014; Robinson et al., 2008; Schubert, 2005; Williams & Bargh, 2008); if so, the distance between components of the Ebbinghaus illusion figure, whether it is perceptually or conceptually based, should leading to an analogical perceptual bias. To test this assumption, we used an Ebbinghaus illusion based-paradigm, in which the size-contrast perceptual bias was induced either by a perceptual physical distance (Experiment 1) or conceptual social distance (Experiment 2) between the central and inducers disks. We expected that a symmetrical influence should occur on the perceptual judgments of size. More precisely, the magnitude of the Ebbinghaus illusion should be weaker when the

physical distance between central and inducers disks is important, in a similar way to when the social distance between these latter disks is present.

Experiment 1: Physical distance between central and inducer disks.

Method

Participants

Sixteen undergraduate students from Paul Valery Montpellier 3 University, France, volunteered to take part in the experiment. All participants have freely given consent for their participation and reported to have a normal or corrected-to-normal vision.

Stimuli & Apparatus

Stimuli were based on the traditional configuration of the Ebbinghaus illusion paradigm. Each stimulus consisted to the simultaneous presentation of two black central disks symmetrically positioned on each side of the screen, one enclosed by six large black equally spaced inducers and another by six small ones. Two different central (i.e., 1.91° and 2.865° for the small and large diameter respectively) and inducers sizes (i.e., 2.387° and 3.342° for the small and large diameter respectively), as well as three different physical distances separating these latter disks were investigated (i.e., 3.342°, 4.297°, and 4.966° for the short, medium, and grand distance respectively, which were measured from the centre of the target-central disk to the centre of the inducers). These manipulations lead to a total of twelve configurations (2 central disk sizes x 2 inducer disk sizes x 3 physical distances).

Participants were positioned to 60 cm in front of the 17-inch ASUS X75A laptop (ASUSTeK Computer Inc.) used to conduct both experiments. Opensesame 3.0.7 (Mathôt, Schreij, & Theeuwes, 2012) was used to set up the experiments and for data collection.

Procedure

After completing and signing a written consent form, the participants were informed that they going to perform a perceptual discrimination task. Participants were asked to indicate whether the size of target-central disks was identical or different, by pressing an appropriate key on an AZERTY keyboard. The key "m" and "q" were attributed to the "identical" and "different" response, respectively. This configuration of keys was counterbalanced between participants.

Each trial began with the appearance of a fixation-cross that was presented for 1000 ms at the centre of the screen. Then, stimulus was displayed for 400 ms, immediately followed by a blank screen that was presented until participant's response. The inter-trial interval was set at 1500 ms (see Figure 2a). The twelve Ebbinghaus illusion configurations were repeated twice in a block of 24 trials, insofar as the size of the inducers was counterbalanced on each side of the screen. The 24-trial block was

repeated six times in a random order, for a total of 144 trials. The duration of an experimental session was approximately 15 minutes.

// Insert Figure 2 a,b about here //

Statistical analyses

The mean percentages of hits (e.g., participant indicated "different" when target-central disks were presented with different sizes) and false alarms (FA, e.g., participant responded "different" when target-central disks were displayed with an identical size), as well as a signal detection quality index (d') were calculated per participant and per physical distance condition (see Table 1). The d' indicator corresponds to the signal's strength relative to the noise, the more is higher and the better was the participant's ability to discriminate the central disks' size. The d' was calculated as d' index = z-value $_{\text{proportion of hits}}$ - z-value $_{\text{proportion of false alarms}}$ (see Macmillan & Creelman, 2005).

Table 1. Mean percentages of hits and FA, and the d' indicator for each physical distance condition.

	Physical distance		
	Short	Medium	Grand
Hit	0.86 (0.16)	0.88 (0.16)	0.84 (0.19)
FA	0.21 (0.20)	0.15 (0.19)	0.15 (0.12)
d'	2.158	2.968	2.864

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

For both experiments, statistical analyses were performed with R software (version 3.2.2; R Core Team, 2015). The residuals' normality of our dependent variables has been verified by means of the *shapiro.test* function (*stats* R package), excepted the d's distribution for the "grand" physical distance ($W = .97$ and $p = .82$), all were $W < .89$ and $p < .08$. As a consequence, we opted for non-parametric alternative analyses by using the *friedman.test*[1] and *wilcox.test* functions (*stats* R package).

Results and Discussion

To test the incidence of the physical distance on the magnitude of the Ebbinghaus illusion, a Friedman test was conducted to compare differences in the participants' d' scores across the three conditions of physical distances (i.e., short, medium, and large). As expected, the analysis provided evidence for a significant effect of the physical distance on the participants' discrimination quality, $\chi^2 (2) = 7.23$, $p = .027$. Post hoc Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (paired method) showed that it was more difficult to discriminate the size of the central-target disks when the distance separating them from inducers disks was short compared to medium, V = 15.5, $p =$

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[1] The Friedman test is employed as the non-parametric alternative of the one-way repeated-measures ANOVA design.

.012, and the large one, V = 29, p = .046. In contrast, no significant difference was found between medium and large distances, V = 50.5, p = .753.

Also, two separate Friedman tests were performed on the participants' hits and FA scores according to the three physical distance conditions. No significant effect was found for hits, χ^2 (2) = 3.71, p = .156, and FA, χ^2 (2) = 3.11, p = .211. However, it is important to stress that post hoc Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (paired method) showed that the participants committed more of FA when the physical distance between central and inducer disks was short compared to medium, V = 69.5, p = .018. No further effect was highlighted, all V > 18.5, and p > .09.

Similarly to prior Roberts et al.'s study (2005), Experiment 1 shown that the size-contrast perceptual bias is influenced by the physical distance between central and inducer disks. The participants' discrimination ability was weaker when the physical distance between these latter disks was short rather medium or large. In order to assess whether a conceptual social distance produces an analogical perceptual bias than this observed for the physical distance, Experiment 2 employed the same paradigm as Experiment 1 with two exceptions. First, pictures were inserted in the Ebbinghaus illusion figures. Second, the physical distance between central and inducer disks was fixed.

Experiment 2: Conceptual social distance in the Ebbinghaus illusion figure.

Method

Participants

Sixteen undergraduate students from Paul Valery Montpellier 3 University, France, volunteered to take part in the experiment. All participants have freely given consent for their participation and reported to have a normal or corrected-to-normal vision.

Stimuli & Apparatus

The central and inducers disks were identical to those in Experiment 1 with the exception that we varied the conceptual social distance between these latter disks. To this end, we used two pairs of pictures representing either a "patient and doctor" or "jester and king" association. The size of the central (i.e., 1.91° and 2.865° for the small and large diameter respectively) and inducer disks (i.e., 2.387° and 3.342° for the small and large diameter respectively) was manipulated, as well as the presence of a social distance between them (i.e., present and absent), for a total of sixteen configurations (2 central disk sizes x 2 inducer disk sizes x 2 social distance situations x 2 pairs of pictures). The physical distance between central and inducers disks was constant (i.e., 4.297°, "medium" distance in Experiment 1).

Procedure

The procedure was identical to Experiment 1. The sixteen Ebbinghaus illusion configurations were repeated twice in a block of 32 trials, which 32-trial block was repeated four times in a random order, for a total of 128 trials. The "patient-doctor" and "jester-king" picture associations were presented separately; no doctor or patient was surrounded by the jesters or kings pictures, and reciprocally (see Figure 2b). The duration of an experimental session was approximately 15 minutes.

Results & Discussion

As in Experiment 1, the mean percentages of hits and FA, as well as the d' indicator were calculated per participant and per social distance condition (see Table 2). The residual's normality of our dependent variables was verified with the *shapiro.test* R function, all W < .94, and p < .06. In this respect, Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (paired method) were used as non-parametric alternative to the t-test.

Table 2. Mean percentages of hits and FA, and the d' indicator for each social distance condition.

	Social distance	
	Present	Absent
Hit	0.85 (0.16)	0.83 (0.20)
FA	0.21 (0.28)	0.23 (0.28)
d'	2.514	2.091

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

As expected, the Wilcoxon signed-rank test performed on the participants' d' scores have shown that participants were better to discriminate the size of target-central disks when the social distance between central and inducer disks was present, V = 86, p = .038. No evidence of this influence was found for the participants' hits, V = 53, p = .282, and FA, V = 24.5, p = .149.

General discussion

The present study investigated the symmetrical incidence produced by a perceptual physical distance and conceptual social distance on the perceptual judgements of size. According to the grounded theory, memory and perceptual processes influence each other during the perceptual processing of the environment's properties. Previous works applied these principles to the social cognition and have shown that experimenting, or representing, a social situation (e.g., ostracism, social power) lead to a similar perceptual bias of the space and other's physical features. In this respect, we adapted the Ebbinghaus illusion paradigm in two experiments, in order to show that a symmetrical size-contrast perceptual bias can be obtained when a physical distance (Experiment 1) or social distance (Experiment 2) separates the central and inducer disks.

Our findings have shown that regardless of whether the distance between these latter disks was physically or conceptually manipulated, an analogical pattern of results have been observed on the participants' discrimination quality. In Experiment 1, the more the physical distance separating the central and inducer disks was important, the better and accurate were participants to discriminate the size of the target-central disks (for similar results, see Robert et al., 2005). Similarly, Experiment 2 showed that the size-contrast perceptual bias was weaker when a social distance was present between these latter disks. On this point, our findings diverge from those of Ishii and Kitayama (2011). The present results of Experiment 2 seem to indicate that when a social distance is present between the illustrations of the central and inducer disks, participants are less sensitive to perceptual bias induced by the Ebbinghaus illusion. While in their study, Ishii and Kitayama have shown that the amplitude of the Ebbinghaus illusion tends to increase when the target-central face is surrounded by inducer-faces of out-group members. The interpersonal similarity (e.g., social closeness, group membership) is known as a social distance dimension (Liviatan, Trope, & Liberman, 2008). Accordingly, participants should be more accurate to discriminate the size of the central disk when it is enclosed by outgroup members rather than ingroup ones, insofar as the perceived interpersonal similarity is minimal between these latter disks. Our results are in line with this logic; furthermore, prior studies have also highlighted such findings (Coren & Enns, 1993).

The present results are consistent with a grounded perspective arguing that perceptual and memory processes share common sensorimotor properties (for a review, see Barsalou, 2008). Following the grounded principles, physical-distance cues are intrinsically related to social distance concepts (Williams & Bargh, 2008). For instance, a social distance is typically identified by a vertical spatial dimension (e.g., social power; Schubert, 2005), and well often metaphorically expressed such as "the decisions are taken by people in above us", or "they are above average". In this sense, insofar as the social distance concepts are physically based, it is reasonable to think that a perceptual dimension of physical distance can be reactivated by the presence of a conceptual social distance between stimuli. Therefore, it is not surprising that a symmetrical size-contrast perceptual bias emerges when a perceptual physical distance and conceptual social distance is inserted are Ebbinghaus illusion figures.

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Figure Captions

Figure 1. Illustration of the classical Ebbinghaus illusion paradigm (target-central disks have the same size).

Figure 2 (a,b). **(a)** Example of an "identical" trial with the grand (left side) and small (right side) perceptual physical distances. **(b)** Example of an "identical" trial when the social distance is present between the king-jester pictures association.

Figure 1
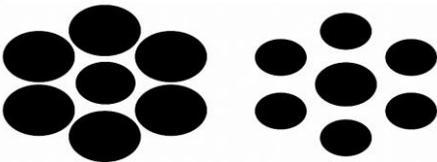
Figure 2 a,b
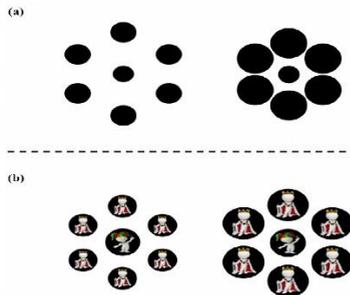
Would Isolationist Presidents Cause War?

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Abstract

In American politics, it has been seen that the presidents, who came to power from an isolationist perspective, contrary to their rhetoric, find themselves in the greatest wars in American History. In this study, it was researched whether the isolationist rhetoric of some Presidents who were sitting in the presidency during the period of the great chaos experienced in the USA and the world resulted in great wars, or whether the discourses that winning the elections to these Presidents should have an isolationist approach as a result of decomposition of the world and reflection of economic problems to their countries. The assumption of this study is that the Presidents who won the elections with their isolationist rhetoric were later faced with major wars during their presidency as a result of the processes that had laid their foundations before they were President and their infrastructure had been formed in the light of developments in the world. In this context, the internal political and international conjuncture of William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt periods will be evaluated. Accordingly, domestic and foreign policy statements and decisions of the presidents will be analyzed. As a result of the analysis carried out in the conclusion section, there will be an inference and foresight on American internal policy and foreign policy regarding the isolationist discourse in the Donald Trump period that is on the agenda.

Keywords: Isolationism, Discourse, Economy, International Conjuncture, President

Introduction

In the world order, there have always been moral leaders and states with dominant power. The executive branch of these states is as important as international conjuncture. The Presidents of the United States, who have been leading the superpower scene since the last century, sometimes led to very important international crises. Sometimes their statements would have been enough to bring another perspective to the international issues. We have witnessed many times the construction of important alliances by these Presidents, as well as the discourses of getting back to their own shell.

The question to be asked here is whether the political discourse of these presidents or the international conjuncture, whose foundations have been laid, determines important outcomes such as crises, resolutions or new alliances in the global affairs. Election campaigns run in the presidential race give tips on the policies that the possible presidents will follow. It was possible to see for some to win the elections with isolationist and some with interventionist discourses. The history mostly shown that these discourses do not literally reflect the original. Isolationism was such an important policy tool in order to focus domestic policies and public welfare. In other words, isolation is a complete retreat of a nation from the world stage.

However, this term often defines an unrelated policy: to prevent foreign alliances and conflicts and to wage war only if they are attacked. Most of US history reflects the tension between the desire to withdraw from messy external problems and the belief that America should serve as the dominant power in global affairs.

Isolationist statements are dated to colonial days in the US history. The colonies were filled by many people who fled Europe where there was religious persecution, economic deprivation and war. Their new homeland has been viewed as a better place than the old ones. The distance and difficulty on the journey from Europe highlighted the distance of the new world from the old world. Despite its alliance with France during the War of Independence, the roots of isolation were founded before independence.

Isolationists saw America's geographical separation from Europe as an ideal opportunity to cultivate the new nation in seclusion. "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course," George Washington indicated in his 1796 farewell address. Also Thomas Jefferson warned against "entangling alliances," nevertheless he declared war when North Africa's Barbary pirates started to seizing American merchant ships.

We can consider many issues that carry the examples of crossroads of presidents' statements and their administration. Some of them are shinier in the history scene that does why this study takes particular aspects to have more trustful analyze. Hypothesis of this study is to hold a light to isolationist rhetoric's importance to win presidential race and effectiveness on the management of global crises, with comparative method. In the American system, one of the primary tasks of the President is to make a foreign policy, but it is possible to see how effective the underlying order or disorder is, rather than the rhetoric of the decision-making process. At this point, it is natural for presidents to find themselves practicing the opposite of their statements during their term of office, who have won the elections by identifying themselves with isolationist rhetoric. This study tries to interpret the transformation from this isolationist discourse to action in today's international relations by examining some of the events that appear to be milestones in American history.

The American Presidential System is basically based on the separation of powers and the check-balance system. This system prevents the legislative, executive and judicial branches consolidation in one hand and also makes them aware of their responsibilities against each other. Since United States has been founded, many examples of this system can be seen working clearly. However, the most important ones are examples of the Presidents who have revised their decisions because of this system when their opinions are different.

In this context, William McKinley, who has supported with isolationist statements during election campaigns, is the President of the United States-Spain war, which has been seen as the end of American isolation in history, is the first milestone for this study. It is inevitable that Woodrow Wilson's presidency should be taken into consideration in terms of this study, since the United States is not able to move further its integration into the league of nations even they involved the First World War with their European allies.

The Americans left the pursuit of money and entertainment in the 1920s, and the rise of militaristic dictatorships in Europe and Japan in the 1930s after the Great Depression made them more concerned about putting a plate of food on the table. Franklin D. Roosevelt was aware of the danger, but it was also very difficult to establish a decision-making mechanism with the isolationism perception that had been established at the congress. As the last turning point, the Second World War was approaching; the necessity of U.S. intervention became even more apparent.

When we come to today, we see that the parameters of the Cold War era are no longer sufficient to read world politics. The vision and mission of new world leaders in changing politics and leadership are evolving in this direction. Therefore, in the agenda of the new presidential candidates, policies that are not used to world politics have started to exist. This study will investigate whether the factor that enables Trump to win is the isolationist discourses or the groundwork of the decisions that are likely to take is preformed and pushed it to this path. In the conclusion section, this study will bring together the information that we reveal with past actions of isolationist presidents and discuss the reflections of Donald Trump's Presidency. Table 1, summarizes the presidencies' term, policy orientation, campaign slogans, and international crises they faced during their presidency. Presidents evaluated in terms of these items further analyzed in following chapters.

Presidents	William McKinley	Woodrow Wilson	Franklin Roosevelt	Donald Trump
Electoral Vote	271 v 176	277 v 254	472 v 59	304 v 227
Year	1897 - 1901	1913 - 1921	1933 - 1945	2017 -

Policies & Promises	Domestic & Isolationist	Domestic & Isolationist	Domestic & Isolationist	Domestic & Isolationist
Campaign Slogan	Patriotism, Protection, and Prosperity	He has kept us out of war	Happy Days Are Here Again	America First
International Crisis	Spanish-American War	World War I	World War II	***
Reaction	Interventionist	Interventionist	Interventionist	Has not yet to come

Source: Own Draft

1897 – 1901: William McKinley

Since 19th century, election slogans have become symbols in the presidential race. The role of determining the winner can be discussed, but the direction of the agenda and its impact on the weather are significant. Candidates for the presidency form their own slogans by listening to the requirements of the period and the wishes of the people. On the way to the 1896 election, one of William McKinley's campaign slogans was "Good Money Never Made Times Hard". That slogan defines McKinley's belief in the gold standard (against inflation) and his view that the gold standard is the cause of the country's economic difficulties. On the other hand "Patriotism, Protection, and Prosperity" was become the other slogan for the first term of McKinley. This meant supporting existing policies and protecting the level of welfare.

McKinley, who stated that he would focus on protectionism with the steps he took when he started at the office, approved the Dingley Tariff Act to stand in one of his big words. The tariff was introduced by Maine U.S. representative Nelson Dingley. President McKinley promised to provide additional protection. The law laid tariffs on duty-free wool and hides. In the first year of its operation, the average tariff was raised to 51% in American history. The tariff remained in force until 1909 and became the longest lasting tariff in American history.

When you look at the picture from this side you may see a decisive and quick maker presidential office. But in the reality this quickness is not based on his desire to bring protection to the country's economy. While William McKinley running his campaign for 1896 presidential elections, Northern manufacturers were active donors to his party's presidential aspirations. When McKinley summoned congress to a special session in 1897, he rewarded their donations with a new tariff act. An obvious protectionist measure resulted in good worker relations for the McKinley administration, while farmer based state representatives in the fight to block new tasks were deprived of the political platoon to prove a tough response. As a matter of fact, the act has been so protectionist in the eyes of many Republicans that they put other issues behind them in the hope of keeping the public's attention away from the tariff. On the other hand, Democrats claim to have created monopolies in high

proportions. Overall, the new tariff did not affect larger products, such as steel or iron, but rather had the highest impact on the needs of life. (Dingley 2010)

McKinley was a veteran of Civil War and kept alive memories of the bloody conflict. As president, he unwillingly dragged into to the Spanish-American War in 1898. At first he underestimated the stories of Spanish atrocities against Cuban citizens. However, yellow journalism, which emerged as a result of the competition in the newspaper industry, was used to ignite people's passion with the explosion of the battleship Maine. That big sector, looking to expand its markets, attached to the inflexible forces, pushed the president toward war.

Yellow journalism was a type of competitive journalism. It has been used to emphasize sensationalism over the facts. The word meaning originates from the competition on the New York City newspaper market between major newspaper Publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. After this expression came together, the sensational styles used by the two publishers in the snow-guided news of world events, especially in Cuba, have been reached. Cuba has long been a Spanish colony and the revolutionary movement, which had been boiling and off there for much of the 19th century, activated during the 1890s. The rise of yellow journalism helped to create a climate conducive to the outbreak of international conflict and the rise of U.S. influence overseas, but it did not lead to war on its own. In fact, the dramatic style of yellow journalism has contributed to the creation of popular support for the Spanish-American War, a war that would expand the global reach of the United States.

The reasons that led President McKinley to protectionist discourses during the candidacy race have become different as a result of events taking place in the international arena and have allowed him to move away from these discourses. The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute was building another dimension of this conversion when you look at the history. There are always been some issues that presidential office cannot ignore. Not only because of expectations of other countries, but also you need to show your power capacity to your people which means popular vote.

The hateful conflict in Cuba between 1895 and 1898 attracted the attention of the Americans because of the economic and political instability it produces in a region that is so close to the United States. In that matter we may consider Spanish-American war as and end of long term isolationism. The mind that keeping America first perspective has formed to another shape.

McKinley, who has not yet completed the first half of the second year, has found himself in the midst of an international problem that people expected him to solve. Although this responsibility was not met by the president with a willingness, it was a not an affordable risk that he would not take necessary steps to be taken. Even after the explosion of Maine, President McKinley tried to take precautions for the war and tried to convince the Spanish government to adopt a compromise policy with Cuban

rebels.

The Spanish government has been too late to prevent the popular demand of involvement in the United States. On April 11, 1898, President William McKinley asked Congress of authority to end the war between the rebels and Spanish forces in Cuba and to establish a "stable government" to "maintain order" and "ensure peace and security" on the island of Cuba and US citizens. That means leaving the international problems behind is not a policy tool anymore. (https://www.globalresearch.ca/selling-empire-american-propaganda-and-war-in-the-philippines/5355055)

On April 20, The US Congress adopted a joint resolution accepting Cuba's independence, demanding that the Spanish government give up on controlling the island, not foresee any intention for the United States to add Cuba, and that McKinley take military steps that he deems necessary to ensure Cuba's independence. The Spanish government refused the US demand and urgently cut diplomatic affairs with the United States. In a week Spain government announced war on the United States, and as a natural reaction the U.S. Congress voted to go to war against Spain on April 25. (https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/spanish-american-war)

The reasons and consequences of wars may not always be consistent. Within this context, it is necessary to use a wider range of parameters to establish a link between the results of the reasons for entering the war. The McKinley government also used the war as an excuse to ensure the independence of the state of Hawaii. Supporters of the participation said Hawaii was vital to the U.S. economy, because would serve as a strategic base in Asia that could help protect U.S. interests, and if the United States would not take steps, other nations would intend to take over the island. After these discussions, with McKinley's demand, a resolution of Congress made Hawaii a U.S. territory on August 12, 1898. As another result of this war the United States expanded its lands to the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

The experience of the American continent on the way to becoming the United States has made it manifest in a different way. At this point the role of colonial experience is indisputable but the fact is, these staying away from big issues policies were temporary for this kind of potential. While McKinley has again stand on the themes of economic sustainability and stability on his way to his second term, that is obvious in his statements that his general attitude has changed. You can observe the change even in the public speeches. One of McKinley's statements was become "Isolation is no longer possible or desirable," which means exclusiveness is not able to build a wall alone. Expansions of trade and commerce treaties bring larger problems and pressure within. (Merry 2017)

The result is that trying to manage the future with the perception of a current period is futile effort. The most robust way of being prepared to the needs of tomorrow is keeping the values flexible for any demands.

1914–1921: Woodrow Wilson

In America, the re-escalation of isolation and the return of votes to isolationist approaches occurred as the elections were upcoming 1912. When the First World War was approaching, we could have heard the footsteps of its reasons. The News Network spreading through the development of communication technology allowed the regional crisis to become global issues. We may witness new trends such as nationalism or militarism in that period. The rise of nationalism first threatened imperialism. The spread of this understanding meant a heavy burden on the existence of the great powers of the first 20th Century. Such a variety of these kinds of threats have brought together the alliances of fear in Europe.

It was perhaps most important to ensure the continuity of democracy in these periods. In this context, it was the most profitable choice for the United States not to intervene in the tension of a continent which has no territorial connections. It is possible to observe the reflection of this on election campaigns and rhetoric. All campaign slogans in the 1912 were about economy and social rights besides of global affairs. Nevertheless, it would be insufficient to say that the only effective factor in winning the elections is the election campaign.

The shooting of Theodore Roosevelt was one of the turning points in the 1912 election, which was perhaps the first time in American history, three powerful candidates were competing. In addition, Theodore Roosevelt's founding of the Progressive Party has undoubtedly given more advantage to his opponents than himself. Republicans votes were divided between former President Theodore Roosevelt and his successor President William Howard Taft.

Wilson defeated both Taft and Roosevelt in the general election, won a large majority in the Electoral College, and won 42% of the popular vote, while his closest rival, 27%, received. Wilson was the only elected president of the Democrats between 1892 and 1932.   (https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1912)

Woodrow Wilson brought new perspective to U.S. foreign policy which contains idealism and concerns for new balances of power in Europe. From his point of view, the deterioration of peace would reveal serious flaws that would have to be corrected in the international system. In order to see the United States as a dominant voice in the international arena, perhaps the last thing the administration would want is to pick a side in the upcoming World War.

This protectionist perception was successfully carried out by Wilson and turned into a serious voting potential. In the 1916 elections, even if there was a decline in the Electoral College, it increased its popular votes by one and half times.

In 1916, another explosion of law followed. A new law prohibits child labor; another one was limiting railroad worker is on an eight-hour day. Thanks to this law and the

slogan "it kept us out of war", Wilson won with a little difference re-election. But after the elections, Wilson concluded that America could not stay neutral in World War anymore. On April 2, 1917, he asked Congress to declare war on Germany.

If we talk about the background of this decision; in 1917, the restart of the submarine attacks on the passenger and merchant ships by Germany led to Wilson's core motivation to take the United States into World War I on February 26, Wilson requested Congress to authorize U.S. Naval to arms the U.S. merchant ships.

While Wilson weighed his options regarding the submarine issue, he also had to address the question of Germany's attempts to cement a secret alliance with Mexico. On January 19, 1917, British naval intelligence intercepted and decrypted a telegram sent by German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German Ambassador in Mexico City. The "Zimmermann Telegram" promised the Mexican Government that Germany would help Mexico recover the territory it had ceded to the United States following the Mexican-American War. In return for this assistance, Germany asked for Mexican support in the war. However, after the Germany's restart of the submarine attacks in February, the British side decided to send a help note to the United States in exchange for their participation in the war. One thing is apparent that the events which have pulled United States into World War I were not the policies of Woodrow Wilson. Eventually, The British sent the captured Telegram to President Wilson on February 24. The US press carried the story to the news on the following week. (https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/yellow-journalism)

The exact reasons Wilson chose the war in 1917, especially after the sinking of British cruise ship *Lusitania* and *Arabic* in 1915, continue to be the subject of discussion among historians in the light of attempts to avoid the war that killed 131 U.S. citizens. These reasons contributed to President Wilson's request for help from Congress to declare war on Germany. Also encouraged Congress at Wilson's request and declared war on Germany.

So how did the owner of "kept us out of the war" election slogan find himself in the war at his second period? The thing is, you can't really determine the discourse that will bring you a victory in a presidential race. In politics, it is clear which perceptions of the public interest are gathered and politicians are fed by those perceptions in order to get these votes. So, Woodrow Wilson was aware of the voting potential of his country because of he had kept away from the war. Instead of winning the election with such logic, it would be meaningless for coming in front of the public to announce the opposite of the policy he pursued. The principle of consolidating the votes we are accustomed to in politics made isolationist discourses more attractive at that time. In addition, while participating in the First World War, it is important to remember that the aim is not only self-defense but also to determine the limits of power.

After the war, a new world would be established and the countries would have to settle for the role given to them if they did not determine their own role. President

Wilson, in his war message to Congress, announced that the U.S.'s goal was to "defend the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world."

When Woodrow Wilson presented fourteen points in Congress, and eight of them were the principles that pointed to regional problems between warring countries. Five of the remaining six points were pointing to open agreements that could provide peace and prosperity in the world. These include some points about free trade that could make the world a more open market, liberalization of the seas, and self-determination as a solution to the imperialist crisis which one of the causes of the war.

Point fourteenth points out the establishment of the League of Nations as an institution capable of guaranteeing the political independence of the small states and even the larger ones, which have increased in number by the nationalist movement.

Although the Versailles Treaty did not satisfy all the relevant parties until President Woodrow Wilson returned to the United States in July 1919, the U.S. public overwhelmingly supported the treaty's ratification, including the Charter of the League of Nations. Although the U.S. public strongly supported the establishment of the League of Nations, the only legislative branch's veto to the agreement came from the US Senate.

These developments have revealed that even the most powerful state of the world, in terms of economy and military, is able to make such a sharp turn from interventionist understanding to isolationist policies. At this point, the opinion of those who do not want U.S. to participate in the League of Nations is that this organization can force the United States to engage in high-cost activities. They say that such activities could undermine the US self-defense capability and deprive it of the virtue of protecting its own interests.

The well-established check-balance and separation of powers in the US system prevented decisions that could take a critical role in the future of the state from being made by one hand. However, we cannot say that the isolationist approach in theory has completely isolated the United States. In the 1920s, the United States played critical roles in restructuring relations in both Europe and Latin America, and of course, the biggest role in this story was belongs to commerce.

1933 – 1945: Franklin D. Roosevelt

Material and moral losses after the First World War have aroused the public's desire in the United States to stay away from the problems of Europe and Asia. Without any preparation, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans offered the United States an effortless security opportunity to avoid these problems. Thus, while the social and political consequences of World War emerged in the 1930s, the United States was able to avoid the political relations of continental Europe.

Of course, as an important part of this transformation, you should not overlook the Great Depression. One of the primary causes of the Great Depression is that the actors who perform their economic roles in the World Order before the war can no longer play that role. The governments of the states that have turned into themselves and are experiencing a lack of communication have accelerated the transition to crisis. It was clear that the causes of the Great Depression were complex, and for many years had been discussed, but the impact of the collapse caused by the Great War it was obvious. The U.S., The Great States of Europe and Japan's efforts for Reconstruction and development could have been visible, but the resilience to the shocks of the restructuring markets has reduced.

We understand from here that the United States was an isolationist in foreign policy, and in economic terms it was an attitude that sought to make it feel freer.

During this period, we see that the two presidential candidates run similar election campaigns on the way to the 1932 elections. The fact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt has chosen "Happy Days Are Here Again" as his song and slogan makes it apparent to the public a desire to comfort them after an economic crisis.

The failure of Republican Former President Hoover in his economic policies has led to a large reduction of his popularity in the public. Thus, with the effects of Wall Street crash and the Great Depression, the 1932 elections resulted in the overwhelming victory of Roosevelt. Roosevelt's isolationist perspective was so effective starting from the day that he took over the office. Therefore, the good neighbor policy, which he clearly stated at the inauguration ceremony, contains the basis for economic cooperation instead of military alliances with the countries in which he is in good relationships.

As the name implies, this good neighbor policy aims to establish closer relations with Central and South America. However, it would be wrong to mention that this is an only U.S. policy. Many countries have gone to similar reconstruction after the war. We observe this clearly in the changing trade volume figures after the Great Depression.

It is interesting that the Presidents who have isolationist discourses show practically contradictory practices. Immediately after the Tsarist Russia collapsed, Wilson decided to not to recognize the Soviet Union and cut all diplomatic relations. Of course, the underlying reason for this decision was to protect the interests of the United States, as was the case with all the isolationist rhetoric. This practice, continued by his successors for 16 years, could only have been broken by one of the first acts of the Roosevelt era. The Bolshevik regime refused to accept the debts remaining from Tsarist Russia, and additionally the fact that Russia secretly made the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany which ended the Russian involvement in the World War I, built easier situation for Wilson's decision.

Roosevelt, as soon as he took over the office, while the conditions were forcing him to

deal with domestic problems, focused on the issue of the Soviet Union. Because he believed that the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States was of strategic importance for US interests in Asia. In either case, protecting the interests of the United States was the focus of the Presidents. It is considered to be diplomatic success in every sense to bring a government that come to the power with a revolution to the table you want in the international arena.

Roosevelt hoped that improving relations with the Soviet Union would hinder Japan's expansion in Asia. It could be also possible to prevent the communist society's enlargement in the United States which was supported by the Soviets thanks to these developments.

In 1934, the Roosevelt administration, made two attempts to signify his desire about improves economic relations with rest of the world. The first was the creation of the Export-Import Bank. In February 1934, Roosevelt established a bank as an institution especially designed to finance U.S. trade with the newly-recognized Soviet Union. He created a second Export-Import Bank in the next month; this was intended to finance trade with Cuba. In 1935, two banks were merged and Congress passed a law giving the new United Bank more power and more capital. (https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/export-import-bank)

The second foreign economic policy initiative in 1934 was the Law on Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (RTAA). In March 1934, Roosevelt declared, "a full and lasting internal recovery depends on partly on a revived and reinforced international trade", and he asked Congress to negotiate trade agreements with other countries on the basis of tariff cuts. Signed by the law On June 12, 1934, the RTAA represented a fundamental change in U.S. trade policy. (https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/export-import-bank)

When we get to the mid-1930s, we see that the signs of a new World War emerge in Europe and Asia. The US Congress wanted to ensure the neutrality of the country by recognizing this danger in advance. In 1935, the first act of neutrality came out of Congress to ensure the Export License of the U.S. military munitions manufacturers. In addition, in the event of a possible war by virtue of the neutrality act, the US sale of arms to any foreign state was prohibited by this act. Even if President Roosevelt did not share the same opinion with the Congress as a logic, he remained silent to the neutrality acts in the name of not to taking the Congress in front of him and ignoring public opinion against him.

In general, neutrality acts represent a compromise so that the United States Government accommodated isolationist sentiments of the American people, but still retained some of its ability to interact with the world. Finally, the conditions for neutrality actions became irrelevant when the United States joined the Allies in the fight against Nazi Germany and Japan in December 1941. There is no doubt that China and Japan relations, who were strained between 1937 and 1941, also affected the U.S.

attitude towards the two countries.

Roosevelt, whose first two terms were passed with popular trend such as neutrality, was preparing for the most changeful period. The conflict between China and Japan has clearly disturbed the United States. The United States, which sought to provide advantage to China against Japan, was also concerned about the spread of the rising fascism movement. The economic embargo and diplomatic sanctions against Japan, although the United States actually excluded from the war, were in theory distorting its neutrality.

However, in such a war environment, any proposal for a solution that the United States could offer would not be acceptable by Japan. The Roosevelt side seemed to have not given up on the basis of Agreement and possible solutions until the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941 pulled them directly into the war. In the following process, Germany declared war on the United States with the motivation of being with an ally of Japan, which caused Roosevelt to find himself in war in both Europe and Asia.

To sum up, when the Second World War broke out, Roosevelt had little choice. The 1939, "Neutrality Act" could have started the sale of arms from the United States relatively, but there was no country to benefit from the sale because of the credit limit it still had. Moreover, the public was vehemently opposed to the re-entry of the United States into war. Another opinion expressed concern that the ammunition could be moved to Nazi Germany if the war would have been lost, in case of arms aid to the Great Britain. Under these circumstances, Roosevelt should have made such a decision that he should not have opposition of the public and protect the interests of the United States in the western hemisphere.

On September 2, 1940, President Roosevelt signed a "Destroyer for bases" agreement. According to the Agreement, the United States gave the British more than fifty destroyers in exchange of ninety nine-year lease contracts of Newfoundland and Caribbean land which would be used as U.S. Air and naval bases. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill demanded that Roosevelt provided the destroyers as a gift, but the President knew that the American people and Congress would oppose such an agreement. (https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945)   For this reason, the United States decided that an agreement providing long-term access to British bases could be justified on the grounds that it was necessary for the security of the western hemisphere, thus eliminated the concerns of the people and the US military.

Such lend-lease agreements were so successful, that The United States and the United Kingdom were just the starters of this Agreement, till the end of the war, more than thirty countries signed for it.

It is clear from these developments that both foreign policy and domestic policy

within the United States cannot be viewed as a single product. All decisions must serve the interests of the United States and to a certain extent include legislative, executive and judicial branches' predictions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Election campaigns are an opportunity for presidential candidates to present their arguments. In this way, they send their messages to the international arena for foreign policy while making politics for the votes of the voters to whom they share the same opinion in public. While some candidates try to create a different vision, the majority use their chances for popular discourses.

There are some issues that I would like to draw attention to when this discussion is started in the American history. First of all, there are many similarities between these Presidents. For instance, all of these leaders were sitting in the American presidential post before the great chaos eras. Including President Donald Trump. Most of them have had problems with their appointed cabinet members. For example, McKinley worked with three secretary of state during his four-year presidency. If we try to find the answers by examining the examples mentioned above, McKinley became President while United States has been in the restructuring process and establishing its own infrastructure since the 1860s, but difficulties in changing world order as every country has experienced, especially in Latin America, where economic and nationalism arguments loudly took place.

Therefore, a reflection of that day's world conjuncture is the policies that he had to apply to be elected. As a result, the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898 was an inevitable end for the United States, especially with the impact of the victimization of American citizens in Cuba. Therefore, this is not the result of a discourse; it is a situation in which the discourse triggers the process towards war.

In fact, it would be useful to give an interesting example which can be interpreted today and may be very familiar to you. William McKinley said that he had to expel the Spanish government from the region, and that it was only necessary to leave them to the power of the Americans. Day, on the contrary, believed that it was necessary to be embracing and to bring difficulties to a positive point through trade agreements. But the economic structure and political stance of the society at that time was more appropriate for President McKinley than for Secretary Day's statements and was dismissed from the task. It is possible to observe the same situation in the Trump-Tillerson process.

Woodrow Wilson's presidency is not very different. Wilson says the U.S. economy is of great importance. He mentions that the United States must be renewed in itself first. However, the economic conditions of that time and the existing conditions before Wilson's election have already laid the foundations of the World War I, and the United States found itself in the war because it couldn't be insensitive to it. In fact, it

should not be forgotten that Wilson, who said that he advocated isolation, was the President of the United States, who ruled the famous Wilson Principles and the Versailles process after the end of the World War I, who stayed away from his country for the longest time in American history for six months in Paris. Perhaps it would have been possible to see that the League of Nations, which laid the foundations of today's United Nations, is still alive without the U.S. Senate's veto.

The last example is Frank D. Roosevelt. The fact that Roosevelt who said "Our priority should be to raise the American economy" found himself in the Second World War does not arise from his commitment to the economy, the United States, or to isolationist rhetoric. The main point here is that Roosevelt had already said what he had to say in order to come to power in the construction of the world towards this conclusion, and as a result, America had to take its place in the World War itself as natural.

On the way to the 2016 elections, presidential candidate Donald Trump's rhetoric was about putting America first and giving priority to its own people. So much so that "Make America Great Again", which he described as the slogan of the election, was in the mood to appeal to the Middle West. The election promises and even the post-election agenda were about economic decisions. Behind these discourses, there were the workers who wanted to protect their rights were demanding those kind of politics. Although Trump has not taken a role in politics during his career, it is necessary to discuss whether the public has benefited from the demands of a non-political candidate.

However The US presidential system is one of the most powerful systems of the president, but it is necessary to have acknowledged that it has prevented the monopoly decisions with its check-balance system. For this reason, Trump was able to achieve almost only a tenth of what he had promised. In particular, the domestic policy decisions he wanted to carry out were initially disrupted by local courts.

In the past 120 years, while the United States has witnessed the most important wars, it is interesting that the Presidents who were in charge of the administration have the agenda that cares about domestic politics and follows the isolationist line. History shows that the economic and cultural integration created by the United States in the world order has made the difference between the old and the new world invisible. In world politics, it is possible for you to make your own plans at the same time that if the role given to you in the world order conforms to that plan. Therefore, it will be possible for you to remove the United States from its role, and not according to your own policy as a president, but according to only the needs of the International conjuncture.

The loneliness that the isolationist perspective wanted to bring was only provided in military terms in the three periods we examined. Consequently, Trump's policy will not be met in public, or in Congress, unless it serves the interests of the United States.

Because even the decisions made by the isolationist Presidents at the most interventionist times only could be responded for as long as they served the interests of the United States. Donald Trump's intention to renegotiate all relations and decisions in this direction, although the international public opinion has reacted, has had an important impact on the U.S. economy.

In summary, it can be seen in mentioned examples that there are Democrats as well as Republicans, and there are many similarities between them. Actually these leaders raised the situation in the current world conjuncture in order to come to power and this path led them to be labeled as an isolationist and economic-oriented president. The crises that followed were not the personal preferences of these leaders. But the basics of the problems were laid long before they were president and left them alone with the consequences on their presidency periods.

Therefore, the events that they could encounter when they take over the office of the President candidates are the ones that have started to be formed years ago. As a result, the discourses of the presidents should be considered not as reasons or consequences of international events, but as a reaction to the potential vote of the time between the cause and the outcome.

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Protests in Europe in Times of Crisis. The Case of Greece, Ireland and Portugal

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Abstract

The year 2008 was marked by a financial crisis that started in the United States but quickly spread to the rest of the world. Subprime-related, this crisis was linked to property speculation, leveraged by the banking sector. This crisis quickly spread to Europe due to exposure of European economies to international markets. To avoid economic collapse the States decided to intervene in the banking sector, nationalizing some banks and injecting capital in others. Some European countries not to enter bankruptcy had to ask for external financial support between 2010-11, was the case of Greece, Ireland and Portugal. The aid granted by the *Troika* (European Union, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund) to European countries referenced advocated a drastic austerity plan. Faced with such a scenario of crisis, austerity, unemployment and precariousness, Europeans came to the streets to demonstrate their discontent with the crisis but also with politicians and policies implemented to solve the economic problems. Throughout Europe there were large protests, especially in the countries that received international aid. From a *corpus* taken from newspapers and from a theoretical framework of social movements we intend to verify if there was a direct relationship between crisis and contestation in the three countries that had external aid and if this crisis returned the centrality to materials on European social movements.

Keywords: crisis, protests, Europe

1. Introduction

The year 2008 was marked by a global economic and financial crisis. The crisis originated in the subprime mortgage market of the United States of America (USA), although it quickly spread to the rest of the world. Initially, those in Europe thought that the collapse of the "real estate bubble", which led to widespread bankruptcy and the terminal decline of investment firms, was confined to the USA, but the truth was soon revealed. Indeed, the exposure of European economies to the international markets globalised the crisis (Mason, 2016), revealing that the European real estate

and financial sectors were also on the verge of ruin. Virtually all of Europe was affected by the crisis, although some countries showed greater capacity to manage it than others. Certain countries, in order to avoid bankruptcy, had to request external financial support, namely Greece, Ireland and Portugal.

In general, European citizens blamed deregulated capitalism and the neoliberal policies pursued by certain governments worldwide for the dire economic situation they found themselves in. The crisis of 2008 highlighted the vulnerability of capitalism in the globalised world, as well as the inability of statesmen to adequately tackle the problem. The financial crisis brought austerity, unemployment and precariousness to Europeans, which provoked a great deal of popular discontent, as demonstrated by the wave of protests that erupted across Europe between 2011 and 2013, especially in those countries that had received international aid.

Collective action has been a constant phenomenon throughout the history of Europe, although it has taken different forms (Tilly, 1986, 2004). However, the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent austerity programme unleashed a new wave of protests encompassing the characteristics of both the "old" and the "new" social movements (Silva, 2012), which brought material issues back to the forefront. Since the goals of the nineteenth-century workers' movement have been met, other goals have been identified, goals that are more related to social and cultural issues than to materialistic issues, while the social actors have been more pluralistic and less class-based than those involved in the early labour movement. The events that transpired in the countries investigated in the present study revealed the coexistence of material goals with other social and cultural goals, which were coupled with the use of new technologies. Structurally, a return to economic issues on the basis of social mobilisations can be observed, albeit with a more ethical and less classist character. The protests were not solely aimed at the acquisition of rights, as was the case for the workers' movement, but rather against the subjugation of rights and human dignity to economic interests. Edward Thompson (1979) suggested that the basis of the eighteenth-century subsistence riots was the rupture of what he called the "moral economy". It was not simply the breaking of the rules of market functioning that caused people to riot, but also the breaking of moral values (Thompson, 1979). Here, as with the 2008 financial crisis, it was the failure of the "moral" management of politicians and their defence of the interests of large financial groups ahead of the rights of individuals that upset people, causing them to feel that their honour has been tainted.

Thus, the present study aims to verify whether there was a direct relationship between the 2008 crisis and the unrest seen in the three countries that received external financial aid, as well as whether the crisis returned centrality to the material problems associated with European public protest, particularly because, in temporal terms, modern society is seemingly far removed from the typical conflict affecting industrial and post-industrial societies (Habermas, 1984; Touraine, 1983) due to the

development of an information society and networked communication (Castells, 1999). Hence, this study examines a corpus sourced from European newspapers and analyses the various theories of social movements.

2. The protests in the countries that received international aid:

2.1. Greece

The economic crisis began in Greece in late 2009/early 2010, when rating agencies (Moody's, Fitch and Standard & Poor's) were alerted to the problematic growth of the country's public deficit. Greece's level of indebtedness had grown over the previous decade, driven by increased public spending, civil servants' salaries, pension spending and tax evasion. Its deficit was already more than 3% prior to the crisis of 2008 (Grigoriadis, 2013); after that, the deficit increased considerably and fostered distrust in the markets in relation to public debt. This increased interest rates, thereby rendering the repayment of loans more onerous. The level of indebtedness was such that there was real fear Greece would fail to service its external debt. The Greek situation threatened to contaminate the entire eurozone. In order to minimise this threat, the Greek government adopted certain containment measures intended to control public spending and increase revenue. However, as the deficit did not decrease, the executive had to resort to requesting foreign aid in April 2010.

Greece joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1981, at a time when the country was experiencing a period of economic growth after having freed itself from a military dictatorship. In 2001, Greece was accepted into the eurozone and, hence, it was considered safe for investments, which led to a growth in the GDP (gross domestic product), but also in national expenditure. After 2008, the financial situation became uncontrollable. External financial aid was provided by the European troika (International Monetary Fund [IMF], European Central Bank [ECB] and European Commission [EC]), but it was not without stipulations. Greece was required to adopt austerity measures. To comply with the rescue agreement, the Greek government announced a series of "draconian" measures, including tax increases, wage and pension reductions, privatisations, etc., the social impact of which was such that it brought the Greeks out onto the streets and squares of major cities to demonstrate and protest against austerity (Grigoriadis, 2013).

From 2010 to 2012, there was constant social upheaval, since the first rescue package proved insufficient and rendered a new rescue packet necessary, which was accompanied by more restrictions. The crisis was becoming uncontrollable and the protests in Syntagma Square and other squares across the country seemed permanent, with spontaneous movements of citizens who gathered in defence of democracy, as their ancestors had once met in the *agora* to exercise democracy, organising mass demonstrations. Between 2010 and 2013, these organised movements, which were led by the trade unions, resulted in nine general strikes that practically brought the industry, commerce, public administration and transport

sectors to a stop, thereby aggravating the already weak Greek economy (Lima & Artiles, 2014).

Demonstrations took place in the largest squares and streets of Athens, as well as in major cities across Greece. Syntagma Square was the scene of the largest demonstrations, many of which ended in violence. Demonstrators, especially young men, threw rocks and bombs at the authorities, smashed windows and set fire to rubbish bins and buildings. In an attempt to contain the situation, the police retaliated with tear gas and arrested some demonstrators (Jornal Sol, 06/15/2011). In 2012, the dispute increased due to Greece's need for a second bailout, as well as the fact that the parliament had to approve more austerity measures in order to receive it. The protests became even more violent, with clashes between protesters and police resulting in fires in several buildings in central Athens and some arrests (El País, 12/02/2012). In April 2012, the suicide of a retired pharmacist, 77, who killed himself in the middle of Syntagma Square, and who had left behind a handwritten letter expressing his desperation due to austerity measures, further escalated the protests (El Mundo, 04/04/2012).

Although the youths stood out due to their rebelliousness and irreverence, there were people of all ages involved in the protests, including unemployed adults who could not afford to support their families, pensioners whose pensions had been considerably reduced and youngsters who either had no job or else lived precariously.

In addition to the obvious economic problems, Greek citizens were disgusted by the lack of adequate response from their political institutions. Relatedly, Estanque (2014) considers the inefficacy of public policies to be the fundamental cause of the conflict seen in recent years.

2.2. Ireland

In November 2010, it was Ireland's turn to call for international financial aid, although the economic development seen in the country during the last few decades meant that this situation was not predictable. However, the reasons that led Ireland into crisis were not the same as those observed in Greece. It was not structural reasons, but rather over-exposure to the real estate market and the US banking system, which brought the Irish economy to its knees.

Since the 1990s, a number of government economic development programmes had been implemented in Ireland. The industrial, commercial, fiscal and educational sectors were all restructured and increased. The result was that the country, which in 1973 had entered the EEC as one of the poorest in the group, was described as the "Celtic Tiger" during the 1990s. This level of apparent financial growth was achieved thanks to the dynamics and development of Ireland's economy, which grew by an average of 7% per year (Lane, 2011), leading to an analogy being drawn with the Asian Tigers, that is, the "emerging economies" of Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and

South Korea. Shifting from a protectionist policy to a more liberal one in terms of taxation and bureaucracy attracted significant foreign investment, with Ireland being considered a real "paradise" for investors. The creation of the single European market further intensified the country's links with the outside world.

This climate of prosperity in Ireland led to growth in investment in real estate. The population also increased, while interest rates decreased, which were further factors that stimulated the demand for real estate. Construction companies proliferated and the economy ended up leveraged in this sector, rendering the country's finances vulnerable. The increasing demand for houses substantially increased prices, although as banks kept interest rates attractive, the real estate business continued to grow. Yet, from 2005 onwards, demand fell sharply. Economic weaknesses began to emerge when, in 2008, the international financial crisis was triggered by the subprime mortgage crisis in the USA. As the Irish economy's exposure to the international markets was significant, a reflection of what happened in America was soon seen in Ireland, which led to economic chaos (Lane, 2011).

The uncontrolled loans offered in previous years created a "real estate bubble" and the real estate and financial sectors were left on the brink of ruin. The situation worsened following the collapse of Lehman Brothers, which the Irish banking sector was heavily exposed to. The crisis settled. The Irish GDP fell by 7% in 2009 and it did not change in 2010. The deficit soared to 32% (Lane, 2011). The Irish government stepped in to save the banks from collapse, while at the same time it had to bail out the unemployed, thereby leaving the public accounts totally unbalanced. The solution (as of the end of 2010) was to seek help from the ECB and the IMF, as well as to implement a drastic austerity plan.

The Irish financial crisis resulted from a combination of unfavourable internal and external environments. The collapse of the construction and real estate sectors, which resulted from weak financial regulation, added to the global economic crisis and the commercial slowdown. From an economic crisis, the situation in Ireland quickly became a social crisis and, as in Greece, protestors soon took to the streets, albeit in a less aggressive way when compared to those in Greece or even Portugal.

Kieran Allen, national secretary of the SWP (Socialist Work Party), explained that the relative passivity of the Irish was due to the significant growth seen during the 1990s, when the title "Celtic Tiger" produced a "pro-capitalist culture", since many workers saw their quality of life increase with little need for collective struggle (Esquerda.net, 12/18/2011). In addition, tripartite agreements (certain trade unions, employers' associations and the government) aligned the policy of the Irish trade union movement with the needs of national capitalism, thereby neutralising some of the key organisational support for workers (Esquerda.net, 18/12/2011).

Nonetheless, there were demonstrations from the end of 2010 onwards, with the intensity of the protests increasing in 2011. Institutional citizens' movements, such

as the Enough Campaign, which incorporated political organisations, parliamentarians, trade unions, social movements and independents, were formed. Further, more spontaneous movements also developed, such as Occupy Dame Street (which occupied the square in front of the Central Bank in Dublin) or the movement of university students who occupied the streets of Dublin, singing songs like "No if, no buts, IMF cuts" in protest of budget cuts in the field of education and the exponential increase seen in tuition fees.

Here, too, there was a combination of organised movements and other partisans engaged in marches against austerity, including the emergence of groups such as the Alliance Against Austerity, which aimed to promote marches and demonstrations such as the one organised in front of the parliament building on December 6, 2011 (Esquerda.net, 18/1272011).

In Ireland, as in other European countries, the aim of the protestors was to enforce their democratic rights and demand an end to austerity. Portugal likewise participated in the protest movement.

2.3. Portugal

Portugal resisted the global financial crisis for a few months more than the countries previously mentioned, but on April 6, 2011, it also had to resort to foreign financial aid in order to solve the financial crisis into which it had plunged. The government, then headed by José Sócrates, tried to institute various Stability and Growth Plans (PECSs), including cuts in public investment, privatisations and wage deflation, intended to contain the crisis (Costa & Caldas, 2013), albeit without success. The Portuguese inability to pay its public debt and lower the public deficit, as well as the need to obtain funds to inject into technically bankrupt public enterprises, left the prime minister with no alternative but to sign a memorandum of understanding with the troika. The measures agreed between the troika (IMF, ECB and EC) and the Portuguese government provided for extreme austerity, which prompted Portuguese citizens to protest on the streets.

In the elections of June 5, 2011, José Sócrates was defeated and gave way to Pedro Passos Coelho, leader of the Social Democratic Party, although the impossibility of ruling as a parliamentary minority led to a governance agreement with the Popular Party, led by Paulo Portas. Following the already agreed upon external intervention, the government of Pedro Passos Coelho decided to adopt new measures to meet the deficit target in 2011.

On June 30, 2011, the prime minister, breaking his electoral pledge not to raise taxes, announced in parliament an extraordinary tax on income, which was equivalent to 50% of the Christmas subsidy. In the following months, the price of public transport as well as VAT on gas and electricity also increased. A further announcement was made concerning a cut in the holiday and Christmas subsidies given to civil servants

and pensioners, with a rate of more than 1000 euros, throughout the duration of the troika programme.

Then, on November 20, 2011, the Portuguese parliament approved a 25% increase in the release rates on interest, dividends and capital gains on individual income tax and collective income tax. In 2012, the entry into force of the new budget imposed a number of new measures. Health expenses were deductible by the individual income tax, but only at a rate of 10%. Housing expenses were also deductible, but to only 15% of their value rather than 30%. The government further restructured and "rationalised" the lists of goods and services subject to VAT, and it allocated an intermediate rate of 13% to those sectors that Pedro Passos Coelho classified as "crucial" for domestic production, not including the catering sector. It also increased the price of electricity, the tax on vehicles (ISV), and the municipal tax on real estate as well as on cigarettes. On February 1, 2012, public transport prices rose again.

Finance Minister Vítor Gaspar announced on April 30, 2012, that the government had foreseen that holiday and Christmas subsidies, which had been suspended, would begin to be awarded again by 2015, at a rate of 25% per year. In July of that year, the Portuguese Constitutional Court declared the suspension of vacation and Christmas subsidies to be unconstitutional due to violating the principle of equality, although the judgment would only have effect from 2013 (Público, economia -7-09-2012). As a result of this judgement, the prime minister announced an increase in the contribution of all workers to the social security programme.

Such measures led to Portugal being the scene of conflict, which it had not been for a many years. Demonstrations in public spaces actually began before prior to foreign intervention with the "Scratch Generation" movement, which was already motivated by employment and social justice issues (Estaque et al., 2013). On October 15, 2011, many Portuguese took to the streets in about nine cities and shouted: "Out, out of here, hunger, misery and the IMF." On October 15, the Portuguese joined the Global Day of Action, an international demonstration in favour of global change. This protest took place in 82 countries, with the largest demonstrations in Europe being seen in Spain, Italy and Portugal. This movement was not as spontaneous and non-partisan as the "Scratch Generation" movement, since it was convened by 41 collectives, many of them linked to the radical left, and although the organisation claimed that about 100,000 participants were involved, this was far from the numbers involved in the previous movement.

Among the various protests, some were organised by the trade unions. On November 24, 2011, there was a general strike in Portugal, with the demonstration being organised by the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (in portuguese CGTP) and General Union of Workers (UGT) for reasons related to the austerity measures foreseen in the October 2011 State Budget. The budget included wage cuts and the elimination of the increase in working hours. This organised protest involved the

participation of spontaneous movements such as Precarious as well as students (Soeiro, 2014, p. 69), which reveals the coexistence of "old" and "new" forms of action.

In 2012, the cycle of protests began again, incorporating new modalities in the repertoire of action (Tarow, 1995), including the use of new technologies to mobilise the action. On May 12, 2012, the so-called "Global Spring" movement was organised by the "Indignados" movement, which mobilised citizens in more than 250 cities around the world to protest against austerity measures and demand real democracy, social justice, the redistribution of wealth and public ethics (Jornal Sol). Despite the union organisation, attendance at the demonstration in the capital did not exceed 1000 people. Most participants were young people, holding signs protesting against their precariousness state of living and critical of the government of Passos Coelho (Esquerda.net)

The most significant anti-austerity demonstration in Portugal took place on September 15, 2012, named "to hell with Troika! we want our lives". On that day, thousands of people gathered in the most emblematic squares of every Portuguese city (Babo & Silva, 2016). It is estimated that about one million Portuguese took to the streets. In Lisbon alone, the protestors were said to number approximately 500,000 people (Babo & Silva, 2015, p.358). It was hence the biggest protest seen in the country after the revolution of April 25, 1974. The protestors were taking action against the austerity measures imposed by the troika, which were considered to be overly harsh, and which were driving both Portuguese citizens and the country as a whole towards poverty and degradation. According to the demonstrators, "whoever resigns to govern under the troika memorandum delivers the fundamental instruments for the management of the country in the hands of speculators and technocrats, applying an economic model that is based on the law of the jungle, the strongest, despising our interests as a society, our living conditions, our dignity" (queselixeatroikablogspot.pt).

In this movement, values such as dignity and democracy were emphasised, an approach that was repeated during the following mobilisations. It was a movement that was not exhausted through a single collective action, but which rather followed the whole repertoire of a social movement: campaign, action and demonstrations of Wunc (worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment) (Tilly, 2004). This showed the application of the modular character (Tarow, 1998) used in other movements and contexts in the Portuguese case, albeit without losing its national singularity (Babo & Silva, 2016, p. 188).

On October 13, 2012, the "To hell with Troika" movement organised new protests and cultural demonstrations, which mobilised many artists in various Portuguese cities, and joined the Global Noise protest against austerity measures. The organisers emphasised how people overcame fear on September 15 and called for participation "in all forms of resistance and pressure that will take shape in the next 15 days until

we overturn this budget, this policy and this government" (queselixeatroikablogspot.pt).

On November 14, 2012, the CGTP organised a general strike aimed at safeguarding the interests of both the workers and the people, and 15 days later the European Trade Union Confederation marked a day of action for the same date, involving 40 union organisations. Their motto was "for employment and solidarity in Europe, not austerity." The CGTP general strike had greater visibility, since other unions and social movements that did not support the CGTP initiative joined the European Union action (Dias & Fernandes, 2016, p. 47). In this way, the CGTP joined the UGT as well as movements such as the Inflexible Slums, the Intermittents of the Show, the Students for the Strike, the Platform October 15, the Citizens for Dignity and the Movement March 12 (Soeiro, 2014, p. 71). The protests ended in violent clashes between police and protesters outside the parliament building.

3. Discussion

In Greece, Ireland and Portugal, that is, the three European countries that received external financial aid, the level of dispute was intense between 2011 and 2013. Ortiz et al. (2013) showed that there was an increase in worldwide protests during this critical period of crisis. They examined 843 protests worldwide, in a total of 84 countries and covering 91.9% of the population, and concluded that the vast majority of protests occurred in countries with a higher level of development, most notably in Europe (Ortiz et al., 2013). Most of the protests (n=488) were anti-austerity and in favour of economic justice.

In the countries analysed in the present study, the direct cause of many protests was the economic crisis and the austerity measures adopted by governments in an attempt to solve it, measures that suppressed certain rights won over time by the actions of various social movements. However, a structural analysis showed that the dissatisfaction was much more deeply rooted and related to the political-economic model of contemporary European society. The protests certainly emerged in part due to the crisis, but they were also the result of the responses offered the political systems to the crisis (Della Porta, 2012). In the investigated countries, as well as in others, posters appealing for real democracy were erected by demonstrators, thereby demonstrating that representative democracy was privileging the elites, that is, 1% of the population rather than 99%. Hence, those who were overburdened by the austerity measures, those who were unemployed, the poor, or those who could not find a first job took the streets to shout "we are 99%". They were the 99% who were dissatisfied with the responses of both institutions and public policies to economic problems, as well as those who were dissatisfied with the current democratic model.

As Slavoj Zizek (2013) noted, "what unites these protests is the fact that none of them can be reduced to a single issue, because they all deal with a specific combination of

(at least) two issues: an economic one, of greater or lesser another political-ideological" (p.1).

4. Final Reflection

The response to the 2008 economic and financial crisis associated with new communication technologies contributed to the spatio-temporal dissemination of collective action in Europe between 2011 and 2012.

In the analysed demonstrations seen in Greece, Ireland and Portugal, there was a direct relationship between the economic and financial problems experienced in those countries and the intensity of austerity, as well as the wave of protest that swept through their territorial spaces, bringing thousands of people to the streets and squares of their cities. It also emerged that economic problems once again formed the basis of citizens' concerns, since they again took centre stage in the dispute, albeit with characteristics distinct from those that existed during the early labour movement. The actual worsening of living conditions, which manifested in wage reductions, the deregulation of labour relations and cuts in social benefits, brought groups to the streets that could be mobilised by institutional organisations (unions, parties, etc.), as well as those who were mobilised spontaneously through social networks: the young, the precarious, the unemployed.

Many of those who protested were people with a high level of education, corresponding to a middle class who wanted to enjoy the economic benefits equivalent to their level of training, although that desire was limited in terms of their rights and expectations; hence, the deep sense of frustration and injustice following the redefinition of status introduced by austerity (Estanque, 2014, p. 54).

Economic problems were the immediate cause of the investigated collective action, although disenchantment and dissatisfaction with political systems and representative democracy were the remote causes, as demonstrated by the protesters demanding real democracy, which requires not only good governance and representation, but also direct participation and a society in which the principles of freedom and equality are not confined to laws and institutions, but are effective values in daily life (Ranciere, 2006).

In the case of Greece, Ireland and Portugal, these countries were certainly part of the identified European and global protest tendency that replaced the material issues at the centre of the protests. The same innovative repertoire of actions was used, in which the collective actions programmed and conducted by specific actors coexisted with new forms of social action, often without leaders, without organisation and without physical space, and wherein social networks were used as a form of mobilisation.

The collective action was not restricted to the national scale or to specific organisations or groups, but instead became global through the sharing of difficulties and the search for common values, thereby inspiring later protests.

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Law and Society - Euthanasia and Criminal Law

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Abstract

Euthanasia or "sweet death" is a topic that has sparked numerous debates throughout history. In Albania, the right to life is protected by Article 21 of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania. Regarding the individual's right to die in Albania, both forms of euthanasia, the passive and the active one, are considered criminal offenses and are punishable by law. The problem lies in the fact that such a definition is not found in the Albanian legislation, but such actions are considered as criminal by the interpretation of the law. In this topic we will study the perception of Albanians regarding euthanasia and whether the Albanian legislation should include this form of soft death or not. The protection of life in the country should take the dimensions of a sustainable protection. For this reason, in addition to the positive effects of improving life protection that derive from the application of the entirety of the various criminal justice programs and policies, also including the recent amendments to the Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania, a concrete and continuous protection should be provided in support of the right to life. I have always drawn a debate on this issue, which deals with the fundamental human right, with the most sacred right, that of life.

Keywords: *euthanasia, pasive euthanasia, active euthanasia, human rights, life protection, legal basis, suffering, etc.*

Introduction

The word euthanasia comes from two Greek word, which has a positive meaning and the sense of death: In the first view, euthanasia has always created the idea of an action which caused harm to a person, while this action leads to the end of the life of the being human. By browsing and searching a great number of substantial materials, I see euthanasia as an individual's right to self-determination, to die in the time and manner chosen by him while suffering from incurable diseases, rather than continue to suffer and have an even more bitter end.

On the other hand, euthanasia can also be viewed from the perspective that it is not be a matter of self-determination and personal conviction because it is an act that

requires two people to make it happen. Euthanasia is considered the same as murder, which is against law everywhere in civilized societies.

Albania's opening up to the global world, besides a number of positive outcomes for the country, is accompanied by the emergence of a number of phenomena, some of which are not foreseen or regulated to provide efficient protection of life or to allow the practice of what is known as light death. Some of these phenomena include our criminal legislation in terms of life protection in our country.

1. Study Background

Euthanasia is a human right to end life without suffering. It is often called "sweet murder". There are two types of euthanasia called active voluntary euthanasia and passive voluntary euthanasia. The first is a series of actions that tend to end a person's life, while the second is a treatment, care or assistance to end a person's life. Both passive and active euthanasia can also be non-voluntary. Action in both the active and passive euthanasia can be done without the patient's request.

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Historian Suetonius (AD 63-14) describes how Emperor August, dying quickly and painlessly in the hands of his wife Livia, used the term Euthanasia to show what she wanted at that moment. While the philosopher and married man Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was the first to use the term euthanasia in the medical context, saying that the doctor's role was not only to improve the patient's health but to ease the pain and suffering, and not only when this relief could help improve health but also when it could serve to make a straightforward and upright transition to death. Patients who were almost dead could not be abandoned, but every possible care needed to help them leave this world in a lighter and more gentle way. This was the prevailing thought until the twentieth century. XIX, which accurately depicted what we mean today with sedatives, or medications that allow us to easily die[1].

2. Euthanasia in various countries of the world

At the beginning of our century in all civilized countries there was an all-inclusive defense of life. In no country abortion was allowed or tolerated, wherever it was strictly punishable. In no country euthanasia was allowed. Suicide itself was not punishable, but, assisting the victim to commit this act was punishable.

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[1] Council of Europe (2003). Euthanasia, ethical and human aspects. Germany: Council of Europe

However, euthanasia, the so-called easy death, which has been allowed or discussed in many countries, mainly in the Netherlands, basically only makes a difference if the murder occurs with or without the consent of the victim. In the criminal law and in the rules of ethics is accepted as a negative action or is not positively assessed the consent of the person against whom this action is directed.

A healthy person does not want to live in a serious illness and may prefer death when he is ill. In addition, relatives may be tired of being cared for or those who have a duty to pay an annual pension for his life may exert pressure to lead to the killing of this person by claiming mercy for him.

The German Constitution, in Article 2, second paragraph, states that "Everyone has the right to life and physical integrity", but in the third paragraph of this article, it is said that a statutory law may violate these rights. Euthanasia has also been the subject of long discussions, but without any legislative result. The German Federal Court, in a decision of 4 July 1984, against a physician accused of neglecting a person who had just committed suicidal attempts to release his release.

The doctor had found the person still alive after a suicide attempt and had not shown proper care, which could have saved the patient's life. The doctor stayed all the time with the patient until he died. The main argument used by the court in its decision to release a doctor was that from the legal point of view the unclear attitude of the physician could not be considered because he stayed with the patient until his final death, in the sign of respect for the personality of the deceased . In Germany, much has been discussed about the person's right to self-determination for his death. But in Germany alone, we must not forget that Hitler has issued a voluntary death order since the day he started World War II.

 In Switzerland, the right to life as a constitutional right is based on an unwritten constitutional law. The Federal Court recognizes the protection of the right to life, in particular in the decision of 28 June 1972, where inter alia the Court. Federal says: The Constitution primarily protects human life. The constitutional right of life in comparison to other fundamental rights of the individual to give personal liberty is characterized by the fact that interference in a person's life means an absolute violation of his rights and constitutes a violation of the Constitution itself. The constitutional right to the protection of life in this way can not tolerate any violation.

