



EJSS

**EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Januaray - June 2020

Volume 3, Issue 1

ISSN 2601-8632 (Print)

ISSN 2601-8640 (Online)

ISSN 2601-8632



9 772601 863001

REVISTIA
PUBLISHING AND RESEARCH

**European Journal of
Social Sciences**

January - June 2020
Volume 3, Issue 1

Every reasonable effort has been made to ensure that the material in this book is true, correct, complete, and appropriate at the time of writing. Nevertheless, the publishers, the editors and the authors do not accept responsibility for any omission or error, or for any injury, damage, loss, or financial consequences arising from the use of the book. The views expressed by contributors do not necessarily reflect those of Revistia.

Typeset by Revistia

Copyright © Revistia All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher or author, except in the case of a reviewer, who may quote brief passages embodied in critical articles or in a review.

Address: 11, Portland Road, London, SE25 4UF, United Kingdom

Tel: +44 2080680407

Email: office@revistia.org

ISSN 2601-8632 (Print)

ISSN 2601-8640 (Online)

Indexed in RePEc & Ideas, Google Scholar, Microsoft Academics, Index Copenicus, Crossref.

International Scientific and Advisory Board

Ewa Jurczyk-Romanowska, PhD - University of Wrocław, Poland

M. Edward Kenneth Lebaka, PhD - University of South Africa (UNISA)

Sri Nuryanti, PhD - Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia

Basira Azizaliyeva, PhD - National Academy of Sciences, Azerbaijan

Federica Roccisano, PhD -

Neriman Kara - Signature Executive Academy UK

Thanapauge Chamaratana, PhD - Khon Kaen University, Thailand

Michelle Nave Valadão, PhD - Federal University of Viçosa, Brazil

Fouzi Abderzag, PhD

Agnieszka Huterska, PhD - Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

Rudite Koka, PhD - Rīgas Stradiņa universitāte, Latvia

Mihail Cocosila, PhD - Athabasca University, Canada

Gjilda Alimhilli Prendushi, PhD -

Miriam Aparicio, PhD - National Scientific and Technical Research Council - Argentina

Victor V. Muravyev, PhD - Syktyvkar State University of Pityrim Sorokin, Russia

Charalampos Kyriakidis - National Technical University of Athens, Greece

Wan Kamal Mujani, PhD - The National Universiti of Malaysia

Maria Irma Botero Ospina, PhD - Universidad Militar Nueva Granada, Colombia

Mohd Aderi Che Noh, PhD - National University of Malaysia

Maleerat Ka-Kan-Dee, PhD

Frederico Figueiredo, PhD - Centro Universitário Una, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Iryna Didenko, PhD - Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine

Carlene Cornish, PhD - University of Essex, UK

Sadegh Ebrahimi Kavari, PhD

Mohammed Mahdi Saleh, PhD - University of Jordan

Andrei Novac, MD - University of California Irvine, USA

Ngo Minh Hien, PhD - The University of Da Nang- University of Science and Education, Vietnam

Kawpong Polyorat, PhD - Khon Kaen University, Thailand

Haitham Abd El-Razek El-Sawalhy, PhD - University of Sadat City, Egypt

Ezzadin N. M.Amin Baban, PhD - University of Sulaimani, Sulaimaniya, Iraq

Ahmet Ecirli, PhD - Institute of Sociology, Bucharest, Romania

Dominika Pazder, PhD - Poznań University of Technology, Poland

Sassi Boudemagh Souad, PhD - Université Constantine 3 Salah Boubnider, Algérie

Lulzim Murtezani, PhD - State University of Tetovo, FYROM

Ebrahim Roumina, PhD - Tarbiat Modares University, Iran

Gazment Koduzi, PhD - University "Aleksander Xhuvani", Elbasan, Albania

Sindorela Doli-Kryeziu - University of Gjakova "Fehmi Agani", Kosovo

Nicos Rodosthenous, PhD - Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Irene Salmaso, PhD - University of Florence, Italy

Non Naprathansuk, PhD - Maejo University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RADICAL RIGHT-WING POLITICS AND MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN HUNGARY	1
ONVARA VADHANAVISALA	
BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL MEMORY AND SOCIAL MEMORY. WHAT DO PEOPLE IN POLAND REMEMBER ABOUT 1989?	14
ANETA OSTASZEWSKA	
THE INFLUENCES OF MANAGERIALISM IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERVENTION OF SOCIAL WORKERS	26
BEATRIZ ROSA	
HELENA NEVES ALMEIDA	
“ETHNO-INCLUSION – ETHNO-EXCLUSION” AS A DUALISTIC MODEL OF CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION IN THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT.....	36
E. POKROVSKAYA	
M. RAITINA	
SOCIAL SKILLS FOR STUDENTS IN HELPING PROFESSION WORKING WITH GROUPS UNDER RISK	46
SOFIJA GEORGIEVSKA	
SVETLANA TRBOJEVIK	
NATASHA STANOJKOVSKA-TRAJKOVSKA	
IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE OF INTEREST GROUPS IN WELFARE POLICYMAKING PROCESSES - SEEN THROUGH CITIZENS’ LENSES- THE CASE OF NORTH MACEDONIA.....	55
ELISABETA BAJRAMI OLLOGU	
HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL WORK IN THE BRAZILIAN CONTEXT: DIVERSIFIED LANGUAGE GAMES	69
CRISTIANA MONTIBELLER SCHROEDER	
THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, OSCE AND ITS PRESENCE IN CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE.....	82
BLERINA MUSKAJ	

Radical Right-Wing Politics and Migrants and Refugees in Hungary

Onvara Vadhanavisala

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Abstract

Radical right-wing politics and ultra-nationalism have always been important issue across Europe's political spectrum. However, the recent flourishing of right-wing and populist parties in Europe in the past couple years were provoked by the European migrants and refugee crisis. The European institutions fail to solve the crisis. We witnessed various terrorist attacks occurred in major cities in Europe such as Paris, Berlin, and Italy etc. This had led not only the European people but all over the world to grow more suspicious of the EU institutions and their capabilities to manage the incident. As a consequence, the radical right-wing nationalist and right-wing political parties in Europe have taken this opportunity to claim and run their campaigns on a strong anti-refugees and immigrants. As a result, right-wing politicians and parties tend to gain more popularity among voters and achieved electoral success in many European countries such as Marine Le Pen in France, Andrej Babiš in Czech Republic, the Freedom Party (FPÖ) in Austria, Viktor Orbán's Fidesz party in Hungary and elsewhere in Europe. These right-wing nationalists and political parties represent themselves as a defender of European Christian values, the protector of Europe, the savior of Christianity. They are working in every way to prevent the land of Europe from Muslims. This kind of rhetoric is spreading across Europe and developed as an anti-refugee/immigrant campaign which can be seen in both online and offline media especially in the case of Hungary. It has signified as a backlash against the political establishment and a wave of discontent. Furthermore, the rise of right-wing politics has created concerns over human rights, national identity, refugee and migrant issues.

Keywords: Visegrád Group, Radical Right-wing Politics, Hungary, Refugee Crisis, Migrant Crisis, European Studies, Immigrants

Introduction

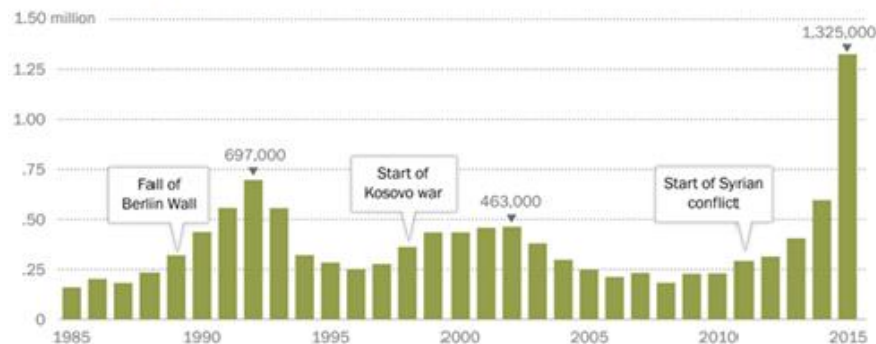
The year 2014 to 2016 marked a challenge period for Europe as a huge number of migrants and refugees have fled from their homelands, escaping the war in Syria searching for a shelter in Europe. The Syrian Civil War is a part of the Arab Spring or

Arab Awakening began in 2011. The events of Arab Spring is the wave of revolution in the Middle East region to overthrow the authoritarianism regime in countries such as Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen. In Syria, the conflict between the Syrian government, led by President Bashar al-Assad and the protesters against him erupted and was recognized as the longest and the bloodiest case of Arab Spring. The conflict was intensified by religion between Muslim Sunni and Muslim Shia, which resulted in drawing a regional and world powers into Syria. Furthermore, the dimension of the rise of jihadist militants from Islamic State (IS) has worsen the situation and Syria was turned into a battlefield. In 2015, the Syrian war has resettled in the evacuation of 6.6 million Syrians internationally, with 4.9 million Syrian refugees worldwide (Global Trends in World Displacement in 2015, UNHCR, June 2016).¹ 11 million Syrians were endangered after the continuation years of war. In 2015, Syria became the country that generates the highest number for asylum applicants to EU Member States. Pew Research center analysis of data from Eurostat² found a record of 1.3 million migrants applied for asylum in the EU in 2015 as shown in figure 1

Figure 1: A number of asylum seekers in the EU Member States, 2015³

Number of asylum seekers in Europe surges to record 1.3 million in 2015

Annual number of asylum applications received by EU-28 countries, Norway and Switzerland, 1985 to 2015



Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Eurostat data, accessed August 11, 2019. “Number of Refugees to Europe surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015”

Europe and the Middle East are geologically connected, with the shortest border distance of three kilometers between Greece and Turkey. Thus, this has made the land route the shortest, easiest and cheapest for refugees to reach Europe. However, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of data from Frontex, Europe’s border and coast guard agency, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

¹ www.unhcr.org

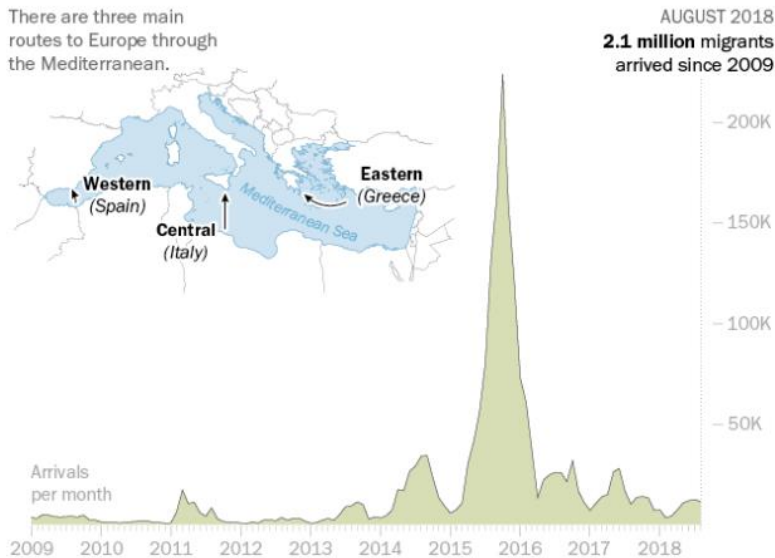
² The European Union’s official statistical agency

³ Pew Research Center analysis of Eurostat data, accessed August 17, 2018. “Number of Refugees to Europe surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015”

(UNHCR), the statistics, as shown in figure 3, shows that more than 200,000 migrants have arrived Europe in 2016 by crossing the Mediterranean Sea.

This fast-growing number of migrants and refugees entering to Europe has created concerns over how the EU Member States will handle with this problem. There was a division among European governments and public opinions whether they should reject or accept the migrants and refugees into their countries or not. This problem lies heavily on the forefront countries such as Greece, Italy, and Spain because of their sea corridor. As a result, to lessen the burden of those forefront countries of the Mediterranean Sea and share of responsibilities equally across EU Member States according to the European solidarity, the European Union proposed a refugee relocation scheme to transfer persons who are in need of international protection from one EU Member State to another EU Member State.

Figure 3: Number of migrant detections by sea (January 2009 to August 2018)



Source: Pew Research Center; Frontex (January 2009 to June 2018); United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (July to August 2018), accessed August 11, 2019.

The Visegrád Group and the European Refugee and Migrant Crisis

After the EU has proposed the quota scheme, many European Member States were struggling to impose a solution for the migrant and refugee crisis (Damoc, 2016). The debate of two major opposition perspectives had spread across Europe. For instance, Germany under the leadership of Chancellor Angela Merkel, is known to welcome and receive the highest number of asylums as she considered this crisis as an opportunity for Germany to increase their work labors (Carnegie, 2016). On the contrary, the

Visegrád group, comprises of the Czech Republic, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Hungary, refuse to take any migrant and refugee into their countries. The Visegrád four was highly criticized for its negative standpoint on the issue. One of the Visegrád group leaders, Mr. Viktor Orbán, the Hungarian prime minister described asylum seekers in Europe as 'a poison' and 'poses a public security and terror risk'. Orbán also reaffirmed that Hungary will not take a single migrant into the country¹. In accordance, the Visegrád group strongly support each other in an effort to close their borders claiming that migrants and refugees will bring in 'disease' (Ignatieff, 2017), that they are a threat to the nation and are harmful to Christian civilization.

The group's negative position was clearly shown when Poland and Hungary decided to take none of the refugee into their countries and openly disagree to the scheme while other EU Member States agreed to relocate 160,000 refugees across Europe in 2015. To express its prompt disagreement to the EU proposal, Hungary and the Slovak Republic brought the case to the European Court of Justice accuses the EU of ignoring the right of individual national governments and their opinion. In their point of views, solidarity should be 'flexible' rather than a mandate, each member state should be able to make a decision over refugees' issue based on their voluntarily (Winterbauer & Végh, 2017). However, the European Union won an important victory as the court ruled that Hungary and Slovak Republic were obligated to accept migrants under a quota system.

Right-Wing Populism in Hungary

The rise of populism is one of the most important political developments in Europe. In the 21st century when we started to witness the collapse of center-left ideology which has dominated European politics since the end of World War II. Hungary is one of a group of former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe under the hegemony of the Soviet Union (USSR) during the period of Cold War (1947-1991). The revolution of 1989 was a starting point of a revolutionary wave in the early 1990s, which resulted in the end of communist rule and influence in Central and Eastern Europe. At the end of the Cold War, Hungary had experienced a liberal atmosphere, the country had free elections with multi-political parties and independent institutions. People had a chance to vote for a referendum and enjoy free media. Hungary and other three member states of the Visegrád four finally joined the European Union in 2004.

However, radical right-wing politics started to evolve in Hungary since 2010 under the Fidesz government led by prime minister Viktor Orbán which, at the beginning, ran as a young, liberal, even idealistic party after the fall of communism. Later, the party and its leader have become deeply conservative over time. Orbán and his government pioneered Hungary into 'illiberal democracy' state with partial

¹ <https://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orban-migrants-are-a-poison-hungarian-prime-minister-europe-refugee-crisis/>

democracy (Calleros-Alarcón, 2009). An illiberal democracy is a governing system in which though there are elections and democratic institutions but the true notion of democracy as civil society and freedoms of speech are limited. Orbán and Fidesz use the logic of 'majoritarian' to reject the idea that minority groups and ethnicities have human rights. Viktor Orbán adopt the concept of populism which is a political approach supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against a privileged elite. The concept mobilizes the animosity of 'the people' against 'the corrupt elite' (Barak, 2017). However, populism can fall anywhere on the traditional left to right political spectrum. In addition, the European refugee and migrant crisis has created doubts among Europeans over the effectiveness of EU institutions in solving the problem. Therefore, the crisis has become a mechanism of populist politicians particularly Viktor Orbán of Hungary to win his position in the government and gain more popularity among its people. Finally, the right-wing populist, mainly in Hungary, has used the Eurosceptic and populist rhetoric to convince the voters, develop their political ground positions and become a part of modern European politics (Danaj, Lazányi, & Bilan, 2018). ตัวอย่าง

The following part is an analysis of four cause factors; history, economic, security and defense, and populism in which Viktor Orbán uses to legitimate his negative policies towards migrants and refugees. By using a case study of Hungary, readers will clearly understand how each factor is used to create anti-refugee sentiment.

Cause Factors of Anti-Migration in Hungary

1) History Factor

First, we must examine the history of Hungary in order to understand modern Hungarian politics and its negative standpoint towards migrants and refugees. Hungary has experienced a long memory of foreign invasion. To begin with, the war between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary began around the fourteenth century and eventually led to the defeat of the Hungarians at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 which was a decisive victory for the Ottoman Empire. A military alliance comprised of Christian Europe countries called The Holy league was formed in 1594 with a purpose to gain back territories from the Ottoman. In 1867, Hungary defeated the war with Austria and became a part of Austrian Empire. After Austria and Hungary agreed to create a dual monarchy system, an Austria-Hungary Empire was born and became a large multinational country, the second largest in Europe after Russia. Hungary lost its territories in the Treaty of Trianon after the end of World War I. it has lost physical lands of 72 percent. The population went down from 20 million to 7 million. The economy was unstable due to the war. As history went on, by the end of the Second World War, Hungary was occupied by the Soviet Union, people protested against Communist regime in 1956 resulted as the Hungarian revolution. After the end of the Cold War, the Visegrád group was formed and joined the European Union in 2004. One of the most significant loss for Hungary from the rule by foreigners is, for

example, the Hungarian language was turned into a “peasant language” and was replaced by Latin and German as they became official languages using in administration or business.

2) Economic Factor

The economic impacts of refugees are also a huge debate whether it will bring advantages or disadvantages to the country’s economic. The short-term impact will be ‘fiscal spending shock’, an additional expenditure that the government has to pay when the refugees arrive, they have to absorb cost on processing their application and subsidizing their settlement including housing, food, education, and health. And because of the continuation of fast-growing number of refugees enter to Europe. European citizens started to be skeptical to accept a high number of refugees into their countries due to public spending, together with growing of islamophobia and increasing terrorists’ activities, supported with the rise of right-wing and populist parties who symbolize refugees as a threat to European society (Buergin, 2016). They started to fear that this will weaken the countries’ economy. However, in the long-run, the government starts receiving fiscal benefits after the refugees enter to the labor market (Poddar, 2016). Therefore, the government has to be able to identify the skills that the refugee possesses and provide necessary training so that this could be an investment instead of a burden. A large percentage of the refugees entering the EU are young and skilled in different professions. They are people whom were forced to leave their homes because the “Islamic State” had seized their home areas and imposed the totalitarian rule. However, it will take a few years for refugees to be able to adjust themselves to the new society and be able to add value to the economy. A study by Kalena Cortes claims that after years of integration, refugees will generate growth to the economy each year more than the original cost of receiving them (Cortes, 2004).

3) Security and Defense Factor

The European refugee crisis not only has created concerns over countries’ economy but also raised fear about terrorism since there were terrorist attacks in many areas since the outbreak of the migrant and refugee crisis. This crisis has led people to believe that the movement of refugees from the Middle East is the main reason of terrorist attacks and would increase European security challenges. However, there is only a small statistical and study evidence that shows a flow of refugees and migration are the causes of terrorist attacks in Europe. On the contrary, there is an evidence from Europol showing that ISIS uses a strategy of recruiting an army of home-grown radicals living within the European Union through online propaganda and networking via social media. Europol concludes that:

“Jihadist attacks are committed primarily by homegrown terrorists, radicalised in their country of residence without having travelled to join a terrorist group abroad. This group of home-grown actors is highly diverse, consisting of individuals who have

been born in the EU or have lived in the EU most of their lives, may have been known to the police but not for terrorist activities and often do not have direct links to the Islamic State (IS) or any other jihadist organization.”

European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2018

EUROPOL (5)

These European homegrown terrorists use their E.U. passports to travel across the continent according to the open border policy of the European Union. Thus, it is difficult to detect suspected terrorists. In conclusion, there is little evidence on the linkage of the refugees and migrants and the terrorist attacks in Europe.

4) Populism Factor

Populism has become a very distinctive characteristic of modern European politics especially for right-wing parties. Right-wing politicians and parties aim to use populism in order to increase their support from the public and gain voters. I will show how populism was adopted by right wing politician and Viktor Orbán, the leader of Hungary is the best example of this. He uses populism as one of his most important and effective tools to influence on the people, specifically in the case of Hungary. A government propaganda and rhetoric on migrants and refugees have created the fear of an Islamic invasion and losing the European identity over Muslims. This creation of external enemy encourages the people to feel that right-wing parties are the answer to the increasing threat of Muslim migrant and refugees since other political parties are not aggressive enough in responding to the crisis.

Anti-Migration Campaigns in Hungary

In many Orbán's speech, he selects and use a point in history of Hungary which emphasizes the loss of territory, for example, in the Treaty of Trianon. Then he links the incident that happened 170 years ago to encourage people to vote for him.

“We need it because today we must talk to each other about serious matters: matters just as serious as those which had to be dealt with **170 years ago. We are the heirs of the 1848 revolutionaries and freedom fighters**, because, just as 170 years ago, today we must speak honestly and directly. If we do not clearly state what is happening to Hungary and why it is happening, then no one will understand. And if we do not understand it, **then we cannot make a sound decision three weeks from now.**” [My Emphasis]. Orbán Viktor's ceremonial speech on the 170th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, 15 March 2018, Budapest

Another example is that the prime minister did exaggerate on how refugees 'do not fit' with Hungarian society and core values. He tries to connect the refugees as people that could overthrow the Hungarian, and the European Union had made this happen by allowing more refugees to enter to Europe with the help of allies in Hungary, and by this he meant George Soros.

“Dear Friends, is that there are *those who want to take our country from us*. Not with the stroke of a pen, has *happened one hundred years ago at Trianon; now they want us to voluntarily hand our country over to others*, over a period of a few decades. They want us to *hand it over to foreigners coming from other continents, who do not speak our language, and who do not respect our culture, our laws or our way of life: people who want to replace what is ours with what is theirs*. What they want is that henceforward it will increasingly not be we and our descendants who live here, but others. There is no exaggeration in what I have just said. Day by day we see *the great European countries and nations losing their countries*: little by little, from district to district and from city to city. The situation is that those who do not halt immigration at their borders are lost: slowly but surely, they are consumed. *External forces and international powers want to force all this upon us, with the help of their allies here in our country.*” [My Emphasis]. Orbán Viktor’s ceremonial speech on the 170th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, 15 March 2018, Budapest

In accordance with his speeches, Viktor Orbán starts his first phase campaign on “If you come to Hungary” as shown below;

Figure 4: Phase 1 ‘If you come to Hungary’ billboard campaign against migrants and refugees by Hungarian government



1. If you come to Hungary, you cannot take away the work of the Hungarians!

2. If you come to Hungary, you have to respect our culture!

3. if you come to Hungary, you have to respect our law!

Source: *Budapest Business Journal* “Government to Address Immigrants on Billboards.” *Budapest Business Journal*, bbj.hu/politics/government-to-address-immigrants-on-billboards_98686.

At first glance, it seems that these messages are aimed directly at the migrants and refugees but the fact is these messages are written in a language which can only be understood by the Hungarians. This kind of campaign could develop negative attitude towards refugees and migrants among Hungarians. Moreover, Orbán did send out a national consultation attached with a questionnaire, a kind of a direct message to the Hungarians of how refugees and migrants are a threat to the nation. Most of the questions are designed to influence the respondents on the issues of refugees and

migrants with a high degree of interdiscursivity, xenophobia and mislead questions full of various discourses.

Cas Mudde defines populism as a relationship between ‘the people’ and ‘the elite’. This message is strengthened by Orbán through his second phase campaign against Brussels (Figure 5). This time, all the messages starts with “Did you know?” and end with “Referendum, October 2, 2016. The campaign is translated: (1) “Did you know that since the beginning of the immigration crisis more than 300 people died as a result of terror attacks in Europe?” (2) “Did you know that Brussels wants to settle a whole city’s worth of illegal immigrants in Hungary?” (3) “Did you know that since the beginning of the immigration crisis the harassment of women has risen sharply in Europe?” (4) “Did you know that the Parisian terror attacks were committed by immigrants?” (5) “Did you know that just from Libya close to one million immigrants want to come to Europe?” (6) “Did you know that last year one and a half million immigrants arrived in Europe?”.

Viktor Orbán puts the European Union as ‘Brussels elite’ and represent himself as a savior. He would take the same side as the Hungarian people instead of participating with the elites in Brussels. In respond to this, Viktor Orbán delivered the policies and government services that are claimed to be made to ensure security for Hungary and the Hungarians: the building of wall fence at Hungary’s border. The country will be safe from Muslim refugee threats. He convinces his fellow that Hungary is under attack by Brussels as in another of his speech, apart from the billboards. Orbán says:

“We do not need to fight the little opposition parties, but an international network which is organized into an empire. We are up against media maintained by foreign, professional hired activists, troublemaking protest organizers, and a chain of NGOs financed by an international speculator embodied in the name “George Soros”.

Viktor Orban’s speech on Hungary celebrates the Revolution for Independence of 1848-1849

15 March 2018

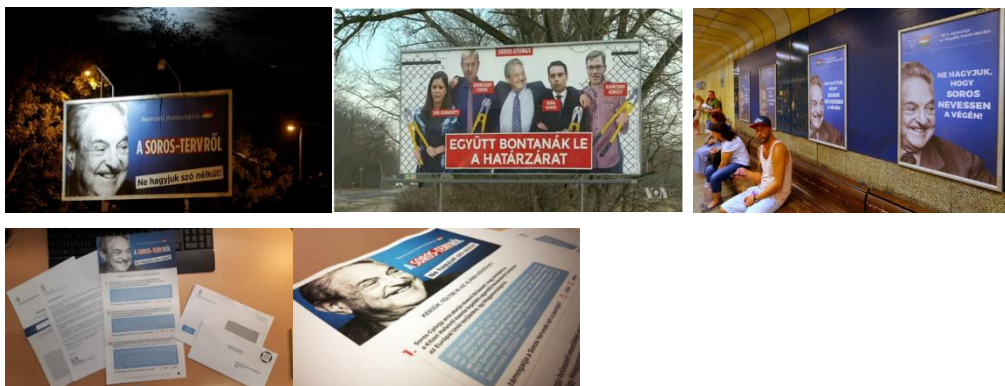
Figure 5: Phase 2 ‘Did you know?’ billboard campaign against migrants and refugees by Hungarian government



Source: Thorpe, Nick. "Hungary Poster Campaign Pokes Fun at Migrant Referendum." *BBC News*, BBC, 10 Sept. 2016, www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37310819.

Viktor Orbán continues his campaign series in phase 3 directly on George Soros. Orbán claims that Soros's plan is supported by Brussels, allowing a foreign international organization on settling one million migrants in Europe. Europe will become unrecognizable by a flood of Muslim refugees once Soros and his allies succeed in opening the borders. The Hungarian government amplifies this campaign against Soros by passing a 'stop Soros' law on June 2018, a purpose of this law is to strictly prohibit providing any kind of assistance to undocumented immigrants from individuals and organizations. This law means Hungarian government will have an extra power to jail its political opponents by accusing them for 'helping the refugees'. To conclude, "Stop Soros" law is a bill that human rights advocates fear will be used to shut down opposition groups and civil society.

Figure 6: Phase 3 Hungarian government campaign against George Soros



Conclusion and Discussion

One of the main rhetorical features of right-wing populist parties and their supporters is the opposition between "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite". It can be seen from the case of Hungary that facts might not be able to speak louder than the power of the political message. I can see that there is a relationship of voting for right-wing populist parties which is essentially interconnected with citizens' trust in public officials and political institutions. In the case of Hungary, Orbán convinces the Hungarians through media that he is the savior of Hungary and Christian values, and his political party, Fidesz, is the answer for its strong policies against migrants and refugees. To conclude this paper, I see how right-wing populist leader such as Viktor Orbán create anti-refugee sentiment among Hungarians by using each factor of history, economic, security and defense and populism to legitimate his actions of

conducting negative policy against the refugees. He has created 'fear' of others and an external enemy to distract people from domestic hard issue policies such as education, health & welfare. By connecting a selective point of national collective trauma in history to boost up nationalism, by claiming that letting the refugees in, people will lose their job which is not true, by claiming that refugees are security threat while neglecting the fact that most terrorist attacks are conducted by EU native born-radicals, Orbán, again, won the election and succeeded in planting ground of populism in Hungary.

References

- [1] Arter, D. (2011). *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [2] Betz, Hans-Georg & Immerfall S. (1998). *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*. New York: St. Martin's.
- [3] Bodewig, C. (2015). *Is the Refugee Crisis an Opportunity for an Aging Europe?* Accessed via <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/opinion/2015/09/22/is-refugee-crisis-opportunity-foraging-europe>.
- [4] Bonansinga, D. (2015). *The Role of Public Discourse in Threat Framing: The Case of Islamophobia in Czech Republic*. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, 08(111), 107–118.
- [5] Brljavac, B. (2017). *Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Case Studies of Sweden and Slovakia*. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 3(1), 91-107.
- [6] Buergin, R. (2016). *Merkel's Approval Rating Plunges Following Attacks in Germany*. Bloomberg (Bloomberg), August 5, 2016.
- [7] Calleros-Alarcón, J. (2008). *The Unfinished Transition to Democracy in Latin America*. Routledge, November 20, 2008.
- [8] Cortes, K, E. (2004). *Are refugees different from economic migrants? Some empirical evidence on the heterogeneity of migrant groups in the United States*. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 86(2), 465–480.
- [9] Damoc, A. (2016). *Fortress Europe breached: political and economic impact of the recent refugee crisis on European states*. *Economic Science Series*, 25(1), 20-29.
- [10] Danaj, A., Lazányi, K., & Bilan, S. (2018). *Euroscepticism and populism in Hungary: The analysis of the prime minister's discourse*. *Journal of International Studies*, 11(1), 240-247.
- [11] Esser, F., Stepinska, A., & Hopmann, D. N. (2016). *Populism and the Media. Cross-National Findings and Perspectives*. In T. Aalberg, F. Esser, C.

- Reinemann, J. Strömbäck & C. d. Vreese (Eds.), *Populist Political Communication in Europe*. Routledge, 365-380.
- [12] European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2018 (TESAT 2018). Europol, 7, available at: www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/european-union-terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-2018-tesat-2018.
- [13] Gidron N. & Bonikowski B. (2013). Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda. *Weatherhead Working Paper Series*, 13(4) 1-38.
- [14] Hafez, F. (2015). The Refugee Crisis and Islamophobia. *Insight Turkey*, 17(4), 19-26.
- [15] Harald, B. (2016). Understanding Europe's Refugee Crisis: A Dialectical Approach. *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations*, 8(2), 64-75.
- [16] Haraszti, M. (2015). Behind Viktor Orbán's War on Refugees in Hungary. *News perspective quarterly*, 32(4), 37-40.
- [17] Havlová, R., & Tamchynová, K. (2016). The Uncertain Role of the EU Countries in the Syrian Refugee Crisis. *Insight Turkey*, 18(2), 85-106.
- [18] Hiers, W., Soehl, T., Wimmer, A. (2017). National Trauma and the Fear of Foreigners: How Past Geopolitical Threat Heightens Anti-Immigration Sentiment Today. *Social Forces*, 96(1), 361-388.
- [19] Ignatieff, M. (2017). The Refugee as Invasive Other. *Social Research*, 84(1), 223-231.
- [20] Jagers, J. and Walgrave, S. (2007). Populism as Political Communication Style: An Empirical Study of Political Parties' Discourse in Belgium'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46 (3), 319-45.
- [21] Jansen, R., S. (2011). Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism. *Sociological Theory*, 29(2), 75-96.
- [22] Kareem, I. (2017). Viktor Orbán's use of history in the European refugee crisis. (Master Thesis). Lund University, Lund, Sweden.
- [23] Kluknavská, A., & Smolík, J. (2016). We hate them all? Issue adaptation of extreme right parties in Slovakia 1993-2016. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 49, 339-342.
- [24] Krekó, P., & Juhász, A. (2018). The Hungarian Far Right Social Demand, Political Supply, and International Context (Explorations of the Far Right): *ibidem Press*.
- [25] Marton, Z. (2017). Populism and the refugee crisis: The communication of the Hungarian government on the European refugee crisis in 2015-2016. (Master Thesis). Malmö University, Malmö, Sweden.

- [26] Moreno, L. (2010). Fearing the Future: Islamophobia in Central Europe. *Genocide and Oppression*, 73-80.
- [27] Mudde, C. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 542– 563.
- [28] Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [29] Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. (2012). Populism: Corrective and threat to democracy. In C. Mudde & C. Rovira Kaltwasser (Eds.), *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective for democracy?* (pp. 205–222). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- [30] Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C., R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [31] Pappas, T. (2016). Modern Populism: Research Advances, Conceptual and Methodological Pitfalls, and the Minimal Definition. *Politics: Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, 1-24.
- [32] Poddar, S. (2016). European Migrant Crisis: Financial Burden or Economic Opportunity? *Social Impact Research Experience*, 43.
- [33] Sereghy, Z. (2017). Islamophobia in Hungary: National Report 2016, in: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2016*, Istanbul, SETA, 2017 (255-272), 258.
- [34] Spruyt, B., Keppens, G., & Droogenbroeck, F. V. (2016). Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It? *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(2), 335–346
- [35] Winterbauer, J & Végh, Z. (2017). 'Flexible solidarity' Intergovernmentalism or Differentiated Integration: the way out of the current impasse. *Visegrád Insight*, 1(10).
- [36] Zaviš, M. (2017). Islamophobia in Slovakia: National Report 2016, in: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2016*, Istanbul, SETA, 2017 (515-529), 522.
- [37] Zunes, S. (2017). Europe's Refugee Crisis, Terrorism, and Islamophobia. *Peace Review*, 29(1), 1-7.
- [38] Ziller C. & Schübel T. (2015). "The Pure People" versus "the Corrupt Elite"? Political Corruption, Political Trust and the Success of Radical Right Parties in Europe. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 25(3), 368-386.

Between Individual Memory and Social Memory. What Do People in Poland Remember About 1989?

Aneta Ostaszewska

Adjunct at Institute of Social Prevention and Resocialization (IPSiR), University of
Warsaw

Abstract

30 years have passed since the events of 1989 that led to the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. In the paper the themes of social memory of political transformation in Poland in 1989 are discussed. The content of online statements collected from popular Polish news portals are analysed. When asking the question what events and experiences do Poles bring back when they think of 1989, I am interested in the relationship between the individual (biographical) memory and collective memory – the socially reconstructed knowledge of the past.

Keywords: biographical experience, social memory, transformation, collapse of communism

Introduction

The purpose of the paper is to present the themes of memory which, on the one hand, are based on individual, everyday experiences of people and, on the other hand, are placed in the socially negotiated frames of collective memory. My research investigates memories of Poles or, more precisely, internet statements posted on the 30th anniversary of the political transformation in 1989.

2019 marks the 30th anniversary of the events of 1989. The Round Table Talks and the first partly democratic parliamentary elections in Poland, followed by the "Autumn of Nations", with the triumphant demolition of the Berlin Wall and the "Velvet Revolution" in Czechoslovakia, were the events that led to the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989. Memory of those events is the subject of my research.

In looking at what events and experiences are evoked when Poles recall 1989, I am interested in the relationship between the individual (autobiographical) memory and the socially reconstructed knowledge of the past. An analysis of the content of online statements collected from popular Polish news portals will shed light on the patterns

of thinking about the past and ways of assessing historical figures and events. It will also reveal discourse styles used by Poles when recalling the events of 1989.

The theoretical framework for this study is the phenomenological perspective involving the concept of *Lebenswelt* – world-as-experienced (Schütz, 1945, 1953). From this perspective, the past is treated as an element of the everyday world. "It is about the world as encountered in everyday life and given in direct and immediate experience, especially perceptual experience and its derivatives like memory, expectation, and the like, independently of and prior to scientific interpretation" (Gurwitsch, 1970, p. 35). I also refer to Maurice Halbwachs' concept of social memory. Accordingly, I perceive Poles as subjects influenced by diverse interactions with family, politics, historical memory, education and mass media. The effects of these interactions remain in collective knowledge, creating specific social memory frames.

Year 1989 today

On the 30th anniversary of the first partly free parliamentary elections in Poland, which took place on 4th June 1989, calls appeared on the Polish portals Interia.pl and Polskatimes.pl, appealing to readers to post their remembrance statements. What do Poles remember? What events and experiences are evoked when recalling 1989? What has changed since 4th June 1989? What did reality look like then, and what does it look like today? Internet users answered these questions by presenting their own stories, reflections and memories associated with the political transformation, the turning point of which was 1989. These questions give rise to other, more generic ones, such as: What is the general social memory of Poles? How is memory differentiated internally? Which population group are the memory bearers from, i.e. who remembers? And finally: What is the content of the collective memory – what and how is it remembered? I am aware that I will not be able to answer the above questions in this paper. This is because such questions are of fundamental nature and require in-depth studies and extensive research (Szacka, 2007; Korzeniewski, 2007). They go beyond the year 1989 (the time interval chosen for this article) as well as the purpose and subject of my research. My main goal is to present the themes of social memory related directly to 1989. In my view, this goal in itself presents a serious challenge. The difficulties with research on memory after 1989 have already been discussed by, among others, Piotr T. Kwiatkowski in the book titled *Pamięć zbiorowa społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie transformacji* [Collective Memory of the Polish Society in the Transformation Period] and Bartosz Korzeniewski, the author of the book titled *Transformacja pamięci: przewartościowania w pamięci przeszłości a wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania dyskursu publicznego o przeszłości w Polsce po 1989 roku* [Transformation of Memory: Re-evaluations in the Memory of the Past and Selected Aspects of the Functioning of Public Discourse about the Past in Poland after 1989].

The attempt to analyse the themes of memory related to 1989 presented in this paper is of a selective nature. From the collection of remembrance statements available online, I have chosen those which were published on the portals Interia.pl and Polskatimes.pl and preceded by a call to readers. I am aware that the published comments had been selected by the editors; however, I have no knowledge of the selection criteria or the number of statements collected. What interests me is the nature of the presented statements – themes of memory that, on the one hand, are based on autobiographical memory and individual, everyday experiences of people and, on the other, refer to collective memory and thus to the ideas and beliefs about the past held by particular social groups. Therefore, I do not aim to present generalizing conclusions about the social memory of Poles.

The year 1989, especially the Round Table Talks and June 4, the day of the first partly democratic parliamentary elections in Poland, are events which still arouse lively discussions among Poles and constitute the reason for the so-called Polish-Polish war. Part of the society considers the events of 1989 as a herald of a real libertarian breakthrough, while others consider them as a manifestation of the betrayal by the opposition of that time, too mild for the communists with whom they later created the Third Republic of Poland (Nałęcz, 2019; Dudek, 2011).

However, it is worth emphasizing that in 2019, the Poles' evaluations of the social consequences of the transformation are better than ever before. Public opinion polls from 2019, conducted before the 30th anniversary of the June 4 elections, show that 81% of the respondents believe that it was worth changing the system in 1989. Among adult Poles, 3% believe that it was not worth undertaking the political transformation, and 15% of the respondents are unable to assess whether it was worth doing (CBOS, 2019). As regards the socio-demographic variables, the attitude of Poles towards the transformation is mostly differentiated by age. In this case, two significantly different groups can be distinguished, with the demarcating line running between those born before 1981 (people aged 38+) and younger (aged 18-37). The respondents aged 38 or above not only have more sophisticated opinions on the question of whether it was worth or not worth changing the system in Poland in 1989, but also more often than younger people strongly support the changes (59% against 35%).

1989 – then. An outline of events leading to a breakthrough and political transformation

The beginning of the system transformation in 1989 in Poland was marked by the Round Table Talks and parliamentary elections. The Round Table Talks were preceded by unofficial meetings of the then communist authorities with the opposition, including Lech Wałęsa (a leading oppositionist and co-founder of Solidarity movement) and other representatives of this movement (Solidarity as the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union was legalized as part of the Round Table

arrangements). The talks between the authorities and the opposition were caused by the economic crisis and social dissatisfaction which had been growing for years (lack of food, price increase, inflation). It was manifested in successive waves of social strikes. In September 1988, the first talks took place between opposition leaders and the rulers. As a result, the Round Table Talks were initiated. The negotiations between the parties began on 6th February 1989 and lasted two months. On 5th April, final agreements were signed, including on organizing partly free parliamentary elections, where the opposition was to receive no more than 35 percent seats (161 seats) in the Sejm – lower house of Polish parliament. The remaining 65 percent (299 places) was guaranteed for the communists from the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), i.e. the representatives of the then dictatorship. On 4th June 1989, the first round of parliamentary elections (to Sejm and Senate) was held, in which the opposition took part. The election ended with the victory of Solidarity. The communist authorities failed.

Main categories: *Lebenswelt* and memory

According to Alfred Schütz, life-world is an intersubjective reality given to a conscious human being by virtue of natural predisposition as an arena of meaning and a space for experience and interpretation. It is a world that, on the one hand, takes its origin and exists because of the 'I', but at the same time, from the very outset, it is intersubjective and already interpreted. A human being is not born in a symbolic vacuum or in the chaos of meaning. Our knowledge about life and the world is preceded by knowledge acquired socially, i.e. related to our being in a community, it is "a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by parents or teachers" (Schütz, 1945, p. 533). Hence, the experienced world is not completely private. Although each of us organizes our own life for our own sake (around our own 'I'), we coexist with other people and share our everyday world with both our contemporaries and ancestors who left behind heritage in the form of meanings.

The transfer of meanings is made, among others, in the process of inter-generational and intra-family transmission. Family stories or memories of individual family members are a basic element of family memory, transmitted through stories or through visual materials. The role of social memory, especially in the context of the family, was observed by Maurice Halbwachs, for whom the past exists in the minds of individuals but is possible thanks to their belonging to a given group or community (1992, p. 81). Halbwachs is the author of the first important reflection on it: *Les cadres sociaux de la memoire* (1925). According to Halbwachs, memory is not individual in nature; rather, individual memory is shaped by collective memory. To recall a memory, an individual must place it in a wider community context, i.e. a set of memories shared by given social groups such as families, religious groups and social

classes (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 52). The so-called social memory frames are everything that builds a group, namely institutions, beliefs and values.

Memory, although defined in various ways in social sciences, is one of the most important concepts. It is associated with identity, biography and narrative. Polish sociologist Marian Golka argues that memory is a specific type of conversation with the past: "Every community must have this conversation in order to continue. Social memory is all from the past that continues in the present, and all in the present that is made with ideas from the past" (2009, p. 7). In his opinion, social memory is socially created and transformed knowledge which refers to the past of a given community. "[...] This knowledge encompasses various contents, performs various functions, continues thanks to various cultural media and reaches the consciousness of individuals by means of various sources. Its relative unification is due to the mechanisms of social life" (Golka, 2009, p. 15). Social memory lies in the fact that subsequent generations (children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren) have a sense of continuity with their predecessors. It is a continuation of identities and fates as well as responsibility for the past and future. As Golka points out, social memory creates social order, and its durability depends on this order: "Order changes, memory also changes" (2009, p. 8). Similarly, Bartosz Korzeniewski writes that memory is subject to re-evaluation resulting from multifaceted changes, both political and cultural. In his opinion: "The democratic system and changes in contemporary culture that emerged after the transformation had a decisive impact on Polish memory after 1989" (2007, p. 57). In line with Golka and Korzeniewski, I understand social memory as a cultural phenomenon: "memory is one of the elements of historical culture that is part of the cultural universe of a given community" (Korzeniewski, 2007, p. 56).

Internet users' memories of 1989

The main question to ask when analysing the statements of internet users is: which elements of the past (events, experiences, characters, etc.) from the period of political transformation in 1989 are recalled in memories? This question allows tapping into how the past (or, more precisely, year 1989) is reconstructed in the reflection of individual people on the 30th anniversary of the political transformation. I use the quoted statements as exemplification material, i.e. examples presenting themes of social memory.

I will start my discussion of the content of internet users' memories by observing that the statements contain both biographical themes and references to historical events. Internet users remember what was happening in their lives at that time in history and talk about the changes in their lives which they noticed, and which were caused by the transformation of the system. These memories go beyond individual memory.

It was euphoria. I was a fourth-year student at the University of Technology. When I went back home to the countryside, my neighbours were asking me to tell them about what was happening in the city. I was canvassing for the members of Solidarity and I

think it had an effect. And at the beginning of July we went camping in Masuria. I remember that we had a small transistor radio and were listening to the proceedings of the Sejm!!! I am proud that I had my small contribution to it all. (Darek, Polskatimes.pl)

The above statement contains several significant themes. It includes stories about one's own life (studying, going home and going to university) and involvement in social activities (canvassing), as well as evaluation of one's own contribution to those events (sense of pride). The author also mentions the role of the radio in the process of message transmission. The media at that time, after years of censorship, ceased to be equated with communist propaganda. They heralded information pluralism and freedom of speech. Listening to the radio and watching TV was a manifestation of interest in the rapidly changing reality and its unpredictability.

I was born in 1983 and, from my childhood, I remember Teleranek [children's TV series] and the fact that my mother and I often queued up at the store. [...] In 1989, I remember my parents watching something on TV as if it were an important political event. Then came the year 1991 and I went to first grade. In lessons, we often made paper flags and learned patriotic poems. (Gosia, Polskatimes.pl)

In this statement, the turn of 1989 is compared with the time before and after. 1989 appears as a turning point, separating the two epochs. It separated communist times from new times, i.e. what was about to come. However, unlike the fall of the Berlin Wall, there was not one specific and spectacular event in Poland that would be a point of change. 1989 was a series of long-lasting changes that led to the emergence of a new political system.