In Austria, euthanasia is still punishable, it is considered as a murder at the request, provided for in Article 77 of the Criminal Code. Giving suicide to suicide is punishable, from six months to five years in prison.

The permit for active euthanasia under Article 115 of the Dutch Criminal Code was requested by a member of the National Council, V. Ruffy, through a motion in 1994, which corresponds to the new arrangement in the Netherlands. How successful it is still uncertain.

In Hungary the problem of euthanasia is being discussed long. But apart from the prohibition of suicide aid provided for in Article 168 of the Criminal Code, there is no other legal provision to address this issue.

While recently, in our country this debate has not yet been opened. Our Penal Code provides for a criminal offense, any form, way or aid that is intended to take the life of the individual.

3. *Euthanasia related to criminal law.*

Before we get into discussing legal problems with regard to euthanasia (light death), we must first undertake a review of what are the basic principles of protecting human life and its limits. Indeed, all the positions and choices that are presented to man in the analyzes made to bring in two different types of important principles of necessity and self-interest, which should be seen as a strong reference point, as to the consistency of approved, with an integral vision of things, as for the clear awareness that individual human concepts stand at the base of his personal choices.

For the concept of necessity, man is conceived of a man object, man of things, and for this is used for extrapersonal-individual or egoistic purposes. This conclusion of this conception is the principle of human opportunity, and where the logical limit lies in the collective or social usefulness of the instrumental use of one, which means, on the one hand, the widespread possession of society and the obligation to be cured to fulfill the duties of in the community. This utilitarian perspective is called for "a free space by law" because legal science is not legitimized to take care of euthanasia because it is an exclusive issue of philosophy and religion alone to decide that human life can be without value.

But we can say that creating a free space from the law for the sick in this state means lifting this category out of legislation and denying that right to everyone in a modern state of law to have a physician to decide if a life is worth living and to be preferred to a person who has an immediate death or a life filled with suffering .

There is a very clear distinction between what is called manus proprietal possession that is legally legitimate and possession manu alius that is legally illegal.

The principle of non-possession of your own life or manu propia is based on the following principles: protection of life, physical integrity and human health, protection of the dignity of the person, of human dignity, equality, consent etc. The concept of the "personal", which is embraced by the constitution, focuses on the person as a priority in his essence, in harmony with his dignity and his development in the protection of his life, of obtaining consent and of human dignity, solving here the problem of legitimacy of euthanasia.

The problem that arises is not that of pure euthanasia, for the sole reason that it has always been regarded as legal to have medical treatment against suffering, used in a

subject at the highest level of his pain and suffering, but not to cause death nor to anticipate it is because the purpose of medicine is not only the salvation from death and healing, but also the reduction of the pain of the patient by assisting in the death process not by causing death.

 On the other hand, active euthanasia helps to cause death and is therefore considered illegal, and especially euthanasia without consensus, both in the form of individual mercy and in the common consent form, because it contradicts the principle of the protection of human life, and the principle of protecting human dignity that implies the right to death when it is not foreseen. But it is also illegal to practise active euthanasia with consensus because it contradicts the principle of protecting human life and exceeds the limit on the possession of your body, in accordance with your will and choice.

When considering passive euthanasia, the legal problem is resolved on the basis of the principle of inaction and therefore we have the responsibility of the doctor as his obligation to continue curing the patient. Therefore, it is important to make a distinction between passive euthanasia with consensus and passive euthanasia without consensus. With regard to the first, we are dealing with interruption of the treatment by the patient and as such will be considered legitimate on the basis of a patient's right to decide for himself if he or she will die or live , and not on the basis of a doctor's right to decide to put him to death, his personal subjective right to choose.

In the basic concept of consensus explicitly provided in the law, any intervention that will be imposed on a person must be based on his consensus. Thus the criminal responsibility of the doctor who does not cure the patient while respecting his will is not considered anymore. It should be emphasized here that we face very special and rare cases, and the decision to terminate the cure and to be left to die must be characterized by a voluntary quality act and such a decision made by a seriously ill person is difficult and not reliable. Considering passive euthanasia without consensus in the light of the principle of "the personal", it is considered unlawful because at the moment the patient has expressed a desire to be treated and has not asked for the termination of the cure, the criminal responsibility of the doctor who decides to stop medical treatment, even if the disease is incurable and death. So this means that non-prohibtion of death is otherwise translated as permitting it to happen. Here the doctor will be charged of murder even if he only anticipated the effect or death. From all this, as we can see above, we can say that there is a major deficiency in the Italian legal system to take into account this phenomenon, circumstances, and forms of euthanasia, as well as the legal illegality of euthanasia both passive and active (this is not the case when the patient has given consensus).

In the criminal code the case is broader and more complex and euthanasia without consensus have been foreseen as intentional murder, and when it is consensus-based it is called a criminal offense, assassination with the consensus of the subject, because

giving consent does not mean that he is excluded from the legal responsibility. Since there is no norm that foresees the right to die from the hands of others, the doctor will be held responsible. The code does not foresee any cases when it comes to the view that the right of kill is exercised by the person himself, ie there is no criminal punishment for suicide.

3.1 The criminal code regarding euthanasia

Let us now examine the criminal legislation and the description of punishments given to euthanasia, meaning an act or practice used to end a life of great suffering. Such convictions are:

Helping a person in suicide.

Killing a person who expresses his consent to die.

Assassination of a subject regardless of whether or not he or she does not give his consent.

We need to highlight the fact that all such actions are illegal and punishable. Here it is necessary to verify the conformity of the norms of positive law that protect the human life with different forms presented by the practice of euthanasia.

In most cases, euthanasia practices are not practiced within individualistic subjective goals but with the support, and help of other persons.

Euthanasia as a practice that always implies a material or moral implication of another person, and not only in the capacity of the executor, but in the sense that he participates emotionally in a matter of existence of a man with a feeling of solidarity.[1] The rebuilding of the normative system is finalized by the research on the reasons for distinguishing between two legal configurations, namely between manu propria acts (suicide and taking part in suicide) and the manu alius act (murdering/killing someone ontheir on equest, with consensus).

The key to making the interpretation of this framework of actions, where we can discern elements of incompatibility and of a changeable nature, is presented with a negative fact, the silence of the legislature regarding suicide both attempted and performed. This is of utmost importance because it helps in the actual determination of this legal norm and the reasoning on such a matter would remain unclear[2].

3.2 The offense of incitement or assistance to suicide

The first model by which the euthanasia practice is manifested provides for assisted suicide, which calls for the criminal offense of incitement or suicide assistance. The criminal offense of consensus in murder is seen as a willing act of the subject to end

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[1] Euthanasia is an action always requiring the material and moral intervention of a third person, and not only as an active subject in carrying out this action but also emotionally, with a sense of solidarity with this action.

[2] M. B. MAGRO Eutanasia e diritto penale, Torino, 2001 fq. 176

the patient's life with the free will and intention of the latter, but we need to highlight that the realization of this will depends on the third person (man alias command). While in the suicide assistance process the subject himself is passive, the main author of the execution (manu propia command) and the third person in this case just assists in such a process[1].

The hypotheses of passive and active euthanasia, respectively related to the criminal offense of incitement or assistance of suicide, and the killing of a subject with his consent, are similar due to the incitement to the subject, but are objectively and voluntarily differentiated. In the first case, the will of the subject to end life is not only expressed but well weighted to the extent that he takes the initiative himself to do it. In the criminal offense of Incitement or suicide assistance we distinguish two different types of participation depending on the fact that the third party action is related to the finalization in the influence on the patient's will at the stage when he is thinking of taking part in his plan or being willing to provide material support in the implementation phase.

In the case of the murder of a subject with his own will the punishment is given in mitigating circumstances and it is the fact that distinguishes and sets the boundary between taking part in someone's suicide and killing a person with the consensus of the victim.

A person who encourages the sick subject to kill himself is sentenced, or even the one who reinforces the other's thought to kill himself. Anyone who incites a person to kill himself or reinforces a person's opinion to commit suicide in any manner is sentenced to five to ten years of imprisonment, and when suicide does not occur but he or she has only personal injuries he is sentenced from one to five years for attempted murder, and in such cases aggravating circumstances are considered such as when he is a minor or mentally incapacitated to understand his actions.

The need to punish assistance to suicide and suicide incitement comes as a result of the lack of a criminal law article to punish suicide (as a punishable act from the entire society). There are three types of suicide actions, the first being moral suicide incitement, the second is the incitement to material suicide by giving medicines, etc. which help to commit suicide and, lastly, an incitement or a reinforcement of thought to commit suicide, but there must be a lot of conditions to be accountable: firstly suicide must be carried out and secondly when it is not done it needs to have been attempted with serious consequences for the health of the person.

Based on what we have just analyzed, we can say that the law punishes the one who persuades someone to end his life full of suffering or reinforces his idea of killing himself or materially contributing to the commission of a criminal offense but it is

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[1] In both cases it is punished with the same principle, that of causing the death of the victim.

important to prove intention in this criminal offense, namely the will to help suicide[1] . We also have criminal responsibility even when the person does not act, ie in the case of failure to act before a suicidal situation (failure to stop the suicide means to let it happen consciously) by violating a legal norm for action. So it is the responsibility of the doctor who does not act in the case of a patient's suicide by saying that he respects his right not to be cured by not providing the emergency assistance.

3.3 Murdering someone with his own consent (consensual homicide)

The death that brings the salvation sought by the suffering person or anyone who gives consent under the Italian penal code (anyone who causes the death of a man, with his consent is sentenced to six to fifteen years of imprisonment) is punishable for the criminal offense of killing with consensus. This norm has been foreseen recently as a separate article and different from intentional murder. In the case of consensual homicide it is a third person who commits a criminal offense which is different from assisted suicide, where the person helps with preparatory actions and it is the subject himself the one who ends his life. A line should be drawn in order to make an objective difference.

Therefore, we are considering all the elements, the subject is different, one is the victim and the other is the third person, the object is the same, the ending of life to escape from unmanageable pain and suffering, the objective act is carried out with omission in one case (failure to act) and in the other case by action, from the subjective perspective it was done deliberately and in order to put an end to suffering and life.

Various opinions have been given by many authors regarding the consensual homicide of the subject, and many think that the author should not be punished because he is not dangerous to the society, but others feel the opposite[2].

From this diebate with so many different ideas, the legislator was forced to introduce a specific norm based on the principle that life is sacred and protected by law, and any violation of this right is punishable as a criminal offense. Many think that killing with consensus is a criminal offense on the personrather than a criminal offense against a person, and as such this offense can not undermine and does not undermine the public interest, the society[3].

By analyzing this act, we see that the legislator has taken into account a number of important types of circumstances, the consensus of the victim himself, and a lesser danger by providing for a lower sentence in contrast to the crime of murder. According to many opinions, the legislator, while prescribing the offense of

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[1] E.PALO MBI, Istigazione o aiuto a1 suicidio, Milano, 1972 fq.1020

[2] VISCO, L'omicidio e la lesione personale del consenziente, Milano 1929, dhe FERRI, L'omicidio suicidio, Torino, 1985

[3] G.I ADECOLA Eutanasia: problematiche giuridiche e medico legali dell'eutanasia fq 373

consensual murder/homicide, considered the killing of someone for mercy, or, in other words, the typical characteristic act of euthanasia.

Although the term *euthanasia* does not appear or is not found in the criminal code, we can not say that this as a matter is not included. It is not necessary to distinguish and present *euthanasia,* since in any case the judge himself is the one who, by considering the matter with all its elements, decides on the basis of his full conviction, if we are dealing with a consensus murder or a simple murder.

The law clearly makes the distinction between a deliberate murder and a murder with the consensus of the victim on the basis that the victim has initially given the consent as a mentally capable person who understands his actions and is aware of the result as a responsible adult and on the basis of a spontaneous decision and without either interference or influence. We do not haveto do with the free will of a person when he is threatened and is forced to make that decision.

Generally, paralyzed persons and those with serious physical injuries, characterized by great suffering, require death as a form of salvation by the doctor or by those close to him. But there are also cases when the person has been forced, deceived, or threatened to seek death, and these are the cases that need to be carefully studied and taken into consideration. So in order to have a murder with the consent of the subject, the consensus (consent) should exist from the beginning until the last moment when the crime is commited, and when the consent changes at the last moment of the offense, the guilty person will be responsible for the crime of intentional murder and not consensual homicide.

As we can see, we can say that there are very few cases when euthanasia could be classified as a consensual homicide, since for the application of this provision, as we have mentioned above, a true and complete conse

nsus of an adult person over the age of eighteen (mentally sane to understand his actions) which is difficult to be found in the incurable sick people who are about to die. The vast majority of euthanasia cases belong to the category of deliberate murder.

We may conclude that in the case of euthanasia for mercy without the consensus of the victim who is suffering, the guilty person will be responsible for the criminal offense of murder, and will be punished for not less than twenty-one years, and possibly with any reduction in the years when the mitigating circumstances appear, that the act was committed in the best interest of society and the moral values.

In most cases, euthanasia due to mercy is characterized not only by the actions previously required by the victim to the doctors but also by the family members, and this makes the situation even worse for the culprit who not only will be responsible

for the criminal offense of murder nut also murder under aggravating circumstances, and the punishment in these cases goes to life imprisonment[1].

It should be noted here that in the cases of euthanasia presented in Italy very few severe cases have been recorded, or none such cases at all, for the sole reason that in the conscience of the judge it is not considered the same murder that which is made for mercy by the family members of a person who is in extreme suffering, with the intention of putting an end to the suffering, with another intentional murder committed against a person.[2]

4. Legal Issues of Euthanasia

From the perspective of the law, the question of the legitimacy for the termination of the medical treatment for patients before death is not clear in the discipline of the legal system. According to the criminal doctrine, the case would be resolved by an agreement or on the basis of consent between the doctor and the patient, implying that the former can not force a patient to be cured if he refuses to continue a therapy, respecting in this way the will of the patient even if this would mean loss of the patient's life. On the other hand, if the patient requires continuous treatment until the end, the doctor will not be exempt from the obligation to make any efforts, even if they are hopeless[3].(Here stands the innocence of this act performed by the doctor [passive consensual euthanasia] since he is not responsible when he does not cure a patient who does not want to continue to be treated. From this point of view, numerous discussions have been opened, and many consider the passive euthanasia as legitimate, with consent, as an undisputed will of the patient. While, the passive euthanasia without consent is considered a punishable act, as a practice that either inactivity or through the interruption of medical devices ends the life of the person, so, not stopping death means allowing it to happen.

In the case of passive euthanasia without a consensus on the part of the patient who is in a non-recoverable state and the continuation of medical examinations has no value in improving his health, the doctor has no legal obligation to continue with the cure when it has no benefits for the health of the person. When the patient is sick and hopeless for life he needs to be assisted and cared for, but the doctor may, on the other hand, reject the disastrous medical treatment and without any result.

But in the meantime, it is still not clear how to proceed if a seriously ill patient with no hopes for life in an irreversible state of coma(passive euthanasia without consensus). The problem of consensus should not be seen as a fundamental and fair basis for the legal resolution of the doctor's responsibility, with the consensus and

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[1] G.IADECOLA Eutanasia : problematiche giuridiche e medico legali dell eutanasia fq 42

[2] B.PANNAIN, F.SCALFANI, M.PANNAIN, Lomicidio dell sonsenziente e la questione eutanasia, Napoli 1988 fq 20

[3] F. MANTOVANI, p. 80 where he writes about passive euthanasia with consensus actually we are dealing with a refusal to continue with the patient's treatment, and it will be called legitimate on the basis of a doctor's power to let him die, but based on an entity's right to decide whether or not to live.

willingness to discontinue the cure by the patient, many conditions must be met and it is rare to find such conditions if the ill person is in the death bed. A real and true consensus, he must come from the patient himself, and must be manifested in a very clear form before the doctor has previously been well informed. The patient also needs to be mentally sane to understand his actions and a responsible adult. The will must be real and not overwhelmed, and without the interference and manipulation of the doctor or a third party, and most importantly it needs to be true at the moment it was committed, and not a will previously expressed in the past.

In the legal system this finds a great support recognizing the right to life protection, and in the constitution the protection of human health is viewed not only as a right of the individual but also as a right of the whole society. This protection does not apply only to the cure of a contagious disease that would cause damage to the whole society if spread to the public, but also when it is done to fulfill a task which leads to a political, economic and social solidarity. But what really gives the solution and excludes the responsibility of the doctor is precisely: the doctors' duty is that of offering relief and cure but it has its human logical limits in the case when there are no hopes and no benefits for the health of the person and there are no facts to prove that it is effective and thus, the continuation would only cause further suffering and the discontinuation of the medical assistance would not hold the doctor responsible (the main purpose of the medicine is to serve the patient and heal him, and the second goal is to reduce suffering and to make death easier at the last moments of life). Therefore,the doctor who fails to act to cure a person in the last momengts of his life, when this treatment would be worthless, is not considered responsible. But we need to highlight the fact that the notorious concept of the worthless cure (ineffective) is very subjective because there may be different interpretations from different doctors, and it is necessary to foresee those cases when a cure may be considered worthless (ineffective) from a medical point of view, in which case the doctor does not have criminal responsibility in the case of omission.

In the case of cerebral death[1]or known as the death of the brain, in those cases when the patient in in coma and the brain does not function but the heart continues to beat due to a machinery, the doctor is not held responsible for his actions since the continual cure would not bring any results. On the contrary, if it is not managed to ascertain brain death in compliance with the law, and the patient can not be called dead by law, it is the physician's obligation to continue with medical treatment to keep him/her in life in that physical condition. The doctor in this case is responsible for keeping the patient alive and assisting him because he can improve since cerebral death has not yet occurred, and if discontinuing treatment for mercy on the patient as a form of passive euthanasia, the doctor will hold the responsibility of the criminal offense of murder.

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[1] BASILE. Lamorte celebrale aspetti medico legali fq.ll

5. CONCLUSIONS

The topic of euthanasia is very interesting ethically, religiously, psychologically, and existentially. But in the meantime it has now taken a wider political and legal form because of the intensification of the discussion in recent years of many countries and because of the aattitude of some countries that do not punish this act.

Speaking of euthanasia as a legal problem, we refer to legitimacy in principle of the legislation, which in some way legalizes it, given that if this practice is examined through the instrument of law, namely the legal code itself, thus permitting it through the law, we may come to a wrong answer to the problem. The real problem that arises when reflecting on euthanasia is whether a law can exist in the legal system of a state with all the characteristics of a law, that is, the general part, the formalism, the unavoidable bureaucratic character that helps to administer the extreme and dubious situation such as that of euthanasia. It is very difficult to speak and give a definite opinion about the passive euthanasia.

Creating a legal package that will allow to solve many questions about the attitudes and actions of the doctor to the patients, such as in which cases the doctor should decide to stop the therapy, who will be the person legitimized to oppose to this action, where euthanasia can be practiced, etc. In fact such a situation would require a detailed regulation to be practiced. The criminal code punishes either the criminal offense of killing a patient with his own will and consent or the assistance given to him in suicide. So there are many laws that punish this act, and the health legislation contains criminal and civil law, and protects the right to health and life. Physicians are obliged to respect the criminal code as well as the applicable criminal law.

Based on the principles underlying the constitution on the value of protecting the health of the individual and the whole society in general, it is natural that the exercise of euthanasia does not turn out to be positive from a general point of view but that does not exclude other elements of the economic nature, time costs and the useless and hopeless efforts that lie on the other side of the scale.

It is not the same thing to discuss this problem or analogous situations from a narrow legal perpective or considering moral values and the criminal and civil responsibility, but on the other hand though it may look the same situation it is essentially different to evaluate this concrete moment when a patient is at the terminal stage of life and who is about to be provided with the type of medical cure.

And when we are faced with the voluntary termination of medical cure by the patient to accelerate the arrival of death, the boundary between passive and active euthanasia becomes unclear and controversial, and certainly unlawful from the point of view of Italian legislation.

The legislator is increasingly behind with the laws regarding the nomerous rapid developments of the medicine (is always a step back) leaving a lot of legal vacuum.

And medicine, on the other hand, has raised a wide debate about euthanasia, bringing many unclear points to discussion, and it always shows that the difficulties between the doctor and the patient in such cases are great. It is the doctor the one who is left without a strong legal base to rely on when making a decision on the human life.

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International Security at the "Crossroads" of Globalization

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Abstract

There are no such things as safe Oasis' for life anymore. Wars and crises starting from Syria, through Iraq and passing through Ukraine, cruel terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, North Korea, long rows of refugees through the Mediterranean Sea, failed states, various epidemics and large population influxes in Central and North Africa, cyber-attacks, are a powerful message that world security circles have been shaken and that peace and stability are no longer an implicit issue. Dealing with challenges that acutely justify the current security mechanisms and policies has no alternative. Beyond current threats, crises and conflicts, our world is changing. All this clutter can cause political overload and an escalation of the most fatal situation.

Keywords: International security, Security challenges, endangered peace, wars, crises, political overload, policy justification.

Introduction

Dynamic developments, in the field of international security are crashing at the turbulent crossroads of the new order that is trying to be created through Globalization.

The multidimensional spectrum of the action of this macro-process, despite the benefits it has brought to the international economic level, has also caused a variety of crises on that level, especially in the unstable and poor countries, thus greatly affecting international security. Previous models and security policies, together with the institutions and organizations involved in security and security provision, are justified and insufficient. Networking of the economy and other fields is not enough without the networking of security institutions. The process of globalization is reorganizing the world's system of governance,[1] causing serious challenges to global security at international level. Threats and risks are growing at the crossroads of the

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[1] Keith Suter, Globilisation and the New World Order, page. 10, http://www.global-directions.com/Articles/Business/Globalization1.pdf watched on 08. 11. 2016

Globalization process. Nowadays, no one can talk about security in the extent of what was said several years ago.

International Security and the complexity of Globalization

We write too much, and talk too less, which is a serious problem concerning security.

Security is the essential element of all public life issues and the basic needs of all natural and social systems.[1] It is a sensitive issue that requires special attention and skills, careful training, and serious discussions. Buzan teaches us that *Security is the search for freedom from the threat. Looked from the context of the international system, security has to do with the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and functional integrity.".* In today's circumstances this emerges as a very complex and multi-dimensional process. Results are our indicator. The challenges that countries face whilst going towards a world that it is intended to be complicate the security even more.

Security is the basis of peace but not absolute peace in every field and system. It depends on everything people do, starting from the individual up to the home of all individuals, the world. The brighter minds of international relations are constantly preoccupied with the concept of security, but at the same time the diverse development of societies makes the success difficult. Einstein seeks security in gist. With his foresight, he had longed to invest in mothers who raise children.[2] But besides mothers' education, the environment, the circle, and the society in which these children grow up are of great importance too. *The apple sees the other apple and so it ripens.*[3] Even if you can manage to have peace in your house, that peace will be inadequate if the neighbors do not do the same. Any attempt towards bringing the noisy neighbor to join the chain of silence, brings conflict and then the security of one or both parties is jeopardized. Security should be the same for everyone - as Kant teaches, at a Universal level. This is naturally still related to the conditions and circumstances created in different circles of society. For peace and strong security are interlinked with the development and rhythm of the societies. Peace and security are strong interlinked with the development and life rhythm of the societies.

There can be no peace even in a single family, if one of its members has bad conditions and security. There is no peace in a state if a part of its citizens do not enjoy equal conditions and security. There is no peace in the world if some of its societies do not enjoy an approximate level of living and security, like the rest do. And Peace nor

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[1] Endreß, Christian / Schattschneider, Leonard (2010): Was ist Sicherheit? Interdisziplinäre Betrachtung einer unklaren Begrifflichkeit, in: Notfallvorsorge, Walhalla Fachverlag, 2/2010, Pages. 8 - 9.

[2] Warum Krieg?, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud , a card exchange with an essay from Isaac Asimov, Diogenes Verlag, 1972, pages. xx - xx

[3] Wise folk word

international security will not always be possible in the complex periods of great changes like it is now in this turbulence of the new order which is trying to be created.

Every process is manifested in its best, but with abundant problems as well. Viewed from this context, the process of Globalization has improved the living standards of hundreds of millions of people, but the increasing scarcity of resources is likely to turn it into a victim of its success.[1] Deficiencies of food, energy, water, soil and natural resources are elements that can cause zero competition between countries in the process, thus increasing poverty, state fragility, economic instability, inflation and strategic competition between major powers.[2] Huntington says the relationship between states and groups will not be narrow and will often be antagonistic.[3] The developments of this clash dimension and the actors that emerge on the ground through it are unpredictable and faster than the State's own opportunities to face them. Existing policies have a huge inconsistency with the pattern of the new order and they are not even falling somewhat in time and place concerning each country or society. To walk with time has become difficult. Reformulation of policies and their adaptation, the created situations, is a slower process than the situations itself. Some of these policies emerge at the same time of risk exposure, thus, turning insufficient to manage and keep under control the situations that shake the circles of international security. The development of appropriate legality and new strategies for addressing and managing current security challenges, through continuous systematic analysis of the security spectrum is a necessary issue, for the development of new security accesses.[4] Fukuyama says that the critical weakness, which has overthrown strong states, was primarily the lack of legitimacy.[5]

International security, dangers and threats that challenge it are not only the subject of all issues, but also the main problem of all other commitments in the world, in the conception and assurance of security at the swelled crossroads of Globalization. According to Robert O. Keohane and Joseph D. Nye, globalization is a state of the world of interconnection networks at multinational distances.[6] Networks that can be interconnected through streams and the influence of capital and wares, ideas and information, people and strength[7]. These developments create realistic opportunities to achieve economic prosperity, to spread political freedom, and to promote peace. However, they also produce powerful forces of social fragmentation, thus creating critical weaknesses, and sowing the seeds of violence and conflict. One should never

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[1] Alex Evans, Globalization and Scarcity, Multilateralism for a world with limits, November 2010, fq.5,
http://www.globaldashboard.org/wp-content/uploads/Globalization-and-Scarcity.pdf
[2] Exactly there
[3] Huntington. Samuel P. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order
 Logos A, 2004, page. 291
[4] Reinhard Meier-Walser / Alexander Wolf (hrsg.), Neue Dimensionen Internationaler Sicherheitspolitik, Berichte und Studien 93, page. 8, http://www.hss.de/uploads/tx_ddceventsbrowser/BS-93.pdf
[5]Fukuyama, F. The End of History and the Last Man, Zenit, Prishtinë 2006, page. 35
[6] Joseph D. Nye and John D. Donahue, Governance in a globalizing world, Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C. 2000, page. 2
[7] Exactly there

forget, the great distance of east and west as the birthplace of globalization and the growth of economic crises in this relationship. These are aspects that refer to "globalization," and they all have implications[1].

Security, in general, is not a static state and depends on many parameters. Of particular importance are the state and the opinion of the individual, and society in general regarding the perception of existential threats, their appreciation and willingness to deal with them. It also depends on the dynamics of developments and changes in environmental conditions, the nature of threats, political, economic and health problems, threats of terrorism, threats from cyber-attacks and interstate aggression like the current one of Russia in Ukraine, the wars (Iraq, Libya, Syria), the US-North Korea clashes, climate change, the huge wave of refugees, as well as the collapse of financial systems or their getting out of control. International security is a challenging social situation which will consistently be among the most important topics in the international relations roundtables.

Challenges of international security in the crossroads of globalization

Saving our planet, getting people out of poverty, advancing economic growth ... these are all one and in the same war. We need to link the points between climate change, lack of water, lack of energy, global health, and food safety and empowering women. The solutions of a problem should be a solution for everyone.

Ban Ki-Moon

The world is facing old and new security challenges that are far more complex than the managing capabilities of our institutions.[2] The international security dimension nowadays no longer looks like it did in the last century. Globalization is the most important feature in transforming the international security landscape.[3] It has grown the linkage between societies, and states but at the same time led to shrinking space and time, thus creating more global challenges. It has also brought global public goods.[4] One of the great challenges of this process in our swinging world is that it cannot achieve the same effect on every corner of action during its extension. The diversity of political-, economic-, security- systems, well-being and conceptual ideological, religious differences of national societies are at a great juncture trying to find the "best" or desirable way out. No less disturbing are the inequalities that this

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[1] Lynn E. Davis, Globalization's Security Implications http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/issue_papers/2005/IP245.pdf seen on 31. 10. 2016

[2] Alex Evans, Globalization and Scarcity, Multilateralism for a world with limits, November 2010, http://www.globaldashboard.org/wp-content/uploads/Globalization-and-Scarcity.pdf, Introduction

[3] Anne-Marie Le Gloannec, Bastien Irondelle and David Cadier, New and evolving Trends in international Security

[4] Anne-Marie Le Gloannec, Bastien Irondelle and David Cadier, New and evolving Trends in international Security

process bring.[1] Networking of many factors through this process despite the benefits it brought in some areas, it sneakily enabled the misuse of these networks for illegal activities as well, such as terrorism, organized crime, nuclear contraband as well as human and ware smuggling.

Such abuses should be understood as common problems, manifested through the process of globalization and not be seen as separate problems. If globalization brought these activities and security threats, the fight against them should be done on the same level as well.

The use of networks in illegal activities as well as the creation of secretive norms (Keck and Sikkink 1998), while supporting negative phenomena such as terrorism, drug trafficking, human being trafficking, nuclear smuggling, etc., are the true illustrators of the consequences of globalization in the epistemological picture of international security (Slaughter 2012).[2]

But not only these are left as dangerous consequences of the globalization process. Our world has changed. It is facing real crises and dangers. Daily newspapers around the world are overfilled with headlines: Syrian Civil War, Fighting in Ukraine, Turkish-Kurdish Conflict, terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, large crowds and long refugee rows in the Mediterranean Sea towards Europe, major outbreaks of the population in North Africa, dangerous diseases and epidemics, NATO-Russia tensions, Brexit, the US tensions with North Korea, etc. What remains as hope for the people in all this mess? Insecurity and that just for a safer future.

There are wars and war conflicts taking place in the world. Researchers talk about 409 conflicts, of which 223 are manifested by violence.[3] Our world is filling with various problems every day, problems that will fill the cup one day and overload the capacities of international politics together. Institutions with insufficient capacities will be forced to engage with greater intensity in facing new challenges by storing old ones in drawers. Too many patients with multiple complaints at the doors of few doctors cause overload in the diagnosing process and determining the right medication, even more so when a medication does not react the same on all the patients although they all have the same diagnosis. The release of new medicines dims the old ones, but the possibility of the erroneous diagnosis in some patients should not be overlooked either. As broad as the intersection of globalization appears to be, its escapes are narrow. Turning frequently around it just blows the situation even further, whereas the expansion of exit routes around the junction is not a successful solution either. Every delay is a delay, which then turns the solution into a non-

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[1] Sandra J MacLean, Globalization and the New Inequalities: Threats and Prospects for Human Security, CGPE Working Paper 04-02, January 2004, page.. 11. Seen on. 07. 11. 2016 http://www.sfu.ca/cgpe/pubs/Globalization%20and%20the%20New%20Inequalities-WP.pdf

[2] Anne-Marie Le Gloannec, Bastien Irondelle and David Cadier, New and evolving Trends in international Security

[3] Alle Kriege auf der Welt in einer Karte, http://www.swp.de/ulm/nachrichten/politik/alle-kriege-auf-der-welt-in-einer-karte-12238860.html seen on 02. 11. 2016.

solution. Complex problems impose complex solutions. The international security architecture is in a real stress test. The insufficiency of adequate mechanisms and tools that move along with the developments makes it difficult to design effective policies and strategies for detecting, identifying, and quickly targeting the situation which stings the international security. The emergence of risks and threats as well as the confrontation with them in a deeply changed environment, requires tedious running and efficient action. The 21st century rules for international security are not even roughly defined, despite the obvious progress that has been made.[1] Security parameters have changed; they are no longer as in the past. In the past, security was characterized by border security and the limited control of the movement of people and wares. This lasted until the end of the East West conflict.[2] This embodied the idea of specific internal and external security spheres. The police, administration, judiciary and civil protection dealt with the inner problem, whereas the diplomacy and the armed forces dealt with the outside ones, and their main responsibility was to avoid risks and possible military attacks. Now, through the process of globalization, security belongs to a new era. The world is undergoing a deep rebalancing of economic power and wealth. It is experiencing many insecurities, the same way as it did 100 years ago. Foreign investment and global supply chains are linking governments, nations as well as markets,[3] thus establishing a kind of Global Village, but to what extend is this Village an ideal oasis? It certainly is not a romantic place.[4] The diversity of interdependence does not always bring good; it also has its hurtful sides. The roads and channels of action within this village do not only contribute to freedom and well-being. Through them circulate as well as organized crime, terrorist groups and many other dangers. Then the products of globalization process are not equally divided among the villagers, and inequalities within them stimulate other security threats. Political, economic and social disparities in this village have a major impact on the international system by fluctuating the wroth, religious, cultural, ideological nods.[5]

International Security in a Globalized World - Is It Possible?

One of the biggest challenges in the security field at a global level is dealing with the conceptual security complexity.[6] At this level, international security is closely interlinked with interstate security. The security requirements of a state are not sufficient if the requirements of other states are not taken into consideration in the same way[7]. Unilateral actions do not contribute to security. Globalization has made profound changes that have affected the international space. It is presented to the

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[1] Garies SVEN BERNHARD, Informationen zur politischen Bildung Nr. 326/2015, page. 9

[2] Ibidem, page. 5

[3] Globalization and World Order
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20140521LondonConference1.pdf   seen on 20. 11. 2016

[4] Garies SVEN BERNHARD, Informationen zur politischen Bildung Nr. 326/2015, page. 5

[5] bidem, page. 5

[6] McSweeney, Bill. Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

[7] UN Chronicle, National Security versus Global Security, https://unchronicle.un.org/article/national-security-versus-global-security seen on. 20. 11. 2016

global achievements of information technology or as we encounter it in literature (distressing distance), the emergence of the global market, and the spread of democracy, which reflects a seemingly global situation in the east. A number of international system democracies have achieved a substantial growth, even the height of economic growth, but not including Africa.[1] But looking at the other side the problems that this process brings as risks and threats to international security are just as obvious, such as international organized crime, mass migration, ideological, religious, cultural and ethnic conflicts, spatial degradation, and various pandemics that do not contribute to security. Not less harmful is also the gap that is widening between the rich and old-turning north and the depleted, poor youthful south.[2] The post Cold War period is no longer stable as well as less predictable. The threats we face nowadays are multidimensional and widespread. The world today is unsafe.[3] The international security system that has been built during the last century is no longer sufficient. It was designed to protect states and their sovereignty by strengthening security between states. The new system under construction is proving almost the opposite. There are no adequate tools and policies for such a system. Old-fashioned state systems do not withstand the flow of new processes. They cannot catch up with the dynamic developments on the ground. Long peace might have put the state's preventive mechanisms to sleep. The sack of risks and violent threats is fully packed and about to burst. The weak states are among the serious problems that emerge. They have become good nests for the new type of terrorism that can stretch its claws to the developed world.[4] The Southern and Northern clashes continue to be big. The South represents a permanent threat for the North. It is not treated otherwise from the opposite side either; the only difference is the context. The northern intervention in the south on the pretext, to re-design security strategies, and the real interests of the south to reduce poverty and increase the development of this part of our globe are not perceived as presented. Northern strategies do not match the perceptions of the south, and they differ from region to region.[5] There is also a lack of an adequate concrete platform for the approximation of the minds of these poles, therefore the gap between north and south continues to exist and widen further. The interventions to combat negative phenomena such as terrorism seem to have added more long-term problems than they have made quick solutions. Problems like these can deepen the divisions even more and undermine the efforts to achieve international security in the process of globalization. Existing regimes and rules often do not reflect the new threats well, but they are also not able to handle them adequately. Achieving an alternate governing in a global level is still far away. It is as if the hope for a peaceful world has evaporated. The fall of bipolarity left behind a vacuum of security policies

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[1] Rob McRae & Don Hubet, Human Security and the New Diplomacy, McGill-Queen`s University Press 2001, page. 14

[2] Rob McRae & Don Hubet, Human Security and the New Diplomacy, McGill-Queen`s University Press 2001, page. 15

[3] Exactly there, page 15

[4] Fukuyama, Francis, State Building, AiiS, Tirane, 2008, page.175

[5] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Dialogue on Globalization, Regional Renaissance? Security in a Globalized World, page.3

"A new global complexity" for which a political pattern has not yet been developed.[1] There is still a lot of work to do in the positive and negative outcomes about globalization for national security and the impact of globalization on the capacities of some international and national stakeholders as well as institutions for ensuring human security.[2] The challenge for international security knows no stop, and this lets us understand that peace and stability are no longer an implicit issue.

Conclusion

A final definition of the international security dimension in such circumstances remains in permanent endeavor. It is at the great juncture of creating a new order. Globalization as a process is still far from universalism and is heavily loaded with globalization ghettos but it is still apparent as a broad spectrum trend. The main problem in this process was the fact that the world was not prepared for activities of such magnitude. The process preceded the preparations thus creating a great distance and detachment between these two. The linking of some areas of international relations has not only brought benefits that are not to be denied. It also brought a negative phenomenon as well as a lot of freedom that certainly did not have the same positive effect on everyone. The misunderstanding of this notion made the situation very difficult and sometimes even led it out of control. Even the chocolate in the empty belly hit counterfeit.

Globalization caused dependence between states and this instead of bringing the states together it actually did the opposite. Differences in achievements through the process of globalization awakened many problems, especially in the states that did not benefit as much as the other states. These clashes did not contribute much to their security nor the international level security. North and South differences continue to be and will remain a major concern for international security, because of the big gap between them. It is as if the crossroads of globalization have confused the entries and exits. Security policies are overly justified; their retrieval takes time and there is no time. Today has become unachievable, and tomorrow is followed up by a new day, of which we know nothing. The interstate alliances are unstable as well. Creating new alliances in the future would seriously undermine international security. States that are trying to produce and possess nuclear weapons are unbalancing the current state of affairs in this regard. The global village is more likely seen as an unmanaged territory rather than a promised land. Our world is really surrounded by many crises and dangers which leads us to asking a very serious and heavy question:

Can a globalized world be managed, and if yes, by whom?

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[1] Ibidem, page 1

[2] Security Studies: An Introduction published by Associate Professor Elliott School of International Affairs Paul D Williams, Routlegde London & New York 2008, page. 235

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[1]   Alex Evans, Globalization and Scarcity, Multilateralism for a world with limits, November 2010, http://www.globaldashboard.org/wp-content/uploads/Globalization-and-Scarcity.pdf Alex Evans, Bruce Jones, and David Steven, Confronting the Long Crisis of Globalization: Risk, Resilience and International Order

[2]   Alle Kriege auf der Welt in einer Karte, http://www.swp.de/ulm/nachrichten/politik/alle-kriege-auf-der-welt-in-einer-karte-12238860.html

[3]   Anne-Marie Le Gloannec, Bastien Irondelle and David Cadier, New and evolving Trends in international Security http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/TW_WP_13.pdf

[4]   Endreß, Christian / Schattschneider, Leonard (2010): Was ist Sicherheit? Interdisziplinäre Betrachtung einer unklaren Begrifflichkeit, in: Notfallvorsorge, Walhalla Fachverlag, 2/2010

[5]   Fukuyama, F. The end of history and the last man, Zenit, Prishtinë 2006

[6]   Fukuyama, F., State building, AiiS, Tirane, 2008

[7]   Garies SVEN BERNHARD, Informationen zur politischen Bildung Nr. 326/2015,

[8]   https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20140521LondonConference1.pdf

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[13]   Lynn E. Davis, Globalization's Security Implications http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/issue_papers/2005/IP245.pdf

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[16]   Sandra J MacLean, Globalization and the New Inequalities: Threats and Prospects for Human Security, CGPE Working Paper 04-02, January 2004, http://www.sfu.ca/cgpe/pubs/Globalization%20and%20the%20New%20Inequalities-WP.pdf

[17] Security Studies: An Introduction herausgegeben von Associate Professor Elliott School of International Affairs, Paul D Williams, Routlegde London & New York 2008

[18] UN Chronicle, National Security versus Global Security, https://unchronicle.un.org/article/national-security-versus-global-security

[19] Warum Krieg? Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud , një këmbim letrash më një esse nga Isaac Asimov, Diogenes Verlag, 1972, fq. xx - xx

The Function of Public Squares: Study of the Way People Behave in Public Squares in Athens, Greece

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Abstract

No matter what we do and where we go, when we are in public spaces, we try to satisfy our needs, although there is always a reason for the practice of good etiquette. Such needs derive from both our ideas and from our social and living environment, which are influential factors. In that context, a successful place serves peoples' needs and that is the reason why this topic consists of one of the most significant ones in urban design theory and practice. Indeed, during the previous decades, a series of researches like the ones of Jan Gehl's and William Whyte's, have tried to study the degree in which urban environment is related to peoples' behavior in public spaces, in various cities, worldwide. In Greece, such researches were not common. During the last years, an increased interest about this topic is observed. This is probably related to the growing interest of local authorities to implement Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans (SUMPs) and change Greek cities into more functional ones. In that context, this research paper tries to give a survey on how people behave in public squares in neighborhoods in Athens. In that way, it evaluates the existing knowledge with regard to attitudes and behavior in public spaces. Finally, the physical characteristics of public squares and the way in which they urge or discourage people to behave is another topic studied in this paper.

Keywords: urban spaces, public squares, human behavior, observation, Athens.

Introduction

Urban public squares are considered as the field on which human social life unfolds (Webb, 1990; Kyriakidis, 2016). According to Zucker (1959), squares are comparable to work of arts, as he compares the square and the feelings it creates to the passerby to the ones that art pieces bring forth to their observers (Carmona et. al.,2003).

It is true that the aforementioned references offer a general outline of the importance of urban squares within the urban design and planning process. Through the examination of the town and city planning history, it is clear that squares have always been the point of reference in each city. Certainly, centricity was the main characteristic of the Agora in ancient Greek cities, the Forum in ancient Roman ones and the market and church places in medieval ones (Gospodini, 1995) and so on. However, the idea of centricity which, according to Unwin (1909), is considered as the best way to achieve an excellent and artful urban design, should not necessarily be related to the geographical centre of the cities, as Gospodini (1995) underlines. As Moughtin (2003) points out, centricity appears in areas where great public buildings and projects exist, along with equally great public infrastructure; it is the place where urban art is located and public life takes place; it is the central point to where all the streets lead, signifying the important role of squares for everyday human life.

The aforementioned theories bring forth a correlation between public space and the surroundings (land use, architecture, public transport, parking policy and street morphology). This correlation becomes more complicated if one perceives that the various factors affecting urban life interfere with one another, such as parking policy and land use (Bakogiannis,Kyriakidis and Siti, 2018).

Based on the aforementioned data, it is established that the examination of the way squares function is a topic that needs to be approached in a multidimensional way, taking a number of factors into account. Especially in Greece, where research on this subject is limited, contrary to other countries worldwide (see in: Whyte, 1980; Mehta, 2009 a; Gehl, 2010; Gehl and Svarre, 2013; Sepe, 2017), there is a pressing need for the enhancement of research interest in this field as many cities tend to implement Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans (SUMPs). The social characteristics of public space are one of the most important aspects of the issue. This specific research paper focuses on the social characteristics of three urban squares located in various parts of Athens. More specifically, the research question to be answered is: Is there any relationship between the design of urban squares in Athens and their social characteristics?

Methodology

The aim of the research paper is to draw conclusions between the design of urban squares in Athenian neighbourhoods (Nea Ionia, Pagrati, Agios Dimitrios) and their social characteristics. The question emerged through the observation of obvious

social differentiations in the spatial distribution (mainly age and gender distribution) in public places in Athens. In order to answer this question, three Athenian squares were selected, based on the following criteria: (a) similar distance from metro stations, (b) land use mix around the square, (c) different ways of connection to the square (type of roads that surround it).

The survey was conducted during August-October 2018, so that the weather conditions favored the pedestrians to stay in outside spaces (Bakogiannis, et.al., 2018). It relied on the collection and the evaluation of qualitative and quantitative data. Specifically, the same method was used in a series of corresponding studies, through observation (Lynch, 1960; Whyte, 1980; Kyriakidis, 2016; Kyriakidis, Bakogiannis and Siolas, 2017; Kyriakidis and Bakogiannis, 2018). The observation was conducted in four stages during the day: 7.30-9.30, 12.30-14.30, 16.30-18.30 and 21.30-23.30. In each observation, information was collected regarding the (a) gender; (b) age of the users of the squares; (c) their activity; and (d) the duration of the activity. The data were recorded through a coding system, which was proportional to the corresponding system used in the research work of Mehta (2009 b).

Furthermore, photographs were taken in order to illustrate the way citizens act within the squares. In this way, questions arise regarding how, when, where and by whom the public space of urban squares is used (Mehta, 2009 b).

In order to draw conclusions, the mapping of the various activities and social/demographic characteristics was used as a method. Thus, it was possible to draw safer conclusions for every square. The mapping itself was carried out with ArcGIS software in order to facilitate the analysis of the collected data in the next stage. At this stage, this paper presents only the initial conclusions.

Case studies Research

Presentation of the Study Areas

The three squares selected as study areas for this research are: (a) the 28th October Street Square in Nea Ionia neighborhood, (b) the Aris Velouhiotis' Square in Agios Dimitrios and (c) the Mesologgiou Square in Pagrati neighborhood. Figure 1 displays the location of the areas of study in the Athens metropolitan area.

Figure **1**.The squares studied within the Athens metropolitan area.

Pagrati is a central neighbourhood of Athens that joined the Athenian urban complex in the late 1900s. It is densely structured and its appearance has changed since the last century (Bakogiannis, et al., 2015) both its structured environment and its social structure. Agios Dimitrios is an area also established in the early 20th century, as well. High-rise buildings are also located in this area. However, the building density is not as high as in the Pagrati one. Traditional buildings are also located in this neighbourhood. In contrast, Nea Ionia is a neighbourhood that mainly preserves the traditional residential character and structure (two-flat and three-flat buildings) (Bakogiannis, et.al., 2015).

	Aris Velouhiotis Square	**28th October Str. Square**	**Mesologgiou Square**
Neighborhood	Agios Dimitrios	Nea Ionia	Pagrati
Geometry	Triangle	Undefined (almost parallelogram)	Square
Spatial Integration	One main street & 3 neighborhood streets	4 neighborhood streets	2 neighborhood streets and 2 pedestrian streets
Organization of the square	Boundaries only in two sides of the square	Boundaries in almost all the sides of the square (strong sense of enclosure)	Boundaries in almost all the sides of the square (strong sense of enclosure)

Table 1. Summary of the main characteristics of the squares studied.

As for the squares under examination, they present differences in geometry, integration within the urban fabric and organization of the square space itself. Table 1 presents the characteristics of each square. The common elements they share were the distance from railway stations and the land use mix, as a series of fundamental activities is located around the squares themselves.

Results

The observation revealed data on the number of citizens use the squares and their pavements. In this chapter, the results presented are the initial ones. The focus of the research, at this point, is set on the examination of the probability of age or gender spatial distribution within the squares in question. A total of 994 people were reported exhibiting various static activities. The Mesologgiou Square in Pagrati neighbourhood seemed to be the liveliest square as 61.2% of the people were seen there. Indeed, the number of users in that square was significantly larger than the number of users of other squares, in almost all the observation sessions that were taken within a day. This conclusion is related to two important elements of the square: (a) its integration into the urban fabric (there are two pedestrian streets that allow for easy passage and presence of pedestrians) and (b) the existence of several places for recreation, such as cafés and bars.
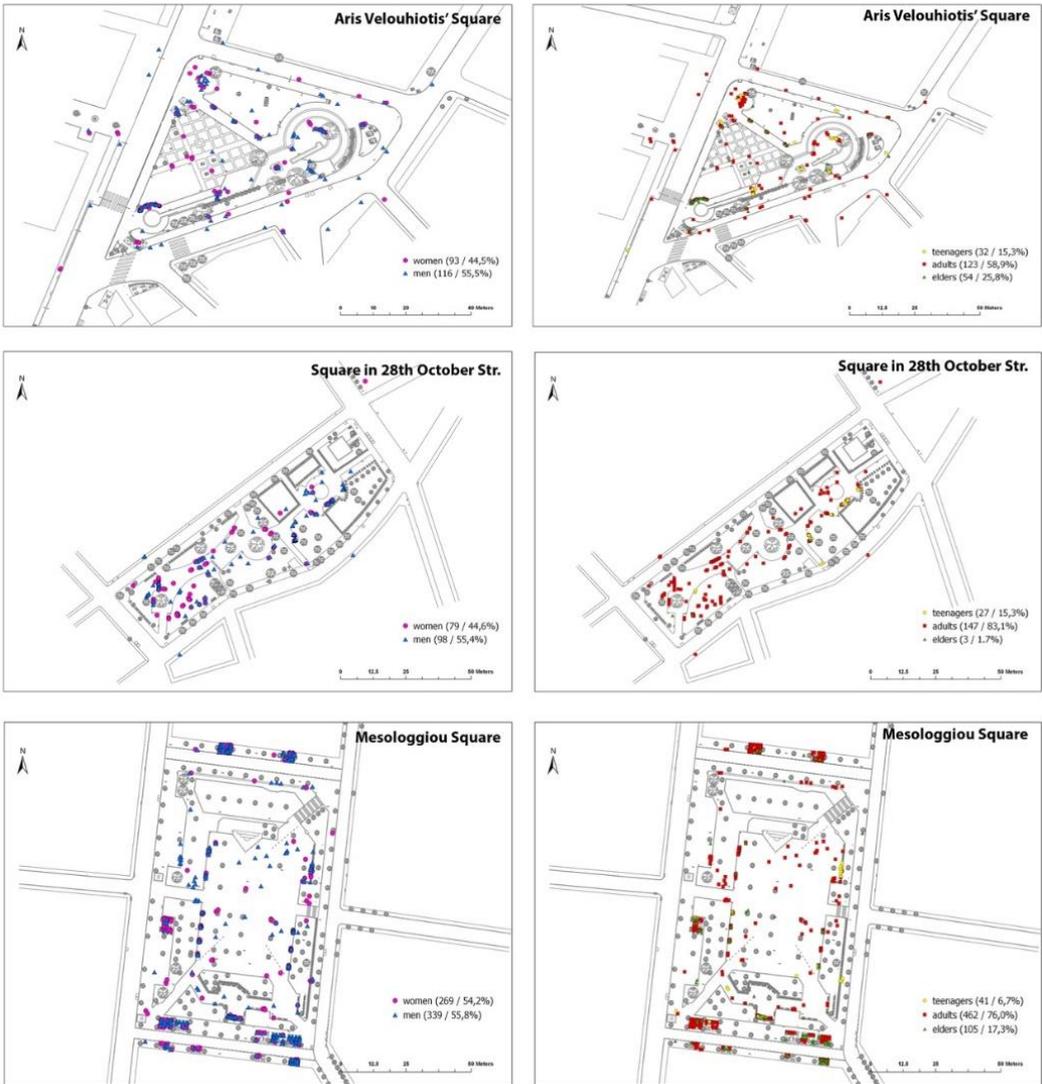
Figure **2**. Activities recorded in the squares studied. On the left-hand side maps, activities are classified according to the gender of the person acts and on the right-hand side maps, activities are classified according to the age of the person acts.

Indeed, looking at Fig. 2 it is noted that a large number of activities were recorded along the sidewalks and in the privatized spaces rented by the cafés for the use of these spaces and the retention of their patrons. The presence of privatized sites in Aris Velouhiotis' Square in Agios Dimitrios has resulted in increased crowd presence in these areas. This observation confirms the results of a similar survey comparing the cities of Larisa (Greece) and Nottingham (UK) (Kyriakidis, 2016), which

emphasizes the importance of recreational activities for the attraction of people to their public space and livability.

An important issue raised in the literature is the social characteristics of the users of the squares. Gender is an important parameter. This feature, according to Whyte (1980), could be an important indicator of the quality of urban space in general. In fact, his findings highlight a correlation between the presence of women with the degree of liveability and safety. The results of Larisa and Nottingham (Kyriakidis, 2016) are the same. Apart from the proportion of women, Whyte (1980) presents another indicator for well-used squares. This is the number of groups that visit the square. In all the squares examined, the proportion of women does not differ significantly from that of men, as shown in Fig. 2.

Respectively, no significant differentiation is observed even if the three squares are compared with each other. Regarding their space distribution, no gender spatial distribution is found in any square (Figure 2). This observation does not raise questions that need to be further investigated (i.e. design qualities that attract more women or men, design qualities that make women or men feel unsafe, etc.).

Another important factor related to the degree of livability of the squares is age. Indeed, a series of surveys (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997; Kyriakidis, 2016; Kyriakidis, Bakogiannis and Siolas, 2017) examine the age of public space users. One main reason is that, as Oc and Tiesdell (1997) emphasize, it was observed people of specific age groups are attracted by their peers. As a result of this observation, age spatial distribution within urban space would be expected. Such a phenomenon is observed, more or less, in all the squares examined, after all. However, the extent of the phenomenon is quite small due to the fact that the surface of the squares is not large and thus the visual contact among the majority of users is possible. Another observation is that the likelihood of mingling among people of different age groups is greater when their ages are closer (i.e. teenagers and adults or adults and elders). On the contrary, people who differ significantly in age (teenagers and elders) tend to choose different spots to sit and act within the squares, as Fig. 2 presents.

As for the age profile of the users of the squares, most of them were adults (18-65 years old). The percentage of the elderly was greater in the Aris Velouhiotis Square but smaller in the Square in Nea Ionia neighbourhood. The smallest number of adolescents was recorded in Mesollogiou Square in Pagrati neighbourhood, while approximately the same was in the other two squares. Ultimately, a phenomenon commonly experienced is that the adolescents are mainly located in the public space of the squares. As it turned out from the observations, almost everyone likes to sit on benches and not in open-air cafeteria spaces. There they talk to each other and meet their friends. A similar finding was also apparent in Larissa where young people tend to sit on the benches where they stay for long time intervals (Kyriakidis, 2016).

Conclusions

The question of how public spaces function has always been an issue for urban planners. The reason is that there is a correlation between how they function and how successful they are. In Greece, this issue has not been studied in detail, making it a very important field of research. The fact that over the past five years more and more municipalities are interested in the operational assessment of their public spaces in the framework of the implementation of Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans (SUMPs) makes this research subject even more relevant and necessary to study in the various Greek cities.

In this context, this work focuses on the functional evaluation of urban squares in the neighborhoods of Athens. The chosen neighborhoods are scattered across the Athens metropolitan area so that the focus of the research is not limited to the city center. Through observation, various conclusions have been drawn about how the three squares in Pagrati, Nea Ionia and Agios Dimitrios neighborhoods. However, this work focused on the social characteristics of the squares and their association with the degree of how well the squares in the study function. The main conclusions are summarized in the following points:

The integration of the squares in the public space seems to affect the degree of livability. Through the survey, it is observed that pedestrian streets work positively in attracting people and them carrying out static activities. As for the neighborhood streets, it is apparent that the square bordering a main street seems to attract more static activities than a square surrounded by local roads. However, the aforementioned conclusion should be further investigated in order to be considered as valid, as this observation may be the result of other parameters such as land use.

The squares are meeting places of both men and women, although the former are slightly larger in number. The strong presence of women in squares shows that they perceive them as a safe place that invites them to stay. Another positive fact is that there is no gender spatial distribution, since in almost all the squares almost as many men as women were observed.

The main type of users is adults. Teenagers are the least frequent users of the squares. Although there are no observable phenomena of age spatial distribution, there is a smaller possibility of mingling among individuals of the two extremely different age groups. This differentiation is due to the different hours of use of squares by users of different ages, the parts of the square they tend to occupy (and the design qualities of those places) and prefer to visit, and the tendency of people to attract more of their peers.

From the aforementioned data, it is obvious that the squares examined are lively enough, and Mesologgiou Square, the one with the highest degree of integration in the urban fabric and land use mix, is considered to be the liveliest one. The fact that

gender spatial distribution is not detected, while age spatial distribution is limited, permits a positive evaluation of the squares. Further research needs to be done in order to explore the squares' social characteristics, the motives of their users and the type and duration of the activities taking place in them.

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Confidentiality - A Two-Appeal Principle

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Abstract

This article analysis relates to the creation of conditions for the conclusion of the contract.This is the moment when the negotiating parties determine whether there will be a contract or not. This is the stage that in the best case is finalized with the contract signing.Known as the pre-contractual stage, it is considered as the foundation of the contractual relationship.Conduct in good faith at the stage of entering into a contract would also avoid causing potential damages and liability".- *The first part gives* , of Completion of the contract in good faith, is a legal requirement under the Civil Laë tradition, but unlike the requirement for pre-contractual trust, finds place in the Common Law tradition.In this part of the study, the detailed treatment of the manner of performance of the contract will be set aside, focusing mainly on the obligations that dictate its fulfillment in good faith and the liability incurred in the event of its absence . *The second part* is concentrated, Contract Interpretation. The third part will be treated as a brief and comparative overview of the common law of Civil Law in the interpretation of the contract, taking into account the main interpretative criteria, to underline the main differences between them. Among all the criteria, the focus will be on trust, which is sanctioned as a special criterion of interpretation by the Civil Law countries. *The fourth part* analysis the validity of the contract.In this last part of the chapter, I will try to clarify the confusion created between the rules of contract validity and the rules of conduct, as well as the role and impact of the breach of the trust principle in the validity of the contract. **Conclusions .**Regarding the situations that arise for the damage that comes to the parties from non-fulfillment of obligations and breach of the principle of good faith during the contract's formation, it is necessary to clarify how the type of damage that came during the pre-contractual phase and which interest has failed to realize one of the parties. In fact, this is a genuine duty of the court which, as the case may be, must specify exactly: the responsibility of the parties, the interest that has been violated, the type of damage that has been caused.

Keywords*:* contract law ,internal law ,contractual relation,internal contract interpretation, civil law

Introduction

I. Negotiating between parties or pre-contractual stage

The first part relates to the creation of the conditions for the conclusion of the contract. This is the moment when the negotiating parties determine whether there will be a contract or not. This is the stage that in the best case is finalized with the contract signing. Known as the pre-contractual stage, it is considered as the foundation of the contractual relationship. This is one reason that attention focuses on how parties behave or interact with one another. The definition of the terms of the contract is carried out at this stage and it is related both to the interpretation of the contract and to the manner in which it will be fulfilled. Conduct in good faith at the conclusion of the contract would also avoid causing potential damages and liability.

II. Fulfillment of the contract.

The fulfillment of the contract in good faith is a legal requirement under the Civil Law tradition, but unlike the requirement for pre-contractual trust, it also finds place in the Common Law tradition. In this part of the study, detailed treatment on the way of performance of the contract will be set aside, focusing mainly on the duties that dictate its fulfillment in good faith and the liability incurred in the event of a lack of confidence. Also, in this section the respective positions of different legislation regarding remedies for correcting violations of contractual obligations will be clarified.

III. Contract Interpretation.

The third part will be treated as a brief overview of the common law and civil law traditions in the interpretation of the contract, taking into account the main interpretative criteria, to highlight the main differences between them. Among all the criteria, the focus will be on trust, which is sanctioned as a special criterion of interpretation by the Civil Law countries.

IV. Validity of the contract.

In this last part of the chapter, I will try to clarify the confusion created between the rules of contract validity and the rules of conduct, as well as the role and impact of the breach of the trust principle in the validity of the contract.

1. GOOD FAITH IN THE SIGNING OF THE CONTRACT

At the pre-contractual stage, there is potentially a contract. At this stage, interaction of the parties is required to discuss and decide on the terms and conditions of the contract. During the negotiations, the parties have serious intent on signing the contract, whether at the conclusion of the contract, will either fall or disagree on its connection. The purpose should be visible and understood by the other party. Essential Negotiations of the contract (essentialia negotii) are those for which the

parties have to agree that it is considered complete, although other less important elements are left to be dealt with later or can be are also entrusted to third persons.[1]

The pre-contractual phase is of particular importance because at this stage a legal action is being prepared, with the consequences of which the parties will remain bound. Despite its success, this stage is characterized by many efforts to reach the point of contact of the various interests of the parties.

Towards the conclusion of the contract

Negotiation for conclusion of the contract serves to create it under those conditions that would reflect the realization of the interests of the parties, interests in the business world of economic character. When the parties cooperate for the creation of the contract, they step by step go towards its completion. Termination or conclusion of the contract is the long-awaited moment of the parties, which have long gone to reach it. Until the contract is concluded, at least two main moments differ: offer (proposal) and acceptance, which constitute a mutual consent for the conclusion of the contract and mark the beginning and end of a successful pre-contractual phase.[2]

1.1.1 The offer (the proposal)

The offer (proposal) is addressed to the party that is required to be contracted (except for the case of public offers). The Albanian Civil Code does not provide any definition for the offer. Meanwhile, a definition of the offer is found in US RSLC, according to which: "The offer is the manifestation of the will to enter into a deal, made in order to justify another person to understand that his adoption to the deal is invited and will finish it".[3]This shows that the offer "as a manifestation" refers to the external willingness to contract, expressed in such a way as to create the expectation of the conviction that the intention is to enter into a contract. The offer provides the receiver with a special power. After the offer is made, the decision to terminate the contract is in the hands of the receiver. Offer as such, is different from false promises or simple statement of purpose.

Promotional advertisements of any kind can not constitute an offer. The offer, to be considered such, must be serious and distinguished from the preliminary discussions. There are also similar "invitation to treat" offers that come from Latin invitatioadofferendum, which differ from the classic offer for contract signing. These are money supply because they express willingness to negotiate, which can be well illustrated with the auction, the request for proposal in the case of a public

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[1]Cărpenaru, S. D. (2012). The Conclusion of the Contract from the Perspective of the New Civil Code. Lex ET Scientia. Juridical Series 12 (1). f. 8 https://www.google.al

[2]In Common Law countries, unlike the Civil Law countries, another element is required when forming the contract. This element is expressed with the term "consideration" and expresses everything that is promised to the other party and may take the form of things, services, money, promise of action or waiver of future actions. There is no definition for the term "consideration" but essentially contains an exchange, quid pro quo..

[3] Restatement (Second) of the Law of Contracts, § 24

procurement, or the advertising of various goods. In the latter case, this is the best setting, as in a store where some goods are sold there is uncertainty whether the seller or buyer is the person who makes the offer.

Generally, the offer is valid when it contains the essential elements of the contract, which is required to be completed. During a negotiation, two are the most important offers: (1) the first offer, which marks the beginning of the negotiations and (2) the last offer, the one that is accepted. The offer must be clear and can be expressed once. It is final and should be accepted as it is. In the Common Law, Contract Law is also known as the "mirror image rule", so acceptance must be no more than the exact coverage of the offer. Efforts to change the offer constitute a counter-off or a new offer, which undoubtedly extends the negotiation time.

According to the German Civil Code, the acceptance of the offer, which is accompanied by changes (extensions, restrictions, or modifications) is considered a refusal, combined with a new offer. The offer, which is accepted late, will be considered a new offer. The new offer, according to the Italian Civil Code, will be considered acceptance received not according to the initial offer. So, during the negotiations many counter-offers can be made, which contain real willingness to contract. The goal of the parties is to conclude a contract with favorable terms for them, so they invest time and make enough efforts to achieve this goal.

1.1.2 Acceptance

Acceptance marks the end of negotiations. According to RSCL: "acceptance is the manifestation of the consent to the terms, made by the receiving party in an invitation or requested manner by the offerer".[1]Offer acceptance means there is nothing left to discuss about the contract. The receiving party agrees on what the offer is and that acceptance can not be changed later, without charging the party with the corresponding responsibility. When the receiving party expresses the offer's acceptance, in one of the ways provided in the law, also considering the type of contract, must be confident in the decision it has received. Admission means that the parties from that moment and in the future will stay connected to fulfill all that is stated in the contract. Because a good deal of contracts is complex and linked to long terms, decision-making becomes even more difficult.In the United States, it is important to receive acceptance from the receiver and no special way of expressing acceptance (in words, actions, and using any means appropriately) is required, except when a tenderer has designated a form set, which is nevertheless considered more as a suggestion than as a limitation. This is also the attitude of the English courts, where the manner of acceptance is set in favor of the host. In the Yates Building Co Ltd v. R J Pulleyn& Sons (York) Ltd. (1975), the offerer had requested that the admission be notified in writing and sent by registered mail. The receiver sent the notification of

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[1]Restatement (Second) of the Law of Contracts, § 50

receipt in writing, but by simple mail and the court considered that the receipt was effective. In England, acceptance generally is effective at the moment the bidder becomes aware of it.

In England, acceptance generally is effective at the moment the offerer becomes aware of it. In Germany, the Civil Code established the rule of acceptance of entry, while in France the legislature did not set a precise time for effective admission, fluctuating between the moment the receipt was initiated by the receiver and the moment of his arrival to the offerer.[1]However, the court's attitude is in favor of informing the offerer of the acceptance, being told by the latter.[2]

1.1.3 Offer's Destiny

As soon as an offer is made, its destinycan not be determined, but the offeror may stipulate the terms within which the offer may be accepted or refused. The receiver decides on the offer. The Albanian Civil Code provides in detail how the offeror and receiver's response to the offer will enable the termination or not of the contract. Since the negotiation phase starts from making an offer, it is legally recognized the obligation of the person making the offer to stay tied to it except when that tie is excluded.[3]

The obligation to stay tied to the offer makes it possible for the offeror to be serious in his proposal and not to make offers without the intention of concluding a contract. The relationship created between the offeror who has started a concrete offer and the other negotiating party is a relationship that pays the offering party and suspends his expectations towards the conclusion of the contract. This waiting period should be long enough to allow the other party to consider and evaluate the offer, but on the other hand, it should be reasonably short to allow the offeror to realize his interests with another party. The deadline for accepting the offer is logically imposed by the nature of the agreemen.[4]

The Albanian Civil Code provides for some options, which set the deadline, though not with the time periods expressed in the unit of time (days, months, years) common to this code. Thus, when a deadline for acceptance is not set, the offer is valid until the time usually or according to circumstances it is necessary for the receiver to reach the other party's response. When the receiver is present, the proposal must be received immediately. By contrast, the offer loses power. When a deadline for the receipt is set, the response must come within the deadline. When it does not arrive within the deadline, but acceptance may have been initiated on time, the termination or not of the contract is in the hands of the proposer, who if he / she does not wish to remain

[1] Rodolfo, S. (2004). Formation of Contracts Në A. Hartkamp, M. Hesselink, E. Hondius, C. Joustra, E. du Perron& M. Veldman (Eds.), vep. e cit., page 358-359

[2]Suraniti, D. M. The Contract

[3]Civil Code of the Republic of Albania, article 665, paragraph 2

[4]Civil Code of the Republic of Albania, article 664

bound, must immediately notify the recipient. When acceptance is delayed, the proposer may call it valid, promptly notifying the other party.

If the offerer does not receive a positive response within the deadline, it is generally believed that the offer has not been accepted or has been rejected. This means there will be no contract agreement. But there is also the possibility that the contract is called concluded at the end of the deadline. These are those contracts, which only contain the obligation of the offeror. The deadline, in this case, serves to refuse the offer from the receiver. If the offer is refused, the contract will not be signed.

The offerwhich is accepted, but that is not compatible with its content, is called a refusal and at the same time as a new proposal.[1]The contract will not be concluded even when the proposal for its conclusion or acceptance for its conclusion is withdrawn by the offeror or the receiver before reaching the other party.[2]Withdrawal comes after the offerer has started his or her acceptance of the proposal, but is carried out to stop the arrival at the other party, so, before it arrives, in order to avoid any possible engagement or responsibility.

In England, when a deadline for the offer acceptance is set, it may be revoked at any time before the deadline expires. This means that, in order to accept the offer, the receiver must reply within the deadline. If no deadline is set, the offer is valid until it is accepted for a reasonable period of time. The offer falls in the case of the death of any of the contracting parties.