1989 absorbs people and evokes strong and varied emotions – from uncertainty and fear to joy. A sense of euphoria and "celebration atmosphere" are the motifs recurring in the statements:

These were my first elections, I was a student at the time. I remember the amazing atmosphere of celebration and joy, that even though the communists had reserved 65 percent of the seats, these elections would finally allow us to change something. I remember a long queue to the polling station, people were laughing and joking. There was also a reflection that we Poles are the first to dismantle the communist system. And we succeeded. Then came the difficult years of transformation, very painful for many, but it paid off in balance. It was a historic event that changed Poland and later gave us full freedom. (Wojciech Rogacin, Polskatimes.pl)

The author of this statement juxtaposes several themes: his own biographical experience with historical events (facts) and a reflection on the topic of 1989. This reflection is two-dimensional. The first one is a reconstruction of the reflection from that particular moment placed in the reality of 1989. The second level concerns a *post factum* reflection, an evaluation carried out in retrospect, 30 years after the fall of communism. The theme of being aware of a breakthrough taking place is discernible

in the statement. In general, the awareness of participating in something important is a distinctive motif in the statements of internet users:

I was 15 years old then and, although I couldn't vote, I remember that at school we were very aware of what was going on. Interestingly, even as kids, we were arguing about what this change should look like. (Marcin, Polskatimes.pl)

Internet users mention their age when talking about the political transformation in 1989. Referring to age allows people to place their memories on the axis of one's own biography and give it a personal, individual overtone:

I was 35 years old. It was the first vote in my life, but not the last one. (Anna, Interia.pl)

Adults recall the parliamentary elections (4th June) in their memories of 1989, stressing the importance of participating in them:

In June 1989 I graduated from the AGH University of Science and Technology. I knew that these elections would be important and different from the previous ones. (Małgorzata, Interia.pl)

Younger people, namely those who did not participate in the elections, refer to family memories that go beyond the life of an individual:

And then came '89 and suddenly everything changed. I remember great joy. But I also remember massive unemployment and my dad without a job, I remember inflation, this terrible word that I didn't understand at the time. I remember poverty, having to scheme about, saving money and great sacrifices of my parents so that I could finish school. (Oli, Polskatimes.pl)

The question of age is important for the manifestations of social memory – different age groups have different knowledge about 1989 and refer to different elements of memory in their statements: biographical memory and individual experiences and/or historical memory acquired in the process of cultural transmission (e.g. school, family, media). Historical events form a reference point for an individual biography. Also, historical events often become part of family memory – they are part of the family's everyday world – family members are their participants/observers and reflect on them from the perspective of the family. In the statement below the author mentions the day of parliamentary elections, in which the whole family participated:

Of course, the whole family voted, even my disabled mother. [...] I was in the second month of pregnancy, so now I say to my daughter: "You also voted for Freedom, Dignity and Solidarity." (Aleksandra, Interia.pl)

Alongside joy, there is also a sense of disappointment. Most notably, the consequences of the transformation, i.e. what happened after 1989, are described as disappointing:

I thought that Solidarity Festival would last FOREVER, how wrong I was. I miss human cordiality, solidarity and trust the most. (Ewa, grandma Ewa)

The theme of interpersonal solidarity or, more broadly, a sense of belonging to a community, appears in the following statements:

I remember an extraordinary joy and a sense of community with people in and around the polling station. People were smiling to each other as if we were one wonderful family. I was at the Market Square in Krakow near Piwnica pod Baranami, when the election results were announced and then there was an explosion of joy and happiness (Aleksandra, Interia.pl)

The author of this statement draws attention to the sense of community – a reality experienced jointly – as a result of the events of 1989. A shared, experienced history becomes an element of the social identity of Poles who took part in the elections on 4th June 1989. In the following statement, the author speaks not so much (not only) on her own behalf, but on behalf of a particular community. This is because she uses the pronoun "we":

There was lots of joy and a great hope for change, a lot of positive feeling that maybe this country would finally be normal. It is a pity that afterwards this unity got lost, the divisions among the people who were together are deepening to this day. But maybe it was worth fighting for so that we could argue with each other on our own, and not Soviet terms (Bronisława, Polskatimes.pl)

This statement is not so much a specific memory of 1989, but a rather critical assessment of the events that took place during the political transformation. There is a fairly marked political stance that can be described as anti-Soviet. The names of the main political actors of 1989, activists and people associated with Solidarity and the Round Table, are also cited:

What has changed since 4th June 1989? Mediocre people, who at the time were not even second-rank players, are posing as the main heroes. That is what has changed! And for me the heroes will always be Wałęsa, Geremek, Michnik, Kuroń and, of course, the great late Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. (Darek, Polskatimes.pl)

The statements include not only a criticism of the communist system, but also a criticism of the main actors participating in talks in Magdalenka, i.e. the meeting of the communist authorities with the representatives of Solidarity movement:

Freedom would have been secured if Solidarity had really held the communists accountable, instead of making a deal with them in Magdalenka and allowing Poland to remain in that arrangement until now. It's a pity that so many years for the reconstruction of the country have been lost. (Jerzy Radom, Polskatimes.pl)

However, the "lost opportunities" do not diminish the importance of the transformation, although the theme of political accountability appears in the statements:

It was a great celebration. I think it's good that it was possible to change the system and regain freedom without bloodshed. But it also may have given the communists time to smooth themselves out, get organised, hide and do their business. (Leszek, Polskatimes.pl)

Conclusions and reflections

First, let me present a general reflection on the internet users' statements. The presented statements indicate that memory cannot be understood as an archive in which a complete version of the past is stored, but rather as an active and dynamic force which is engaged in the process of reconstructing the past from the perspective of the present. It is the present that creates the history, while remaining in relation to the current circumstances (Szacka, 2006). The role of the present in the above statements is revealed by the adoption of an evaluating stance or attempts to reflect on what happened in 1989. In their statements, the authors do not limit themselves to providing historical facts but present a certain vision of events. This vision is rooted in specific frames of memory.

Among the online recollections of 1989, there are memory themes which indicate affiliation with specific social groups, and therefore point to collective memory frames. Nationality seems to be of particular importance. Knowledge about 1989 as a turning point in Polish history is something that Poles have in common. Due to their nationality, Poles acquire specific knowledge about the transformation and localize their own memories within that knowledge. In this way, their belonging to the national community is consolidated. Maurice Halbwachs claims that people as group members learn to remember not so much through direct experience as through constant repetition by the community to which they belong (e.g. through anniversary celebrations). However, what seems particularly important is Halbwachs's claim that people as group members do not articulate their entire memory but select from the past particular elements which helps them to designate their place within the group. An individual remembers what is important in the context of their functioning within the group as well as their own identity (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 40). Memory is connected with identity – "Recalling the past, we make certain 'additions' to it, which are related to the experience and knowledge acquired over time, current events and views" (Kępiński, 2016, p. 18). This, in turn, means that people, as members of groups, are being sensitized to some contents and desensitized to others. Consequently, it can be concluded that the knowledge about 1989 as a landmark moment in Polish history is also something that differentiates Poles.

Therefore, the second reflection on the internet users' statements concerns memory pluralism: there is not one memory, but there are many different memories (Olick, 1999, p. 339). Accordingly, various groups reconstruct various themes of memory, making moral evaluations of specific events and particular persons. The differentiating factors in this case include age and attitude towards communism. For

the generations born after 1989, the events from the period of the transformation make up history which is focused mainly around the institutional and media transmission of memory. As for the people born before 1989, the systemic changes are directly inherent in their own biographies. For the authors of the statements expressing a strongly negative attitude towards the communist authorities in Poland, 1989 was not a fully democratic breakthrough. Rather, it was the result of political decisions, the outcome of the Round Table Talks. As a result the communist authorities ensured not only their participation in the democratic political structures of the Third Republic of Poland, but also immunity after the fall of the Iron Curtain (the first president of the Third Republic in 1989–1990 was Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Chairman of the Council of State in 1985-1989 and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party responsible for the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981 and the bloody suppression of workers' strikes in 1970).

The third reflection on the internet users' statements concerns the style of discourse and thus the way of organizing the statement. In what style do internet users express their memories of 1989? The style of the statements is undoubtedly colloquial and, in this respect, they are not different from other online statements. This is because colloquial style is the dominant style of expression on the internet. The statements posted on Interia.pl and Polskatimes.pl are public, which may prove significant when comparing them with the comments left by other internet users. On Interia.pl, people who read the remembrance statements have the opportunity to comment on them. Although the style is colloquial in the case of both statements and comments, the comments display a high degree of vulgarity and linguistic aggression, which are absent from the statements. This can be explained by the fact that the statements about 1989 are a public element of the authors' self-presentation – their authors were recalling events from their own biographies. Therefore, these statements were not completely anonymous, although it is impossible to fully identify their authors.

The presented memories were constructed from the available resources of their authors' memory – autobiographical, family, generational or even institutional. The present knowledge of the authors allowed them to interpret the events of 1989 not only from the autobiographical perspective, but also by virtue of referring to the memory formed in the process of communication and interaction within social groups. These statements are characterized by the awareness of a common national history and, at the same time, by memory pluralism. There is a theme of nostalgia in them that consists in attributing a certain ideal to the past (e.g. interpersonal solidarity). All this unambiguously supports the thesis of Jan Assmann: "(...) an individual growing up in complete solitude would not have memory. [...] Individual memories arise and continue in the process of communication and interaction within social groups (2008, p. 51-52).

References

- [1] Assmann, Jan. 2008. *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych* [Cultural memory. Writing, remembering and political identity in ancient civilizations – Polish translation of the book: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- [2] CBOS. 2019. The study titled "Aktualne problemy i wydarzenia" [Current Problems and Events] (348) was conducted by means of computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) between 16-23 May 2019 on a representative sample of 1079 adult members of the Polish population. Available at: https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2019/K_076_19.PDF
- [3] Dudek, Antoni. 2011. Historia i polityka w Polsce po 1989 roku [History and politics in Poland after 1989]. Available at: https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/12078/dudek_historia_i_polityka.pdf?sequence=1
- [4] Gurwitsch, Aron. 1970. Problems of the Life-World. In: Natanson M. (eds): *Phenomenology and Social Reality*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 35-61. Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-011-7523-4_3#citeas
- [5] Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Edited, translated, and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- [6] Interia. 2019. Co pamiętają Polacy z 4 czerwca 1989? [What do Poles remember from June 4, 1989?] Available at: https://fakty.interia.pl/polska/news-4-czerwca-1989-wspomnienia-czytelnikow-interii,nId,3026582#utm_source=paste&utm_medium=paste&utm_campaign=chrome
- [7] Kępiński, Marcin. 2016. *Pomiędzy pamięcią autobiograficzną a zbiorową. Polska ludowa i stan wojenny w narracjach łódzkich nauczycieli* [Between autobiographical and collective memory. People's Poland and martial law in the narratives of Łódź teachers]. Łódź: WUŁ.
- [8] Korzeniewski, Bartosz. 2013. Demokratyzacja pamięci wobec przewartościowań w pamięci Polaków po 1989 r. [Democratization of memory in the face of re-evaluation in the memory of Poles after 1989], *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 12/2 (22), pp. 55-75. Available at: [http://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media//files/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc-r2013-t12-n2_\(22\)/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc-r2013-t12-n2_\(22\)-s55-75/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc-r2013-t12-n2_\(22\)-s55-75.pdf](http://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media//files/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc-r2013-t12-n2_(22)/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc-r2013-t12-n2_(22)-s55-75/Pamiec_i_Sprawiedliwosc-r2013-t12-n2_(22)-s55-75.pdf)
- [9] Korzeniewski, Bartosz. 2010. *Transformacja pamięci: przewartościowania w pamięci przeszłości a wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania dyskursu publicznego*

- o przeszłości w Polsce po 1989 roku* [Memory transformation: reevaluations in the memory of the past and selected aspects of the functioning of public discourse about the past in Poland after 1989]. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk.
- [10] Korzeniewski, Bartosz (ed.). 2007. *Przemiany pamięci społecznej a teoria kultury* [Changes in social memory and cultural theory]. Poznań: Instytut Zachodni.
- [11] Kwiatkowski, Piotr T. 2008. *Pamięć zbiorowa społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie transformacji* [Collective memory of Polish society during the transformation]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- [12] Nałęcz, Tomasz. 2019. 1989: historyczny zwrot [1989: a historical turn]. Available at:
- [13] <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/historia/1776766,1,1989-histeryczny-zwrot.read>
- [14] Olick, Jeffrey K. 1999. Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 17, No. (3), pp. 333-348. Available at: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0735-2751%28199911%2917%3A3%3C333%3ACMTTC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T>
- [15] polskatimes.pl. 2019. Rocznica wolnych wyborów 4 czerwca [Anniversary of free elections June 4]. Available at: <https://polskatimes.pl/rocznica-wolnych-wyborow-4-czerwca/wspomnienia>
- [16] Szacka, Barbara. 2007. *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit* [Past tense, memory, myth]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- [17] Schütz, Alfred. 1945. On Multiple Realities. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (June), pp. 533-576. Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-010-2851-6_9
- [18] Schütz, Alfred. 1953. Common-Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Sep.), pp. 1-38. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2104013?read-now=1&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents

The Influences of Managerialism in the Professional Intervention of Social Workers

Beatriz Rosa

Master of SW, FPCEUC

Helena Neves Almeida

PhD. SW, FPCEUC

Abstract

Social work, like other professions, has undergone changes in its structural basis, as well as a re-dimensioning of the professional work, which cannot be dissociated from the inevitable administrative reforms of the State and of the social policies themselves. In this research we sought to understand how the state administrative reforms, namely the managerial model of New Public Management have influenced the professional intervention of social workers in the public sector. We did so through the perceptions of the social workers about the implications of managerialism in their professional practices. It is a qualitative research, with exploratory characteristics and was carried out in a municipality in a district of Portugal. It was conducted a semi-structured interview with six social workers in the public sector, from four different sectors: Justice, Local Power, Health and Social Security. After the interviews were collected, a Characterization Grid of the sample and a SWOT Analysis Grid were used for each of the participants to assist the researcher in the Content Analysis of this investigation. The data we analyzed revealed that in all services and intervention areas there was a prevalence of characteristics of managerialism influences, which necessarily induced changes in professional practices. The collected data revealed that there are characteristics of managerialism perceived as beneficial and positive for the professional exercise and other characteristics that have brought constraints.

Keywords: Managerialism; Social Work, New Public Management, Social Workers, Social Intervention.

Introduction

The present research had the objective of understanding how the administrative reforms of the State, namely the managerial model of New Public Management have

influenced the professional intervention of social workers working in the public sector.

Throughout Europe and other developed countries we are witnessing changes in the public and private sectors and changes in policy development, increasingly geared towards a 'market-society' changing the way we contribute how we benefit from state protection and where techno-economic determinism is a fact (Garcia, 2010, p.86).

In times when professionals' practices and ways of acting are being discussed, we consider it is important that the discussion is also focused on the professionals' perceptions about how the changes in work settings have influenced their practice. It is well known that administrative reforms have led to changes in the working context of all civil servants to which Social Workers have not been indifferent, having undergone relevant changes in their work place in contemporary societies and in the functions assigned to them (Ramalho, 2012, p.361).

The emergence of New Public Management and the challenges for Social Work

The literature review enable us to understand and characterize the New Public Management model. We highlight some principles and concepts such as the disaggregation or decentralization, i.e. the division of sector hierarchies into smaller units and by introducing new management systems and more innovative forms of organization (inspired by private / business management). The modernization of systems and the introduction of measurable and clearly defined performance standards and the consequent concern with results are also some characteristics of the New Public Management model, as well as the simplification of procedures; worker encouragement by introducing better performance bonus schemes. Reregulation is another one, which resulted in the privatization of sectors where the state was traditionally the provider (liberalization of economic and social activities), such as education, health, telecommunications, the energy sector, etc. The "thinning" of the state and public administration with regard to the reduction of civil servants and the creation of autonomous management agencies that guarantee a separation between politics and administration also make another principles of how managerialism works (Rocha, 2000, 2014; Nunes, 2006; Araújo, 2007; Madureira, 2014; Green & Clarke, 2016).

With the introduction of the New Public Management model, one would expect to see an increase in employee autonomy and discretion over their work. However, according to José António Rocha (2014, p. 131) the opposite occurred, administrative reforms disempowered workers, there was a decrease in morale and responsibilities imputed to civil servants resulting in the popular caricature of the civil servant who is typically apathetic.

Thus, it is understood that this model also brought positive aspects and potentialities. It has brought a reduction in expenses and a more positive balance of accounts

showing a concern with profitability. Organizations began to define their missions and objectives more clearly, adopting guides and strategies which was not the case before. There has been an increase in accountability in the services that provide to users as well as innovation through administrative and technological simplification. Also it is expected a greater participation by citizens which decreases the distance between the state and citizens, opening doors so that recipients of services are key stakeholders to participate.

Managerialism nonetheless presents major problems in practice rather than theory. Christopher Hood (1991, cit in Rocha, 2014, p.68) argues that managerialism, despite the supposed benefit that budget and service quality controls could bring has in fact not brought improvements to the services, besides having being used as a vehicle for private interests among public managers rather than during the old administrative models.

In Portugal, the New Public Management started to become a reality in a very timid way, the first adaptation efforts began in the 80's of the last century. More intense efforts have been made from 1995 at a time when managerial revolution in the Portuguese public administration begins. During this time, European influences began to be introduced. Issues such as the quality of services became a reality, and the concepts of effectiveness and efficiency, namely with regard to reducing the role of the state and the budgeting of public services.

The New Public Management not only changed the form of state administration but also the formulation and application of social policies. There has been a gradual disinvestment in public services based on neoliberal ideologies even though it is curious to note what Eduardo Rodrigues (2010, p.197) comments about these facts: the public disinvestment itself based on the idea that public services were inefficient, it becomes the direct consequence of their inefficiency.

We know that the crisis of the welfare state has brought many challenges and changes, affecting various domains of society, affecting the financial, economic, social and cultural realities, and all these profound transformations in the contemporary world require a rethinking of Social Work and its repositioning in society and the way it acts.

Social workers are asked to do more in less time, prioritize the quantitative over the qualitative, rationalize access to services by restricting their access to rights and replace technical competence with routine tasks. It seems that the demand for productivity removes the autonomy and discretionary power of social workers.

Globalization together with managerialism has been challenging Social Work for increasingly unpredictable and dynamic issues as professionals face global situations that cross borders. Lena Dominelli (2010, p.604) warns about the risk of professionals not updating in relation to current issues running the risk of becoming sloppy professionals as practices become bureaucratized and comfortable.

When state administration started to be organized differently social public policies changed aswell (through the introduction of active social policies increasingly focused on the population most vulnerable). Efficiency and effectiveness factors is now embedded to the performance of social workers accountability is also on the agenda and the private market and civil society flourish and social services provided by public services are. What is required of a social worker today is that he/she should be able to manage and be accountable for his own work, contribute to the management of resources and services, present and share records and reports, and know how to work in multidisciplinary teams (Coulshed et al., 2006, p.3).

The introduction of computer systems and new information and communication technologies at work, as a result of a globalizing world, has brought new challenges for Social Work and has facilitated the introduction work control systems (accountability). According to Sarah Banks (2007, cit in Green & Clarke, 2016, p.113), electronic data recording and management systems have several purposes, one of which is to facilitate interprofessional work but Banks also agrees that they are used to increase control and monitoring of social workers and other professionals.

Stuart Kirk et al. (2002) describe the ambiguity felt by social workers with the introduction of what they call "computer-assisted practice". They recognize the two sides of the coin that this issue has brought: on the one hand the fear of dehumanizing social work practices with information systems and on the other hand the numerous (positive) possibilities and capabilities that these systems have.

At first glance, social workers' professional practices appear to have become managerialism-based practices. It is important to understand whether social workers individually and as a professional class can resist emerging threats such as: proceduralisation, bureaucratization of practices and loss of discretion or even disconnection from the ethical-political roots of professional intervention. While taking into account that Social work operates under the pressures of legislation, control and political imperative and media attention, numerous influences that go well beyond strictly professional ones (Coulshed et al. 2006, p.6).

Taking all of this into consideration, what was intended for this research was to understand if all of this perspectives really happen through the perception of real social workers in the public sector.

According to the literature review, the measures introduced in the neoliberal public administration and strongly influenced by the New Public Management show advantages and disadvantages, both for the state itself and for the citizens.

The research problem of the present investigation it is to what extent the administrative reforms of the Portuguese State as external / internal and contextual factors will have any impact on the social workers' professional practices. Recognizing this phenomenon and the implications it can bring to social intervention

as well as the empirical gaps that exist at this level, the present study seeks to understand the advantages and disadvantages pointed out by the Public Sector Social Workers, taking into account the managerial requirements of the administrative reforms and how these influence the practice of social work.

Methodology and Analysis

The research design is qualitative in order to provide a more enlightened and approximate overview of a phenomenon little studied in the area of Social Work in Public Sector organizations in Portugal.

It was firstly designed an Analysis Model in which it was distinguished two central concepts: Managerialism and Professional Practices and the dimensions for each one were then described. For the concept of Managerialism the main characteristics were defined from what was previously identified in the literature review, and then listed the possible practical impacts that a Social Worker would feel by introducing a State Administrative Reform with Managerial characteristics.

Various methodologies were used during the investigation process such as Bibliographic Research and Documentary Analysis as a start. The main methodological procedures begun by the delimitation of the research field, the research universe, the constitution of the sample and its requirements, the choice of data collection techniques and their construction. These techniques included a Semi-Structured Interview Guide, a Sample Characterization Grid and a SWOT Analysis Grid. After the construction of the instruments the data was collected through the semi-structured interviews and the content analysis and SWOT analysis of the interviews were performed so then it was used the Content Analysis technique.

Through content analysis the researchers looked for points that often appear in the data to later organize them into conceptual categories, which allowed a systematic and objective description of the content present in the interviewees' discourses (Coutinho, 2011, p.193). The Content Analysis was done based on four main Categories, which unfold into twelve Subcategories and subsequently into twenty-six Indicators constructed from the transcript of the interviews using a categorical analysis.

Sample and Research Data

This study focused on the Public Sector, namely the sub-sectors of Social Security, Health, Justice and Local Government were chosen as the areas with the highest expression of Social Work professionals. The researchers opted to collect a sample of Social Workers who worked in each of these services.

Because it is impossible to collect data from all Social Workers in Portugal who work in these sectors in the time frame available for the research, for reasons of

accessibility to participants it was opted to use a sample confined to a municipality using the non-probabilistic sampling criterion thus as the accessibility criterion.

The survey had a sample of six Social Workers, distributed in four different sub-sectors - Local Government, Justice, Social Security and Health. The participants' ages are between 36 and 62 years old, with an average age of approximately 49 years. The years of experience as a Social Worker of the participants range from 6 to 39 years of professional experience, with an average of approximately 20 years of experience. The main condition required for the selection of respondents was to have at least 5 years of experience as a Social Worker.

Discussion of Results

In general, from the social worker testimonies that participated in this study, the characteristics that belong to Managerialism are present in all sectors / intervention areas studied here. Some aspects of Managerialism were identified in the speeches of the social workers as having brought benefits, constraints and some considered ambivalent which bring both benefits and constraints.

The Modernization of Services is pointed out by the Social Workers as a benefit since it has allowed a better organization of records, as well as greater access to data, both among various professionals from different areas, as well as between multidisciplinary teams and central services. This is necessarily a networking tool today, which has been touted as having many potentials.

Decentralization of Services is a feature of managerialist reforms which is seen in all services and areas of intervention analyzed here, and was pointed out by the social workers participating in the study as an asset to both service users and for the work performed by the professionals themselves. According to them Decentralization allows greater accessibility to services, as well as a greater monitoring of users, being able to perform a work of proximity. This would not be possible to happen in the same way in centralized services, like the testimony of one of the social workers: *"it is easier for people to resort to decentralized services (...) there is a closer approach, and it is also easier at this time for us to articulate with central services"* (SWLG)¹

Equity in access to public services is perceived as being assured, and there are even internal mechanisms to ensure such accessibility. In most cases, social workers report it as a direct benefit to users and professionals.

Maximizing resources whether human or material is undoubtedly one of the major constraints pointed out. Both with regard to the capacity of social workers to perform their technical functions to the fullest (because there is a lack of workers), or to their ability to provide the necessary answers to the population. While most recognize that, the number of technicians is appropriate for the job others recognize that there are

¹ SWLG – Social Worker from the Local Government sector

flaws at this level, admitting for example that they are unable to leave their offices for home visits. On the other hand, it is generally stated that material resources are not at all adequate and sufficient for the identified needs.

Over-bureaucratization is another¹ constraint on the social workers' professional practice, which can often undermine the success and quality of the intervention itself. This constraint requires a great flexibility of professionals and ironically, demands efficiency in the management of times, a situation that most of the social workers reported to be successful despite acknowledging the difficulties. An example of this are the words of two of the participants: *"In practice we are always fighting against time" (SWH), "I think that this platform's bureaucracy it is very demanding, but it works, and everything is accounted for, it ends up hurting a little, and if we didn't have to do that, we would had time for other things. But I think this has problem at its base, which is the lack of staff, because if we had more people, we could easily do everything."* (SWJ)²

Accountability is one of the ambivalent situations that was one of the identified in this study. It is understood as a situation that adds bureaucratization to the tasks of social workers, and can translate into an effective control of the efficiency and effectiveness in the work production of professionals. One of the social workers in this research said: *"We have to be accountable to the Social Security, and to the Board, we report to both sides (...) we have to make half-yearly reports counting everything we do, which is brutal, display statistical maps every month, we have to make annual maps, annual reports, we have goals to fulfill from Social Security.."* (SWSS)³. However, accountability can also become a tool for testing the quality of their work, and it can be used reflexively and as a planning strategy. Even so, there is a risk of accountability distortion, when the purpose becomes solely and exclusively the monitoring of work as a means of achieving pre-defined objectives, which do not reflect the subjective importance of the work performed.