In Italy, the offer can be revoked until the contract is completed and arrives at the receiverbefore the acceptance. Delayed offer acceptance may be considered by the offeror by notifying the receiver immediately, as usually the acceptance must be made within the established deadlines or required by the type of contract or custom.The Italian Civil Code also provides for an irrevocable offer, which remains so even in the event of the death or loss of the offeror's ability (unless the nature of the contract or other circumstances causes the offer to miss the effects) when the offeror is obliged to keep the offer valid. The German Civil Code provides that the offer is of no value if it is refused or is not accepted: (1) immediately, when the offer is made in the presence of the receiver or by using telephone and other means of technology, (2) within the time limit that the offeror awaits under the circumstances (3) within the deadline set by the offeror.

The position of the French courts in relation to the validity of the offer is the same as the legal provisions of other Civil Law legislation, according to which the offeror submitting a deadline is bound up to its conclusion, while the lack of time limit setting causes to wait for a time that is needed, according to reasonable standards. The

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[1]Civil Code of the Republic of Albania, article 670
[2]Civil Code of the Republic of Albania, article 668

offeror will be held liable if it revokes the offer within the specified time limit or the time it takes. The offer can not be revoked even if it is declared irrevocable.

In the USA, acceptance of the offer may also be done through the performance of the actions and no notice is required to arrive at the offerors, unless expressly requested or promised. If the offeror determines the place, time and manner of acceptance, they must be met, upon his request.

RSCL draws the attention of the receiver that, in the case of acceptance of the offer and of submission or notification of acceptance to the offeror, he must be cautious and take measures not to err with the means it selects to realize it.

In the USA, in exceptional cases, the receiver's silence is valid as an acceptance.

Cases in which:

Receiver benefits from the provided services with the reasonable possibility to refuse them and the reason for knowing that they are offered with the expectation of compensation;

the offeror has stated or has given the receiver reasons to understand that acceptance can be manifested through silence or inaction and the receiver by staying silent or inactive intends to accept the offer;

when due to previous agreements it is reasonable that the receiver should notify the offeror if it did not intend to accept, they anticipate that silence is considered as acceptance and is exhaustive.

Since 1870, in France, the Cassation Court has come to the conclusion that "the silence of one party can not create an obligation for it, in the absence of any other circumstance." However, since then, the principle of silence per se does not constitute acceptance; several times it has been reaffirmed by the Cassation Court; but some exceptions have been applied to it, which are dedicated to the trial of specific court cases. Through the exceptions it is decided that silence can be considered acceptance in the cases of previous business relationships when both parties belong to the same professional environment, where there are customs that give such meaning to silence, or when the offer is made in the exclusive interest of the person to whom it is addressed.

In all situations where the offeror does not set a time limit for the receiver of an offer and when it is legally stipulated that it must be accepted within a reasonable time, that is customary and consistent with the specific circumstances, it must be borne in mind that the "time" starts to move from the moment the receiver has received the offer. The offerer must also count the time the receiver needs to decide and express the acceptance, which should be sufficient. But for goods, or services whose quality or price varies by day, it is understood that the offer is valid for such a short period of time. It should be noted, however, that a contract may be such even without offering

or acceptance, since after long and complex negotiations it is sometimes almost impossible to find the final offer or final acceptance.

1.2 Theories about the moment of contract signing

The pre-contractual phase takes place until the conclusion of the contract. The contract is called concluded when the parties have mutually expressed their will, in one of the forms known by law[1], by agreeing to all its essential conditions. So, it can be said "at the moment of acceptance of the offer", but the truth is that there may be different views for the exact moment when acceptance takes effect. There is no need to be discussed at this time on contracts that are completed when both parties are present or others that are concluded via phone or other means such as FaceTime.[2]

Among the theories about the moment of entering into a contract, Albanian legislation recognizes the moment when acceptance reaches the offerer. The arrival of the response to the Offerer (within the time limit or within the time, as circumstances or usually are required) constitutes the moment when the offerer's waiting time expires. This means that upon the arrival of the response, the situation reaches one of the solutions: (1) the answer is negative and the contract will not be completed or (2) the answer is positive and the contract is called concluded. According to Semini, this theory has practical value: "because it is easier to determine and document the moment of arrival of the answer compared to the moment of effective knowledge of it."

In England the moment of the conclusion of the contract "varies" with regard to the terms on which the contract is formed. Just as in the USA, the distinction is made between the contracts concluded when the parties are present and the communication is immediate and when the communication is not immediate. In this case, the conclusion of the contract is deemed to be when the effective receipt is communicated to the offerer by the receiver. The use of postal service is reasonable and only when it is reasonable to use postal service to display acceptance, the "postal rule" can be applied. So, the "postal rule" itself is an exception and can be used mainly when the offer is sent by mail. If the postal service is used, the contract will be deemed signed when the receipt is posted and there is no need for more communication. In the USA this rule is expressed in the term "mailbox rule". In this case the receipt theory is no longer accepted as the moment of conclusion of the contract but so is the expedition theory instead.

One exception to the general rule concerns the application of the Electronic Communications Act, which determines the exact moment in which an electronic contract has been concluded, unless the parties have otherwise provided.

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[1]According to the Civil Code of the Republic of Albania, Article 676, paragraph 2, the known and accepted ways of expressing the will are expression or silence

[2]Smits, J. M. (2014). Contract Law: A Comparative Introduction, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, page. 58

Electronic contracts are concluded when both conditions are met: the person (receiver) receives a notification that the receipt has arrived and has beenreceived,and confirms the receipt of the notification by them. These communications are considered effective when the receiving party is able to access them. With the 2005 additions to the Civil Code of France, which refer to the conclusion of the contracts electronically, the receiver should be given the opportunity to check the details, the price and to fix possible errors before confirming and acknowledging the acceptance. Confirmation of acceptance shall be considered taken when the party to whom it is addressed has the opportunity to have access to it.

Contractual Freedom and Interruption of Negotiations

During the pre-contractual period, contractual freedom is expressed in several directions: each of the parties individually and independently decides whether to enter into the relevant negotiations (taking into consideration the type of contract and the other party) and the parties in cooperation (not always) and with consensus decide on the terms of the contract. This is also described as "positive contractual freedom", expressing that the parties are free to create a binding force contract that reflects their will. Between these two moments there is another way of showing contractual freedom, which is dictated by the negotiation process and at the same time determines their destiny.

Along the negotiation process, the parties have the right, based on contractual freedom, to assess whether their efforts towards concluding the contract should be interrupted or should further continue. This is called "negative contractual freedom", which implies that the parties are not charged with obligations for as long as no binding force contract has been concluded, known as such from the Common Law countries. If the parties did not enjoy this freedom as they entered negotiations, they could be harmedin realizing their business interests. The parties are able to appreciate that reaching a certain point of negotiation, extending their stay beyond a reasonable period of time, the behavior of the respective party or other causes would not produce fruitful results and the conclusion of the contract.

Therefore, on this basis, reasonable and pragmatic reflection, the parties enjoy the right to withdraw from negotiations, reducing other unnecessary costs. For this reason, the parties generally are not responsible for the destiny of negotiations and the termination of the contract, as they are inclined to reach a favorable agreement, giving priority to their interests. For each of the parties it is important to reach an agreement, whether it will be achieved with the party they have negotiated to a certain point or with a third party that may be interested in concluding the contract more quickly and with better conditions. But parties can be held accountable if they concludethe negotiations in bad faith.

If it is established that there was bad faith by one party in the conclusion of the negotiations and the other party has suffered damage, responsibility implies their indemnity. The Supreme Court of the Netherlands (Hoge Raad) in the case of Plas v. Valburg (1983) was able to artificially break the three-stage the negotiation process by adapting the respective responsibility for the conclusion of the negotiations at each stage:

At the initial stage, the parties are free to interrupt the negotiations without having the responsibility and the need to compensate the other party.

At the stage of substantive negotiations, even though the parties are still free to interrupt the negotiations under the good faith criterion, they can do so by offsetting (all or part of) the other party's expenses, such as compensation for missed opportunities such as the damage that has come to the other party that has not entered into a contract with a third party.

The interruption of the negotiations at the conclusion of the pre-contractual phase is against the good faith, since the other party can reasonably expect to conclude the contract as a result of the negotiations. Responsibility, in the case of the interruption of the negotiations by one party, is expressed in the compensation of the expenses of the other party and in some cases the missing profit or the obligation to continue the negotiations.

1.4 The determination of interest and damage in contract formation

Regarding the situations that arise for the damage that comes to the parties from the non-fulfillment of the obligations and from the breach of the principle of good faith during the contract's formation, it is necessary to clarify how the type of damage that came during the pre-contractual phase can be determined and which interest has failed to realize one of the parties. In fact, this is a genuine duty of the court, which, as the case may be, must specify exactly:

the liability of the parties, the interest that has been violated, the type of damage that has been caused, and the extent and manner of compensation for the damage. The costs incurred by the injured party, which have a concrete value, expressed in money, are clearly visible. While other damage such as the damage to reputation or competition is more difficult to be "valued" by the court and to "be translated" into the language of compensation, therefore generally in money. The legal doctrine of civil liability distinguishes three kinds of interests that may be violated, depending on the type of responsibility: contractual or extra-contractual:

The expectation interest, which means that the party has the expectation to reach the position that would have been if the contract had been completed.

Reliance interest, which means that the party has the expectation to maintain the state and not to further exacerbate it.

Restitution interest. This interest unites two elements: (1) trust from the one to whom something had been promised and (2) the benefit,that has the person who has made the promise. Otherwise it can be expressed as the one that is earned by the person who has promised and that is lost by him, to whom is promised to carry out an action. While the expected interest is future-oriented, it can not be offset except through contractual liability.

The other two interests are oriented in the past and generally the interest of trust is compensated in cases of extra-contractual liability. The restitution interest does not in essence have the compensation of the injured party's damages, but the withdrawal of the benefits the party has committed as a result of unlawful actions. During the efforts to conclude the contract, the parties are exposed to various injuries, which may arise not because the contract will not be completed, but referring to the conduct of the guilty party during the negotiations. These damages may be material or non-material.Generally one party must afford the negotiation costs itself.

1.5 **Conclusion**

However, if in good faith the contract is concluded, the party makes expenditures or performs work that exceeds what is normally expected by the offeror and makes it with his consent or request, the other party has to pay the costs or compensate the work if the contract is not concluded for the interruption of the negotiations without any reasonable cause. The party claiming material damage directly during the pre-contractual phase may claim to be compensated for any expenses incurred by it and which according to it was "necessary" to be performed during the negotiations.

The court, in making a decision, must be correct in determining the obligation to compensate, not relying solely on the requests of one party's claims. A criterion for assessing whether the expenses incurred by one party during the negotiation will be translated into a liability for compensation by the party who has caused the damage, is the justification of the expenses as reasonable, based on the necessity or need to be made in that moment and not after the contract had been concluded.

Expenditures, which were necessary, such as in connection with the preparation of the documentation for a real estate or travel expenses for the negotiation, are expenses that will be compensated. The amount of compensation will be proportionate to the progress of negotiations and the "harmful" conduct of the other party.

The more negotiations have progressed, the more reasonable conviction that the contract will be completed will arise. While if the behavior of a party is considered guilty, intentional or negligent, it will affect the amount of compensation.

The assessment of immaterial damages is more difficult as different persons hold different attitudes towards them; some are more susceptible to damage to reputation,

good name, customer credibility, or loss of better opportunities for termination of the contract or for establishing new relationships.

However, the purpose of pre-contractual liability is to restore the injured party to the situation that was before the start of the negotiations. In order to assess the damage, a negative interest must be determined, meaning that one of the parties can not claim to be placed under the terms "as if the contract had been concluded".

These conditions are hypothetical and do not constitute a point of reference for calculating real damage. As Jhering has defined, in the explanation of the culpa in contrahendo, the party, which had entrusted the validity of the contract, can not be indemnified to the promised value of expected interest, but can return the status quo through compensation of negative interest or reasonable interest.

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Emotional Health and Well-Being with Immigrant Families: A Literature Review of the Last 10 Years

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Abstract

The United States has reinforced its anti-immigrant reforms frequently. With these changes in the social and political context, they are a great challenge for this population. Although the immigrant tries to face them, they become toxic stressors for them. Therefore, interactions between parents-children and their family dynamics are affected by stressors associated with the migration process. One of the most worrying is immigrant's emotional health and well-being. There are international reports that refer to the high level of anxiety and depression experienced by immigrants and their families. This could increase the likelihood that children will become to intensify maladaptive behaviors. There are some theoretical models that point to the training of the practices of parents, inserted in the Theory of Learning Social Interaction (SIL) and in an ecological model to benefit the results of the child, the adolescent and the adult from different social roles. Therefore, the methodology about literature review could be one option to manage it. The objective was to identify the strategies reported in the literature to guide and strengthen the practices of the families of Latino immigrants (in particular Mexican families), encouraging a process of learning and training to cope them. This propose is one way to learn to parents, insert them into a community of cohesion, which can teach their children more effectively and they learn to manage the stress for acculturation. Unfortunately, this proposition is theoretical too, although it has evidence of the voices of different investigations done in the last 10 years.

Keywords: Emotional-health, Well-being, Immigrants, Program, Model, Literature Review.

Introduction

The immigrant's people emotional health and wellbeing is affected from the moment that they decided to leave their natal land. The most reason to do it has been reported as go behind of "to search the American Dream", which is translated like the son´s or daughter's future and familial wellbeing. The figure 1 synthesizes theorically the

pathway that migrant become to be very vulnerability situation, and their big need to rebuild a strong identity, to work in acquiring self-confidence and a social support networking in the destination country. Due to diverse jeopardize situations by which they cross during their trajectory to the destination residence, their adaptation and acculturation process will be in risk. This the same figure emphasizes that they live at the day, in one arousal stage, putting attention what happen already them every time. But, this sense of live here and now all time could be a big opportunity to help themselves to recover the control of their life. One way is making more consciousness that they go behand the Mexican Dream (see the appendix I).

External stressors which difficult the acculturation process in immigrant families

Immigrant families in the United States experience a series of external or structural stressors, such as: family networks view the care of children as a shared responsibility (Cardoso, Gomez & Padilla, 2009); poverty, discrimination, linguistic and cultural barriers, and family conflict (Dettlaff, Earner, & Phillips, 2009); living with fear to deportation and losing their children are daily realities that make undocumented women (Hancock, Ames, & Behnke, 2014; Marrs, 2012); others environment determinants like: language barriers, economic distress, experiences with discrimination, and family separation (Holtrop, McNeil, & Scott, 2015); enculturation, and parental separations (Gudino, Nadeem, Kataoka & Lau, 2011).

These challenges can be debilitating for Latino immigrant families' mental health and wellbeing (Ayon, 2014). Marrs (2012) refers that the Immigrant Mexican people in United States should learn to cope with, to manage, or handle a problem and for that they have to know over formal support systems are social service agencies, shelters or churches police, and courts, whereas informal support networks include, family, friends, clergy members and school personnel (Jung & Zhang, 2016).

Associated with the immigration process which to make very difficult their assimilation experience (Cardoso, Gomez & Padilla,2009). United States have made a series of hard changes in the social and political context over challenges and exclusionary legislation against the non-citizens people as Latino Immigrants Then, this people have to learn how live with this new national dispositions and found the form resolving their basic needs. It is obvious that the parent–child interactions are affected by contingencies outside of the home, such as: migration process, low income affects their parenting practices including the, and no accesses to resources and privileges (Baumann, Domenech, & Parra-Cardona, 2011). Even, some stressors affect the family cohesion, and lower family cohesion, parent–child conflict, youth substance abuse via ineffective parenting (Holtrop et al., 2015). Martinez (2009) found that the migrant families' children and adolescents in public school in New York, adopted older age-graded identities that do not coincide with full-time schooling in the United States and that to make more difficult their adaptation in host country.

Among consequences: interrupt parents' ability to engage in positive and nurturing parenting practices; an imbalance of positive-to-negative interactions. Which could increase the probability of children engaging or escalating maladaptive behaviors (Baumann, Domenech, & Parra-Cardona, 2011). Many times, children of immigrant families tend to exacerbate and develop a series of symptoms due their lack knowledge of this situation which contributes child's problem behaviors and externalizing symptoms (Lindahl & Malik, 1999). Family educational involvement has been identified as a particularly beneficial practice for the achievement and behavioral outcomes of their children (Tang, 2015). In children and adolescents, the educational aspirations could be a positive relationship to recover the control of their life too (Jung & Zhang, 2016).

The objective was to identify the strategies reported in the literature to guide and strengthen the practices of the families of Latino immigrants (in particular Mexican families), encouraging a process of learning and training to cope them. This propose is one way to learn to parents, insert them into a community of cohesion, which can teach their children more effectively and they learn to manage the stress for acculturation. Then, I thought in to make a literature review to answer the following research question, ¿Are there some strategies to help immigrant people decreasing their vulnerability situation and recover the control of their life? And these strategies should be to give them support to work for themselves and not only across one therapeutic intervention.

Method

Sample, Instrument and Procedure

The diagram 1 shows that the sample was integrated for 42 articles (see diagram 1), which were collected from the Boolean search system, across the next algorithm:

((TI=("Mexican immigrant" OR "Latin immigrant*" OR "Latin*immigrant*famil*") AND TS=("well*" OR "well*mental" OR "subjective well*" OR "mental health" OR psychological OR behavioral OR psychosocial AND program OR model OR intervention OR training))) AND Language: (English) AND Kind of documents:(Article). Period of time de 10 years=2008-2018 (see the appendix I).*

Results

The articles reviewed (n= 42), they were organized in two big categories according the interests of this paper: (i) Aspects of influence to decrease their emotional health and wellbeing, (ii) pathways or strategies to improve parental practices into immigrant families and resilient response to immigration consequences.

(i) Aspects of influence to decrease their emotional health and wellbeing. According Cardoso et al. (2009) there are a combination of direct factors: logistical barriers, conflicting mandates of other agencies, lack of accurate information

concerning international placement, and fear of the unknown. Environmental factors were implicit in respondent narratives and environmental factors promote the conditions that lead to a lower likelihood of international kin placement when working with Mexican immigrant families.

In general, Cervantes and Cordova (2011) reported six domains to manage external and acculturative stressors and improve their psychosocial and healthy adaptation: (a) immigration, (b) communication and language, (c) school and academic, (d) peer, (e) family, and (f) social and economic. For Cisneros and Lopez (2016) this topics or factor should have been developed in terms of Knowledge and skills, but awakening consciousness in them, mainly. In few words, this is called by Fernández, Pereira, Aicart, and Salas (2017) and Juang et al. (2018) like Psychological Empowerment. The family is the source of support helping to re-build feelings of chronic/recurring loss, and meaning making (Solheim, Zaid & Ballard, 2016).

The mental health practitioners or multiagent (child, parent, teacher, clinician) have to make intervention over negative perceptions of Mexico reference to feelings of fear, lack of safety, worry, stress, sadness, etc. (Gulbas, Zayas, Yoon, Szlyk, Aguilar, & Natera, 2016; Patel, Clarke, Eltareb, Macciomei & Wickham, 2016; Rojas-Flores, Clements, Hwang Koo, & London, 2016). But, all interventions according Santisteban, Mena and Abalo (2013) these must be tailored, adapted and targeted for addressing distinct cultural characteristics and does not do it in a systematic or just replicable for fashion. And they have to consider that these Perceptions can be the result of things learned through media, conversations with friends/family or direct experience.

(ii) Pathways or strategies to improve parental practices into immigrant families and resilient response to immigration consequences. Baumann, Domenech, & Parra-Cardona (2011) propose different pathways to improve resilience skills in these families. They took from literature the Parent Management Training the Oregon Model (PMTOt; Forgatch, Patterson, De-Garmo & Beldavs, 2009) which is inserted over Social Interaction Learning Theory (SIL) and Ecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and was used to manage children with delinquency problems. According this option, the families learn strategies and social skills into generate and keep thoughts to make network, including those that are built in home and school or with close and significe people, for example: parent–child, child-peer, child-teacher or personal school interactions (Baumann et al., 2011). In particularly, they observed two aspects to work from social justice principles with them: first, maintain a sense of competence to be energized and motived all the time and manage multiple, close and personal significe relationships. The same time, they recommended to make through CAPAS, an intervention treatment by Domenech (2011*; Criando con Amor: Promoviendo Armonía y Superación*). Moya, Ayon and Gurrola (2013) referred some similar. Used that ecological model, they reported the influence over individual's well-being, in this case with Mexican immigrant families, keeping and building close relationships all the time.

Gulbas et al. (2016), Holtrop et al., (2015) and Leyendecker et al. (2018), suggested the parents should have been kept on discipline interaction, monitoring, problem solving and acculturative stress, according characteristics of child's age. Jung and Zhang (2016) observed some similar, using an ecological perspective they reported in specific three ways: (i) Parental English Proficiency (PEP) which expands the traditional conceptualization of parental involvement because involve them into understanding and communicating in English with their children. (ii) Parent Control Monitoring (PCM) and (iii) Parental Involvement School Education (PISE) to know them deeply in their activities, providing instruction of academic skills, cognitive mental structure, values and believes (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016) through learning activities and educational experiences.

Have focus on children and adolescents is necessary because they are in transition to adult stage and they have the responsibility to transmit other generations a new model of immigration and adaptation model (Martinez, 2009). Ayon (2014) called it Familyism, and including discussions of different forms of discrimination with goal to develop educational advices and healthy coping strategies with their children. In other side, Tang (2015) found that parents are responsible for their children's moral development while the school is responsible for their academic development. The children' self-efficacy is built while more likely of parent to engage actively in their children's academic development.

Mendez and Westerberg (2012) observed that promote PEP in their children, the families can make activities like: talking about feelings, emotion recognition, learning new words, vocabulary building, shapes, colors, storytelling oral language development, narratives, alphabet connection and phonemic awareness in direction to increase the social competence, emotion expression and regulation, the creativity and imagination, the self-esteem and self-efficacy, although the parent–child warmth relation.

Marrs (2012) developed an environmentally-based model intervention and prevention in three routes: (a) provide informative material, social, and educational supports, (b) provide assessments, referrals, and advocacy to improve consciousness, and (c) provide counseling and help them to express bad emotions. Which was adapted and confirmed by Hancock et al. (2014) with undocumented immigrant people.

The figure 2 represents a synthesis of said above. In general, the pathway of reasons, situations and stages that the migrant people cross during their process into search their American and Mexican Dream. This has one superior part which is integrated in first instance by factors associated with migration experience and the wellbeing's deterioration in immigrant people, for example: discrimination and marginalization. These aspects are known as distal and proximal factors with direct r indirect influence. But, the diagram only shows those affect the parental practices as

consequences of immigration process. And, because this paper was done in virtue to know more about what aspects do they have influence on children and adolescents' unadaptative behaviors.

In the same upper part, the central section different approaches, tested in the migrant population, with families, children and adolescents. Among which we can highlight the ecological systematic model, multicultural and acculturation perspectives with base on the of social justice principles, all this under a closeness of harmony and love. Therefore, this part has direct influence over their wellbeing.

The inferior part shows and describes the ecological and systemic model, in its different systems, each one with its specific characteristics, but all are cross by the social capital (it means, by the macrosystem). Every system and all aspects fall down in the individual system, which could be translated that if the immigrant does not work in improving his or her resilient or coping response to it, his or her emotional health and wellbeing will decrease seriously. The final column (all squares over right side) represents the pathway with strategies, actions, recommendations, options of intervention for family's member, school personnel, clinicians, counselors, practionaries of health or for the immigrants learn about them and will put in practice by themselves. Each element of the figure corresponds to what in psychology is named as psychological empowerment (see the appendix I). If we tried to teach them this kind of coping or resilient strategies, we can return them their control of their life, which was robbed from them in the moment when they decided to leave their natal land.

Discussion and Conclusion

With this literature review, we can observe that there are different strategies to help immigrant people toward to find their American and Mexican Dream. In particular, decrease their vulnerability situation and recover the control of their life though some options into dynamic family and with support from school personnel and community's cohesion. The most important strategy, in the case do not let their emotional health and wellbeing decrease, is that they learn to do the opposite of it is reported by literature: avoiding behavior, living only with fear, anxiety and depression but do not make nothing. This paper proposes some viable options for this population. But, unfortunately, this paper is just from theory; although it has evidence of the voices of different investigations done in the last 10 years (2008-2018).

Despite, the most of the articles were done with children or adolescent samples, this not refer that the adult people is not important. But, according the different authors, the young people, for their low level of comprehension of this complex situation, it is the most affect for the immigration process. And their short experience in solving problems, it is waited that their close relationships get it in their hands. In fact, with this kind of actions, it is possible to broke the circle of immigration process intergenerational and by cultural influence.

In this paper had mentioned some programs (proved) to strength the immigrant families and their children, for example: the ecological model, the Social Interaction Learning Theory, a program CAPAS, social justice principles and an acculturation perspective; but these are not unique, in this case they were the options mentioned. However, you can see that each program could be or should be adaptive, flexible, modifiable about the sample's characteristics and cultural traits.

Acknowledgements

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Appendixe

Figure 1. Pathway of reasons, situations and stages that the migrant people cross during their procees into search their American and Mexican Dream.
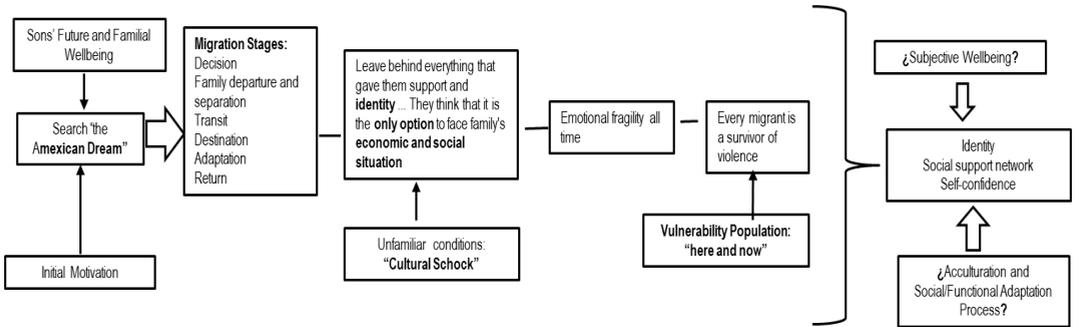
Diagram 1. Phases of the Literature Reviewed about Emotional Health and Migration
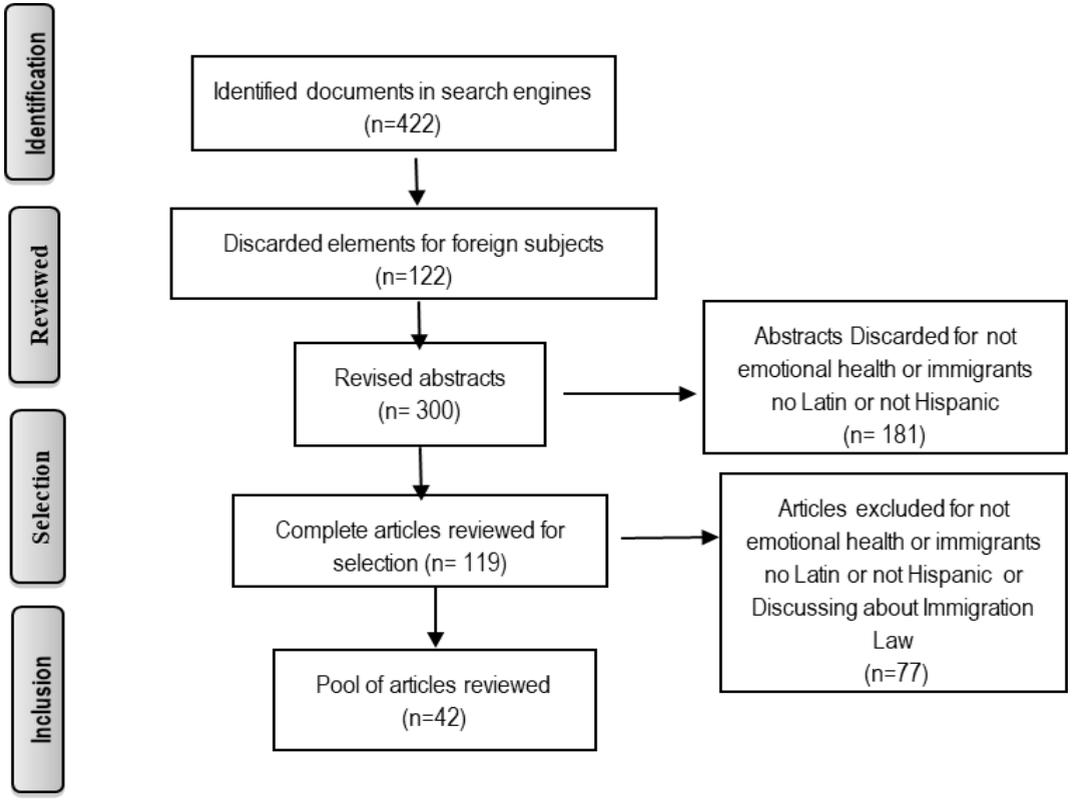
Figure 2. Pathway of reasons, situations and stages that the migrant people cross during their procees into search their American and Mexican Dream.
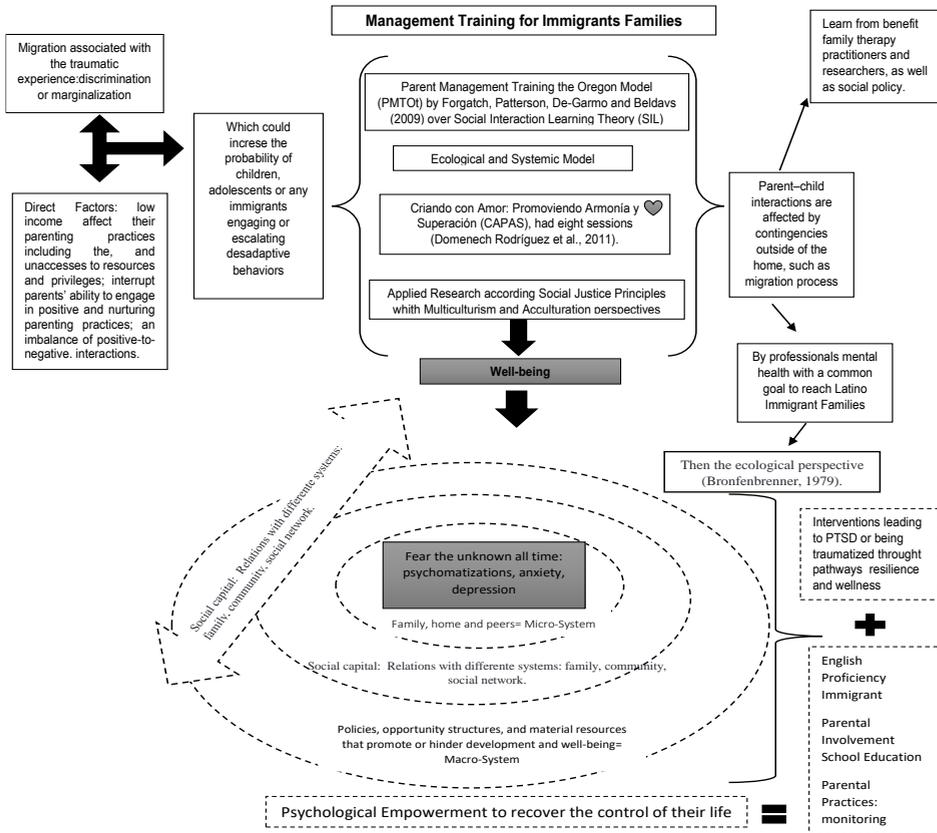
Processes of European (Dis)Integration in Context of New Medievalism

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Abstract

What is the source of the European Union's crisis? Are disintegrating tendencies so serious? How the scope and content of member states' sovereignty has changed within the years of integration process? The paper puts out a thesis that the answer to these questions can be found in the concept of new medievalism. This concept allows us to look at the EU from the perspective of historiosophy and civilization studies as well as globalization processes and qualitative changes in international politics. More broadly, this concept concerns the entire West, regarding social, political and economic changes which affect the position of western civilization in terms of its global domination. The "New Middle Ages" (another name for "new medievalism" in civilization studies) also refers to the European integration theory, providing a fresh look at the European history (this concept strongly refers to history) and interpretation of the presence at once. In the field of European Studies known is model of Europe as neo-medieval Empire, which provides the theoretical apparatus for research on changes of politics and power in Europe. The concept of new medievalism also investigates the risks of disintegration – that's why it helps to understand the possible consequences of EU's breakup. The aim of the paper is to present the interpretations of new medievalism, regarding the causes and possible outcomes of EU's disintegration.

Keywords: European integration, disintegration, new medievalism, the West, civilization, globalization

Introduction. New medievalism, its scope and content

A concept that pays particular attention to the changes in the structure of the world we are used to, and which we often overlook (or do not want to see) is the idea of the New Middle Ages. This approach is setting into the current of postmodernism and broadly understood history of ideas, and can be considered as a certain historiosophical concept and vision of the future not only of Europe and Western civilization, but also of the global scene of international relations. In the context of the European Union there are also comparisons to the Roman Empire, both in terms of the shape of the political organization and the consequences of a possible collapse. Moreover, in the question of the future of Europe, the idea of new medievalism was

applied in the creation of a new model of integration (the model of Europe as the neo-medieval empire of Jan Zielonka), and in this case it is not only an approach, but even a paradigm that competes with the prevailing in political science paradigm of the Westphalian nation-state as it defines European integration in an increasingly critical way, evaluating the direction in which it is heading, as well as rejecting the conceptual grid, typical for the Westphalian paradigm. That makes a great importance of new medievalism for the development of European Studies as the academic discipline.

Increasingly, the question of the future of the European Union (since 2004 because of eastern enlargement) has raised in the public debate. Will the idea of European integration survive the current crises? What is the EU phenomenon? Can the idea of the New Middle Ages be applied in European Studies? Can we talk about risk of a disintegration? If so, what phenomena in the social, political, economic or cultural spheres can be the proof for this? In what direction does the Union head, do the traditional social movements or political parties participate in it? What could be the consequences of disintegration of the EU? Is it possible to identify the source of overlapping crises? Finding answers to these questions is the key issue to understanding the changing world of Europe and the world as well as the condition of Western civilization and the shaping of world order. The paper puts out a thesis that the answer to these questions can be found in the concept of new medievalism.

Idea of the "New Middle Ages" as a concept in the field of civilization studies consist of a concept of civilization in the philosophy of history (according to philosophy of Nikolai Berdyaev) (Berdyaev, 2003), a theory of social-economic system (transformations and current phenomena in the world economy, the transition of power from the nation-state to the supranational and transnational levels, migrations, social inequalities at global scale) so-called "impressions" of the "spirit of our times" and of perspectives on the altitude towards future as well as the past, to precise – European (Western) past. Despite the crucial issue of the Global Era we must remember that this concept considers Europe (and, more specifically, the political and social structure of the European Union) and, more widely, the West at all. Apart from civilization studies, the most influential interpretation of new medievalism comes from the field of international relations. In this area new medievalism concerns the studies of the position and role of non-state actors as well as the scope and content of states' sovereignty. In some aspects, e.g. terrorism, it is close to the issues of security, too. Thanks to this complexity, we can look at the present form of politics and civilization from the theoretical perspective in various aspects. Therefore, the aim of the paper is to present the interpretations of new medievalism, regarding the causes and possible outcomes of EU's disintegration. The chosen research method in the work is the analysis of interpretations of new medievalism in the existing literature.

"New Middle Ages" in civilization studies – the unclear future of the West

The foundation of the idea of the New Middle Ages is its close relationship with historiosophy and cultural changes. It is part of the philosophy of Nikolai Berdyaev (as it was already mentioned above), a Russian thinker who introduced his ideas after the First World War. The distinctive feature of his approach is a religious and existential approach to historiosophy and from this perspective a critical evaluation of modernity (Berdyaev, 2003). Berdyaev presented an alternative vision of social development based on the spiritual unity of the West. The classification of Berdyaev's concept as historiosophy raises some doubts, but it can certainly be regarded as a kind of vision of the future of Western civilization, which the author considered necessary for survival of the mankind.

Berdyaev very negatively assessed capitalism, mass society, the domination of rationalism and materialism. According to him, capitalism has already reached the peak of its development. Moreover, the retreat from religion, distinctive for Western civilization, will be the main cause of its collapse. Berdyaev also has been against the "institutional" products of rationalism: liberal democracy, secularism of the state (in the Westphalian model), separation of the private and public sphere. The negative assessment of rationalism and anthropocentrism has made Berdyaev to announce the "twilight of the Renaissance" and the expectation of the end of capitalism as the end of modern history and at the same time the beginning of the "New Middle Ages" (Berdyaev, 2003). The Russian philosopher the era in the history of humanity divided into sensual and intuitive. This division is the basis of his historiosophy (Berdyaev, 2003). Berdyaev compared Renaissance to the day (sensual age), and the Middle Ages to the night (intuitive age). This comparison has the most positive character - according to Russian philosopher night allows you to stop and reflect on your life, and also directs the human mind on spiritual matters that obscures the light of the day (Berdyaev, 2003).

"New Middle Ages" and the Global Era – outcomes of neoliberal capitalism

The concept of the New Middle Ages returned to the humanities and social sciences back several dozen years ago and corresponds with numerous interpretations of the post-modern world (Bauman, 1997) (Castells, 2000) (Little Richard, 2006) In addition, comparisons to the Middle Ages have permeated the public debate. In this context, these comparisons relate to changes in international relations and factors determining them and the growth of social inequalities (both on a supranational and regional scale). The current situation is the effect of the neoliberal doctrine in the economy and the technological revolution (Kahneman, 4.04.2015). After the transformations initiated in the second half of the 20th century, relations within the world economy will be crucial for the whole of social and individual life. This means, e.g. very strong tensions between the rich and the poor, between the ideas of elitism and the concepts that emerged from egalitarianism. This can lead to the end of liberal democracy, which is a condition for the efficient functioning of a strong middle class and a belief in the equality of all people.

An important factor is also already mentioned globalization, which in connection with the dominance of neoliberal solutions in the economy emphasizes stronger economic centers. There are disputes in the literature about whether we are dealing with the globalization of trade or its regionalization. The concept of the new medievalism, for which the division of world trade and production is particularly important, also draws attention to such questions. The common denominator for these important issues is the structural crisis of capitalism (especially after the financial breakdown of 2008). Parag Khanna even puts forward the thesis of "postmodern Middle Ages" (Khanna, 2009), pointing to further weakening of the nation-state towards the establishment of (really) global governance and the importance of cities as independent subjects of the global economy (Khanna, 2009). Also multipolar shape of contemporary the world and the increase in the importance of non-state actors (from large corporations to non-governmental organizations), in international relations indicate similarities to the Middle Ages (Khanna, 2010). The issue that is decisive for the shape of the "postmodern Middle Ages" is, as mentioned, an increase in social inequalities on a global scale, resulting from the strengthening of divisions between the center and the periphery.

New medievalism in international relations theory – a claim for a new picture of politics

Therefore, it's the time to think of international politics indirectly. New medievalism in the field of international relations theory has its source in the premonition about the significance of the transition period after World War II, inter alia in the works by Hedley Bull (Bull, 2002), created on the assumption that the second part of the 20th century could be similar to the times of the Middle Ages in political aspects – mainly in the supposed "End of Westhaplia" in terms of falling domination of the nation-state as a category of actors on the global stage (Matthews, 1997, p. 65) . In addition, it is certainly worthwhile to mention that Arnold Wolfers, writing in the 1960s about the condition of international relations as an academic discipline, saw a trend that, in his opinion, was a sign of the blurring of borders between the external and the internal. According to Wolfers, the reason for this tendency were the conditions which changed the world after World War II, and in which we can find the elements of internationalist ideologies and homogeneous nation-state, the transnational co-operation and selfish nationalism, and the wars, difficult to classify as external or internal (Wolfers, 1962, p. 242). This trend Wolfers called "new medievalism", although it is Hedley Bull, who is considered to be the creator of this concept, known as *the system of overlapping authority and multiple loyalty* (Bull, 2002, p. 245)*.*

"Westphalia" in this context is seen as a metaphor for the origin of the European system of states in the Early Modern Period and as a symbol of political order based on the nation-state as the main and only subject of international politics. The "New Middle Ages" instead is a metaphor for the future of international system and its evolution in terms of its organization, governance, and its subjects in a way that can

make the system similar to the medieval one (Kobrin, 1998, pp. 365-366). Actually, it concerns the role of non-state actors, so the multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, megacities and global cities (some of them even make a claim for independence), informal groups and networks (like terrorists), subregional communities on a path towards autonomy or independence (like Catalonia or Scotland) and forms of regional, international or supranational cooperation or integration like the European Union. In addition, it is connected to interplay between the public authority and private sphere which denies the "traditional" boundary between the public and the private. In this last context, new medievalism is an approach to understand the transitions and changes on a global scale, regarding power shifts, expected decline of the US and crisis of neoliberal capitalism. The condition of economy is close to social issues – in this aspect there appears a notion of "neofeudalism" which refers to informal side of social life. This side develops strongly because of governance and security deficit alongside with growing economic inequalities (Williams, 2008, p. 11).   From the other side, the power shifts (both formal and informal) as well as expected decline of the superpower of the US are creating the vision of multipolar and more diverse world.

Concept of Europe as neo-medieval Empire in European integration theory. A claim for a new paradigm of integration

Also, more precisely, the concept of new medievalism regards new, expected after the eastern enlargement, shape of European integration – the neo-medieval paradigm, created by Jan Zielonka. Furthermore, it concerns the position and influence of Europe in expected multipolar world after the decline of the US superpower. In the analysis of European crises (financial, economic, social, migration and democracy) it reflects European reality between the daydream and the nightmare. In this case, empire as the form of authority and power – in the contrast to the nation-state – is not designed to be homogeneous. Moreover, the main issue is the distinction between the nation-state and empire (neo-medieval empire, not Westphalian like the United Kingdom in 19th century) in terms of administrative organization, economic governance, structure of borders, means of law enforcement, factors which create the common polity and features which are distinctive for a demos, and model of connections and relationships (*de facto* and *de iure*) between subjects which create the nation-state and the empire. The empire in this case is an alternative option to the state and indicate that we would be able to establish political organization which would not be a kind of state.

New medievalism in the field of European studies, just like in the international relations theory, is connected to works by Hedley Bull (Bull, 2002), mainly with expected "End of Westhaplia" in terms of fading the nation-state away as a sort of actors on the global stage (Matthews, 1997, p. 65). What is important, in the field of European integration theory, suggestions for changing the model of European integration began to appear before the outbreak of the economic crisis, and even

before the Lisbon Treaty had been accepted. It was the perspective of Eastern enlargement that raised doubts about the proper shape of integration and even its future. Then the economic crisis and, particularly, the financial crisis of the Eurozone drew attention to the shortcomings of the European economic project. A few years later, war on Ukraine raised doubts about the EU enlargement policy, as well as the effectiveness of its diplomatic abilities as a whole. At present, the challenge for integration is the refugee and migration crisis, which concerns the loyalty and solidarity of member states. An issue important to integration process is also the war on terrorism with the Islamic State whose actions threaten the internal security of the Union.

This is the empirical as well as the mindset background of the model of Europe as the neo-medieval empire, created by Jan Zielonka, which was based on the assumption that EU *finalité politique* would resemble the neo-medieval empire rather than the Westhaplian nation-state. The crucial circumstances for this concept were the eastern enlargement of the EU and the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty (Zielonka, 2007). In the field of European Studies, the job for the neo-medieval paradigm of integration is to replace the conceptual apparatus and worldview of the Westphalian nation-state for the case of EU political system. According to the model of Europe as empire, the Union cannot be seen as the "superstate", because it is too diverse and too large (Zielonka, 2007, pp. 10-11). The diversity in this case affects not only culture, but also social or economic systems, political traditions, technological development or political regimes. In this context, the main problem of thinking on the future of the EU is the involuntarily reference to the notions and phrases applied for the nation-state in Westphalian model. In the labyrinth of historical analogies one has to point out that the model neo-medieval empire is an abstract concept, referring only a little to the organization of political units in the Middle Ages. The contemporary model of the nation-state (Westphalian or, rather, neo-Westphalian), which Zielonka opposes the construction of empire, is also the ideal type and is referring to the form of political organization that started to emerge in the Early Modern Period.

The starting point for seeking the analogy between contemporary Europe and the medieval empire is the shape of the EU borders after the 2004 enlargement and the prospect of further territorial development (Zielonka, 2007, p. 4). The shape of borders is the crucial factor here, as it reflects the way in which power is enforced – the borders of the Westphalian states are tight and precise, both on maps and on the ground, and the territorial scope of the Westphalian states overlaps with the boundaries of a particular legal, administrative and economic order. On the other hand, in medieval empire, the borders are semi-open, fuzzy and permeable, and the territorial scope of the formal authority does not overlap with legal or economic jurisdiction. Today we can see certain derogations from the rule of homogenous boundaries – for example the agreements on local border traffic that let the residents of external border districts enter the EU without a visa – this solution was applied, e.g.

for border traffic between Poland and Russia and between Poland and Ukraine. Also it should be noted that the territorial scope of the Union does not overlap with its functional dimension – the single market also includes members of the European Economic Area which are not in the EU. A similar situation concerns the Schengen system.

The next issue, related to the structure of borders, is the political system. Of course, it is a democratic regime, but the organization of authority and power in a neo-medieval way changes the way democracy works, compared to the model we get used to live in inside the nation-states. First and foremost, the structure of authority is different – while in the Westphalian model we are dealing with hierarchical and closed governance, in the neo-medieval empire power will be dispersed and disjoint, creating multi-layered structures with a variable number of "rungs" and with varying territorial and functional range, that shapes them into a form of "concentric circles" (Zielonka, 2007, pp. 153-159). It should be noted that such a "cascade" layout of governance is relevant to the problems of the Community with regard to the difficulties in defining leadership and political loyalties. The question of identity is also a meaningful factor of relations between citizens and the authority in the empire – European identification is weak and fades away in the multiplicity of identities and loyalties that cross each other in the strongly differentiated society of the whole empire.

New medievalism and the anxiety of disintegration. The risk of no action and no mindset change

Apart from all the mentioned topics "new medievalism" deals with the issue of disintegration in Europe as well as the other parts of the world. In European Studies it especially concerns the risk of disintegration of the EU, supporting the search for new modes of integration (Zielonka, 2014). In this aspect it is close to new medievalism in international relations theory, as it was mentioned previously. For the research agenda in social sciences it is especially important because among the scholarship there is a call for disintegration theory (Vollard, 25th-27th September 2008) – we have to face the risk of disintegration of the EU despite there is no full and established theory of disintegration. In the contrary, we have many approaches to integration, both explanatory and normative. This call is strongly connected with similar problem of international relations fieldwork where there is no full and systematic approach of the international politics in the global and multipolar world, which would consider also the changes of the scope and content of the sovereignty. It is especially necessary because of Brexit and its possible outcomes. Certainly, as in the case of integration, we can talk about disintegration as the process, and even the processes, taking into account the overlapping phenomena, events and processes in different areas at different times. Regarding the specific vision of the world and man in it, the New Middle Ages is also a meta-narration – both for the case of the person

within the society and political affairs at the global level – which can change the way we got used to think about the politics.

Conclusions. Wide range of interpretations and narrow scope of clarifications in face of insecure future

It is difficult to predict what Nikolai Berdyaev – as well as Hedley Bull – would say, observing civilization changes at the beginning of 21st century, including postmodernism, technological revolution, the Internet or the crisis of capitalism. Apart from the individual assessments of the present "organization of the world" in social and economic terms or the condition of Western civilization, concepts and views that create the idea of the New Middle Ages (or representing a similar viewpoint) allow you to look at the changes from different perspectives. They also help to realize the processes in which the man at the turn of the 20th and 21st century participates. This also applies to the causes of current events and the possible way of their development. At this point, questions about the future (what will happen next - what will the world look like?) meet the concerns about the past (why it happens? When did it start?), which also forces us to reflect on the present. The idea of the New Middle Ages as an approach within the theory of civilization (primarily in the philosophical and cultural dimension) in combination with the concept of the socio-economic system (on a global scale) and transformation of social relations and threats. This why it enables a holistic view of how the modern world functions, both at the level of global processes and in the case of an individual, due to the importance of change and their direct impact on human life and functioning in the 21st century. The concept of the New Middle Ages combines different perspectives that complement each other.

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'The Bureaucratic Personality' View: Bureaucratic Characters from the Republican Period of Turkey's Three Prominent Women Authors

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Abstract

This study focuses on the "The Bureaucratic Personality" view through the three prominent woman authors', who lived in a republican period of Turkey, bureaucratic types are indicated in their literary works. The focused questions are following: 1) How bureaucrats characteristics can be explained in Bureaucratic Personality view? 2) How can be clarified bureaucratic types within the three woman authors', who lived in republican period, literary works? I have selected the following literary works in considering the research question: Şukufe Nihal "Yalnız Dönüyorum" Halide Edip Adıvar "Zeyno'nun Oğlu" and Halide Nusret "Gül'ün Babası Kim". In questioned literary works are noted as the data set. Bureaucrats' characteristic and their manner for cases are noticed as indicators, in methodology, this paper is a theoric, exploration study. The study designed into three sections. In the first part Merton, Hummel, and Argrys studies are referenced as Bureaucratic Personality" theories, likewise, bureaucrats' characteristics are explained. In the next section, bureaucratic types are noted within the Şukufe Nihal "Yalnız Dönüyorum", Halide Edip Adıvar "Zeyno'nun Oğlu", and Halide Nusret Zorlutuna "Gül'ün Babası Kim" literary works. In a similar vein, bureaucrats characteristic and their manner for cases are remarked. In the last part, bureaucratic types are analyzed through "The Bureaucratic Personality" view.

Keywords: Bureaucratic personality, formality, social distance, bureaucracy society separation

Introduction

I have investigated the early and the prominent studies on "the Bureaucratic Personality" in literature and I have encountered the studies that have been drawn up by Merton (1940), Argyris (1973). These studies have revealed the framework and characteristics of the Bureaucratic Personality" view. In literature, the next phase studies revised the early studies of the Bureaucratic Personality" view through the Simmel's concepts. (Perrow, 1979; Dalton, 1979; Miller ve Form, 1980; Norma, Gideon, Andrte, 1980)

This study focuses on the Bureaucratic Personality" view through the three well-known women novelist, who lived in a republican period of Turkey, bureaucratic types are indicated in their literary works. The focused questions are following: 1) How bureaucrats characteristics can be explained in Bureaucratic Personality view? 2) How can be clarified bureaucratic types within the three woman authors', who lived in republican period, literary works? I have selected the following literary work in considering the research question: Şukufe Nihal "Yalnız Dönüyorum" Halide Edip Adıvar "Zeyno'nun Oğlu"   and Halide Nusret "Gül'ün Babası Kim". In questioned literary works are noted as the data set. Bureaucrats' characteristic and their manner for cases are noticed as the indicators, in methodology, this paper is a theoretical, exploration study. This study contributes to literature with evaluation of bureaucratic characters in three well-known women authors' literary work in Turkey case in consideration of the literature information.

The study has been constructed in three sections. In the first part Bureaucratic Personality" view, likewise, bureaucrats' characteristics are explained and discussed. In the next section, bureaucratic types are noted from the Şukufe Nihal "Yalnız Dönüyorum", Halide Edip Adıvar "Zeyno'nun Oğlu" ve Halide Nusret Zorlutuna "Gül'ün Babası Kim" literary works. In a similar vein, bureaucrats characteristic and their manner for cases are remarked. In the last part, bureaucratic types appeared in the authentic condition of Turkey are analyzed in consider the literature information. "The Bureaucratic Personality" view.

I)"The Bureaucratıc Personality" View

The starting point of this section is the identification of the Bureaucracy and its linkage the public administration discipline has been referred. Then that addressed the literature discussion on Bureaucratic Personality View and its characteristics.

Merton (1940, p. 560) has indicated that Mannheim's objective reason-oriented approach pretends the goals of an organization shapes the social structure of the organization. The Organization is a formation derived from hierarchical units that move in coordination with each other, and a structure in which the roles of persons, privileges, and authorities are explicitly specified by the regarding official rules that explicitly defined. The special name of this form of organization is the bureaucracy.

According to Weber (1946, p. 335), bureaucracy is a form of rational social action defined as a fundamental means of socialization of power relations which of people turn into intra-bureaucratic control relations. Norms and beliefs become technically competence and proficiency. Psychologically, bureaucrats portray a rational, devoid of emotional ability expert character.

Shafritz and Hyde,1997; Ventriss, 2000 studies offer an assessment of the linkage between bureaucracy and public administration through the control of public

servants, control area, control of rulers, control of the results of organizational goals and organizational actions.

Merton evaluates the relationships between bureaucrats and organization rules. Besides, bureaucrats have an interaction with each other and their manners are issued in the Bureaucratıc Personalıty" view. Merton (1940: 561-565) has noted that there are formal rules and clearly defined "social distance" among people in different positions within the system. Thus, people can predict the actions of others who work in different positions within the system and can steadily adjust anticipatory expectations. This structure removes irrational attitudes in the system and troubles that personalized relationships can bring about. It is also expected that those in the bureaucracy will be able to adapt themselves to the system discipline and behave in a clear manner to the others.

The focal point of Merton's study is how the personality of the bureaucrats has been affected by the conditions of the bureaucratic dysfunction? Merton illustrates a set of examples to respond the unquestioned question: The formal rules are core elements in the bureaucracy's focus. On condition that the bureaucrats attach great importance to these rules, they might ignore the goals of the organization and give consequence to outcomes of the rules that bind them. In case the bureaucracy does not work, bureaucratic personality structures will be constituted in which personal struggle between bureaucrats is crucial.

In Merton's study (1940, p. 566) a second example of the bureaucracy's dysfunctionalities' impact on the personality of the bureaucrats is "disciplinary obsession." The disciplinary obsession of bureaucrats leads to rigid and excessive obedience, which will cause resistance to change in the bureaucracy. In addition, the non-personality rules create an environment in which different forms of thought are raffled and a vicious monotheistic way of thinking is appreciated. As a corollary, when the bureaucrats have made a decision, the support the idea that they are expecting to receive acceptance will become widespread or the in-system discontent and reactions will appear to the people who reflect their own thought.

Argyris study (1973, p. 158-159) has relied on the Maslows and the other human relativists. According to him, it is important for one to know the sense of failure and disappointment. In this case, the organization prevents the people around them from being satisfied with their self-satisfaction. Therefore, the person moves for the purposes of the organization, not for himself.   Argyris indicates that the issue of dependency ignores the obedience, the expression of emotions, and the relationship between defense and problem-solving and decision making. The reason for this negligence is the difficulty of foreseeing the absolute tendencies of these theories. One point that draws attention to Argyris's study is that unlike the mechanical approaches that people perceive as a tooth of the wheel of the organization, they contribute to organizations and their working.

Hummel's approach (1998, p. 307; 2007, p. 3) to bureaucratic personality has two main implications. One of them is that bureaucratic life and social life are completely separated. The second is the special pressures; social, cultural, psychological, linguistic and political pressures shape the lives of bureaucrats and determine what they will be. According to Hummel, bureaucrats are socially responsible for human beings, as long as the social life will open the distinction of bureaucratic life. Culturally, they are influenced by other members of society and thoughtful to social issues such as justice, freedom, violence, oppression, disease, death, victory, defeat, control, and domination. "Psychologically, bureaucrats are not different from other members of society. The characteristics of bureaucrats can be summarized as follows: Linguistic cognition is possible to communicate with bureaucrats. Politically, bureaucrats are service people. They work with an understanding of service that is idealized and focuses on results. It is the government's role to manage and make decisions. It is intended to provide rationality and efficiency, not personal expectations, in the service process. For this purpose, they use control as a tool and provide services. Bureaucrats are "soulless" and "thoughtless" personality types. and utilization personal convictions, or their thoughts like some kind of machine."

II) The Bureaucratic Character of the Three Well Known Woman Authors' Literary Works In Republican Period of Turkey

Şükufe Nihal's (2005, p. 40) novel "Yalnız Dönüyorum" deals with the memory of an emancipated, intellectual, well-educated, westernized woman and her experiences from her childhood to her adulthood. The main character of the novel, Yildiz, has spent her childhood years in the second constitutional period and is a grown-up fellow who approaches the problems of the country with an awareness of women in the era of republican and post-republican revolutions. With the Yildiz's description, her father is "a well-respected militia officer in one of the spectacular city of Macedonia ".

At that time, the commander of the city, the governor, many officers and a group of intellectuals frequently hosted and organized meetings in their homes. these meetings were dealing with 'the country issues, occupants, rebellions, autocracy, music and poem". Yıldız has noted her father characteristics and vision to the life as follows: (Nihal, 2005, p. 46-47)

"...My father was not a man who wanted to keep his children under pressure, who was open-minded, cosmopolitan and thoughtful... It was an unforgettable memory, my father invited me to his side. -The world is a girl who will wonder about the things that are falling in the world. I will introduce and let her endeavor the everything possible in the world, Then, I will trust her. She will experience by oneself and able to choose the best, the right one among the options..."

Halide Nusret Zorlutuna's novel "Gül'ün Babası Kim?" deals with the memory of a well-educated in the boarding school affiliated to French values, westernized woman

and her conflicts with her traditionalist family ties and social values. The main character of the novel, Mecla, exiled to the Edirne, due to the fact that she was pregnant and expecting an illegitimate child and far from her family and lived with her duenna. Mecla familiarised with three teachers in the names of Güzide, Fahire, and Halit. In considering the bureaucratic personality view, Güzide and Halit characters are significant in this study. Mecla has notes Güzide's characteristics and vision of the life as following: (Nusret, 1933, p. 95-96)

"She is not a charming girl. However, she has a faintly lighted smile. like clear water, with It is not to be able to respect and sympathize with this vast, deep soul, who pardons all poverty, forgives all sins, and finally embraces all people, all their fondness. She is also a smart, wise girl who knows how to talk about all topics. It is very enjoyable to pay attention to the discussions between her and Halit. They agree on many points and can mutually influence each other. However, there are also some issues they cannot reconcile..."

Mecla has notes Güzide's characteristics and vision of the life as following: (Nusret, 1933, p. 96)

"Halit is an idealist man who, despite his age and experience in life, defeats his excitement, his dreams. Like all idealists, he has very pure sides. He does not want to believe in the existence of any other than his own ideal. His eyes are as immaculate, bright as a cloudless sky. There is an attractive relation, an affinity, against all the beautiful and weak things".

Halide Edip Adıvar's novel "Zeyno'nun oğlu" (1943, p. 125) deals with the observation and memories of The officers and their spouses who are in charge Diyarbakır. The novel is standing on the triangle between civil servant, soldier and local inhabitants. Major Hasan, Colonel (Miralay) Muhsin and district governor (kaymakam) Mazlum as bureaucrat types are striking with the dimension of their vision to the task and duty, interrogation ability of the society and their characteristics. Major Hasan is reported to Colonel Muhsin and after the designation to Diyarbakır, he has compelling to assist the Colonel Muhsin's wife Zeyno and move out the Diyarbakır. "... He was pretty respectful to his commender's wife with maintaining his formal and deferent position. The view of Colonel Muhsin can be observed from his reaction to the Mesture who is the wife of Governor Mazlum and has the ideals to create a society in coherence with the modern values in Diyarbakır. Zeyno is the wife of Colonel Muhsin and she discussed Mesture Hanım:

"...You can not imagine what is a mockery woman? After 40 years of age, she desires the being westernized like a fifteen-year-old girl enthusiasm ". (Adivar, 1943, p. 114) Muhsin's reaction to her testimony is like this: "This is a nonsense idea Zeyno! The world accepted that life is meant to live is now. Can not the person who passed the age of forty years be assertive? Doesn't she have the purpose, pleasure, happiness in her life? " (Adivar, 1943, p. 114) The characteristics of the Mazlum are indicated in

the novel: "... In the spirit of the Mazlum, which is simple and apparent in appearance, it is not very valuable for him the valorous and treasured assets of the world of wealth but trying the measure the capability and personality. In fact, He was unable to save himself from the influence of the old Muslim world. On the other side his wife who dignities the reputation and value, desires an internal position, in vigor, activity and new fun, and indeed he has a daughter interested in the new world values...'

III) Discussion

In this part of the study, I will evaluate the bureaucratic types within the bureaucratic personality view. In Şükufe Nihal's novel "Yalnız Dönüyorum", the father of Yıldız was an open-minded, cosmopolitan and thoughtful man. These characteristics are coherent with his belonging that shaped by social space. As Hummel has asserted social pressures steer the bureaucrat's life and their social values. Hence, social values and pressures have an impact on his characteristics as a bureaucrat. That said, Hummel's argument is meaningful in accordance with the in the questioned situation.

Furthermore, as Hummel has addressed "bureaucrats have the ability to inform and shape things, but they do not have the ability to interact, and utilization personal convictions, or their thoughts like some kind of machine." This thesis is compatible with the discourse of Yıldız's father " I will introduce and let her endeavor the everything possible in the world. Then, I will trust her. She will experience by oneself and able to choose the best, the right one among the options."

In Halide Nusret's novel "Gül'ün Babası Kim?", The character of Güzide specified as deep soul, who pardons all poverty, forgives all sins, and finally embraces all people, all their fondness. She is also a smart, wise girl who knows how to talk on all topics." This identification shows the meaningfulness with the Hummel's social life bureaucratic life separation: "Bureaucrats are socially responsible for human beings, as long as the social life will open the distinction of bureaucratic life. Culturally, they are influenced by other members of society and thoughtful to social issues such as justice, freedom, violence, oppression, disease, death, victory, defeat, control, and domination."

In Halide Nusret's novel "Gül'ün Babası Kim?", The character of Halit ".. is an idealist man who, despite his age and experience in life, defeats his excitement, his dreams. Like all idealists, he has very pure sides. He does not want to believe in the existence of any other than his own ideal." This identification is meaningful with Merton's " non-personality rules. that create an environment in which different forms of thought are raffled and a vicious monotheistic way of thinking is appreciated. As a corollary, when the bureaucrats have made a decision, the support the idea that they are expecting to receive acceptance will become widespread or the in-system discontent and reactions will appear to the people who reflect their own thought."

Major Hasan is reported to Colonel Muhsin and after the designation to Diyarbakır, he has compelling to assist the Colonel Muhsin's wife Zeyno and move out the Diyarbakır. "... He was pretty respectful to his commender's wife with maintaining his formal and deferent position.

In Halide Edip Adıvar's novel Zeyno'nun oğlu, the vision of Major Hasan and his sense of mission is meaningful with Merton's "social distance" concept. "There are formal rules and clearly defined "social distance" among people in different positions within the system. Thus, people can predict the actions of others who work in different positions within the system and can steadily adjust anticipatory expectations. This structure removes irrational attitudes in the system and troubles that personalized relationships can bring about. It is also expected that those in the bureaucracy will be able to adapt themselves to the system discipline and behave in a clear manner to the others."

The reaction of the Colonel Muhsin to the testimony of Zeyno about the ideals of the Mesture can be a proof the Argyris thesis. "It is important for one to know the sense of failure and disappointment. In this case, the organization prevents the people around them from being satisfied with their self-satisfaction."

The characteristics of the Mazlum are indicated in the novel: "...the spirit of the Mazlum, which is simple and apparent in appearance, it is not very valuable for him the valorous and treasured assets of the world of wealth but trying the measure the capability and personality. On the other hand, he was unable to save himself from the influence of the old Muslim world." This characteristic is meaningful with bureaucratic space and social space separation

Conclusion

The enlightenment of the above information the three well-known woman authors' who lived in a republican period of Turkey, bureaucratic types are indicated in their literary works can be explained by the framework of the Bureaucratic Personality" view. That said, the relation between Major Hasan and Miralay Muhsin in the novel of Zeyno's son, in which Merton's approach is determined by Weber's definition of bureaucracy as a framework, with disciplinary obsession and prioritizing formal rules. In addition, Halit and Guzide characters in her novel "Gül'ün babası Kim?" are compatible with the specified of a single idealistic character type that produced by none-personnel rules. Argyris is related to the fact that Miralay Muhsin's concept of progression is seen as an instrument to overcome the frustration created by advanced age with the determination that the frustrated bureaucrat based on Maslow's concepts based on human relations approaches will be motivated for organizational purposes rather than personal interests. Hummel's sharp distinction between social life and bureaucratic life is embodied in the properties of the oppressed brain in the novel of Zeyno'nun Oğlu. In addition, Hummel's adaptation to the rationalized ideal

individual's description is compatible with Yildiz's father character in Yalnız Dönüyorum novel.

In conclusion, bureaucratic personality approaches explained in the studies of Merton, Hummel, and Argrys in the bureaucracy literature, and the bureaucratic types in the novels of the three women authors' Şukufe Nihal, Halide Nusret and Halide Edib Adıvar of the Republican period is meaningful under the above detections.

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Participative Management and Socio-Environmental Sustainability: a Study of Public Schools of Sobral, CE, Brazil

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Abstract

In this study we analyze indicators of the influence of participative management on the development of school projects envisaged by the Direct Funding in the School Program – Sustainable Schools (Programa Dinheiro Direto na Escola – PDDE – Escolas Sustentáveis), which aimed to promote socio-environmental education. Data were generated through semi-structured interviews with principals, teachers, coordinators, and students in four schools included in the program. Based on a group of 15 participants, results confirm the premise that participative management, with the addition of institutional financial support for school projects, enriched both the school and social community regarding issues of conservation and preservation of the environment for the purpose of enabling better quality of life for present and future generations. Broad participation and discussion were the foundation for identification of the meanings/sense (import) the participants attach to their actions and achievements in the schools. This culminated in creating what we here designate as indicators of socio-environmental sustainability in schools with participative management.

Keywords: financial resources, participative management, socio-environmental sustainability projects, public schools.

Introduction

In recent decades, society has made new demands on schools in all respects. This has placed new challenges on educational professionals, among which are understanding and including principles of sustainability in daily life. Unfortunately, it seems this theme has not been treated with due necessity, importance, and high profile. Socio-environmental issues that are part of and experienced in educational communities are of crucial importance for the quality of life of current generations and, even more, for that of future generations.

The school is a source of human, social, and educational development and, as such, must not fail to engage in support for the environment and to consider this activity through consolidation of participative management. In addition, the school should take the initiative of assuming this role and the challenge of motivating and guiding the engagement of the inside and outside community so that all participate together in construction and preservation of principles that lead to socio-environmental development (LOUREIRO; AZAZIEL; FRANCA, 2003). The school will thus seek to promote environmental education through its own projects, directed and developed in processes of coparticipation. At the same time, it will gradually modify its traditional management structure toward another based on the premises of participative management.

It is known that the need for the school to implement projects that develop environmental education is linked to the requirement of training and educating citizens that are able to interact in a sustainable society in which a *green economy* prevails, i.e., "one that results in improving the well-being of humanity and in social equality, at the same time that it significantly reduces environmental risks and ecological scarcity" (VELLOSO et al., 2012, p. 15).

The convergence and the pertinence of these issues for contemporary problems leads to an attempt to consider one more dimension that may improve quality in Education with reintegration on the triple foundation of '*management-community-participation*'. Therefore, the methodology adopted in this study was developed to understand the result of application of financial resources from the federal government used as a means of disseminating principles of sustainability and promotion of environmental education in the school.

This was the central theme examined in the doctoral dissertation defended by Brito (2016), who approached it from the perspective of one issue: conservation of the environment as an educational challenge in the day-to-day life of schools of the public education system, specifically in the city of Sobral, state of Ceará, Brazil. The objectives of the dissertation were realized in the study of four schools that stood out from the others in terms of management and learning. The data that documents the investments applied in socio-environmental sustainability projects in these schools were used as a strategy, as well as the data that corroborated the choice of these spaces as the most appropriate, since the investment in the Direct Funding in the School Program – Sustainable Schools (Programa Dinheiro Direto na Escola – PDDE – Escolas Sustentáveis) generated quite positive results. We also decided to diversify the participants to involve different levels of activity. Therefore, it included members of management, coordinators, teachers, and students.