Finally, the issue of Standardized Procedures is identified as ambivalent. This means that although standardization seeks to ensure equality, transparency of procedures while appealing to the quality of interventions and the scientificity of techniques, the problem lies in lack of equity. Standardized procedures reduce the subjectivity of social problems and risk leaving out some fields of intervention that would need to be taken into account depending on the case at hand. Although it might be a problem, the interviewed social workers said: *"The quality factor requires us to have a formalization in the way we work, a homogenization of procedures. (...) There is a matrix, people know that they should proceed according to that matrix, but then they also work a little bit differently."* (SWH), but also recognize the need to adapt the ways of doing their work:

¹ SWH – Social Worker from the Health sector

² SWJ - Social Worker from Justice sector

³ SWSS – Social Worker from the Social Security sector

"we make always the same procedures, but the service is different, we adapt our posture..." (SWSS).

Conclusion

Since the 1980s, several countries including Portugal have been reforming their administrations by aligning their views with the New Public Management model. The changes these reforms have brought are described as having brought new ways of managing and controlling public organizations. In the Analysis Model of this investigation it was as characterized the concept of Managerialism as a way for decentralization, market liberalization, resource maximization, the logic of service consumers over the logic of service beneficiaries, accountability or service delivery, audits, standardized forms, fair access to services and technological modernization.

In addition to identifying these changes in the forms of organization of public administrations, it was found evidence that there have also been changes in the front-line bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2010). The professional environment of public social services is changing and the literature indicated some of these changes: doing more in less time and with fewer resources, evoking the principles of effectiveness and efficiency, increasing bureaucratic and standardized procedures by filling out forms, mandatory computerized records and also employee accountability through activity reports, with the quantification of all procedures and steps taken.

These trends also represent a change in the social workers' professional practices, particularly with those who work in public organizations and are under this legal framework.

From the work put in place in this research it was found out that in general the Professional Posture presented by the social workers revealed a relatively reflexive and critical posture regarding their own practices. Even so, it was found that in half of the sample, mostly the managerial models of practice stand out, in which a performance oriented towards the rationalization and instrumentalization of results predominates, i.e. an orientation that follows the prescribed organizational rules and procedures, these are two examples: *"I have to comply with the insertion contract (...) it might reach a limit that I will not put my profession at risk, it has to be, (...) but I always practice my profession based on the principle of honesty, my obligations to the state..."*; *"We always have to do everything on the basis of our internal guidelines, we have to, because we have internal guidelines for everything."*(SW3).

When the participants were asked to describe what they feel are the biggest challenges for Social Work half of them answered that the biggest challenge is that there are not enough resources to meet the needs of both goods and services, addressing the most practical issues with direct implications for his work. Still, it should be noted that one third of the participants refer to the lack of recognition of Social Work by society in general, and the need for the profession to assert itself. Regarding this one of the social workers we interviewed said: *"I think that Social Work*

has already went through good changes, but I think it needs to affirm itself, social worker's need to not be afraid and to assume themselves as an important profession like any other (...). one thing I've been watching for a few years back is that everyone thinks they know how to be a social worker (regarding to other professionals)" (SW5).

Regarding Professional Sensitivity of the participants, it was observed that the establishment of the relationship of trust with the users is very valued, as well as the need to create empathy, to use active listening, one of the participants have said: *"I think the best way for us to build trust with anyone, regardless of whether they are our users or just a customer asking for information, is to listen to them in the first place."*. Evidence shows that the reflective capacity of these professionals is also in tune with the values of the profession, and the need to promote the training of users, and not to base professional practices only on immediate and assistance responses, has been mentioned several times.

With regard to Discretion, the vast majority of the participants believe that they retain the possibility of making autonomous decisions, i.e. they do not recognize a loss of their discretion. Although they always put in quotes, saying that is always a "relative autonomy". And yet, it was found that in some cases, Social Workers describe situations where they feel their professional autonomy is directly affected by what they describe as "political wills" or institutional wills: *"I have some autonomy, although it is always relative... but it does not feel like I have lost it (...) [the decisions] always have to go through the superiors, because we have to be always safeguarded with some of the important decisions, even though sometimes political wills overlap the work a bit..." (SW4)*

Thus, it can be said that in this specific context that the managerialist administrative reforms brought both potentialities and constraints to the exercise of Social Work. With regard to the constraints, overcoming them will necessarily require the ability of Social Workers to reflectively plan their interventions and resist excessive and limiting bureaucratizations. It will also reinforce its role as mediators in the community, solidifying its technical-operative skills as well as having the ability to adapt to new demands, gaining recognition through greater argumentative capacity and positioning in defense of the principles of justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversity.

The data suggests that there may be a gap between the opinions and perceptions of the social workers' interviewed and their actions. However, as an exploratory study this one could be used as a background for future investigations using another type of methodologies to understand why discourse and practice can be different.

There is still much to study and explore in this field. One of the topics that we consider pertinent to explore further is the application of risk management instruments, which we found in half of the intervention areas analyzed (most prevalent in the justice

sector). It would be interesting to assess what effective implications these types of instruments have in determining the intervention.

References

- [1] Araújo, J. (2007). Avaliação da gestão pública: A administração pós burocrática. [Cong. Doc. from Conferência da UNED Cong.]. Espanha.
- [2] Banks, S. (2007). Between Equity and Empathy: Social Professions and the New Accountability. *Social Work & Society*, 5 (3), 11-22.
- [3] Coulshed, V., Mullender, A., Jones, D., Thompson, N. (2006). *Management in Social Work* (3rd edition). Palgrave Macmillan.
- [4] Coutinho, C. P. (2011). *Metodologia de Investigação em Ciências Sociais e Humanas: Teoria e Prática*. Coimbra: Editora Almedina.
- [5] Dominelli, L. (2010). Globalization, Contemporary Challenges and Social Work Practice. *International Social Work*, 53 (5), 599-612.
- [6] Garcia, J. (2010). Tecnologia, Mercado e Bem Estar Humano: Para um questionamento do discursos da inovação. In *Tecnologia e Configurações do Humano na Era Digital: contribuições para uma sociologia da técnica* (pp.65-90). Edições Ecopy.
- [7] Green, L. & Clarke, K. (2016). *Social Policy for Social Work*. UK: Polity Press.
- [8] Lipsky, M. (2010). *Street-Level Bureaucracy. Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Sage Publicarions.
- [9] Kirk, S., Reid, W. & Stephen, W. (2002). Computer-assisted social work practice: the promise of technology. In *Science and Social Work* (pp.114-150). Nova Iorque: Columbia University Press.
- [10] Madureira, C. (2014). A reforma da Administração Pública Central no Portugal democrático: do período pós-revolucionário à intervenção da troika. *Revista Administração Pública*, 49 (3), 547-562.
- [11] Nunes, P. (2006). A Nova Gestão Pública e a Reforma Administrativa. *Revista de Ciências Empresariais e Jurídicas*, (8), 7- 36.
- [12] Ramalho, N. (2012). Processos de Globalização e problemas emergentes: implicações para o Serviço Social contemporâneo. *Serviço Social & Sociedade*, n. 110, 345-368.
- [13] Rocha, J. A (2000). O Modelo Pós-Burocrático: A Reforma da Administração Pública à Luz da Experiência Internacional Recente. *Fórum 2000: Reforma do Estado e Administração Gestonária* (pp.35-40). Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- [14] Rocha, J. A. (2014). *Gestão Pública e Modernização Administrativa*. (2ª ed.). Lisboa: INA Editora.
- [15] Rodrigues, E. (2010). O Estado e as Políticas Sociais em Portugal: discussão teórica e empírica em torno do Rendimento Social de Inserção. *Sociologia: Revista do Departamento de Sociologia da FLUP*, vol. XX, 191-230

“Ethno-Inclusion – Ethno-Exclusion” as a Dualistic Model of Cross-Cultural Adaptation in the University Educational Environment

E. Pokrovskaya

M. Raitina

Abstract

The article is devoted to the problem of overcoming the contradiction between the requirements of society for inclusion in the ethno-social educational environment and providing comfortable intercultural communication. Therefore, the goal is to study "ethno-inclusion – ethno-exclusion" as a dual model of cross-cultural interaction. The study is presented as an area of scientific reflection describing the situation of interethnic interaction in the socio-cultural environment and revealing the behavioral vectors of the individual, allowing characterizing the current communicative situation in terms of the impact of extremism and negative socio-cultural transformations. The empirical base is the research conducted by the method of questioning of Tomsk state University of Control Systems and Radioelectronics (TUSUR) students in 2017. As a methodological basis adapted by the authors' version of the method "Types of ethnic identity" G. U. Soldatova, S. V. Ryzhova was chosen. The dominant type, according to the results of surveys, was the type of "norm", suggesting an optimal balance of tolerance towards their own and other ethnic groups. The article presents the models of behavioral vectors correlating with the stages of cross-cultural adaptation process according to M. J. Bennett, that allows us to consider in detail the structure of positive ethnic identity (norm). Positive ethnic identity (norm), represented by the successive development of ethno-relativistic stages of perception of another culture, in its maximum value is defined as the stage of "integration", which is fixed among senior students. The functional stages of "recognition" and "adaptation" is of a transit nature and has fluctuating properties. In the analysis of ethnic identity, it is necessary to focus on the conceptual difference between them, integration as a normative form of cultural existence implies the presence of multiculturalism, a polyvariant image of the world and the multidimensionality of personal experience. The authors rely on their own system of indicators of the quality of the ethno-social educational environment. The materials of this article lay the foundations of interdisciplinary approaches to the formation of theoretical

and methodological support of "ethno-inclusion" in the University environment and can be used in the educational process in the preparation of courses on intercultural communication, cultural studies, psychology, philosophy and other fields of knowledge related to the construction of a comfortable environment of cross-cultural interaction.¹

Keywords: ethno-inclusion, cross-cultural interaction, educational environment, ethno-norm

Introduction

Understanding the current socio-cultural situation is associated with the need for a theoretical and methodological substantiation of the formation of ethno-social space. In the context of global ethno-communication processes, the task of identifying optimal approaches to the regulation of interethnic, interethnic relations and ethno-social processes is the determination of the methodological aspects of the sustainable development of a barrier-free international environment in the university educational environment.

The relevance of the work is due to the need for scientific development and the search for theoretical constructs for the ethnic identity study formation, namely state identity, national-civic identity and cultural identity as a whole, which allows to overcome the contradiction between the need to be in constant cross-cultural interaction and the inability to carry it out permanently positively, affecting consciousness of people in the modern information and communication environment (Suslova et al., 2017).

Literature review. Over the years, there has been a permanent interest in the number of publications concerning with methodological bases of diversity and the inclusive educational university environment: "Diversity as a tool to promote cultural understanding and tolerance", "Intercultural (mis)communication in teacher-student interaction" (Hicks & Marin, 1998), "How University Lecturers' Display of Emotion Affects Students' Emotions, Failure Attributions, and Behavioral Tendencies in Germany, Russia, and the United States" (Hansen & Mendzheritskaya, 2017), "Enhancing Learners' Cross-Cultural Understanding in Language and Culture Class Using In-Circle" (Uosaki, Yonekawa & Yin, 2017), "Developing global citizenship: tools for measuring the impact of academic study abroad programs" (Matheus et al., 2017), "International Students' Disconnecting from and Reconnecting with Diverse" (Machart, 2017).

¹ This work was supported by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, project No. 28.8279.2017 / 8.9

Most of them focus on the necessity of complex system of intergenerational cultural assimilation in the context of economic effects: "Immigration restrictions and second-generation cultural assimilation: Theory and quasi-experimental evidence" (Galli & Russo, 2019), "The network of migrants and international trade", "Ethnic drift and white flight: A gravity model of neighborhood formation" (Metulini et al., 2018).

There are articles noting different migration models as a part of communication context and existing base: "Migrants' self-realization features in a polycultural city" (Meshcheryakova, Larionova, & Pokrovskaya, 2015), "Contributing Factors to Migration Growth Among Iranian Students: Drivers of Migration to Malaysia" (Kazemi et al., 2018), "Attitudes towards highly skilled and low-skilled immigration in Europe: A survey experiment in 15 European countries" (Naumann, Stoetzer & Pietrantuono, 2018), etc.

However, authors mark the lack of articles devoted to the interdisciplinary ethno-inclusive methodology formation in the educational university environment.

Methods and Results. In the context of Russia's modernization, when in the field of education, the interests of practically any Russian citizen are overlapped, there is a need for breakthrough events aimed at shaping a world view that is resistant to all sorts of extreme types of ethnic identity, such as ethno-centric ones (Chmeyrkova, Jelinek, & Krchmova, 2006; Shpet, 2010).

The scientific significance lies in the fact that the complex of applied research aimed at identifying the types of students' youth's ethnic identity (using the example of Tomsk State University of Control Systems and Radioelectronics, then TUSUR), among which may be represented ethnocentric identity groups, inclined to exposure the influence of extremist ideology, allows us to speak about the emergence of negative sociocultural transformations today (Pokrovskaya & Raitina, 2017). Knowledge of the above parameters allows you to determine the bifurcation points and set stable operating modes, one of which will go the development of the system.

The complex of studies conducted in 2017 on the basis of TUSUR lays the foundation for the creation of the theory of national security of modern society.

Since the problem lies in resolving the contradiction described above, we denote the purpose and objectives of the work.

The aim of the study is to identify the correlation (interrelations) in the formation of the ethno-social educational environment of the university through the identification of a dualistic model of "ethno-inclusion – ethno-exclusion".

To achieve this goal, the following tasks were identified:

- to consider the concept of "ethno-social environment of the university";

- to identify and analyze the types of ethnic identity in the educational environment on the example of TUSUR;
- to establish the relationship between types of ethnic identity and the stages of cross-cultural adaptation (according to M. J. Bennet) (Bennett, 1986; Bennett, 1993);
- to formulate models of behavioral vectors as correlated types of ethnic identity and stages of cross-cultural adaptation;
- develop a system of quality indicators (suggesting a barrier-free comfortable interaction) of the formation of an ethno-social educational environment.

The methodological basis of the research is developed as a field of cultural-philosophical reflection, describing the situation of interethnic interaction in the sociocultural environment, and revealing groups of people inclined to exposure to the influence of extremist ideology and negative sociocultural transformations.

The chosen research approach is that the context of cross-cultural interactions is considered as an area for the existence of communicative threats, and, therefore, in this field it is advisable to establish complex and stable organizational forms of counteracting these threats.

During the study, the most relevant objectives were used to collect and analyze empirical data, namely the survey method and the method of mathematical statistics. An adapted version of the method "Types of ethnic identity" Soldatova G. (Soldatova, 1998), Ryzhova S. (Ryzhova, 2011).

We operationalize the basic concepts - types of ethnic identity: the norm (positive ethnic identity), which is a combination of a positive attitude towards one's own people and a positive attitude towards other people (Monakov, 2008). In a multi-ethnic society, a positive ethnic identity has the character of a norm peculiar to the overwhelming majority and sets such an optimal balance of tolerance towards one's own and other ethnic groups, which allows considering it, on the one hand, as a condition of independence (autonomy) and stable existence of an ethnic group, with the other, as a condition for comfortable barrier-free cross-cultural interaction in a multi-ethnic world. Ethnic indifference is considered as erosion of ethnic identity, expressed in the uncertainty of ethnicity and poorly actualized ethnicity. Ethno-egoism predominantly has an expression of a leveling nature in response to the challenges of the social environment in the perception of the construct "my people". However, according to Soldatova G.U., for example, when activating a defense mechanism, there occur tensions and irritation in communicating with representatives of other ethnic groups or we may suggest recognizing the right of their people to solve problems at someone "foreign" expense. Ethno-isolationism is characterized by a position suggesting a supreme significance in relation to its own ethnic group, a manifestation of negative intentions towards inter-ethnic marriage unions, xenophobia.

In the proposed author's adapted version of the "Types of Ethnic Identity" methodology, four of the above mentioned speakers are leading types of ethnic identity, since ethno-nihilism and national fanaticism are also presented in the original methodology "Types of Ethnic Identity" by Soldatova G.U., Ryzhova S.V., as behavioral vectors are irrelevant to educational discourse, and mostly they can be characteristic of labor and forced migrants.

In the development of the research task, we consider the dominant types of ethnic identity in comparison with the stages of the process of cross-cultural adaptation according to Milton J. Bennet, suggested by the authors as models of behavioral vectors, in which the ethno-isolationism correlates with the denial, the ethno-egoism – with the protection, the ethno-indifference – with depreciation and the ethno-norm, in its turn, correlates with the following stages: recognition, adaptation, integration (Raitina, M.Yu. & Pokrovskaya, 2018).

The proposed stages of the process of cross-cultural adaptation by Milton J. Bennet are consistently unfolded through the dominant type of ethnic identity. Thus, the first stage of "denial" can manifest itself through isolation, which consists in the unwillingness of an individual to encounter representatives of a different culture, which is correlated with ethno-isolationism, which is one of the destructive types of identity, because when the behavioral model assumes the possibility of raising physical and social barriers to distance from everything else, different from its own.

The recognition of differences triggers the transition to the next stage of cross-cultural adaptation - "protection". One of the forms of protection is a sense of pride and superiority, emphasizing the high status of our own cultural group, which corresponds to ethno-egoism. When evaluating differences, this type of identity forms negative stereotypes in relation to a different culture, which, subject to a positive behavioral strategy, leads to the implementation of the third "derogation" stage. This stage presupposes the biological and cultural universalism of individuals, which is correlated with the dominant type of ethno-indifference as a form of minimizing the issues of one's own ethnicity.

The above stages characterize the ethnocentric position and cannot serve as sufficient grounds for building a barrier-free, comfortable, cross-cultural, educational environment. For its formation a transition and a paradigm shift to an ethno-relativistic position of cross-cultural adaptation, including the stages of "recognition", "adaptation" and "integration" are necessary. In the context of the complex of the conducted research, the above stages correlate with the dominant type of ethnic identity "ethno-norm", considered as a positive ethnic identity. Thus, at the "recognition" stage, there is an acceptance and approval of cultural differences in behavior and values. The development and improvement of cross-cultural communication skills, self-actualization of the personality contributes to the inclusion

of empathic mechanisms of intercultural interaction and suggests a transition to the next stage of “adaptation” (Gleditsch, Skrede& Wucherpfennig, 2016).

We agree with M.J. Bennet that the adaptation phase, starting with empathy, “ends with the formation of pluralism ... is the result of living in a foreign culture for at least two years” (Smolina & Mel'nikova, 2017). Full adaptation to a foreign culture - the final stage of “integration” results in the highest point of development, the ideal of personal growth is a multicultural personality (Smolina & Mel'nikova, 2017).

The empirical base of the study is the results of survey conducted on the basis of TUSUR in 2017 (Figure 1).

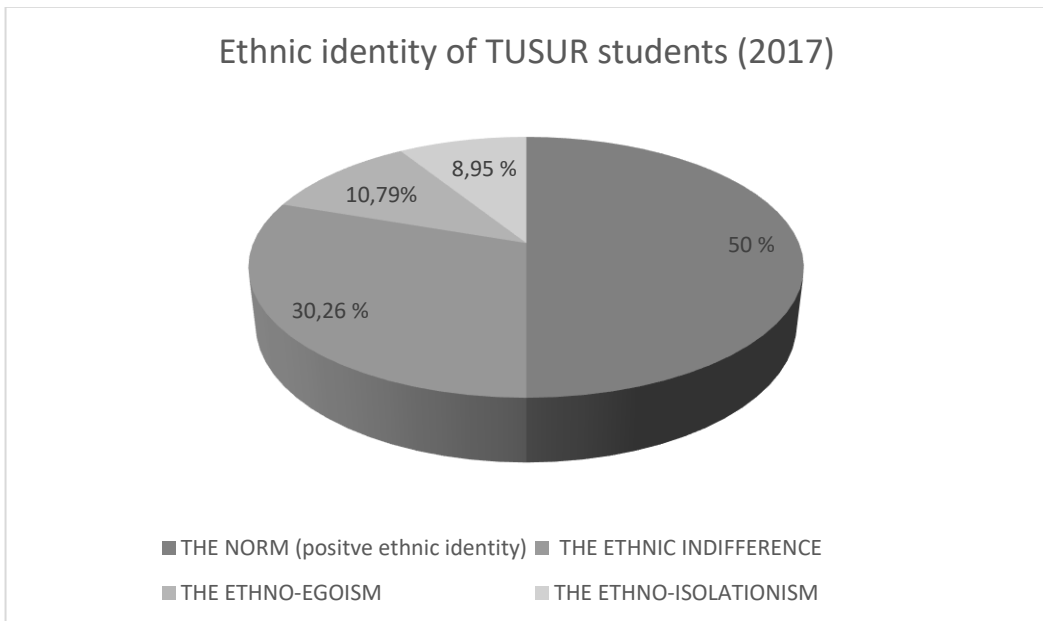


Figure 1. Ethnic identity of TUSUR students (2017)

In total, 3544 students took part in the survey of students of TUSUR 2061 men, which is 58.2% and 1483 women, which is 41.8 %. Analysis of the results of a survey of students of TUSUR showed that 50% (1772 people) of students determined the norm (positive ethnic identity), 30.26% (1072 people) – the ethnic indifference, 10.79% (382 people) – the ethnic egoism, and 8.95% determined the ethnic isolationism (318 people).

Let us consider in more detail the structure of the norm (recognition- adaptation- integration) as a context of effective ethno-social interaction on the basis of comparative analysis of the data of the survey of students of the Radio Engineering Faculty (RKF) of TUSUR received in 2017 (Figure 2).

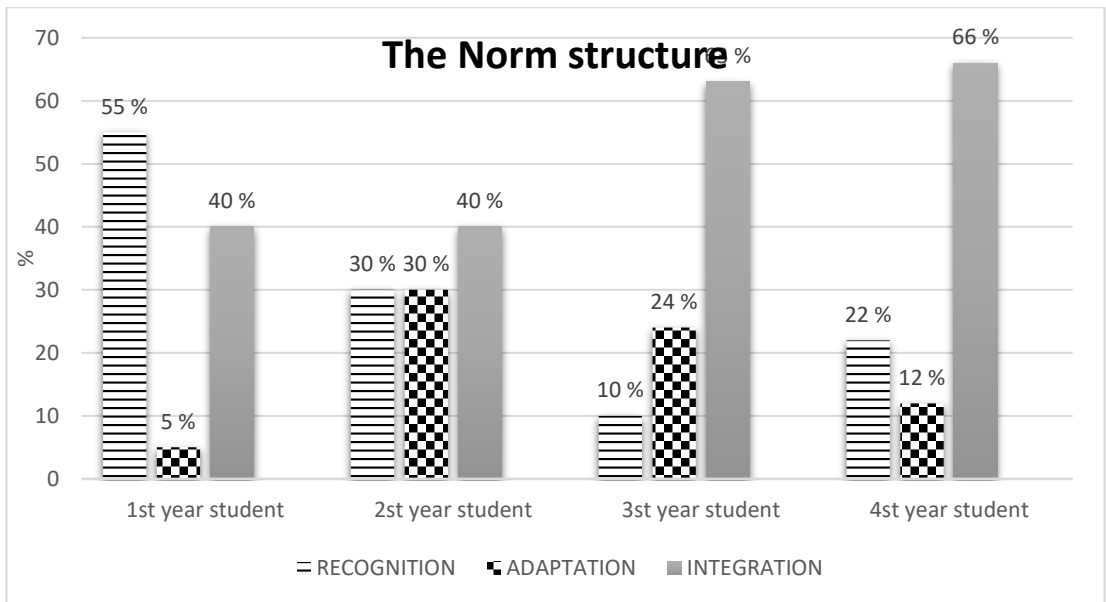


Figure 2. "The Norm" structure

Positive ethnic identity, represented by the successive development of ethno-relativistic stages of perception of a different culture, in its maximum value is defined as a stage of "integration", which is fixed among senior students. This conclusion is natural, because during the training in TUSUR there is an "inclusion" of students in the context of the barrier-free ethno-social environment formation.