School: agent of a transformational environmental education

The perspective of **sustainable schools** adopted in this paper is that recommended by the Ministry of Education in Resolution CD/FNDE no. 18 of 21 May 2013. According

to this Resolution, there is a very close relationship between the school and the environment, and the effort of putting in practice the principles that arise from this relationship is what provides balance in the face of the impact from development of technologies. School management is presented and cited as one of the important dimensions in this process of transition to sustainability.

Sustainable development is understood as a strategy implemented in a collective manner that produces the necessary economic growth so as to ensure conservation of the environment and social development for present and future generations. Education, for its part, as a pioneer in transmitting and shaping opinions, can be associated to carry out projects and activities that observe the principle of the responsibility humans have for future generations. Using natural resources in a conscientious manner may represent a new manner of economic development that takes into account respect for the environment. Thus, sustainable development requires implementation of innovations in educational systems and processes and in the teaching-learning process (NEWTON et al., 2011).

Based on the insight of Beraldo and Pelozo (2007), our premise is that a common, implemented, disseminated, and shared view among those that make up a school community can contribute to constructing objectives, goals, and theoretical and practical procedures to be followed in constructing a School Development Plan, a document that provides support and systematic orientation for funding and pedagogical projects. It is also important to consider that since it is a public space, the school should be a place that is open and common to all, with the offer of full openness to the participation of its users, directing and being directed by all in a responsible and shared manner.

In this respect, a point of consensus is that the school will always have the role as an agent of a transformational environmental education to the extent that it takes upon itself the vision of essential responsibility in educating citizens that are aware of the future consequences of their present actions. Socio-environmental sustainability dealt with in the context of participative management has strongly promoted development of this awareness.

Participative management in the context of environmental sustainability

Some conceptual aspects that clarify the relationship between participative management and environmental sustainability are hereby presented in a summarized manner. Participation of all citizens on behalf of sustainability or of environmental conservation is a suitable process for success. When a human being begins to develop in a multifaceted manner or in community, ideas and ways of carrying out actions emerge that probably would not have been thought of in individual terms. In the same way, sustainable actions are always innovative and can arise from all age ranges, social classes, and educational levels. In this perspective, the

idea of **eco-communitarianism** is fitting, which, according to Velasco (2015), consists of

[...] the post-capitalist socio-environmental order in which human beings are reconciled with each other to jointly allow and encourage full development of each subject and reconcile themselves with the rest of nature, maintaining a permanent position of conservation and regeneration before it (VELASCO, 2015, p. 156).

Eco-communitarianism can be understood as a form of community action, directed to development of actions and values that aim at conservation of the environment and carrying out practical actions toward sustainability. Thus, the process of transition to a more sustainable society grows from structuring an interdisciplinary and integrated view of knowledge and of education, which can only occur through a holistic practice of interaction and integration of all the agents involved in the educational process (NEWTON et al., 2011). That is because, according to Brito (2013), in all the perspectives of unity of the school with the community, leadership and empowerment are presupposed as key elements in the process.

Leadership and empowerment are abilities that can be learned, achieved, and made concrete in the sphere of school management. However, they require a deep process of reflection and of adequate direction toward the exercise of autonomy and protagonism in making decisions and acting responsibly. Leadership that acts under these principles tends to correspond to the most legitimate aspirations of the school community and to active exercise of citizenship. Thus, sustainability internalized in a deep way in the mentality of the agents involved can become a type of tool so that this approximation is realized. From the very nature of the concept and of the vision to which it corresponds, being sustainable implies thinking in the direction of the other and of the environment in the perspective of perpetuity, a concept that contrasts with superficiality.

This could be the focus of teaching institutions, which should not emphasize only the question of student output, but also students' integrated development, their ability to live in an ethical and harmonious manner in society, and their competence in making sustainable decisions throughout life. The crucial question is that leadership can contribute to changes in the manner in which students, parents, and community perceive the value of a sufficiently good education in their lives. From this perception, it is tangible for the leader to act positively in involving the parties in this new perspective of life together. In short, for there to be sustainable development, participation is a primary presupposition.

Methodology of the study carried out

This article refers to a doctoral dissertation (BRITO, 2016) which investigated the impact of participative management on actions directed to environmental sustainability in the day-to-day activity of four schools. A differential aspect was

analysis of the context of federal government participation through financial investment in the projects idealized by the school community and the possibilities that emerged from joint management of these resources.

The approach used in this investigation was founded on qualitative research, with an emphasis on the descriptive-analytical nature. The **semi-structured interview** was used as a technical instrument and allowed incorporation of the meanings and intentions present in the actions, relationships, and social structures of the community investigated, valued by the researcher as significant human constructions (BARDIN, 2011). Qualitative analysis was thus appropriate for studying the history, the social relationships, interactions, and representations, the beliefs, the perceptions, and the judgments that result from the interpretations that humans make regarding their own way of life, the objects that they construct, how they construct themselves, and how they feel, idealize, and think (TURATO; RICAS; FONTANELLA, 2008).

In addition to the semi-structured interview, a procedure that allowed primary data to be obtained, on-site observations (the plan of which was composed by what was registered and later systematized from the field notes) and documental analysis were performed. Field notes were considered as everything that was registered from the spontaneous episodes observed during the process of data generation. Traditionally, there is a set of rules that advocate previous planning of on-site observations (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 2003); however, considering the aims of this study, this was not elaborated a priori. The option was made to follow the natural flow allowed by the empirical context. Events that emerged were registered when considered relevant and pertinent for achieving the goals.

In **on-site observation**, it was noteworthy how what emerged from the context assisted in obtaining and identifying more concrete elements that were legitimated by spontaneity in the activity of the participants. This may constitute an indirect form of validation of the data. For Lakatos and Marconi (2002), those are elements and aspects that participants are not aware of; yet, they are what guides their behavior in that environment. These authors state a relevant point, because spending some time in the research environment played a fundamental role in establishing more direct contact with the reality investigated.

Documental analysis was the extensive research conducted through official data. The resolutions of the PDDE and PDDE-Sustainable Schools, the pedagogical-policy projects of the schools under study, the texts taken from legislation pertinent to the theme, and the institutional sites constituted the body of documents used to complement and enrich the data. In deeper investigation, through the process of analysis and interpretation, elements of Content Analysis were adopted as a manner of decodifying the information obtained. To do so, procedures were diversified, placing more emphasis on those that proved to be more appropriate within the

material to be analyzed, which included "lexical analysis, category analysis, enunciation analysis, connotation analysis" (CHIZZOTTI, 2006, p. 98). By this last type of analysis, it is understood that in addition to the words expressed by the participants and the meanings of the words, it was also necessary to reveal the meaning/sense that was communicated at the time of speaking, above all, because we are dealing with different segments of the school community. It is known that each one of them perceives reality from a quite particular point of view, according to the place occupied in living and working together.

To come to the categories and indicators, the set of procedures belonging to **Content Analysis** (CA) of Bardin (2011) was used in organization and analysis of the data generated. In a broader perspective, this technique of analysis is understood to have contributed by proposing a set of categorization procedures, whose objective consisted of the attempt to understand the message both by means of words spoken by the participants and the meaning or meanings/sense that could emerge from the word.

Most authors refer to CA as a technique of word analysis that allows inferences regarding what was communicated by the participant to be made in a practical and objective way. The transcribed text is treated as a means for him to express himself and for the researcher, in the role of analyst, to seek categories from units of the text that are repeated. In this analysis, ever shorter and more inclusive expressions are found that represent the categories. This was performed by categorical analysis, characterized "by operations of dismembering the text into units, into categories according to analogical regrouping" (BARDIN, 2011, p. 153).

The **categories** were constructed according to the themes that emerged from the transcribed text. Classifying elements of utterances into categories began with identification of what they had in common so as to be able to make such groupings. Pre-analysis was performed, an organizational phase of the data generated, and, after that, skimming the text, the choice of documents that demarcated the corpus of analysis, and the formulation of indicators that directed the interpretation and formal preparation of the material (BARDIN, 2011).

Formulation of the **qualitative indicators** constituted the most important point of these procedures since they systematized orientation toward the results of the study. They more tangibly expressed the results of good articulation among participative management, fostering of socio-environmental projects by the federal government, and sustainable development in the schools under study. These indicators, defined from the categories found, contained the "(literal) meaning" and the "meaning/sense" of the data generated. From them, it can be affirmed that **participative management in the sphere of the funding of socio-environmental school projects helped bring about educational projects directed to sustainable development.**

The phase that works with the results occurred through inference and interpretation of concepts and proposals. According to Bardin (2011), this is the time in which the intuition of the investigator flows in reflexive and critical analysis of the information, beyond the explicit content of the documents, through the search for content that is underlying or implied or the (literal) meanings and the meanings/sense that is hidden between the lines and beyond that which is immediately perceived and assimilated.

The semi-structured interview and the analytical-interpretive process of the data

This interview technique was chosen because it made it possible for the researcher to draw nearer the perspective of the interviewees and understand or pick up the "hidden" aspects in relation to the data (ROESCH, 1999, p. 159).

The group of people interviewed was limited to those directly involved in implementation of the program developed in the schools of the municipality of Sobral. A total of 15 participants was interviewed, all employees of the Department of Education. The four schools defined as the "sphere of investigation" will be identified as School A, School B, School C, and School D to respect the requirement of anonymity in accordance with the Free and Informed Consent Form signed by all the participants.

Each segment – principals, teachers, students, and coordinators – was identified by the respective name of the segment and the letter of the school, adding numbers according to the number of those in the segment in each school; for example, "Student 1, School A", "Teacher 2, School B", "Coordinator, School C", and so forth. All the schools mentioned were visited and their operation was observed on site. The highest percentage of participation reached was in the student segment (33.4%), followed by the managers (26.6%), teachers (20%), and coordinators (20%).

That way, ever shorter and more inclusive expressions are found that represent the categories. The data generated from the different segments allowed information to be mapped in relation to participative management and its implications for organization and carrying out sustainable development projects in the schools under consideration. It was possible to define elements to better understand the ways of deciding about application of financial resources, as well as to identify those in the school community that more directly participated in this process. Furthermore, some efficiency indicators were examined from reports – provided by participants – regarding the results achieved by the projects developed in their respective schools. At the time of visits, the researcher had the opportunity of verifying how each school dealt with the challenge of implementing (through participative management) sustainable development projects that promoted socio-environmental education.

To ascertain that the questions were clear and to ensure better quality in the process of generating data, a pilot study was undertaken on the semi-structured interview,

with the number of people invited to participate subtracted from the overall group to be interviewed. The same series of questions was used in all the interviews, for the purpose of gathering the impressions of each participant without restricting their freedom to express concepts, ideas, and perceptions related to the theme at hand.

To achieve a greater level of understanding, articulation between the different perspectives of data analysis and of data interpretation was necessary, understanding that these actions are not isolated from each other. Solely as a question of didactic organization, the two processes, in name, appear at different times. Following Ribeiro (2016), the analytical-interpretive perspective preserves the feature of unity, of intersection, and of interaction between analysis and interpretation. It is necessary to stimulate researchers to break with the habit of excessive ordering, often induced by concern in making oneself understood in the "analytical and imaginary space of writing" (PAUL, 2009, p. 302).

Results and discussion: the way to the categories

Documental interpretation was directed to results with theoretical purposes, with the expectation of insights that would emerge from the data and which could be incorporated in the theoretical corpus of the area of study or of the baseline investigated. Division into and grouping of smaller units of analysis or **logging units** (LU), the step after **skimming the text**, resulted in the **categories**. This consisted of organization of broad categories grouped analogically from segmentation of the text *in verbatim* from each interview. This process occurred through identification of the first **emerging macroconcepts**, without concern for the traditional criterion of repetition of words, phrases, or expressions. Excerpts from the text were taken insofar as they presented a complete assertion related to the object under study. This first focused on each text, and then the repetitions were integrated and joined in the excerpts of texts analyzed and interpreted together.

Three categories emerged: **Concept of Participative Management, True Ability to Act**, and **Emerging Concepts of School Sustainability**. These three categories served as the "entry" to categorization, i.e., they represented the main axes of orientation for the other steps of reduction. The third category was called "emerging concepts" because it was not formal or theoretically based definitions, but rather the concepts from each one, prepared solely by intuition itself, guided by the shared sense of those participants. Although they emerged from what arose as convergent among the excerpts of greatest emphasis in the material generated by the interviews with the participants, the connection was maintained among the three categories and the three specific objectives of the thesis at issue.

The first highlighted the activity of participative management in relation to development of sustainable projects and generated the category "concept of participative management". What was common in the material generated was that, every time the participants were questioned regarding this issue, they referred to

their perceptions about what they came to perceive as participative management by the way changes began to occur from these projects.

The second category dealt with application of resources received via PDDE in schools that adopted participative management, which resulted in the category "true ability to act". In this case, the idea was to investigate how effective management activity was upon obtaining such conditions, i.e., upon being considered for resources from PDDE-Sustainable Schools.

Finally, in the third objective, it was understood that to identify the qualitative indicators that showed the contribution of participative management, it would be necessary to listen for concrete realizations of the socio-environmental projects. At that time, the participants were aligned in verbalizing their understanding in regard to the concept of "school sustainability". In elaboration of this unspoken concept or upon expressing their perception of what they understood by "school sustainability", each one indicated the benefits of this successful interaction in the school. This way of expressing thought, with spontaneous articulation of the two themes – participative management and an increase in projects directed to socio-environmental education – was what concentrated the richness of details to access the way of responding to the research problem.

Categorization proceeded with **composition of cores of meaning**, with intensification of the process of reduction. With use of "paradox", an effort was made to categorize in "small, ever more inclusive units" to visualize the **indicators** of successful management of the federal government resources on behalf of environmental sustainability in the school. The way of translating and expressing the cores of meaning was by means of central words (BARDIN, 2011), which were transformed in indicators called **socio-environmental indicators in schools with participative management**, as a final result of the categorization process.

In the last step, **object (re)constitution** was elaborated, understood as a new reading of socio-environmental sustainability in the school, this time based on a different perspective: the perspective that emerged from the union between the constituted theories and the view of those participants. The prefix "re" means that an object already existing in the science of school management was once more constituted from a new point of reference. This reference point was now founded on the empirical reality of the four schools that effectively carried out socio-environmental sustainability projects. The way of expressing the result of this step of the categorization process was by means of elaborating a response to the question that motivated the study. This response was considered to draw the theory closer to the foundation of the data since it explains the relationship between participative management and sustainable development in the context of public funding of school projects. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that this theorization of the

reality of the study was based on the data generated in that reality by means of the investigation carried out.

Data classified as categories

The data for the categories were generated by taking expressions from the interviews. In **composition of cores of meaning in central words**, reduction intensified. The way to find them consisted of reducing the categories to shorter words or expressions with a less descriptive nature. This was characterized as a "transition" procedure since, in spite of evolving from the *in verbatim* description to an abstraction process, terms used by the participants and non-literal terms were still mixed, according to the interpretation attributed by the researcher. The significant expressions were grouped by segment and category to integrate the responses of the participants of the four schools, which enabled the formation of **cores of meaning** (BARDIN, 2011) (Table 1).

Table 1 Composition of the central words by segment and category

SEGMENT	CENTRAL WORDS		
	Concept of Participative Management	True Ability to Act	Emerging concepts of School Sustainability
Students	Mixing everybody	Trips and excursions	Only for me isn't worth anything
Teachers	Everybody has an influence	Class in the landfill	Better education, better citizens
Coordinators	Everybody is heard	Participation in regional conferences	Change in the whole community
Principals	Everybody can speak up	Workshops with the municipal authorities	Feeling of belonging

Source: Prepared by the author.

Category 1 – Concept of Participative Management

As observed in Table 1, the core of meaning "everybody" was chosen as an axis that connected the four segments. It was understood that the core of meaning that emerged was something that led to the idea of totality, of joining, and of full unity, which, if it does not translate that reality with the same intensity, at least it is established as a latent collective desire. This desire, if identified, recognized, and expressly verbalized *by* and *among* the group, can be transmuted into a goal and, gradually, become a joint challenge that "everybody" in those schools will seek to overcome as a common endeavor. It is noteworthy that in the responses of the participants that generated Category 1, each segment added its "natural partner", i.e.,

that party that seems to be most directly related to their common living space. In other words, the student mentioned the family or parents; the teacher and the coordinator mentioned the community; and the principal mentioned the partnerships.

Category 2: True Ability to Act

The axis of connection among the four segments emerged as the idea of using and acting in spaces outside the school. According to the words of Category 2, the common verbalization that was abstracted as common to all of them was the activities that each segment performed in contact with the medium, which raises a concern, or at least a preference, for closeness to the broader environment. This leads to the deduction that the meaning/sense attributed to the true activity in this possible route to a change of mentality is in the relations that we establish with the medium, life together in community, and in the interaction of learning that transcends the walls of the school to benefit the other in a more inclusive way. It can thus be inferred that the view of each segment regarding the true ability to act evolved in the sense of drawing near the concept of environmental sustainability; that is, it is possible to perceive a correlation between theory and practice.

In the reports of the interviews, a concern was observed for improving the space in which all live together and in promoting community participation. This was perceptible through the focus of the study, directed toward understanding sustainability as those actions aiming at supplying present needs without compromising the future of coming generations. Movements were observed in the sense of making adequate use of spaces and developing care for the environment, as well as expressing ideas of a "view toward the future" and of including the other, even if these notions were not present in a conscious or explicit way.

Category 3: Emerging Concepts of School Sustainability

What emerged in this category was a view of the whole, such that it corroborates the two previous categories. The discourse of the four segments, according to the core of meaning it brought about, converged in the sense of transcending one's own needs and looking beyond oneself. There was a movement in the direction of the other and of space, a predisposition of extension of a benefit or of that which is good for oneself, of including the other and the surroundings as beneficiaries of the good actions. Other words that are variants, whose meaning/sense does not break the link with the common idea, were mentioned: life together, preservation, change, rational use. And the keyword that appeared in the utterances of the segments was "the environment".

The reduction process that began in a more intense way beginning with central words was developed to saturation, a limit established not only by repetition but also by the proportion in which the meaning/sense attributed to the category envisaged the idea

to be condensed and transmitted. The indicators that follow represented the synthesis of the categories mentioned above.

Indicators of socio-environmental sustainability in schools of participative management

The meaning of each indicator combines elements that respond to the issue that inspired the study. These elements both maintain a strict relationship with the field of environmental sustainability in the school context and attribute a sense and meaning to the interaction of this field with participative management. Figure 1 illustrates in what way they interconnect and act in that environment.

Figure 1 Hologram *Participative management for socio-environmental sustainability in the school*

BELONGING, Qualification of partnerships, Decentralization of management, Learning together, Involvement with surroundings, Living together harmoniously, Small initiatives, big changes, Mutual benefit, Access to materials, Joining efforts

Belonging: the catalyzing indicator

The feeling of **belonging** can be conceived of as an "absent-presence" in current society. It indicates a profile of society marked by exclusion and by ever greater distancing among people. This distancing can also extend to a distancing from oneself, which leads to a search for identity when faced with the feeling that there is a void in what should be common and in what binds. This is a requirement that integrates school sustainability and participative management, to the extent that those agents that provide impetus to this reality evoke the feeling of belonging as something that fills the empty space of that which is common and binding. According to Sousa (2010, p. 34), the feeling of belonging,

[...] is translated in a visible way, in senses and motivations diverse from those of its roots, sustaining a search for participation in groups, tribes, and communities that allow grounding and generate identity and a social reference, even though in different territories [...].

The idea of belonging includes and drives energy and sustains the other indicators since it is a benefit that comes from inside "oneself" and goes to others and the environment. It is linked to the other indicators and was understood as a generating and articulating element of a school with participative management that promotes sustainable development.

The category in question was understood as a **catalyzing indicator** by indicating the potential of articulating sustainability and participative management in a full process of interaction. According to Sousa (2010, p. 34), the search for belonging in the sense of finding the common-articulator in itself brings about the "traditional breaking down of borders between the local and the global, the public and the private, the common and the individual, and the community and the society, generating both hybridisms and new forms of tension and conflict". Furthermore, it promotes participation by valuing the collective through affective connections and historical connections established with the community.

Joining efforts: a consequence of looking beyond oneself

This indicator expressed the ability of that school community to look beyond itself and observe that there are people around it, i.e., observe the medium and the environment in which more than one lives. To observe the other, it is necessary to observe oneself, to feel that one belongs in a community, and develop the trust to belief that from unity it is possible to achieve that which seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle.

Qualification of partnerships: a requirement for success in school projects

From joining efforts comes **qualification of partnership**. This indicator requires and leads to intense articulation in the search for better results for the school projects created. Articulation does not exist without participative management. Often, according to aspects that arose in different reports of the participants, not even participative management would be successful without partnerships. Brazilian reality confirms this inference, actually even based on the affirmation that the financial resources/funding made available, when they exist, are not fully sufficient to generate sustainable results. Qualification of partnerships takes up the idea of breaking down borders that are present in the belonging indicator, as well as acceptance of the idea of hybridism, i.e., the idea of mixture, of interpenetration of different processes to achieve a common goal.

Decentralization of management: opening to sustainability

Seeking partnerships requires and implies **decentralization of management**. Therefore, the participative management theme in the sphere of school environmental sustainability is of utmost importance, a decisive question so that changes occur. But the concept of decentralization has the weight of its meaning, which is intensified and materialized to the extent that the segments incorporate the

concept of community, especially in respect to participative school management and sustainable actions. To decentralize consists, above all, of opening and creating flexibility. It is a movement in the direction of the other to be receptive to his/her ideas and proposals, which are generally different from those of the one that leads. As a rule, those that occupy positions at the base are those who observe the gaps, precisely because they suffer the impact of the (competent or incompetent) actions of the manager.

Learning together

What is reported as a result of the previous indicators was named **learning together**, which is reported as a result of the previous indicators to the extent that belonging led to the joining of efforts and to the search for partnerships as a consequence of decentralization. It can be denominated as a natural consequence of participative management that generates actions of school socio-environmental sustainability, since integration of people of a community and learning from/with the other promote consistent results, with characteristics of becoming sustainable.

Involvement with surroundings

An element visibly present in the four schools was reflected as a collective concern for the other, shared by all. In a response from the principle of School C, not only the existence of learning together, but also mobilization in the direction of interacting with the surroundings was clear; a predisposition toward productive and affective life together. From this, fruitful results for the school and surrounding community are noted.

We called the representative of the community, community leaders, association, and from that, we began a series of actions. And the first action we thought of in a collective way was a mobilization in the community, identifying there the points where there was, for example, garbage. (Principle – School C).

Living together harmoniously: proximity factor

The perception of harmony emerged in a natural order of posteriority from the idea of *involvement with the surroundings.* Living together presupposes with others and in harmony; no one deliberately involves himself or herself with that which brings about conflict or lack of harmony. The first tendency is to remove or to isolate that which leads to bad instead of good. Distancing and isolation were not elements present in those four communities. In spite of the imperfections of any relationship of this scale – school and community – harmony appeared to be quite present. The words of Tajfel (1982) well illustrate this question when the author argues that people construct and are constructed in a symbiotic manner by their surroundings. Higuchi (2002) corroborates that when he agrees that a person is constituted most of the time in a complex relational dynamic with the surroundings where he/she lives with other people.

Small initiatives – big changes, mutual benefit, and access to materials

The last three indicators – *small initiatives-big changes*, *mutual benefit*, and *access to materials* do not require a more detailed definition since they seem to reflect a material dimension in a more explicit manner. These three indicators lead to an idea of results, of consequences, or of implications from the action of the first seven.

Final considerations

Highlighting aspects and presenting elements that indicate the impacts of funding projects of socio-environmental sustainability in the four schools studied through the concepts of sustainable development applied to the school context is an important contribution of the study carried out. A consensus view, based on the flagrant educational reality the country is currently going through, is that it is necessary to consider difficulty of financial resources as a major obstacle to improving the quality of teaching in the most fundamental sense, i.e., of providing conditions for the school to be able to fulfill its academic role. Extending this effort to development of projects that go beyond the walls of the classroom to observe the environment seems, at first sight, a Herculean demand given the difficulties faced by management, teaching staff, and even the students themselves.

An exogenous factor of some higher proportion is necessary to encourage efforts in this direction, simply so that the school is able to experience the benefits for the learning process of the students themselves. The factor that appeared in order to be able to perform this study was funding. It is understood that the absence of a minimum of material resources can lead the school to stagnation, caused by a sense of impotence in the face of economic problems that seem, a priori, not to have a solution. Thus, the aim of this study was to show the side of the school that has that need apparently fulfilled and the way it reacts toward fulfilling its responsibility in regard to socio-environmental issues.

The way of investigating this problem was the formulation of indicators to show how this funding of projects had an impact. However, there was no concern, due to the very nature of the study, of establishing quantitative indicators. This was an essentially qualitative study, and all the instruments for generating data were directed to this approach. The indicators were generated from a process of categorization that took into account the discourse of the participants, their perceptions regarding the changes experienced in the school in the period agreed upon at the time of the interview. There was no concern in quantitatively objectifying the subjectivity of these perceptions because it was understood that they express the point of view of each participant. All the participants are active and living in that reality and so it is suitable for them to verbalize the impacts made by the projects. Value was placed on the convergences that emerged from these utterances. Thus, based on theoretical examination of the bibliography and examination of the elements that emerged from the practical dimension of the study performed in the field, the **socio-environmental**

sustainability indicators in schools of participative management were generated.

An examination of the conceptual field that surrounds questions of socio-environmental sustainability seemed to develop a gradual process of awareness-raising in the sense of "looking outside at what surrounds you". The very understanding that sustainable actions essentially aim in the direction of future generations already constituted "getting outside oneself" and looking around. The idea that this brought about was that a horizon opened before that community. As was explained in the definition of the indicators, a new concept of living together was constructed. This kind of living together "has import", in other words, there is an understanding that what is around me is an intrinsic part of me, insofar as it is part of my space of living together, even if this is not in terms of physical or geographical proximity. There is a different luster when life encompasses the presence of the other, and the sense of reality constructed by all reinforces the certainty that they are not alone or isolated in the world, but rather that responsibility and commitment to other people and to the environment ensure the security of all, but also of each one.

A kind of web of cooperation was formed, spun by the members of the school, members of the community, and partners that developed skills to provide services. It was also created by the government that provided public policies to the Municipality of Sobral and made resources available to carry out these projects.

For effective promotion of socio-environmental sustainability, the school must remain in touch with the needs of its community, as well as create projects that carry benefits beyond its walls, as mentioned in the reports presented here. The new social tendency impels us to a reality in which the walls of the school no longer satisfy the pressing needs of our students. The school is in need of renewal, adaptation, and reconfiguration. It is evident that environmental education should be part of the school curriculum, not as an elective subject, but as a necessary and primary concern.

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Creative Writing as Part and Parcel of Developing Communicative & Intellectual FL Learners' Powers

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Abstract

For many years in ELT methodology the questions of teaching writing in ELT coursebooks have been given much attention in terms of its nature, differences between written and spoken speech, ELT objectives and approaches to teaching writing, types of writing genres, writing assessment. But one rather neglected area in that regard is a graded teaching of creative writing to FL learners. The fifteen-year experience with organizing language-and-culture competitions launched by the Research Centre "Euroschool" for foreign language /FL/ students across Russia have proved that even intermediate FL learners, not to speak about advanced students are quite capable of writing in a FL: a) poems and songs expressing their ideas about teenagers' lifestyle & visions of contemporary world; b) short stories describing family and school life experiences of their own or their peers; c) essays based on their comparative study of native and foreign cultures; d) presentations of Russian culture & other cultures of the Russian Federation in an English environment while being on exchange visits; e) translations of English poetry, short stories, excerpts from humours books, stripes of comics. The paper compares teaching creative writing in Russian and English, discusses the questions arisen from the outcomes of the language-and-culture competitions, arguing that effective teaching of creative writing presupposes: 1) teaching a FL in the context of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations, 2) introducing creative writing into a FL curriculum, 3) designing a package of thought-provoking teaching materials aiming at developing communicative, intellectual & mediating learners' powers, 4) applying appropriate assessment scales for observing the dynamics of learners' development as creative writers, 5) marrying students' bilingual and cross-cultural/pluricultural classroom activities stimulating their participation in language-and-culture competitions.

Keywords: teaching creative writing, FLT, FLL, language-and culture competitions, FLT hierarchy of creative writing types, monolingual and bilingual creative writing, cross-cultural creative tasks

1. Introduction.

Teaching writing is a key issue in any book on language methodology no matter if the mother tongue or a second language or a foreign language is taught to students, though quite different methodologies are sometimes applied in each case. It is a well-known fact that for many years writing in a FL has been mostly taught as a means of *everyday* communication (Nunan,1991; Ur, 1991; Hedge, 2002; Richards, 2002, 2015; Scrivener, 2011), and only for the last fifteen years has there been a noticeable and absolutely necessary ELT step forward to teaching business and academic writing. Meanwhile, we do understand that writing is a multifarious culture-bound human activity which has been for centuries used as a means of self-education, self-cognition and self-expression, an instrument of recording history in all its controversy, a valuable tool of creating great national literature, not to speak about the contribution of this language activity to creating & preserving cultural heritage. Thus, on one hand, human beings desperately require to have good writing skill in order to satisfy their pragmatic communicative and cognitive needs, but, on the other hand, human civilisation in all times could hardly have been made any significant progress if there had not been those people who could produce creative writings. Creativity has become a buzz word in language pedagogy, especially in those its works that give an insight into co-learning languages & cultures (Maley, 2012; Maley, Pearchey, 2012, 2015, Safonova, 2000). But there are still a number of very important questions in this ELT field that need a careful consideration, for instance, such as:

- What is exactly meant by teaching creative writing in a foreign language classroom?
- Could we clearly see to what extent creative writing methodology is developed in FLT and FLL and what is still terra incognita in this field?
- Is it possible to build up a certain hierarchy of creative writing activities and products that would help us introduce this or that creative activity at the proper place in a system of teaching and assessing writing skills?
- It is these questions that are discussed in the present paper.

2. Literature Review

Vygotsky's works on the cultural development of the child (Vygotsky, 2004), imagination and creativity during children's schooling (Vygotsky, 1991a), pedagogical phycology (Vygotsky, 1991b) have had a significant influence on the development of creative pedagogy not only in Russia, but nearly everywhere in the world. These works were written at the dawn of the 20th century, in the 1930s, however it was not earlier than the 1970s that the most significant postulates underlying Vygotsky's theory of creativity were thoroughly and purposefully studied as a theoretical basis for developing problem-based learning of different school subjects in Russia (Machmutov, 1975; Aleinikov, 1989) and later on for developing methodology of creative pedagogy (Tudor, 2008) as a sub-field of pedagogy and

didactics in other countries. Among Vygotsky's postulates of special value for developing students' creative minds and skills are such as: a) Vygotsky's concept of creativity (Vygotsky, 1991a, p. 4); b) his vision of creativity as a process and as a product (Vygotsky, 1991a); c) the introduction of the concept of *zone of proximal development* (Vygotsky,1934, p. 217) and his suggestions on educational strategies (Vygotsky, 1991b).

According to Vygotsky, a creative activity is such person's activity that produces something new or novel, no matter if the outcome of this activity will be something of the external world or a construction of mind or feeling. It lives and reveals itself only in the person himself, in his mind (Vygotsky, 1991a, pp. 4-5). More than that, in "Imagination and Creativity in Childhood" Vygotsky emphasizes that a common perception of creativity does not fully correspond to the scientific understanding of this word. In public perception, he admits, a few chosen people, geniuses, and talents are destined to create great works of art, make great scientific discoveries, or bring any improvements in the field of technology. He goes on saying that we readily and easily recognize creativity in the work of Tolstoy, Edison and Darwin, but it usually seems to us that in the life of an ordinary man this creativity does not exist at all (Vygotsky, 1991a, pp. 5-6). However, Vygotsky criticizes this point of view, arguing that creativity actually exists not only in cases when great historical works are created, but also in every case whenever a person imagines, combines, changes, and creates something new, no matter how much it has seemed new in comparison with the creations of geniuses. A huge part of everything created by mankind belongs precisely to the unnamed creative work of unknown inventors (Vygotsky, 1991a, p. 6).

And thus, from Vygotsky point of view, scientific understanding of creativity as a human activity makes us, therefore, look at it as a rule rather than as an exception. Of course, the highest expressions of creativity are still outcomes of a few selected geniuses of mankind, but in everyday life around us everything that goes beyond the limits of routine and where there is at least one iota of the new, owes its origin to the creative powers of man (Vygotsky, 1991a, pp. 6-7). These ideas expressed by Vygotsky at the beginning of the 20th century echo with what has been written by Maley in "Creativity in the English Language Classroom" in which it is clearly stated that that everyone has the capacity to exercise creativity and that it is not the preserve of a privileged elite. While not everyone will have the big 'C' creative genius of an Einstein, a Picasso, a Mozart or a Dostoevsky, everyone can exercise what some have called little 'c' creativity, which is inherent in language itself across all age ranges and all levels (Maley, 2015, p. 6).

While analyzing creativity as a process, Vygotsky gives special attention to the questions of:

- highlighting essential characteristics of creativity as a culturally and historically bound phenomenon of a human development in which language and culture are always interrelated, communicative (including interactive) and cognitive activities are interdependent & interlinked; from Vygotsky's point of view, every inventor, even a genius, is always a product of his own time and environment. His creativity comes from those needs and backgrounds that have been identified before, and it is based on those possibilities that again do exist outside of him. So, creativity is a historically successive process, where each subsequent form is determined by the preceding ones. (Vygotsky, 1991a, p. 23);
- giving a psychological description of human imagination as a tool of creating new imaginative reality, though based on the individual's pre-learnt human practices & experiences, individual imaginative powers in a particular cultural environment (Vygotsky, 1991a);
- exploring the possibilities of splitting imagination process into a number of stages (Vygotsky, 1991a).

According to Vygotsky the latter involves such stages as: a) *man's external and internal perception* and *accumulation* stage (the man's accumulation of the material upon which his or her future imaginative product will be built); b) *dissociation* stage (the man's splitting the complex whole into parts, some of these parts are focused on while others are neglected for creative purposes); c) *novel transformation* of the earlier disintegrated parts into something new and original (Vygotsky, 1991a, pp. 20-25). In other words, creativity products or, to put it more precisely, products of human imagination, go through certain stages in their development: first, the elements taken from reality are subjected to complex processing and become products of the individual's or collective imagination, and after imaginative ideas are embodied in them, they come back to human reality as cultural products and a new active cultural force changing this reality (Vygotsky, 1991a, p. 16).

The concept of the zone of proximal development /ZPD/ is a theoretical construct introduced by Vygotsky in 1932-1934 to characterize the relationship between learning and the child's mental development (Vygotsky,1934, pp. 217-219). He proved theoretically and experimentally that the ZPD is characterised by the type and content of those tasks that a child can not yet do on his own, but he is able to do them in cooperation with an adult. And what can be done by a child at first only under the guidance of adults, then, step-by-step, it becomes his own intellectual property and power (Vygotsky, 1934, p. 220). The introduction of Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development /ZPD/ was absolutely crucial for understanding the nature of children's mental development and its close interrelationships with methods of learning, teaching, forms of formal and informal education and upbringing. Vygotsky's ideas about the ZPD had and still has a profound impact on pedagogy in general and FLT in particular including teaching writing (Emerson,1991).

Where are we now in teaching creative writing? The analysis of studies undertaken in ELT provide us with:

- a number of working definitions of creative writing as a FLT term (e.g. Neupane, 2015; Harmer,2015; Karki, 2015);
- essential characteristics of creative writing in contrast with expository writing that have been identified by Maley (2012);
- some principles of teaching creative writing to FL students (Maley, 2015, Riocards.2013);
- descriptions of creative language teachers' qualities, experimental data on applying creativity in teaching languages and how this creativity can be supported in the school (Richards, 2013);
- experimental project results on the ways of developing students' and teachers' awareness of themselves as writers capable to produce creative writing (Asian English Language Teachers' Creative Writing Project, 2015)
- a variety of practical techniques and procedures for teachers to use when teaching creative writing (Richards, 2013; Asian English Language Teachers' Creative Writing Project, 2015);
- a description of creative writing types as outcomes of school students' language-and-culture competitions (Creativity Rainbow 2001, 2008a, 2008b).

Hammer defines creative writing in terms of task types, saying that "creative writing suggest imaginative tasks, such as writing poetry, stories and plays" (Harmer, 2015, p. 366). But this definition seems to be somewhat narrow and incomplete. Let's have as a look at the following writing done by a Russian Students in English:

The Earth's Declaration of Her Rights to the People

by Svetlana Ivankina
I, *the planet Earth, the Cradle of Mankind,*
convinced that it is your duty to stop my destruction and save me,
concerned that your activities undermine my ecological health,
alarmed that my body is being torn by your explosions, pits and mines,
equally alarmed that my rivers, lakes and oceans are being poisoned and the air is being polluted by cars, industrial facilities and forest fires,
convinced that our mutual love save Me and You! (Creativity Rainbow, 2001, p.18)

This writing has nothing to do with either writing poetry or stories or the like. Still, it *is* a piece of creative writing in a FL, because the student has produced a sample of imaginative writing by using creatively the EL form of declaration and transforming it into an imaginary declaration in order to express her ecological concerns and feelings through an imaginary appeal of the Earth as a living being to the feelings of human beings. And though this piece of writing has certainly been based on some

students' knowledge of ecological facts, but this text aims not at simple informing others of ecological problems, but at expressing the author's concerns and emotions in the most possible attractive and convincing way. And it is no less expressive than the poem below written also by a Russian FL student (Creativity Rainbow, 2001, p.10).

WHO AM I?
By Olga Zhabina

On a dark October evening
When the wind and leaves cry
I always think, where I have been?
And especially who am I?
On a sunny January morning
When the streets and trees are white
I always think, where I am going?
And especially who am I?
In Spring, when April comes
I always think, what I will become?
And especially who am I?

On a shiny summer day
When everything is fun
I always think, why I am like I am?
And especially who am I?
When my pen is out of ink
And I'm ending my rhyme
I try to understand why I always think?
And especially who am I?

So, it seems that creative writing should not be limited only to writing imaginative poems and stories. But then what writings in English as a FL can be identified as creative?

3.Discussion.

3.1 Monolingual and Bilingual Creative Writing.

In the middle of the 1990s a package of new EL teaching and learning materials was approved by the RF Ministry of Education for introducing it in upper secondary languages schools (grade 10 to 11). This package of new teaching and learning materials was specifically designed for teaching English in languages schools whose curriculum differed much from curriculums of other types of schooling in Russia at that time, because in these schools pupils started learning English or any other foreign language in primary school (while in other types of Russian schools they started learning a foreign language in the middle school in the 1990s[1]), they did more hours of language learning in comparison with students from other types of school, besides additional subjects were included in the languages school curriculum such as British/American Country Studies, British/American Literature, British/American History and Technical Translation from English into Russian. With the exception of a course in

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[1] Nowadays every child in Russian Federation has to learn a modern foreign language in primary school no matter what type of school s/he attends.

Technical Translation, courses in the other subjects mentioned above were taught through the medium of English.

The new package of EL teaching and learning materials was developed in the context of sociocultural problem-based approach to teaching international languages aiming at: a) teaching English as a means of intercultural communication in the contexts of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations, b) supporting bilingual education through a FL, c) developing students' intellectual, communicative and mediating powers as intercultural speakers and writers (Safonova, 1991, 1996). The teaching and learning package under consideration included an interculturally oriented course-book, a companion to written English, a Cultural Studies course-book and Assessment tasks Kit for developing and assessing students' integrated skills in listening, reading, writing and speaking in English, and, also cultural/cross-cultural skills in interpreting cultural terms, facts, events, lifestyles, national historic landmarks and cultural heritage of the English-Speaking and Russian-Speaking countries, their societies and communities on comparative interdisciplinary basis. In 2000 the Research Centre «Euroschool» launched the first culture-and-language competition mostly for upper-secondary students from languages schools across Russia, but that did not mean that students from other types of Russian schools could not take part in that competition, though it was quite obvious that it would be more difficult for the latter to do culture-bound and thought-provoking competition tasks than for languages schools students. The participants of the first culture-and-language competition (500 EL students across Russia) were to choose one of the following writing genres for demonstrating their creative talents in English:

- culture & society essays (comparing Russian and British cultural events, values. cultural heritage and the like);
- discursive essays on global or local issues (e.g. Life in the 21st century who can cope with it?);
- "poeticized" imaginative declarations;
- short stories based on teenagers' vision of the world;
- modern fairytales;
- poetic pieces that express students' personal feelings and emotions.

There was one more competition category besides the listed above: the so-called "open task" when participants had the right not to choose any of the tasks listed above, but to submit to the competition jury one of their written works (not more than 1500 words) that in their opinion belonged to creative writing. And it is interesting to note that under the last category many of the participants decided to submit their translations of English poetry (including modern poetry), legends, humour essays, essays on British cultural heritage that were

once read and discussed by them. The members of the competition jury included university and school teachers involved in teaching the English language, History, Literature and Journalism, different types of translation. The members of the competition jury that evaluated participants' creative works in English were given a number of rating scales based, on one hand, on a general set of literary criteria (e.g. aesthetic value, social value, originality/novelty of ideas & thought, expressiveness and emotiveness, participants' writing culture) and, on the other hand, on a set of some specific criteria applied when a particular genre of creative writing is being evaluated. As for the translation competition, a translation checklist was used for making judgements on participants' translation products. The diagram on the following page illustrates the 2000 competition participants' preferences in choosing a particular type of creative writing in English for its submission to the competition jury.

First, the diagram shows that the participants' preferences in choosing a particular form of creative writing in English for its submission to the jury came from their schooling experiences in producing different kinds of creative writing (writing cultural and discursive essays are their top choices). Second, it indicates that Russian students' were very keen on doing literary translations (especially poetry), despite the fact that the school curriculum included only Technical Translation as a subject, at some languages schools students were offered selective courses in different types of literary translation. The winners' works were in all categories of the creative writing genres listed above and later on they were published in the youth almanac "Creativity Rainbow " (2001). Third, this language-and culture competitions appeared to have been flexible enough to let students with different language talents and creative capacities participate in it. And, finally, these results were also very suggestive of what could be understood as creative writing at least in Russia, because it can be an umbrella term for including not only monolingual imaginative writings, but bilingual creative writing products (culture-bound media or literary translations) as well.

TYPES OF CREATIVE WRITING (CW IN ENGLISH) AND TRANSLATIONS (T)

- Culture & society essays (CW IN ENGLISH)
- Discursive essays (CW IN ENGLISH)
- Imaginative declarations/petitions (CW IN ENGLISH)
- Stories (CW IN ENGLISH)
- Modern fairytales (CW IN ENGLISH)
- Lyric poetry (CW IN ENGLISH)
- English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh Legends (T)
- Excerpts from the 20th century English Literature (T)
- Literary essays (T)
- Humorous essays (T)
- Classical English poetry (T)
- Modern British poetry (T)
- Religious poetry (T)
- Russian Lyric and Poetry (T)
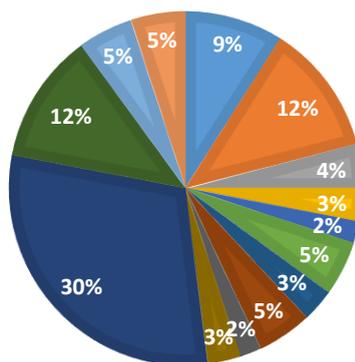
Among monolingual creative writings there could be identified three groups: a) monolingual and monocultural creative writings , b) monolingual and cross-cultural creative writings, and c) monolingual and even pluricultural creative writings. All these considerations seem to be worth bearing in mind when we are in search of how to conceptualize the notion of creative writing for ELT purposes and to provide a methodological classification of different types of creative writing in accordance with students' interests, their command of language and values of a particular educational interdisciplinary environment. The 2000 language-and-culture competition results also signaled to the developers of language curricula and syllabuses, as well as to the authors of teaching and learning materials for middle and secondary schools that creative writing syllabuses and appropriate teaching & learning materials with creative input[1] were to be specifically designed for different stages of school education (primary, low- and upper-secondary school).

In 2001 the Research Centre "Euroschool" developed a package of new problem-based and task-based ELT & ELL materials for low-secondary school

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[1] See, for example, Safonova ,V, Tverdokhlebova I, Solovova, E.(2001). New Challenges in Reading. Moscow: Prosveschenie ; Safonova ,V., Polyakov, O, Strokova ,S.(2003) New Challenges in Reading and Listening. Moscow: Prosveschenie;   Safonova V, (2004) Cross-Cultural Code: Practice in Writing and Public Speaking. Moscow: Euroschool;   Safonova, V. (2004). English for Intercultural Communication & Critical thinking. Moscow: Euroschool; Safonova, V. (2004). Introduction into Translation and Interpretation.

students developed again in the context of sociocultural approach to teaching English as a means of intercultural communication (with native and non-native speakers of English) than consisted of a pluricultural English course-book (with European & wider world dimensions), a reading and listening companion containing materials for: a) organizing students' drama-based activities (reading, listening to/ watching English plays & films), helping students to stage some parts of the plays being studied and developing students' performing skills, b) teaching students to read, interpret and enjoy poetry in English and then to write their own pieces of modern poetry in English (e.g. limericks, haiku, lyric poems); c) making students aware of the world cultural heritage relating to leisure time activities and developing students' skills in entertaining guests whenever they organize their parties in Russian or English or in both languages at school or at home or at youth clubs; d) enriching their cultural knowledge on world cultures (including the cultures of the English speaking world) and developing their interpreting and mediating skills; e) letting them become acquainted with the best Russian translators of fiction and poetry from English into Russian and developing their skills in comparing and making judgements on the aesthetic, literary and human values of translated literary works from English into Russian (included in the teaching materials).

After the four-year piloting of the materials under considerations in different Russian educational environments (urban or rural low-secondary schools), the Research Centre "Euroschool" launched the 2004 and 2008 language-and-culture competitions not only for upper-secondary students (grades 10-11), but for low-secondary students (only grades 8&9) as well (the number of the participants that took part in them significantly increased from 500 in 2000 to 1500 in 2004 and to 3000 in 2008). The variety of competition tasks that were offered to upper-secondary participants were nearly the same as in 2000, but what was agreed on to add to the competitive tasks in 2004 and 2008 were translation tasks (students' translations of newspaper materials or pieces of prose and poetry). The competitive tasks for low-secondary school participants included such types of creative writing as: a) discursive essays on some themes often discussed in the classroom (like "Good teachers change their students' lives and good students change their teachers' lives", "Linguistic and cultural diversity, is it a barrier to communication or a source of mutual enrichment and understanding?", "Can we live without today's world of fashion or can this world of fashion live without us?"; b) sightseeing mini-guides to the places where students live (for foreign visitors who would like to come to Russia); c) translations of poetry and prose pieces that they came across while using their language education package. The analysis of the 2004 & 2008 competitions materials clearly showed that the part of creative writing in English had been dramatically increased to 52% of all participants' creative writings submitted

to the competition jury in 2004 and to 64% in 2008, whereas the number of translation works submitted to these competitions became less: 48% of all participants' works were submitted to the 2004 competition and 46% were submitted to the 2008 competition. In their interviews Russian students said that they still enjoyed very much translating prose and poetry, culture-bound media texts from English into Russian, and even translating poems from Russian into English in their free time, but they started looking more critically at their translation efforts after they had attended some elective courses in translation at their schools which made them think more carefully about what to submit to language-and-culture competitions in order to win these competitions. They also thought that they started feeling more confident about creative writing, because at school they did different types of creative writing in English on a regular basis and they were also taught how to self-assess their writing achievements. In other words, it is both culture-bound monolingual activities and bilingual activities that were again identified by Russian students as creative and enjoyable language practices and experiences.

3.2. The CEFR Views on Assessing Creative Writing Skills.

As has been said before, there is not an apparent consensus in ELT about neither the concept of creativity nor of the notion of creative writing. Nevertheless, there is a common feeling in ELT communities that contemporary language education badly needs creative input, because creativity is really and equally important both in life and in teaching and learning languages (Maley, Pearchy, 2015, p.6). Perhaps, that is one of the reasons that the CEFR Companion Volume with New Descriptors (2017) has introduced for the first time a six-level illustrative scale for measuring creative writing skills[1] (Council of Europe, 2017), no such scale was in the 2001 CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001) and that is certainly a step forward in developing creative pedagogy of writing in FLT & FLL. The CEFR Companion argues that creative writing involves personal, imaginative expression in a variety of text types. But what types of writing are included in the CEFR Companion scale for measuring creative skills in a FL?

Table 1 below illustrates these types of writing beginning with the lowest CEFR level and ending with its highest.

Table 1. CEFR text types/genres indicated in the illustrative scale for measuring creative writing skills.

CEFR LEVEL	TEXT TYPES/GENRES
A1	descriptions of simple objects many interrelated objects in a particular place

[1] Earlier this scale and some other new CEFR scales were piloted in about 60 countries located in Europe and on other continents.

	simple phases and sentences about themselves and imaginary people
A2	an introduction to a story, continuation of a story diary entries imaginary biographies & simple poems about people a series of simple phrases about family, living conditions, educational background, present or recent job basic description of events, past activities and personal experiences
B1	story description of real or imagined events accounts of experiences, describing feelings and emotions in a simple connected text straightforward, detailed descriptions on a range of familiar subjects simple review a review of the book, film or play
B2	clear, detailed descriptions of real or imaginary events or experiences clear, detailed description on a variety of subjects related to his/her field of interest
C1	a detailed critical review of cultural events (e.g. plays, films, concerts) or literary works clear, detailed, well-structured and developed descriptions and imaginative texts in an assured, personal, natural style appropriate to the reader in mind
C2	clear, smoothly flowing and engaging stories and descriptions

As is seen from the table, the scale above demonstrates rather a controversial approach to the choice of writing types. Some of them are well-known writing genres either in fiction (descriptions, poems, stories, diaries), or in non-fiction (accounts of experiences, biography, reviews). The fiction genres do belong to imaginative writing , non-fiction does not belong to imaginative writing in the traditional meaning of the word, but they may be impressive and expressive enough if critical thinking and expressive rhetorics are involved in these writing, but what about "simple phases and sentences about themselves and imaginary people" at level A1 (Council of Europe, 2017, p.75) or "a series of simple phrases about family, living conditions, educational background, present or recent job" (Council of Europe, 2017, p.75) at A2? I am afraid these descriptors of the scale under consideration are somewhat irrelevant, because simple phrases and sentences and even a series of them can hardly be a real means of learners' imaginative expression. It seems to me that we should start thinking about measuring creative skills only when learners' command of language has already reached level A2 and consider the types of writing belonging, on one hand, to traditional imaginative writings (e.g. writing poems, stories, riddles etc.) and, on the other hand, to non-fiction writings involving critical thinking and language

expressiveness (like reviews, biographies, critical/reflective essays about literature). The CEFR Companion has excluded essay writing from the category of creative writings and it has suggested a separate scale for measuring skills in writing reports and essays. But if writing a report is obviously nothing else as expositive writing, with essay writing it is a bit another story, because essays as a writing genre include not only expositive essays, but literary and/or reflective essays that may involve creativity in terms of approaches to exploring a particular literary theme, emotional colouring in the interpretation of prose or poetry and the rhetoric language means used by the writer to express his/ her thoughts, ideas, emotions and feelings. Not to speak about other methodological limitations of the CEFR Companion, it seems worth to say that the controversy of the CEFR Companion to its approach of measuring creative writings skills lies in the lack of ELT specialists' consensus on what creative writing is and what creative writing types should be introduced into ELT at particular stage or cycle of FL education. And for these purposes what is urgently needed is a didactically oriented classification of creative writing types in accordance with modern learners' interests, their real cognitive and language capacities to be involved into creating writing in a FL, ICT possibilities for them to be educated and self-educated in creative writing, and Vygotsky's postulates about the zone of proximal development.

3.3. Establishing a Graded Hierarchy of Creative Writings for FLT & FLL Purposes

Before starting describing a possible hierarchy of creative writing tasks as methodological tools for developing students creativity abilities through the medium of a FL, we would need to come back to the question of providing a didactically oriented classification of creating writings that would include fiction and non-fiction types. As for fiction writings, an endless number of fiction classifications are based on the analysis of human experiences in creating literature in a mother tongue in which core literary genres (e.g., legends, sagas, folklore tales, fairy tales, short stories, novels, plays, poems, anecdotes, riddles) and subgenres within each of the genres (e.g. animal stories, detective stories, horror stories, humorous stories, graphic short stories) have been listed century after century. With the view to FLT purposes, specific characteristics of a FL as a subject, and FL educational environments, it is obvious that it is mostly such writing genres as fairy tales, short stories, small plays, poems and riddles that can be introduced into a creative writing syllabus in a FL and may be taught in the FL classroom , selecting those subgenres of this or that genre that seem appropriate to the interests of the learner, his/her capacities within the zone of proximal development and in terms of their intellectual and communicative (language) characteristics as a writer and intercultural characteristics as a mediator (Council of Europe, 2001; Council of Europe, 2017). The recent experimental studies of the Research Centre "Euroschool" on finding a possible correlation of teaching and

assessing the learner's literary writings and to the CEFR levels of the learner's communicative language competence are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 Possible correlations of literary writings to the learner's CEFR level.

LITERARY GENRES	LITERARY SUBGENRES	CEFR LEVELS
Riddles	Riddles based on vocabulary definitions.	A2
	Riddles based on what has been read/listen to/watched.	A2-B1
	Cultural riddles belonging to the cultural leisure heritage of the target country (e.g. British "Who knocks at the door".	B2- C1
	Riddles translated from the mother tongue into the target language.	C1-C2
Prose	Narratives for picture books (familiar to the learner).	A1
	Narratives for picture books (unfamiliar to the learner, but s/he can find necessary information about the characters and their actions on the Web).	A2
	Literary descriptions of people, places, events and things in an imaginative way.	A2
	Literary imaginative transformations of something that has been read/listened to/watched into a new writing product in an imaginative way.	B1
	Diaries.	B1
	Letters to imaginary characters or characters from fiction, films and videos.	B1
	Narrative for cartoons.	B2
	Graphic short story to the visual clues provided.	B2
	Fairy tales.	B2-C1
	Short stories on everyday life topics.	B2
	Plays based on what they have read and discussed.	B2
	Sci-fi stories.	C1-C2
	Mysteries detective story.	C2
	Prose translations form the target language into a mother tongue.	C1-C2
Poetry	Vocabulary transformations of chants known to the FL learner.	A1
	Chants writing.	A1-A2
	Rap.	A2-B1
	Acrostic poems.	B1-B2
	Limericks.	B2
	Haiku.	B2- C1

| | Lyric poems. | B2-C1 |
| | Poetry translation. | B2-C2 |

Table 3 reflects the findings of the Research Centre "Euroschool" about a possible correlation of the non-fiction writings to the learner's CEFR level of communicative language competence.

Table 3 Possible correlations of the non-fiction types of creative writing to the learner's CEFR level of communicative language competence.

GENRES	SUBGENRES	CEFR LEVELS
Essays	Reflective essays on what the learner feels about a poem/a story.	A2
	Reflective essays on twitter messages.	A2
	Reflective essay on what the learner feels about a novel/film/YouTube videos.	B1
	Discursive essays on contemporary themes.	B2
	Cultural comments on the target country media or literary products.	B2-C1
	Culture essays (on some cultural aspects of people's life, lifestyle and life values in the target country/countries).	B2-C1
	Comparative cross-cultural essays.	C1
	Comparative pluricultural essays.	C2
	Translation of the culture-bound essays written by representative of the target country/countries.	C1-C2
	Translation of the culture-bound essays written by native and non-native speakers of English.	C2
Reviews	Reviews of foreign films, videos, books produced in the target countries.	B2
	Reviews of films or YouTube videos relating to different countries on one and the same topic.	B2
	Reviews of foreign films or YouTube videos in his/her mother tongue for local audiences	C1
	Reviews of mother tongue films or YouTube videos in a FL for foreign audiences.	C2
PowerPoint presentation (written aspects)	FL presentation posters on cultural aspects of everyday life in the learner's native country.	A2
	FL presentation posters on traditions and beliefs traditional shared by the people of the learner's native country.	B1-B2

	Business presentations.	B2
	Academic presentations.	C1
	Cross-cultural presentations in a FL for foreign audiences.	C1
	Cross-cultural presentations in the mother tongue (for the local audiences).	C1-C2

The integration of bilingual cross-cultural or pluricultural writing activities into learners' language practices helps students become as cultural, then cross-cultural and even pluricultural mediators (Safonova, 2017).

The establishment of a hierarchy of monolingual and bilingual types of creative writing is a starting point for developing a methodology of teaching creative writing at different school stages or university cycles of cross-cultural or pluricultural language education. Among the objectives of cross-cultural/pluricultural education through a foreign language the priorities should be given to teachers' strategies aiming at: 1) teaching a FL in the context of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations (Safonova, 1991,1996, 2001) and with the view to the learners' zone of approximal development , 2) introducing creative writing into a culture-bound FL curriculum, 3) designing a package of thought-provoking teaching and learning materials aiming at developing communicative, intellectual & mediating learners' powers, 4) applying appropriate assessment scales for observing the dynamics of learners' development as creative writers, 5) marrying students' bilingual and bicultural classroom activities with their participation in language-and-culture competitions. The process of developing creative skills involves three stages:

The pre-creative writing stage aims at developing students' general cognitive and communicative skills which are basic for starting to teach them how to write a particular genre of creative writing, making them aware of the language format and rhetoric characteristics of a writing genre to be taught, identifying and exploring cultural themes related to everyday or academic or business communication that may be interesting for creative writing;

The creative writing stage aims at teaching students how to use their knowledge on the format and rhetoric features of a particular writing genre in their written practices, how to edit and self-assess their efforts and achievements in creating writings;

The post-creative writing stage focuses on organizing events (competitions, language clubs, school parties) at which students can demonstrate their samples of creative writings and be appreciated by their peers, school teachers and/or local/foreign communities.

Conclusions.

In contemporary FLT and FLL there is no need to argue about if creative writing should be included in FL curriculum or at least FL syllabuses and become part and parcel of developing communicative & intellectual FL Learners' powers. But a consensus should be achieved among FL specialists about the most appropriate types of creative writings that can be effectively introduced at different stages or cycles of cross-cultural or pluricultural language education. The hierarchy of monolingual and bilingual cross-cultural/pluricultural creative activities involving students' production of fiction and non-fiction types of creative writing provides the ground for further discussions of multi-level teaching and assessing creative writing in a foreign language. A graded classification of creative writing types can serve as a methodological framework for creating and providing Vygotsky's zone of proximal development in and outside the English classroom. Besides it also provides no less important ground for reconsidering the content of teacher training courses dealing with teaching writing.

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The Problems of Syrian Students in the Basic Education in Turkey

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Abstract

In this study, it was aimed to examine the educational problems of basic education students migrating from Syria encountered in the schools. The research study group involved 37 Syrian students, 4 school managers and 18 teachers who were willing to participate to the research from four different secondary schools. The study group was chosen according to accessibility criterion. The data were collected through interviews. Therefore, the data was analyzed according to the qualitative methods. In the analysis of data collected by using face to face interview technique and semi-structured interview form, the content analysis method was used. According to the research results, it was determined that Syrian students have a language problem, especially during their education. They had sufficient knowledge of the Turkish language to manage their daily lives, however, academically the knowledge was concluded as insufficient. The main problems occurring among Syrian students are communication skills and adaptation. Main causes of these two problems are the differences between the ethnic origin among the Syrians students and the integration and communication with Turkish students. The Syrian students can be divided into two group as Syrian Kurdish or Syrian Arab. Both groups indicate that it is hard to communicate with each other due to the language difference. Furthermore, the Syrian girls expressed that they have more difficulties in being accepted and making friends, which causes the feeling that they are left alone. The findings of the research reveal that Syrian parents do not visit the school and that their skills of understanding and speaking Turkish are far behind their children's ability to understand and speak Turkish. According to the students 'views, the main reason for their parents' not visiting the school is the language problem. According to the data obtained from the interviews conducted by the administrators, guidance teachers and class teachers of the schools, it has been determined that some Syrian students have problems in integration during school, lack of motivation for the classes, and a more introvert student profile compared to

other students. On the other hand, it was also stated that it was uncommon that Syrian students were included or had caused for any improper circumstances at school or were involved in any disciplinary case.

Keywords: Refugee, education, Syrian students, educational problems.

1.Introduction

Societies that are at risk of security are forced to immigrate because of the conflicts in the Middle East, interventions of the region and the world countries in this area and new policies that arise accordingly.

The number of immigrants around the world has increased dramatically due to political or human crises since 1980's (Castles and Miller, 2008, s. 11). Nowadays, the most striking example of this immigration is experienced from Syria to Europe. As noted by Cohen (2006) the refugee problem, previously regarded as a factor in East-West relations, now had a North-South dimension added to it.

In particular, the events that began in Syria in 2011, made many Syrians migrate to other countries, especially Turkey (Ostrand, 2015). According to the UN Refugee Agency Report (2015), these migrations made Turkey the country which hosts the highest number of the refugees in the world. Today, the number of Syrians migrating to Turkey is still on the rise and this is due to Turkey's "open door" policy for Syrians. In this period, having been entered the seventh year of the war in Syria, there is no hope that the crisis will be over soon.

Turkey, in which there are more than 3 million of Syrians and more than half of whom are estimated to be children, is the country that provides shelter to the highest number of Syrians in the world (The UN Refugee Agency Report, 2015). The number of Syrians seeking refuge in Turkey has steadily increased since 2012 by the reason of attacks against civilians. Figure 1 shows the numerical data of Syrian refugees between 2011 to 2017.
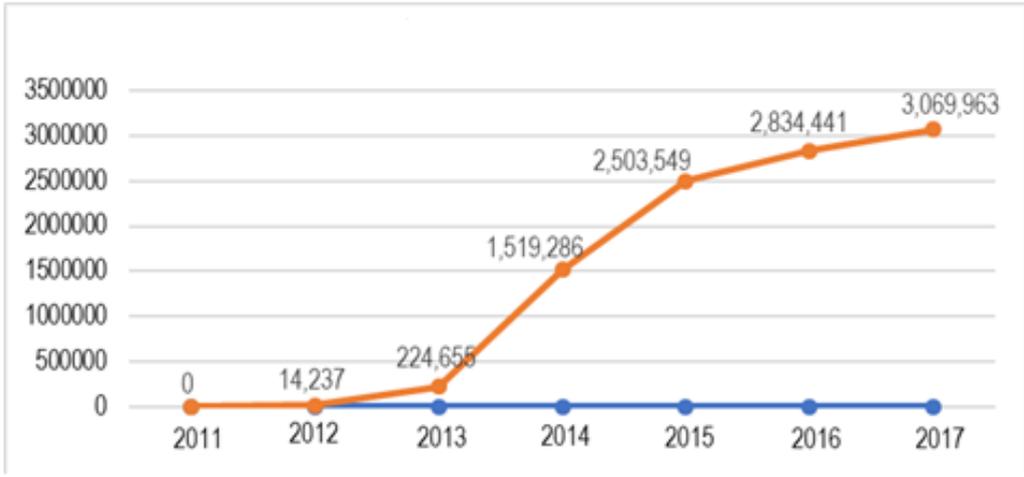
Figure 1. Number of Syrians seeking refuge in Turkey throughout years (2011-2017).
Source: Educators trade union report, (2017).

As can be seen in Figure 1, while there were only 14,000 Syrians in Turkey in 2012, this number reached to more than 3 million by 2017. As Harunoğulları (2016) stated, this migration brought together a period that deeply influences Turkey's social, financial, cultural and political structure with it. In this period, conducting correct policies in systems such as health, security and education are vital in terms of preventing problems that may arise in following years.

In Turkey, Syrians' legal status and the legal framework that can be benefited by them have been established with Temporary Protection Directive, which has been put into force in 2014. With this circular, Syrians were taken into temporary protection. Temporary protection is generally associated with protection of limited duration and standards of treatment lower than those envisaged in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Edward,2012). It is usually granted to large groups of asylum seekers based on extraordinary and temporary conditions (Miller and Orchard 2014). Syrian people do not have immigrant rights where the study conducted. Therefore, in this study refugee description is used for the study group. Along with Temporary Protection Directive, circular number 2014/21 -Education and Teaching Services for Strangers- has been issued for Syrian children's access to the right to education. With this circular, Syrian children at school age who are officially registered had the right to enroll in state schools in Turkey legally. However, due to lack of infrastructure and lack of necessary support mechanisms, Syrian children have problems accessing the right to education.

The main problems are that most Syrian children aren't able to communicate adequately in Turkish, state schools -except Provisional Education Centers don't have

a curriculum suitable for an exclusive to Syrian students, students' and especially parents' unwillingness to Syrian kids enrol in schools, and teachers' not having adequate competence to cope with discriminatory attitudes and behaviours. In addition to these, the fact that administrators and teachers aren't aware of facilities and services provided for Syrians and therefore they aren't able to direct Syrian students and their parents so that they can have support makes already existing problems bigger and more complicated. The problems mentioned are growing worse because of teachers' and administrators lack knowledge, time and competence (Istanbul Bilgi University child studies unit report, 2015).

Turkey is a participant in United Nations Children Rights Convention and according to item number 22, parties are supposed to take the necessary measures so that refugee children may benefit from all the rights stated in the convention. Therefore, Turkey needs to bring out policies that take all asylum seeker children's rights, including Syrians, into consideration.

Syrian population's education is extremely important for our country because most of them are young and dynamic children and teenagers. Education is expected to help an individual adopt the values of the society. Another definition of education is that it is behaviors that will develop an individual's desire, ideals and society's dynamism in a positive way. These targeted behaviors must overlap with the individual's developmental characteristics and needs as well as the values of the society (Varış, 1988). This is the reason why education of immigrant children is of special importance. In this context, one of the most critical problems faced by Syrian children is that they have with education. The result of research in Turkey in recent years shows that Syrian refugees have serious problems in accessing education (Dinçer et al, 2013). As stated in UNESCO's (2014) report, Syrian children who cannot benefit from the right to attend school, are more face to face with risk of abuse and maltreatment, cannot achieve their physical and psychological development adequately, and accordingly have more stress symptoms. Moreover, there are many risks Syrian children are face to face with. According to 2015 data of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, psychological risks are the highest ones that arise as a result of ending these children's education and their employment as workers (UNHCR, 2015). As reported by Migration Management of Turkey (2017), there are 1.249.263 Syrian children aged 0-18 in Turkey, 73% of whom are at the age of primary education (Emin, 2017). According to September 15, 2017, data obtained from the Ministry of Education, 54.5% of 976,000 school-age children are registered in schools. That means, there are all most 450,000 unschooled Syrian children in Turkey. As it known, unschooled children are more vulnerable to child labor, early marriage, radicalization and joining radical organizations (Watkins and Zyck, 2014). Despite this, it is observed that there is not enough awareness in public opinion and among educators about the education of children has come via immigration.

The aim of this study was to investigate Syrian students' academic problems that they experience in the basic education in Turkey. Therefore, the Syrian students, their teachers, and school principals were examined to obtain the research data. Hence, the problems were examined according to perceptions of these three participants. Eventually, these three questions were answered in this study:

1) What are the academic problems of the Syrian students according to themselves?

2) What are the academic problems of the Syrian students according to their teachers?

3) What are the academic problems of the Syrian students according to the school principals?

2. Research Design

The research design was developed qualitatively, and a case study approach was used in the research as a qualitative research method. According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research is best suited for research problems in which variables are not known and need to be explored. When the literature gives inadequate information about the phenomenon of study, researchers need to learn more from participants through exploring the perspective of different actors, and this is where qualitative methods are useful.

A case study, one of the qualitative research method, is the detailed analysis of a social unit's past and present situation and its qualities within the environment (Punch, 2005). The case (s) are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2007). This paper, through a case study method, tries to analyze the basic education dimension of the Syrian students in Turkey.

2.1 Study Group

This research was carried out in Kocaeli in which high Syrian populations, under temporary protection, were lived in Turkey. According to official data from Ministry of National Education, 482 Syrian children were being trained in the region where the research was conducted.

Sampling constitutes the backbone of any study. In line with this objective, the research of study group has been involved 37 Syrian students, 4 school managers and 18 teachers who were willing to participate in the research from four different secondary schools. The study group was chosen according to accessibility criterion and determined by purposive sampling technique. In order to analyze the problems experienced by the Syrian students at different class levels, the selection of a similar number of students according to class levels has been emphasized. Half of the Syrian students, (n=19, 51%) who participated in the research were female and the rest of them (n=18, 49%) were male. One-fourth of the 37 Syrian students (n=9, 24%) were in the 5th grade, one fourth (n=10, 27%) were in the 6th and 7th grades, and the others

(n=8, 21%) were in the 8th grade. The percentage of Syrian students who have been living in Turkey for less than two years were (n=11, 30%), those who lived between 2 and 4 years were (n=17, 46%), and the (n=9, 24%) have been living in Turkey for more than four years. In line with the objectives of the research, the opinions of 18 teachers who have Syrian students in their class, also have been considered. More than half of the teachers (n=10, 56%) were female and the rest of them (n=8, 44%) were male. Half of the teachers (n=9, 50%) have between 1-5 years professional experience. Four teachers (22%) have between 6-10 years professional experience and five (28%) teachers' professional experience is over ten years. Twelve teachers (67%) took in-service training or courses about refugee education. For the purposes of the research, the views of the school principals, in charge of the schools included in the study, were also handled by four different schools. Of the four school principals, three were male, while the other was female. One school manager has between 0-10 year professional experience and three of them have more than 10 years professional experience. One of the schools where the research was conducted, has more than forty Syrian students. The other school has between 21-40 Syrian students and two schools in which the research was carried out, have less than twenty Syrian students.

2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

Research data was collected over a three-month period through 59 individual interviews (37 Students, 18 teachers, and 4 school principals). A semi-structured interview form was prepared by the researchers at first. The interview form was piloted to address the research problems. The face-to-face interview technique was used to collect data from the Syrian students. The interviews were organized by appointments that means each interview was carried out at the agreed time with the interviewers. The informal interviews with Syrian students were made in Turkish. Arabic translator was also utilized in interviews in the case to prevent misunderstanding. Each interviewee has been informed about the research before participating in the interview. The interviews lasted on average 30 minutes.

Interview technique is used when the researcher does not have enough knowledge about a topic (Merriam, 2013). In this case, pre-determined questions are not asked and there is discoverable approach at the basis of the research problem as Merriam (2013) suggests. According to Patton (2002), the purpose of the interview is to enter an individual's inner world and understand his point of view. Interpretative phenomenological analysis technique was used for the analysis of the data obtained from Syrian students.

In line with the objectives of the research, teachers and school principals have been involved in this study and the semi-structured interview technique was also utilized as one of the means for data gathering. According to Barbuor (2008), the 'semi-structured' aspect is crucial as it refers to the capacity of interviews to elicit data on perspectives of salience to respondents rather than the researcher dictating the

direction of the encounter, as would be the case with more structured approaches. In the analysis of the data obtained from interview forms, content analysis technique was used. To verify the reliability and validity of the research, expert examination, purposive sampling, and dependability conformability techniques were used. Besides, participant confirmation was also utilized in this research for the reliability and validity. This study examined by an educational science expert. Expert views supported the views of the researchers. Direct quotes from participants' responses have also been used to ensure the reliability of the study. The codes P1, P2, P3, P... for the students; T1, T2, T3, T... for the teachers; and M1, M2, M3, M... for the school managers are used in order to not disclose the personal information of participants, based on the principle of confidentiality.

3. Findings

Educational problems of Syrian students that they faced in Turkey, have been investigated in terms of their own experience, teachers' views, and school principals' views. Findings are given in three titles.

3.1 Syrian Students' academic problems according to themselves

The results revealed that the Syrian students have four types of problems in the basic education in Turkey. These problems are categorized as problems that they lived with the teachers during lessons, with the other students at the school, with themselves, and with their family about inclusion in their education at school. These problems are shown in Figure 2.
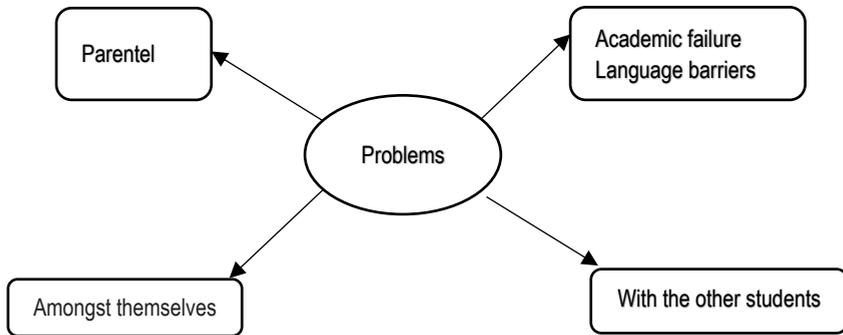
Figure 2: Problems according to students

As figure 2 shows, four main headlines are striking as problems of Syrian students. These problems are given respectively in this study.

3.1.1 Problems related to academic failure and language barriers

According to research findings, the students like their teachers, and lessons. However, the majority of Syrian students had difficulty in understanding the academic language the teachers used during the course. They had difficulties in some subjects such as Turkish, math, and science because of their language barriers. Therefore, the most challenging academic subjects of the students are Turkish, Science, and Mathematics according to their expressions. The participants have stressed that the main reason for their difficulties in these lessons is that they have difficulty in understanding the language used in those lessons.

Students also mention that they are able to find their teachers easily n the school when they need and find answers to their questions. However, the students expressed that the teachers do not repeat the topics more than once in the class when they don't understand.

Some of the opinions of the participants are as follows:

P 3, living in Turkey for 3 years, 8th grade,

"...I normally understand teachers when they want something from me. We even make jokes. But I do not understand some of the talks when they're lecturing. Teachers tell one more time for those who do not understand, but sometimes I do not understand, though. Mostly I am having difficulty in Turkish class. "

P 15, living in Turkey for 2 years, 6th-grade,

"...I do not understand at all in Science. I speak Turkish and I even write, but I confuse some letters. Teacher speaks fast"

P 14, living in Turkey for 2.5 years, 7th-grade

"...I challenge myself to understand your teaching, I understand many things, but I cannot listen to your teacher for a long time, my mind is breaking. There are places I do not understand, I was asking before, but I do not ask anymore"

3.1.2 Problems related to other students at school

According to research data, Syrian students have problems especially with their peers at school. Syrian girls have stated that Turkish girls do not want to be friends with themselves and that other male students do not want to be close to them. The students of Syrian girls think that Turkish girls are different from theirs as clothes and attitudes and Turkish girls do not like them and do not want to take them. Although the majority of the Syrian girls were wearing headscarves despite the fact that their ages were small, the use of the headscarf was observed to be very small for Turkish girls. Syrian girls say that they perceive it as a difference.

Male students stated that they were Turkish friends and that they had no personal problems, but they stated that they did not have much sharing with Turkish students out of the course of time. Nevertheless, from time to time they also expressed that they enjoyed playing together with Turkish students in soccer and basketball games.

Syrian students generally regard the reason for not establishing a close friendship with Turkish students as language problem and cultural difference. They also expressed that Turkish students sometimes mocked themselves.

Afterschool, Syrian students also stated that they did not meet other Syrian students in the school. It can be said that Syrian students do not share their school friendships among themselves except outside the school. Some participant opinions are like this:

P 8, Syrian female student, 8th-grade.

"They do not take us among themselves, they always talk among themselves. No one said a bad word to me. Actually, I wanted to be friends with them "

P 17, Syrian female, 8th-grade.

"They do not make friends with us because we are not like them, we do not dress like them. Some of them ale students are making fun of us. They say, 'This is not your country here, go away'"

P 26, Syrian male student, 6th-grade.

"I have Turkish friends, sometimes we play. For example, I ask them places I do not understand in class. I do not have any Turkish friends when I leave the school. I do not have a Syrian friend either. When I go home I watch Arabic channels from the internet. "

3.1.3 Problems related to themselves in the School

According to research data, Syrian students describe themselves as ethnically Arab or Kurdish in their own words. In total from 4 schools, there were 94 Syrian students, and Syrian students composed of different groups of ethnic groups stated that they had a communication problem among themselves. Although Syrian Kurdish students know Arabic, they stated that they speak Kurdish among themselves. The Syrian immigrant students of Arab origin expressed that they did not understand the language of the Kurdish Syrians. Both groups stated that they did not make friends with each other in school and they preferred to make friends with other students of their own ethnic background. Some of the participant's views are:

P 33, an 8th-grade student who defines himself as Arab.

"We do not understand them. They speak Kurdish. They do not want to make friends with us either. They are only talking to the Kurds. I do not want to talk to them either."

P 34, a 7th-grade student who defines himself as Syrian Kurd.

"We speak Kurdish, they are Arabic. I understand them, but they do not understand us. In our school, we were taking Arabic lessons in Syria. But we were talking Kurdish outside at home. I become a better friend with the Kurds."

P 36, an 8th-grade student who defines himself as Syrian Arab.

"There was no Kurd where we came from. So, I do not know Kurdish, I do not understand them. They also prefer to make friends among themselves. We are not friends with them."

3.1.4 Problems related to their family inclusion at school

The vast majority of the 37 Syrian students (n=34) stated that they had an economic problem and that there was no regular income. Some of them (n=5) have emphasized that they are going to work from time to time without coming to school to provide an economic contribution to the family. However, there are students who lost their mother (n=6), who lost their mother and father (n=2), whose father died or did not know where his father was (n=5). Some of the students (n=6) expressed that their brother or sister had to continue their lives in other countries. It can be said that the family life is deteriorated due to various reasons and the general living conditions with the deprivations are negatively affecting the educational life of the Syrian children.

The region in which the survey is conducted is generally a residential area with low socioeconomic levels, and the parent profile is mostly composed of economically low-income families. There is a dense Syrian population living in the region. Most of the Syrian students who were included in the survey also expressed that their families were experiencing economic problems (n=22). All of the students stated that they did not go to social activities such as cinema, theatre and they did not have activities that they spend time with their parents outside the home.

The number of Syrian families (n=4), who have come to school to visit their children and learn the situation of their child by now, are very few of the students in the study group. It has been understood that the families of Syrian students cannot visit their educational environment due to language problems. For Syrian students, it is not possible to talk about effective family participation.

The majority of the students (n=31) stated that even if the family came to school, they would not understand the teachers and that the Turkish language was very weak. Some participant views on the topic are as follows:

P 24, a 7th-grade student,

"…We do not know where my father is. 3 years ago, I was gone with my 6 brothers and my mom. We had relatives here, they moved us here to find the place. My brother is working to ensure the livelihood of the house. We also get help. The government gives us cards by the number of people in the family, we are doing the grocery shopping. We also

take the money. My mother does not understand Turkish, I know better. Mommy never came to school. My brother brought me here."

P 1, a 5th-grade student,

"...My mother died in Syria. He died because of illness. We came with my father and we have four brothers, but my father is now married, and I have two more brothers. My dad is working on construction. She's doing ceramics. My step-mother did not come to the school because she did not speak Turkish and my brothers were small."

P 36, a 6th-grade student,

"...My father is dead. My grandfather's taking care of us here. I do not know mommy. My grandfather does not speak Turkish, so he understands some words, but he cannot. There is my uncle here, and they are staying here. They're helping us, or we could not make it. They also give me school expenses"

3.2 Teachers' opinion about Syrian students' problems in the basic education

In line with the objectives of the research, the opinions of 18 teachers who have Syrian students in their class, have been considered. The teachers' view about Syrian students' problems were categorized by using content analysis. The problems are shown in Figure 3.
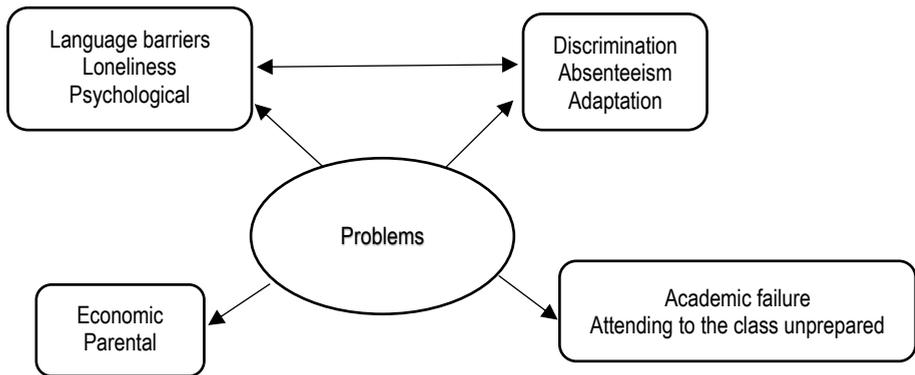
Figure 3: Problems according to teachers

It is also thought that discrimination, absenteeism, and adaptation problems are related to language barriers, loneliness, and psychological problems. Numerical data for the problems of Syrian students according to the teachers in Figure-3 are given in Table-1.

Table 1. Problems according to the teachers

Teachers' Opinions	*n*
1-Academic failure	18
2-Language (communication) problems	18

3-Adaptation problem of the school	15
4-Economic problems	14
5-Loneliness	8
6-Absenteeism	15
7-Discrimination in the school	6
8-Attending to the school unprepared	15
9-Parental problems	15
10-Psychological problems	9

As table 1 shows, all of the teachers stated that the Syrian students were unsuccessful in their lessons and had communication problems due to language barriers. Most of the teachers (n= 15) had the opinion that Syrian students have adaptation problem of the school culture. Majority of the teachers (n=14) agree with the opinion that Syrian students have economic problems and this situation affects their school success negatively. Absenteeism was another Syrian students' problem that seen in the basic education according to most of the teachers (n=15). Some teachers (n=8) stated that one of the Syrian students' problems was loneliness. Some teachers (n=6) indicated that Syrian students entered discrimination in the school. According to the majority of the teachers (n=15), Syrian students attend the school unpreparedly. Most of the teachers (n=15) stated that Syrian students have parental problems and they don't support in their education life by their parents and half of the teachers (n=18) stated that the Syrian students had some psychological problems. Some teachers' opinions are given;

T4, teacher who have 6-10 years professional experience,

"...These students came from a war where people die. They were taken in our school without any planning and integration process. Thus, they were abandoned to their fate in the classroom."

T6, teacher who have more than 10 years professional experience,

"...Language problems make it difficult for students to learn. Even if they try to learn the Turkish language, they are lagging behind in their education. Moreover, cultural diversity makes it difficult to adapt to educational environments."

T11, teacher who have 1-5 years professional experience,

"...they do not understand what I'm talking about in class, so they fail in exams. I cannot speak their own language, so we have communication problems. This causes them to be silent and shy."

3.3 School Principals' opinions about Syrian students' problems in the basic education

For the purposes of the research, the views of the school headmasters who were in charge of the schools included in the study were also handled. The school principals' view that obtained from interviews were categorized by using content analysis. The problems are shown in Figure 4.
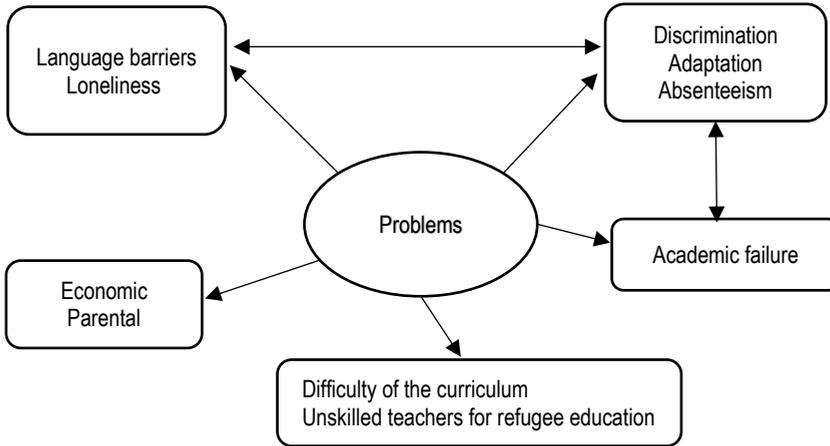
Figure 4: Problems according to school principals

As seen in Figure 4, the semi-structured interviews the semi-structured interviews with the school principals resulted that Syrian students have educational problems under 10 different categories. It is also thought that language barrier, and loneliness problems are related to discrimination, adaptation, and absenteeism problems. Besides, it can be said that this relation is also affected academic failure as well. Numerical data for the problems of Syrian students in which shown in Figure 4 are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Problems according to the school principals

School Principals' Opinions	n
1-Academic failure	4
2-Language (Commination) problems	4
3-Adaptation problem of the school	4
4-Economic problems	4
5-Loneliness	4
6-Absenteeism	4
7-Teachers do not fit for refugee	3
8-Discrimination in the school	1
9-Difficulty of the curriculum	3

| 10-Parental problems | 4 |

As it is seen in Table 2, school headmasters agreed with the academic failure as a problem of Syrian students. They also stated that Syrian students have language problems, absenteeism, adaptation problem of the school culture, economic problems, loneliness and parental problem in their education just as teachers stated. Only one of the headmasters expressed that Syrian students face discrimination in the school. However, school principals differ from teachers stated that teachers are not fit for refugee education and difficulty of the curriculum is another problem for Syrian students that students have to cope with.

Some school principals' opinions are given;

M 1, school principals who have more than 10 years professional experience,

"...I think that the applied curriculum and teachers are not suitable for the education of the Syrians. Teachers should be educated with in-service training activities..."

M 3, school principals who have more than 10 years professional experience,

"...we cannot overcome the problem of absenteeism. Syrian parents are not interested in children's education because economic problems are a priority for them."

M 4, school principals who have more than 10 years professional experience,

"This region is generally preferred by the Syrians, who have a low socio-economic level. They are mostly poor and uneducated people. As it is known, the participation of parents in the education is very important for children. But Syrian parents cannot speak our language, so it is impossible to communicate with them."

4. Discussion and conclusion

Movements by people, either forced, as in the case of refugees or voluntary, as in the case of immigrants, mark various time periods in history, shaping a global society.

Today, international population movements are transforming countries and societies around the world by influencing bilateral and regional relations, security, national identity, and sovereignty. The phenomenon of international migration now has a key role in the globalization process, affecting the transformation of international political order (Castles and Miller, 2008).

The research findings reveal that Syrian parents do not get interested in visiting the school, and their competence in Turkish is far below their children's. Students think that the reason for their parents' reluctancy to visit schools is a language problem. Syrian family involvement in school and their participation are activities which are organized in order that parents should be able to support their children's development and education (Ömeroğlu and Yaşar, 2005). Taking into consideration that children's first educators are their parents, parents should adopt the way which

will synchronize formal (school) and informal (home) education to support and contribute to their children's education (Şahin and Ünver 2005). Çelenk (2003), in his study which deals with a family role in a child's academic performance, states that children from families with better supportive attitudes towards education are more successful academically. Additionally, school-family cooperation is crucially important for a child to succeed at school. Nevertheless, research findings show the low level of Syrian family participation in education. The results of the experiment present a decrease in students' motivation and show that they are not supported adequately by their parents.

We use data obtained from the interviews with school administrators, guidance counselors and primary school teachers, to conclude that some Syrian students have adaptation and absenteeism problems, suffer from low motivation, and are introvert if to compare them with other students. Psycho-social problems also occur among Syrian students who have been exposed to violence or war. Overall, the paper is full of evidence that Syrian students do not generally cause problems at schools and do not interfere with events which demand disciplinary action. As they are often forced to leave their environment due to violence and oppression, this situation is likely to cause traumas of various origin in these children. The most important reason for this is that the concept of immigration is a process full of losses at the root. Leaving the place where they grew up and socialized causes the loss of their parents family members, friends, social environment. These children experience torture or maltreatment. Sometimes they feel deeply hurt. Sağaltıcı (2013) detects psychological problems which relate to after-trauma stress disorder in Syrian refugees. His findings also confirm that males are more exposed to traumatic events than females. The worst thing is that, in most cases, children are affected negatively. Schools frequently experience problems with immigrant children, particularly, such as identity confusion, behavioral disorders, low self-respect, depression, problems arising from bilingualism, low academic success, and conflict of generations (Gün and Bayraktar 2008). School administrators claim that teachers are not well-trained to educate refugees. It can be said that teachers in Turkey do not get proper in-service training on refugee education. However, as Culbertson and Constant (2005) hypothesise that such training on refugee education will be useful for both refugee students and teachers. Candappa (2000) and Goodwin (2002) discuss that teachers should get involved in the education of refugee students taking into account specific characteristics and culture of these students.

The research conducted in different countries, on the refugee problem also shows that similar results are obtained elsewhere. Dryden, Peterson (2015), Bourgonje (2010) and Mendenhall, Russell, Buckner (2017) find out that refugees face problems such as access to education, language barriers, discrimination in the school, lack of future expectation, psychological issues, and, hopeless. The research which has been carried

out in other countries also gives proof that refugee children suffer from almost the same problems.

To conclude, we can claim that immigrant problem is a global problem. Different education systems encounter similar problems in immigrant education.

The findings lead the authors to suggest recommendations which improve the process of training of refugee students. They are as following:

Schools should organise cultural and social activities which would be attended by all members of the school community that is students Turkish and refugees, their parents and teachers.

Counseling services should be provided for these students taking into consideration that many refugee students have psycho-social problems due to war and immigration.

Absenteeism is a very common phenomenon among Syrian students as very often they work instead of attending school and these students can get involved into the educational process with the proper guidance.

School buildings and classrooms should be equipped in different languages to motivate parents to get more interested in their children's education and to attend schools where their children study.

Academic training should not be initiated for refugees who have not completed language education properly. In such a way, the academic failure which is caused by language barrier can be prevented.

Teachers need in-service training for refugee education. For this reason, teachers should get educated better about refugee students.

Refugee issue requires extensive research in various dimensions and countries as the problem of refugees is spreading all over the world.

Considering that most parents of Syrian students do not come to school to ask about their kids' performance because of the language barrier there should be a language course for Turkish for them in the school premises

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How Does Social Innovation Contribute to Solving Social Problems?- A process-oriented framework for measuring social innovation

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Abstract

The study defines a process-oriented framework for measuring social innovation. Social initiatives focus on meeting the needs of the community and solving their problems The local, community-based innovative ideas have a significant role. During the systematic operation of innovation, the starting point (expression of local needs) and the definition of short and long term goals as induction factors are involved in the innovation process. The starting conditions are widening in the transformation with incentive and inhibiting factors, while the stakeholders of the innovation process are also determined. As a result of the transformation, territorial-specific results will be created complementing the economic and / or social impact of the given innovation. Indicators that help measure social innovation initiatives can be identified as prerequisites, conditions of implementation and sustainability criteria, defining the structured conditions of the innovation process per phase. In addition, several levels of social innovation efforts are possible. Measuring macro-level social innovation, it is necessary to examine regional contexts, with the method of analysis of the connection network, and also with a systematic approach. Regional social innovation measurement can be used to analyze local and regional cooperation and initiatives. The study analyzes the conditions and measurement possibilities of micro-level social innovation, their generating potential and investigates the speed of organizational innovation. An example of good practice in the municipality is presented as a case study, defining the conditions that help to evaluate social innovation by determining a process-oriented framework.

Keywords: social innovation, measurement, process-oriented framework, micro-level measurement

Introduction

The conceptualisation of social innovation and the determination of its measurement levels are relevant challenges, however, these issues are only partially covered by the sources on the topic. The concept of social innovation focuses on meeting the needs of the community, emphasizing the social benefits of problem-solving innovative ideas that can be interpreted locally, at the community level. Social innovation and so-called technical innovations reinforce each other and as a result they can respond to local, community-level challenges, find solutions to everyday problems and thus enhance the well-being of the community. Innovations resulting from the expansion of innovative areas can be characterized as complementary processes.

Social innovation efforts can be interpreted at several levels.

When examining macro-level social innovation, network and systematic analysis of regional contexts is required.

The analysis of social innovations at the meso level focuses on investigating novel regional co-operations. The exploration of contexts makes it possible to define the framework conditions that will be involved in generating regional social innovation.

The study looks at micro-level social innovations. The analysis is based on the involvement of companies, social enterprises and civil society organizations implementing social innovations at the organizational level, with particular regard to local governments. Local governments, through their novel co-operation, provide a new response to the problems of the community according to local needs, while increasing the well-being of the community. Social innovation efforts in a process-oriented framework beyond raising living standards enhance the community's ability to act, thus generating further social initiatives.

In the first part of the study, we examine the concept and approaches to social innovation, emphasizing the similarities and differences between the various trends in particular. In the literature review, we also identify the definitions that can be used to determine the process-oriented examination of social innovation.

In addition to determining the process-oriented framework, we examine the micro level of social innovation and the framework conditions that can be interpreted at the organizational level, which enable the identification of social innovations at organizational level and their generating potential. Among micro-level social initiatives, we focus on exploring the novel cooperations of the local government within the framework of structured interviews. Social innovation as a new means and model to help the process of catching up is a kind of good practice in the toolbox of local governments, especially in disadvantaged regions.

An example of local government practice is presented as a case study, defining the set of conditions that help to investigate social innovation by determining a process-oriented framework.

Theoretical definition of social innovation

Nowadays it has become increasingly widespread that several basic problems of the economy and society (including poverty, unemployment, exclusion, bad access to food, water, technology, medicine, information etc., lack of education, prejudice, crime, environmental destruction...) are impossible to solve without novel cooperation between the actors of society, without the direct creative participation of citizens, or without social innovation. In the process of social innovation, the idea of the innovation and the resources that can be mobilized for implementation, the innovative organizational framework of implementation and sustainability are equally important. The definition of social innovation is not unified, it is divided by the determinants and the users of the concept. Apart from common features such as enhancing well-being, involving the society or meeting community needs, the approaches made by concept creators are different, thus it is a basic requirement to make a transparent and consistent structure (Table 1).

Many definitions have been reviewed during our research, and thus social innovation can be interpreted as a concept that results in meeting the needs of the society, along new or novel co-operation and structures. Social innovation efforts result in the renewal of the society, and also encourage the members of the society to act.

The theoretical approach to social innovation, as well as essential differences in each trend are summarized in Table 2. After the first mentioning of the concept of social innovation (Tarde, 1899, Hoggan, 1909), Dénes Gábor examined the essential role of social initiatives in 1970, analyzing scientific, technical, biological and social innovations, and concluded that technical innovations had significantly got away from social innovations. In his view, the overwhelmingness of technological innovations has caused disproportion in the process of innovations, as efforts to increase social prosperity are lagging behind and are marginalized. In this sense, social innovation is a comprehensive framework program, which is not primarily an initiative going along with technical innovations, but a "reform" that controls and regulates all the innovations (Gábor, 1970). Social innovations are inseparable associates of technological innovations, and innovations can be interpreted as complementary processes. The new innovative bases - as the field of social innovation - help to realize and improve the technical innovations, while at the same time increase each other's strength and this way they are able to respond to the current challenges of society. While giving the theoretical definition to social innovation, it becomes important to innovate in every area of life, and innovation initiatives should not only be confined to technical and economic fields (Drucker, 1985). According to another approach to social innovation (Mumford, 2002), it means generating and implementing new ideas,

in which social interactions are organized to achieve a common goal. Another trend of social innovation theories (Hazel-Onaga, 2003) focuses on solving social problems, highlighting the importance of collaboration among stakeholders. There is also a point of view according to which the concept emphasizes the value created by social innovation (Mulgan et al, 2007), highlighting the fulfillment of social demand as the main goal.

A significant trend in social innovation theories emphasizes the improvement of the quality of life by solving social problems (Pol-Ville, 2009; Peyton Young, 2011). We accept and appreciate the approach which focuses on the process resulting from increasing social well-being. In our research, social innovation is identified as "providing new or novel responses to a community's problems with the aim of enhancing community well-being"(Kocziszky et al., 2017). In addition to rising living standards, the emergence of novel structures and the promotion of the capacity of society to act are emphasized. In a normative approach, "social innovation is a process that increases the willingness of the community to act in the form of new or novel collaborations"(Balaton-Varga, 2017).

To justify the empirical research, we consider it essential to define the characteristic elements of social innovation, which is a good basis for implementing our micro-level studies (Figure 1).

Some features of social learning

The development of social innovation can basically be divided into two subsystems. One is the central, political subdivision of development, which usually aims to develop values regarded as public goods by public subsidies. The other subsystem is local, which is the people's ambition to improve their environment, economics and viability, which is rich in information, practical knowledge, but usually lacks resources. The two systems are linked in many aspects, but they are still significantly different. The central subsystem allows for greater scale planning with the use of EU and national resources, but at the same time it often becomes the victim of various political and economic conflicts of interest (Nemes-Varga, 2013). Local developments, however, can only achieve structural changes and results in an integrated system. Many researchers are concerned with the issue of co-operation, and many of them also see a big challenge in general lack of trust, low willingness to cooperate, institutional and political culture.

Social innovation is created by other mechanisms, much more than technological innovation. It can be explained by the three dimensions of social innovation (EC 2013):

- Social innovation as the social process of creating innovation, that is innovation is not created in the traditional way (e.g. in a research institute), but with the participation of the society and the civil sphere

- Social innovation as an innovative solution prioritizing social responsibility, where responses to problems are in line with social values and norms, opposing profit maximizing business processes
- Social innovation, focusing on the renewal of the society, its aim is to change attitudes and social structure. In this case, we suppose that social innovation is implemented by changing social norms, values and relationships.

Social innovation should not be approached exclusively as a bottom-up activity since innovation and its support often originate from a macro level.

Innovation requires knowledge creation and learning. According to Reed et al. (2010), social learning is a process in which understanding and dealing with the problem involves a change that goes beyond the individual as the process takes place at a social level, in a community, through social interactions.

In the approach of Kozma et al. (2011), the place and level of the social learning process is of particular importance. Social learning (Nemes-Varga, 2015) is a process in which a community becomes capable of an action or activity that has not been able to do before. Social learning is based on the expansion of three types of knowledge:

- cognitive, scientific, technological knowledge,
- practical knowledge,
- situational knowledge.

In our research, we have come to the conclusion that the creation of social innovation should be supported by artificial intelligence, as the problem to be solved is poorly structured.

According to the literature, knowledge generation is a program that, on the basis of its analytical capabilities, is able to define and weight problems and propose a possible solution instead of the previously accepted versions. The system supports the recognition of the "best solution" through a "knowledge bank" during the problem solving process. This way it can be a useful supporter of decision preparation. Researches on the structure and functioning of knowledge generation (Expert Systems) began in the mid 1950s (by studying artificial intelligence) (Puppe, 1991). Research underwent a major change in the 1970s when researchers turned to knowledge-based systems.

The proposed knowledge generating system consists of two main parts:

- a user interface that allows data retrieval, grouping and comparing data, and defining and presenting the results of calculations,
- developing expert solutions.

Figure 2 illustrates the process of knowledge generation, which can be of fundamental importance for the creation, implementation and maintenance of social innovation.

After the process of knowledge generation, we briefly summarize the test model that gave the framework to our thinking, and on the basis of which we deal in detail with micro-level social innovation in this study (Figure 3).

Investigating micro-level social innovation

Social innovation, similarly to technical and economic innovations, is both intelligible and measurable at micro, meso and macro level, and has a key role in competitiveness.

The levels of social innovation (Kocziszky et al., 2017)

- micro (organisational) level,
- meso (settlements, regional) level,
- macro (national) level,
- global level.

Social innovation formulates novel solutions to challenges that are in tight connection with regional disproportions.

Due to the disproportions arising from the different levels of economic development, areas in peripheral situation with the need for catching up, get to the fore. Besides the so-called technical innovations, social problems can be solved by social means and the creation of new organizations. In the catching-up process, innovative ideas that can be interpreted at the local and community level as well as the micro-level social innovation activities play an important role. Innovations arising from the expansion of innovative areas can be considered as complementary processes. Social and technical innovations are in close contact with each other. If there is a change in the economy, it is also obvious for social changes to occur. As a result of a questionnaire survey conducted in the autumn 2017 (Tóthné - Varga, 2017), it can be stated:

- those who implement business innovation will, after a while, generate social innovation during novel cooperation,
- social innovation is often followed by business innovation.

Social innovation as a new means is the answer to everyday challenges. Social innovation efforts are new or novel structures, collaborations that help peripheral areas to catch up as effective and sustainable solutions.

The European Union's convergence strategy justifies the examination of the catching-up tools that mean a breakthrough for disadvantaged areas. In the peripheral areas, the low number or the total lack of technical innovations requires the implementation of innovative co-operations and programs that support the enhancement of competitiveness by involving civil initiatives and provide a higher standard of living at a social level. In the attempts to eliminate regional disparities, the role of new co-operations requiring active involvement of local governments and citizens is outstanding.

It is a basic task to investigate and coordinate those involved in the multi-player territorial competition (Ritter et al., 2013). Those involved in the multi-player territorial competition (Lengyel, 2003) are as follows:

- the local government,
- economic municipalities (economic chambers, entrepreneurial associations, trade boards),
- knowledge transfer institutions (higher education, vocational training),
- developing agencies.

It is also an important task to investigate the relationship between disadvantaged settlements, including their organizations and institutions, to take local initiatives into account and to utilize novel results of co-operation. In the new co-operation, the local government plays a prominent role as a coordinating, motivating and mediating actor in the pursuit of social innovation endeavors.

The measurement process of micro-level social innovation is complicated by several factors. The starting point for measuring innovation is determining appropriate indicators and their identification as input, output or impact indicators, referring to the process of systemicity. The question is what we should measure. The task is complex because the literature has not directly addressed the issue so far, and the question of measurability is of vital importance while getting the definition of the indicators. The determination of the measurement structure is also complicated by the large number of variables, and this way it requires a reduction in the case of each factor.

During the examination of relationships, factor analysis can be used to identify indicators that help measure social innovation. Indicators to help measure social innovation initiatives at organizational level can be determined on the basis of the following criteria (G. Fekete et al., 2015):

- preconditions,
- conditions of implementation,
- sustainability conditions.

Preconditions make it possible to define the innovations that appear as a starting factor in the convergence process. Preconditions typical of successful social innovation processes of a given settlement (altogether innovation activities) are as follows:

- ability to recognize a problem,
- willingness to change,
- striving for cooperation.

When measuring innovation activity, indicators based on the above categories help determine the measurement process (Figure 4).

The conditions for achievement are factors that play a key role in the catch-up process in the realization of successful social innovations In the short term, the innovation process is effective when as its result social transformation and community response to social problems occur. Implementation conditions for successful social innovation efforts of a given settlement (altogether framework conditions) are as follows:

- proficiency in the subject (information and knowledge),
- the personal competence of the heads of local governments, other state, economic and civil organizations: entrepreneurial, managerial, cooperation and creative skills
- a resource-building framework (formal-regulated and informal-relationship),
- instituitional framework,
- political framework,
- conditions of social sphere.

The successful implementation of social innovations is measured along specific indicators based on the factors determined above (Figure 5).

Sustainability conditions ensure the long-term success of the catching-up process as a means of renewing and transforming society. The conditions ensuring the sustainability of social innovation in a given settlement (altogether results) such as tracking, evaluation, feedback using the following area-specific results:

- education,
- health,
- employment,
- housing,
- social capital and networks,
- political participation,
- environment.

The measurement of the results of the social innovation process and the analysis of its long-term effects require the selection of indicators based on the above categories (Figure 6).

Good example by local government - case study

According to Zamf, "by social innovations we can achieve new paths and goals, especially new forms of organization, a new lifestyle, new regulations, which change the direction of social changes, make problems more easily soluble and and they become valuable, adaptive and institutionalized" (Szörényiné, 2015). In the case of settlements, innovative solutions of local governments mean new collaborations, which result in well-being and increase the power of action of the community. Mayors, like Schumpeter's former "entrepreneurs", are involved in the processes of innovations as innovators along new collaborations and structures.

One of the characteristics of disadvantaged settlements is the disruption of demographic balance. The causes are as follows:

- aging,
- inequality between education levels,
- migration of disadvantaged citizens (particularly of the Roma).

These challenges require innovative co-operation between local governments and NGOs. Self-government should not be interpreted as an isolated process, separated from citizens, but an attempt should be made to cooperate. A new governance model is needed which is holistic and according to which the role of citizens in the implementation of social processes is growing (Varga, 2017).

When studying the novel co-operations between local government and NGOs as well as enterprises, we examined settlements which are located in disadvantaged districts and use social innovation as a means to increase catching-up and living standards. The number of districts to be developed by a complex program determined on the basis of the district development indicator in Hungary on January 1, 2015 was 36, typically in the peripheral part of the country. Most developing districts are located in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, in the eastern part of the country, with a total of 9 districts requiring a comprehensive programme implemented along comprehensive plans.

Every second citizen of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county lives in a district that needs complex development. Every third and fourth inhabitant of Hajdú-Bihar and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties live in a district requiring development based on a complex program. There are more than 980,000 people living in the districts, and 64% of them live in the three counties named above (Central Statistical Office).

The district of Nyírbátor (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county) is ranked 13th in the list of districts to be developed, with three towns (Nyírbátor, Nyírlugos, Máriapócs) and 17 municipalities belong to it. The dynamic catch-up and development of Nyirbátor is largely determined by the relatively high proportion of disadvantaged, mainly Roma population. The town's getting onto the path of long-term growth clearly depends on the overall management and social integration of the disadvantaged population. The main challenges of the examined settlement (ageing, migration of disadvantaged citizens) require innovative co-operation between the local government, businesses and NGOs.

In the survey we paid particular attention to social innovation initiatives which can be identified as good practices and generate further innovations. While studying the situation in the settlement of Nyírbátor, we conducted 3 qualitative interviews with the mayor's cabinet and the heads of NGOs.

The main question groups of semi-structured interviews:

- general organizational information,
- social innovation as a special concept,
- implemented social innovations,
- planned social innovation efforts,
- regional cooperation (and opportunities).

Four critical areas were identified during the study:

- education (high quality and adaptation to needs),
- employment (labor market programmes based on personal mentoring),
- health (improvement of health status and prevention),
- housing (improving housing conditions

Social innovation efforts as new model and means provide a solution to address problems in these areas. The study shows that social innovation initiatives are able to increase living standards, although some obstacles can be identified:

- lack of expertise,
- leck of volunteering,
- the local problem as a local feature makes it difficult to define general solutions.

In Nyírbátor in 2015 a complex programme was launched to improve the living conditions of Roma communities. The problems identified by the local government, local institutions and entrepreneurs, as well as the Community Action Group (KACS) are the same as the challenges identified in critical areas (Figure 7).

Determining the cause-and-effect relationships between the factors is complicated due to their impact on each other, and the unclear factors of the sequence of events, but it can be stated that if a disadvantaged citizen's housing conditions are inadequate, it can lead to health problems. Health problems can cause learning difficulties, which can lead to reduced labor productivity, which may lead to the deterioration in housing conditions. What was needed was the improvement of housing conditions, the promotion of local retail services adapted to local needs, the increase of the proportion of community programmes and spaces, and the expansion of community and social services. In addition, the development of adequate transport conditions is also emphasized, but the improvement of physical infrastructure alone is not enough to increase the social welfare of the population. In order to increase the standard of living of the society, taking the disadvantaged position of Nyirbátor into account, social innovation efforts are indispensable. Within the framework of social innovation, the role of the local government is emphasized, which (in cooperation with the enterprises and civil organizations of the settlement) helps to implement training and labor market programmes and to improve the accessibility of social services and public information through innovative initiatives and programmes. We studied a great number of novel activities among the measures which were different

from the traditional self-government model in the town's life. The local self-government with the traditional governance is lagging behind the active initiatives based on participation, this way it is necessary to define a new self-government model. The new self-government model is cooperative and consultative, supporting citizens' decisions.

In the context of social innovation efforts Nyírbátor defined interventions that treated infrastructure shortcomings, as well as the problems related to the labour market, education, health etc. of the disadvantaged population in the residential environment in an integrated manner. Within the so-called "soft interventions" supporting the social integration of disadvantaged people, various labour market trainings, measures of employing the long-term unemployed and programmes aiming at the development of civil society were implemented. The novelty of the interventions was that the elaboration of the programmes was preceded by various professional forums, round tables (businesses - local government - disadvantaged population) and open days. Socially innovative solutions have emerged based on real social dialogue and partnership, in the course of which partnerships go beyond the usual formalities, and which result in a truly active way of mutual thinking.

The city organized two planning meetings to support the development of employment and education standards. In addition to the local government, representatives of the business sector, heads of elementary schools and the representatives of disadvantaged population (Romas) participated in the discussions. The long-term goal is that more local Roma people should work in the growing number of workplaces in Nyírbátor. During the programmes, the leaders of the educational institutions made it clear what each institution requires in order to be effective in participating in the local Roma integration process and in the effective cooperation. Representatives of the business sector presented development plans, ideas and labor market needs. They determined what each of the economic operators can add to the objectives pursued, how they can help the process of integration and what they need to contribute to the effective cooperation. The actual dialogue helped to inform the disadvantaged population, clarify the needs and requirements, and define the novel co-operation of the local government. A form of social innovation is the introduction of mutually beneficial initiatives which - together with the effects of rising unemployment - result in more active citizens and strong self-organization.

The Nyírbátor programme mainly supports the education and employment of the Roma. Identifying short and long-term goals will help integrate Roma into work. The participants of the sub-program (local government, business sector representatives, NGOs) identified the long-term goals as the first task and then the shorter-term activities to achieve the objectives pursued.

The tasks are given: targeted measures, revealing the causes of marginalization, the cooperation of Roma and non-Roma communities – all lead to the growth of well-

being. Companies can contribute to the implementation process by providing information, organizing various training programmes, scholarships and mentoring programmes, and the local government can support convergence with the help of mediators (Roma and non-Roma ethnic intermediaries), in addition to preparatory work and mentoring.

The members of the Community Action Group (KACS) can get involved in the program by having accurate information on the disadvantaged population, as well as the specific interventions, and by getting the Roma community to know about them. They also have an important role to play in liaising with the institutions. The training of Roma mediators and their inclusion in the program will enable the improvement of the relationship between Roma parents and the school, Roma parents and teachers, and Roma and non-Roma parents. A kind of awareness is being created about the importance of learning, and increasing the chances of Roma children to succeed.

By means of innovative cooperation the local government has defined specific actions and tasks in the short and long term. Short-term measures are essential to achieve long-term goals.

<u>Education</u> (Figure 8):

For the disadvantaged population, the area of education is a critical point. In order to increase social welfare, short-term and long-term goals have been identified during the program. Long-term goals in education are as follows:

- every child should have access to the training most suitable for their abilities
- integrated education,
- motivated parents and children,
- preventing children from dropping out of school,
- cooperation between the institution and the parent,
- support,
- destruction of prejudices

Meeting long-term objectives is achieved through defining and implementing short-term actions. Short-term goals in education are as follows:

- improving communication between actors,
- taking care of Roma values and culture,
- getting parents to be involved in school programmes,
- visiting families, giving assistance,
- mentoring (involving Roma parents),
- programmes to help taking responsibility for their own life,
- creating a computer workshop,
- having a subject of Health Education at school
- life management programmes for parents

<u>Employment</u> (Figure 9):

Convergence can be achieved by identifying critical areas and supporting intervention in these areas. In addition to raising and ensuring the quality of education, the implementation of employment-promoting labour market programmes is crucial. Long-term goals in the field of employment are as follows:

- Roma workers in all areas of labour market,
- employers' openness and acceptance,
- well-qualified, motivated, disciplined, skilled workforce.
- Short-term goals in the field of employment:
- providing information about employment,
- giving positive examples,
- vocational training adapted to employers' needs,
- mentoring
- talent management,
- scholarship system.

During the realization of the catching-up opportunities we identified local characteristics, obstacles and priorities as important factors. The framework conditions for improving living conditions at the local level together lead to convergence. Particularly important is the identification of people affected in the process, the role of communication (providing information), planning financial resources, attempts to change attitudes and institutional background. In addition to these factors, the local social care system plays a key role in implementing the catching-up process during the co-operation (Figure 10).

In response to local needs - unlike in the past - the local government did cooperate and continuously consulted with the entrepreneurs, civil organizations, institutions and citizens of the town to implement the programme. In an innovative way, they initiated an effective dialogue and resorted to novel solutions, while encouraging the public to act. This is social innovation itself.

Conclusions

When measuring social innovation at the micro level, it is important to identify the framework conditions that can occur as a precondition, a condition for implementation and a sustainability factor. The study requires an integrated model which is able to handle framework conditions, organizational activities and results in a complex way. In the case of social innovation at the organizational level, the measurement of an innovative process based on the active participation of local governments requires the identification of the mayor as an innovator. The innovation efforts of the local government are created by the stimulating factors (framework conditions), and the results of the innovation process can be specifically assessed and analyzed (Figure 11). In the model, framework conditions play a regulatory role in the

innovation activity as institutional, political, resource-based and social factors. The results (the whole of municipal performance and social results) comprise a stage of social innovations, interacting with local government activities and framework conditions, examining the specific needs of innovation, that is the social change. In the analysis of the process of social innovation, it is important to identify the relationships which reflect the interaction between the factors influencing the innovation activity (Schmitz et al., 2013) and which form feedback loops in the innovation process (social innovation enhances the capacity to act and results in new innovations). A holistic approach is needed that addresses critical areas in a complex way and examines the interaction between problems in critical areas (education, employment, healthcare, housing). Co-operation between local people involved results in the most effective solution based on the participation of the local government, NGOs, Roma and non-Roma communities. The signs of the most effective solution is cost-effectiveness, high proportion of beneficiaries, rapid success, scheduling and sustainability, i.e. strategic thinking.

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Tables

Table 1 The approaches of social innovation conceptualized by users, Source: own compilation

DEFINITIONS AND USERS	INTERPRETATION
scientific associates, researchers	scientific definitions (normative interpretations, utility, distinction from technical innovation)
civil sphere, civil society organisations	mission, emphasizing the role of social enterprises
government, their institutions	administrative, society-centered interpretation
intergovernmental bodies (EU, OECD)	theoretical and / or methodological approach, measurement questions

Table 2 Interpretations of the concept of social innovation, Source: own compilation based on G. Fekete, 2015.

AUTHOR	YEAR	CONCEPT, THEORY
Tarde, G.	1899	society as an expanding network economy
Hoggan, F.	1909	social substitution
Gábor, D.	1970	technical innovations have been torn apart from social innovations
Drucker, P.	1980	innovation is also a social category
Zapf, W.	1989	change in society
Mumford, D. M.	2002	new ideas - common aim
Hazel, C.	2003	solving social problems: people involved, new collaborations
Mulgan, G.	2007	social value created by social innovation
Pol, E. - Ville, S.	2009	improving quality of life

Figures

Figure 1 Characteristics of social innovation

Source: Kocziszky et al., 2017

Figure 2 The process of knowledge generation, Source: Kocziszky-Veresné Somosi, 2016
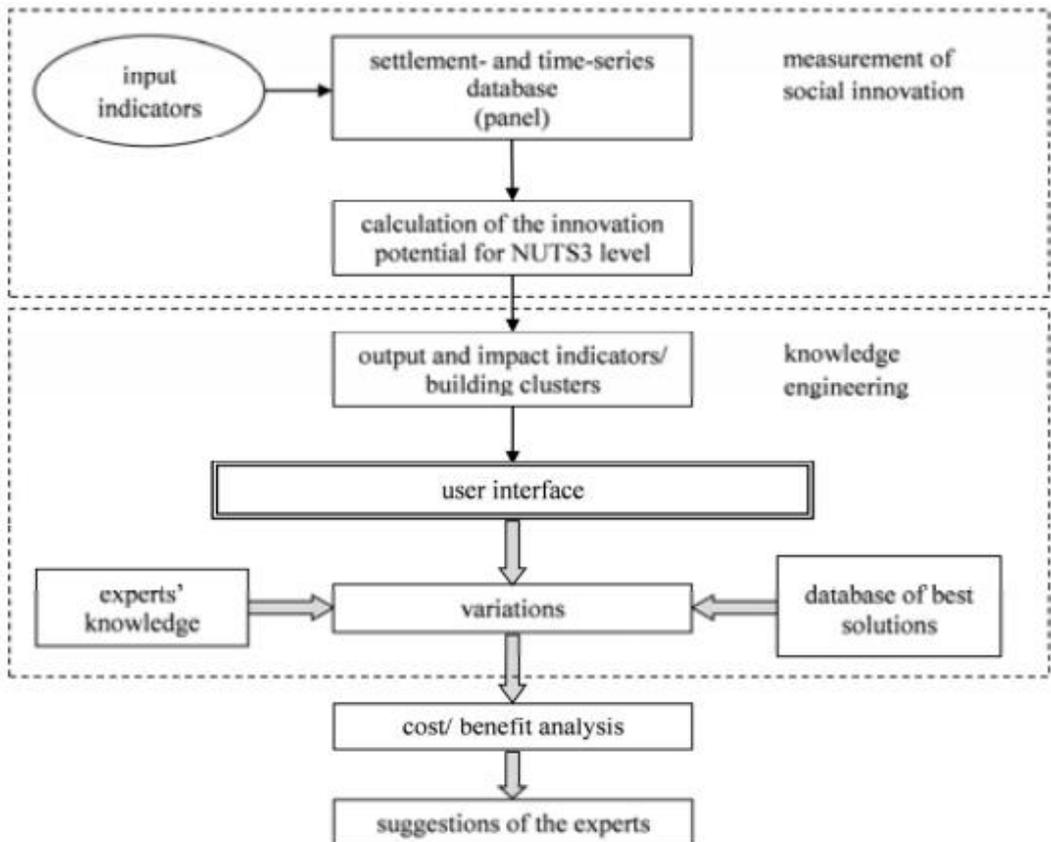
Figure 3 Framework model of analysis, Source: own compilement
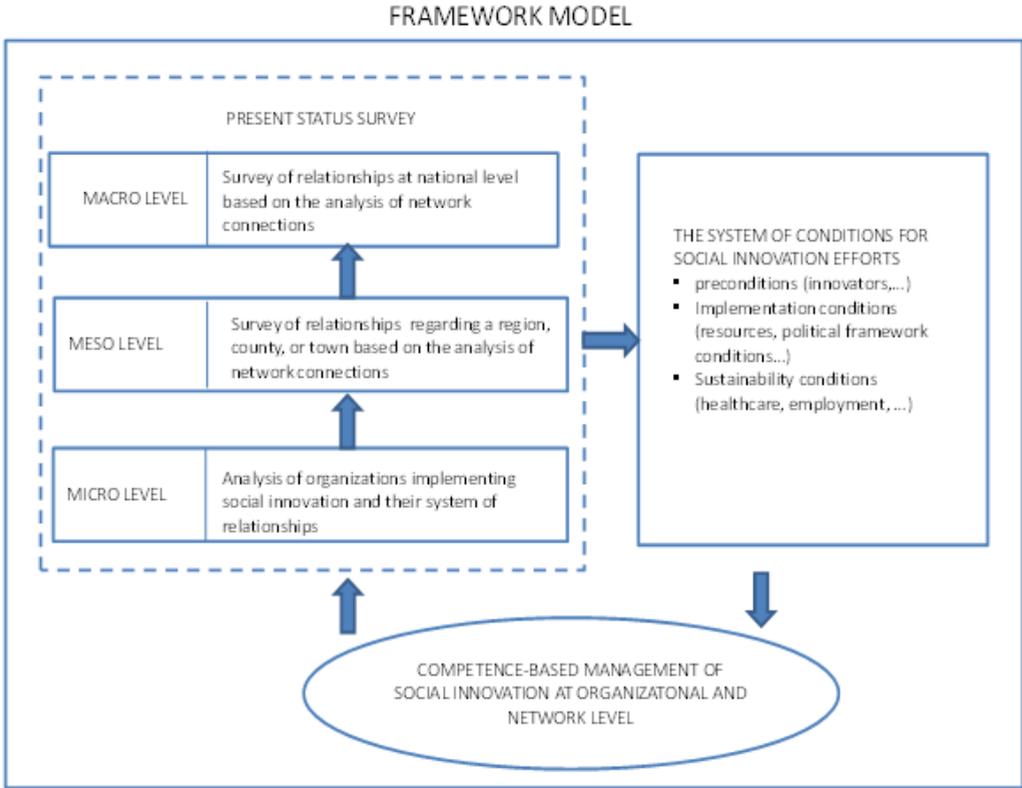
Figure 4 Prerequisites for social innovation: innovative activity measurements, Source: own compilation based on Schmitz et al., 2013
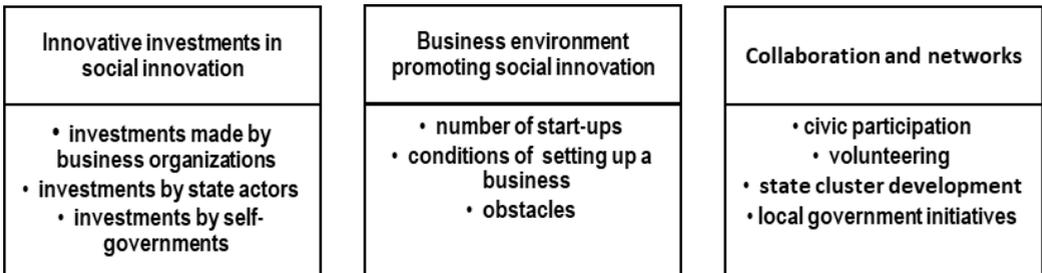
Figure 5 Conditions for implementing social innovation: measuring framework conditions

Source: own compilation based on Schmitz et al., 2013

Framework conditions of resources	Institutional framework conditions	Political framework conditions	Framework conditions of social atmosphere
• financial resources • human resources • infrastructural resources	• normative - • regulatory - • cultural institutions	• political awareness • political environment	• needs and requirements • commitment and attitudes
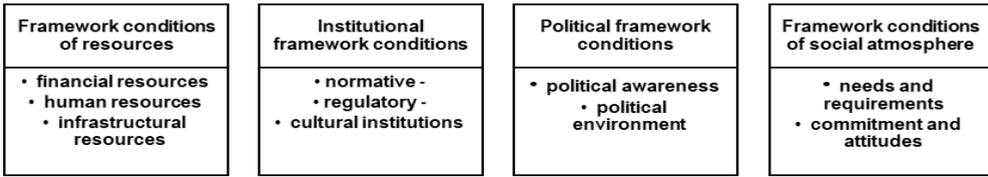
Figure 6 Conditions for sustainability of social innovation: measuring outcomes, Source: own compilation based on Schmitz et al., 2013

Education	Healthcare	Employment
• equality / inequality • acquiring skills	• access to services and quality • health	• job and salary • job and life

Housing	Social capital and networks	Political involvement	Environment
• state of housing • access, quality	• social cohesion • quality	• voting, awareness • civic participation	• patents • natural capital and resources
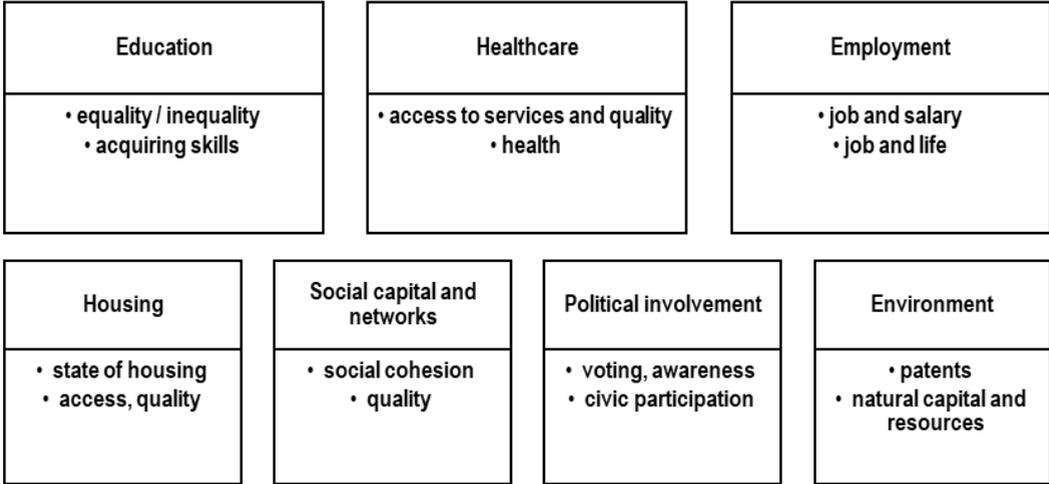
Figure 1 Critical areas in the most disadvanteged settlements

Source: own editing

HOUSING (inappropriate housing) → HEALTH (health problem)

EMPLOYMENT (reduced labor activity) ← EDUCATION (learning difficulties)
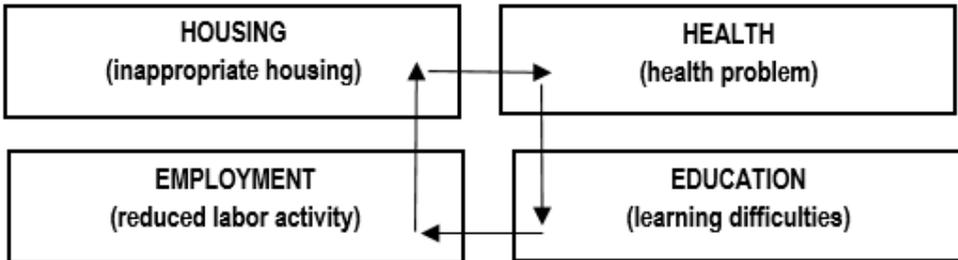
Figure 8: Long and short-term goals in education, Source: own compilation

LONG TERM GOALS (10 YEARS)

- integrated education
- motivated children and parents
- no dropout
- cooperation
- destruction of prejudices

SHORT-TERM GOALS (1-3 YEARS)

- improving communication
- Roma values and culture
- involving parents
- mentoring
- responsibility for their own lives -
program
- Health Education as a subject, etc.
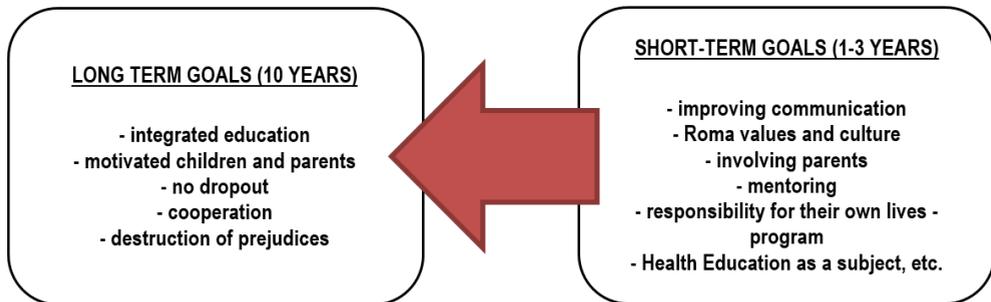
Figure 9 Long and short-term goals in employment, Source: own compilation

LONG TERM GOALS (10 YEARS)

- Roma workers in all areas
- employers' openness and acceptance
- well-qualified, motivated, disciplined,
skilled workforce

SHORT-TERM GOALS (1-3 YEARS)

- information
- positive examples
- professional training
- mentoring
- talent management
- scholarship system, etc.
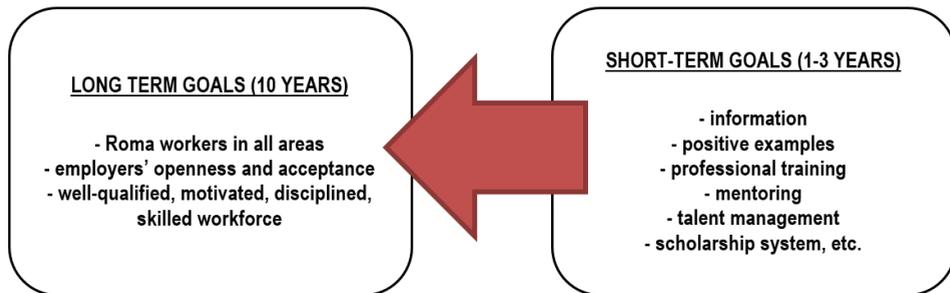
Figure 10 Frameworks of improving local living conditions

Source: own compilation based on The World Bank, 2015.
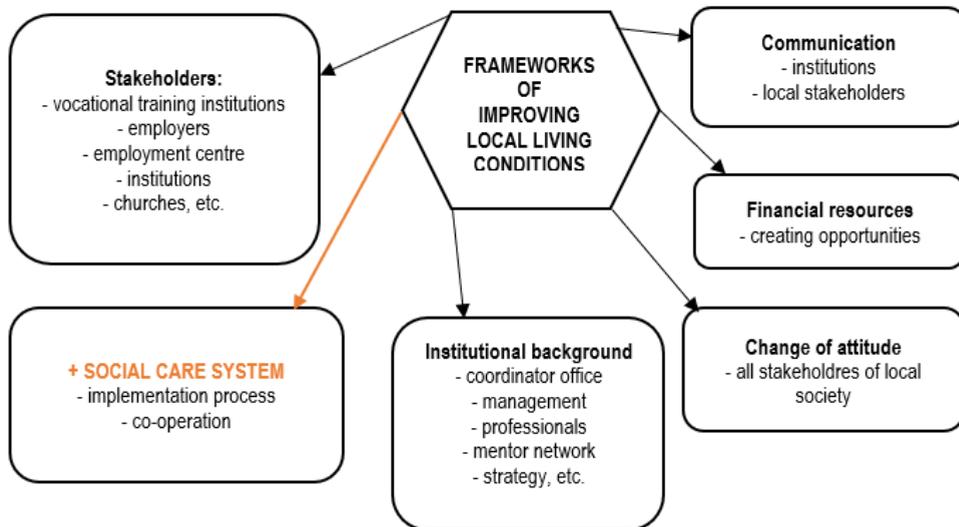
Figure 11 Measuring factors in municipal social innovation, Source: own compilation

Where are the Dead? Celestial, Earthly and Subterranean Spaces in Juan Rulfo and José Revueltas

José Jesús Alvarado Cabral

Abstract

Juan Rulfo (1917-1986) and José Revueltas (1914-1976) are two of the most important writers of the twentieth century for Mexican and worldwide literature. When comparing the literary work of both authors can be found similarities rich in meanings that help us to understand in a deep way a worldview of man from the finiteness of being, the subjugation to which men and their societies confront the power Political of their rulers, and the alienation of modern societies. These thematic similarities find throughout their literary work divergences in style and treatment of their plots and characters. In this way, in the paper I propose here, I expose in a wide way the biographical and bibliographic aspects that support the importance of these authors, and then analyze how in the literary work of Juan Rulfo –the novel: *Pedro Páramo* and his collection of short stories: *El llano en llamas*– and that of José Revueltas –novels: *Los muros de agua*, *El luto humano*, *Los días terrenales*, *En algún valle de lágrimas*, *Los motivos de Caín*, *Los errores* y *El apando*; and short story books: *Dios en la tierra*, *Dormir en tierra* y *Material de los sueños*– show that cosmogonic vision of the Mexican being in which the presence of death prevails and its meanings from three possible spaces: in the subterranean, the earthly and the celestial. In a graphical way I analyze and contrast how both writers develop in their literary work these three spaces, from the symbolic perspective of the death.

Keywords: Juan Rulfo, José Revueltas, Mexican Literature, Cosmogonic Vision of Death.

Introduction

Why make writers like Juan Rulfo and José Revueltas coincide in a Literary Study in the 21st Century? Why discuss two authors in which we certainly find great convergences, of origin, of rescue of the voice of the Mexican people; but also extreme divergences, of thought, of style?

Juan Rulfo (Juan Nepomuceno Carlos Perez Rulfo Vizcaino), Writer, Film Screenwriter and Photographer, was born in Sayula, Jalisco, Mexico, on May 16, 1917, and died in Mexico City on January 7, 1986. His most important Literary Works, *El llano en llamas*

(1953) and *Pedro Páramo* (1955), have been a landmark in the History of Mexican and World Literature since its publication. José Revueltas (José Maximiliano Revueltas Sánchez) was born in Santiago Papasquiaro on November 20, 1914 and died in Mexico City on April 14, 1976. Belonging to one of the most important artistic families in Mexico[1], José Revueltas carried out work in various currents artistic and thought: Literary, Cinematographic, Testimonial, Political and Philosophical. His Literary Work includes the novels: *Los Muros de Agua* (1941), *El Luto Humano* (1943), *Los Días Terrenales* (1949), *En Algún Valle de Lágrimas* (1957), *Los Motivos de Caín* (1958), *Los Errores* (1964) and *El Apando* (1969); and his Stoy Books: *Dios en la Tierra* (1944), *Dormir en Tierra* (1961) and *Material de los Sueños* (1974).

In these two writers there are generational and artistic similarities. Evidently, there is the Mexican rural origin, the time in which they write and publish their Literary Work, the theme referred to the rural origin already mentioned, the rescue of the voice of the Mexican people through its diverse characters, the complaint to the Mexican Government that oppresses its people, the recurrence to the *Mexican Revolution* and the *Cristero War[2]*, and of course, the theme that guides this work: Death. But there are also generational and artistic differences in them: the principle of their Artistic Vocations: in Revueltas the contact with the political, cultural and artistic environment comes from an early age when he emigrated to Mexico City and stayed with his brother Silvestre; and in the case of Juan Rulfo, having tried to study at the University of Guadalajara and devote himself for a long time to photography by working for a Government Agency and traveling throughout Mexico because of that job; also, there are their stylistic proposal, extremely divergent, and of course their political position, this last one is obvious, since Revueltas does not have in his life someone who could really follow him in parallel to his convictions and ideological temperament.

In this Paper I intend to analyze how these two writers in their literary work treat a common theme of the Mexican Idiosyncrasy: Death, how they have a stylistic and even ideological treatment different from it, which responds to the cosmogonic vision of the World Prehispanic, and to the Judeo-Christian Tradition of the Mexican people –a Catholicized people from the Spanish Colony–. This analysis focuses on how the authors, to talk about death and the possible or impossible Transcendence of Being, make their Stylistic-Literary treatment from Three Possible Spaces for the Being: the *Earthly*, the *Subterranean* and the *Celestial*. This also causes readings and analysis from the Ontological, Ideological and Social point of view.

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[1] His brothers, the musician Silvestre, the painter Fermín and the actress Revueltas, are still known and academic discussed in the world for their Artistic Work. In the same way, their descendants in different generations have made Artistic Works of great value for the cultural legacy of Mexico and the world.

[2] The Cristero War, also known as Guerra de los Cristeros or Cristiada, was an armed conflict in Mexico developed between 1926 and 1929 between the government and militias of lay people, priests and religious Catholics who resisted the application of the so-called Calles Law, which proposed limiting the Catholic Cult in this country.

Juan Rulfo's *Pedro Páramo*

It is unquestionable that Juan Rulfo in *El llano en llamas* (1953) and in the novel *Pedro Páramo* (1955), based on the structure and narrative functioning of both books, also fundamentals of what we call the 'Rulfian Universe', exposes widely and deep the Essential Condition of the Mexican Being with its Prehispanic Myths and Beliefs about Death.

Pedro Páramo sometimes involves in a subtle way and in others categorically, the presence of Original Sin, its projection from the Edenic couple, incest, and a somber physical and spiritual atmosphere due to the erratic restlessness of the dead by the consciousness of the Lost Paradise. To get these representations in the narrative of *Pedro Páramo*, Rulfo makes use of the orality of a people, Comala and its inhabitants; thus he explores in a wide way the condition of these inhabitants of the town: Suffering Souls that will not get to transcend the *Earthly* or *Subterranean Spaces*.