Redistribution of the specific weight of the stages of "recognition" and "adaptation" seems natural due to the fact that their functional has a transit character and has fluctuating properties. Thus, for example, it is assumed that at the stage of "recognition" it can be shown a benevolent attitude to another culture without active penetration into its environment. This behavioral model can move towards the stage of the ethno-indifference or the ethno-egoism, in the case of negative personal experience. The stage of "adaptation" is the closest to the stage of "integration" and in some communicative contexts can act as a substitute. At the same time, when analyzing ethnic identity, it is necessary to focus on the conceptual difference between them, integration as a normative form of cultural existence implies the presence of multiculturalism, a polyvariant picture of the world and the multidimensionality of personal experience.

For the deployment of cross-cultural adaptation, the authors propose the allocation of a dualistic model of "ethno-inclusion – ethno-exclusion". These constructs correlate respectively with the ethno-relativistic and ethno-centrist stages. The previously mentioned models of behavioral vectors, namely, recognition, adaptation, integration, combined with the type of ethnic identity "the norm", are descriptive characteristics

of the ethno-inclusive model, which involves the inclusion of subjects of ethno-social environment in the process of cross-cultural interaction without obvious distortions and destruction. In turn, the ethno-exclusion is characterized by such models of behavioral vectors as denial (with the dominant type of ethnic identity "the ethno-isolationism"), protection (with the dominant type of ethnic identity "the ethno-egoism"), derogation (with the dominant type of ethnic identity "the ethno-indifference"). From the authors' point of view, "derogation" has a transitional property and is most affected by environmental factors.

The above models of behavioral vectors are used to describe the system of quality indicators (suggesting a barrier-free comfortable interaction) of the ethno-social educational environment formation, such as: the ethno-norm that increases barrier-free comfortable interaction of subjects of the educational space; ethno-indifference that means decline or no change dominant of cultural and biological universalism, etc.

Conclusion. Thus, the scientific and practical result is a system of quality indicators (suggesting barrier-free comfortable interaction) of the ethno-social educational environment formation, taking into account the realities of sociocultural transformations that have taken place in the society, and setting a new comfortable barrier-free interethnic environment that is being formed at the interface of interdisciplinary convergence.

As part of the implementation of the above-mentioned educational task, we note a number of measures that contribute to the positive development of the ethno-social factor in education:

- cross-cultural Forum with international participation "Ethno-Cultural Mosaic";
- International scientific and practical conference " Modern education: new methods and technologies in the organization of the educational process;
- student Festival of National Cultures;
- scientific and methodological seminar on a regular basis for graduate students, applicants and teachers;
- activities of an educational nature to promote national cultures and traditions (public lectures, discussion platforms, film clubs, tours of the city of Tomsk, including for foreign students).

The activities of integral interaction held at the University are connected with the need to build a purposeful educational strategy, the formation of tolerant positive interethnic relations in society and, above all, in the youth environment.

The obtained research data convincingly testify that a comfortable barrier-free inter-ethnic environment has been created in TUSUR, which makes it possible to successfully counteract the influence of the ideology of extremism and terrorism.

In conclusion, according to the proposed logic, ethno-inclusion substantiates a barrier-free environment, dynamic in its essence, modeled by behavioral vectors and implying both external regulation of the resources of the education system and internal work of the personality associated with its self-actualization.

References

- [1] Bennett, M. J. (1986). A developmental Approach to Training for Intercultural Sensitivity. *Intercultural Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 10 (2), 179–196.
- [2] Bennett, M. J. (1993). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R. M. Paige (Ed.). *Education for the intercultural experience*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- [3] Chmeyrkova, S., Jelinek, M., & Krchmova, M. (2006). Globalization - ethnization: ethnocultural and ethno-linguistic processes. Moscow: Nauka.
- [4] Galli, F., & Russo, G. (2019). Immigration restrictions and second-generation cultural assimilation: Theory and quasi-experimental evidence. *Journal of Population Economics*. 32(1), 23–51, doi:10.1007/s00148-018-0694-z
- [5] Gleditsch, C., Skrede, K., & Wucherpfennig, J. (2016). The Diffusion of Inclusion: An Open Polity Model of Ethnic Power Sharing. Available from: URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010414017740602>
- [6] Hansen, M., & Mendzheritskaya, J. (2017). How University Lecturers' Display of Emotion Affects Students' Emotions, Failure Attributions, and Behavioral Tendencies in Germany, Russia, and the United States. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*. 48 (5), 734–753, doi: 10.1177/0022022117697845
- [7] Hicks, M., & Marin, P. (1998). Diversity as a tool to promote cultural understanding and tolerance. In D. Bakst (Ed.), *Hopwood, Bakke, and beyond: Diversity on our nation's campuses*. Washington, DC: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 25–29.
- [8] Kazemi, A., Baghbanian, A., Maymand, M., & Rahmani, H. (2018). Contributing Factors to Migration Growth Among Iranian Students: Drivers of Migration to Malaysia. *Journal of international migration and integration*. 19(3), 757–770, doi: 10.1007/s12134-018-0567-z
- [9] Machart, R. (2017). International Students' Disconnecting from and Reconnecting with Diverse Communities: Fluidity of the Self in Sojourns Abroad. *International student connectedness and identity: transnational perspectives*. 6, 185–203, doi: 10.1007/978-981-10-2601-0_11
- [10] Matheus, C., Gaugler, K., Ficula, J., & Oreilly, L. (2017). Developing global citizenship: tools for measuring the impact of academic study abroad programs. *Proceedings*, 388–394.

- [11] Meshcheryakova, E., Larionova, A., & Pokrovskaya, E. (2015). Migrants' self-realization features in a polycultural city. *Tomsk state university journal*. 398, 202–210, doi: 10.17223/15617793/398/33
- [12] Metulini, R., Sgrignoli, P., Schiavo, S., & Riccaboni, M. (2018). The network of migrants and international trade. *Economia Politica*. 35(3), 763–787, doi:10.1007/s40888-018-0106-6
- [13] Monakov, A.M. (2008). Ethnicity and ethnic identity. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, 72–91.
- [14] Naumann, E., F. Stoetzer, L., & Pietrantuono, G. (2018). Attitudes towards highly skilled and low-skilled immigration in europe: A survey experiment in 15 european countries. *European Journal of Political Research*. 57(4), 1009–1030, doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12264
- [15] Pokrovskaya, E., & Raitina, M. (2017). University infrastructure as vector of region sustainable development. *International Conference on Trends of Technologies and Innovations in Economic and Social Studies (TTIESS)*, doi:10.2991/ttiess-17.2017.89
- [16] Raitina, M.Yu., & Pokrovskaya, E.M. (2018). Categorical explication of ethnic identity as the backbone principle of the formation of the ethnosocial educational space of the university. *Sociodinamika*. 5, doi: 10.25136/2409-7144.2018.5.26128.
- [17] Ryzhova, S.V. (2011). *Ethnic Identity in the Context of Tolerance*. Moscow: Al'fa-M.
- [18] Shpet, G. (2010). *Introduction to Ethnic Psychology*. SPb.: Aletejya.
- [19] Smolina, T.L., & Mel'nikova, A.A. (2017). *Psychology of cross-cultural adaptation*. SPb.: Izdatel'sko-Torgovyi Dom «Skifiya».
- [20] Soldatova, G.U. (1998). *Psychology of ethnic tensions*. Moscow.: Smysl.
- [21] Suslova, T., Pokrovskaya, E., Raitina, M., & Kulikova, A. (2017). Interdisciplinary Convergence in the University Educational Environment. *Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing*. 677. Available from: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-67843-6_9
- [22] Uosaki, N, Yonekawa, T., & Yin, C. (2017). Enhancing Learners' Cross-Cultural Understanding in Language and Culture Class Using InCircle. *9th International Conference on Collaboration Technologies. Lecture Notes in Computer Science*. 10397, doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-63088-5_13

Social Skills for Students in Helping Profession Working with Groups Under Risk

Sofija Georgievska

Associate Professor, Ss. Cyril and Methodious, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje,
Republic of North Macedonia

Svetlana Trbojevik

Associate Professor, Ss. Cyril and Methodious, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje,
Republic of North Macedonia

Natasha Stanojkovska-Trajkovska

Assistant Professor, Ss. Cyril and Methodious, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje,
Republic of North Macedonia

Abstract

The lack of comprehensive information concerning the social skills of students in helping professions (psychologists, social workers, pedagogues, and special educators) imposes an important task for educational trainers. Students in training should learn appropriate communion skills for working with diverse vulnerable clients and communities in order to have adequate response to those in need. The data presented in this paper were obtain with use of qualitative and quantitative methods to measure empathy, altruism, and assertiveness in 450 psychology, pedagogue, social work and special education and rehabilitation students (IRI Index of interpersonal reaction, Davis, 1996, Scale of altruism, Raboteg-Šarić, 1993 and Scale of assertiveness, Zdravković, 2004) The results showed that there is a positive relation between the level of empathy and altruism, and a negative relation between the level of empathy and assertiveness in students. In addition, there are significant differences in the birth order, gender, year of study, the quality and the quantity of the education in the field (practical work) that they have participated in during the studies. The obtained results cannot be generalize to all helping professions because of the sample limitation, but they are significant for seeing the current state in regards of the examined characteristics and for building a strategy for their improvement. At the same time, the results present a significant indicator that confirms the idea of redesigning the current study programs that would provide opportunities for

the present students to get the needed competencies for providing their professional success.

Keywords: social skills, students, profession, groups under risk

Introduction

We live in times of change that cannot be stopped and that cause people to function differently, which can range from very effective to extremely ineffective. In conditions of economic collapse, lower living standards, limited employment opportunities, opportunities for adequate youth development are diminished. Also, the twenty four hour subsistence competition and overwork cause the need to communicate with competent individuals who can provide assistance and support. As such stand out members of the auxiliary professions, who in addition to theoretical readiness and expertise, are required to possess certain personal characteristics and specific skills for working with people. Supporting professions include social workers, psychologists, pedagogues, special educators, educators, experts working with people with disabilities, sociologists, educators and health professionals. In order to be successful in providing professional assistance, these individuals need to possess certain characteristics such as good communication skills, conflict resolution skills, mediation, emotional stability and balance, mental and emotional maturity, good self-control, management ability. own impulses, knowing and accepting one's own needs, desires and attitudes. These individuals also need to have the skills to recognize the situation of others, to care for others, and to be prepared to provide assistance. Among these skills and characteristics, empathy, altruism and assertiveness are the most essential for success in the support profession.

Many times in life people, especially members of the auxiliary professions, whether in the private or professional field, can be exposed to discomfort. In such situations, adequate social behavior and communication with others is necessary. In those moments, a person's legal rights may be compromised, manipulated, labeled, or exploited psychologically and materially. In order to have an equitable relationship in a relationship, it is up to the man to find a way and fight for it. However, he needs to know how to handle it properly, how to govern himself, and how to express it.

Social skills

The most common understanding is that social skills are those skills that we use in interaction with other people on an interpersonal level (Hargie, Saundres, & Dikson, 1994). According to Phillips (Phillips, 1978), a person is socially adept at communicating with others, in a way that fulfills their rights, demands, obligations with others. In addition, this person is prepared to share rights and requirements openly and without limitation.

The following definition defines social skills as specific components of the processes that enable the individual to behave in a way that will be judged as competent. Skills are the skills necessary to trigger behavior that will lead to the achievement of a goal that is part of a given task (Schlundt & McFall, 1985). These definitions highlight the macro elements of social behavior in terms of reciprocity or reciprocity. Skills are skills that can be developed to a greater or lesser degree.

The review of the world literature on the relation of emotional intelligence, as well as the previously stated results of research on these constructs, concludes that the purpose and need for research of this kind in our country is multiple. Although it is a relatively new dimension, the literature on emotional intelligence is extensive and is one of the most explored variables that is attracting the attention of world researchers interested in contributing to greater life satisfaction, psychological adjustment, stress management, and improvement. work performance and the like. In these areas, interest in the contribution of emotional intelligence to daily functioning is currently growing, but research is lacking to empirically examine the contribution of perception, understanding, and regulation of emotions to life satisfaction, psychological well-being, and emotional well-being. self-confidence. We therefore hope that our research will serve as a starting point for further research in this area.

Problem being investigated

The problem in this research is to determine whether students in the support professions have the necessary social skills to work with at-risk children.

Subject of research

The main subject of this research is the social skills students need from support professions to work with children at risk. This research should give a picture of the possible differences between students in terms of gender, year of study, study group.

Respondents

The research was conducted on a sample of 134 respondents, students of assistive guidance.

The final sample of respondents on which the data were processed consisted of 52 male and 82 female respondents. The condition that had to be met for the questionnaires to be processed was the number of omitted responses. If the total number of omitted responses on all scales was less than 6, the questionnaire is eligible for data processing. The omitted item was assigned the mean of the corresponding scale as indefinite. But if one of the tests was completely omitted then the questionnaire was not included in the processing. The age of the respondents ranged from 19 to 25 years.

Instruments

TMMS-30

The inherent meta-mood scale (Trait Meta-Mood Scale; TMMS; Salovey, Mayer, Goldman, Turvey, & Palfai, 1995), which is based on the Salves and Meyer model is a measure of self-esteem that touches on what researchers call Perceived Emotional Intelligence (PEI) or the knowledge that individuals have of their own emotional abilities as opposed to real or mental capacity. It measures three aspects of the thought processes that accompany mood states called meta-mood experiences. These are: Perception (the perceived ability to pay attention to one's own emotional states); Clarity (perceived ability to clearly distinguish feelings) and Emotional Regulation (perceived ability of the individual to regulate one's own emotional states and to "correct" negative moods). It is assumed that these meta-mood dimensions reflect a three-stage functional sequence. Specifically, it is assumed that (1) some degree of attention to emotions is required (2) for a clear understanding of emotions and, consequently, (3) that capacity to regulate negative moods and emotions will not be possible without some degree of emotion. emotional clarity. Evidence of such a proposed functional sequence was discovered using the analytical methodology (Martinez-Poms, 1997; Palmer, Gignac, Bates, & Stough, 2003).

Our research uses a shortened revised three-factor version of 30 items, which, unlike the original 48-item five-factor scale, is more practical and easier to use and interpret the results, free of those items that were low-load in previous research. As the internal consistency of the subscales remained as high in the revised version as in the initial version (perception: $\alpha = 0.86$; clarity: $\alpha = 0.88$; adjustment: $\alpha = 0.82$) it appears that TMMS - 30 is optimal for use in the exploration of perceived emotional intelligence.

The first factor in this scale is the perception of emotions (degree of attention to emotions) and consists of 13 items of which some are positive and some are negatively connotated. Therefore, the most positive item is the item "I pay a lot of attention to how I feel", and the most negative item is "I do not pay much attention to my feelings". The theoretical range of this subscale ranges from 13-65. The second factor is labeled as clarity of emotions since its most positively charged item was "I am usually very clear about my feelings" and the most negative item was "I can't find any sense in my feelings". This dimension consists of 11 items, and the theoretical range ranges from 11-55. The last factor is labeled as mood regulation because the items that burden it primarily relate to trying to "fix" the negative mood in order to maintain pleasant feelings. The highest positive load is on the item "Although I am sometimes sad, I usually have an optimistic view". The most negative item is "Although I sometimes feel happy, I usually have a pessimistic view". The additional items relate to describing active mood-enhancing strategies. This dimension is made up of 6 items and theoretically spans 6-30.

Data were processed using SPSS statistical software version 21 on a sample of 134 respondents. The following variables are included in the processing:

1. Gender of the respondent;
2. The result of the Characteristic Meta-Mood Scale (TMMS) and individual subscales;

The basic statistical indicators for the overall results of the scales and subscales used in this study are presented and are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive statistical analysis of the achieved score of the variables in the whole sample:

	N	Min	Max	M	SD	Theoretical span
EI	181	35,00	139,00	110,12	14,29	30-150
Regulation	181	8,00	30,00	22,94	4,81	6-30
Perception	181	25,00	64,00	47,55	7,78	13-65
Clarity	181	27,00	55,00	40,05	6,36	11-55

As we can see, the measurement of emotional intelligence shows that it is a sample with a relatively high EI (on the average and high score). It also entails high regulation of emotions and differentiation between them, which is confirmed by the achievement of the subscales emotional regulation and emotional clarity of our sample. What is surprising is the high score on the dimension of emotion perception, since I expected this population to nurture a Western functioning trend that requires neglecting emotions in making life-critical decisions and focusing only on cognitive reasoning. Probably the population in this sample is still at a critical age when in contact with their emotions and, given the high score of the other two subscales (emotional regulation and clarity), involves them in decision-making and thinking, which is particularly important in a situation which requires us to make choices and helps us choose what we want, not what is imposed or socially desirable.

Gender differences of the tested variables

To check that the results of male and female respondents differ significantly, a t-test of all variables was conducted. The results are shown in Table 2

Table 2. Arithmetic mean, standard deviation, and t-test results for the tested sex differences of the individual variables.

	N		Male (N=52)		Female (N=82)		T - test		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	t	Df	P
EI	110,12	14,29	109,48	11,91	110,53	15,67	-,943)	51	,350
Regulation	22,94	4,81	23,59	4,00	22,52	5,24	,488	51	,627
Pereception	47,55	7,78	44,82	7,80	49,29	7,29	-3,013)	51	,004
Clarity	40,05	6,36	41,02	6,22	39,44	6,41	,195	51	,846

The t-test, also known as a "student" test, is used to compare two sets of quantitative data when the data from the two samples are related in some way. In our study, data in both samples were collected in the same way, under the same conditions, with the same measuring instruments, and we can conclude that this test is ideal for comparing data obtained from male and female populations.

What can be noted from the results in Table 2 is that a statistically significant gender difference can be observed only in the variable perception of emotion ($p = 0.004$; $p < 0.05$).

These results indicate that the female population is emotionally more intelligent than the male population, not only because of the significantly higher score of the dimension of emotion perception, but also because it is carried alongside the male respondents in the dimensions of emotional regulation and clarity. This may have been a hypothesis for a long time, but now with increasing interest in examining emotional intelligence and its contribution to everyday functioning, it has been repeatedly confirmed. The literature on EI is now full of assumptions as to why this is the case, due to the higher achievement of EI measures for female respondents. Such a conclusion is supported by a large body of research on gender differences in emotional aspects, which show, for example, that women are more capable of decoding nonverbal emotional information (Brody & Hall, 2000), have greater emotional understanding (Ciarrochi et al., 2005), are more sensitive to the emotions of others (Hall & Mast, 2008), are more expressive and exhibit greater interpersonal competencies. In addition, we have traditionally accepted that women are more familiar with the emotional world than men and that they may be biologically more prepared to perceive emotions. Baron-Cohen suggests that these differences between men and women may be the result of the "extreme theory of male brain autism" that men tend to systematize, while women tend to empathize and use emotions more

frequently than men. . All of these findings and theoretical explanations can help explain why women achieve higher EI scores, including TMMS.

Although numerous studies confirm that women are emotionally intelligent than men, most of them analyze the relationship between gender and EI only superficially. While some studies have explicit hypotheses about this association, many consider sex as a secondary goal rather than a primary variable that needs to be fully explored. However, these studies indicate that women possess greater emotional abilities, which confirms the need to consider sex as an exponential variable in the mechanisms of emotional functioning. Such a theoretical approach is problematic, as psychologists who deal with gender issues emphasize that sex itself has no exploratory power in the absence of socio-demographic variables such as age or socioeconomic status. In fact, sex always operates in interaction with other variables.

Correlations between examined variables

To find out whether there is a relationship between emotional intelligence and its components, Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated.

Table 3 Display of correlation coefficients between the stated variables for the whole sample of respondents.

		EI	Regulation	Pereception	Clarity
EI	r (corr.)	1	,651**	,609**	,700**
	p		,000	,000	,000
Regulation	r (corr.)	,651**	1	,067	,466**
	p	,000		,442	,000
Perception	r (corr.)	,609**	,067	1	,097
	p	,000	,442		,264
Clarity	r (corr.)	,700**	,466**	,097	1
	p	,000	,000	,264	

As can be seen from the correlations given in Table 3, there is a strong correlation between most of the variables tested. What primarily interests me is the relationship between EI and its constructs, which is particularly important in determining the validity and reliability of TMMS. The total score of emotional intelligence in our study was associated with a strong correlation with all three components of emotional intelligence (emotion perception $r = .61$; emotion clarity $r = .70$; emotion regulation $r = .65$; all with $p < 0.001$).

Our assumption that adolescents and young adults with high expectations of their ability to understand and manage emotional experiences maintain more positive emotional states and are more satisfied with their lives.

Significant results of scientific contribution

Our research was designed to examine the association of perceived emotional intelligence.

Another aim was to determine whether there are gender differences in the correlations between the variables studied.

Appropriate self-rating scales were used for data collection for each of the tested variables.

From statistical processing and analysis we have obtained some results that replicate and confirm previous research around the world, as well as new and unexpected results. Examining gender differences confirmed our expectation that female respondents have a more pessimistic view of the world and that they pay more attention to their feelings. We failed to statistically confirm the difference in emotional regulation and ability to differentiate between feelings, although we expected male respondents to be in that category.

By examining the correlations between the individual variables we found that TMMS has a strong intercorrelation between internal scales, that is, the total score of emotional intelligence in our study is associated with a strong correlation with all three components of emotional intelligence (emotion perception $r = .61$; of emotions $r = .70$; emotion regulation $r = .65$; all with $p < 0.001$).

Conclusion

When interpreting the results, it is necessary to pay attention to the limitations of the research. First, the data are collected from a convenient sample of students that is not representative of the population in any of the investigated variables, thus limiting the generalization of the findings. In addition, the measuring instruments used show some deficiencies, one of which is self-assessment. This makes it especially difficult to make statements about one's own feelings, since one is often unaware of how one feels or is reluctant to come up with one. The data collected is based on the respondents' own statements, so that the answers may also be influenced by social desires. In the future, the use of a measuring instrument which in addition to intrapersonal, includes interpersonal dimensions, or the use of an EI capability test, such as MSCEIT, could be considered.

Another disadvantage is the sample size and the unequal distribution of male and female respondents. Namely, research of this kind in the future should be conducted on a sample of more respondents and equal number of male and female respondents for a more reliable comparison of sex differences. One has to take into account the fact that it is a correlational research that does not explain the causal relationship of the variables.

For a more detailed explanation of the variance in life satisfaction, I propose to incorporate the variables of material and marital status in the future, and possibly the

level of education as exploratory variables. In doing so, the data from this research can serve as a basis for further research.

Literature

- [1] Newsome, S., Day A. L. & Catano, V. M. Assessing the Predictive Validity of Emotional Intelligence. *Personality and Individual Differences*. 29, 1005-1016. (2000).
- [2] Palmer, B., Gignac, G., Bates, T., & Stough, C.: Examining the structure of the Trait Meta-Mood Scale. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 55, 154-159. (2003).
- [3] Sharabany, R. & Bar-Tal, D. (1981). *Theories of the development of altruism: Review, comparison and integration*. In: International Journal of Behavior Development, No. 4, pp. 32-77
- [4] Shelley L. Brown & Yvonne Stys: A Review of the Emotional Intelligence Literature and Implications for Corrections, Research Branch Correctional Service of Canada, 2004.
- [5] Sillick & Schutte: Emotional Intelligence and Self-Esteem Mediate Between Perceived Early Parental Love and Adult Happiness, *E-Journal of Applied Psychology*, 38-48, (2006).

Importance and Influence of Interest Groups in Welfare Policymaking Processes - Seen Through Citizens' Lenses- the Case of North Macedonia

Elisabeta Bajrami Ollogu

Lecturer at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Mother Teresa University in Skopje, North Macedonia

Abstract

This paper aims to explore the influence of interest groups regarding social welfare policies implemented in North Macedonia and analyze how this influence is perceived through citizens' lenses. Considering the importance of interest groups in democratic systems where principles of good governance should be implemented, it is of main importance to explore at what extent interest groups contribute or affect processes of policy-making. What are some interest groups that can be considered as influential and have the highest levels of membership referring to social policies? How do citizen-beneficiaries perceive current Macedonian welfare state and what is their perception regarding the role of interest groups in pushing policy processes? The purpose of the paper is to explore associations that aim to protect public interest and influence decision making as much as groups serving narrow interests in the field of social policy. There is increasing recognition of the emergence of new and pernicious interest groups, which have influence on policymaking. Methodologically, this research is designed based on a desk research, literature review and empirical research, conducted in the period of October 2019 – March 2020. The perceptions are being measured through questionnaires that have been conducted with random individuals (beneficiaries/not beneficiaries of social services) with the aim to have some insights on behalf of their perceptions regarding the welfare/social protection system and additionally have some evidence of their participation in interest groups as well. The results of this research show low levels of participation and trust of citizens in interest groups and little contentment regarding welfare policies and delivery of social services, in the country.

Keywords: Interest groups; North Macedonia; Welfare; Perceptions

1. Introduction

Groups of interest, in contemporary societies, represent a significant motor of development due to the pressure they persistently make on pushing political processes or broadly influencing public bodies in applying in their governances such principles as: justice; equality; equity; inclusion etc. There are some definitions of what interest groups represent. Broadly seen, they are mostly considered as associations of individuals or organizations which on the basis of one or more shared concerns, attempts to influence public policy in its favor usually by lobbying members of the government.

Interest groups are particularly significant at a national level. Increasing in size, governments seem like becoming more detached from their citizens, making it more difficult for officials or institutions to respond to citizens' real needs. On the other hand, citizens often find it difficult to navigate large government structures in order to effectively lobby for changes affecting their lives. NGOs and specific interest groups seem to have the expertise to open governments to their citizens. Interest groups may improve policy-making by providing valuable knowledge and insight data on specific issues. The civil society sector fills this gap by mobilizing citizens into larger groups led by professional representatives. These individuals have the practical knowledge of how to penetrate layers of government more effectively than a single person would. They provide the people around them with a comprehensive and coherent form of government approach, but also act as a bridge between the citizen and the government. Moreover, as issues dealt with by the government become more and more complex, they should be assisted by experts offer professional advices on how to better act in certain situations. These organizations are full of individuals with expertise in their field that can advise leaders on the practical impact of certain policy decisions. For individuals who want to set up membership groups, it is important to understand what makes one organization more successful in seeking change than the other. Unfortunately, there is still no good culture of membership in civil society in North Macedonia, as long as the interests of small and better-organized groups rule the public interest.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that lobbying and interest groups can negatively influence policy-making, due to their orientation or representing interests negatively affecting democratic processes. In addition, Campos and Giovannoni (2008) have shown that in transition countries, interest groups influence through lobbying is found to be an alternative instrument of political influence vis-à-vis corruption. In this context, their findings are that lobbying, if adequately regulated, is a much more effective instrument than corruption for exerting political influence and that lobbying is also a much stronger explanatory factor than corruption for firm performance. In this context, in order to avoid the negative impacts of interest group influence on policy measures, full transparency is essential. Therefore, a broad range

of regulations should be established depending on the country's political environment and state of development (Zinnbauer, 2009).

In the case of North Macedonia, the regulation of most associations is provided through the "Law for Associations and Foundations"¹. Under article 11 of the law, is stipulated the following: "*The organization's activity is public*", and in article 12 of the law: "*Publicity of the organization's activity is realized through transparent publication of the statute and other acts of the organization, in accordance with its statute*".² Moreover, different economies have adopted various regulations with the aim to prevent the negative influence of interest group on policy-making, ranging from lobbying and conflict of interest regulations to access to information laws.

2. Social Policy directions – importance of lobbying concerning social policy

There is very little research on interest group influence on policy-making and its potential benefits. When it comes to the influence of interest groups in the field of social policy the data is even more evasive. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that civil sector and other organizations have pushed policy-making processes, in particular for disabled people, children with special needs and workers' rights. Even the membership is mostly oriented in these type of organizations. This might have been determined due the fact that in North Macedonia, most of interest groups include human rights groups, women's groups and environmental groups, as well as NGOs active in the areas of good governance and democratization. According a research made by Cekik, A (2015) "The large majority of NGOs were formed after the introduction of political pluralism in the 1990s, while some trade unions, chambers of commerce and professional associations existed during socialism. Today, pluralism in the area of trade unionism and business associations is allowed and their interests are typically represented by several national-level umbrella associations"³. Social welfare/social security, local and regional development and employment policy also attract a considerable amount of lobbying.

It might be highlighted the fact that during the transition period of the country, there have been lots of initiatives which aim to increase debates between actors involved, regarding the crucial role of interest groups towards influences in policy making processes. Governments cannot act by their own since they are strongly connected to other organization outside of governmental institutions. In this regard, in democratic countries where good governance principles are being developed, the relationship between the state (government), political parties in opposition and other groups of interest must be intense. It is a sign that democratic system is in the right pathway. The transition to liberal democracy and the ongoing EU accession process frame the

¹ Закон за здруженија и фондации бр.52, 2010. www.slvesnik.com.mk

² Закон за здруженија и фондации, article 11, 12, 2010, pg. 15

³ Cekik, A., *Lobbying by interest groups in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia: findings from a survey of associations*, 2015, pg. 2

national context of the system of interest representation (Fink-Hafner, 2015; Hristova and Cekik, 2015). When it comes to public policy influences, think tanks are important as well. In the context of policies, a 'think tank' represents an organization of independent but they themselves can also take initiatives in this regard with the aim of influencing public policy¹.

Unfortunately, there is still no good culture of membership in CSOs in North Macedonia, as long as the interests of small and better-organized groups rule the public interest. Previous studies have also shown that the extent of lobbying increases with income, and that firms belonging to a lobby group are significantly less likely to pay bribes. On the other hand, in politically less stable countries, firms are more likely to bribe and less likely to join a lobby group (Campos, Giovannoni, 2006).

On the other hand, one of the barriers while influencing the welfare system is related to transparency. Interest group influence may also depend on the salience of an issue – 'the more attention the public pays to a specific decision; the more difficult it should be for a special interest group to influence the outcome'². In this context, governments should encourage citizens' participation, facilitating (or making mandatory) open hearings on policies and consultative decision-making processes (Transparency International, 2009).

3. Methodology

Methodologically this research paper is a combination of literature review and empirical data analysis, conducted in the period of October 2019 – March 2020. Primary data is collected through survey and this is a questionnaire-based survey, which means that the citizens' perceptions are being measured through a questionnaire which has been conducted online. The online questionnaire was conducted in order to gather large size of information in a short period. The questionnaire is designed by using multiple-choice questions in which respondents could select one or more options from a list of answers defined and it is divided in two main sessions.

3.1 Sampling

The questionnaire was conducted using the random sampling technique, under which, each member of the population had an equal opportunity of being chosen as a part of the sampling process. In this case, the research was conducted with random citizens (beneficiaries/not beneficiaries of social welfare system) who represent a larger population for whom the results can be generalized. The advantages of the simple random sample in this case include its ease of use and its accurate representation of the larger population. Samples are used in statistical testing, even

¹ Simon, James. *The Idea Brokers: The impact of Think Tanks on British Government*, Public Administration, 1993, pg. 492

² Dur, A.; Bievre, D., *The Question of Interest Group Influence. International Public Policy*, 2007, pg.8

though the number of population here is less than 10% of total population. Further stratification by including most convenient characteristics of population, will be applied in next steps of this research.

3.1.1 Demographic data:

Total number of respondents:	50
Median age:	29
Gender:	22 female 28 male
Education level	24 Bachelor degree 21 High school degree or equivalent 5 Less than high school degree
Employment status	33 Employed, working 1-39 hours per week 5 Employed, working 40 or more hours per week 12 Not employed, looking for work 0 Not employed, NOT looking for work 0 Retired 0 Disabled, Not able to work

Taking into account the typology of the research, main demographic characteristics of the population refer to the following: the median age, which results to be about 29 years old, regarding gender the dominant data refers to males. On behalf of education level almost half of respondents have tertiary education and there are other 21 with high school degree or equivalent; regarding employment status there are 33/50 and 5/50 citizens who have the status of employees and others who are not employed but looking for work.

4. Findings

The aim of the research is to have some evidence related to citizens' perceptions regarding welfare system (overall impressions) and at least have some evidence regarding interest groups and eventual membership in these interest groups. The system of social protection and social insurance in the Republic of North Macedonia is a set of many rights and services in the field social protection,

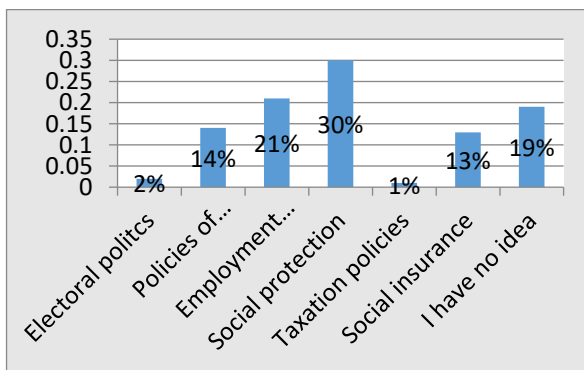
employment/unemployment, child protection, social insurance, disability insurance, health insurance. The findings here refer to the results of a questionnaire applied to 50 random citizens in the region of Skopje, by not identifying perceptions in a specific social policy domain but in all above-mentioned domains. Additionally, in a second session, citizens' perceptions are being collected regarding interest groups and their influence in policy-making processes by addressing citizens' needs.

4.1. Session I: General perceptions towards welfare state and social services

4.1.1 Perceptions regarding social policy as a government mechanism

<i>What do you think social policy refers to:</i>	
Electoral politics	2%
Policies of poverty reduction	14%
Employment policies	21%
Social protection	30%
Taxation policies	1%
Social insurance	13%
I have no idea	19%

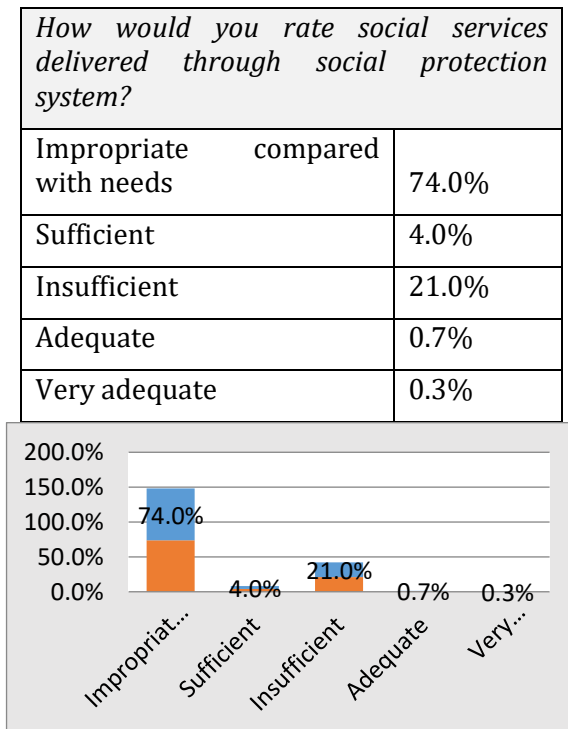
Tab. 1



Obviously some of the respondents have no clear information of what social policy represents, affiliating it even with electoral politics or taxation policies. Despite that, most of the respondents, around 30% perceive it is related directly to social protection system and 21% relate it with employment policies. A significant result refers to the 14% of the respondents, who affiliate social policy with policies of poverty reduction, an indicator that indicates for a more thorough assessment in

further research. At least, it is quite disappointing the fact 19% of respondents is unfamiliar with the answering. It is worrying that the youngest is in the same time most uninformed population (considering that the median age of respondents is around 29 years old).

4.1.2 Perceptions regarding social services



Tab. 2

The respondent's perception regarding social services delivered through social protection system shows their disappointment in terms of quantity. According to them, most of services delivered (not specified whether they are financial or not) don't usually meet identified needs and most of them think they're insufficient. Only 0.3% of respondents consider social services as very appropriate. One explanation of this result can be the fact they may perceive social services as related in particular with financial social assistance. A second explanation might be the fact that respondents refer to social services only to those offered through centers of social work. This is why, in the next question they were asked whether is there any domain perceived as more important.

4.1.3 Perceptions regarding social policy domains

<i>What are most important fields in which social protection and insurance system must be focused?</i>	
<i>Employment</i>	<i>28.0%</i>
<i>Social protection</i>	<i>24.0%</i>
<i>Social Assistance</i>	<i>25.0%</i>
<i>Health insurance</i>	<i>8.0%</i>
<i>Child Protection</i>	<i>11.0%</i>
<i>Pensions & disability insurance</i>	<i>4.0%</i>

Main perception identified here is that citizens consider as most important domain, employment. This can be explained with the fact that most of households' incomes rely on wages and the perception that social policy is increasingly directed towards stimulating employment in broader sections of society. Around 25% of the respondents consider social assistance as the second most important domain. Once again, this is directly related with their perception of social risk and social welfare based on the principle 'minimal income for minimal welfare'. Most underrated domain is seen the one related with pensions and disability insurance. This can be explained due the sample of respondents whose median age results 29 years old and there may be no concern yet about the pension systems or need for disability pensions. This would also need further assessment by involving a larger number of citizens, in order to have a more significant and objective result.

4.1.4 Perceptions regarding improvements of social services' delivery

<i>In your opinion, what are most obvious problems when receiving social services?</i>	
<i>Too much bureaucracy in institutions</i>	<i>28.0%</i>
<i>Incompetent professionals</i>	<i>42.0%</i>
<i>Difficulty accessing social services</i>	<i>17.0%</i>
<i>Corruption while attempting to benefit social rights</i>	<i>13.0%</i>

As seen from the above results, main perception of citizens is related with two major problems while receiving social services or applying for them to be delivered: on one hand the incompetence of professionals working in the respective institutions and on

the other hand the amount of procedures or summarized as bureaucracy¹ in these institutions. In this regard, a previous research from Gerovska Mitev, M (2017) affirmed more in detail the citizens' complaints: *"According to the perceptions of the citizens, the public image of the institutions from social protection, especially to nursing homes and centers for social work is negative. Negative perceptions are prominent and in relation to access to the right to social financial assistance, while for social services and parental compensation for the third child perceptions are divided"*².

Evidently, comparing the results, it might be generalized that the citizens' complaints towards institutions and their staff are persistent in the last years. The only difference to discuss here is that in the above mentioned research are assessed separately different perceptions on different domains and the result refers more in specific to services delivered through centers for social work. According to the same study: *one possible way to achieve greater transparency and accountability is ensuring public access to the scope, forms and profile of users using rights and services through social work centers. This approach will be useful for affirming situations at the local level as well and for stakeholders who can take advantage of this information, in support of social work centers or vulnerable categories, with additional forms of support*³. What in fact stresses in our current research is the surprising positive perception regarding eventual corruption while attempting to benefit social rights which has the lowest percentage. Obviously, citizens do not consider it an emerging problem compared to other options.

4.1.5 Overall perceptions regarding welfare state in North Macedonia

<i>How would you rate welfare state in North Macedonia?</i>	
Minimalist welfare state	48%
Improved in the last decade	1%
There's no welfare state in N.M	28%
In transition	16%
Developed	7%

¹ Bureaucracy refers to both a body of non-elected government officials and an administrative policy-making group.

² Gerovska Mitev, M., (2017). *Извештај за перцепциите на граѓаните за правата и услугите од социјална заштита и социјално осигурување*, Центар за управување со промени, http://www.cup.org.mk/publications/Socijalna-zastita_f.pdf, pg. 26-27

³ *ibid*, pg. 29

Tab. 5 In this final question, citizens were asked to evaluate somehow the social welfare state developed in the country. As seen above, 48% of the respondents perceive it as minimalistic. This means they see it as provider of basic social rights and not able to fulfill social needs. On the other hand, around 28% of the respondents are totally skeptics about the existence of the welfare state itself. This skepticism towards welfare state can be explained as the people's complaint for their needs not being fulfilled, as they expect the state to be responsible in all policy areas. The welfare rights idea is perceived as the view in which persons are seen as ends in themselves and the key role of the government is the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens.

4.2 Session II: Membership and perceptions related to interest groups

4.2.1 Membership in interest groups

<i>Are you currently member of any association?</i>	
<i>Yes</i>	<i>2%</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>77%</i>
<i>Never been interested</i>	<i>8%</i>
<i>Looking forward to</i>	<i>13%</i>

As it's seen from the results, only 2% of the respondents are currently members of an association and around 77% aren't, which shows that there is still no good culture of membership in the civil society sector in North Macedonia. Public support for interest groups seems to be at a low level and citizens do not perceive them as supporter of addressing citizens' social problems and needs or promoting social rights. A very interesting data refers to the fact that around 13% of the respondents would be interested to join any of the associations in the future which confirms the need of interest groups to become more visible and accessible for citizens of all ages, social statuses, etc.

4.2.2 Main typologies of membership

<i>If "yes", would you indicate the typology of association?</i>	
<i>Trade union</i>	<i>1.2%</i>
<i>Citizen association</i>	<i>0.2%</i>
<i>Business association</i>	<i>0.3%</i>
<i>Professional association</i>	<i>0.2%</i>
<i>Think tank</i>	<i>0.0%</i>
<i>Foundation</i>	<i>0.1%</i>
<i>Chamber of Commerce</i>	<i>0.0%</i>
<i>Other (...)</i>	<i>0.0%</i>

According to data provided through desk research, currently there is an available list of associations and umbrella organizations operating in the country. ¹

Around 1.2% of those 2% who answered 'YES', affirm their membership in trade unions as the prevalent interest group identified in this research. Business associations and citizens' associations have more or less similar shares of the total number of interest groups. This finding suggests that the populations of interest groups in the last years are rather dynamic and that the number of organizations which appear and then cease to operate after a short period of time might be rather high. Almost none of the respondents are familiar with think tanks, which from secondary resources results to be mostly active in the monitoring of national political developments. Besides alternatives, two of the respondents list as other associations those related in concrete activities, which refer to organizations operating in the field of youth activities. This result can be explained due the median age of the respondents, which is at around 29 years old and they can eventually be taking part in organizations related to their universities, youth community centers, etc.

4.2.3 Perception of interest groups importance

<i>At what extent, you think, interest groups influence social policy-making processes:</i>	
<i>Minimal influence</i>	31%
<i>Only in some issues</i>	18%
<i>Very influential</i>	35%
<i>Absolutely not</i>	8%
<i>Somehow</i>	8%

Even though previous data on this research showed low levels of citizens' membership in various interest groups, most of the respondents agree that interest groups are important and consider them as influential. But, in which fields they would support the public is an issue which requires further assessment. From the current results it's obvious a 31% of respondents who are skeptic regarding the extent in which interest groups would influence policy making processes. They are skeptic towards the role of interest groups in monitoring and keeping the government accountable to the public interest.

¹ According TACSO website, there are listed 126 citizen associations in Macedonia; Macedonian Centre for International Cooperation lists 243 (mostly local) associations; According the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy there are 48 umbrella and branch trade unions in total

5. Conclusions

From the results of this survey, it is evident that most of citizens do not have enough information about associations operating as interest groups. This is why associations/NGOs should design programs and platforms involving as many members as possible in order to make their interests as attractive as possible to citizens and then to political representatives. This is of main importance due the fact that CSOs should decrease this gap (between state and citizens) by mobilizing citizens into larger groups led by professional representatives. The results showed there is still no good culture of membership in civil society in North Macedonia, as long as the interests of small and better-organized groups rule the public interest. As previously found in other studies, citizen participation in associations in these countries is still lower than that in Western democracies and Central European countries (Novak and Hafner - Fink, 2015)¹.

The respondent's perception regarding social services delivered through social protection system shows their disappointment in terms of quantity. According to them, most of services offered (not specified either they are financial or not) do not meet usually identified needs and most of them think they are insufficient. Main perception identified here is that citizens consider as most important domain employment. They see social policy as increasingly directed towards stimulating employment in broader sections of society. Most underrated domain is seen the one related with pensions and disability insurance. Main complaint perceived from citizens about the quality of social services delivering is seen related with incompetence of professionals working in the respective institutions on one hand and on the other with the amount of procedures or summarized as bureaucracy in these institutions. There is skepticism towards welfare state in general. The welfare rights idea perceived as the view in which individuals are seen as ends in themselves and the key role of the government is the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. Nevertheless, there is evident lack of contentment regarding social services delivered through social protection system and overall welfare state idea.

Regarding perception related to interest groups: although the results above presented reflect low levels of citizens' membership in various interest groups, most of them agree that interest groups are important and consider them as influential. Nevertheless, in which fields they would support the public is an issue, which requires further assessment. Business associations and citizens' associations have more or less similar shares of the total number of interest groups. This finding suggests that the populations of interest groups in the last years are rather dynamic and that the

¹ in Cekik, A. *Lobbying by interest groups in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia: findings from a survey of associations*, 2015, pg.5

number of organizations, which appear and then cease to operate after a short period, might be rather high.

As a final remark, citizens in beneficiary's position prefer improved social services delivered beyond the general preferences they express when endorsing a party's platform and electing parliamentary representatives or participating in various groups. They want public bodies to take in account their voice and interest groups seem to be citizens' mechanism to address their issues, while social policies are the governments' mechanisms to respond citizens' needs. An emerging need to renegotiate the relationship between the parties and increase the dialogue is evident.

References

- [1] Campos, N., Giovannoni, F., (2008). *Lobbying, Corruption and other Banes*. IZA DP n. 3693 Discussion paper series. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp3693.pdf>
- [2] Campos, N. and F. Giovannoni., (2006). *Lobbying, Corruption and Political Influence*, Public Choice
- [3] Campos, N., (2009). *In pursuit of policy influence: Can lobbying be a legitimate alternative to corruption in developing countries?* U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre Brief
- [4] Cekik, A., (2015). *Lobbying by interest groups in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia: findings from a survey of associations*. Erasmus Mundus publication
- [5] Dur, A.; Bievre, D., (2007). *The Question of Interest Group Influence*. International Public Policy
- [6] Fink-Hafner D. (2015). *A framework for studying the development of civil society on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since the 1980s*. In Fink-Hafner D. (ed.) *The development of civil society in the countries on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since the 1980s*. Faculty of social sciences, University of Ljubljana.
- [7] Gerovska Mitev, M., (2017). *Извештај за перцепциите на граѓаните за правата и услугите од социјална заштита и социјално осигурување*, Центар за управување со промени http://www.cup.org.mk/publications/Socijalna-zastita_f.pdf
- [8] Novak M. and Hafner-Fink M. (2015) *Social participation, political participation and protests on the territory of former Yugoslavia: comparative view based on social survey data*. In Fink-Hafner D. (ed.) *The development of civil society in the countries on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since the 1980s*. Faculty of social sciences, University of Ljubljana.
- [9] Simon, James., (1993) *The Idea Brokers: The impact of Think Tanks on British Government*, Public Administration

- [10] Zinnbauer, D., 2009. *The role of investors in strengthening corporate integrity and responsibility in Global Corruption Report: Corruption and the Private Sector* in Transparency International, *The global coalition against corruption: CMI (CHR MICHELSEN INSTITUTE)*
- [11] Transparency International, 2009. *Controlling Corporate Lobbying and Financing of Political Activities*. Policy Position 6/2009.
- [12] Закон за здруженија и фондации бр.52, 2010. www.slvesnik.com.mk

Human Rights and Social Work in the Brazilian Context: Diversified *Language Games*

Cristiana Montibeller Schroeder

PhD Student in Social Work, Interuniversity Doctoral Program in Social Work, University of Coimbra - Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences - Catholic University of Portugal - School of Human Sciences.