In this novel already considered within the Literary Canon, Rulfo follows a fundamental line still in force in Mexican Literature: giving voice to a people so that through that voice we can know the essence of their being and their vision of the facts. Thus Rulfo gives continuity to the line drawn up by the chroniclers of the Spanish Colony; As Norma Klahn has already mentioned, the aesthetic vision of Rulfo's art: "se opondrá al realismo tradicional, vigente en su época de formación, y su visión ética seguirá las pautas establecidas desde la Colonia por fray Bartolomé de las Casas y el padre Sahagún, darle voz a los desvalidos"[1] (1996, p. 251); thus spinning this present and past literature with the Prehispanic Texts and their Cosmogonic-Cultural interpretation of the Life-Death duality.

In *Pedro Páramo*, the voices of the dead will invade little by little the narrative space until overflowing in a choir that together they will be symbol of the Comala itself, the dry land crying and counting its misfortune. Rulfo introduces the reader to this gradual descent through a recognizable figure, whose existential order can be understood from the Earthly Space: Juan Preciado. The first line, his voice, is extremely significant to understand such recognition with the reader: "Vine a Comala porque me dijeron que acá vivía mi padre, un tal Pedro Páramo"[2] (Rulfo, 1955. p. 1). The narrative places us next to Juan Preciado, at his side, to witness firsthand the journey to the underworld world, as Evodio Escalante has pointed out: Juan Preciado is "guía del lector en su descenso a los parajes inhóspitos de Comala. Modelo de

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[1] … will oppose Traditional Realism, in force at the time of its formation, and its ethical vision will follow the guidelines established since the Spanish Colony by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and the Father Sahagun, to give voice to the helpless.

[2] Because it is the original literary text, with its linguistic terms and local language uses, no translation of the fragments of the novel Pedro Páramo will be made.

personaje extranjero y –por esto mismo– primer elemento de las identificaciones del lector"[1] (1996, p. 663).

Entering together with Juan Preciado to Comala and hearing the voices, perceiving the apparitions, sensing the snares of the Suffering Souls, and above all, the history of the people reconstructed by the memory of those souls, is how we can understand that our logic will be broken and that the inhabitants of Comala still have an impulse that makes them wander in that timeless plane. It is important to point out what this impulse consists of, since it is not pure inertia: all the inhabitants of Comala speak with conscience of sin and wander not to repent but to recall in an exercise of *querulous gossip*, the moments in which their tragic existence, within the order of the Chiefdom of Pedro Páramo, led them to be part of the act of transgression to a greater order: the Divine. Thus, a base space in the horizontal plane can clearly be identified in the novel: the Media Luna and as part of it, Comala, a town whose center in the actions of the novel, is always the church; In addition, there are two horizontal spaces that are reached by vertical ascent or descent: *Subterranean Space*, the one under the earth, the tombs, and *Celestial Space*, the blue sky, the divine space. Thus, the *Earthial Space* is that of Pedro Páramo, of the Cacique, the Media Luna and the earth; the subterranean space is that of the dead or souls in pain, that did not reach the Divine Grace, and divine space that would have to start from the church of Comala, it is only the blue sky.

In the course of the plot, it seems that the order of the Cacique beats the Divine order because its force and imposition is immediate. The inhabitants of Comala have more fear to the effective and instantaneous punishment of the Cacique and follow their commandments, they are adjusted to the terrestrial commandments and to the consequences of the patriarchal presence of Pedro Páramo; but also on the individual level each person is aware of his spiritual transgression, as José Carlos González Boixo points out: "Todos los habitantes de Comala tienen conciencia del pecado y saben que no pueden redimirse de él"[2] (1996, p. 654). They participate in sin under the concealer and often imposing figure of the Media Luna and Pedro Páramo, but they also know that this transgression, Sinful Spirit, arises from themselves, and when the time comes to repent and seek forgiveness, a vain approach to the *Celestial-Divine Space*, they will not be able to achieve it because Father Renteria is one of them, another one who has followed the game of Pedro Páramo and his internal impulses, and therefore, the Divine Power of granting absolution is denied .

The inhabitants of Comala participate in sin and also, as González Boixo says: "se identifican con la culpa original de la pareja edénica, como un peso que hay que

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[1] … the reader's guide in his descent to the inhospitable places of Comala. Foreign character model and -for this very reason- first element of the identifications of the reader.

[2] All the inhabitants of Comala are aware of sin and know that they can not be redeemed from it.

sobrellevar en la vida y que les impedirá alcanzar el paraíso perdido"[1] (1996, p. 654). This consequent identification Edenic Couple-Lost Paradise, is essential for Rulfo and his novel. It is used to illustrate the deep sense of guilt that plagues the Human Being, in general, and the Mexican subject to the Catholic Church and its patriarchal system of chiefdom, in particular. It is clear to find in the novel this identification by the two reflections that are transcendental in the dramatic development of the text: Donis committing incest with his sister (without name) and Pedro with Susana San Juan. In the history of the first couple we can find the elements that George Ronald Freeman has pointed out to assign the most important archetypal key with which we can understand the novel: the Fall of Grace; such elements list them as follows: "Esta caída arquetípica se caracteriza por a) La imagen de una humanidad maldita, b) Un concepto del pecado original, c) Una condición de caído, y d) Un medio ambiente hostil y árido por el cual el hombre tiene que vagar buscando absolución"[2] (1996, p. 842).

As already mentioned, a large part of the inhabitants of Cómala will not receive the Holy Oils, the Divine Grace, since Father Renteria first refuses and then can not grant it, therefore they will remain as Suffering Souls in the Subterranean Space and they will never reach the Celestial-Heavenly Space. Pedro Páramo is agent provocateur of such punishment for the land and the people, but he also becomes the recipient of punishment. As a patriarchal figure of Comala can prevail in it but his sentence will not consummate his inheritance as a Father Figure. In this idea there is an extremely complex duality proposed by Rulfo: Pedro Páramo is the father of everyone in the town, but in reality he does not have a son who can inherit his Kingdom; the only possible one, Miguel Páramo died and was the only one who managed to receive absolution.

The only possibility that Pedro Páramo has of transcending is to return with the woman he loved as a child, but it is impossible because she went crazy in The Andromeda Mine and remains in a permanent mystical-sexual trance. Thus, they have been expelled from the only possible paradise for human beings: Childhood and their Innocence. It is important to highlight how in this stage one of the two connections in the novel of the two spaces is presented: Blue Earth-Sky; This is given through the kite with which Pedro and Susana play, but this will not happen again except in the dream-hallucination of The Cuarraca.

In this way the Structural, Thematic and Symbolic Elements converge in the construction of the Rulfian Universe, a mirror where we can see ourselves reflected as individual beings, with a religious, social and cultural legacy that binds us to this land or gives us condemnations or deserved rewards. A village, Comala, which we entered accompanied by Juan Preciado to be trapped there: another one of the

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[1] They identify with the Original Guilt of the Edenic Couple, as a burden that must be overcome in life and that will prevent them from reaching Lost Paradise.

[2] This Archetypal Fall is characterized by a) The image of a cursed humanity, b) A concept of original sin, c) A fallen condition, and d) A hostile and arid environment by the which man has to wander in search of absolution.

Suffering Souls; a town from which, as Escalante suggests, we can not, as readers, escape: "De Comala, como quien dice, no se regresa nunca, aunque se regrese. Esta es, de hecho, la experiencia de los lectores. En la memoria del viajero siempre habrá un recuerdo que nos devuelva a este páramo inhóspito"[1] (1996, p.683).

In the following figure it can see how the plot is constructed from the three proposed spaces:

Figure 1. *Celestial, Earthly and Subterranean Spaces in* Pedro Páramo
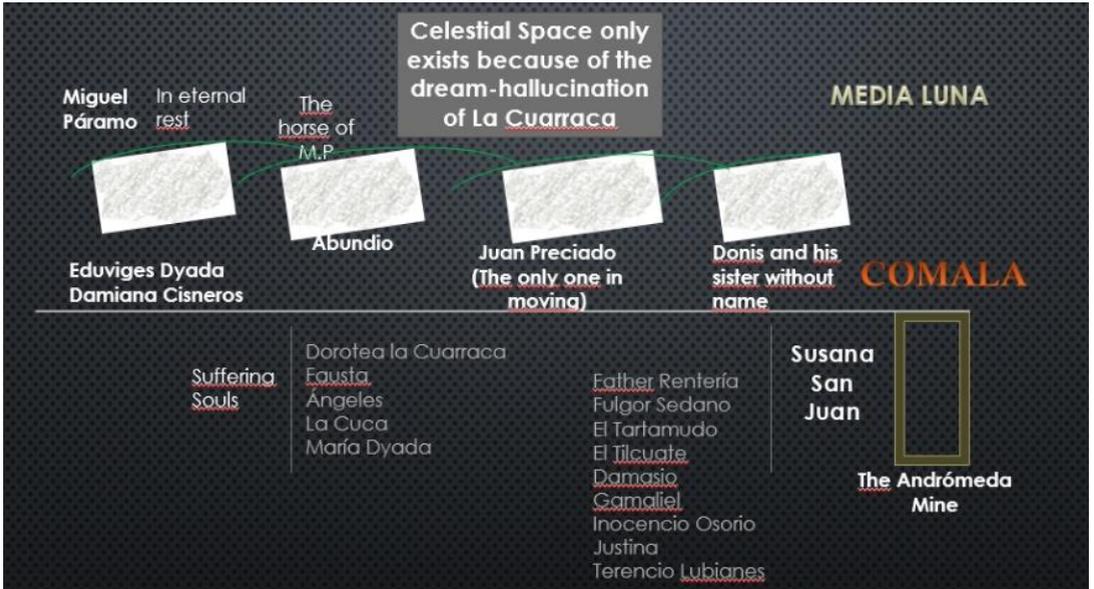
Earthly Space

Dorotea la Cuarraca, Fausta, Ángeles, la Cuca and María, are the ones who make the choral voice of the Subterranean Space, among gossip, jokes and dialogues with which the story of Comala and Pedro Páramo is built, the story of his fall from Grace. Further, as I already mentioned, in the Earthly Space is Juan Preciado, he arrives at Comala looking for his father Pedro Páramo and he will find death in the suffocation: the murmurs kill him. Similarly, although Miguel Páramo, sole legitimate son of Pedro Páramo, was buried and received the blessing of Father Rentería for money, his horse is not and is condemned to wander eternally on the Earthly plane, as stated in the same novel:

Una mujer que esperaba en las afueras del pueblo contó que había visto el caballo corriendo con las piernas dobladas como se fuera a ir de bruces… luego […] caminaba

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[1] From Comala, as one says, never returns, even if he returns. This is, in fact, the experience of readers. In the traveler's memory there will always be a memory that will bring us back to this inhospitable wasteland.

con el pescuezo echado hacia atrás como si viniera asustado por algo que había dejado atrás. (1955, pp. 26-27).

The other two characters that roam alive in the Earthly Space are Donis and his nameless sister, who live in the sin of incest and who are doomed to be sooner or later just Suffering Souls.

Besides these, it is mentioned in the novel that there is a crowd of souls that are loose in the street, among which are Abundio, Eduviges Dyada and Damiana Cisneros.

Subterranean Space

The Subterranean Space is the most important in the Juan Rulfo's novel, that's where the voices of the people of Comala, in particular of the women, are presented. As already mentioned, a large part of the people died and was buried but without receiving the Divine Grace. Dorotea la Cuarraca is the one who initiates this dialogue of the dead, she, along with Fausta, Ángeles, la Cuca and María Dyada, inhabit the Graves of the Poor, the dead piled up, however there is another woman's voice, says La Cuarraca, she speaks alone, that of the Big Grave (which Pedro Páramo paid): Doña Susanita tells them, Susana San Juan, who lives still dead moving in her delirium. In addition to these, they are there underground but mute, perhaps only ruminating their grudges, the dead men: Father Renteria, Fulgor Sedano and others.

Celestial Space

As already mentioned, the only two references to the Celestial Space are given by the innocence of childhood or by the madness of Dorotea la Cuarraca, who without the option of being a mother, hallucinates in a dream: "En el cielo me dijeron que se habían equivocado conmigo. Que me habían dado un corazón de madre, pero un seno de una cualquiera. Ese fue el otro sueño que tuve" (1955, p. 57), but she, as Father Renteria tells her, is not made for Heaven, only for Purgatory

Pedro Páramo as a child could feel the way he moved to that Heavenly Space thanks to his precocious love for Susana San Juan:

A centenares de metros, encima de todas las nubes, más, mucho más allá de todo, estás escondida tú, Susana. Escondida en la inmensidad de Dios, detrás de su Divina Providencia, donde yo no puedo alcanzarte ni verte y adonde no llegan mis palabras. (1955, p. 11).

The fate of Susana San Juan, The Cuarraca and all the other characters we know, but *Where is Pedro Páramo when he's dead?* He also did not die in Divine Grace even though he had all the money in the world to buy it, nor is he a Suffering Soul, he turned around, when he threw himself at the end of the novel, and was watered at the expense of the wind dispersing him, himself Comala, the *eterna living resentment* with which Juan Rulfo describes him and Comala.

The approach of these three spaces can be seen thematically and aesthetically coincident in the narrative of Juan Rulfo not only in *Pedro Páramo*, but in the same stories of his only volume published *El llano en llamas*, at least this is remarkable for the stories " Diles que no me maten", "No oyes ladrar los perros", "El hombre", "Luvina" and "Talpa".

Three Horizontal Spaces in the Literary Work of José Revueltas

José Revueltas was born in 1914 in Durango and moved to Mexico City from a very young age. There he starts his political activism, he is secluded in *Islas Marías* and he writes his first novel *Los Muros de Agua* (1941), then another novel, *El Luto Humano*, in 1943, which is worthy of the National Prize for Literature, and his first Book of Stories *Dios en la Tierra* of 1944. This will be followed by what for many is his best literary work but that earned him generalized repudiation of his fellow ideological struggle, the novel *Los Días Terrenales* in 1949, followed by *En Algún Valle de Lágrimas* (1956), *Los Motivos de Cain* (1957), then another story book, *Dormir en Tierra* (1960), the novels *Los errores* (1964) and *El Apando* (1969) -also considered by many as one of his greatest works- , to conclude with the book *Material de los Sueños* (1974) and the volume of work varies (presented as text of tales and short-stories) that was published posthumously, *Las Cenizas*, in 1981.

The first analysis of horizontal spaces in the work of José Revueltas is base on one of the best-known author's stories: "Dios en la Tierra", text that gives its name to his first volume of stories, published in 1944, when Revueltas was around thirty years old. This also represents a good example to delve into the particular universe of an author who has suffered multiple labels and pigeonholing of certain sectors of criticism, moving from Realism to Criollismo, Socialist Realism, and even Existentialism.

José Revueltas strives, both in his novels and in the stories discussed here, to build a method, a *Literary Machine*, as Escalante himself calls it, which has well-defined effects that he wants to provoke in the reader. Materialist-Dialectical Realism, that is what Revueltas calls it in that same desire to be congruent and to clarify, in the first place to itself, how this machinery should work. Escalante explains this procedure:

Lo que Revueltas pretende (…) es captar no un reflejo mecánico directo de la realidad, sino un movimiento interno, aquel aspecto que obedece a las leyes y a través del cual esta realidad aparece en trance de extinción, en franco camino de desaparecer y convertirse en otra cosa.[1] (1979, pp.18-19).

At the moment of applying this internal exploration in a real world to his literary texts, what Revueltas does is to become an Insightful Persecutor of the movements that, in this reality, are built, above all, that is what Revueltas perceives, in a process of descent or of degradation, ""... y encontrar en esta degradación, en esta corrupción

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[1] What Revueltas intends (...) is to capture not a direct mechanical reflection of reality, but an internal movement, that aspect that obeys the laws and through which this reality appears in a state of extinction, on the way to disappearing and becoming another thing.

aparente, no una manifestación del mal en términos absolutos, sino un momento en el camino de la superación dialéctica de la realidad"[1] (1979, p. 23). A textual movement that is none other than the internal evolution of reality, which most of the time becomes Revueltas, a repulsive encounter, because what he finds, according to Escalante, is "la verdad del acabamiento"[2] (1979, p. 26). The important thing is this Internal Movement that Revueltas explores to its ultimate consequences, not only verbally or thematically but in the same trajectory of his characters; and this movement is what basically separates Revueltas from any resemblance to Socialist Realism, which, according to Vicente Francisco Torres M., " hace de la realidad un espantajo momificado, antidialéctico"[3] (1985. p. 51). Thus, I will illustrate, from figure 2, the movement of this literary machinery in the story "Dios en la Tierra". For such an assignment, I have divided the text into five moments or movements, to follow the logic of Revueltas, which are clearly framed in the Space-Time progression of the story.

Figure 2. *Five moves in Celestial and Earthly Spaces in* "Dios en la tierra"

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[1] ... and find in this degradation, in this apparent corruption, not a manifestation of evil in absolute terms, but a moment in the path of the dialectical overcoming of reality.

[2] … the truth of the expiry.

[3] … makes reality a mummified, anti-dialectical scarecrow.

The first movement begins with an Omniscient Narrator who immediately places us before this overwhelming idea of oppression: "La población estaba cerrada con odio y con piedras"[1] says the omniscient narrator at the beginning of the story (Revueltas, 1979, p. 11). This represents one of the most particular characteristics of Revueltian literature, as Philippe Cherón emphasizes: "El tema fundacional de la obra de José Revueltas aunado al de su militancia, es el de la cárcel, el del encierro a todos los niveles..."[2] (2001, p. 51). From that first line the narrator places us not only in a space, but in a dimension where the essential thing is that confinement that is not only physical, with stones, also, more importantly, it is closed with hatred, with that feeling that we identify very own of the human, but which we do not stop finding very close to that idea that will be, clearly, present throughout the story: the similarity between two words that are supposed to be contrary: *God-Hate* (*Dios-Odio*), almost spelled in splanish. The narrator turns any place (the population) into a dimension that, although closed, does not stop referring us to a Mythical Time, from the recreation of an almost Biblical Tone, another constant of Revueltas. The narrator here is descending from the Celestial Space to the Earthly Space, and from that initial point of view, the Biblical Tone is justified since his vision is the *Divine* one. This one uses dry language, short phrases and adjectives that try to show a contradictory entity: "... Dios fuerte y terrible, hostil y sordo, de piedra ardiendo, de sangre helada... despaciosa, cuidadosa, ordenada crueldad" (1979, p. 11); reiterations that increase the Mythical breath and confirm this Divine vision: "... desde la ceguedad más ciega de su historia" (1979, p. 12), and rhetorical questions that it uses throughout the text with different purposes, in this case to reiterate the Mythical origin of chaos: "¿De dónde venía esa pesadilla? ¿Cómo había nacido?" (1979, p. 12). Also in this first movement stands out the repetition of an idea: "Todas las puertas cerradas en nombre de Dios, toda la locura y terquedad en nombre de Dios" (1979, p. 11), the mental closure of an entire people for a religious reason.

From these initial keys we have one of the first thematic locations of the text in historical events, Revueltas is referring to the Cristero War that took place in Mexico in two periods, from 1926 to 1929 and from 1933 to 1939, and he takes this as a pretext to speak precisely of the Alienation of the people, the mental closure that led a nation to raging, alienated confrontation. The narrator observes both sides, makes judgments, calls his reason giving meaning to that internal movement, he sees them almost disappearing, as Florence Olivier points out: "El simbolismo de las referencias bíblicas o míticas prehispánicas convoca en los textos las imágenes fantasmáticas de

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[1] Because it is the original literary text, with its linguistic terms and local language uses, no translation of the fragments of the short-storie "Dios en la Tierra" and of the novel "El Luto Humano" will be made.

[2] The founding theme of the work of José Revueltas, together with that of his militancy, is that of prison, that of confinement at all levels...

lo monstruoso como indiferenciación entre el mal y el bien cuando se encuentran a punto de convertirse el uno en el otro"¹ (2001, p.55).

The distance of the opposites is in the first movement of the text framed by the Mythical / Cosmic, but gradually it is diluted and this God soon becomes Earthly and incarnates to face his enemy. It is then that the second movement of the text begins, which is already fully realized on the Earthly Space, that of men of flesh and blood; cries are heard: "¡Los Federales! ¡Los Federales!" (1979, p. 12). Here, then, chaos, human form, takes shape: two sides: the Federals and the people. And in this way the degradation takes a more defined course, we talked about hatred and now we see how this hatred is humanized. The possibility of some *Divine* and / or Cosmic order is nullified, as Torres M. detects in Revueltas: "...la vida humana es algo que enturbia el caos del cosmos: esas materias extrañas que son la vida y la conciencia del hombre, están condenadas a desaparecer, a disolverse en el orden destructivo del universo"² (1985, pp. 60-61). Soldiers appear and with them arises the conflict that sustains the storytelling plot, the narrator tells us the dichotomy: soldiers do not fight against others, they fight against God incarnate in his town. The belief of the people in the divine being makes it a compact mass, they are the People of God, they take their name, they become their representative, they are God on Earth, therefore there are no particularities, the people are a mass that has the faith that blinds him and the strength of that same faith; but the soldiers do not reach to compact themselves, they are still individuals. The Federals are the land, Revueltas describes them this way in the story: "¡Y cómo son los soldados! Tienen unos rostros morenos, de tierra labrantía..." (1979, p. 12), therefore, and here is one of the final keys of the story, this earthly character imposes the needs of individuals: they are hungry and thirsty. The people, while God is, can not show these human weaknesses; while hatred, its mission, is not concretized, it will be a participant in the attributes that this same people attributes to their Divinity. These human attributes (Federal) and divine (People) we contemplate in the basic binarisms of the text: Federal / People = Thirst / Water = Earth / Water. The Federals are thirsty, they are thirsty, God is water, their people have water, they are water, and in no way will they quench the thirst of soldiers.

We arrive at a third movement, also on the Earthly plane, where the conflict completes its process of humanization (the Federals have a name: Lieutenant Medina commands them and there is another named Romero, the only names that appear in the story). The narrator uses a question to start this third movement: "¿Cuándo llegarían?" (1979, p. 13), the people ask themselves, waiting, challenging their opponents. The Narrator does not stop emphasizing the trajectory of this Literary Machinery but Revueltas leaves the fight only to the land of the closed, of the mental oppression; each

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¹ The symbolism of the Biblical references or Prehispanic Mythical calls in the texts the phantasmatic images of the monstrous as undifferentiation between evil and good when they are about to become one another.

² "... human life is something that clouds the chaos of the cosmos: those strange matters that are life and consciousness of man, they are condemned to disappear, to dissolve in the destructive order of the universo.

side has its trajectory directed from a single physical element: God = Water, and from this there is a transformation of the same entity according to whose point of view: the absence of God is the curse for the Federals (the Thirst) and for the people the presence of God is the blessing (the Water); and this dialectic, Curse / Blessing, is presented from one sentence to another throughout the story.

We enter the fourth movement of the text, in the Earthly Space, and finally the storyline is completed, Lieutenant Medina thinks of an ally: "¡Si ese maldito profesor cumple su palabra...!" (1979, p. 14); a teacher who will have water for them. We see several points of extreme value in this intrusion of the ally and in the fact that it is precisely a Teacher: first, we place temporarily, now definitely, the story: it is the second period of the *Cristero War*, we come to this by two complementary data: remember the Educational Reform in Mexico of President Lázaro Cárdenas' Period (1934-1938) that had in the sending of Teachers to almost all the rural environment one of its main implements, and also by the fact that in this second period of the *Cristeros*, the participation of the Church as an institution was practically null, leaving all that labor in the hands of the people. Another interesting point in this interference of the Teacher as an ally, and here is a wink of Revueltas that I will not stop mentioning, is that perhaps *Reason* or *Knowledge*, represented by the Teacher, is another means of reaching the water and can break the binarism that separates the sides. And so the help is fulfilled but the Teacher is punished for the betrayal, because the narrator had already warned us from the beginning, this is a: "Dios fuerte y terrible, hostil y sordo" (1979, p. 11).

And so we went to the end, the fifth movement, short, only two paragraphs, but forceful, more Earthly impossible, closing the story masterfully. This fifth movement makes a detailed and dry description of the punishment, transforming the narrative into a falsely didactic tone: "Para quien lo ignore, la operación, pese a todo, es bien sencilla" (1979, p. 16). Then, it comes the description of how the people crosses the Teacher with a stake and nails it to the earth, like a Holy Cross on El Calvario. "Un cristiano" (1979, p. 16) says the narrator with excellent irony when referring to the teacher punished and emphasize those two words in quotation marks. And the Teacher, the Reason, the Knowledge is like a scarecrow. The story, which begins in the Cosmic, ends with the pathetic swaying of a scarecrow assuming that mission to scare, as an example of the severity of the people, the People of God. A scarecrow that flutters as if moved by the wind, "llevando la voz profunda, ciclópea, de Dios que había pasado por la tierra"" (1979, p. 16). When finishing with that detailed description of the procedure, Revueltas demonstrates his mastery in the story and we verify the effectiveness of that literary machinery that is constructed in five specific movements. A machinery that from the beginning shows its directions in a clear and definitive way.

It is important here to point out how for José Revueltas the plane where the conflicts narrated in his literary writings happen is merely the Earthly one. The Celestial or *Divine* plane is not possible in its texts, it exists but only as a non-visible reference,

always as a vault formed by gray clouds, or in the case of the story "Dios en la Tierra", by the luminous radiance, from where the Biblical breath arises, the Divine presence 'alienating', blind and at the same time invisible. Similarly, the infraterrenal space does not exist for Revueltas. *Where do the dead go in the literary work of Revueltas?*, nowhere do, they remain on the Earthly plane. This is exemplified by the impaled Teacher, so will Chonita, the dead girl, the Priest, Adán and the others killed in the novel *El Luto Humano*, where the dead are floating in the smelly water that floods the town after the *Flood.*

Similarly, the "machinery", the "internal movement" of the Revueltian narrative, is presented in the other literary texts of the author, for example, in situations and the obsessive, almost perpetual movement that is condemned by the characters of the *Islas Marías* in the novel *Los Muros de Agua*; similarly it appears in the anxious, desperate, almost anguishing movement of the sailors of "Dormir en Tierra" always alienated characters whom Revueltas puts in check to face them the truth of their *Expiry*.

I will review, to point out these ideas, the aforementioned novel El Luto Humano, through equal of an illustrative figure (3) and its brief explanation.

Figure 3. *Nine moves in Celestial and Earthly Spaces in* "El luto humano"

The novel *El Luto Humano* (1943) by José Revueltas is constructed in 9 movements that do not necessarily coincide with its capitulated structure (it has 11 chapters). These movements, as in the story "Dios en la Tierra", occur on the Earthly plane, with no opportunity for the dead to find vertical movement towards the celestial or infraterrenal spaces, and if any of these exist it is only as a dome, in this case at night, gray and black clouds that drop the flood, punishment of a God who is a shapeless mass, a vault that covers, rather than to protect, to enclose. There is no possible Divine Grace, nor Hell: this will occur in the same Earthly plane where the everyday happens for the Being, it seems that Revueltas makes that wink complicit to his possible readers.

The first movement in the novel is also presented with a Cosmic breath; from the beginning it is key to the dome that will reign in the novel: "Y el cielo no tenía luz, apagado, mostrando enormes masas negras… Y Dios golpeando el cielo, la terrible bóveda oscura, sin estrellas" (1985, p. 14). To reiterate the confinement, the look of the Omniscient Narrator is transported to the interior of the house of Úrsulo and Cecilia, whose only companions are his daughter Chonita, dying, until The Death physically appears and surrenders to her. From here, the corpse of Chonita will wander on the Earthly plane without finding a destination, since The Priest will not have, like Padre Rentería in *Pedro Páramo*, the Moral or Divine Power, of giving him the Holy Oils.

The second movement occurs when precisely Ursulo comes to look for The Priest, with the ultimate hope that he accepted to give the Sacred Anointing to Chonita. Úrsulo meets Adán in the river and asks him to help him cross it in his boat, The *Cautibadora*. The development of these characters, as a permanent stylistic feature in the narrative of Revueltas, leads them to find a past full of resentment in which they wander as if, in fact, the dead were themselves, as mentioned in the same novel narrator: "Este país era un país de muertos caminando, hondo país en busca del ancla, del sostén secreto" (1985, p. 21).

The third and fourth movements occur with the first encounter in the church with The Priest, then in the river, when he kills Adán and leaves him floating there, in the stinking water product of the flood, site of all the dead. Úrsulo makes his request to The Priest in the church but if he had at any time had the power to leave Chonita in grace, he loses it because of the accumulation of resentment to those who return to see Adán. Even so, the fourth movement does not appear directly in the narration, it will be intuited from the expression of that resentment and the subsequent moral fall, now definitive, of The Priest.

A sample of Revueltas's humor is given at the beginning of the fifth movement, when he describes the cluster of characters locked up again in the house of Úrsulo and Cecilia, next to Chonita's corpse, as " flacos y feos" (1985, p. 46). How else to describe those dead in life more than with those two adjectives. If in *Pedro Páramo* de Rulfo,

some living personages appear who go to the tomb and there they remain as Suffering Souls, in the case of Revueltas, they are always like that: dead. In such a way, besides the owners of the house and the dead girl, Calixto, the Calixta, The Priest, Jerónimo Gutiérrez and his shadow wife, without a name, are: "ellos los muertos, lo que comparecían ante el pequeño cadáver" (1985, p. 52). From that desolate meeting and the memories-remorse of these characters, the reader finds enough information to know the past of the people they inhabit (including the dead that inhabit them): The Strike; The failure of the Community Development System; and The Drought; and with it enters the narrative game, the character of Natividad, the dead man who floats throughout the novel.

In the sixth movement is presented, again, a real physical movement of the characters, begins with the departure of the characters, all Dead in Life, and continues when it appears, also physically, Natividad, floating in the river. All wander, flee, with Chonita dead as a burden, the Calixta lost behind, Jeronimo stultified by alcohol also as a burden-another dead. There is a description here of Úrsulo that emulates Pedro Páramo: "... Era tan sólo una extrahumana voluntad hacia el ser, la más vehemente, la más ardiente voluntad de la historia, la voluntad, la vocación de la piedra... como parte del tiempo ya, convertido ya en tiempo espeso" (1985. p. 77). This trip, this flight of the characters is also towards the memory, especially of The Priest remembering the prostitute Eduarda, in the framework again of the *War of the Cristeros*.

In the seventh movement comes the night and the procession of characters take refuge on the roof of the house of Ursulo and Cecilia, there they are protected in the darkness until the day comes and with it, the dome of clouds, the rain now irrepressible, with a barely luster, the sun that looks like a blind eye: "ojo viudo para contemplar la soledad" (1985, p. 92). That's how they last three days on the roof.

The eighth movement is already the delirium of those people, people starved of hunger, of thirst, of loneliness, the apparition of Adán floating dead in the water. The ninth movement comes with the appearance of the Vultures, their patience, hoping that those characters killed in life are finally dead body and spirit, because they have no possible transcendence up or down, only to float or be eaten by the Birds of Prey.

Conclusions

This study, as already mentioned, can be extended in its analysis and graphic representations to the total of the novels and short stories of Revueltas, and in general to a large part of Rulfo's stories, but that exercise would require more time and space. With what was discussed here, it was possible to illustrate how both authors stylistically and thematically manage the three spaces that imply Life-Death and possible transcendence of Being.

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[13] Rulfo, J. (1955). *Pedro Páramo*. Digital Edition. México, Libra Epublibre.org.

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Turkey's Current Position in the Way of Multiculturalism: Legacy of Past and Today's Dead-End

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Abstract

This research aims to examine Turkey's historical background and current situation in terms of multicultural development. As multiculturalism is an approach which depends on the principles of "equal citizenship" and "active protection of differences" as its two pillars, Turkey's historical experience presents separate examples for both sides of the coin. Ottoman Empire fulfilled one dimension of multiculturalism, that is the protection of differences but lacks the principle of nondiscrimination, while Turkey adhered to the understanding of equal citizenship to a large extent, however clearly lacks the protection of differences with its strong commitment to create an upper Turkish identity. In the 1990s, strict nation-state structure of Turkey would begin to be more intensely challenged and eventually multiculturalist principles of the new age would be reflected in Turkey in some degree. But now, apart from pure minority issues, Turkey currently experiences crucial problems regarding general freedoms and democratic principles. From this point of view, success of general democratic struggle should be the crux of current multiculturalism debate in Turkey and has to be regarded as the key factor to determine the consistency and stability of minority rights within the country.

Keywords: Turkey, multiculturalism, Ottoman Empire, minorities, democracy, Kurdish Question

I) Introduction

Multiculturalism is one of the most popular concepts in the relevant academic literature and in the political realm within the last quarter century. As a notion which is partially a product of globalization process, multiculturalism draws intense attention since the beginning of the 90s, leads to continuous debate with its theoretical and philosophical base and makes noteworthy impact on the internal formation of different states. Turkey is among those countries which were seriously influenced by aforesaid discussions. Indeed, Turkey's highly heterogeneous

geography in terms of ethnicity and culture, and its long-running interest in the religious and national minority issues, indicate this country as a model that needs to be deeply analyzed in the context of multiculturalism.

Within this perspective, main goal of this study is to make a general account of Turkey's long journey and indicate its current status in the way of multiculturalism. In accordance with this purpose, the article has been divided into three parts. The first part is theoretical section. In this part, the concept of multiculturalism is going to be defined in a way to construct a theoretical base for the next sections. In the second part, minority policy of the Ottoman Empire in its classical period and then its alteration in the course of time will be examined. And in the final part, basic principles of the founder ideology of the Republic of Turkey against the minority groups will be elaborated and transformation of this paradigm in the era of multiculturalism will be made clear. Thereby current situation and points of debate regarding the minority rights in Turkey are going to be evaluated within the same part.

II) Two Pillars of Multiculturalism: Equal Citizenship and Protection of Differences

As it is widely argued, the nineteenth century was an exact "age of nationalism" as almost whole century witnessed minorities' efforts to achieve independence and build their own nation-states. Even the World War I itself would break out partly as a result of minority issues and following the war, some crucial attempts were made in an effort to protect cultural minorities and regulate potential conflicts which may have arisen from minority questions. These issues were firstly dealt with regarding the rights of fellow nationals in other countries as it is seen in the Germany-Poland example. Solution of existing problems was previously sought in bilateral treaties between these two countries, then this system of treaties was extended and given a multilateral character under the League of Nations.[1] In this sense, there was a widespread interest in the minority questions and these issues had a crucial place in the interstate relations during the interwar period, just like the nineteenth century.

After the World War II, however, this general concern on the minority rights disappeared to a large extent due to two main reasons. Firstly, international treaties which had been designed to promote minority rights had clearly failed to neutralize interethnic conflicts, and secondly, harsh ideological confrontation erupting after the war was now overshadowing the ethnic problems. Hence, in the postwar period no specific project for the rights of minority groups had been developed and question of minority rights was tried to be solved under the umbrella of general human rights. It was expected that minority issues would be settled through the improvement of democracy (here it was understood in a general meaning as liberty and security of person, the right to own property, the right to vote and stand for election, etc.) and

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[1] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 2.

achievement of economic welfare in the society. According to this way of understanding, if human rights were carried out in an appropriate manner, there would not be need for separate national or ethnic-based rights. This mentality was also central to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1948. In the document, the principle of nondiscrimination and equal citizenship had been accepted as the basis of all these rights.[1]

Nevertheless, through the long ages in which minorities were expected to be assimilated into the majority groups in return for equal rights, it was seen that minority peoples generally denied giving up their ethnic identities and all measures to achieve that aim only made the situation worse. Indeed, there were only a few examples among the national minorities to be voluntarily assimilated into the majority nations.[2] National identities and minority nationalisms which were thought to decline, contrarily gained momentum following the end of the Cold War and struggle for ethnocultural recognition became the most common source of political violence all over the world. And this process has inevitably triggered the criticism of postwar human rights regime and nation-state paradigm, and on the other hand, brought the rise of multiculturalist way of thinking. That is to say, traditional human rights theory was thought to be backed by a minority rights theory and this belief would lead to the development of multiculturalism. This tendency would be revealed in numerous international conventions signed in the 90s like the UN's "Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities" in 1992, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe's "Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE" in 1990 and Council of Europe's "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" in 1992 and "Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities" in 1995.

In the new age, basic shift on the obligations given to states regarding the minority issues is the transition from mere nondiscrimination to the active protection of diversities with the aim of making cultural pluralism really possible. Thus, now states are supposed not only to perform negative duties such as granting equal civil rights to all their citizens, but also to assume positive duties so as to secure political representation, fair employment and cultural improvement of the disadvantageous groups. For this reason, multiculturalism should be thought as an approach which reserves the aim of equal citizenship, but simultaneously intends to achieve this goal without making different groups culturally homogeneous. This approach underlines

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[1] See Articles 1-7 of "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (1948), http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/ (accessed 31 December 2016).

[2] Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 242.

that unity of people can be ensured without uniformity between them and naturally necessitates states to take over certain obligations to protect cultural differences.

Steady coexistence of negative and positive duties obviously manifests itself within the studies of outstanding theorists of multiculturalism. For instance, Charles Taylor's principle of equal respect is closely related to this acceptance, since Taylor explains this principle with making a distinction between traditional concept of honor which is enjoyed by only some people and modern notion of dignity that everyone shares. According to him multiculturalism is surely based on the latter.[1] In Taylor's point of view, in order to ensure equality in society, cultural prejudices which pave the way for discrimination have to be destroyed and thus fight for equality just as the struggle for freedom requires the revision of negative images in the minds. What should be done is to allow for all cultures to preserve their existence, and at the same time to accept their equally respectable character and apply equal worth to their customs and creations.[2] Similarly, according to Bhikhu Parekh prevention of discrimination is a quite valuable idea, but seeking this aim should not cause to ignore or suppress differences of people, as the theory of equality cannot be grounded in human uniformity. Human beings have to be granted equality at the level of their shared human nature, but in the meanwhile this equality should be denied at the cultural level, otherwise the idea of equality only becomes an ideological device to mould humankind in a certain direction.[3] This emphasis lays the foundation also for Tariq Modood's view on the need for appliance of equality for groups as well as individuals.[4] Because expression of differences may lead to strengthening of former examples of injustice and inequality again unless human beings are recognized at equal worth and nondiscrimination is secured.

Iris Marion Young looks for the correction of traditional egalitarianism with a more compatible approach with the politics of difference. She crucially argues that the principle of equal treatment as a mechanical interpretation of fairness, may also suppress differences. The politics of difference or multiculturalism does not mean mere equal treatment, it also necessitates group differences to be acknowledged in public policy.[5] And of course, Will Kymlicka implies the same point by making following statement regarding multiculturalism policies (MCPs): "This term covers a wide range of policies, but what they have in common is that they go beyond the protection of the basic civil and political rights guaranteed to all individuals in a liberal-democratic state to also extend some level of public recognition and support for minorities to express their distinct identities and practices. The rise of MCPs

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[1] Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition", in Amy Gutmann, ed., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 26-27.

[2] Ibid., 64-68.

[3] Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 240.

[4] Tariq Modood, Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 51.

[5] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 4.

therefore goes beyond the broader politics of civil rights and nondiscrimination".[1] Thus, according to Kymlicka, multiculturalism reaches significance at not only implementation of anti-discrimination laws, but at the same time transformation of these laws so as to enable them to respond the needs and demands of minorities.

Undoubtedly, many other examples can be given to indicate this tendency. But in brief, in the idea of multiculturalism it is aimed to exceed nation-state paradigm and transform states' structures toward a more democratic form. In their new institutional structure, states are supposed to unconditionally acknowledge the equality of their citizens, avoid to suppress any kind of difference and actualize cultural pluralism to the full extent. Even if multiculturalist approaches were occasionally understood in some different forms in diverse regions, primary and general formulation of multiculturalism appears as the presence of aforementioned two principles. And not surprisingly, these two values keep the most essential places in the agendas of political movements which fight for the principles of multiculturalism.

III) Ottoman Empire: From *Millet* System to the Centralized State

In spite of its highly heterogeneous national and religious composition, Ottoman Empire had managed to maintain its social stability for long centuries and from this aspect it has inspired modern multiculturalist theses which emphasize peaceful coexistence of differences. These contemporary studies generally focus on "tolerant" state philosophy and legal structure of the Ottomans, and naturally concentrate on the idea of *Millet* (confessional community) and social order depending on this concept. Indeed, a proper analysis of the *Millet* System seems essential to comprehend how multinational-multireligious structure had worked within the Ottoman Empire.

In the most general sense, Ottoman *Millet* System implies organizing of social and administrative life within the empire on basis of religions and sects. In the Ottoman legal structure, peoples were divided into two groups as Muslims and non-Muslims, and if non-Muslims living under Islamic dominion were *ehli kitap* (Peoples of Book), they were being treated as self-governing groups. These communities that were named as *dhimmi*s, had been given not only exact religious freedom, but also the right or even duty of governing themselves through their religious institutions. As the basis of Ottoman legal system, namely *sharia*, was the Muslim religious law, it was not applicable to all problems of the non-Muslims. Therefore, each *millet* subjected to its own laws, established and maintained its own institutions to care education, religion, justice and security affairs and built schools, hospitals and hospices for its members.[2] Ottoman *Millet* System was aiming not to eliminate, but to subjugate the non-Muslims.

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[1] Kymlicka, "Neoliberal Multiculturalism", in Peter A. Hall and Michéle Lamont, eds., *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 101.

[2] Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 151; Alexander L. Macfie, *The End of the Ottoman Empire 1908-1923* (London: Longman, 1998), 7.

Thus, as long as they paid their special taxes and did not threaten security or social order, non-Muslims were enjoying a broad autonomy in which they were able to fully maintain their different identities. *Devşirme* method which was applied between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries was the only exception of this general mechanism. In this system, sons of Christian subjects were taken and converted to Islam to be used in military or civil service.[1] *Devşirme* was an exclusive case for the violation of religious freedom and apart from this method, *Millet* System provided full rights for minorities to preserve their separate cultural identities.

Even if it originated from the basic principles of Muslim religious law and administrative techniques of early Islamic states, *Millet* System gained its popularity mainly from its use in the Ottoman era. In addition, while they were establishing their own system, the Ottomans benefited from not only the Islamic precedents, but also Byzantine and old Turkish customs, and in this way set up a synthesis of these three traditions.[2] It is important to note that, in the Ottoman Empire execution of this system was depending on practical needs as well as theological rules. Because since the beginning years of the Ottoman Empire, Muslims and non-Muslims had lived together, but legal relations between state and non-Muslims had not been made clear in real terms. Against this background, after the conquest of Istanbul, Mehmet II appointed an Orthodox Patriarch to the town, declared firstly Greeks, and then Armenians and Jews as autonomous communities, and accorded specific rights and freedoms for these groups to enable them to execute self-government. This moment was the official starting point of the *Millet* System. Thereby, all *ehli kitap* non-Muslims living in the Ottoman country had now become members of certain *millet*s whose administrative centers were located in Istanbul. In this respect, members of the same *millet*s living in diverse parts of the empire had become subject to common laws together with their religious fellows in accordance with a nonterritorial system of citizenship. Within such an order, communal leaders had enjoyed great authority in their community not only because of their mere religious respectability or closer relations with higher Ottoman authorities, but also due to their wealth and their responsibility to collect taxes and supervise the distribution of state lands.[3]

On the other hand, a direct and nonstriking result of this social structure appeared as the underdevelopment of relations among different *millet*s as all of them kept to live in terms of separate rules and institutions. Far from sharing a common identity, Muslims and non-Muslims which inhabited in diverse compartments of society even failed to consistently get in contact with each other. Furthermore, such a social order

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[1] Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Ottomans: Dissolving Images* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 32; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67-68.

[2] Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, "Introduction", in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 10.

[3] Kemal Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era", in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 142.

was totally incompatible with the understanding of modern equal civil rights. Because in the Ottoman Empire, division of Muslims and non-Muslims which constituted the basis of the *Millet* System was actually indicating the distinction between master and subject. According to this distinction, one should have been Muslim in order to be a member of central administrative body and non-Muslims had been systematically deprived of this opportunity. In this sense, while *Devşirme* persons who were forcibly converted to Islam could take positions within the state and even move up to the top, the vast majority of Ottoman non-Muslims had never enjoyed such a chance. Therefore, despite the presence of some exceptions, in the Ottoman Empire only Muslims were utilizing full civil rights and the rest had so narrow political rights in spite of their broad cultural freedoms.[1]

From this point of view, it might be deduced from what mentioned above that Ottoman *Millet* System lacked principle of nondiscrimination that is one of two basic components of multiculturalism. Of course, this reality is not surprising when it is kept in mind that multiculturalism is a contemporary political philosophy and thus seeking it within a pre-modern structure like the Ottoman Empire is really a sheer anachronism. Multiculturalism primarily represents a project of citizenship as it aims to create new forms of it, so it cannot be sought in a society that was frankly based on inequality.[2] As Erik Jan Zürcher points out, an exact equality before the law may be regarded as an ideal in even modern nation-states, but it was not even an ideal for the Ottoman Empire. Inhabitants of towns were being treated differently from the rural population, men differently from women, nomads differently from settlers and surely non-Muslims differently from Muslims, and in this way old established privileges within the society were being jealously preserved.[3]

In sum, Ottoman *Millet* System made a sharp distinction between the subjects of the empire, treated the non-Muslims as second-class citizens and even if it had some great virtues regarding religious and cultural tolerance, it blocked the growth of common bonds among peoples and did not give response to demands for democracy or equal citizenship.[4] In addition, it is also important to note that non-Muslims were facing some derogating treatments also in their daily lives just as they were debarred from the rights of legal equality. For instance, they were subject to different dress and colour codes and liable to certain restrictions which impress upon their inferiority and dependence on Muslim sufferance. They were prohibited to ride horses or bear arms, and their homes or churches could not exceed the height of local mosques and Muslim dwellings. In predominantly Christian regions, Muslims were generally living

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[1] Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 7.

[2] Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1995), 321.

[3] Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 14.

[4] Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 205-206.

in walled sections from which Christians were required to leave before the gates were closed.[1]

But in the nineteenth century, *millet*s who had been recognized as subordinates in the politics and society, were transformed into minorities in modern sense through certain structural reforms within the empire.[2] In the Ottoman Empire, nineteenth century reforms partly resulted from disapproval of the Great Powers of Europe to the secondary status of the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. But more importantly, these reforms originated from practical domestic needs; from the goal of preventing the break-up of the empire and securing its integrity. In the nineteenth century, destructive effects of the French Revolution were strongly being felt within the Ottoman territory and governing elite of the empire would attempt to integrate all subjects of the country in the scope of "Ottoman nationality" and build a sense of belonging toward the state in the minds of non-Muslim subjects. Against the threat of disintegration of the empire into nationalities, their aim was to eliminate certain tenets within the traditional law creating inequality among the subjects and thus to unite diverse peoples living in the Ottoman territory under the Ottoman identity. Therefore, milestone of Turkish modernization, the *Tanzimat* (Reorganization) Charter of 1839 had definitely been prepared along these lines. Both, *Tanzimat* and its supplementary document, *Islahat* (Reform) Edict of 1856 were mainly directed to ensure the equality and fraternity of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects.[3] In this respect, *Tanzimat*'s acceptance of all Ottoman subjects' equality before the law regardless of their religious identity meant an actual separation toward secularism from the traditional Islamic doctrine depending on inequality. As Bülent Tanör incisively indicates, this preference was a clear step to build Ottoman Nation instead of Ottoman nationalities.[4]

Steps toward the elimination of inequality among citizens would also reflect on *Kanun-i Esasi* of 1876 that was the first constitutional document of the Ottoman Empire. In this text, equality of the Ottoman citizens was exactly recognized and all of them were defined under the Ottoman upper identity through the following statement: "All the subjects of the Empire are without distinction called Ottomans no matter what religion they profess".[5] Accordingly, in the *Meclis-i Mebusan*, the first parliament of the Ottoman Empire, number of non-Muslim deputies was so high that their proportion in the parliament was clearly exceeding non-Muslim proportion in the total population. 48 of 115 deputies of the first parliament were non-Muslim and

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[1] Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and Its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

[2] Elie Kedourie, "Ethnicity, Majority and Minority in the Middle East", in Milton J. Esman and Itamar Rabinovich, eds., *Ethnicity, Pluralism and the State in the Middle East* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 27.

[3] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), 309.

[4] Bülent Tanör, *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 447.

[5] "The Ottoman Constitution, Promulgated the 7th Zilbridje, 1293 (11/23 December, 1876)", *The American Journal of International Law* 2(4): 367-387 (1908).

at the capital, Istanbul, Muslim and non-Muslim deputies were at the same number.[1] And beginning from this point, Muslims and non-Muslims were tried to be equalized for duties as well as for rights and freedoms. For instance, non-Muslims' exemption from military service as one of the most crucial symbols of inequality in terms of duties, would be abolished in the following process. In July 1909, military service was made compulsory for all Ottoman subjects and during the First World War especially in the labour battalions a large number of non-Muslims was employed.[2]

However, reform process which Ottoman governing elite had initiated with big hopes did not give the expected results. On the one side Great Powers' attempts to use these reforms as an opportunity to intervene the Ottoman politics and on the other side internal discussions and general weakness of the empire to execute reforms in a stable manner have been influential on this ending. Additionally, while the Ottomans were trying to create a common nationality or citizen identity, they had not considered in detail about whether this effort would satisfactorily respond to the growing national consciousness of ethnic groups or their national, religious and regional aspirations.[3] But as minorities mentally split from the Ottoman Empire and began to uncompromisingly struggle for their independence, the nineteenth century reforms failed to bring supposed unity and integrity. Nevertheless, these reforms represent a historical process in which structure of communities began to fall and simultaneously there existed a transition from traditional to the modern type of state and even to the first phases of secularism even if it was unnamed. Foundations laid in this era would evidently take effect in the following period.

IV) The Republic of Turkey: From A Strict Nation-State to the Multiculturalism?

Failure of the efforts spent to secure the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and loyalty of its subjects became exactly apparent after the Balkan Wars and then the World War I, and following the latter Ottoman Empire eventually went out of existence. Treaty of Sévres which was signed with the Allied Powers at the end of the war was one of turning points of the empire's ending process. Severe provisions of Sévres would trigger the growth of nationalist movement in Anatolia and this treaty would be replaced by Treaty of Lausanne following two years of an armed struggle.[4] Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July 1923, that is to say three months before the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire and in this context, it was a founding document for the new Turkish state. Consequently, just as numerous other issues, Turkey's definition of citizenship and its minority regime

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[1] Enver Ziya Karal, "Non-Muslim Representatives in the First Constitutional Assembly", in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 394.

[2] Zürcher, "The Ottoman Conscription System in Theory and Practice, 1844-1918", in Erik J. Zürcher, ed., *Arming the State: Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia 1775-1925* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 89-90.

[3] Karpat, "Millets and Nationality", 144.

[4] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1996), 48; Michael S. Neiberg, *Warfare and Society in Europe: 1898 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2004), 72-73.

were also firstly determined by the Lausanne and then reflected on the first constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

Treaty of Lausanne had been signed in the interwar period when minority rights were given primary importance all over the world. This sensibility to minority issues may be easily seen in the peace treaties which were signed with losing parties of the war and with certain Central and Eastern European countries in the same era. Accordingly, related provisions of Treaty of Sévres were also strongly supporting the minority rights. But as Turkey had concluded the Lausanne following its successful war of national independence, it had found a chance to reject and be exempt from the principles of dominant minority law of the age. Indeed, Lausanne's provisions on minorities were quite different from those of Sévres and other peace treaties of the interwar era.

First of all, only non-Muslims were recognized as minorities in the Lausanne as a result of Turkey's hard insistence. In the treaty, use of "racial, linguistic or religious minorities" seen in other treaties of the same period was replaced by "non-Muslims" at every turn and other minority groups were excluded from this context. In other words, even if they were different in ethnic and linguistic sense, Muslim Turkish citizens were not given the status of minority in the Lausanne. Thus, according to the provisions of treaty only those rights which were accorded for non-Muslims had been settled under the guarantee of the League of Nations and bringing international responsibility for Turkey. On the other hand, positive rights like establishing any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein[1] were only given to non-Muslim Turkish citizens whose population was largely diminished after the war as a matter of fact. In this regard, Treaty of Lausanne has laid the basis for reconstruction of Turkey in the form of nation-state in the postwar era. Because of this reason, since the establishment of republican government Turkey has always made reservation and interpretative declaration to all international conventions and proclaimed it would not have applied any convention in defiance of the provisions and spirit of Treaty of Lausanne. In this way Turkey has consistently demonstrated its acceptance of this treaty as a founding document.[2]

1924 Constitution that was the second key document of the Republic, represents the last stage in the attempts pursued since the nineteenth century to create an upper identity, as Article 88 of this document was pointing out: "The name 'Turk' shall be understood to include all citizens of the Turkish Republic, without distinction of, or

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[1] See Article 40 of "Lausanne Peace Treaty" (1923), http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty.en.mfa (accessed 31 December 2016).
[2] *Turkish Official Gazette, January 27, 1995 (1995)* http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/22184.pdf (accessed 31 December 2016);
Turkish Official Gazette, July 21, 2003 (2003), http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2003/07/20030721.htm#2 (accessed 31 December 2016).

reference to race and religion".[1] But differently from the previous era, now Turkish identity was being imposed on the whole population of Turkey while they had been firstly called to unite under the Ottoman identity. Moreover, within this period, non-Muslim population in the country had been lowered in a vast scale, thus minority rights given to them were no longer posing any danger for the integrity of Turkey. In this sense, elimination of non-Muslims may be regarded as the first step for Turkey to form a nation-state structure. And the second step was aiming at the assimilation of non-Turkish Muslim peoples of Turkey. In line with this purpose, Muslim groups such as the Kurds, Arabs, Laz people, Circassians, Bosnians and Albanians were officially recognized as the components of majority Turkish nation and deprived of any minority rights throughout the republican history. As Atatürk's formulation, "The people of Turkey that have established the Republic of Turkey are called Turkish nation" has indicated, non-Turkish Muslim groups were seen as the sub-segments of Turkish Nation and tried to be directly integrated into the Turkish culture. In this use, Turkishness was not an ethnic but an inclusive political identity and whole legal and educational system of country would be accorded with this acceptance.[2] 1982 Constitution of Turkey which is still in force, emphasizes the indivisible integrity of not only territory, but also nation through Article 3 and its Article 66 which makes definition of citizenship strongly emphasizes the Turkish primary identity again by confirming everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk.[3]

But, even if minority regime of Turkey depended upon Treaty of Lausanne in general terms, Turkey would actually make some additional restrictions on the system envisaged by the Lausanne. Firstly, Turkey has applied the minority rights given to all non-Muslims by the Lausanne only for three historical minority groups, Greeks, Armenians and Jews, and not recognized the same rights for other non-Muslim peoples like Assyrians, Chaldean Christians or Nestorians in practice. Secondly, Treaty of Lausanne had regarded only non-Muslims as minority, but it was bringing some group rights also for Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech. For instance, Article 39 of the Lausanne had stated that no restrictions would be imposed on the free use of any language by any Turkish national in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings. This Article was also legitimating these groups to use their own language before the courts.[4]

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[1] Edward Mead Earle, "The New Constitution of Turkey", *Political Science Quarterly* 40(1): 98 (1925).

[2] Efe Can Gürcan, "The Evolution of Turkish Nationalism: An Unconventional Approach Based on a Comparative and International Perspective", in Joan Burbick and William R. Glass, eds., *Beyond Imagined Uniqueness: Nationalisms in Contemporary Perspectives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 148; Neophytos G. Loizides, "State Ideology and the Kurds in Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies* 46(4): 518 (2010).

[3] Umut Özkırımlı, "Vigilance and Apprehension: Multiculturalism, Democracy, and the 'Kurdish Question' in Turkey", *Middle East Critique* 22(1): 32-33 (2013).

[4] See Article 39 of "Lausanne Peace Treaty".

However, Turkey has accepted some of aforesaid rights after a long time while still refusing to acknowledge the rest of them.

Within this scope, it can be said that minority regime of Turkey was completely in contrast to the approach of the Ottoman Empire applied in the framework of the *Millet* System. Indeed, on the contrary to the principles of the *Millet* System, Turkey followed a strict nation-state policy and tried to secure the assimilation of all ethnic, linguistic, religious or denominational minorities under a common and primary Turkish identity. As William L. Cleveland puts forward, in Turkey's attempts to form a uniform Turkish national identity, there had been left no room for cultural pluralism and in this direction, even institutions of republicanism would be strained.[1] Presence of other minority groups was severely denied and serious penal sanctions were regulated for those who claimed the opposite. In addition, decline of international minority law and refreshment of advocacy for nation-state mentality following the World War II would enable Turkey to more comfortably maintain such a policy.

But from another perspective, dissimilarly to the Ottoman classical age again, Turkey did not set up an official hierarchy among its citizens on condition that they accepted Turkish upper identity (apart from some sorts of discrimination made especially against non-Muslim minorities), and thus adhered to the understanding of equal citizenship to a large extent. Therefore, republican age minority regime of Turkey substantially carried the value of equal civil rights into effect and in this way even if it was not perfect, it generally fulfilled other vital dimension of multiculturalism. Yet Turkey, on the other hand, obviously failed to pave the way for minority groups to preserve and develop their cultural identities and so did not act in accordance with the principle of protection of differences which is the second main component of multiculturalism.

In fact, Turkey's policy towards minorities gave the expected results for an extended period of time and managed to provide the loyalty of minorities with the exception of some Kurdish uprisings in the early years of the republic.[2] But as mentioned above, identity politics began to rise and provoke sub-identities and local cultural groups all over the world since the 1980s and it became dominant paradigm especially in the 90s. This process would inevitably make its reflections also in Turkey. Kurdish nationalism which had been refrigerated for several decades, would come to gain momentum in the post-1980 era and with the establishment of Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan* [PKK]) as a secessionist terrorist group, period of violence would be initiated. From this reason, it can be argued that post-1980 years introduced the weakening of nation-state structure in Turkey similar to the examples in other states. In this age, minorities' demands for recognition increased in a vast

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[1] William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 170.
[2] Michael M. Gunter, *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 5-6.

scale and they began to pressure for multicultural state formations which would enable them to enjoy cultural freedoms and certain rights of political representation.

Despite challenges and ongoing discussions, the 90s witnessed Turkey's uncompromising commitment to nation-state ideology and its struggle with opposing demands. But even if Turkey refused to take a step on direction of multiculturalism for several years, in the course of time pressure of internal dynamics would considerably escalate and Turkish officials would eventually come to conclusion that military precautions should be supplemented by other kinds of measures.[1] More importantly, Turkey assumed candidate status for the European Union (EU) at the Helsinki Summit of 1999 and along with the needs of this process it would be obliged to make some legal regulations in the way of democratization. In December 2000, agreement of Accession Partnership was signed between EU and Turkey, and in response to this paper, in March 2001 Turkey prepared its National Program which was its route map to perform the expectations of EU. Following this document, Turkey would make some constitutional reforms and soften its firm nation-state ideology in some degree. Furthermore, beginning from 2002, Turkey would pass and begin to implement a series of harmonization packages and certain principles among these general reforms would form the legal basis needed for the appliance of minority rights in a greater scale. Indeed, within the process of EU reforms, rights of non-Muslim foundations to buy real estate were increased, conditions for the closure of political parties were narrowed, freedom to set up association was strengthened, critical changes were made in Anti-Terror Law and most importantly, broadcasting in and education of Kurdish language were allowed.[2] With this last acceptance, Turkey has moved to make actual one of its responsibilities arranged by Treaty of Lausanne.

In the course of time, however, there would be a precise evolution in ruling party's approach to the minority issues. Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* [AKP]) which came into power in 2002 was following liberal policies in its first term and would take the reform process started by previous government further. Within this period, AKP was seeking international legitimacy as it was being widely suspected of radicalism and thus taking steps toward the aim of EU membership could help them. At the same time transformation of strict nation-state structure was also compatible with the moderate Islamist agenda of AKP. But, as AKP consolidated its power by the middle of the 2000s, it gradually came to a more nationalist point of view and began to retreat on the issue of minority rights.[3] Additionally, in the same process, AKP directed its foreign policy interest from EU to the former Ottoman lands especially to the Middle East and because of this reason influence of external

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[1] Metin Heper, *The State and Kurds in Turkey* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 180.

[2] Kerim Yildiz, *The Kurds in Turkey: EU Accession and Human Rights* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 66-70; Demet Yalcin Mousseau, "Is Turkey Democratizing with EU Reforms?: An Assessment of Human Rights, Corruption and Socio-Economic Conditions", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 12(1): 70-71 (2012).

[3] Gözde Yılmaz ve Diğdem Soyaltın, "Zooming into the 'Domestic' in Europeanization: Promotion of Fight against Corruption and Minority Rights in Turkey", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 16(1): 15 (2014).

dynamics to continue reforms was also diminished.[1] And as a natural consequence of ongoing contradiction between Turkish state and Kurdish nationalists, armed conflicts of two sides which were stopped at the beginning of reform process, would make a new start since the mid-2000s. At the moment, these conflicts still drastically continue following a short cease-fire between the years of 2013 and 2015.

Today, the principal cause of disagreement and debate between Turkish state and nationalist Kurdish movement is the concept of "democratic autonomy" and certain demands related to it. Hence unsurprisingly, "Political Solution Declaration" of Democratic Society Congress that is the umbrella organization of Kurdish movement, was completely based on this notion. This document which was published in December 2015, projects the formation of democratic autonomous regions in terms of cultural, economic and geographic familiarities. In the paper, it is demanded from the state to leave education at all stages to self-governments, recognize the use of mother tongues in the public schools and accept local languages as official alongside Turkish. Declaration also points out the need for terminating all sorts of tutelage of central administration upon the elected in democratic autonomous regions and granting self-government the authority to run and inspect soil, water and energy sources in their own regions. And according to the document, in order to perform aforementioned services, budgeting in local has to be transferred to self-government, some taxes should also be collected by it and official local security units have to be formed to maintain order in local under the governance of self-governing body.[2]

In fact, self-governance was being interpreted as a legitimate right in the context of multiculturalist approaches at the beginning of the 90s. Such that, formation of self-governing units for minorities had been definitely acknowledged at the 1990 "Copenhagen Document of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe"[3] and the "Recommendation 1201 of Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe"[4] passed in 1993. But following the fierce ethnic problems experienced in the Eastern Europe, especially after the case of Bosnian War, this tendency would be considerably weakened. As the Serbian autonomous entity created in Bosnia and Herzegovina struggled to separate from the central government in cooperation with its kin-state Yugoslavia and in this way triggered so bloody conflicts in the country, self-governance began to be no longer thought as a realistic way of solution. As a result, minorities' right to have autonomous administrations was not given a place at the Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities which was accepted by

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[1] Svante E. Cornell, "What Drives Turkish Foreign Policy?", *Middle Eastern Quarterly* 19(1): 13-24 (2012); Mustafa Türkeş, "Decomposing Neo-Ottoman Hegemony", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 18(3): 191-216 (2016).

[2] "DTK'dan Özerk Bölge Çağrısı" (2015), http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/12/151228_dtk_deklarasyon (accessed 31 December 2016).

[3] See Article 35 of "Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE" (1990), http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/14304/ (accessed 31 December 2016).

[4] See Article 11 of "Recommendation 1201: Additional Protocol on the Rights of Minorities to the Convention on Human Rights" (1993), http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=15235&lang=en (accessed 31 December 2016).

the Council of Europe in 1995 as one of the basic texts of the new age. It can be claimed that tendency not to give self-governance rights for minorities gained dominance in international minority law following this document. In this respect, apart from the tasks of strengthening local administrations in some degree and maintaining positive duties for minorities' cultural development, it is difficult to create an external pressure on Turkey to recognize some kind of self-governance along the lines of Kurdish expectations.

Other than the issue of self-government, another matter of debate is regarding the definition of citizenship in the new constitution whose preparation has been discussed for several years beginning from the mid-2000s.[1] Proponents of change put forward two alternatives on this question; firstly, they propose the term *Türkiyeli* (one who is from Turkey) instead of Turk and thus tend to remove ethnic content from citizenship by expressing it with a political/geographical term. And the second alternative as some Kurdish groups defend, is the coexistence of the terms Turk and Kurd in the constitution as the state's founding peoples. To begin from the latter, such an alternative represents an inclination not to abolish, but to transform the current status. If the definition of citizenship in force is unfair, this alternative projects to be partner of this injustice and so appears incompatible with the principles of multiculturalism. The other alternative, the term *Türkiyeli* is quite appropriate with regard to multiculturalist way of understanding in general lines, as it appeals to all peoples of Turkey. Furthermore, even if it is sometimes perceived as a new term, the background of this concept can be traced to the preparatory works of the 1924 Constitution.[2] Nevertheless it should not be hoped to solve the problem alone. This term strongly resonates the argument on the duality of a primary (state) and a secondary (ethno-religious) identity in the context of Ottomanism.[3] And, just as expectation to secure the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by use of a political term, Ottoman, had been falsified in the precedent era, it is also not clear that use of the term *Türkiyeli* will guarantee multicultural and actually democratic state structure. Rather than considering Kurdish question on the ground of these terms, this issue should be evaluated from a broader perspective and with a more holistic view. Surely, it is not possible to protect and improve minority rights without actually institutionalizing democracy itself. Therefore, both, solution of Kurdish question in an ideal way and development of a multuculturalist formulation for all peoples of Turkey can only be achieved by a fully democratic and emancipatory spirit which would dominate the constitution and its proper appliance.

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[1] Ergun Özbudun and Ömer Faruk Gençkaya, *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009); Burak Bilgehan Özpek, "Constitution-Making in Turkey after the 2011 Elections", *Turkish Studies* 13(2): 153-167 (2012).

[2] Şeref Gözübüyük and Zekai Sezgin, *1924 Anayasası Hakkındaki Meclis Görüşmeleri* (Ankara: AÜSBF, 1957), 436-439.

[3] Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, "Türk or Türkiyeli? The Reform of Turkey's Minority Legislation and the Rediscovery of Ottomanism", *Middle Eastern Studies* 43(3): 435 (2007).

This need, in fact, indicates a more central question that is Turkey's general problem of democracy and freedoms since its strong ruling party is becoming an increasingly authoritarian government. Due to this specific condition, question of individual rights has an exact urgency in Turkey, like the minority issues as well. Undoubtedly, development of minority rights primarily necessitates the improvement of civil rights and prevention of state from posing a threat for the individual freedom. Traditional principles of democracy such as freedom of expression, separation of powers, protection of quantitative minority from the pressure of majority, popular access to the political decision-making process (and etc.) constitute pre-condition for the appliance of identity politics. Therefore, as the level of respect for these values in contemporary Turkey and course of recent events are observed, it is quite natural to worry not only about the minority rights, but also for the future condition of basic rights and freedoms in Turkey. And because of this reason, it has to be understood as the first duty for all democratic and liberal sides of the country to struggle in order to overcome the general problem of democracy in Turkey and thus, find an urgent exit way from this dead-end.

V) Conclusion

In the light of all what mentioned above, it may certainly be said that Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey preferred so diverse ways regarding the minority issues within their classical periods. However, as it is indicated again, these states did not follow the same practices from beginning to the end. Ottoman Empire had a more decentralized character in terms of both territory and identity for a long time, but by the mid-nineteenth century with the effects of internal and external dynamics, it attempted to form a centralized state and unite all its subjects under the Ottoman primary identity. In other words, Ottoman example represents a historical process directed to change such a social and political order in which minority groups enjoyed cultural autonomy, but they were debarred from equal civil rights. The Republic of Turkey, on the other hand, stands entirely contrary to this model. Efforts to build an upper identity in the last stages of the Ottoman Empire, would be deepened in the republican era, but now would be based on Turkish instead of Ottoman identity. From its establishment roughly to the neo-liberal globalization process, Turkey presented a convenient example for the classical nation-state ideology which recognizes equal citizenship rights, but does not allow for the autonomy of different cultural identities. However, with the 1990s, this structure of Turkish state would begin to be more intensely challenged and eventually multiculturalist principles of the new age would be reflected also on Turkey in some degree. Today, Turkey surely has certain problems with regard to multicultural development and apart from pure minority issues, this underdevelopment is actually a result of Turkey's huge deficiencies regarding general freedoms and democratic principles. From this point of view, success of general democratic struggle should be the crux of current multiculturalism

debate in Turkey and has to be regarded as the key factor to determine the consistency and stability of minority rights within the country.

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Museum Collections as a Reflection of Cultural Landscape: The Interpretation of Collective Memory

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Abstract

The article deals with the relationship between the local community, museum collections, collective memory and the cultural landscape. The ICOM Code of Museum Ethics defines a museum collection as a cultural and natural heritage of the communities from which they have been derived. The collections, especially in regional museums, are inextricably linked to the community. The cultural landscape can be read also as a bridge between the society and natural environment. The cultural landscape is vitally connected with a national, regional, local, ethnic, religious or political identity. Furthermore, the cultural landscape is a reflection of the community's activities. Therefore, private collections are the foundation of the collective memory and empower museums for important social tasks. They offer an opportunity for multilayered interpretation of the past and give a possibility for museums to work on the inclusion of vulnerable groups. The collections could be a mediator and unique tool for recovering of the "broken" memory. In this way certain tragic past events, ignored or only bigotedly mentioned by history, can be re-evaluated.

Keywords: museum collections, cultural landscape, collective memory, inclusion, Regional Museum Maribor, Sveta Trojica v Slovenskih goricah

The cultural landscape as a narration of its inhabitants and the past

This article is founded on the holistic concept of the contemporary heritological discipline, which interprets the landscape as a wholesome cultural phenomenon (Pirkovič, 2017). The cultural landscape is a palimpsest image of the inseparable human experience (the life and workings of man through time in his place of origin) and natural endowments, considering the climate as a reflection of anthropogenic activities, which becomes most apparent in the case of microclimatic conditions (Mlekuž, 2017). The landscape is the foundation of cultural heritage and the key to understanding related communities. Discovering, exploring, observing, and also

evaluating and enjoying the environment, as well as, sadly, its destruction, are all part of the basic human activities. The understanding of cultural heritage, torn from the entirety of an environment, enables merely a partial and one-sided interpretation of the past, and opens a way for manipulative (political) interventions.

From a museological standpoint the holistic approach towards understanding cultural heritage, and consequently the landscape, has made a large contribution to the changes of content in the process of evaluating collections. Museum collections were and are emerging as a reflection of societal conditions, and are more or less the result of certain policies and social order, and last but not least of the social elites. They are (analogous to the museum artefact) object of scientific research, document of time,[1] and the foundation of a regional and national identity, which has a strong influence on their evaluation (Maroević, 1993, pp. 158 – 160). Private collections on the other hand reflect foremost the personal interests of the collector. In the process of a museum accession, the items undergo the processes of musealization, which most often means the partition of a collection based on the material and the scientific classification within the museum and its societal mission. A museum collection is divided into that what is kept in depots and rarely, if ever, visible to the public, and that which is incorporated into permanent or temporary exhibitions. Private collections are in the scope of the museum contexts usually presented to the public selectively and subordinate in the relations towards the context of a museum entirety and its social meaning. These are the factors that are reducing the value and esteem of private collections from a museum and the scientific interest viewpoint. With the new heritological concept, which perceives heritage (and not only museums) as a basic foundation of man's existence and discoveries (Šola, 2003), private collections have been given greater meaning, which is especially important for the eastern, formerly communist countries (V. Perko, D. Cerovski 2017). Private collections are a direct reflection of their collector's personal and often very focused perception of an item as a value and a material witness of its place of origin, and man's activities. They are usually not created from a scientific interest, but from a personal curiosity and an emotional favour. As such, they can crucially contribute to the broaden of an institutionalised perception, and they represent the bridging of the authorized heritage discourse, which is heavily present in the case of museum collections. Private collections are otherwise less important from the basic disciplines' standpoint. But they are reflecting at least some of marginalised groups and their values, thus enabling a more complete understanding of the past and landscape as a wholesome, socially natural phenomenon. From the museum collections aspect, they are presenting often overlooked or even consciously neglected themes, events, activities,

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[1] Theodor Schmidt from Lenigrad University already in the year 1931 opposed the subjectivation of a museum item with a new definition as an object of scientific knowledge and a document of time (Maroević, 1993, p. 53).

sometimes also language[1] and the values which may be of critical importance to a certain environment. Cases when private collections are connected to places of memory are vitally contributing to the preservation and the formation of the collective memory (Nora, 1984; Perko, 2016). The collective memory signifies a multilayered interpretation and a more wholesome understanding of the past, which indirectly enables a more democratic approach in the processes of managing heritage, and leads to a more equal society.

Private collections and the cultural landscape

The comprehensibility of a cultural landscape includes nearly all the areas of man's endeavours. The landscape is reflecting the cultural image of a certain region: it is a living organism of symbolic forms, an object of idolatry, and a muse of creative processes - especially that of artistry. The landscape is often a symbol of national identity, power, and authority; it is a part of tourism, environmentalism, and last but not least of politics. The European convention defines it as a bridge towards a common identity of peoples living in the area of a landscape, which by itself is complementing the now surpassed notion of the landscape as a home, a habitat, and a place of the former population's existence (Sassatelli, 2006, p. 192; J. Pirkovič, 2017).

The holistic concept of heritage enables us to understand the landscape as an inseparable part of man's environment. It is the result of natural endowments, the activities of man, and the human intellect (Milani, 2006, p. 125). The aesthetics of a landscape originates in the presumption that the experiencing of a landscape is determined by man and his values that, along with his feelings and emotions, run through him when experiencing the environment. The experience of a landscape is reflected in the artistic creation, sculpture, paintings, music... and also in its destruction, and is leaving a specific, palimpsest trace in all areas of man's activities (D. Mlekuž, 2017).

The landscape can be interpreted through different perceptions: metaphysics enables us to understand the landscape through landscape itself without the help of aesthetics or other philosophical disciplines, through its existence, which allows other disciplines to form a relationship toward it with its assistance. The metaphysical aspect of perception is largely a matter of a contemplative approach; its particular aspect of aesthetics that leads towards the formation of an entirely specific, spiritualised experience of phenomena, which science cannot encompass. Its phenomenology originates in an active relationship of man towards the landscape, "being in the world" it means to form a relation towards the world, to defend one's existence. Consequently, man has always gravitated towards things themselves, ready

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[1] In totalitarian societies, the so-called linguistic iconoclasm was often established, a process of "*language purge*" in which all politically unacceptable phenomena (and therefore also material culture) were named by new, neutral terms. A new specific terminology has emerged as a reflection of new social values.

to create, to build. Heidegger speaks of a "house of being", through which man is only forming himself. It is a matter of dialectics between the object and the subject in the essence of being. Man is part of the landscape and the landscape is merely a part of man. The phenomenological aspect clearly sheds light on a museological problem unveiled decades ago - the problem of the objectified museum item, and consequently the collection as a part of the entirety of the environment (Maroević, 1993, p. 56).

The result of the history of a landscape's perception is today best reflected through the art, which is triggering reminiscences of man's primary relationship between man and landscape (Kemal, 1993, p. 7). On the other hand, the landscape with the emergence of capitalism and a rapid, ruthless exploitation has become a subject of a profit-based logic and manipulation (Ross, 1993, p. 158). For the economist it possessed a real-estate value, for the sociologist it is a place of socialisation, for the architect it is a place in need of construction, the legal expert sees it as an opportunity to resolve a border dispute, the ecologist considers it as a natural habitat, the biologist as a region with biotic diversity. The archaeologist sees it as an archaeological site and a source of information on human's activity in the past.

Following Thomas Cook's expeditions, the discovery of Lake District, the crossing of the Alps, and the incorporation of the Italian peninsula into the "Grand Tour", when discoveries are being familiar with the cultural landscape of the Renaissance Italy became part of the educative process of European elites, the concept of landscapes shifted towards the field of aesthetics, philosophy, and science (Schnapp, 1996).

Rationalism and empirism of the contemporary era brought about the triumph of man over nature, which began with Newton, Descartes, Bacon, Leibnitz, and has manifested itself in the rapid evolution of technology and industry (Sloterdijk, 2003). The domination over nature and the manifestation of power reached its zenith with the destruction in the last few decades of the 20th century that followed the conquest of technological obstacles at macro- and microcosmic areas, unattainable and unknown to the man of the 19th century. In the name of ideals, and in the last decades mostly in the name of consumerism and capital, the landscape has become an object of entertainment and a ruthless exploitation. Jean Baudrillard with his theory of simulacrum most direly expressed the situation. He finds that the contemporary man has lost touch with reality (by which he means nature), and replaced it with an artificial image, *the simulacrum.* Built upon (artificial) images and models it creates a world of hyperreality, a world more real than the actual world. To make things even more grotesque, Baudrillard adds that the purpose of the simulacrum is primarily a total control. Social and natural sciences are often an excuse for man's exploitation endeavours, even towards the landscape (Baudrillard, 1988). Museums, at least those more traditional ones, serving foremost the interests of science, with a museological instrumentalization of collections and items are indirectly promoting science and imperialistic, colonial principles of the western world (Šola, 2003).

In art history, we encounter two different paradigms: for the notion and reality, or for the relationship between the image of a landscape, and a referent in the real world. The question is, whether or not this is the image of a landscape or the image of an painting, or the aforementioned aesthetic view on the perception of the landscape.

Archaeology is perceiving a landscape as a container and the past as a large cake with separate historical periods of time. The needs of the current scientific paradigm are usually dictating contents and modes of interpretation of the past. Museums are uncritically adopting scientific paradigms in which nature, including the animal world, is the object of research. They focus solely on its aspects of use, and their depiction as a raw material. Are we allowed to claim that an uncritical adoption of the scientific concept in processes of musealization leads toward the objectification of material culture in the role of a museum item (Maroević, 1993, p. 56)?

Anthropology, sociology and history treat the landscape as an open social unit in which man expresses his different beliefs. However, we know today that the landscape is not merely a single place but a sum and a mutual insemination of different places (Pirkovič, 2017). The landscape has to be interpreted through a space as a typology of place through an intersection of time (Perko, 2014, p. 169). It may also repeat, naturally in another time and place, and in the light of transformed values. Each landscape is exclusive, unique, that cannot repeat itself in a certain time period. As emphasised by James McGlade, it is necessary to view the landscape as a social construct trackable through history (McGlade, 1999, p. 475).

Stephen Daniels interprets the meaning of the landscape through identity processes. He claims that the mutual national identity is the product of the age of national states. National identities are accompanied by metanarratives, anecdotes, legends, stories of "the golden age", unique landscapes are depicting the nation, symbolise its spirit, its ethos. The landscape functions like a national icon; it is a reflection of ideology (Daniels, 1993).

Of paramount significance are also the communication networks through which the cultural landscape is enabled, maintained, and transferred. In it various ecological dynamics are inscribed as the result of the activities in different layers, different social formations of inhabitants. Each changes in human nature influences the ecodynamic structures and reflects in the image of the landscape. The change of the landscape is inseparably connected to the change in behaviour (McGlade, 1999, p. 475) as a complex reflection of beliefs, systems of value, and the pragmatic responses to the everyday environment.

Simon Schama is connecting the landscape to memory. The landscape is a product of man's consciousness and allows us to understand man's role in the world (Schama, 1995, 9. 7). The internalised historical memory leads to identifying with the landscape. It allows for the discovery and the understanding of a part of that which we once already were. Man simultaneously takes notes and discerns the landscape as

his own memory of the past (cemeteries, memorial parks, plague memorials, sacred structures,...), with its assistance he builds upon myths and his own glory, letting everybody else and our descendants know of his presence and dominance. The landscapes tells stories to those willing to listen. Each landscapes carries within itself a unique history that allows the place to become something special, to become *sui generis*; it accumulates memories and emotions in certain place and time. It is a place of both private and collective property. Today the landscape is all but objectified, adapted to culture, empirical sciences, and thusly trapped in the mechanisms of valuation of the contemporary consumer society and its needs.[1] In its philosophical and psychological dimension and due to its palimpsest nature it is only partially intelligible to the scientific disciplines. The landscape is first and foremost a place of collective memory (Halbwachs, 2001; Nora, 1984).

For a wholesome perception of the landscape and its palimpsest intertwined meanings and values through time it is necessary to view it through the "eyes" of the local population. This aspect is uniquely allowed by private collections, which are usually created without the presence of large influences of scientific concepts and methods, and are not exposed to the authorized heritage discourse, maintaining the subjective role of an item.

The museum collection and identity

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) in its code emphasised that museum collections mirror the cultural and natural heritage of the community in which the items originate. The collection comes into being insofar it as a representative value, or is tied to an idea, or is merely a part of a greater whole (Durost, 1932, p. 158). We may then speak of a certain planned collection policy. Russell W. Belk a good half century later finds that the collecting process has to be an active, selective, and a long-term one (Belk W., 1994, p.158).

Museology in the 70s of the previous century has established the museum item as an information-documentation object, part of the INDOK System, it assigned to it the role of a cultural information messenger (Tuđman, 1983, pp. 73-80), upgrading the needs of the scientific realizations of fundamental scientific disciplines (Maroević 1993, p. 58). By definition from Maroević the cultural information gives value to a museum item, and more or less tightly connects it to the national, regional, local, ethnic, religious, or political identity.

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[1] Božidar Kante perceives the landscapes as artefacts offering answers from the past, through which they are subjected to the will and the shaping by man. By artefact he understands an item changed by labour, that is what does not originate in the natural state. The other meaning is connected to the cultural process, which demands further interpretation. In the first sense we are dealing with two different artefacts; a thing that was, and a thing that was subsequently changed. The second one's form remains unchanged. He understands the landscape not only as a territory or a scenery, but also as an alliance of communities, justice, nature, and environmental endowments, that is as a social dialogue, as an "alliance" of man and landscape (Kante, 2009, p.14).

The heritage movement that appeared as a response to groundbreaking social changes of the 60s in the 20th century shocked traditional museums with the revolutionary idea of the ecomuseum as a form of a holistic interpretation of place (Šola, 2010). The idea eventually spread to the rest of the world and in some parts, it became a successful practice of preserving heritage in the place of origin.

The ecomuseum's philosophy is based on an active inclusion of the public and is a multiinterpretation of a place (Šola, 2003). The local population is the bearer of heritage processes, which are, based on the traditional way of life, while the expert services adopt the role of advisors. In the concept of the ecomuseum the private collections have been granted a similar role as the local public: from a previously passive role of a side observer it adopted the role of the agent, the subject by means of active inclusion. Similarly, this also applies to the role of ecomuseum collections, which become the subject and an important element of collective memory. They are most often also a physical, symbolic, and functional witness of places of memory / *lieu de mémoire*.[1]

Private collections in the process of landscape interpretation have thus been assigned a key role, which is otherwise denied to them by the traditional museological doctrine and the authorised heritage discourse. Private collections frequently mirror alternative political and social viewpoints, and are a reflection of religious and ideological beliefs, or they reflect a special, often intimate and unspoken relationship of their owner towards the world and society. Private collections represent a peculiar preserved microcosm in the often highly corroded macrocosm of museums. Unlike museum collections, private collections are not ordinarily divided to depot and exhibition material. In many cases they are equipped with a very personally conceived catalogues and informative notes, which preserves the original folk terminology. Sometimes they are created out of the owner's special interest in an area which from the authorised heritage discourse's viewpoint has been neglected or even overlooked. In these cases, the collections are accompanied by the owner's exhaustive knowledge on matter, which represents a valuable alternative to institutionalised standpoints.

Private collections are the key to "discerning" and understanding the landscape. They are the material foundation of a collective memory, because they preserve specific values and lore tied to places of origin. Collections of artefacts are not only a document of time and space but also a reflection of a specific, personal relationship towards the social and natural environment, and they preserve crucial knowledge not ordinarily encompassed by scientific methods. This is mostly the so-called convivial knowledge according to Ivan Ilich, that relate to inherited observations of the environment and

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[1] *Lieu de mémoire* is a concept related to collective memory, stating that certain places, objects or events can have special significance related to group's remembrance. Pierre Nora defines them as "complex things. At once natural and artificial, simple and ambiguous, concrete and abstract, they are lieux—places, sites, causes—in three senses—material, symbolic and functional".

the society, and are most often reflected in specific concepts, forms, decor, or in ways of use with a certain material culture. Convivial knowledge is frequently and inseparably tied to the place of origin and is implicitly encompassed in contexts of use and related customs (Perko, 2018).

Case study: the museum collection of the Franciscan monastery at Sveta Trojica in Slovenske gorice

The Franciscan monastery in Sveta Trojica in Slovenske gorice is located in the Northeast part of Slovenia. The region with the monastery and a church was already mentioned in 1445 CE in documents as *Verchoczen - Vrhovšaki.* During the church's construction the name *Purkstallberg* (also *Purggstallberg*), that is *Porčki vrh* (after a nearby settlement) became common, and among the locals in the midst 17th century the name *Grädisch*, as a synonym for the Slovenian name *Gradišče* (Habjanič, 2014, p. 70; Vidmar, 2016, p. 91), was in use. On a hill rising above the Drava river basin and the nearby town of Lenart, a wooden chapel dedicated to the Holy Spirit was built in 1631 CE. It soon became too small to accommodate the needs of the locals, therefore in 1636 the foundation stone was laid for a church finalised in 1640 or 1643, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. With the arrival of Augustinian eremites in 1663 the construction on a monastery began, followed by several reconstructions of the entire sacral facility. The extensive reforms of Emperor Joseph II., affecting the Church, brought about the abolishment of many monasteries in Austrian lands. In 1787 the Augustinian monastery was shut down, a year before the parish of Sveta Trojica was already founded, and spiritual care was taken over by priests from the nearby parish of St. Lenart. In 1854 Franciscans arrived to the parish who manage the monastery and the church to this day. The prominent position of the structure and its size left a mark in Slovenian literature as "the Slovenian Jerusalem", and is considered the most beautiful Baroque sacral complex in today's Lavantinska bishopric (Mlinarič, 1996, p. 68).

The church with its monastery gives the region as the landmark a characteristic position and recognisability. Around the church and the monastery, a settlement gradually sprang to life, which in 2006 became an independent municipality with three distinguishable bell towers in its coat of arms. The church in the very beginning adopted the role of a pilgrim destination, and among the most important pilgrimages we should mention the spring pilgrimage on St. Florian's name day, the Pentecost pilgrimage on the Holy Trinity day, the August pilgrimage on Porcijunkula, and the Autumn pilgrimage on fourth Sunday. This lead to the appearance of smaller and larger town fairs that connected local inhabitants to the church.

The Franciscan monastery museum collection in Sveta Trojica in Slovenske gorice

Items relating to the monastery collection have been finding their way into the monastery museum for centuries. The collection encompasses 1060 artefacts,[1] along with an extensive library with over 1550 books.[2]

The Sv. Trojica monastery museum collection could be thematically divided into several parts. Liturgical garments of 497 artefacts, such as chasubles, albs, dalmatics, pluvials, stoles, maniples, pales, purses, vela, and banderas, form its basis. The oldest ones originate in the 17th or 18th century, while the youngest dated are still in everyday use. After the dissolution of the Augustinian monastery in 1787 most of the chasubles was transferred to the parish churches in Maribor, Sv. Lenart, and Sv. Marjeta. The largest part of the items still kept in the monastery was not received until the arrival of the Franciscans in 1854.[3]

The second part of the collection entails votive paintings from the 17th and 18th century and they divulge the significance of the Sv. Trojica church as a pilgrimage center. Among them several supplication of pilgrims from the region of contemporary Austria, the city of Strass, St. Peter im Sulmtal, Wagendorf beim Vogau have survived, the most important being the supplication of the count Szapari from 1761 who lived in Murska Sobota at the time, and supplications of believers from Radgona and Slatinski dol.

A part of the museum collection also represents collection of paintings. It largely entails works from the 19th and 20th century which arrived to the monastery mostly at the same time the Franciscans did, as well as valuable smaller sculpture works from the 18th century which were removed from the church and transferred to the museum. The sacral art collection also encompasses reliquaries and liturgical vessels.

A special attention in the museum was devoted to the Black Madonna with Child, a work by an unknown sculptor, supposedly dated to the 17th century, which was found in the Loretan chapel, annexed to the church in the 17th century. The sculpture was located in the interior part of the "secundary" Black Madonna from the 19th century as part of the altar. A crown from allegedly the 17th century has also survived, and was assigned to the Madonna's ornament from the 19th century.

Economic endeavors of the monastery are evident through vineyard and wine-making implements, numerous barrels, and other agricultural tools, which was not only a part of the monastery life, but also of the surrounding inhabitants, who still nurture the wine production with great enthusiasm today. A part of the museum

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[1] The collection was documented in field work by Oskar Habjanič, Tadej Pungartnik, Maja Hren Brvar between November 2012 and April 2013. The field registry is located in the Regional Museum Maribor under the number RT 2012-4.

[2] The information on the Sveta Trojica in Slovenske gorice monastery library was kindly relayed to us by our esteemed colleague dr. Vlasta Stavbar from the University Library Maribor, for which we thank her sincerely.

[3] Written sources mention extensive supplications pilgrims relayed to the graceful image. The intercessions reveal both a noble and a peasant and market social class of the surrounding inhabitants. For more on this see: Oskar Habjanič, Avguštinski samostan v Slovenskih goricah v dobi baroka, p. 70, in: Kronika, časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino, 62/1, 2014, p.67 - 90. Among the main church and monastery patrons once should mention the Stubenbergs, Trauttmansdorffs, Khisls, and probably the Draškovičes.

collection is connected to the Holy Trinity and other pilgrimage destinations. In some contexts many devocionalia, sacred images, and items from pilgrimage centers brought to the monastery by different people, vicars and the surrounding inhabitants have also survived. We should also mention the many banderas which are related to the pilgrimages from nearby settlements, mostly Radgona and Lenart, and church processions.

The deep connection of local inhabitants with the monastery is also evident in the richly preserved photographic material documenting important events from the time of the Franciscans, both secular and otherwise, that are revealing the popularity and the important role of the monastery among the local community. The collection comprises also items pertaining to the activities of the girl's religious group of Marijina družba pri Sv. Trojici, the items of boys section of religious society - Crusaders at Sv. Trojica, as well as many Franciscan ring seals dating back to the second half of the 19th century.

The monastery library *keeps* over 1550 books. The archive arrived to the Sv. Trojica monastery in the second half of the 20th century. It was part of the repatriation of the archives confiscated by the German Army during World War 2 and as a war booty transported to Graz. The archive was originally part of the Franciscan monastery Brežice's library in the South-Eastern part of Slovenia, where there a Boys school existed from 1668 onward. Two 15th century incunables and over 30 manusripts and books from the 16th century survived in the collection. Among the rarities one should mention the book on physics from 1574 and vast archive from the 18th century, printed in Ljubljana (Stavbar, 2014).

The tourist attraction trail includes the church with the monastery, in which the central role has been adopted by the miracle image of the Holy Trinity from around 1690. The main altar with the Augustinian Order saints (St. Thomas of Villanova, St. Augustine, St. Nicholas of Tolentino, and St. John of Facundo) was made in the mid-18th century. The side altars date back to the time of Augustinians and Franciscans in the second half of the 19th century. Among the altars one should point out the altar of the Holy Cross with a depiction of the crucifixion of Jesus, allegedly the work of the excellent Baroque master J. M. Kremser Schmidt. The sculptures have been attributed to various Styrian artisans. The Loretan chapel was annexed to the church in 1693 and was built by donations from the countess Mary Elisabeth Trauttmansdorff, born countess Khisl. The organ dating to 1833 and made by Karl Schehl from Graz is also a part of the church furnishings.

The current arrangement of the museum collection

The museum collection was displayed in the monastery, and the monastery library has also been included in the exhibition tour. Individual items are placed in different custom made display cases, some in segments, others along the room's wall. Among them we find photographs and postcards revealing the activities of the girls religious

study group at the Marijina družba pri Sv. Trojici, and the boys section of religious society - the Holy Trinity Crusaders. A distinct display case holds priest robes, sacral art, and pilgrim devotionalia and accessories. On the walls are displayed votive paintings, and on the side and the upper part of display cases there are items from the monastery's and of the local community economic life.

The museum collection is didactically organized according to the 19th century museum principles. Individual segments are reminiscent of a Kunstkammer, known to us from the court life between the 17th and 19th century. The current collection placement is not enabling a sufficient recognisability and narrativeness of otherwise extraordinary artefacts, and is neglecting a more intensive communication with the local environment.

The identity of the town is therefore "only" based on sacral architecture masterpieces of the Baroque era, which was successful in constructing a bridge between the landscape and the community by the placement of recognisable bell towers, which transcends the understanding of the landscape either as a scenery or a territory (Kante, 2009). In this context one could recognise a dialogue between man and the landscape: the latter has become a recognisable symbol of the town, a landmark and an *imago* tailored according to man's actions. It has become an active heritage of past deeds (Beneš, Zvelebil, 1999, p. 74).

Museum collection as a dialogue between a cultural landscape and the community

The Regional Museum Maribor in 2013/2014 organised the exhibition *The Treasures of the Holy Trinity*, based on the collection from Sveta Trojica.[1] The temporary exhibition was placed in rooms of the Regional Museum Maribor (The Partisan Cinema). Thematic segments of the exhibition were tied to liturgic garments. The significance of the chasubles**,** garments, and symbolics (colours, pattern interpretation, dating) was emphasized, and of the pilgrimage in relation to the items (the Loretan Black Madonna, votive paintings and reliquaries). The history and the history of the monastery was presented by the sculpture collection, while the economic significance of the monastery was relayed on working tools and implements. As a part of the exhibition, thematic lectures from the various fields of theology and sacral art were organized.[2] The exhibition was visited by the entire elementary school of Sveta Trojica in Slovenske gorice. There was an organised field trip from Maribor to Sveta Trojica. Additionally, in cooperation with the school nurses of Sv. Frančišek Kristus Kralj several workshops were organised themed *Embroidering with a Golden Thread*, as a demonstration of how a priest robe is made,

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[1] Authors of the exhibition: Oskar Habjanič (project leader), Maja Hren Brvar and Tadej Pungartnik.

[2] Lecturers to be mentioned: ddr. Nataša Golob, dr. Edvard Kovač, Irena Porekar Kacafura, Tadej Pungartnik, Oskar Habjanič.

and for the purpose of the exhibition restoration - conservation works were performed on artefacs, which were also presented at the lecture.

The museum exhibition took on the role of a contact zone,[1] a meeting point and complementing the collective memory. It was focused on dialogue and designed as a process that forms relations with interaction among the contents, artefacts, place of origin, and the public. The basic characteristic of the meeting point became the reciprocity (Clifford, 1999, pp. 437 - 441) between the museum item and the visitor, who was encouraged by the museum item through memory of past events to strengthen the feeling of belonging and related emotions. In the case of *The Treasures of the Holy Trinity* exhibition - memories of pilgrimage are strongly connected to farewells and loss.

The exhibition concept was based on inclusion and an active participation of the community. The society of countryside women from Sveta Trojica prepared a small banquet at the opening ceremony, while the children choir of Sv. Trojica took part with a music program. Individual thematic segments of the exhibition emphasised the significance of the museum item as a narrator of the past (Pearce, 1994, pp. 19 - 29) at which, according to Saussur, a relationship was established between the designator and designatee (Saussure, 1997), between the museum item or the collection and the community, between the object and the subject. The exhibition narration restored an active role to the museum item in the local community and subjectified it through the interpretational structure of the museum collection.

The name of exhibition *The Treasures of the Holy Trinity* carried a powerful message, and at the same time it functioned as a metaphor and a symbol, or a sign on which the exhibition entirety through interpretation was based upon, while the community recognised itself in it. The title triggered a process of communication and strengthened the interaction between the monastery collection and the community. We can identify it as a repeating cycle among the designator - designatee - sign, through which new social bonds are triggered and formed (Pearce, 1994, p. 25).

Conclusion

The museological problem of the objectifying a museum item was already addressed decades ago (Maroević, 1993, p. 53). The problem can also be identified in the relationship of museums towards private collections. From a phenomenological viewpoint, which emphasises dialectics between an object and a subject, captured in the essence as well as the existing, one can shed a lot of light on the exposed problem. From this viewpoint the role and the meaning of a museum item are inherently encompassed in the entirety of the place of origin. The musealization of an item in the

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[1] For a more detailed role of museums as contact zones see James Clifford, Museums as Contact Zones, in: David Boswell and Jessica Evans (ed), Representing the Nation: A Reader: Histories, Heritage and Museums, Routledge, The Open University, 1999, pp. 435 - 457.

holistic conceived context with its varaiety of meanings and values means the subjectification of the item. On the other hand the dislodging of an item from its contexts of origin bring about its objectivisation. Symbolically one could speak about the process of "personalization" and "depersonalization" of a museum item, which in an analogue sense also applies to collections.

Private collections from the good practice examples viewpoint mean the material connotation of the collective memory. They enable additional, alternative insights into the subject and are incorporating multiplicity into the interpretation of the past. They reflect values, beliefs, and behavioural patterns that museum collections, subordinated to the principles of scientific research, do not entail or plainly miss. Private collections are not exposed to the authorised heritage discourse and enable a multi-interpretative and inclusive manner of managing heritage. From the museological theory, we can conclude that they enable the subjectivization of items in the processes of musealization as an inherent part of the place of origin.

We can conclude with the statement that a holistic heritological approach is in fact improving the understanding of the social role of private collections, which are presenting often overlooked or consciously neglected values, events, and activities in museums. Along with the places of memory they indispensably contribute to the preservation and the shaping of the collective memory, which in certain social environments enables a more democratic approach in the processes of heritasation and heritage management, and by doing so, a more wholesome understanding of the past.

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Possibilities for the Application of Alternative Dispute Resolution Methods in the Administrative Procedure

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Abstract

The public administration, in particular to the administrative procedure follows a firm objective: to create of the customer friendly approach. Also, there is more and more emphasis recently on improving the efficiency and speed of the procedure. These are the two most important keywords of the decision planning and documentation. The aim of the research in this scientific paper is to detect and analyse the decision-making methods, concurrently being ready to incorporate them into the national administrative procedure systems. These methods are to provide lawful and effectively applicable alternative dispute settlement methods ready to use in Hungarian legal system and also to assist - apart form the aim to reach the basic aims of the administrative procedure - to create a fundament of the decisions made by the authority, having regard to circumstances in real life cases, viewpoint of customers and other parties, and the balance of the public interest. The scope of the paper also covers the theoretical and practical aspects of general mediation and mediation in administrative procedure, in view with the appearance of the topic within the renewing and current administrative procedural law regime. While examining the mediation in administrative procedure in a novel point of view, this work also analyses the role of this special type of mediation in terms of efficiency and charactesistics of the current and future legal solutions in administartive cases often involving parties with adverse interests. Conclusions and proposions in the paper may provide contribution to the spreading and correct treatment of alternative decision making methods in the administrative procedure. The publication of this scientific paper supported by the the Ministry of Justice (Hungary) in the program of increasing of the quality of Hungarian legal studies.

Keywords: administrative procedure, ADR, alternative dispute resolution, customer friendly approach

Introduction

A dual approach seems most effective to assess the applicability of mediation in administrative procedure: an analysis of the theory, practice and development of alternative dispute resolution methods and review of their integration into administrative application of the law and the role and effectiveness of such methods.

Consequently, first we should take a look at the development, scope of application and experience of alternative dispute resolution methods, including especially mediation (otherwise known as ADR methods) (Allison, 1989; Fiadjoe, 2013, p. 2), and then such experience should be analysed in terms of its integration into the administrative procedure.

Observing the globally conditions and legal trends, the general administrative structure modifications related to administrative bureaucracy reduction, that are essentially transforming the rules, requirements, and directions of the administrative authority, are in many respects consistent with the earlier development and reform concepts of the administration and also with its fast and inexpensive nature.

These are important goals given that, due to the volume of public administration activities, the administrative proceedings concern a wide range of society, but they cannot, without any other measure of value realize the basic aims of the administrative proceedings.

However, in the administrative proceedings, much more emphasis should be placed on making the decision-making of the authorities based on the full consideration and application of legal requirements and, in addition, taking into consideration the possibilities, reflect on the real circumstances, the client's aspects, the balance of public interest, and a number of other long-drawn, but only recently-focused, issues.

Looking at European and overseas developmental directions, in states where public administration is developed and operating at a high level, developmental needs are more likely focused on involving the public and local communities in decision-making, social control of public activities and the influence of globalization on the administrative proceedings as well as its adequate management.

In this approach - when the issues of public administration's socialization, transparency and efficiency are of particular importance in terms of administrative practice and regulation of administrative activities - it may be of great importance to what extent the decision of the authority and the process for taking it takes the aspects of the client or aspects of other interested parties into account. The extent of this can have a significant influence on the acceptance and voluntary implementation of the decision by the client, which is also an emphasized element and explicit goal of modern procedural rules.

The question may be even more important if not only the client but also the opposing party are involved in the proceedings. Taking into consideration the standardized aspects of mediating between competing interests, it can undoubtedly result in easier acceptance of the authority's decision and, consequently, consistent implementation of the vast majority of cases.

The apparent disinterest of population and law enforcement on the applicability of alternative dispute resolution methods to administrative actions, cannot be traced back to the low relevance of the problem, but to the lack of legal knowledge of the clients involved in public administration, the lack of information of the public administration in this regard, and the orientation of public administration to other values (inexpensive and fast proceedings).

The main objective of this papre is therefore to identify and analyse the methods that can be integrated into the administrative system to take into account the abovementioned, which, by taking into account the domestic legal systems, but also using international experiences, are legal and can be used in alternative legal dispute resolution methods. The present content unit especially focuses on the practice of mediation in the field of administrative proceedings, with the help of which it intends to provide a client-oriented guidance capable of development regarding the public administration for a wide range of legislators and lawmakers.

Theoretical-historical approach

The applicability of the possibilities of mediation in an administrative authority media can be best investigated by a dual approach: on the one hand, by analysing the theory, practice, and development of alternative dispute resolution methods, and on the other hand by putting them into law enforcement, examining their roles and their effectiveness.

Accordingly, the chapter first deals with the development, scope, and experience of alternative dispute resolution methods, in particular mediation (i.e. ADR methods), and then it analyses these experiences in terms of their insertion into the administrative proceedings.

The prevention and resolution of conflicts and disputes arising from socially renewed challenges facing society and their social, economic, political, and recently environmental and nature conservation have made it necessary to develop alternative versions of dispute resolution methods and to apply them widely (Goldberg, Eric, and Frank, 1985).

The history of conflict management and the use of alternative methods other than traditional solutions are almost identical to the history of humanity (Blake, Browne, Sime, p. 22). In fact, we can say that the judicial, administrative system, and the dispute resolution and legal structure, considered today as traditional, have only appeared as the follow-up of the first methods to resolve disputes today called

alternatives. Among the first methods of resolving conflicts with the exclusion of violence, one can mention the conciliation and negotiation, from which only one step was the involvement of an independent third party, thus establishing the archetypes of ADR methods (Barrett, Barrett, 2004). Ancient China was one of the fundamental bases and is currently one of the major representatives of peaceful dispute resolution, where it has gained such a strong social embeddedness that is still a major substitute for the justice system, a key form of conflict resolution (Han, 2012). Based on these, it can be stated that the roots of mediation can have a centuries-old history, their novelty content is rather given by its rediscovery in modern times (Carver, Vondra, 1994).

The first sources of mediation in Europe are from the 15th century, which record several cases during the reign of the Lancaster House, when British noblemen arranged their conflicts in this way (Decastello, 2008,, pp. 14-15). In this respect, the law enforcement in Hungary was no longer behind, and from the 1400's onwards, it gained a growing role in mediating the parties in dispute, first among village communities and judges, and then the rules referring to individual agreements became gradually legally recognized, and finally, the re-emergence of the Habsburg House in the18th century attempted to complete the practice of mediation in that era

Throughout the world, and especially in Europe, with the establishment and extension of the state monopoly of justice, the originally traditional methods became alternatives and they only returned to the focus of scientific research in the second half of the 20th century as complementary, substitute methods of traditional enforcement of claims.

In parallel to the adjacent development of legal systems, in addition to domestic law, international law also started to apply ADR methods for resolving international disputes, while both mediation and conciliation have been highlighted in this arena and became realistic alternatives to conflict resolution (Ginsburg, McAdams, 2003).

Review of the technical literature

The alternative dispute settlement methods and their applicability are becoming an increasingly important topic in legislation, the application of law and legal sciences.

Nevertheless, the ADR methods (mediation, intermediation, employment of an official mediator, etc.) are rather undervalued in the Hungarian technical literature on public administration and in the practical application of the public administration law and are a topic not researched intensively.

The expansion of the reviews of the applicability in the Hungarian public administration system by the technical literature may be impeded by a previously established apparent problem that the ADR methods and mediation and intermediation, constituting the main topic of this part were used primarily for the settlement of private law, more specifically civil law and labour law disputes and their

applicability in public law and public administration law was not analysed for a long time. However, as the previous sections indicate, it is not right and the applicability of these methods should be analysed both in theory and in practice due to their significant practical aspects and their impact on the development of public administration.

In the technical literature synthesis of the chapter, an attempt is made to overcome the deficit of the Hungarian technical literature and the limited applicability in Hungary of certain methods introduced abroad by analysing the features identified during the application of the ADR methods over decades on the basis of their roles played in administrative proceedings.

Main features of mediation

a. Amicable, out of court settlement of a dispute

The authors refer to out of court dispute settlement as one of the most important features of mediation (Hensler, 1994). Naturally, in terms of public administration and, more specifically, administrative proceedings, it means a lot more a reduction in the exhaustion of legal remedies, the final resolution of a case in first instance proceedings (Fiadjoe, 2013, p. 1), and pushing the judicial review of an administrative resolution into the background (Harter, 1984, p. 1394).

b. Simpler and faster proceeding

It is a frequently used argument in practical mediation and ADR methods that they make easier, simpler and faster (Ábrahám et al., 2013, p. 38) the process of a legal or interest dispute concluded with a decision and thereby may become true alternatives to traditional justice or administrative proceedings.

Looking at the public administration aspect of this feature, the authors use case law analyses and a number of examples illustrating how intermediation may simplify the efforts of administrative proceedings to clarify the facts and provide reasoning for a resolution both within and outside the administrative proceedings (Zack, 2014; Decastello, 2008, p. 47).

c. Cost efficiency

One of the most important arguments used by authors promoting mediation as a method is its extreme cost efficiency and the lack of advanced costs (Blake, Browne, Sime 2014, p. 23). All this appears in public administration indirectly, because

for clients the generally faster mediation is a most effective solution in terms of material expenses (postal expenses, photocopying, printing expenses) and personal expenses (travel expenses, loss of income, etc.) associated with administrative proceedings, while

for an authority resources allocated to the case may be released if the case can be 'decided' by the parties even if the authority is still involved and when the case can be settled outside any administrative proceedings with a resolution approved by the authority.

d. Involvement of external, independent and impartial parties

Mediation requires the involvement of an external party who makes it easier for the parties to resolve the dispute by focusing on the solution rather than on the conflict (Blake, Browne, Sime 2014, p. 28; Barrett, Barrett, 2004, p. 20).

In terms of public administration, this requires high-level conflict-oriented and practice centred training of the administrative staff (Manring, 1994, pp. 197-203) with increased openness towards ADR methods. In addition, it also calls for better accessibility of intermediaries and mediators associated with administrative proceedings and up-to-date recoreds kept of them.

e. The framework rules of the proceedings are well defined

Intermediation functions effectively when its borders (Harter, 1984, p. 1404) are clear and the parties also understand their rights and obligations in the proceedings, as it will increase their confidence. This also means that the parties can freely decide on the method of dispute settlement and intermediation within the limits of legal regulations (Carver, Vondra, 1994). This framework is in place in terms of public administration: the basic rules and guarantee provisions of administrative proceedings determine the options in the case of an attempt to make a settlement or intermediation by an external party. However, within that framework the parties have relative freedom in how they intend to resolve their dispute. If, however, intermediation fails, according to the currently effective provisions of the procedural law, the normal procedures continue in first instance proceedings ensuring that the case is closed by an authority.

f. Negative features

The authors of the reviewed technical literature refer to very few negative features that may occur in mediation (Carver, Vondra, 1994, p. 125). The statements concerning administrative proceedings mention 'bad bargains' (Harter, 1984, p. 1396), which relate to the legal effects of the approval of the settlement, more specifically, the radical reduction of legal remedy options and typically relate to the limits of the review of inadequately considered settlement criteria. They also mention extended mediation as another problem (Moore, 2014, p. 105), which in the end is refuted by all authors either logically or empirically.

g. Settlement

Intermediation focuses on a compromise agreement and the settlement resulting from it (Fiadjoe, 2013, p. 63). The settlement, regardless its legal form or whether it

is recognised with the approval of an authority, is a synthesis of proposals and alternative solutions (Blake, Browne, Sime 2014, p. 290; Barrett, Barrett, 2004, p. 108), which makes it suitable for reconciling the parties and resolving primarily personal and, only secondly and thirdly legal, problems (Lovas, Herczog, 1999, p. 15).

2. The aspects of international technical literature

A number of internationally recognised authors already conducted complex analyses of the role of alternative dispute settlement methods through the public administration practice of other nations. These authors typically argue for the integration of ADR methods into administrative proceedings and the application of the methods in other types of administrative proceedings based on their efficiency, speed and simplicity.

Below we shall take a look at the characteristics of the individual nations and legal cultures through the conclusions of the authors.

The alternative dispute settlement methods continue to play an incredibly important role in China, which has already been identified as the place of origin of mediation in primarily private law disputes beyond public administration (Yanming, 2016), as well as in other forms closely related to public administrative and administrative proceedings. The Chinese authors focus intensively not only on the clarification of the basic concepts of mediation and the fundamental analysis of the aspects included in it (Bing, 2003), but also the embeddedness of ADR methods into public administration (Liu, 2006; Palmer, 2007). Numerous publications are dedicated to the role of mediation in certain sectors of public administration, which clearly illustrates the importance of the methods for the Chinese society and the operation of public administration. These publications present successes in the application of the method in social administration and administrative proceedings relating to intellectual property rights (Zhu, 2006; Han, 2012).

The other Far East countries also follow the Chinese example: mediation has an important role in their legislation, e.g., in Japan, where the relationship with mediation and its public administration implications were analysed intensively by Ishikawa, one of the most important authors writing about mediative methods (Ishikawa, 1995) and in South Korea (Sohn, 2014), where the ADR methods are in their prime again.

The analysis of European countries do not lag behind in the analyses of this object: this issue is a major issue for authors analysing the French public administration (Brown, Bell, Galabert, 1998, p. 30) but there are also comparative legal works focusing on the three mostly separable legal systems and therefore analysing primarily the French, German and Anglo-Saxon practices (Boyron, 2007, pp. 263-288), pointing out that the ADR methods may be applied, even in a vertical dimension,

irrespective of the types of the public administration systems (Salvija, Saudargaite, 2011, pp. 253-261; Litvins, 2013, pp. 66-77).

Basic concept of mediation

Mediation (also introduced into the technical literature and the legislative environment as such) may be defined as a consultation (Ábrahám et al., 2013, p. 37; Bing, 2003), where the main component is a natural third party (mediator) who proceeds, either upon the initiative or with the consent of the parties, in a legal or interest dispute of the opponents (at least two or more) with the objective of assisting in the resolution of the dispute.

Various authors assigned a number of functions to mediation, of which the approach applied by Ishikawa (2001, pp. 1-15) is the most complex, grasping the essence of mediation the best. In general, the author deemed de-legalisation, de-professionalisation and de-formalisation functions of outstanding importance in the practice of alternative debate resolution methods and especially in mediation. On the basis of Ishikawa's theory and by interpreting and further developing it, we can state that:

- in the mediation practice, apart from the legal norms a lot of emphasis is laid on other aspects, which must be stressed and taken into account in the process of reaching an agreement (de-legalisation function),
- nonetheless, the legal norms provide the framework of the procedure and they cannot and should not be disregarded either because they constitute part of the basis of the procedure (de-legalisation limit),
- primarily individuals experienced in dispute resolution and not experts with legal qualifications take part in conflict resolution as impartial third parties. The degree of professionalism may vary by country and also by procedure within countries (de-professionalisation function),
- mediation and the ADR methods are the least formalised dispute resolution options, but it does not mean that the framework rules of the procedure cannot be established or there are no minimum rules for the good practice of the procedure (de-formalisation function).

In this context, the main responsibility of the mediator (Bush and Folger, 1994) is to identify the basis and nature of the legal or interest dispute and to assist the parties in reaching a consensus. The process involves the identification of the common interests of the parties and the definition strengthening and confirmation of potential key points in the evolving agreement.

As mediation, i.e., an alternative dispute resolution method, is extremely important in out-of-court agreements and in avoiding court procedures, a mediation procedure must satisfy the following requirements (Folberg and Taylor, 1986; Moore, 2014) in order to achieve its goals and functions:

- a well structured approach, which can encourage the parties to find a common solution with the help of communication and other methods to ultimately reach an agreement,
- the differences between the parties in power and influence need to be reduced in order to reach a decision with adequate content,
- in the majority of cases, the procedure must be based on voluntary participation, as only that can lead to reasonable solutions. If the procedure is based on any force, the parties will be much less open to finding a common solution,
- the procedure must be adjusted to the parties and their aspects should drive the process towards an agreement (and the legal regulations should only provide a framework for the procedure as an ultimate aspect),
- even though the procedure must come up with an answer to events of the past, its main objective is to regulate future conduct.

The mediation must reflect the following principles (European Judicial Network, 2004) in order to be successful:

- independence - mediation may only be successful when the individual acting as mediator (and the organisation employing and commissioning them) is independent from the parties and has not, or did not have, any previous economic, personal or any other relationship with them,
- impartiality - apart from independence, mediation cannot be partial and may not create an agreement in which the views of one party are in unlimited dominance depressing the views of the other party,
- secrecy - the procedure is based on confidence, which can only be maintained when the parties can make sure that the data provided by them during the procedure cannot be disclosed to a 3rd party without authorisation or their consent,
- confidentiality (Bush and Folger, 1994, p. 231) - the parties' agreement can only be reached if they fundamentally trust the mediator (the individual and their professional knowledge) in the course of mediation and they also trust each other with the help of the mediator.

ADR methods in public administration

On the basis of the technical literature references indicated above, mediation is primarily applied in various civil law and, primarily, labour law disputes. The applicability of ADR methods in public or administrative law has never occurred in any legal or legislative approach for a long time. The methods were generally focused on resolving a legal or interest dispute and, as such, could not be interpreted in the administrative relationship between an authority and a customer, as the customer was always in a subordinated position and the parties could not be equal.

One of the expressions of the open nature expected from public administration (Doornbos, 2001, p. 101) and, within that, from the administrative procedure with increasing professional interest was the rigid role which necessarily stemmed from the subordination in administrative legal relationships and in the modern times could no longer be consistent with the expectations for public administration.

During the law enforcement-type public administration period it would have been unimaginable that any public administration performing almost all public power functions of the state would take into account the interests of legal subjects who then had the subject status but have developed into clients by now or would try to reach a consensus between the parties of the procedure, or within authorities and individuals.

The alternative dispute resolution options had to be introduced into public administration to bring a fundamental change in the methods of exercising public power in administrative proceedings (Radnor, Osborne, and Glennon, 2016). That is why certain public administration systems no longer approached customers from their original power position as a concept (Kettl, 2000, pp. 488-497) and less felt the need to enforce and protect public interests, identified as the fundamental function of public administration, at any cost, even by applying legal or physical force and compulsion. However, that required a relatively long period even on a historic scale (Rosenbloom and Goldman, 1993), and a customer-centred development in law enforcement-type administration as well as scientific assessment followed by practical application of innovative approaches (Bingham, Nabatchi, O'Leary, 2005, pp. 547-558; Liu, 2006) such as governance (Kettl, 2015) and its impact.

Horizontal dimension of mediation and other ADR methods in administrative procedure

The ADR methods are applied horizontally when they are used in an administrative procedure between customers. In such cases, there are two parties with identical or closely identical positions in terms of their procedural rights and obligations. Multi-positions also occur very often, when a number of parties and, apart from the ordinary customers of administrative proceedings, occasionally a number of organisations representing public interests, social groups or some other interest, act in support of one or the other opponent and their interests.
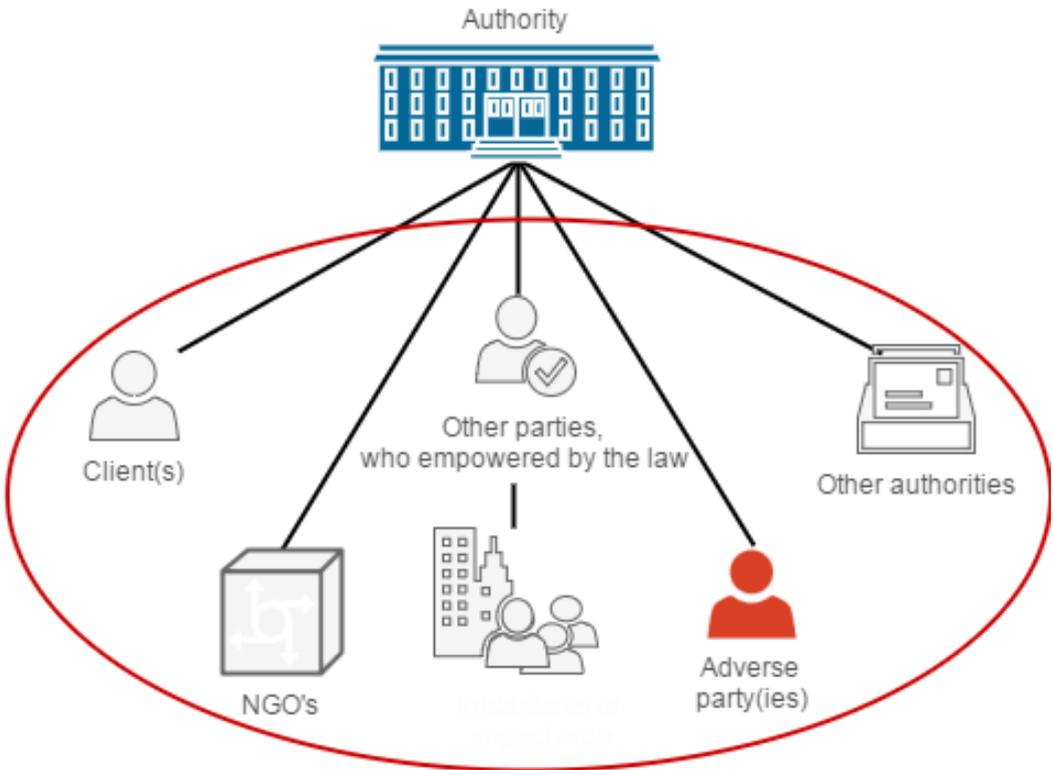
Figure 1. Horizontal dimension of mediation in administrative procedure (constructed by the author)

In such a case, the main responsibility of the authority is to assist the parties of different interests in reaching a compromise, either within or outside the procedure. The authority usually enters the agreement reflecting the mediation result into a resolution or authenticates it in some other way, thus guaranteeing the execution of the agreement.

Vertical dimension of mediation and other ADR methods in administrative procedure

While the horizontal approach to mediation was extremely close to the original scope of application of the method, as in fact only the involvement of an authority and recognition represented a surplus compared to the methodology applied in private law, the vertical approach to mediation may open completely new interpretation issues.

In this approach, the agreement is reached between a customer and an authority and not between individual customers or persons and organisations with similar statuses. Consequently, the previously outlined strong rights of an authority, which even

extend to the application of force, can be applied less in such a relationship than in an ordinary administrative procedure.
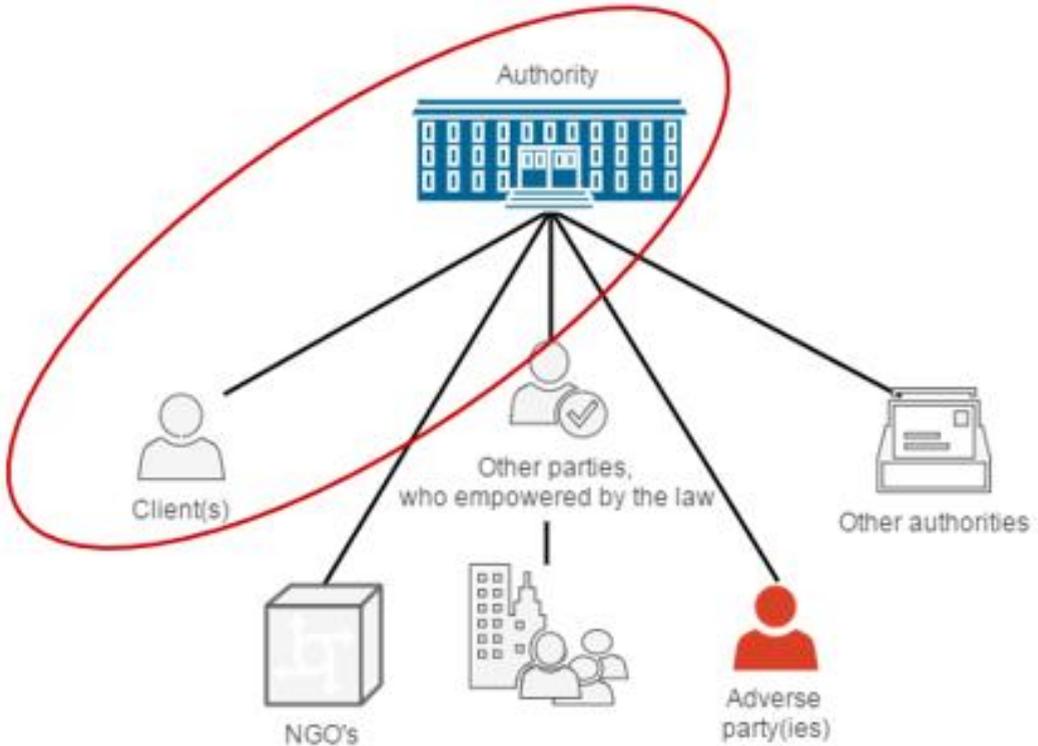
Figure 2. Vertical dimension of mediation in administrative procedure (constructed by the author)

The role of the authority changes a lot compared to what it is in the horizontal version: in this context the authority is not only responsible for trying to assist the parties in reaching an agreement but will also be a part of it. The solution, which is on the borderline between public law and private law will lead to a fundamental effect that the authority will be a quasi contracting party and not an authority in the relationship and will use compelling tools of mainly private law nature as a result of the agreement in the case examined within the administrative procedure. It will return to its role as an authority with the help of the public law compelling and enforcement tools provided by law only when the previously mentioned tools have failed.

In this role, the authority will not only have to enforce a public interest and consistently apply the law, it must also pay attention to the interests of the other parties of the procedure irrespective of whether or not they take part in the mediation process.

The agreement is often assisted by an external layman, or by a qualified external independent third party. Thus in the Hungarian procedural law this role is played by a mediator proceeding in administrative mediation as described in detail below.

According to the final outcome of mediation, there may be a traditional agreement, but in many other cases the outcome could be an extremely special administrative contract reflecting the process of its establishment (Chen, 2013) and containing both private and public law features.

Summary

Public administration in the 21st century is compelled to permanent adaptation due to the constantly changing conditions of life and global challenges.

The process can be viewed with an approach where the new conditions are negative tendencies, focusing on the additional resources required for public administration and on its system-alien nature, which can definitely be felt during its introduction.

However, when the new conditions are considered the most important development engines of public administration and an opportunity instead of a necessary task, the innovative methods introduced to manage changes will become an important innovation factor in making the current public administration system more effective.

The application of alternative dispute resolution methods, i.e., mainly mediation, seems the most appropriate with this approach: prima facie, it is a solution which is extremely alien to public administration and especially administrative application of the law, operating with strong private law components and seemingly not compatible with the traditional elements of an administrative legal relationship.

However, approaching the effectiveness of ADR methods from the final solution in a matter constituting the subject of an administrative procedure, a strong legitimacy effect of an agreement, more easily acceptable to the parties and reflecting their own aspects, as well as the reduction of the administrative force, the methods become an important part of administrative decisions, which is already partially present with incredible development opportunities.

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Practical Reflections from the Semantic World of Women: Socio-Cultural Factors in the Construction of Motherhood

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Abstract

Maternity, which is a physiological action, is a social phenomenon built on historical, cultural, and social contexts. Therefore, construction and definitions of maternity differ by the sociocultural characteristics of communities. This study focuses on how maternity manifests within the Turkish community. The study mainly aims to understand how highly educated, working, and married mothers describe maternity and how they constructed their maternity orientation. The necessary data was obtained through in-depth interviews and analyzed using discourse analysis. Six women defined themselves as *religious*, while two defined themselves as *non-religious/feminist*. All of the women defined maternity through concepts regarding the sense of responsibility that a woman undertakes, and they stressed that maternity offers women a "unique sense and experience." It was observed that the participants internalized the role and mission of maternity with which traditions charge women, and did not take a critical approach to the responsibilities they undertook. It was concluded that the oppressive impact of unequal distribution of responsibility between men and women is compensated through the emotional satisfaction that women experience through maternity. The factors that affected the participants' maternity tendencies are identified as scientific knowledge, spirituality, traditional inheritance, and the mother effect; and the priority of items in this list differ by social actors. It was observed that spiritual attachmenthad no distinctive effect on the description of maternity or the process of construction of the women's maternity tendencies.

Keywords: Maternity, traditional and modern tendencies, cultural difference, discourse analysis

Introduction

The concept of motherhood, along with its various cultural expressions and the unsolved problems this has presented, has become a major topic of interest for the field of social sciences. Although there are a number of different theories focused on the hows and whats of motherhood, these theories all share in common the

importance attributed to women's maternal tendencies in the social construction of motherhood.

Starting from their childhood, women are socially and culturally prepared for their maternal experience, as defined by their socio-cultural structure. Women adopt an ideal mother type proper to these definitions, and they usually build their identities on the basis of their maternal expectations (Miller, 2010; Badinter, 2011; Beauvoir, 2010; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2008; Fidan, 2016)[1]. Motherhood, being a biological fact, is a physical experience at first before evolving into an experience fulfilled within a social and cultural context. Yet, being a mother means more than simply "playing a role". The process of becoming a mother involves physical, embodied, emotional experiences that result in the birth of a baby and a greater sense of responsibility (Miller, 2010). There has been much debate around the idea of whether motherhood, the effects of which literally alter a woman's brain, structurally, functionally, and in many ways, irreversibly (Brizendine, 2008)[2], is an instinctual experience. Many researchers explain maternal instincts through certain biological[3] mechanisms, like the prolactin hormone, while others explain it through results derived from their qualitative studies on mothers. Researchers who argue that motherhood is an instinctive tendency do not reject the historical, social and economic influences on maternity but rather suggest that these influences are secondary impacts that follow the instinctive factors (Badinter, 2011).

Motherhood, as a *modern* concept, is included, not coincidentally, in social sciences. Giddens defines the process responsible for the development of the concept as "the invention of motherhood" and argues that it occurred on account of the changing parental roles that emerged with the distinction between home and outside work. He claims that a distinctive feature of socialization in today's world, one characteristic of most strata in modern societies, has been the prominent role of the mother in early child care. Mother-infant relations are influenced by the "invention of motherhood", in addition to reflecting other changes that distinguish modern institutions from pre-modern institutions. Giddens states that the dominance of the mother role has

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[1]From their childhood, women grow up around a discourse suggesting that they are created to give birth and that becoming a mother is the most wonderful thing on earth. Menstrual cycles, pregnancy-related illnesses, and boring housework are validated and affirmed by the dignity of being a mother. Beauvoir ironically criticizes the semantic change that an extra-marital affair gives to the idea of motherhood. He argues that it is normal to develop an attitude of distrust and hatred towards self-contradictory men (Beauvoir, 2010).

[2]The changes that take place in a mother's brain are the most radical and permanent changes in a woman's life. During regular and continuous contact with the baby, the hormone oxytocin is released from the mother's brain. The release of this hormone actually serves to rewire the brain of both the mother and the infant. During this time, as women are divided over being responsible for the child, feeling pressure and pleasure and having concerns over economic and emotional stability, their minds undergo stress and worry. This leads to a decline in the brain power required by the mother to take care of the child and to perform her work. The emotional and cognitive development of the mother is directly linked to her environment. The presence of easy access to resources and a support network when needed helps a woman to be more successful as a mother. Like a domino effect, the mother's sense of peace and confidence is passed on to the child (Brizendine,2008).

[3] Breastfeeding, which is one of the most important maternal processes (Küey, 2015), and femininity, which is affected by maternal experience (Abrevaya, 2015), are among the discussion topics of psychoanalysis in terms of their mixed impact on mother-woman biology.

profound psychological consequences for both sexes, suggesting that women tend to be more capable than most men of developing emotional sympathy with others; and women have prepared the way for an expansion of the domain of intimacy in their role as the *emotional revolutionaries* of modernity. He claims that certain psychological dispositions have been the condition and outcome of this process, as have also the material changes which have allowed women to stake a claim to equality (Giddens, 2014).

It is argued that *dominance of the mother*, which feminists like Badinter hold as a *conviction*, has emerged within the context of modernization (Giddens, 2014). According to this, throughout history, men's and women's spheres, roles and tasks were carefully differentiated based on the strong patriarchal traditions[1]; women were in charge of caring for children, the husband, and the home, while men were in charge of everything else. This model might have existed almost everywhere, but some societies continue to hold an overvaluation of the mother's role, to the point where it dominates every other aspect of a women's own identity (Badinter, 2011)[2]. Miller argues that "the gendered self" is constituted in the context of historical, social, moral, political and material circumstances and embodied activities. Miller also states that caring for and assuming responsibility for our young, dependent children are gendered practices, which are linked to the gendering of public and private life. Gendered selves, practices and spaces clearly have implications for the ways in which agency is operationalized and motherhood is experienced and narrated. Miller notes that the moral dimensions of motherhood, child-rearing and associated practices are hard to miss in any analysis of recent literature and research, and emphasizes that the "moral minefield" in which motherhood is experienced clearly shapes the types of accounts of motherhood we feel at liberty to construct and how we present ourselves (Miller, 2010). In this regard, motherhood is central to contemporary gendered expectations for women; the cultural expectation to bear and rear children is so strong that parenthood appears normative and childlessness deviant (McQuillan et al., 2008). Badinter argues that imposing *new* maternal responsibilities on women by virtue of the notion of giving women the freedom to achieve personal fulfillment, is a huge contradiction. The individualism and hedonism that are the hallmarks of modern culture have become the primary motivations for having children, but these can also serve as the motivation for not having them, with it being maintained that thanks to birth control and recently developed production techniques, being a mother was no longer the beginning and end of being a woman. Nonetheless, for a majority of

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[1] Rousseau was an early modern creator of this tendency in Western society. Rousseau was criticized by feminist scholars for his book *Emile*, wherein he defined women's "tasks and responsibilities" in terms of femininity and motherhood.

[2] Badinter's argument is accepted by some feminists, but it does feature some contradictory aspects. In a study in which we examined the relationship between motherhood and professional career, it was found that academician mothers defend motherhood as a positive factor in contributing to women's working energy, although it does slow down their professional career (Fidan, 2016).

women it remains difficult to reconcile the increasingly burdensome maternal responsibilities with personal fulfillment (Badinter, 2011).

Irigaray asserts that we submit to two behavioural models in the face of this contradictory situation: First, living to maintain our existence, and second, being conscious or unconscious individuals who belong to a specific culture. Irigaray's mental reasoning on whether we retrieve ourselves from competitive struggle and cultural fatal iteration (Irigaray, 2006) actually points to the tendency of women in the construction of identity; the boundaries of socio-cultural effects and impositions are questionable. Irigaray argues that maternity pain would be more "sufferable" in the case of women being given the right to free choice of maternity and providing them with adequate support for their motherhood experiences. When maternity is imposed as an entrenched destiny and is seen as women's penalty for committing the first sin, it becomes an unacceptable incidence of unfairness for women, as they are deprived of all their subjective rights (Irigaray, 2006)[1].

It is clear that the idea of motherhood is multi-dimensional, involving physiological, social, and cultural features. The perception and construction of motherhood as a social phenomenon vary among societies and cultures (Fidan, 2016). It is sociologically significant to understand how motherhood is perceived and actualized in Turkish society, which has specific characteristics as a result of its historical and cultural background. This study was conducted to understand our society; the main objective of the study was to examine how highly educated, working, married mother-women defined motherhood and how they developed their maternal tendencies. Research data were obtained via in-depth interviews with eight, highly educated, working, married mother-women. Six of the participants described themselves as *religious women,* and two as *feminist*, *non-religious* women. The women had different religious perspectives, which were examined to find out the effect of religion in the definition of motherhood and maternal tendencies. Among the women who defined themselves as *religious*, four were academicians, one a teacher, and the other an illumination artist. Female academicians have a scientist's identity, which was assumed to be an effective factor in maternal definitions and tendencies.

Personal Information of Interviewees

Intervi ewee	Ag e	Profession	Numb er of	Religi ous	Home town	The year(s) first child was born after marriage

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[1]Kristeva suggests that although the advantages offered by the modern world have brought about a multi-dimensional approach to maternity, women will continue to become mothers on account of their love for men. Kristeva states that the mother/woman dynamic, which is at times enthusiastically accepted and at other times rejected or broken into pieces, grants them a unique faculty. The number of these type of women, who are in a position to change humanity by acting in an innovative fashion to counteract inequalities, increased significantly by the 20th century (Kristeva, 2012).

			childr en			
G-1	36	Teacher	1	Yes	Niğde	2nd year (planned pregnancy)
G-2	38	Academic member. Dr.	1	Yes	İzmir	6th year (planned pregnancy)
G-3	41	Academic member, PhD student	2	Yes	Erzuru m	2nd year (planned pregnancy)
G-4	43	Associate professor	1	Yes	İzmir	10th year (unplanned pregnancy)
G-5	33	Illumination artist	1	Yes	İstanb ul	5th year (unplanned pregnancy)
G-6	40	Associate professor	1	Yes	İzmir	7th year (unplanned pregnancy)
G-7	34	Assistant professor	2	No	İzmir	1st year (unplanned pregnancy)
G-8	32	Assistant professor	1	No	İzmir	2nd year (planned pregnancy)

Data were examined using discourse analysis. Freud (2014) stated that the most ordinary discourses may also have unexpected meanings, and he regards daily conversations as spaces where meanings deeper than mere slips of the tongue can be gleaned. Taking this into account, our study was based on discourse analysis theory (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 1995). As it is known, discourse analysis has a dual focus, where answers to questions are sought within the context of this duality. *Discourse practices* are concerned with what people do with their talk and writing and looks at how adaptations to talks and writings have been constructed. *Interpretative repertoires* are concerned with the types of resources people draw on in the course of those practices (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Fidan, 2015).

Discourse analysis

1-Motherhood is a responsibility

Responsibility is the primary concept emphasized in the answers to the questions of "What do you think about motherhood/ how would you define motherhood?". All the interviewed women referred heavily to maternal responsibilities in many different ways, but only two of them clearly defined motherhood as a "responsibility".

"Professor, of course it can be considered in various aspects, but when I hear of being a mother, the first thing that comes to my mind is the idea of taking heavy responsibility" (G-3), "responsibility…" (G-1).

While the terms, responsibility, love, and compassion, are seen as contradictory at first sight, they take on greater coherency within the discourses of the women.