Abstract

This article is the result of an exploratory bibliographic study that consists in provoking reflections and presenting discussions on the theme of human rights and social service in the Brazilian context, as well as on the guarantee of rights and diversified and divergent language games. The scenario of the world crisis, in Latin America and specifically in Brazil, causes social service to face a historical and structural process of social inequality, a crisis that deeply cuts across the welfare state and the ineffectiveness of public policies. The challenges faced by social work are unquestionable as the profession faces different language games in social and political contexts that diverge between human needs and ideological interests in a constant struggle for social advances and setbacks. The approach methodology is analytical and critical, part of the analysis of concepts and perspectives from theoretical frameworks on human rights, social work and language games.

Keywords: Human Rights; Social Work; *language games*.

Introduction

1. Reflections between rights guarantee and divergent *language games*

Facing the current process of economic and technological development not valuing the social development, perplexities are inevitable so there are many challenges for the profession in contemporary times, almost insurmountable limits on the social complexity of the globalized world.

Guarantee freedom, equality, dignity, rights, as well as promote social justice, reducing social inequality, provide protection, well-being, security, prevent situations of injustice, violence, discrimination, abuse of power or of non-compliance, as well as confronting the numerous social issues social, are part of the ethical-political of all.

Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversity are central to the profession, fear that in order to achieve in practice involves people, groups, communities, institutions, structures, laws, public and social policies.

Given the complexity of social inclusion and exclusion, it's in language and *language games* that value judgments and judgments between theories, practices and facts can be analyzed, as they become part of a particular culture, social or economic and political context, where individuals create and recreate their own rules, ways of life and meanings.

For Araújo (2004, p.100):

The path to this new conception of language was a pitiless self-criticism: to show that the function of language is NOT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE WORLD, BUT TO ACT WITH SPEAKING IN THE WORLD, for it is a type of ACTION, an activity, a behavior, a form of life. (author's translation)

Language is an activity and a public tool that has a multiplicity of *language games* and this multiplicity corresponds to the various life forms according to the various social contexts and Wittgenstein¹, seeks to explain this theme, emphasizing that:

- Imagine the multiplicity of language games through these examples and others:
- Command, and act on commands -
- Describe an object as it looks or measures -
- Produce an object according to a description (drawing) -
- Report an Event -
- Conjecture about the event -
- State a hypothesis and prove it -
- Present the results of an experiment using table diagrams -
- Make up a story; read -
- Represent theater -
- Sing a Wheel Song -
- Solve puzzles -
- Make an anecdote; tell -
- Resolve an applied calculation example -
- Translate from one language to another -
- Ask, thank, curse, greet, pray. (author's translation)

For Wittgenstein, the language game is an instrument, process of interaction and communication, learning, movement, pronunciation, denomination, repetition of words, that is, the set of activities, actions and uses with which language is interconnected. All these actions cited are not part of a private and unique process,

¹ Wittgenstein, Ludwig. Investigações Filosóficas. § 23.

but it is a practice learned in a given social context, a behavior that depends on the way we interact publicly (Schroeder, 2019, p.77).

However, *language games* are divergent, since everyone does not speak the same language, and so are social practices. Wittgenstein¹ asks, "What happens when people don't have the same sense of mood? They do not react to each other properly". (author's translation). In this sense, both people do not have the same sense of mood as they do not have the same sense of thought, way of thinking, being and acting, so they do not react accordingly and because they are part of different *language games*, they fight for different interests.

"Correct and false is what men say; and in language men agree. It is not an agreement about opinions but about the way of life", according to Wittgenstein.² (author's translation)

Human rights discourses may be in conformity and well-exalted in statements and laws, but facts show that *language games* do not effectively agree with social practices of social inclusion.

2 Brief analysis on Human Rights and Dignity in the Brazilian context

Some principles of Human Rights have gradually gained visibility and importance over the years in Brazil, in this sense they result from a historical process of aspirations, needs, articulations, resistances, claims, struggles and achievements, which were gradually shaped, now extinct, now consolidated in the seven constitutions of the country, since Brazil lived different and conflicting historical periods, according to Baptista (2012).

In all Brazil had seven constitutions, starting with the 1st of 1824 in Brazil Empire, inspired by the French Classic Constitutionalism enumerated some individual, civil and political rights, the 2nd Constitution of 1891 in Brazil Republic, the 3rd Constitution of 1934 in the Second Republic, the 4th Constitution of 1937 where Getúlio Vargas gave a coup and assumed dictatorial powers, during this period there was no concern in securing rights, but in institutionalizing the authoritarian regime as it provided for the death penalty for political crimes and oppressive actions by the government, the 5th Constitution of 1946, resumed the democratic line. in the country prioritizing individual and social rights and excluding the death penalty, but in 1964 there is the Military Coup, a coup d'etat by the military who claimed there was a communist threat in the country, from then on the 6th Constitution, the 1967 where the prevailing context at that time was that of total authoritarianism (Baptista, 2012).

¹ Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Cultura e valor*. Trad. de Jorge Mendes. Biblioteca de Filosofia Contemporânea. Lisboa/Portugal: Edições 70, 1980. p.121.

² Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Investigações Filosóficas*. § 241.

The military dictatorship in Brazil was in force from 1964 to 1985, no more than 21 years and was a period of affront to Human Rights, a period in which there was a total extinction of individual rights and guarantees, as the use of torture, exile, death, disappearances, repression, control of the press, among other various brutal actions were common practices.

The struggle for human rights gained social and political strength in the confrontation of the military dictatorship, which began in 1964, because in that historical context, there was an intense violation of rights, and it was from that moment that the discussion on rights has gained the connotation it has today: of human and social rights, incorporated into the democratic discourse (Baptista, 2012)

Adorno (2010, p.8) also emphasizes that "Everything indicates that human rights emerge as a theme in the public and political arena only in the context of the struggles against the military dictatorship (1964-1985), strongly inspired by the Universal Declaration of 1948 and of its consequences". (author's translation)

The Federative Republic of Brazil is formed by the indissoluble union of States and Municipalities and the Federal District and constitutes a Democratic State of Law based on: "I - sovereignty; II - citizenship; III - the dignity of the human person; IV - the social values of work and free enterprise; V - political pluralism" (Brasil,1988). (author's translation). Primarily regarding human rights, citizenship and the dignity of the human person correspond to the category of fundamentals of the Brazilian Constitution.

In the description of the fundamental principles in the Brazilian Constitution, sovereignty is described in the foreground, second in citizenship, third in the dignity of the human person, and so on. In this sense, Comparato (2012, p.11-12), describes reflexively and critically about:

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, opens with the statement that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (art. 1). The Constitution of the Italian Republic of December 27, 1947 states that "all citizens have the same social dignity" (art. 3). The Constitution of the German Federal Republic of 1949 solemnly proclaims in its art. 1: "The dignity of man is inviolable. Respecting and protecting it is the duty of all State Powers." Similarly, the Portuguese Constitution of 1976 opens with the proclamation that "Portugal is a sovereign Republic, based on the dignity of the human person and popular will and committed to building a free, just and solidary society". According to the Spanish Constitution of 1978, "the dignity of the person, the inherent inviolable rights, the free development of personality, respect for the law and the rights of others are the foundation of political order and social peace" (art. 10). Our Constitution of 1988, in turn, sets as one of the foundations of the Republic "the dignity of the human person" (art. 1 - III). In fact, this should be presented as the foundation of the Brazilian state and not just as one of its foundations. (author's translation)

Interesting this observation, why is “the dignity of the human person” not the foundation of the Brazilian state, but one of its foundations? It serves this question for reflection and analysis, as this bias may raise doubt regarding the priorities and degrees of importance of theoretical and practical terms.

Well, continuing this type of analysis, article 4 of the Federative Republic of Brazil (Brasil, 1988), in its international relations emphasizes several principles, and also describes firstly national independence, after the priority of human rights and several other principles as follows:

I - national independence;

II - prevalence of human rights;

III - self-determination of peoples;

IV - nonintervention;

V - equality between states;

VI - defense of peace;

VII - peaceful settlement of conflicts;

VIII - repudiation of terrorism and racism;

IX - cooperation among peoples for the progress of humanity;

X - granting political asylum. (author's translation and emphasis)

Here, too, some reflections are needed: Should the notion of national sovereignty be given greater legitimacy? Should the principle of nationality be more important than human rights? Should national sovereignty be above human dignity?

For Habermas (2010, p.345) human dignity is “[...] the moral source from which the contents of all fundamental rights are nourished”. (author's translation)

The theme of human dignity has been the basis for many innovations in the theoretical and practical discourse of fundamental rights. It is also responsible for impactful changes in perspective of the Brazilian legal discourse on fundamental rights. (Sarlet, 2008 quoted by Mezzaroba & Strapazzon, 2012, p.336). (author's translation)

In general, the dignity of man must be the foundation of human rights, consisting of his autonomy, will, choices, freedom, thus means that man himself as a human being is worthy of supremacy.

3 The ineffectiveness of Human Rights in Brazil

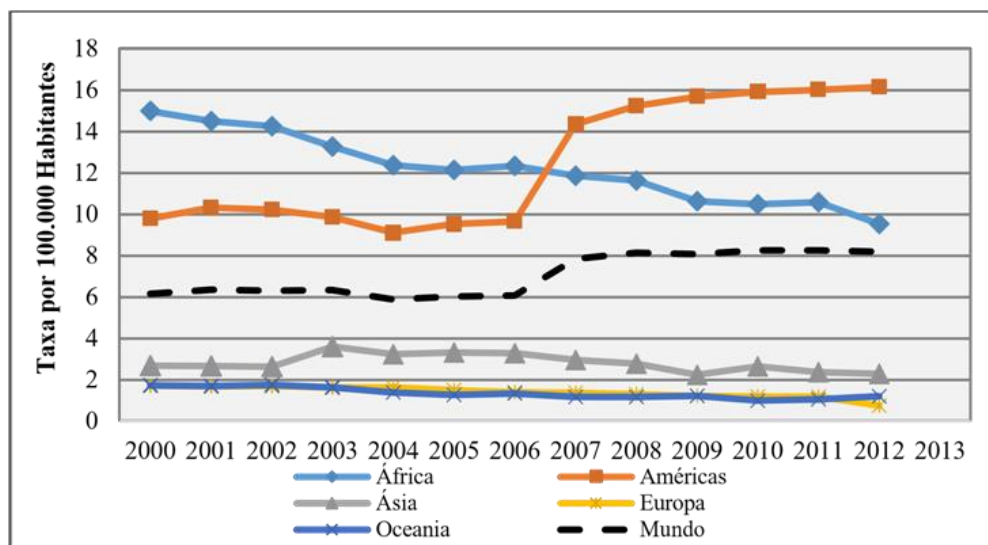
How to realize human rights by guaranteeing human dignity where the exaltation of economic growth at all costs overstates social development?

Capitalist logic makes the process of human emancipation and full guarantee of social rights illogical. According to Yamamoto (2014a, p.18), "The language of market and consumer exaltation that is present in the media and government occurs in parallel to the process of increasing concentration of income, capital and power". (author's translation)

As described by Lafer (1997, p.56):

In the contemporary world, social, political and economic situations continue to persist which, even after the end of totalitarian regimes, contribute to rendering men superfluous and without place in a common world. Among other trends, I mention the ubiquity of poverty and misery; the threat of the nuclear holocaust; the outbreak of violence, terrorist outbreaks, ethnic cleansing, exclusionary and intolerant fundamentalisms. (author's translation)

It can be seen from the graph below, from the Violence Document (2018), material produced by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (Ipea) and the Brazilian Public Security Forum (FBSP), that homicide rates exist on continents, but in At different levels, such as comparing the index of the Americas with that of Europe, we can see a high differentiation in the homicide rate.



Graph 1 - Evolution of world and continents homicide rates per 100 thousand inhabitants, according to United Nations Organization (2000 to 2013)

Font: FMI/World Economic Outlook Database, ONU/Divisão Estatística, ONU/Office on Drugs and Crime e OMS/Mortality Database. Elaboration Diest/Ipea and FBSP described in Atlas da Violência (2018, p.9).

It can be seen that in Africa and the Americas the rates of violence from 2000 to 2013 fluctuate, and in the Americas increased a lot and in Africa, the rate decreased, but even so, compared to other continents, it is a reality that absurdly shows the violation of human rights.

Of the cases of violence in the Americas, Brazil is one of the largest providers of these rates:

Brazil is the “champion” country of murders in the world: in absolute numbers, more than 58,000 people die murdered each year. Most are young people between 15 and 29 years old - an account that amounts to a plane crashing every two days. But there is something worse than this tragedy: society's indifference to thousands of lost lives (Werneck, 2017). (author's translation)

However, it is known that the statistics are not accurate and that the numerical data on violence in the country, due to several factors, are much more than those published.

The Violence Document (2018, p.32) also describes that:

The homicide victimization of young people (15-29 years old) in the country is a phenomenon denounced over the last decades, but it remains unanswered in terms of public policies that effectively address the problem. The 2016 data indicate the worsening of the picture in much of the country: young people, especially men, continue prematurely losing their lives. (author's translation)

For Werneck (2017), Executive Director of Amnesty International, the country has received numerous nominations to improve its human rights actions, but has accepted some in full, some in part, but has failed gravely not only to implement actions and Initiatives such as ensuring that rights already granted are violated or even abolished, the country is failing to avoid setbacks to rights already won.

Among the results of this omission and inefficiency is the increased vulnerability of people and groups, especially those fighting for the right to land, territory and natural resources - such as indigenous peoples, quilombolas and rural leaders - and young people. blacks, the main victims of homicide and inhumane prison conditions in Brazil (Werneck, 2017). (author's translation)

Violence takes place in everything and everyone, whether in urban or rural areas, in large urban centers, suburbs or slums, it is present, affecting people, groups, minorities, men, women, children, the elderly, young blacks, indigenous people, communities, even human rights defenders in the country.

The conclusion is that racial inequality in Brazil is clearly expressed in terms of lethal violence and security policies. Blacks, especially young black men, are the most common profile of homicide in Brazil, being much more vulnerable to violence than non-black youth. In turn, blacks are also the main victims of lethal police action and

the predominant profile of Brazil's prison population (Atlas da Violência, 2018). (author's translation)

Human rights in Brazil are part of a world of contradictions, as the country presents laws on the subject in an exemplary way however the biggest problem and social obstacle are the effective enforcement of these laws.

4 Reflections on Public Policy in Brazil and Social Work

Article 6 of the Federal Constitution of Brazil of 1988 describes that: "Are social rights education, health, food, work, housing, transportation, leisure, security, social security, protection of motherhood and to childhood, the assistance to the helpless, in the form of this Constitution " (Brasil,1988).

The Constitution assigns the State the task of promoting, by means of public policies, the universalization of access to economic, social, political and cultural rights and the elaboration and implementation of consequent policies that ensure the equitable distribution of the right to education, health, housing, public transport, the healthy environment, leisure and free cultural production, goals in line with both the international human rights agenda and the Millennium Goals (Adorno, 2010, p.8-9). (author's translation)

According to Teixeira (2002, p.2), "Public policies" are guidelines, guiding principles of action by the government; rules and procedures for relations between public power and society, mediations between actors of society and the state. They are, in this case, policies explicit, systematized or formulated in documents [emphasis added] (laws, programs, financing lines) that guide actions that usually involve the use of public resources. However, there is not always compatibility between interventions and statements of will and the actions developed. (author's translation)

In order to guarantee all rights, a broad social protection policy is necessary, so the Federal Constitution contemplates in its article 194 the meaning of security in the country: "Social security comprises an integrated set of initiatives of the Public Authorities and to ensure the rights related to health, social security and social assistance " (Brasil, 1988). (author's translation)

Based on the Organic Law of Social Assistance (LOAS), Law No. 8.742, of December 7, 1993, as amended, expanded and consolidated with Law No. 12.435 / 2011, provides for the organization of Social Assistance in the country, in this sense the policy social assistance is governed in a decentralized manner according to the Unified Social Assistance System (USAS), with social participation through the creation and implementation of countless councils where the public power, non governmental organizations and civil society oversee, opine, monitor and discuss policies public (Brasil, 2011). It's a participatory management model it articulates the efforts and resources of the three levels of government, that is, municipalities, states and the Union.

Social assistance not having a contributory character, that is, in Brazil does not depend on previous contribution, thus have this guaranteed right, all those who need it.

USAS organizes social assistance actions into two types of social protection. The first is Basic Social Protection, aimed at preventing social and personal risks, by offering programs, projects, services and benefits to individuals and families in socially vulnerable situations. The second is the Special Social Protection, aimed at families and individuals who are already at risk and whose rights have been violated due to abandonment, abuse, sexual abuse, drug use, among others (Brasil, 2015). (author's translation)

Guarantee freedom, equality, dignity, rights, as well as promote social justice, reduce social inequality, provide protection, welfare, security, prevent situations of injustice, violence, discrimination, abuse of power or disrespect, as well as confrontation of the innumerable social expressions of the social issue, they are part of the social-ethical commitment of the social worker who finds socio-occupational spaces in public policies.

For Iamamoto (2014a, p.18), "These new times reaffirm, therefore, that the accumulation of capital is not a partner of equity, does not rhyme with equality. There is an aggravation of the multiple expressions of the social question, the historical basis of the social requisition of the profession". (author's translation)

Given the absence of limits to the expansion of capital and its destructive potential of nature and work, there is a growing demand for public policies such as health, housing, education and social assistance.

And, this is where the crisis reaches Social Work and its professionals who daily face the challenge of operationalizing Social Policies that focus, threaten the right and citizenship [...] (Yazbek, 2016, p.9). (author's translation)

Yazbek (2016, p. 6), also describes about this panorama where the social worker inserts and faces:

Scenario that intensifies and deepens for Public Social Policies, which are becoming less universal and more focused, demands related to the realization of users' rights, privileged scope of professional practice and place where the Social Worker is subjected to scrapping processes. and precariousness of their work and faces the challenge of developing resistance actions and building strategic alliances towards another corporate project. (author's translation)

According to Yazbek (2016, p. 9), the scenario of the crisis in Latin America and specifically in Brazil, causes social service to be conditioned to a historical and structural process of inequality, which inevitably and "[...] continuously restores clientelist and secular welfare traditions".

It can be seen that for the realization and legitimacy of human rights in Brazil, constraints between the rhetorical and their transposition into concrete public policies are inevitable and drag on for decades in the country, causing the social service to be limited, not in a way institutionalized and mediating practices from a critical theoretical perspective and a transformative discourse.

Iamamoto (2014a, p.19) emphasizes that: "Thinking about Social Work in contemporary times requires open eyes to the contemporary world to decipher it and participate in its recreation". (author's translation)

In this sense, participating in its recreation, reconstruction or even creating new public policies and preventive actions is not limited to a professional category, but depends on a whole process of participation and social integration, but not in a fragmented manner where It does its part and function in isolation, but essentially together.

Conclusion

For Wittgenstein it is in a given context that the meaning of a word will have value, that word can be human rights, democracy, social equality, social inclusion, social justice or other diverse and its use will only have importance and coherence in a given social context culture. Thus, language games show that, if there is agreement between the communicants, it will make sense to follow the rules that are not imposed, but which are part of the process of interaction on the way of life. If the group considers the concept of human rights to be an essential value, it will be considered, otherwise other agreements will be put into practice and put into practice.

Now, no one can pretend with the incidence of the principle of isonomy to standardize the human being. Clearly, only diversity can enrich a people. For natural and cultural differences, the solution is respect and tolerance. For the inequalities of social condition, sisters of exclusion and unfair direction of opportunity, the result of misrule, the solution is undoubtedly indignation and action. There is equality between citizens only with the concrete reduction of inequalities (Barros, 2009, p.24). (author's translation)

Language games in the world are can be standardized, since diversity is immense in every way and must be enriched and valued, natural and cultural differences are real and inevitable, the biggest problem occurs when disrespect, intolerance, preconception, discrimination, exploitation and power make use of the language of certain groups who, from their language games, create certain rules that disadvantage or exclude other language games.

For Habermas (2010, p.31), "A language is not the private property of an individual, but produces a context of shared meaning in the intersubjective plane, embodied in cultural expressions and social practices [...]".(author's translation)

The construction and permanence of an equitable and just world, based on human dignity based on equality and social justice, will only be possible when the issue of human rights becomes a real priority, both in the political and economic systems, when political power and economic development do not prevail over social development.

The establishment of a common world, the building of just societies, on the basis of every human right to dignity “[...] would only begin to be made viable as the right to have rights became a global theme, governance of the world order, transcending sovereignty” (Lafer, 1997, p.58). (author's translation)

The scenario of the world crisis, in Latin America and specifically in Brazil, causes social service to face a historical and structural process of extreme social inequality that affects everyone, a crisis that deeply cuts across the welfare state and the ineffectiveness of policies public.

Iamamoto (2014b, p.175), will describe: “But the most disturbing feature of the new social issue is the reappearance of workers without work: those useless to the world or supernumerary, that is, people who have no place in society because are integrated and maybe not even integrable [...]”.

The term new social question is deepened by Castel in his 2005 book “Social Insecurity: What It Is To Be Protected”, which emphasizes, in general terms, that there are multiple manifestations of the social question, involving segments beyond workers. and unprotected, there are more vulnerable and marginal social categories of the dominant order. Thus we cannot look at society from the perspective of the old social order where there were two antagonistic classes, as Marx claimed: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In contemporary society there are new social configurations that require new interpretations and analysis (Bandeira, 2013 quoted by Montibeller, 2015, p.64). (author's translation)

Thus in the face of new social configurations, several challenges face demands related to human rights in the world and in the Brazilian reality, as well as to social service.

The construction and permanence of an egalitarian and just world, based on the principle of human dignity based on equality and social justice, will only be possible when the language games of human rights are in fact a priority of both the political and economic systems that is, when political power and economic development do not prevail over the language of social development.

Given the social complexity of the globalized world, the challenges faced by social work are unquestionable as the profession faces different language games in social and political contexts that diverge between human needs and ideological interests in a constant struggle for social advances and setbacks.