"…As I became a mother for the first time, and experienced for the first time the joy of being a mother, I feel very different. Having a child increases responsibility, which puts a heavy burden on one's shoulders, but women willingly bear these responsibilities from the start of their pregnancy…But you willingly bear all of these…It is not a burden, but from an objective point of view, it seems very difficult to bear this as a materialist. If there is no reward –which is the baby- at the end, you cannot bear this…Pregnancy and labor, both are painful processes, and infant care after the labor is very hard. For instance, your night sleep is disturbed. I have not had sound sleep for two years. If this were for anything else, I would have been ill." (G-5)

The participant appears to express that motherhood, as a women's issue, places a heavy burden on a woman, causing them distress or even suffering. However, upon closer examination, the main theme of the text points to the emotional satisfaction of mothers and their unlimited love. On the one hand, the participant presents a full acceptance of the physical and emotional *burden* of motherhood, while on the other, the heavy weight brought by this burden and responsibility is endured with the power of a more intensive emotional attachment, or in other words, strong feelings of love and compassion for the child. Considering that the participant defined herself as *a religious Muslim*, the term, *materialist*, which she used within the text, stands out as notable. She mentions that one can willingly bear a burden so long as there is some gain (reward) from it. The term, *materialist*, which was used after indicating the child was the reward of the motherhood experience, includes the importance of religious feelings. This *heavy* process was regarded as a cause of illness in human physiology, and getting over it *without any defects* was based on compassion for the child and religious beliefs.

1-a)- Taking responsibility improves people

It has been asserted that taking responsibility positively contributes to personal development and serves to decrease the burdens of motherhood within the context of maternal tendencies.

"For instance, being a mother brings more responsibilities, which is important for people…I believe that taking responsibility improves people. However, mothers can sometimes be negatively affected because of additional –women specific-responsibilities of motherhood, like being unable to spare time for self-care… Being unable to listen to themselves alone; unable to do things that they enjoy doing. Or…sometimes, a mother even misses the liberty of not doing anything. On the other hand, of course, being a mother is an unimaginable feeling. Whether motherhood is based on instinctive behaviors, a post-pregnancy generated emotion or social instinct, it is one of the most beautiful experiences and feelings." (G-7)

After emphasizing the developmental aspect of taking responsibility, the represented scene in the text indicates that limiting and obstructing factors become prominent in a woman's life after giving birth. The expressions of this female academician with two-children point to the in-house responsibilities of women, independent from their motherhood experiences. In our society, the addition of new motherhood responsibilities on women's existing social obligations is a socially accepted rather than a directly criticized issue. It is remarkable that the participant describes deficiencies in her limited personal life – limited by motherhood burdens and daily life responsibilities – in an individual-oriented way. Furthermore, there was significance in the fact that this modern woman, who was unable to spare time for herself and unable to find time to do the things she enjoyed doing, or even to think on an individual-basis, was able to reach the conclusion that "in spite of all of these challenges, being a mother was the greatest feeling and a unique adventure". For this social actor, who was aware of various aspects associated with the construction of motherhood, as evident from the text of her speech, the basis of her expression of *great feelings* and *unique experiences* was not surprising. Furthermore, it was understood from the text that the participant, who adopted or was obliged to adopt gender roles imposed by the patriarchal society, accepted this existing situation. The social actor defined herself as a *feminist* woman, which provides clues into the different understanding of feminism in Turkish society[1].

In the final analysis, it can be argued that all the participant's maternal difficulties were compensated for by the emotional gains of the motherhood process.

Motherhood is self-sacrificing

One study participant defined motherhood as "self-sacrificing and great love" to comprehensively express the limitations caused by the motherhood experience.

"I think it is self-sacrificing… It is a tremendous love… (…) Self-sacrificing is related both to the desire to do something but being unable to do it and to the desire to not do something but having to do it. There were things that I wanted to do but that I was not able to do: For instance, you and your husband have a regular life before the baby; you go wherever you want; you take holidays… This was interrupted during my pregnancy and in the first year of my baby. Of course, as it turned into a habit, we had some problems. We got bored in the house, since our son was a little problematic. We always stayed at home, which bored us. What else? I fell behind in my academic career. I was not able to write articles…But I don't feel set back about this; I don't think they are so important. As an academician, progress in my career has never been the most important thing in my life." **(G-2)**

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[1] In Western societies, particularly at the time feminism emerged as a philosophy, early feminists argued that feminism and maternity contradicted each other (Humm, 2002). Since then, arguments claiming that motherhood is an obstacle to women's freedom have continued (Badinter, 2011; Beauvoir, 2010; Irigaray, 2006/2014), but the reconciliation of even supportive views of feminism and maternity has gained importance over time (Miller, 2010).

As the use of personal pronouns varied according to the different themes identified in the text, this presented many clues into the semantic world of the participant. The expressions of terms like self-sacrificing and love using the first-person singular indicate the social actor's own personal emotions and experiences. The use of the expression of "you" as a pronoun to define activities that people "have the desire to do but are unable to do", relates to the self-sacrificing process involved in the child's participation in the family, which highlights that this is not a personal issue but a general issue. First person plural pronouns were then used to indicate that *problems* occurred after the child was perceived, and the care of the child was recognized as a common problem within the family. However, it is remarkable that this *matter* was not considered significant by family members (somehow). During the interview, when the participant expressed the difficulties she experienced, she always expressed her pleasure instead of complaining, which suggests that this contradictory situation was reconciled through the feeling of emotional satisfaction.

The expression style used to talk about the requirements outside of her daily life routine draws a restricted life portrait, one that is beyond the individual's control. It seems that having the baby in the fifth year of the marriage damaged the accustomed routine of the family. In addition, the academician mother entered a period of stagnation. Mindless activities are (wandering freely, going on holidays) pleasurable activities that make life more beautiful, while more cerebral activities increase status/success in social life (publishing articles). However, the social actor defined these deprivations as natural extensions of her stronger sense of happiness, without having recourse to the use of terms like sadness, concern, and complain. In this context, despite the many difficulties of motherhood, it can be said that it provides an emotional satisfaction capable of overcoming all troubles.

Motherhood is unconditional love

"Unconditional love" is a term used by one of the participant in their description of motherhood.

"I have not given much thought to this; I have not conceptualized it, perhaps because it is hard to define. Of course, there are some things that can only be understood through experiences. There is a living being who is in need of unconditional love…I define motherhood as a self-sacrificing existence where you help babies whenever they need you, take all responsibilities for the care of them upon your own shoulders, support them throughout the course of their life, and help them to stand on their own two legs…You never expect something in return…In other words, motherhood is supporting your children in growing up with unconditional love, and living a happy life, regardless of what your children will be in the future," (G-8)

Unconditional love is the main focus of the text and is expressed in a multi-dimensional approach. According to this, first and foremost, the child is a recognized as a *helpless* person. From the text, it is understood that the mother perceives the

support given to children for whatever they need during their life and the non-expectation of something in return as an ethical matter. The mother defines the attitude of "un-conditionality". Her attitudes and tendencies, as defined by the fact that she considers the child's personal characteristics and possible different choices, are important insofar as they point to the feeling of respect she has for the child and the notion of freedom. The mother has never taken religion as a point of reference in her life, but she nonetheless argues that *moral*-social values should be protected. Moreover, although a full supporter of scientific and modern thinking, she claims that these arguments should be carried out within the context of social cultural values. The sense of responsibility that the mother has to provide a happy life for her children carries traces of the dominant social values in Turkey, where children realize themselves through their freedom and reflects a modern perspective, without any parental pressure or impositions specific to traditional patriarchal societies.

The "unconditional love" conceptualized in the research was additionally expressed in the following way:

"Having a baby is very beautiful. I understood what unconditional love means after I had my daughter. It means "to love" and "being loved". I experience both, and it is wonderful. I knew that I needed to be loved by other people, but is it so? Do they really love me? I have experienced the sense of unconditional love with my daughter. I feel that she loves me as much as I love her, and I even sometimes feel from her eyes and her acts that she loves me more than I love her, which is a very beautiful feeling." (G-4)

Although this single-child academician, who defines herself as a *religious* woman, started off by talking about the notion of unconditional love, she then went on to focus on the impact of the *unique* love relationship established with her daughter. According to this, the mother-child relationship is a unique mutual relationship that provides significant emotional satisfaction, for both the child and the mother.

Motherhood is a longing expectation

Longing is a term expressed by women who are anticipating their maternal experiences or who are unable to be mothers when they want to be. It was observed that two mothers who waited *too long* to have a baby were more guarded compared to the other mothers when they were particularly talking about the difficulties and heavy responsibilities of motherhood.

"I was longing to become a mother. I can define it as pure love… But, it is also very tiring for me… I waited with longing; I wanted to become a mother a lot; I love my baby and thank God for having my baby, but there are also many hard responsibilities being a mother. As husbands and wives, we try to become conscious mothers and fathers to the best of our abilities. I don't know if we take too many burdens upon ourselves. I'm not sure it should be like that, but I am sure that it is a huge

responsibility. On the other hand, each phase of being a mother is very exciting. You feel such different excitements in each phase, starting from their birth." (G-6)

In this text of speech, we again witness that the sense of motherhood was defined as *love* (Brizendine,2008)[1], where opposite feelings were intertwined with each other. The participant in this case longed to become a mother[2] and when she finally did, she went through many contradictory paths with many difficulties as part of the motherhood experience. The mother expressed her longing to have a baby through the first-person singular pronoun, which indicated her own personal feelings on this issue, while she expressed taking responsibilities of her baby through the first person plural pronoun, which indicated that these responsibilities are shared within the family. After suggesting that the sense of responsibility for a child is negotiated between the husband and wife, she expressed the excitement of each phase of the motherhood experience through the second-person plural pronoun, which served to suggest that it was generalized for all parents.

Another expression of longing to have a child was interesting insofar as it revealed the influence of religious feelings on the mother.

"And we always told our child that we had been impatiently expecting you for a long time and that we thank God that you are participating in our family now in the most beautiful way. In other words, this was the correct time, the time God decided; but it is a very different feeling. Of course, all children seem so wonderful to their parents, but I see so many unique things in my child." (G-4)

It can be understood that longing for a child is very tiring for the family (us), but it is compensated for by the later feelings; and there is religious attention placed on the timing of it. The mother's expressions give the impression that not having a child is a *trial*. Her religious understanding suggests that the *servant* should be patient in every kind of affliction (trial) and should not question God (Fidan, 2015a). Although the mother tried to express the feelings of full devotion she experienced while she was waiting to have a baby (of course, this was the time defined by God, but it may be very different from the time you have in mind), it is clear how difficult this waiting period was for her. The uniqueness of the emotions (very different feeling) experienced by the reached goal (child) after the end of the difficult time allows her to forget all the troubles and afflictions she had experienced in waiting. In addition, the generalization of the sense of satisfaction from the child's qualities points to a general perception of motherhood.

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[1] Keser (2015) states that maternity is mostly referred to by the senses of compassion and kindness, and that cultures, which infuse maternity with sacred meaning, perceive the mother-woman as an asexual figure. This attitude has arisen from the tendency of giving a certain status to the woman by consecrating her, as well as the tendency of preventing any incestuous association of women in a sexual context.

[2]The participant was crying when she expressed her feelings.

Miller (2010) emphasized the importance of cultural factors in determining motherhood perceptions and how tendencies are based on cultural differences. The second main objective of the research was to understand the maternal tendencies in Turkish society. Clearly it is not possible to reach general conclusions on the basis of data obtained from interviews done with eight women. However, we do nonetheless feel that certain sociological assessments regarding the research question can be conducted within the framework of the responses given by the participants. The following section will analyze the responses to the question of "What are the factors affecting your maternal tendencies?".

It was observed that all the research participants trusted scientific information in their maternal tendencies and applied them. However, from this it cannot be concluded that the women's maternal tendencies were determined solely in accordance with scientific information.

1-The construction of motherhood based on scientific information and personal experiences

The following text of speech summarizes the primary grounds from which maternal tendencies were formed, showing the greater emphasis placed on scientific-based information in this formation, and describes a distinctive motherhood pattern based on scientific information and personal experiences.

"…Of course, there is a surrounding environment, but there are many different views that are largely affected by tradition…Traditions…They are very wrong…Since, they are derived from a patriarchal society. My mother-in-law is well educated…She has proper information as an educator, but she is under the influence of traditions. Therefore, the patriarchal mindset affects her, preventing her from having a healthy perspective. I have received so many of my habits from her educationist view point, but I have eliminated some of her behavioral habits by observing my child and my husband; in other words, I have adopted certain positive qualifications of her through observations. Religion has never been my reference point. Rather, I mostly refer to psychology books, teachers' comments at the school, our interviews with psychologists and sometimes with pedagogues. Otherwise stated, I have mostly consulted scientific resources, but have not directly imported them into my conscious as has been the case in Western cultures, because the Western lifestyle is not compatible with our lifestyle. Therefore, the moral sense in our culture is not based on religion, but instead there is a kind of mutual dependence, not a bondage. For instance, the mother and child dependency starts with breastfeeding –which is not necessarily the case in the Western societies- to establish a feeling of confidence; the child feels better and becomes happy…The child will grow up and become an independent individual; maybe he/she will not become a doctor or an engineer, but he/she will be life-affirming and socially powerful. As I raise my child, I look at my internal world, try to compensate for my deficiencies and the things that are

*lac*king(emphasis) in the relationship with my own mother. Therefore, as I do not want my children to experience the defects and injuries that I have experienced, I show them even more interest and love to ensure that they do not have to live with the deficiencies and pains that I have experienced. Yet, environment is not an important factor for me…Since there are different points of views, many people have different perspectives… As concerning the scientific basis of my thoughts, for example the importance of breastfeeding to strengthen the bond between mother and child, the sensual contact… Serious research has been conducted on these issues." (**G-8)**

The above statements from the mother show that she is a careful observer of the construction of her maternal tendencies. The mother dismissed and never applied the patriarchal traditionalist approach. The environmental effect based on traditions was referenced using the mother-in-law's approaches to raising a child. The mother-in-law held to these approaches despite being an "experienced, educated and well-informed" woman. The mother observed the social figure (mother-in-law) to be in many respects an experienced and well-educated woman, and she adopted some of the information and practices that did not stand in contradiction with current scientific information by also observing her husband –as a figure educated by her mother-in-law-. In reaching the conclusion that recourse to scientific information is the most powerful tendency in a maternal experience where religion does not serve as a reference point, we saw that the mother had carved out a space removed from science in accordance with her ideas on raising a child according to her own cultural values. The participant stated that maternal thoughts and emotional patterns differ from society to society and from culture to culture, and she noted that she wished to raise her child according to her own social values, and in doing so, she reached a specific reference point by combining scientific information and her own childhood experiences. The construction of a maternal tendency through the adoption of scientific knowledge into the culture is clearly the output of long-held ideals and emotional effort. The ground ideas of the mother can be gleaned through the characteristics of this idealized child. The expressions she used pointed to the *weak* family bonds characteristic of Western culture, and how she therefore did not consider raising a child in either the traditional or the Western style. The mother emphasized moral values but was careful to distinguish these values from religion (the moral sense in our culture is not based on religion, but rather is a kind of mutual dependence, not a bondage), thereby clarifying her position on maternal tendencies. The expressions she used to assert that she had adopted the cultural issues based on science strengthen our argument.

The participant painted the picture of an *injured* and *broken child* based on her own childhood experiences, which helped her to construct the subject phenomenon of a *sensitive* and *conscious mother*. While expressing her childhood deficiencies, the mother avoided making any negative evaluation of her own mother. It is understood that the mother had come to terms with the reasons for the lack of interest and love

she had experienced as a child, and she portrayed her mother as a subject *who was unable to care for her children because she struggled under heavy living conditions.* The mother preferred to apply her own method in forming ideal, emotional, informational, and empirical contexts instead of directly accepting any information or experience.

1-a- Scientific knowledge and its extensions: Academician friends

Scientific knowledge plays a significant role, either directly or indirectly, in determining maternal tendencies via the establishment of relationships with friends in the academic world.

"Actually, I can say it differs according to the age of a child. In other words, in the beginning of the life, when they are so small...For instance, when I compare my smaller child with the elder one, with the first one you behave in a more traditional manner...Since, in those times, you get support from your mother or your mother-in-law, you raise your child in a cooperative way. Physical needs are the most important ones during this period, so you need to take care of them in the first phase...Of course, we give importance to expert opinions. I have searched through the Internet about everything that I am curious about. Of course, there are also so many traditional factors, but their impacts decrease over time. Scientific facts may not always be effective on actual behaviors, but we do check them out ...For instance, there is some remarkable research shared on social media, or some of the issues that I researched on the Internet can have effective outcomes. In addition, my academician friends are also supportive...I have so many friends from the academic world...Our conversations also have an impact, as we talk about different styles of raising a child. I listen to their opinions on activities to do with the children and ask for their reference guides. These are very effective for me." (G-7)

Although this text of speech does not have a clear outline, it can be argued that its main theme centers on trust in the scientific evidence. This academician mother with two children touching on significant factors governing her maternal tendencies to assert that becoming a mother does not involve a single approach. The mother stated that she is still dependent on traditional approaches, having received traditional family support, particularly in the early childhood periods of the children, when physical care had more importance. In talking about receiving support from the senior members of her family, the mother used the second person plural pronoun, an indication of how this is a general practice within Turkish society, and her sentence "you raise your child in a cooperative way" is a reference to the social functioning of family solidarity. The mother also made mention of the primary difference between raising the first and the second child, stating that the second child was raised without as much influence from the senior family members. This situation points to the fact that in the case of the second child, the mother did not receive as much family support, as the idea of motherhood had been experienced with the first child and therefore

there was a greater sense of independence and less influence of external factors with the second child.

The participant stated that she referred to scientific knowledge many times while she was raising her children, and emphasized that the friends she asked the opinions of regarding this issue were from the academic world ("In addition, my academician friends…") This statement was made under the presumption that the maternal tendencies of academicians fall within the scientific framework, and she made a distinction between scientific issues and non-scientific issues.

2-Religious tendencies: Children are entrusted to us

Three of the six women who defined themselves as *religious* stated that they directly took religion as a reference, and evaluated the scientific and traditional issues in terms of their religious views.

"In other words, to avoid taking away the rights of God…It is totally for religious purposes. Our children are entrusted to us; I should take care of my children to the best of my ability…I don't want to ignore anything. Of course, it is the providence of God, but I don't want my God to condemn me for not doing everything I can. (Tradition) generally does not affect anything. I take the truth as the model, but only after checking the validity of this truth in terms of verses and the Sunnah, and science. The experts' opinions are important. For instance, we liked to sleep together with our baby, but in a parent-teacher meeting, the kindergarten teacher warned us to "please not sleep with your children after they are four years old" and we immediately applied that rule. My feelings are not important regarding whether or not this is right or wrong." (G-1)

This mother of an only child was a teacher. During the interview she made it clear that religion was the only reference source in her maternal tendencies as well as in every other aspect of her life. The term *entrusted*, which is widely used in religious literature, was clarified in the text of speech. This term is generally based on the last sermon (Khutbah) of Hz. Muhammad (the Prophet) (Şişman, 2006), where he advised his followers to behave properly for the things entrusted to them (wife, child, goods, etc.) and to return them to their rightful owners, as one day they would appear before God and answer for their deeds. The term *right* emphasized by the mother is remarkable, as it indicates the privilege of the trustee. According to this, the entrusted one is weak, the trustees are strong; and the stronger one will be asked for the goods entrusted. After this, the mother goes on to emphasize her weakness ("Our children are entrusted to us; I should take care of my children to the best of my ability…") as also a part of religious understanding. Asserting her own *weaknesses* and seeing herself ("I don't want to ignore anything.") as a follower of a religion promising that

human beings are not given more than they can bear[1], suggests that the issue of motherhood is related to taking religious responsibility rather than to establishing a mother-infant relationship. After establishing her religion reference, traditional and scientific issues are taken into account, and the idea of motherhood is constructed according to a new behavioral pattern. The mother obeyed the expert's opinion to not share the same bed with her child, asserting her sense of responsibility in sacrificing her emotional processes for the sake of her child's healthy development.

The mother's position within the context of religious sensitivity is consistent with her thoughts and beliefs. The construction of God as *the one asking his followers to answer for their deeds* required that the mother position herself as one who accepted God as the main reference, who lived up to the idea of *giving the right answers* when it was time and who *protected the rights of those entrusted to them.* Furthermore, she took the information that she and her husband learned from the teacher and eliminated what was considered to be detrimental to their child, compromising, in part, religious consistency, but nonetheless, in turn, presenting herself as someone *who did not let her heart rule her brain* and who *definitely applied the truth.*

The following text of speech, where once again religion is expressed as the main principle in maternal tendencies, as in other aspects of life, is remarkable considering the mother's profession.

"It is neither my teaching profession nor my role as an instructor, but rather only one factor is included at the center of my life when it comes doing the right thing, like stopping at a red light or going on green: Religion. It is the axis of my life. I try to live accordingly. It is open to discussion about whether or not I am successful at living up to my religion, but ultimately this is a de facto issue and I don't think that religious principles are open to discussion. I think it is beyond mental reasoning. I don't necessarily agree with the view that if something is accepted after an assessment by the mind, it should be done. This is beyond the mind. Therefore, religion is the basic principle for me." (G-3)

The expressions of the mother regarding the supremacy of religious over mental reasoning point to the conflicts of modernity and religion. All the women who defined themselves as *religious* had the same opinion, even if they did not express these feelings with such clarity as this mother did. The religion/science relationship is outside the scope of this research and therefore the arguments presented by scientists are not discussed. However, in this study, as the aim was to understand the basis of women's maternal tendencies, it can be said that religion dominated over all other factors for the participants who had religious tendencies. It is worth noting that the women, despite their scientist identity, still preferred the religious approach to

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[1] In the religion of Islam, the verse 286 of Surah Al Baqarah states that God does not give burdens which people have no strength to bear: "God does not burden any soul with more than it can bear".

the scientific approach. This choice is mainly based on the understanding that religious beliefs are not contrary to scientific evidence.

2-a-Religion supports scientific evidence

"In terms of the child, their eating consists of breastfeeding…Regarding these kinds of things, they are done only because I believe they are useful…Scientifically, the latest trend is that breastfeeding should be maintained for at least the first two years of a child's life. The mother's milk is very useful for babies, and I think breastfeeding benefits the baby's immune system. I would breastfeed my baby (even if the science were to contradict the benefits of breastfeeding). I mentioned science, insofar as it supports our religious perspective, otherwise the religious viewpoint would have primary importance for me. For instance, it is because I thought that it was commanded in the Sunnah to breastfeed a baby until they are two-years old; that is, it is religiously recommended. Otherwise, breastfeeding is a kind of torture for me. Perhaps torture is too strong, I can instead say, it is a bit hard." (G.5)

The text from this mother, who has only one child and holds a master's degree, regarding the breastfeeding period, serves as one of the bases of the arguments on the approaches of religious women to the relationship between science and religion. One of the remarkable findings from this study was that while all eight of the women who participated in this study referred to scientific information for their maternal tendencies, this information did not necessarily form an essential part of their maternal tendencies. The scientific awareness of religious women and their use of scientific information –as in the above- was very high. However, they gave priority to their religious beliefs, using religious information without asking about or questioning the validity of their beliefs; although they did keep the scientific information in the background. In the final analysis, the women who claimed that scientific information did not contradict in any way with religion-derived information emphasized that they preferred religion in the case of a contradiction.

The mother who made the above-written statement made the decision to breastfeed her child primarily on the basis of religious rules, which was later strengthened through scientific research results. She decided to breastfeed her child for two years, even though breastfeeding was a very hard situation for her. The impact of the religious advice, which in this case was supported by scientific information, overcame the tortuous effects the mother was exposed to.

3-Traditional tendencies

It was observed in the research that the women distanced themselves somewhat from tradition but still did not totally dismiss it. Tradition was generally applied after the elimination of science and religion.

"In recent times, I've never completely ignored tradition, rather I have examined the scientific background of traditional matters or practices that I had learned from my mother before putting them into practice." (G.6)

"All of them are effective. I give more importance to traditional information; in other words, 'my grandmother did this like that, elders did this like that…' I also apply science to these traditional approaches, trying to reason them out…" (G.5)

"I question everything considered traditional. At first I just listen to them, and if they are not rational, I just say "this is not rational" even for traditional things…I do not say 'yes' and accept everything, but at the same time, I do not block out traditions. I definitely listen to what is said. If it is rational, I do it. In other words, I do not say, 'this is a traditional output, the elderly does not understand anything', but rather, I listen to everything that is said. However, the responsibilities I have to my child totally belong to me; my baby is entrusted to me…My baby is entrusted to me by God, and I am the one who will make the final decision." (G-2)

The women who defined themselves as *religious* and accepted religious issues but kept a safe distance from the traditional ways[1] and its many multiple meanings did so by questioning the traditions. In addition, the women who defined themselves as *religious* did not develop an absolute acceptance notion for any categories. For these women, the issue of religion can never be questioned, whereas the non-religious issues were open to questioning at any time. This situation reflects the conflict between modernity and religion. The mental-based questioning approach of G-2 toward tradition is mentioned in the text in the form of religious responsibility. In other words, if the traditional issue stands in opposition to logic, it must also be religiously wrong (illogical) to adopt it, since having an illogical (wrong) behavior pattern means not performing tasks for the one entrusted to you (betrayal). As the protectionist tendency of the religious participants for the *entrusted* is traditional[2], individualism within this context is a very modern phenomenon. As is seen, contradictory routes among the modern issues and religious issues also maintain their existence in the maternal tendencies.

4- The impact of the mother in the construction of motherhood: Mother incentive for internal tendencies

It is fairly well-known that there is a considerable "mother effect" in the construction of the daily life of women (Fidan, 2015). While we did not ask any specific questions regarding the motherhood experiences of the participants' mothers, during the interview, we observed that the women referenced their mothers in many different

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[1] Tradition involves various meanings. The women who participated in this study perceived this term as "an ideological instrument used in daily language to give meaning to customs and morals, and as thus, it produces certain behavioral patterns within the society and forces people to behave according to these patterns". However, Nasr states that tradition can be considered as the principles connecting people with the Divine, in other words, it falls within the context of religion (Vural, 2003).

[2] The term *traditional* was used here to reflect the view that the religious means outside of modernity.

ways. From this, it can be said that senses, thoughts and experiences have an impact on women's maternal tendencies as they relate to the participants' mothers.

The expressions of the academician mother who defined herself as *religious* are remarkable in that they present the mother impact and prioritize the effect of instincts.

"I actually think that it is a little instinctual, since it is…My mother always told me, 'from now on, you are a mother…' At first, she told me that 'behave instinctually, do whatever you feel'. It really is…Whatever you feel at that time…Only you understand that your child is hungry. My mother said that nobody can care for a child better than the mother. It is correct, indeed… For instance, I see now that grandmas look after the child and also the nursemaid cares for the child. Although they are experienced, their care is not as good as the mother's care. Mothers' energy is so different. Feeding the baby, getting the baby dressed, and cleaning the baby, these are routine issues; I mean, this is a different thing. All of them combine into one. I don't think anybody can care for a child better than the mother." (G-2)

The participant's child had just turned one. Therefore, the mother mainly focused on physical care[1] in regard to her maternal tendencies. However, the meaning of caring for/ raising the child was based on the *direct interaction* established with the child rather than on pursuing physical excellence. The mother-child interaction was defined as a unique experience in the text of speech, but the previous experiences of family members (grandmas) were not denied, as competency in child-care was combined with the mother. G-2 referred to her mother as instructing her to trust her instinctual feelings –although as a scientist, it was expected to be based on 'science', not on instincts-. The strong impression of the mother figure in the women's life (Fidan, 2015) once again appeared with its effects on the maternal tendencies of an academician woman.

4-a-The awareness of improper behaviors of the mother in the past

The mother's maternal tendency as expressed below does not appear to be modeled on her own mother's pattern of daily life construction (Fidan, 2015)[2].

"For instance, during my childhood, I was aware that my mother hid things from my father…She had some secrets…Over time, I observed that keeping secrets was not right. Of course there may be some things that should not be told to fathers, some things can be hid from them, but…There are many things that should be resolved between mother and daughter, but some of them should not be hid…Since, it gradually

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[1] G-2 breastfed her baby only for six months. The mother was not negatively affected by this short-term breastfeeding because it had to end due to physiological reasons; that is, her milk dried in its natural process and her son stopped suckling the breast. The participant did not mention any religious advice regarding the breastfeeding period but rather emphasized the natural process regarding the issue, which is consistent with her instinctive tendency.

[2] In the stressful relationships between mothers and daughters, it has been observed that girls develop opposite reactions to those of their mother to build their own identity (Fidan, 2015).

becomes a game of telling lies after a certain point…For instance, I try to impose on my daughter to not lie…Of course, she may not tell some things to me, but if she tells a lie to avoid telling the truth…I hesitate a lot about these things; I pay attention to them but see them as cases of incorrect behavior in my life…This is also valid for the smallest cases. For example, you prepare food for your child, your baby doesn't want to eat cheese, so you tell the child 'there is no cheese in it…' But it does have cheese. I try to be careful about doing these kinds of things, since I think that these are important in establishing the child's full confidence in me in the following years. Even today, I try to tell my mother, in as delicate a manner as possible, how she should not tell any lies, but she did all these things before and I did not pay too much attention to them. I try to avoid making her believe that "You can tell a lie whenever you need, this is not bad" (G-4)

The mother here does not agree with her mother's maternal pattern, but instead of developing an adverse reaction, she developed certain behaviors whereby she was able to avoid the same mistakes she had witnessed her mother making. G-4 is an academician who defines herself as a *religious* woman. She became a mother after *longing to have a child* for many years (ten years), a circumstance contributing to her strong sense of responsibility, in addition to her deep love. The general tone of the statement reflects that the mother has a religious stance, but that she finds herself wanting, to a certain extent, on matters of religion. Although the assessments of G-4 regarding her own mother does not appear in the text, the mothers influence naturally played an important role in developing G-4's religious sensitivity. The concern expressed over potentially harming the child's feeling of confidence is essentially based on a scientific ground. However, in this case, the mother developed a behavioral pattern for raising her child that involved not only a scientific concern, but also a religious concern. G-4, who grew up in a family where religion was not a primary point of reference and the family did not behave in a religiously *sensitive* manner, stated that she had made some *mistakes* in her youth because of her mother's wrong attitudes. G-4 wants to protect her daughter from making similar *mistakes*, and she delicately warns her mother, being sure not to injure her feelings, to avoid lying when her child is in the mother's care. In effect, she tries to substitute her own truth in social life with *various multi-dimensional approaches.*

5-Mixed tendencies

As stated above, the factors affecting maternal tendencies are multi-dimensional.

"Of course, traditional things are absolutely effective, but I also try to read. I also read to better understand what I should do, to learn how to spend quality time with my baby. I know that it is important. I work, so I just see my daughter at nights, I see how much she misses me during the day and try to spend the remaining time together, but as a working mother I need to do some other things at home as well. Therefore, because of this regret I feel, I investigate to learn what I can do better. In other words,

we work to raise her to have more self-confidence, to stand on her own two feet, and to be a good person. We try to teach her to do the right things, but actually it is very hard to find the most accurate way…How do we find the right attitudes, I mean I do not see myself as a religiously wise person. I try to learn many things appropriate to religion, but I don't think I know the right ones. But I try to do the best. I read so many books before the birth of my daughter in order to learn how to do my part in raising a wise generation. I try to prioritize those things." (G-4)

It has been established that effective management of the mother and child relationship is important in the development of children's emotional status (Field, 1994)[1]. It is understood from the text of speech that this management is also effective in the mother's emotional status as well. The mother initially expressed her own emotional tendencies (longing) before emphasizing the child's needs. It is remarkable that the mother-woman, who had internalized the gender roles prescribed by the traditional society, does not complain about the responsibilities brought about by these social roles; rather, she feels a sense of guilt at not being able to tend to her child and perform the housework together. We can conclude that the mother exhibited traditional attitudes, and that her slow and steady approach to tradition is in keeping with the maternal tendencies exhibited by the other women who participated in this study. The women do not necessarily oppose tradition, nor do they ignore the traditional factors, but instead they keep tradition at a safe distance, almost coding its impact as *involuntary.* The mother individually questions herself in each sentence of the text on how to raise her child in the best way; according to this, tradition is not voluntarily selected and referred to for information but is automatically effective. Motherhood is mostly constructed through a combination of scientific and religious information, with the results of this information being negotiated by a questioning and investigation inspired by the insufficiencies or shortcomings felt by the mother.

The following text of speech highlights the mixed effect of maternal tendency:

"I read child development books, I searched on the Internet, I ask for advice from experienced mothers, for instance, more modern mothers. In addition, I try to eliminate as much as possible those things which contradict my religious beliefs. I do not know which one comes first, I cannot make a ranking, but I try to apply a mix of everything." (G-6)

In the expressions of the academician mother who defined herself as *religious*, it is possible to discern all the arguments that had been previously presented by the other mothers. The confidence in scientific knowledge is first presented in this text of

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[1]The responsibilities taken by the mother and her exhibited behaviors in the mother and child relationship affect the child's development in a multidimensional way. The physical and emotional deficiencies of the mother cause emotional disorders in the child, since the mother is a regulator of the child's emotional stimulus. The mother's high doses of insufficiency –like depression- negatively affects the child (Field, 1994).

speech, but it is clear that tradition is a slow and safe way to apply things (I ask for advice from modern mothers). The information obtained by various resources is gradually eliminated on the basis of its agreement or contradiction with religion. Religion stands as the unchanging point of reference influencing maternal tendency.

In lieu of Epilogue

It is clear that motherhood, as a recent widespread topic of discussion, has a specific representation within the Turkish society. Miller stated that historical, cultural, and social factors have a direct effect on all matters related to motherhood. As such, the physiological-based experience of motherhood involves multi-dimensional social and cultural approaches. In this study where we investigated the way in which these approaches are represented in the Turkish society, it was found that motherhood is primarily a cultural construction (Badinter, 2011; Miller, 2010; Beauvoir, 2010; Irigaray, 2014; Kristeva, 2012; Fidan, 2016). As stated in the beginning of this article, it may appear overly ambitious to assert the generalizability of the results given that the data were obtained through interviews conducted with only eight mother-women. However, as is known, the objective of qualitative research techniques is to analyze an issue within a narrow-scope and thereby contribute to the whole body of data compiled on the issue to arrive at universal/general conclusions (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011).

One of the objectives of this study was to understand the differences among the religious and non-religious women in their motherhood definitions and maternal tendencies. The main purpose of the study was to find answers to how women perceived motherhood and how they determined their maternal tendencies; religion and higher education profiles –particularly professional academic background- were taken as the main impact factors in the conduct of this study. These main impact factors on motherhood constructed within the cultural structure of Turkish society are defined as follows.

All the women who participated in this study highlighted the sense of maternal responsibility, defining the sense of responsibility as *heavy* burdens, and these heavy burdens served as the determinants of motherhood.

However, the women did not mention any undue distress about the situation, despite their emphasis on the difficulties of this heavy burden. Rather, all the difficulties were compensated for by the feeling of satisfaction derived from the love they had for their children. In this context, although the women found motherhood to be a heavy experience, as it brings so many responsibilities that significantly change the course of daily life, they defined their emotional satisfaction obtained from this experience as a *unique, incomparable* situation which *cannot be sacrificed for anything.* There was no distinct effect from religion observed in these approaches.

In the research, it was determined that all the women placed importance on and applied scientific information when it came to developing their maternal tendencies, but they did not regard science as the basic reference source. There are multiple reasons for this. Although the women who defined themselves as *religious* were shown to considerably rely on and attribute value to the information obtained by scientific research, they did not see science as the only reference point; instead, they were aware that motherhood was a cultural construction. The idea that the perception of motherhood in the Western societies is different than the perception of motherhood in Turkish society appeared to somehow prevent Western research results from being taken as absolute references. Motherhood tendencies were rather developed according to the predominant cultural values of Turkey. All the women who defined themselves as *religious Muslims* attributed significant importance to scientific information and referred to scientific research results. However, the sensibility of these women in terms of their maternal tendencies was mostly developed within the context of a religious perception. The women referred to various resources, particularly scientific information, in the determination of their maternal tendencies, but they eliminated these sources when they came in conflict with their religious references, and at the end, they did not give any credit to information determined to be inconsistent with their religion. Scientific and traditional information approved by religious sources contributed to the behavioral tendencies of the women in a rational manner.

It is important here to note that maternal tendency is not affected by only one factor; rather, the development of maternal tendencies occurs within a complex structure, with primary impact factors possibly differing considerably. It was found that the women did not completely dismiss traditional approaches, but that they approached tradition from a critical stance, only accepting traditional information and tendencies after looking at them through the lens of logic. This questioning approach used by the women has its basis in both religious and scientific impulses. The religious women in the study suggested that religion did not stand in opposition to science, but tradition did present itself as *problematic*, in terms of science and religion, for the women. It was particularly remarkable that the women developed an attitude that unequivocally supported science against tradition. However, all the women who participated in the research were seen to have accepted the housework (Fidan, 2014) and maternal responsibilities brought about by tradition, without questioning. Although the women accepted their social gender roles without questioning, their stance was contradictory, as they exhibited a critical approach to tradition for their maternal tendencies. Two academician women who defined themselves as *feminists* were included within the same category, which can be regarded as the genuine appearance of the cultural impact on the maternal perception and tendencies.

To conclude, maternal processes cannot be considered independently from the sociocultural processes. The maternal tendencies developed in Turkish society are

closely connected with cultural roots and values. As motherhood is constructed with the cultural codes of our society, where the impact factors of religion and science present similar results, motherhood nonetheless seems to maintain its social scientific importance.

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Migration and Youth – New Perspectives in the Post Covid Era. Case Study: Republic of North Macedonia

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic seems to be under control and it might seem as we are about to get back to normal life or switch to the so-called post Covid era. However, even though the governments' responses to the virus may be slowly withdrawn, their impact from geopolitics to healthcare to technology will live on. This infers that we cannot return to the world as it was before and we should expect a "post-COVID world" and a" New Normality". Hence, it is of critical importance to deliberate the "new normal", and prospects of the post-COVID world. In that regard, migration remains a first-hand phenomenon to be on focus of research. Among many other consequences, the COVID-19 crisis seems to have posed considerable risks in the fields of education, employment, mental health and disposable income for young people. Therefore, this research aims to shed light on the phenomenon of (e)migration by discussing the intentions and motives of undergraduate students and identifying the factors for potential emigration. Participants consisted of 525 undergraduate students enrolled in Albanian speaking public universities in North Macedonia. Some of the research objectives include: measure youth perceptions regarding (e)migration from the country towards other countries; analyze whether the Covid19 crisis has increased or decreased young people's willingness to (e)migrate; explore whether the development of technology related with many professions, influences positively young people in terms of professional development, etc.

Methodologically, this study is a combination of literature review and empirical data analysis, conducted in the period of March 2021 – June 2021. The results of this research show that the willingness to leave the country remains high, but the factors/motives have changed. Professional development is the new driving force for youth to leave the country. Second factor remains the economic one. Family income is not a main relevant factor on their perceptions to leave the country, although income is important.

Keywords: North Macedonia; migration; youth; motives; covid19 pandemic

Introduction

The phenomenon of migration is as old as human history. Past has shown that societies abandon their countries and settle in different regions of the world for different reasons. Migration processes are multidimensional and they occur because of many reasons[1]. Very often, the reasons are related with the searching for better living conditions, and sometimes as a result of socio-political pressure, war and threats encountered in the homeland. Migration started becoming a special momentum particularly in the era of industrialism, when imbalances are created, especially in the economic field between different countries of the world. In this sense, economically underdeveloped countries and countries with fragile democratic values and human rights and freedoms, tend to produce more migrants than economically developed countries and countries with consolidated democracies (McNeill, 1984).

Despite the fact that migration as a social, economic and cultural phenomenon is as old as human history itself, studies on this phenomenon have started quite later. Nevertheless, migration is a notion closely related to political, economic, cultural, social phenomena thus it has gained a position of increasing importance in many disciplines of social sciences. Since each scientific field analyzes and treats this notion or phenomenon differently, difficulties arise in defining it accurately.

As a random definition, largely used, migration means the displacement of people or groups from one particular country to another country for economic, political, cultural, social, or other reasons (Türk dil kurumu, 2005). According to a broader definition, migration is the phenomenon of people moving or relocating from their homeland and settling in another place, permanently or temporarily, in the hope for better opportunities for life. Based on this definition, migration can be explained as an act of displacement to meet certain needs. The United Nations as a demographic phenomenon accepts migration and this notion in itself includes two constitutive

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[1] William H. McNeill. (1984). "Human Migration in Historical Perspective", Population and Development Review, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 3.

elements: space and time. In this context, migrants are considered those individuals who live abroad for at least one year (Osaki-Tomita, 2017).

According to Osaki-Tomita (2017, p.2), apart from such fundamental definition developed for measurement purposes, the improvements in the concepts and definitions on migrants that would allow further classification of migrants or characterization of the complexity of migration remain to be achieved[1].

There are several accepted causes of migration[2]: such as economic factors (differences in living conditions between countries). Secondly, poor management and governance and inadequacy of public services in underdeveloped countries; demographic factors (low birth rates in developing countries require workers, high unemployment caused by high birth rates in underdeveloped countries), international networks (where previously emigrated family members pull others behind them), conflicts, wars, and natural disasters (Laczko & Anich, 2013, p.33). However, the context always matters, therefore in the research the focus will be the North Macedonian context, as a country context experiencing vigorous migration flows in the last decades.

Brain drain

Today, developments in the field of information, transport and communication enable people to progress faster, in terms of employment, education, career opportunities and quality of life. In addition to all these attractive opportunities, individuals tend to seek a better future for themselves and their families in the face of difficulties such as conflict environment, unemployment, poverty and inequality in their countries (UN, 2017)[3]. The greatest asset in the 21st century, otherwise known as the "information age," is the power of the educated, information-rich brain. The wealth index of many countries, as much as their industrial potentials and other resources measure it, is also measured by the care they pay to science and education.

Brain drain is a concept that refers to the migration of highly qualified individuals, who are generally university graduates or have experience and knowledge equivalent to a university degree in any field, from their own countries to other countries. Academic interest in brain drain mainly began in the 1950s, when the migration of qualified people from third world countries to developed countries began (Adams,

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[1] For more see: Osaki-Tomita. (2017). Revisiting the concepts, definitions and data sources of international migration in the context of the 2030 agenda for sustainable development.

[2] For more see: Laczko, F., and Anich, R. (2013). World Migration Report 2013, (Ed.), Switzerland: IOM Press. Available at: https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr2013_en.pdf , (Accessed, March 2021).

[3] For more see: United Nations, "International Migration Report 2017, United Nations. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017_Highlights.pdf , (Accessed September 2021).

1968). In this context, the notion of brain drain implies the international transfer of resources in the form of human capital.

Brain drain expresses the migration flow of highly educated and intelligent people from developing countries to developed countries (Docquiera & Rapoportb, 2006). Brain drain separately involves the migration of engineers, doctors, scientists and other highly skilled professionals and university academics, to developed countries. In another definition, the notion of escape of the brain represents the process of migration of a well-educated, qualified and talented individual from an underdeveloped country or from a developing country to a developed country (Kaya, 2009, p. 15).

Educated and specialized people within or outside the country, usually want to live in places that offer better working conditions, successful careers and a better salary. To create these opportunities or conditions, the developed and modern countries of the world allocate most of their budgets for education, innovation, that is, for the training and development of a qualified staff. In this context, international brain drain movements have gained momentum in recent years.

Migration in the context of Republic of North Macedonia

Prior to an overview of the migration processes for the North Macedonian context, it would be appropriate to provide some backgrounds of migration of the Balkan countries from a historical perspective. In this context, the Balkans, like many other regions of the world since the late 19th century, has been a space that has produced migrants around the world. Of course, migration in the context of the displacement of people from one country to another is a much older historical process, and in this context, of course, the Balkans as a space or geography area has experienced these processes. Nevertheless, the issue of migration from countries of the Balkans, at least the geographical area that today is called the Western Balkans, largely begins in the late 19th century, when nationalism and nation-states were born. In this period, the demographic turned into biopolitics was a very important factor for the creation of ethnic states in accordance with the typology of nationalism in the Balkans.

In this context wars, persecutions and population exchanges are presented as the main sources of migration in this Geographical area. Of course, the economic factor has been and is, perhaps the main factor for the depopulation of this space and the production of migrants all over the world.

In these 30 years of independence the Republic of North Macedonia, is considered as the country that migrates the most in all of Eastern Europe. The main source of migration has been poverty, unemployment, corruption and mismanagement of the state. From various sources we have accessed, the number varies from 300 to 500 thousand people for these 15 years.

According to some data published in 2019 by the United Nations, based on foreign sources, from the Republic of North Macedonia, in the last 20 years some 650 thousand people have migrated, while the World Bank speaks of 500 thousand people (Xhuda, 2020). According to some other sources, it is estimated that from 1990 to 2019 about 200 thousand people or 32% of the total population migrated from Macedonia (Petreski, 2021). As revealed by Petreski (2021) the main reason for migration is poverty, i.e. efforts to find better work and higher standard of living. For example, 58% of respondents who have close family members who have migrated state that he / she migrated to find work, earn money or send remittances to their family members. The second reason for migration that reflects 21% is family reunification or marriage. Meanwhile, the development of skills as a reason that triggers migration ranks in third place with 16%.[1]

Youth migration in the context of North Macedonia

Migration movements as a process of population allocation on a global scale, further stimulated by economic disproportion, political instability, military conflicts, but also the general globalization trend of mobility, have intensified in recent decades (Stojanovski, 2020). In addition to economic assumptions, a driving factor for migration among young people is also education, especially at the secondary and tertiary level (Docquier, 2014). According to Stojanovski (2020, p.11) this factor of migration most often refers to the category of 15 to 25 years of age, more often covering the male in comparison with the female population.

Various research have sought to acknowledge the reasons behind youth migration. Reviewed by Popovic and Gligorovic (2016) young people migrate in a search for better life in other countries due to greater opportunities to find good employment, greater opportunities for career advancement, better formal and more opportunities for non-formal education, as well as better incomes. As stated by Popovic and Gligorovic (2016) most young people would like to move permanently to one of the EU member states, and the reason for the eventual departure is sought in the greater employment opportunities in accordance with the qualifications that young people have and the better standard of living. According to the study on youth migration conducted by Topuzovska Latkovic, Popovska, Serafimovska & Cekic, 2013, p. 56), every second young person in 2013 planned or was considering leaving the country. In another study Topuzovska Latkovic, Popovska and Starova (2016), revealed that as many as 80% of unemployed young people in 2016 thought or planned to leave the country. In both studies, the most important reason for such a tendency is the finances and living standards, i.e. unemployment and poverty in the country, as opposed to the better conditions for education, work and life abroad. Similarly, Dinkovski and Markovska-Simoska (2018) study found that 69% of students would like to work

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[1] For more see: Марјан Петрески, Каква е интеракцијата на миграцијата, човечкиот капитал, и пазарот на трудот во Северна Македонија, European Training Foundation, 2021, pp. 7/14.

abroad, and the main reason is based on economic assumptions for better employment and higher incomes.

In sum, the main factor for youth migration remains the lack of employment opportunities, especially in areas according to acquired educational qualifications. According to the latest statistical data from the State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, for the first quarter of 2020, out of 65,439 able-bodied under the age of 24, 43,241 are employed and 22,199 are registered as unemployed (Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2021).

The COVID 19 crisis accelerated the economy in the Western Balkan. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), even before the COVID 19 pandemic, young people were around three times likely to be unemployed. The youth unemployment rate in Western Balkan was already high before the pandemic, especially when compared to that of other European countries. However, the data collected by the Platform for Employment and Social Affairs of the Regional Cooperation Council and analyzed in a report entitled "Study on Youth Employment in the Western Balkans " show that, from 2017 onwards, a positive trend was being recorded, then halted by the outbreak of the pandemic (De Feo, 2021). Looking at the single year of 2020, in almost all countries the crisis caused an increase in youth unemployment towards the end of the year.

In North Macedonia, youth unemployment peaked at 39.2% in the fourth quarter of 2020 compared to 33.8% in the previous quarter. In all other countries there was an increase of 3 to 6 percentage points over the same period, although the unemployment rate remained below 40%. On the other hand, the accelerated adoption of technology and the shift from offline to online channels have created new behaviors and preferences. Many of these new habits are likely to stick and many of the changes might be permanent, which raises questions concerning migration and mobility. What are the trends and patterns of migration in a post-covid-19 era; what will be the impact of the accelerated adoption of technology in human mobility and migration; will the new way of working be averting brain drain in post-covid-19 era.

Empirical study

This study draws on previous similar research and seeks to deepen the acquired knowledge about the migration potential of young people. The aim of this research is to shed light on the phenomenon of relocation through the analysis of attitudes, intentions and motives of students of North Macedonia to migrate by making comparisons on the perceptions in the period before and post COVID 19 pandemic.

In line with the aim of this study, several research questions (RQ) and hypotheses (H) were posed.

RQ1: What were the perceptions toward potential migration before pandemic?

The following hypotheses test research question # 1:

H1. There was a desire for potential migration before pandemic.

H2. The willingness toward potential migration before pandemic was high.

H3. The economic factor was perceived as a main driver for the departure of young people.

RQ2: What were the perceptions toward potential migration post pandemic?

The following hypotheses test research question # 2:

H4. The willingness toward potential migration post pandemic is high.

H5. Young people from lower family income have positive attitude toward migration.

H6. Young people in their final year of study have more positive attitude toward migrating.

H7. Technological development affected the reduction of young people's interest in moving abroad.

RQ3: Has the pandemic affected the desire of young students to leave the country?

The following hypotheses test research question # 3:

H7: The willingness for migration has decreased after pandemic.

RQ4: Are there differences between males and females on their perceptions toward migrating?

H8: There are differences between males and females concerning potential migration.

H9: Males likelihood toward potential migrating is higher than females.

RQ5: Is the length of time that a student has stayed abroad a factor that influences their desire to migrate?

H10: People that have being abroad have higher desire about migrating.

H11. Students whom they have had longer length of stay are more willing to migrate.

RQ6: Does the employment status influence their desire for migration?

H12: unemployed youth have a higher desire for migration.

RQ7: What are the perceptions of young students about some of their future prospects?

Method

A survey was developed in order to investigate the influence of the pandemic on youth perceptions and desire to migrate. The survey was made up of two questionnaires: a

self-report questionnaire in which students had to evaluate their perceptions concerning migration before pandemic, and a self-report questionnaire in which students were to rate their perceptions about migration post pandemic.

Participants

The study used a simple random sample in which every case had an equal chance of being included. Participants consisted of 525 undergraduate students enrolled in Albanian speaking public universities in North Macedonia. Students' participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous. The response rate was 100% thus all participants were included in the sample, resulting in a sample of 525 participants, of which 44.6% (n=234) females and 55.4% (n=234) males (Figure 1.1, Figure 1.2).

Figure1.1. Descriptive statistics about genderFigure 1.2. Respondents' gender
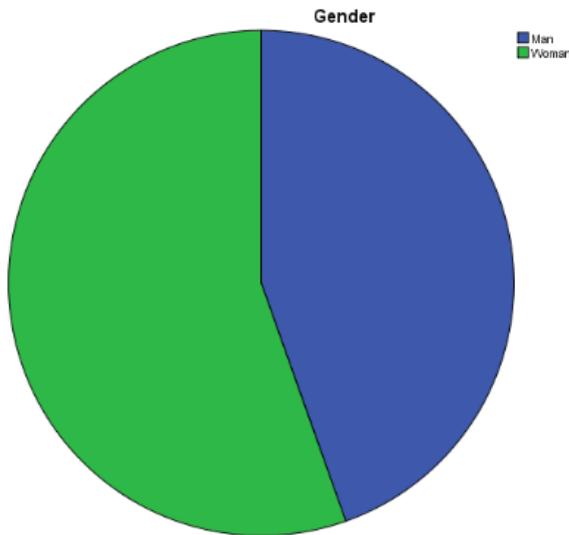
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Man	234	44.6
	Woman	291	55.4
	Total	525	100.0

As shown in Figure 1.3. , 85.1% of the respondents were under 24 years old, 8.6% were aged 25-29 , 1.7 % were aged 30-34, and the rest were over 34 (Figure 1.3 , the

highest reported percentage of respondents reside in urban places (53.1%), followed closely by respondents from rural places (46.9%).

Figure 1.3. Respondents' age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	<24	447	85.1	85.1
	25-29	45	8.6	8.6
	30-34	9	1.7	1.7
	>35	24	4.6	4.6
	Total	525	100.0	100.0

As regard the year of study, 29,1% (n=153) of the respondents were in their 1st year of study, same percentage of 25.1% (n=132) were pursuing 2nd year and 4th year of study, and the rest were in their 3rd year of study (20.6%, n=108). The majority of the respondents pursue Social Sciences faculty with 40.6%, followed by 20% of the respondents from the Technical Sciences, 10.67% Technological Sciences, 4% Informatics, 1.5% Construction and Architecture, while the rest are from other faculties (23.2%) not specified.

68.6% (n=360) of the respondents were unemployed, 16.4% (n=86) employed full time, and the rest 15.05% (n=79) employed part-time.

Survey instrument

The study used a close-ended questionnaire, so that the respondent was offered answers from which he/she could choose one. The questionnaire consisted of two parts, the demographic part and an instrument measuring perceptions about migration, which was divided in two scales. Perceptions on migration prior COVID 19 pandemic were operationalized using a 6-item scale and perceptions on migration post pandemic were operationalized using a 16-item scale. Both scales employ a five-point response format (Strongly Disagree=1; Disagree=2; Neither Agree nor Disagree=3; Agree=4; Strongly Agree=5) and ask students to evaluate the extent to which they agree with the perceptions and attitudes toward migration.

Procedures

The survey was administered online by using Google Form and took only 5 minutes to respond. The link to the questionnaire was sent via e-mail and mobile applications such as Viber and WhatsApp. Respondents had the opportunity to answer the

questionnaire via computer, mobile or tablet. Completing the questionnaire took approximately 5 minutes. The data collection process started in May 2021 and ended in the first week of June of the same year. The rate of answered questionnaires was 100 percent.

Results

Data analysis

Surveys were coded and then they were entered into SPSS 20.00 data system. All items were scored using a five-point Likert scale with the exception of the demographic questions. A score of one indicated unwillingness to migrate while score of five indicated high desire for migrating. The bef2, bef3, and bef5 items measuring perceptions on migration before pandemic and post1, post5, post7, post 10, post11, post12, post13, post14, and post15 items measuring perceptions after pandemic were reverse scored. Reverse scoring was performed in this way: 1 was replaced with 5 and 2 was replaced with 4 and vice versa. After inserting the data in the system, tests were run for reliability, descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. The research questions of this study were tested at a confidence level of 95% (p.5), which means that there is a possibility of being wrong only in 5% of the time. The 95% confidence level is an arbitrary level accepted by the social sciences.

Reliability

The reliability of the items was initially tested for all the cases. Calculating the Cronbach Alpha coefficient is a measure of internal consistency. The reliability test for before and post pandemic perceptions about potential migration was. 817 Cronbach's Alpha (higher than 0.7) which indicates that the instrument has high internal consistency. This value allowed the application of the instrument in the study. After the reliability tests, two new scales were computed for before pandemic migration perceptions ("BEFORE") and post pandemic migration perceptions ("POST") based on the mean of all related items.

Descriptive Statistics

In order to determine the perceptions in regard to potential migration before and post COVID19 pandemic, we need to understand the perceptions of the respondents toward migration, as well as the connection with the socio-demographic data. Descriptive statistics were conducted to answer the first and second research question raised in the realization of this objective.

RQ1: What were the perceptions toward potential migration before pandemic?

The following hypotheses test research question # 1:

H1. There was a desire for potential migration before pandemic.

H2: Work opportunities were perceived as a reason for potential migration.

H3. The economic factor was perceived as a driver for the departure of young people.

Descriptive statistics were conducted on the BEFORE scale (Fig. 4) to measure perceptions toward potential migration before pandemics. From the descriptive table it can be seen that on average the respondents are neutral in their attitude towards migrating (SD=.77), with an arithmetic mean of 3.03 .

Fig. 4. Mean score of perception toward migration before pandemic

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
BEFORE	525	1.00	5.00	3.0257	.76537
Valid N (listwise)	525				

An insight into the respondents' perceptions about potential migration before pandemics can be obtained from descriptive statistics on each alternative. The results reveled by measuring the perceptions before pandemics are given in the following table (Fig. 5) based on their relevance.

Fig. 5. Descriptive statistics in perception toward migration before pandemic

Perceptions in regard to potential migration before pandemic Before the pandemic	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean
I thought going abroad was the best choice for my future.	21.9	14.7	19.8	16.6	27	3.12
I never wanted to leave the country.	34.9	16.0	23.8	10.1	15.2	2.54
I thought the place where I live would offer me greater opportunities for work.	33.0	15.2	24.2	14.1	13.5	2.6
I believed that abroad I could have greater opportunities to develop professionally.	10.5	8.2	20.0	25.7	35.6	3.6

I thought that the country would soon integrate into the European Union so I did not think to leave the country	31.6	15.6	25.3	14.7	12.8	2.6
I saw the economic factor as the main factor for the departure of young people from the country.	13.3	9.5	20.4	18.1	38.7	3.6

The highest percentage of agreement is reported on the perception of *greater opportunities for professional development abroad.* 61.3% of the respondents agree that before pandemic they believed that going abroad was a great opportunity for developing professionally. Despite professional development, another factor that contributed to their willingness for migration before pandemic was the economic factor. 57% of the respondents agreed that *the economic factor was a main factor for the departure of young people from the country.* In this line, 43.6% of the respondents agreed that before pandemic, going abroad was their best choice for their future. In unison with these results, high disagreement is noted in the reverse coded alternatives, where respondents with a percentage of 51% disagree that they *have not thought of leaving the country, and 48.2% disagree that have believed the place they live would offer them opportunities of work.*

RQ2: What were the perceptions toward potential migration post pandemic?

The following hypotheses test research question # 2:

H4. Post pandemic there is a willingness toward potential migration.

H5. Young people from lower family income have positive attitude toward migration.

H6. Young people in their final year of study have more positive attitude toward migrating.

H7: Technological development affected the reduction of young people's interest in moving abroad.

Descriptive statistics were conducted on the POST scale (Fig. 6.) to measure perceptions toward potential migration post pandemics. From the descriptive table it can be seen that on average the respondents are positive in their attitude towards migrating (SD=.78), with an arithmetic mean of 3.94 .

Fig.6. Mean score of willingness to migrate post pandemic

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
POST	525	1.00	5.00	3.9430	.77875
Valid N (listwise)	525				

The results regarding the perceptions toward potential migration post pandemic are given in the above table (Fig.7).

Fig. 7. Descriptive statistics in regard to migration perceptions post pandemic

Perceptions in regard to potential migration POST pandemic	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean
Pandemic has affected their attitude towards migration	21.9	14.7	19.8	16.6	27	3.12
Developed countries have been more efficient in managing the pandemic crisis	34.9	16.0	23.8	10.1	15.2	2.54
If the country integrates quickly into EU they don't plan to leave the country	19.0	15.2	14.2	38.1	13.5	2.6
Perceive technology development as a factor that reduces the need for migration	23	19.6	25.5	19.4	12.4	2.78
Technology development has reduced their interest in moving abroad.	13.3	9.5	20.4	18.1	38.7	3.6

As it can be seen from the percentages, respondents perceive (44.5%) that the *pandemic has affected their attitude towards migration.* With 50% of agreement, respondents perceive that *developed countries have been more efficient in managing the pandemic crisis.* In line with that, they report that *if the country integrates quickly into the EU they do not plan to leave the country.*

As far as technology development respondents showed that, they do not perceive it as a factor that reduces the need for migration (42.6%), while 52.2% agree that technology development has not reduced their interest in moving abroad.

Inferential Statistics

H5. Young people from lower family income have positive attitude toward migration.

An inspection of the means (Fig. 8), shows that regardless the reported family income, respondents had nearly identical scores. The Fratio is quite low (.243) and the Sig. (.866) reported at the ANOVA output box show that these differences are not statistically significant. According to these results, there is no significant difference in willingness to migrate by family income. We can conclude that the economic factor is not the main factor the drive youths potential migration.

Fig. 8. Perceptions toward potential migration before pandemic

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.429	3	.143	.243	.866
Within Groups	306.530	521	.588		
Total	306.958	524			

H6. Young people in their final year of study have more positive attitude toward migrating.

On the basis of the ANOVA test (Fig.9) with a value of significance =.005, and F Ratio (1.931) we can conclude that the groups are heterogenous, which means they vary one from another. The data reveal that there is a significant difference in perceived potential migration by students' year of study.

Anova

Fig. 9. Year of studies and potential migration

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	59.164	24	2.465	1.931	.005
Within Groups	638.481	500	1.277		
Total	697.646	524			

An inspection of the group means shows that the average score for the entire sample was 4.17. Thus, the oldest age group has more willingness to migrate. Considering the fact that opportunities for work and professional development were perceived as drivers of migration, we can conclude that students that are on their final year of graduation express higher willingness for migrating in comparison with students of lower year of study. Connecting with the previous ANOVA test, we can conclude that one of the main drivers for young people is not the economic factor, but the opportunities for professional development abroad. Young people prefer to migrate after they have finished their education and pursue their career in one of the developed countries.

RQ3: Has the pandemic affected the desire of young students to leave the country?

The following hypotheses test research question # 3:

H7: The willingness for migration has decreased after pandemic.

Descriptive statistics were run on the BEFORE and POST scales in order to compare potential migration before and post pandemic. The results revealed that, on overage, students rated their willingness to migrate before pandemic (SD=.77) a 3.03 , which is quite neutral, and rated their desire toward migration post pandemic (SD=.79) as 3.94, which is quite high. These data reveal that pandemic has affected the perception for potential migration. The willingness of migrating has increased in the post pandemic period.

RQ4: Are there differences between males and females on their perceptions toward migrating?

H8: There are differences between males and females in regard to potential migration.

H9: Males likelihood toward potential migrating is higher than females.

The Leven test (Fig.10)was used to test these hypothesis, and to see if there are differences in perceptions toward potential migration by gender. The Independent T-test compares the average of the two groups of the independent variable (gender). Compared to arithmetic means, in the first table it can be seen that perceptions before pandemic were similar between man and woman. The second part of the table shows the data for the Leven test. P value of test is .724, which is greater than 0.05, a common indicator of significance, indicating that there are no significant differences between the two groups. On the other hand, the Leven test about perceptions post pandemic, with a significance of 0.062 we can conclude that there is a difference on the perceptions toward potential migration between males and females, while males are more willing to migrate post pandemic. This finding is in line with existing literature on migration, which shows that males are more willing to migrate than women are.

Fig. 10. Gender differences in perceptions toward potential migration

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Perceptions toward potential migration post pandemic	Man	234	3.9476	.74023	.04839
	Woman	291	2.9392	.80964	.04746
Perceptions toward potential migration before pandemic	Man	234	3.0299	.80090	.05236
	Woman	291	3.0223	.73694	.04320

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means							
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
								Lower	Upper	
Perceptions toward potential migration post pandemic	3.495	.062	.123	523	.902	.00843	.06844	-.12603	.14289	
			.124	514.423	.901	.00843	.06778	-.12473	.14159	
Perceptions toward potential migration before pandemic	.124	.724	.113	523	.910	.00758	.06727	-.12457	.13973	
			.112	479.637	.911	.00758	.06788	-.12580	.14095	

RQ5: Is the length of time that a student has stayed abroad a factor that influences their desire to migrate?

H10: People that have being abroad have higher desire about migrating.

H11. Students whom they have had longer length of stay are more willing to migrate.

The Chi-square test (Fig. 11), which looks at whether there is an association between being before abroad and perception of potential migration, shows a value of 78,586 and the probability of obtaining the same frequencies by chance is .031. Since the value of the test is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that there is a statistically significant correlation between these two variables.

Fig. 11. Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	78.586[a]	57	.031
Likelihood Ratio	89.607	57	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.091	1	.079
N of Valid Cases	525		

The distribution of the percentages of the cross-tabulation shows that young people that have traveled abroad are more prone of migrating. Therefore, the connection is positive. The longer they have stayed abroad the highest the willingness for migrating.

RQ6: Does the employment status influence their desire for migration?

H12: Unemployed young people have a higher desire for migration.

The Chi-Square test (Fig. 12) which looks for a correlation between the employment status and migration perception shows a value of 2.692 and the probability of obtaining the same frequencies is .952. Since the value of the test is above 0.05, it can be concluded that there is no correlation between these two variables.

Fig. 12. Chi-Square Tests correlation between employment status and migration perception

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.692[a]	8	.952
Likelihood Ratio	2.672	8	.953
Linear-by-Linear Association	.122	1	.727
N of Valid Cases	525		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.64.

RQ7: What are the perceptions of young students about some of their future prospects?

Young people think that COVID19 passports will restrict mobility (44.4%), while at the same time they will offer a safe movement through the European countries (38.3%). At the same time, they agree (35%) that the pandemic will increase the intolerance towards foreigners. With 49.1% the respondents agree that the pandemic has brought to the surface that cultural differences in developed countries. These perceptions might be the reasons that have cause a decrease on the desire of migrating in post pandemic period.

Discussion

Previous research indicated that migration of young people is widely recognized as an urgent challenge to North Macedonia's development since the country continues to lose significant portion of its future leaders and professionals as well as laborers. One major contribution of this study is that it expands the previous research on the factors driving youth migration by comparing periods before and post pandemic.

Limitations

The first limitation of the research concerns threats to external validity. The findings are based on a nonrandom sample, which encompassed only students from the Albanian nationality pursuing studies on a public university, which implies that findings cannot be generalized to the whole population. A larger sample would provide more reliable results and more statistically significant findings.

Another limitation of this research has to do with internal validity. Using a scale to measure perceptions of the past might suffer from loss of memory.

Conclusions

Similar to other countries in the region, North Macedonia experiences increasing migration flows and the willingness to leave the country remains high, particularly among young people. Nevertheless, the factors/motives have evidently changed in the last years compared to previous periods on which the desire to leave the country was indisputably due to high rates of unemployment among young people and the willingness to search for better live conditions. Many recent researches show that the Covid 19 crisis has obviously accelerated the situation and as many researches show, more than ever, young people are predisposed to leave the country and reach other more developed countries in the EU and beyond.

In terms of motives, as already highlighted in the findings session of our study, professional development seems to be the new driving force for youth to leave the country. Despite the expectances, the economic factor seems to be the second factor that influences young people – students to migrate abroad, as a predominant factor evident in previous research. Self-personal and professional development is perceived as relevant among many other factors posed.

Additionally, considering the importance and relevance of the technological development (as a tool for professional development in terms of many new professions that the pandemic pointed out), was interesting to find out that in the context of North Macedonia, it has not reduced students' interest in moving abroad. This might be attributed to the fact that our sample consisted predominantly of students from the social sciences profiles, which has been addressed as a limitation in this study.

This study also highlighted another dimension, whether young people who have had the opportunity to visit other countries, are more predisposed to migrate. As seen in the results, there was a significant correlation between "young people, who have been at least once abroad", as more "willing to migrate". Additionally, in that regard, the length of stay resulted in positive correlation with their willingness to migrate. The longer they have stayed abroad the highest the willingness for migrating was perceived. As regards gender differences in perceptions, the study found out that there is a difference on the perceptions toward potential migration between males and females. The results showed differences on the perceptions and males are more willing to migrate post pandemic, compared to females. This finding is in line with existing literature on migration, which shows that males are more willing to migrate than women are.

In sum, the pandemic has affected positively students' attitude towards migration by increasing the desire to migrate. Anyhow, this study showed once again the high popularity the EU integration idea still has in many groups, young people as well. According the results, if the country integrates quickly into the European Union, most of young people firmly believe that they will not leave the country.

At least, this study contributes to the existing studies of migration in the country context and in the same time, it raises many other questions and dilemmas that should be on focus in further research. It highlights that new global developments (such as the Covid19 pandemic recently) may comport huge negative effects in local or peripheral contexts and societies, particularly in countries with weak democracies and fragile economies.

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