References

- [1] Adorno, S. (2010). História e desventura: o 3º Programa Nacional de Direitos Humanos. *Novos estudos CEBRAP*, (86), 5-20. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0101-33002010000100001>
- [2] Araújo, I. L. (2004). Do signo ao discurso: introdução à filosofia da linguagem. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial.
- [3] Atlas da Violência. (2018). Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Ipea) - Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (FBSP). Rio de Janeiro, junho de 2018. 93p. http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/images/stories/PDFs/relatorio_institucional/180604_atlas_da_violencia_2018.pdf
- [4] Baptista, M. V. (2012). Algumas reflexões sobre o sistema de garantia de direitos. *Serviço Social & Sociedade*, (109), 179-199. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0101-662820120001000100>
- [5] Barros, A. F. (2009) Igualdade. 13-26. In: *Justiça, cidadania e democracia* [online]. Rio de Janeiro: Centro Edelstein de Pesquisa Social, 2009. 238p. ISBN 978-85-7982-013-7. <http://books.scielo.org/id/ff2x7/pdf/livianu-9788579820137.pdf>
- [6] Brasil (1988). Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Constituicao/Constituicao.htm
- [7] Brasil (2011). Lei Orgânica da Assistência Social (LOAS). LEI Nº 12.435, de 6 de julho de 2011. Altera a Lei Nº 8.742, de 7 de dezembro de 1993, que dispõe sobre a organização da Assistência Social. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2011/lei/l12435.htm
- [8] Brasil. (2015). Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social. Assistência Social. O que é. <http://mds.gov.br/assuntos/assistencia-social/o-que-e>
- [9] Castel, Robert. As metamorfoses da questão social: uma crônica do salário. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2013.
- [10] Comparato, F. K. (2012) Fundamento dos Direitos Humanos. Instituto de Estudos Avançados da Universidade de São Paulo, 1-30. http://www.iea.usp.br/publicacoes/textos/comparatofundamento.pdf/at_download/file
- [11] Habermas, J. (2010). Teoria da racionalidade e teoria da linguagem. Obras escolhidas de Jürgen Habermas - Volume II. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- [12] Iamamoto, M. V. (2014a). O serviço social na contemporaneidade: trabalho e formação profissional. 25ª ed. São Paulo, Cortez. p.326.
- [13] Iamamoto, M. V. (2014b). Serviço social em tempo de capital fetiche: capital financeiro, trabalho e questão social. 8ª ed. São Paulo, Cortez. p.495

- [14] Lafer, C. (1997). A reconstrução dos direitos humanos: a contribuição de Hannah Arendt. *Estudos Avançados*, 11(30), 55-65. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40141997000200005>
- [15] Mezzaroba, O.; Strapazzon, C. L. (2012). Direitos fundamentais e a dogmática do bem comum constitucional. *Sequência (Florianópolis)*, (64), 335-372. <https://dx.doi.org/10.5007/2177-7055.2012v33n64p335>
- [16] Montibeller, C. (2015). *Questão social e serviço social*. Indaial: UNIASSELVI. 302 p. ISBN 978-85-7830-884-1.
- [17] Schroeder, C.M. (2019). *Wittgenstein, linguagem e cultura*. Rio de Janeiro: Lumen Juris.148p.
- [18] Teixeira, E. C. (2002). O papel das políticas públicas no desenvolvimento local e transformação da realidade. Associação dos Advogados de Trabalhadores Rurais da Bahia – AATR/BA. p.5-11. http://www.dhnet.org.br/dados/cursos/aatr2/a_pdf/03_aatr_pp_papel.pdf
- [19] Werneck, J. (2017). O Brasil na contramão dos direitos humanos. *Anistia Internacional – Brasil*. <https://anistia.org.br/o-brasil-na-contramão-dos-direitos-humanos/>
- [20] Wittgenstein, L. *Cultura e valor*. Trad. de Jorge Mendes. Biblioteca de Filosofia Contemporânea. Lisboa/Portugal: Edições 70, 1980.
- [21] Wittgenstein, L. *Investigações filosóficas*. 2. ed. Trad. de José Carlos Bruni. São Paulo: Abril Cultural, 1979.
- [22] Yazbek, M.C. (2016). O desafio da defesa das Políticas Públicas para o Serviço Social. *Argumentum, Vitória (ES)*, v. 8, n.1, p. 6-13, jan./abr. <http://.doi.org/10.18315/argumentum.v8i1.12139>

The International Organization, OSCE and Its Presence in Central Eastern Europe

Blerina Muskaj

PhD, "Aleksandër Moisiu" University of Durrës, Faculty of Political Sciences and Law

Abstract

International organizations have gained the right importance and have been named as the main actors in international relations with the end of the wars. States realized that it would be more reasonable to cooperate, thus achieving higher and faster results. For this reason, organizations of different types began to be created either by the nature of the operation or the geographic extent. Their roles and objectives have been different, some focus on the political aspects of relations between states and others have more administrative or technical functions to facilitate the work of states and form faster services to individuals. Other organizations deal with security issues and police and human rights issues. In this category are created many organisms, such as NATO, charged with state security and military interventions or the Council of Europe, with the aim of promoting democratic values, implanting them and protecting human rights. The organization that will focus on this paper is the OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Among the first created in this area, with objectives to coordinate the work in the fields of state and human security, the fight against terrorism, promotion of democracy and fundamental freedoms, environmental and economic protection, and the area of protection of Human Rights and Minorities, we will mainly see the focus of this organization in East Central Europe. During the time I've been involved with, I tried to bring a historical flow of events to understand how the OSCE missions work in the field and what is the difference with the theory and how the OSCE mission emerges CEE, as a case study Albania.

Keywords: International organizations, OSCE, Human Rights, election observation, electoral processes.

Introduction

The International Organization is defined as a union of states connected with one another by a chord composed of a certain functional apparatus (institutions) to ensure their co-operation on common interests in order to meet the criteria. The legal

basis upon which an organization is formed is the treaty signed between the signatory countries, for which reason it has a legal character as well as a natural person and can be considered as such in the case of signing another agreement and emerges as a single. In this case it gets the features and gains rights are the same as the state.

With the end of World War I, the concept of the term collective security begins to be used, with the aim of preserving peace in the world through a co-ordination of the actions and acts of all nations. One of the few organizations dealing directly with state, military and human security issues is the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, initially created as a conference in 1973, taking on the name only on 1 January 1995. It was established with the intent to favoring dialogue and cooperation between the West and the East. Its objectives are to protect and guarantee all types of safety, ranging from human to environmental. A typical security sector organization is the North Atlantic Treaty Pact, widely known as NATO. It was created during the Cold War by the US and their allies as a counter-response to the Warsaw Pact. Taken its form and signed by the members on January 27, 1950. Its purpose was to prevent Soviet military power. But with the end of the war, their goals were re-dimensioned. The aim is to maintain peace and security, to help develop stability and prosperity in the North Atlantic region and other regions. It acts as an organization with a focus on military security using the element of collective security.

These international organizations are what they are today and have more weight in the international arena, but it should be said that there are smaller, less well-known organizations that operate in a particular region or only between 3 or 4 states ensure cooperation. The legal bases on which they operate are the treaties signed by the founding states and those that have subsequently acceded. The reasons for their creation have been the many wars that nations have experienced over the years, especially the World Wars. The many destructions on economic resources, the deficit and the almost bankruptcy of many states, the losses in human resources have increased the desire and willingness to avoid these risks. Precisely for these reasons the respective countries have taken the initiative of cooperation in almost all spheres.

CSCE, founding documents.

The European Security and Co-operation Conference came as a result of the goodwill of Western and Eastern states to create a bridge between these two competing camps. The idea was first cast for a Warsaw Treaty meeting in Budapest in 1955, but was not well received by Westerners. The conference call came again in 1966, also during a meeting of the Warsaw Pact. It was the first Finland to respond positively to this request only in 1966. It also became the host of all other countries that would attend the conference.

There was a vocation as a political dialogue for resolving disputes and avoiding conflicts. Its first meeting was held on June 3, 1973, in Helsinki. The participating States were 35, including the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Canada, the

European countries except Albania. After the talks held on 1 August 1975, the Helsinki Final Act, which is known as the "Helsinki Accords", is signed. These chords are based on 10 principles for which future conferences should focus on their work and their talks.

Declaration on the Principles of Relationships between States¹

- 1) Respect for rights inherited under sovereignty.
- 2) Content of use or threat of use of force.
- 3) Territorial Integrity of States.
- 4) Peacefully adjust the differences.
- 5) The inviolability of the borders.
- 6) Non-interference in domestic affairs.
- 7) Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.
- 8) The Right of Peoples Equality and Their Right to Self-Determination.
- 9) Cooperation between States.
- 10) Confidentiality fulfillment of obligations under international law.

These chords and principles constitute and what is called the legal basis of the Conference. They have been given the right legitimacy for the reason that they have been the signatory states that with their will and will have decided to become part of this conference. Under international law, when they are members have their obligations and their rights, as well as the conference know the rights and obligations as well as those of a state. The fact that she turns out to be an actor in the international arena and having a legal basis approved and recognized by member states immediately gains her legal personality².

It is precisely the founding states that have given them the first European Conference on Security and Cooperation, the necessary legal basis for its existence, reaching a contract signed between them after numerous negotiations.

In 1995, the name of the conference changed and it became officially the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. While in 1999, another summit will be held in Istanbul that will bring the "Istanbul Security Charter in Europe" with these targets³:

¹ Puto A. (2010), E Drejta Ndërkombëtare Publike, Botimet Dudaj, Tirane, pg 134.

² Hardacre A., Kaeding M.,(2008), 'Delegated and Implementing Acts: the New Worlds of Comitology – Implications for European and National Public Administration', EIPA Maastricht, pg 29.

³ F.A. Hayek, (1994), The Road to Serfdom, University of Chicago Press, pg 30.

Crisis management.

Post-Conflict Rehabilitation.

Prevention of conflicts.

OSCE Human Dimension

Promoting human rights and the rule of law are the main goals of the human dimension pillar of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. The participating States have adopted a comprehensive legislation and catalog of their commitments in the field of human rights, democracy, minority protection, tolerance and the rule of law. The legal and moral ground that the states have drafted is the Final Document of the OSCE Summit in Istanbul 1999, underlining: *"Member States are accountable to their citizens and responsible to each other for the implementation of their commitments to the OSCE. With regard to these commitments as our common achievement and therefore we consider it to be matters of immediate and legal interest in all participating States. »*

For these reasons and for efficiency in their activities, the OSCE annually holds a 10-day meeting, called the Human Dimension Implementation Meetin¹. The conference is usually conducted in Warsaw in order to examine the implementation of the commitments of all member countries. In addition to this large conference, for the same purpose are held additional Human Dimension Meetings, held 3 times a year together with Seminars on this field of activity, organized ODHIR. Their purpose is to discuss current issues and issues of a particular interest.

Interventions and OSCE activities have changed and have always been adapted to the region and the problem where it is sought. The Western Balkan conditions have always been specific and specific, so the organization of the actions by the Organization has sought new capacities that will allow for early deployment of early warning, preventive diplomacy, crisis management and post-crisis rehabilitation.

Albania in OSCE

Discussions on Albania's adherence to the OSCE were held during the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Berlin, June 1991. In the same year, in September 1991, our country signed the Final Act and the Paris Charter for a New Europe. Accession to the organization marks a radical change in the orientation of the country's foreign policy, which means accepting Western values of democracy and the rule of law rule.²

¹ Ostrom E, (2003), " An agenda for research institutions," Public Choice , Vol . 48, pg 24.

² Puto A. (2010), E Drejta Ndërkombëtare Publike, Botimet Dudaj, Tiranë., pg 170.

Because of the internal specifications of the state, the OSCE's leadership was oriented towards a new dimension. The riots in 1997 forced the former Austrian chancellor to be sent. Franz Vranitzky, who would help resolve the crisis through political dialogue.

Today OSCE ODHIR Mission also supports the fight against human trafficking and corruption, as well as the protection of human rights. Precisely in this area, she works closely with civil society and national institutions such as the People's Advocate or the Commissioner for Protection from Discrimination. In addition to these organizations, it provides support for the probationary system and helps in the reform of the pre-trial detention system. As far as gender equality is concerned, it has helped at the beginning of its intervention with increasing participation of women in political life. She trained women for leaders and assisted in restoring their case to the Assembly.

Albania's accession to the OSCE (former CSCE) was carried out during the works of the Berlin Ministerial Council (19-20 June 1991). Our country signed the Helsinki Final Act on 16 September 1991 and the Paris Charter for a New Europe on 17 September 1991. This accession marked a radical change in the Albanian foreign policy course that would lead to the emergence of international self-isolation, in rapprochement with the Euro-Atlantic community and in the acceptance of Western values of freedom, democracy of the rule of law. Albania's accession was accompanied by the undertaking of legal reforms to respect the fundamental freedoms and rights of the individual. The circumstances that enabled Albania to join the OSCE were the democratic movement of December 1990, the first pluralistic elections in Albania, and the adoption of the Provisional Constitutional Package on 29 April 1991, which contained provisions that recognized political pluralism in respect of human rights.¹

Following the 1997 internal turmoil, relations between Albania and the OSCE took on a new dimension. The Danish OSCE Chairmanship, through the Special Envoy, former Chancellor of Austria, Dr. Franz Vranitzky, mediated in resolving the political crisis in Albania, which made possible the deployment of the OSCE Presence in Albania. The latter is not a permanent representation of the Organization, but has a temporary mandate, the current version of which was approved in 2003. Today Presence supports legal, judicial, administrative and ownership reforms, capacity building of the Assembly, the fight against trafficking and corruption, the promotion of good governance and the empowerment of civil society. It also supports state police and the process of dismantling obsolete ammunition stocks. It helps Albania to implement the commitments made by our country to the OSCE. The OSCE presence has gradually reduced the number of projects, which speaks of country's progress and more efficient use of Presence's resources. Lastly, it has closed its four regional offices (Shkodra, Kukës, Vlora and Gjirokastra), showing our strengths in the fields of Presence's mandate. The OSCE has Missions in all the Western Balkan countries,

¹ Puto A. (2010), E Drejta Ndërkombëtare Publike, Botimet Dudaj, Tiranë, pg165.

which operate in accordance with the respective mandates adopted by the Permanent Council, the main OSCE decision-making body, with the participation of the ambassadors of the 57 participating countries in the Organization. Albania works to ensure that the activities of these missions are effective and serve the peace, stability and European integration of the region.

Albania also cooperates closely with OSCE institutions, such as the ODIHR and the Office of the Press Freedom Representative. Cooperation focuses on areas of interest to our country such as electoral reform, digitalization process, public television reform and national radio and television council.

Increasing the role and profile of Albania in the region and in the international arena has influenced the radical change of OSCE relations. Albania is not only a consumer of OSCE expertise, but it contributes immensely to preserving and promoting the role of the Organization in the security architecture in Europe¹. Over the last few years, Albania has significantly increased its profile in the OSCE. She hosted the Autumn Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (October 2012), the High Level Conference on Tolerance and Non-discrimination (May 2013) and the Third Press Conference in Southeast Europe (September 2013). Our bid to lead the Organization in the near future is an expression of the new level of relations with the OSCE and will represent the greatest contribution that our country will give to European security issues.

Albania's contribution to regional developments, where the OSCE has 6 Missions deployed, is very welcome in the Organization.

The OSCE Presence in some important areas of CSO-OSCE co-operation

The OSCE Presence in Albania provides assistance to Albanian authorities and civil society in promoting democratization, rule of law, human rights and consolidating democratic institutions in accordance with OSCE principles, standards and engagements. In addition, to fully realize its objectives, the OSCE Presence in Albania works in partnership with the host country to strengthen key state institutions, to consolidate a democratic control and balance system, and to strengthen dialogue between the parties to increase trust in these institutions.² The OSCE has been present with its mission in Albania since 1991. Bearing in mind the positive role that Albania has played in developing and improving relations, as well as the overall positive changes that have taken place in southeastern Europe, assessing the overall progress achieved in Albania in recent years as well as the most important position taken by the country's institutions The OSCE decided that, after the end of the mandate, it

¹ Glasius, Marlies. "Do International Criminal Courts Require Democratic Legitimacy?" *European Journal of International Law* 23, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 43–66. doi:10.1093/ejil/chr104.

² Puto A. (2010), *E Drejta Ndërkombëtare Publike*, Botimet Dudaj, Tiranë, pg 170.

should update the Presence mandate in Albania in order to reflect the developments that have taken place in the country.¹

OSCE Permanent Council Decision 588 clearly stated the goals of the OSCE presence in the continuation of its mission in Albania.

In order to fulfill its purpose in Albania, the OSCE focuses on:

1. Legislative and judicial reform, including property reform;
2. Regional Administrative Reform; Electoral Reform;
3. Strengthening the capacities of the Assembly;
4. Combating trafficking and corruption, including supporting the implementation of relevant national strategies;
5. Developing effective laws and regulations for an independent media and an Ethics Code; promoting good governance and projects for strengthening the society.

OSCE in Albania, the electoral system and democracy

*"Everyone has the right to participate in the governance of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives. Everyone has the right to equal access to public services in his country. The will of the people is the basis of state power; this will has to be expressed in periodic and free elections, which should be general and equal voting, as well as by secret ballot or by the equivalent free voting procedure."*²

Democracy is a form of government that the state authority derives from the people. The word "democracy" comes from the old Greek word demos-that means people and kratos that means power. The principles of modern democracy have gradually evolved from the religious movements of Calvinism during the 17th century, especially in Scotland, England and the Netherlands where communities began to support and share not only religious, but political ideas as well. The philosophy of freedom and equality was further expanded during the period of enlightenment that would then be recognized as the core values of democracy.³

The first democratic state was founded in the US, when France was the first European state established by democratic principles after the French revolution. After 1945 there was a proliferation of Western democracy in Europe and around the world, which replaced authoritarian forms of government. After defeating fascist governments, it seemed that the crisis that democracy experienced during the 20th century was overcome. The long process of decolonization in which the right to self-determination was recognized by Western countries resulted in the behavior of

¹ Kuci K., (2010), Filozofia Politike, UMSH, Tiranë, pg 67.

² Kuci K., (2010), Filozofia Politike, UMSH, Tiranë, pg 70.

³ Roberta A. Dahl, (1989), Democracy and its Critics, Yale University Press, pg 23.

democracy in their former colonies. Dictatorships in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Argentina and Uruguay have all become democracies in the last decades¹. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Stalinist system in Central and Eastern Europe, it was noticed that democracy really triumphed. However, not all countries that theoretically support democracy as a form of government do not respect democratic principles or the life of democratic practice. This more than a paradoxical development holds that holding a critical debate on democracy and democratization is a need.

"My notion of democracy is that the weakest should have the same chance as the strongest." Essential elements of modern democracy. It is difficult to measure how democratic society is. However, there are a number of key elements that constitute the foundations of any democratic society. To better understand these elements, education and learning at all levels play a key role.

Equality - the principle of equality means that all human beings are born equal, must enjoy equal opportunities, participate in the political life of the community, and have equal treatment in the face of the law. This also includes social and economic equality between women and men.

Participation - democracy is meaningless without participation, community participation and policy issues are a prerequisite for building a democratic system. Democracy is a form of participation, sometimes participation is a broad concept and it does not only contain powerful political, but also social and economic implications. But participation alone cannot guarantee democracy.

Majority rule and minority rights, even though democracy is defined by the rule of the people, are in fact the rule of the majority. This also implies a majority obligation to take into account the different rights and needs of minority groups. The extents to which obligations are met are an indicator of further enhancement of democratic values in society.

State of the law

We must first clarify what is the terminology we must accept: the rule of law or the rule of law, terms widely used today in political and juridical literature. Both terms have the same meaning, express the same concept, that of close and mutual connection between the state and the law. This connection is explicitly expressed in Article 4, point 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania: "the law constitutes the basis and limits of the state's activity". Perhaps for reasons of constitutional referral, in Albania it seems that the expression "rule of law" has acquired citizenship.

¹Keller H and Geir U. (2012) eds. UN Human Rights Treaty Bodies: Law and Legitimacy. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, pg 78.

The definition of the rule of law varies according to authors and ages. The rule of law is, above all, a theoretical model of organizing political systems. It has become a fundamental theme of politics since it is considered as one of the main characteristics of the democratic regime, but is not necessarily a democratic regime. Generally a state of law is not necessarily democratic, but every democratic state is a state of law. The rule of law thus seems like a first step in forming a democratic state. Its opposite is despotism or police regimes, where arbitrariness and the regime of violence prevail. It is true that the notion of the State of the law is being challenged by the notion of a State of the Art.

The rule of law is the pillar of democracy. When state actions are based on the principles of the rule of law, people are more inclined to trust the authorities and among them to cooperate with the same society. If the rule of law is established, people act in a very individualist way. The rule of law implies a well-functioning legal system that provides guidance on the basic rules that determine the functioning of a social organization and which helps to put them into practice. Based on this argument, we understand the existence of the rule of law is very important to have a democratic electoral system.

Elections are the essence of democracy or the means by which it operates. Democracy in all its forms is based on the electoral system, which creates the governing structure of a country, ensures the participation of citizens in the formation and political control of government and power, and enables political pluralism¹. Hence, it follows that elections have a multifaceted role in democracy.

Voting is a fundamental element of democracy. The electoral system defines the community of rules on how to vote and how voter votes are translated into places in Parliament. So the election of the electoral system is of significant importance in the democratic representation system. The system determines who will be elected to represent the constituencies, what will be the parties that will form the government, what will be the parties that will form the opposition. So the determination of citizens' governance goes through the elections, the basis of which lies the electoral system.

Calling a "citizen" voter, exercising this right in power is and should be understood by each of the citizens as the only effective mechanism that free individuals, organized in a form of pluralist government every 3/4 years, aim at this means the whole community where they live in general, but in particular each one for themselves, realize the opportunity to improve the level of life more². The electoral campaign should be considered by each voter as a more chance for him and his loved ones; as

¹ Soós, A. K., (2011), *Politics and Policies in post-Communist Transition. Primary and Secondary Privatisation in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union*, Budapest, Central European University Press, pg 25.

² Freedman R. (2013) *The United Nations Human Rights Council: A Critique and Early Assessment*. Routledge, pg 56.

an opportunity for his close family to improve the current level of living, to benefit from certain state policies; where an individual feels safer in the workplace or in the business he or she exercises; where the health system is reformed and the benefits are concrete; where the child is educated in school institutions that are worthy of the name and the standard of teaching; where the state makes a more dignified policy with its neighbors and realizes that it can not abuse the term "partners" and "friends"; where the individual and the family can exercise, together or separately, more potently than the four years that went, declared and universally accepted rights by everyone to move and "see the world" without fear of politics Consuls of a state will consider them and their family as "people with a risk" to return to the country¹. Ultimately, being called a voter must understand that you, the individual, and the governance of the next four years you intend to be partners with each other in the policies that will be applied in the future or be opiate or skeptical of these policies².

Being a voter, you should be aware every day of being "citizen", without hesitation, although it is the state's responsibility to secure this right; check the basket if you are registered as a voter in the voting lists; to ask to be registered if they have wrongly omitted by "state" or by cast according to you; to follow the views of political parties on policies that are of interest to you and are a priority for your fate; be present if you have meetings with the candidates in your area, and in particular the meetings where the candidate participates and you have voted the time that went; to ask without fear of your party or party exponents that you think you will vote about the ambiguous attitudes of her or her candidate policy; to assess as an individual the "personality" that competes in your area; to be more active with the people around you to encourage them to participate in the polls³.

Conclusions

Finally, it should be noted that the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe has, for some years now, faced a slump in its role. Because of the non-consensus among member states, especially between East and West, a conflict that was thought to have been over in the course of time. For the reasons mentioned above, the OSCE is no longer in the position of the leader, narrowing the work of its missions to public opinion and consultancy. In many cases non-respect of basic principles by

¹ Dryzek J., (1996), "Informal logic of institutional design " in R. Goodin. The theory of institutional design, Cambridge

² Soós, A. K., (2011), Politics and Policies in post-Communist Transition. Primary and Secondary Privatisation in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, Budapest, Central European University Press, pg 27.

³ Soós, A. K., (2011), Politics and Policies in post-Communist Transition. Primary and Secondary Privatisation in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, Budapest, Central European University Press, pg 34.

the organization itself has affected the loss of trust in the member states and those who would be assisted.

Election Observation by the OSCE in Albania has the potential to enhance the integrity of electoral processes, defining and presenting irregularities and fraud, and providing recommendations for improving electoral processes. Can promote public credibility, as a guarantor, can promote electoral participation and reduce opportunities for potential election-related conflicts. It can also serve to increase international understanding by sharing experiences and information about democratic developments.

Bibliography

- [1] Puto A. (2010), *E Drejta Ndërkombëtare Publike, Botimet Dudaj, Tiranë.*
- [2] F.A. Hayek, (1994), *The Road to Serfdom, University of Chicago Press.*
- [3] Freedman R. (2013) *The United Nations Human Rights Council: A Critique and Early Assessment. Routledge.*
- [4] Hardacre A., Kaeding M.,(2008), 'Delegated and Implementing Acts: the New Worlds of Comitology - Implications for European and National Public Administration', EIPA Maastricht.
- [5] Dryzek J., (1996), "Informal logic of institutional design " in R. Goodin. *The theory of institutional design, Cambridge.*
- [6] Soós, A. K., (2011), *Politics and Policies in post-Communist Transition. Primary and Secondary Privatisation in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, Budapest, Central European University Press.*
- [7] Ostrom E , (2003), " An agenda for research institutions," *Public Choice , Vol . 48.*
- [8] Kuci K., (2010), *Filozofia Politike, UMSH, Tiranë.*
- [9] Keller H and Geir U. (2012) eds. *UN Human Rights Treaty Bodies: Law and Legitimacy. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press,*
- [10] Roberta A. Dahl, (1989), *Democracy and its Critics, Yale University Press,*
- [11] Glasius, Marlies. "Do International Criminal Courts Require Democratic Legitimacy?" *European Journal of International Law* 23, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 43–66. doi:10.1093/ejil/chr104.